Glimpses into Zhong Hong’s educational background, with remarks on manifestations of the *Zhouyi* in his writings

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Introduction

The two short accounts on the life of Zhong Hong (alt.: Rong) 鍾嶽 (467?–518) in the official dynastic histories both describe the author of the *shipin* 詩品 (Kriterion poietikon or Classification of poets) as ‘fond of learning’ (hao xue 好學), ‘thoughtful on the ratio [of matters]’ (you si li 有思理), and ‘understanding the Changes of Zhou’ (ming Zhouyi 明周易). As Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–c. 590) had noted, the Zhouyi (Changes of Zhou or Book of Changes) was—together with the Laozi 老子 or Dao-de Jing 道德經 (Book of the Way and the Virtue) and the Zhuangzi 庄子—one of the so-called san xuan 三玄, the three core readings studied throughout the country at the time. It is thus not surprising that from the Later Han (25–220) to Zhong Hong’s time, an enormous number of commentaries on the Zhouyi were written, only a limited number of which have survived to the present day. Although there is no indication that Zhong Hong himself had ever written down his insights on the Zhouyi, the compilers of his biography considered his accomplishment in this specialist field of studies noteworthy. The historians’ short statement evokes the question as to whether this remark should be read as a subtle hint pointing the reader of Zhong Hong’s writings towards a specific hermeneutic context.

Exposing myself to the calculated risk of over-emphasising one aspect of the formation of Zhong Hong’s intellect and critical mind, this case study

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1 Technical note: The following abbreviations are used for collectanea, etc.: *BZQS* for *Baitziquanshu* 百子全書 (Photolithographic reproduction of the Shaoyao shantang 播業山房 edition, 1875. 8 vols; Hangzhou: Zhejiang Renmin chubanshe, [1975] 1985); *CSJC* for *Congshu jicheng* (Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979); *SHWS* for *Shuwen* (Youshi wenhua, 1975); *Liang Han shiliu jia Yi zhu chanwei* for *Liang Han shiliu jia Yi zhu shijian congshu* (9 vols; Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, [1984] 1985); *Liang Han shiliu jia Yi zhu chu* for *Liang Han shiliu jia Yi zhu congshu* (100 vols; Taibei: Wuzhou chubanshe, 1975); *Nan shi* for *Nan shi congshu* (9 vols; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1954] 1993). See pages 67–70 of this book. For the following three biographies, the publishers are Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975; Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979; Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1984; and Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1966. See pages 67–70 of this book. For this and the following two biographies, the publishers are Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989; and Taibei: Taiwan shih-p'in, 1985.


3 See Zhou Faguo 周法高, *Yan shi jixian huizhu* 颜氏家訓匯注 (Taibei: Academia Sinica, 1960 [Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo zhuankan, 41]), 43 [ch. 8].

4 For some of these writings see: Jian Boxian 鍾寶賢, *Jin nanbeichao jingxue yiji kao* 今存南北朝經學遺考 (Taibei: Liming wenhua shiyi, 1975); Huang Qingsuan 楊慶歡, *Wei Jin nanbeichao Yixue shu kao* 魏晉南北朝易學書考 (Taibei: Youshi wenhua, 1975); Xu Qinting 徐慶庭, *Liang Han shiliu jia Yi zhu chanwei* 鍾嶽十大家易注箋微 (Taibei: Wuzhou chubanshe, 1975) as well as the relevant bibliographical chapters in the dynastic histories.
The Zhong clan’s jiaxue

The fall of the Han resulted in the political and moral breakdown of the central authority and strengthened the awareness of the uniqueness of the individual.6 Whereas the majority of Han thinkers—the most famous exception being Wang Chong (27–c. 79)—did not challenge the concepts transmitted in the canonized writings, a distinctively critical attitude towards the ideas attributed to authorities such as Confucius or Laozi became more common with the leading thinkers from the Wei period (220–265) onward. During the relatively short period of a few centuries, idiosyncrasy in character and style was regarded as a highly laudable quality, and the discursive language concerning uniqueness was greatly enriched. Despite the strengthening of the notions and perceptions of non-uniformity and non-conformity, ancestry, clan and place of origin remained of utmost importance for a person’s positioning and self-positioning in society. To expose children to the study of their ancestors’ scholarly achievements was one of the educative mechanisms, the aim of which was to strengthen clan-awareness. Consequently, appreciation of their writings was perceived as an integral part of the curriculum for later generations.7 The educationally imprinted offspring thus became the vehicle by which the ancestors’ contributions to civilization were transmitted.8

5 In addition to relying on my Chinas erste Poetik. Das Shipin (Kriterion Poietikon) des Zhong Hong (Dortmund: projekt verlag, 1995 [edition cathay], 10), which includes an extensively annotated German translation of the Shipin, and some of my earlier articles such as ‘High wing and true bone, defying ice and frost. Illustrative remarks on the Shipin of Zhong Hong’, in Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung, 19 (1995), 51–70, the third part of this article is also indebted to Zhang Bowei’s outstanding study of the relationship between the Shipin and the Zhouyi; see his Zhong Hong Shipin yanjiu 鍾嶠詩品研究 (Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue chubanshe, 1993), 38–51 and the excerpt published as ‘Lun Zhong Hong Shipin de sxianj zhucu’論鍾嶠詩品的思維基礎, in Chugoku bungko-ho Bochumer jiachuanxue jiachuanxue (2 vols; Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, [1955] 1985), 50–58.


7 For a well-known example see Fan Ye 范曄, Hou Han shu (12 vols; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1965] 1987), 67: 221f., where the ancestry of Kong Yu 孔丘 is, teachings transmitted within the clan, and short remarks on the background of related teachings at the Imperial University (guoxixue 國子學 or guoxue 國學). In the third part, we shall explore a working hypothesis concerning underlying structural concepts of the Shipin.5

8 On the expression jiaxuanxue 賢儒學, which emphasizes this aspect, see Zhongwen da cidian 中文大辭典 (10 vols; Taibei: Zhongguo Wenhua Daxue, [1973] 1985), 7322.213.
In other words, jiaxue was a most eminent component of the celebration of ancestors on the intellectual level.

In a fairly reliable reconstruction of Zhong Hong’s genealogy, the earliest known member of the Zhong clan to distinguish himself as a scholar was Zhong Hao 鍾皓 (zi: Jiming 季明) who lived as a local celebrity in Changshe 長沙 during the Later Han. After a career as an official, he retreated to a mountain, devoted himself to the study of poetry, taught over a thousand pupils and died at the age of sixty-nine. Although it has been suggested that Zhong Hao’s studies on poetic patterns (shilü 詩律) might have influenced Zhong Hong’s interest in the shi 詩 genre, we need to note that the Zhong clan was primarily associated with the study of the Zhouyi. In his commentary to the Shishuo xinyu 世說新語 (New account of tales of the world), Liu Jun 劉峻 (462–521) reports that Zhong You 鍾繇 (zi: Yuan-chang 元常, 151–230), a grandson of Zhong Di, came from ‘a poor family, was fond of learning, [and] made [exegetical] studies of the Changes of the Zhou and the Laozi’.12

The titles of these studies on the Zhouyi and the Laozi are elsewhere transmitted as Zhouyi xun 周易訓 (Glosses on the Changes of Zhou) and Laozi xun 老子訓 (Glosses on the Laozi).13 Apart from his role as a military leader and official at the end of the Han and during the Wei, and as Grand Tutor (taifu 太傅) to the crown-prince, Zhong You was also a celebrated calligrapher who specialized in lishu 隸書 (scribal style) and to whom a work on the dynamics of the brush is attributed.14 In his Shupin 書品 (Classification of calligraphers), Yu Jianwu 喻薌吾 (c. 487–551) ranked him as one of the three most outstanding calligraphers (shang zhi shang 上之上); later generations referred to him and Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303/321–379) by the term ‘Zhong Wang 鍾王’.15

Zhong You’s sons, Zhong Yu 鍾繇 and Zhong Fu 鍾繇, did not pursue careers as officials; see Pei’s note in Sanguo zhi, 13: 392.16 Collections of the writings of both are attested,

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11 For Zhong You’s biography see Hou Han shu, 62: 2064 and the quote from Xianxian xingzhu: Shishuo xinyu jiaojian (Repr.; Taibei: Zhengwen shuju, 1988), 53 [ch. Yanwu 11], Sanguo zhi, 13: 391 notes that Zhong Yu 鍾繇, an elder clan member (zu fu族父), brought Zhong You to Luoyang and supported his studies financially.

12 See Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗, Sanguo yiwen zhi 三國藝文志 (SYCS), 1: 9a and 3: 21a–b. For his interest in the Zhouyi and the Laozi see also Pei’s commentary in Sanguo zhi, 28: 786. For some of his prose writings (memorials, letters, etc.) see Yan Kejun 顏可均 (comp.), Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han sanguo liuchao wen 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (4 vols; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), vol. 2, 1184–6 [Sanguo wen, 24: 10–a].

13 For biography see Sanguo zhi, 13: 391–9.

14 Sanguo yiwen zhi, 3: 81a gives the title as Bishi tu 筆勢圖 (Charts on the dynamics of the brush). However, Yao Zhenzong also recounts that a text entitled Bishi lun 筆勢論 (On the dynamics of the brush) emerged from Zhong You’s tomb during the Taikang era 太康 (280–289) of Western Jin (265–317). Song Yi 宋翼, one of Zhong’s pupils, became famous after studying this text and applying its teachings to xingshu 行書 (cursive style).


16 For biographies see Sanguo zhi, 13: 399f (Zhong Yu) and Sanguo zhi, 28: 784–97 (Zhong Hui). For an edition of Zhong Hui’s biography with a good and useful modern commentary see Miao Yue 謝錫, Sanguo zhi xuan 三國志選 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 127–43.

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9 For Zhong Hao’s biography see Hou Han shu, 62: 2064 and the quote from Xianxian xingzhu: Shishuo xinyu jiaojian (Repr.; Taibei: Zhengwen shuju, 1988), 53 [ch. Yanwu 11], Sanguo zhi, 13: 391 notes that Zhong Yu 鍾繇, an elder clan member (zu fu族父), brought Zhong You to Luoyang and supported his studies financially.

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fragments of which were re-compiled by Yan Kejun 簡可均 (1762–1843). Moreover, both brothers are associated with studies on the Zhouyi.

The title of Zhong Yu’s study on the Zhouyi is transmitted as Nan Guan Lu Yi Yi 難管格易義 which was, as indicated by the title, a refutation of Guan Lu’s管格 (zì: Gongming公明, 208–256) approach. According to his own account of his studies, Zhong Hui ‘recited the Zhouyi at the age of eleven’ and the Yiji 易記 (Notes on the Changes), a commentary on the Zhouyi written by his father, at the age of fourteen just before entering the Imperial University (taixue 太學). His keen interest in the Zhouyi and in the Laozi is reported in a number of sources—bibliographies list his commentary on the Laozi under slightly different titles. Although only fragments of this commentary have survived, eminent Tang (618–907) exegetes such as Li Shan 李善 (c. 630–689), in his commentary to Xiao Tong’s 蕭統 (501–531) Wenxuan 文選 (Selections of refined literature), and Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627), in his Jingdian shiwen 經典釋文 (Explanations of terms in the classics), referred to and quoted from it.

Zhong Hui’s treatises on the Zhouyi include the titles Zhouyi jinshen lun 周易盡神論 (On fully expressing the spirit of the Changes of Zhou), Zhouyiwu huti lun 周易無互體論 (On the Changes of Zhou having no overlapping trigrams) and Zhouyi lun 周易論 (Dissertation on the Changes of Zhou). All we know about his Zhouyi wu huti lun is that it was no longer extant when the bibliographic chapter of the Sui shu 廉書 (History of the Sui) was compiled. Nevertheless, its title indicates his position in a major scholarly dispute, an

17 For the Zhong Yu ji 難集 (5 juan) and the Zhong Hui ji 蕭會集 (10 juan) see Wei Zheng 魏征, Sui shu 廉書 (6 vols; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1973] 1987), vol. 1, 1060; Liu Xu 劉昫, Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書 (16 vols; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1975] 1987), vol. 47, 2057; Ouyang Xiu 欧陽修, Xin shu 新書 (20 vols; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 64: 1580. For redactions of the latter, entitled Wei Zhong situ ji 萬曆舊唐書 (1 juan) and Zhong situ ji xuan 唐書提要選 (1 juan), see Zhongguo congshu zonglüe 中國叢書綜錄 (Repr.: 3 vols; Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982), vol. 2, 1203. For compilations of fragments of their works see also Quan shanggu san dai Qin Han sanguo liuchao wen, vol. 2, 1186–91 [Sanguo wen, 24: 10a–11a (for Zhong Yu) and 25: 1a–8a (for Zhong Hui)].

18 For the Nan Guan Lu Yiji see Sanguo yiwen zhi, 1: 13a; on Guan Lu see Sanguo zhi, 29: 811–30. For his studies on the Zhouyi see the quotes from Lu tiezhen 路始傳 in Pei’s note in Sanguo zhi, 2: 812f. The text of Zhong Yu’s study is lost.

19 See the quote from Zhong Hui’s ‘Zhang Furen zhuang’ 張夫人傳 (alternative title: ‘Zhang Hui mu zhuang’ 柳會母傳) in Pei’s commentary in Sanguo zhi, 28: 785. The title of the Yiji is alternatively given as Cheng Hou Yiji 漢侯易記 (Marquis Cheng’s notes on the Changes); Cheng Hou was Zhong Yao’s posthumous name.

20 See e.g. Sanguo yiwen zhi, 1: 9a and 3: 21a. On his scholarly interest see also Pei’s commentary in Sanguo zhi, 28: 786: ‘[Zhong Hui] was especially fond of the Changes and the Laozi (特好易老子). His commentary on the Laozi is listed in Sui shu, 34: 1000 as Laozi Daode jing 老子道德經 (2 juan); Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書, 47: 2027 has Laozi (2 juan); and Xin Tang shu, 59: 1514 refers to it as Zhong Hui zhu 難會注 (2 juan) in its section of works on the Laozi. For a short fragmentary passage from Laozi Zhong shi zhu 老子釋氏注 (1 juan) see Wang Renjun 王仁俊 (comp.), Yukan shangfang ji yi shu xubian sanzhang 上谷山房輯佚書續編三種 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1981), 196. A passage from his commentary on the Laozi is also found in Li Lin’s 李霖 (fl. 1172) Daode zhenjing qushan ji 道德真經纂善集 (ZTDZ); for a translation and short discussion of it see Rudolf G. Wagner, The craft of a Chinese commentator. Wang Bi on the Laozi (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000 [SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture], 140–49, 327.

21 For references to his Zhouyi jinshen lun (1 juan) and Zhouyi wu huti lun (3 juan) see Sui shu, 32: 910; for his Zhouyi lun (4 juan) see Jiu Tang shu, 46: 1968 and Xin Tang shu, 57: 1425. None of these texts has survived.
assumption which is also confirmed by historical accounts. As it is evident that Zhong Hong opposed the reading of the *Zhouyi* based on ‘overlapping trigrams’ or ‘internal trigrams’ (*huti 互體*), an approach which can be traced back to the *Zuo zuan* 左傳 (*Traditions of Zuo* (*Qiuning*)),26 after it was promulgated by Jing Fang 京房 (77–37 B.C.), later Han scholars such as Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), Yu Fan 虞翻 (c. 164–233) and others showed a predilection for interpreting hexagrams according to this method.25 As an exegetic strategy, it is based on the conviction that the hexagrams need to be perceived as being composed of four trigrams. In addition to the two main trigrams arranged one above the other (i.e. lines 1, 2, 3 and lines 4, 5, 6), two additional trigrams (*huti*) are deemed to be represented by lines 2, 3, 4 and 3, 4, 5, 6.

Following the critical approach towards Zheng Xuan’s exegetics as developed in the Jingzhou 荆州 circle, Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249) condemned those who applied the *huti* method (and a number of other approaches) as follows:27

… artificial doctrines spread everywhere [and] it is indeed difficult to keep account [of it]. [When] the overlapping trigrams prove insufficient, [they] go on to the trigram change. [When] the trigram change proves also insufficient, [they] push on further to the Five Agents. Once its origin is lost, the [interpretative] cleverness becomes increasingly boundless. Even if [they] occasionally get [something], [they] grasp absolutely nothing of the concepts. This is probably all due to the fact that [they] concentrate on the images [and thus] forget the ideas.28

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23 See e.g. the passage ‘[Zhong] Hui argued that there are no ‘overlapping trigrams’ in the *Changes* (會意互易互體) in *Sanguo zhi*, 28: 795.
24 See e.g. Du Yu’s 杜預 (222–284) commentary and Kong Yingda’s 孔穎達 (574–648) sub-commentary in *Chunqiu Zuo zhan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (*SSJZS*, vol. 6), 164 [Zhou zuan: Zhuan 22: 9: 25a].
Whereas nearly all scholars of the Han and Wei periods applied the huti-method, Wang Bi and Zhong Hui opposed this reading and promulgated a different approach. Since Zhong Hui’s studies on the Zhouyi and on the Laozi fell into oblivion (at least after the Mongol dynasty) and Wang Bi became one of the most celebrated geniuses in Chinese intellectual history, we may also note that Wang Bi’s biography in Wei shu (History of the Wei) is added in a commentarial note to the biography of Zhong Hui. However, both were well-known scholars of their time and shared not only insights and methodological approaches but also a close personal relationship which involved scholarly debates and friendship.

According to an account of the Zhong clan (from Yingchuan) in Xin Tang shu (New history of the Tang), Zhong Hong was a direct descendant of Zhong Hao, Zhong You and Zhong Yu. Scholars such as Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661–721), Shen Gua 沈括 (1031–95) and others had, however, rightly pointed out that these genealogies are notoriously problematic and by no means reliable, for the authority of a particular person was emphasized by and perceived as a function of the construction of ancestral lines of paradigms. Although the sources show some divergences, a presumably more reliable reconstruction of Zhong Hong’s genealogy suggests that he was an offspring of the branch deriving from Zhong Yan. It thus follows that the author of the Shipin was in fact not a direct descendant of the celebrated calligrapher Zhong You or of Zhong Hui, the clan’s foremost student of the Zhouyi. Apart from identifying Zhong as a direct descendant of Zhong Hao, the specialist on shi poetry, we need to note that in the context of celebration of earlier clan members’ scholarly achievements, that is to say, in the context of jiaxue, direct descent was considered to be of secondary importance. It thus seems reasonable to assume that the psychological mechanisms of personal identification with the achievements of previous generations emphasized clan membership over a particular person’s lineage of direct physical ancestors.

The Zhouyi at the Imperial University

The two biographies of Zhong Hong both report that he was: ‘a student at the Imperial University (guozisheng 國子生) during the Yongming period [483–493]’. Because of the political and military circumstances, the education system during the Northern and Southern Dynasties was, by and large, subject to discontinuity and instability. The Imperial University was established and abolished several times by a number of rulers under different circumstances

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29 See Shang Binghe 尚秉和, Jiao shi Yigu 焦氏易話 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), juan 2; quoted from Zhang Bowei, Zhong Hong Shipin yanjiu, 43.
31 For examples of Wang and Zhong being named together as famous scholars see Pei’s note in Sanguo zhi, 10: 316 or Sanguo zhi, 28: 794. For insights on their approaches towards the Laozi see Wagner, Craft of a commentator, 240–49.
32 See Xin Tang shu, 75A: 3354f.
33 See e.g. Pu Qilong 濮士龍, Shitong tongshi 史通通釋 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1978), 38–42 [Wei 2, ch. 5: Shijia], and Hu Daojing 胡道穎, Mengxi bitan jiaozheng 梵溪筆談校證 (2 vols; Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1987), vol. 2, 743–84 [juan 24: Zuzhi 1].
34 For summaries of the problem of Zhong Hong’s genealogy see Zhang Bowe, Zhong Hong Shipin yanjiu, 1–7, Cao Xu, Shipin yanjiu, 1–18, and Führer, ‘Biographie des Zhong Hong’, 168.
35 Liang shu, 49: 694 and Nan shi, 72: 1778.
and for different reasons. However, during the first month of the third year of the Yongming period (永明 (485), Xiao Ze 蕭赜 (440–493), emperor Wu 武 (r. 483–493) of Qi 齊, issued an edict to re-establish the Imperial University in order to re-focus the curriculum and scholarly interests on the classics.

Notwithstanding that the historical sources provide no information concerning the exact year of Zhong Hong’s entering the Imperial University, there is strong evidence that he—and his elder brother Zhong Wan 鍾嵐—joined around two-hundred students who began their studies at the Imperial University in autumn 485. During the very same year, Wang Jian 王儉 (452–489) had been appointed Chancellor of the Imperial University (guozhi jiju 國子祭酒) and subsequently taught the students at his residence. Zhong Hong addressed him by his posthumous name Wenxian 文獻 and in the Shipin 世品 as his teacher (shi 師). Zhong’s biographies recount that Wang held him in high regard and that they enjoyed a close relationship.

As indicated above, the reading of the Zhouyi transmitted within the Zhong clan can be described as closer to the reading suggested by Wang Bi than to that of Zheng Xuan. As for the studies of the Zhouyi at the Imperial University, it is frequently suggested that the curriculum at that time focused on Wang Bi’s reading, and that Zhong Hong’s studies of the Zhouyi concentrated almost exclusively on this tradition. This having been said, it is indeed noteworthy in the given context that the interaction between representatives and promoters of the ru 儒 (i.e. the so-called Confucianist tradition represented mainly by the insights of Han scholars such as Ma Rong 马融 [79–166], Zheng Xuan and their followers) and the xuan 玄 (i.e. the so-called Abstruse Learning represented here primarily by the interpretations suggested by Wang Bi and his followers) was by no means restricted to the scholarly level.

Regarding the curriculum at the Imperial University, this situation entailed a dispute about the chair for the study of the Zhouyi which went on for a considerable period of time. As Lu Cheng 陸澄 (425–494) had stated in a letter to Wang Jian, Zheng Xuan’s reading of the Zhouyi was favoured for some time; during other periods, Wang Bi’s reading played a predominant role.

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38 Although disputed by some, there is a widely accepted consensus that he entered the Imperial University during that year.

39 For Wang Jian’s biographies see Nan Qi shu, 23: 433f. and Nan shi, 22: 590–96. For the duration of his activities at the Imperial University see Nan Qi shu, 23: 436 and compare Nan Qi shu, 16: 315.

40 Note that Wang Jian is the only poet addressed by his posthumous name in the Shipin; see Shipin in Helmut Martin (ed.), Suoyinben He shi Lidai shihua 索引本何詩代詩話 (2 vols; Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co. and Chinese Materials and Research Aids Center, 1973 [Research Aids Series. 10], 01010.23, 01010.25 and Führer, Chinas erste Poetik, 413–5 [4.3.17].

41 See Liang shi, 49: 694 and Nan shi, 72: 1778.

42 Although the degree to which Zhong Hong concentrated on Wang’s readings is certainly open to discussion, it is a historical fact that at the time when Zhong studied there, the teaching of the Zhouyi at the Imperial University was not monopolized by Wang Bi’s tradition. Nevertheless, to emphasize that Zhong concentrated almost exclusively on Wang’s version became a widespread view; see e.g. Liao Weiqing 廖世清. Liuchao wenlan 六朝文論 (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1978), 361 (note 3). Luo Liqian 羅立堅, Zhong Hong shige meixue 孔融詩歌學 (Taibei: Dongda tushu, 1990 [Changbai tongkai], 44, etc.

43 For an overview see Lü, Liang Jin nanbeichao shi, vol. 2, 1371–94.

44 See Nan Qi shu, 39: 683f. For a partial translation of this letter see Wagner, Craft of a commentator, 49f.
At the time when Zhong Hong studied at the Imperial University, a compromise had been reached in order to appease the tensions, and two ‘doctorates’ or chairs (boshi 博士) for the study of the Zhouyi were established.\textsuperscript{45} It was exactly this coexistence of ru and xuan scholarship for which Wang Jian and other erudites had argued.\textsuperscript{46} Zheng Xuan’s reading was then taught alongside Wang Bi’s version, an approach which led not only to the study of both exegetical traditions but also paved the way to more syncretic reading strategies. As a matter of fact, such an approach is attested for a number of scholars of the Yongming period, especially for Zhang Xu 張鎰 (422–489) and He Yin 何胤 (446–531), the subsequent Chancellors of the Imperial University.\textsuperscript{47}

Manifestations of the Zhouyi

In addition to the Shipin, the title of a further work by Zhong Hong is known to us. Unfortunately, however, the Ruishi fu 瑞室賦 (Rhapsody on the auspicious mansion), a text composed in honour of He Yin, did not survive. All we know about this eulogy is that its ‘wording was of outstanding classical beauty’ (ci shen dian li 辭甚典麗).\textsuperscript{48} Apart from the Ruishi fu, two of his memorials are transmitted in Zhong Hong’s biographies.\textsuperscript{49}

Li Yanshou’s 李延壽 (fl. 618–676) fairly sombre description of the socio-political reality of the day creates the context for a short memorial which was submitted by Zhong Hong at the beginning of the Jianwu 建武 (494–498) era. To begin with, his network of references echoes the whole range of learning from the Shangshu 尙書 (Book of Documents) to the Zhuangzi 莊子 and so forth. His description of the rulers of antiquity as adopting a ‘respectful posture and facing south’ (gong ji nan mian 謹己南面) recalls the Confucianist version of wuweifushi wuxing (non-interference/non-engagement) as known from the Lunyu 論語 (Analects).\textsuperscript{50} Further, if the same passage is read as alluding to the Zhouyi, the tension between the emperor’s hyperactivity in attending to details in person, and teachings about grasping the essential as found in ‘Shuo gua’ (Explanations of the trigrams) becomes transparent.\textsuperscript{51} The short dialogue between the emperor and one of his organisers, which follows the memorial in Nan shi 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties), gives a clear indication that the author’s critical remarks were well understood, though not well received by Xiao Luan 蕭鸾 (459–498), emperor Ming 明 (r. 494–498) of Qi.\textsuperscript{52} It goes without saying

\textsuperscript{45} See the comment on the first year of the Tongming era (483) in Nan Qi shu, 39: 683.

\textsuperscript{46} See Wang’s reply to Lu Cheng in Nan Qi shu, 39: 685 where he rejects a mono-focused approach and holds that scholarly accomplishment can only be reached if both traditions are studied.

\textsuperscript{47} See also the biographies of Liu Xian 劉顯 (434–489) in Nan shi, 50: 1235–8 and Nan Qi shu, 39: 677–80 as well as the short note on his approach towards the Zhouyi in the Jinlouzi 金樓子 (BZOS; vol. 5), 1: 5b [Ying wang].

\textsuperscript{48} Thus the praising formula in Liang shu, 49: 694 and Nan shi, 72: 1779.

\textsuperscript{49} See Liang shu, 49: 694f. and Nan shi, 72: 1778. Cf. H. Wilhelm, ‘Note on Chung Hung’, 112f.; Takamatsu, Komei (Takaaki) 塚本和明, Shihin shokai 詩引詳解 (Hiroskai: Hiroskai University, 1959), 132f.; and Führer, ‘Biographie des Zhong Hong’, 132f., 173–9. His description of the rulers of antiquity as adopting a ‘respectful posture and facing south’ (gong ji nan mian 謹己南面) recalls the Confucianist version of wuweifushi wuxing (non-interference/non-engagement) as known from the Lunyu 論語 (Analects). Further, if the same passage is read as alluding to the Zhouyi, the tension between the emperor’s hyperactivity in attending to details in person, and teachings about grasping the essential as found in ‘Shuo gua’ (Explanations of the trigrams) becomes transparent. The short dialogue between the emperor and one of his organisers, which follows the memorial in Nan shi 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties), gives a clear indication that the author’s critical remarks were well understood, though not well received by Xiao Luan 蕭鸾 (459–498), emperor Ming 明 (r. 494–498) of Qi. It goes without saying

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that the connection between Zhong Hong’s pointing to the exemplary paradigms of high antiquity, and the teachings from the Zhouyi and the Lunyu, can be explored on a variety of levels. 53 A closer look at this short admonishment reveals that Zhong’s memorial reflects a number of Wang Bi’s passages on proper rulership, e.g. on what was considered appropriate for a great sovereign (da jun zhi yi 大君之宜). 54

The impact of the Zhouyi upon the structure of works such as the Wenxin diaolong 文心雕龍 (Patterning the heart and carving the dragon), the Shipin and the Shishuo xinyu 世説新語 (New account of tales of the world) has been indicated by a number of scholars. 55 As for the Wenxin diaolong, perhaps the most obvious allusion to the Zhouyi is found in the programmatic chapter ‘Xuzhi’ 序志 (Exposition of [the author’s] intentions):

Positioning the principle and determining the names is exhibited in the number of the great Changes. For [the discussion of] literature, only forty-nine chapters are used. 56

In other words, the structure of the Wenxin diaolong and its division into forty-nine chapters plus ‘Xuzhi’ is described by Liu Xie 劉駿 (c. 465–c. 520) in direct reference to the clause ‘The full number [lit.: great expansion] is fifty, of which forty-nine are used’ in the ‘Xiezi’ 繋辞 (Appended phrases) commentary to the Zhouyi. 57 Wang Bi’s gloss on this passage, as transmitted in a quote in Han Kangbo’s 漢康伯 (d. c. 385) commentary, reads:

Expanding the numbers of Heaven and Earth, what [the system] relies on are fifty, [of which] forty-nine are actually used whereas one is unused. Although [it is] not used, the use [of the others] is perpetuated by it; although [it is] not counted [as one of the numbers], the number [of the others] is completed by it. This is the supreme ultimate of changes. Forty-nine is the ultimate of numbers. 58

53 See e.g. He Yan’s 何晏 (190–249) remark about appointing the right persons to administrative positions and thus ‘ruling by non-interference’ (任官得其人, 故無為而治) in his note on Lunyu 15.5 in Lunyu jijie 樂語集解 (Yonghuai tang 永懷堂 ed.; SBCK; vol. 2), 70. The legendary Shun’s 禰 ruling by the principle of wuwei clearly contrasts with Xiao Luan’s practice of governing. 54 See e.g. Zhouyi zhu 周易注 (2 vols; Taibei: Guoli Bianyiguan, 1982), vol. 2, 2317, 2324.


56 For a closer connection between Wenxin diaolong and Shipin with Zhouyi was, though not expressivus, suggested by Zhang Xuecheng 張學誠 (1738–1801); see Ye Ying 杨瑛, Wenshi tongyi jiaozhu 文史通義校注 (2 vols; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), vol. 2, 559 [Shihua 1]. For a detailed discussion of passages alluding to and concepts influenced by the Zhouyi see, e.g., Deng Shiliang 鄧仕瑋, ‘Yi yu Wenxin diaolong. Yijing wenxue lilun zhi yi 易與文心雕龍. 易經文學理論之一 in Chongji xuebao 崇機學報, 9.1 (1969), 72–83.

57 Compare e.g. Lin Xuesi 林雪思, ‘Wenxin diaolong jiaoquan Wenxin diaolong jiaoquan 蘇文心雕龍解詁 (2 vols; Taipeh: Guoli Bianyiguan, 1982), vol. 2, 2317, 2324.

58 Compare R. Wilhelm, I Ging, 287 and Lynn, Classic of Changes, 60.
An analogous remark can be made concerning the structure of the *Shishuo xinyu*, the total number of chapters of which plays a subtle but pertinent role. Thirty-six is half of seventy-two, the famous number explained by among others Wang Su 王肅 (195–256) as the number of days which fall on each of the Five Agents (*wu xing* 五行) in a year of 360 days.\(^{59}\)

Similarly, the number of entries or paragraphs in each of the three sections in the *Shipin* has been subject to speculation.\(^{60}\) Due to alterations in the textual arrangement, we find divergent numbers of entries in different redactions of the *Shipin*. Even so, we may divide the *shangpin* 上品 (upper grade) into twelve, the *zhongpin* 中品 (middle grade) into thirty-nine, and the *xiapin* 下品 (lower grade) into seventy-two entries.\(^{61}\) Another such case can probably be argued for the fact that Zhong Hong only integrated thirty-six out of the over 120 poets discussed in the *Shipin* into his scheme of derivation from either the *Shijing* 詩經 (*Book of Songs*) or the *Chuci* 楚辭 (*Songs of Chu*). Although it seems that only the number of entries in the *shangpin* (i.e. 12), the *xiapin* (i.e. 72) category, and the number of poets for which the origin from one of the main fountainheads of poetry is stated (i.e. 36), can convincingly relate to speculative numerology, the deeper meaning of these numbers as formative structural elements of the *Shipin* remains open to speculation and further discussion.

Zhong Hong's attempt to trace poets' idiosyncrasies in style and character as well as their preferred subject-matter back to a two-fold origin of (pentasyllabic) *shi*-poetry, can be linked to one of the basic concepts developed by Wang Bi. In his commentary to the *Laozi*, Wang Bi had formulated the principle of 'using one to unite many' (*yi gua tong zhong* 以寡統衆).\(^{62}\) This concept figures prominently in his *Zhouyi lieli* 周易略例 (Outline of the Changes of Zhou), including the negation of its inversion (*per privantiam contrarii*): 'the many cannot govern the many' (*zhong bu meng zhong* 衆不能治衆).\(^{63}\) Whereas these points of reference are primarily perceived in the context of rulership and political philosophy, Wang's notes on the passages 'I wish [to do] with no speech' (*ju yu wen yu yan* 子欲無言) and on 'my way is linked together by [the] One' (*wu dao yi guan zhi* 吾道－以貫之) in his *Lunyu shiyi* 論語譯釋 (*Explications on doubtful [points in He Yan's collected explanations] on the Lunyu*) address a significantly disparate philosophical level.\(^{64}\) The
quintessence, verbalized here as ‘to pick (lit.: lift) the root and unite the end(s)’ (ju ben tong mo 舉本 統末) and as ‘to hold the One [firmly] and unite the many’ (zhi yi tong zhong 執一 統衆), is to conceive diversity by recognizing the one principle which is beyond the multiplicity of its manifestations. In his exposition to the Zhouyi, Wang Bi wrote:

Therefore, the reason for all the many to manage to coexist, is the master which necessarily leads to the One. The reason for all activities to manage to operate, is the source [of which] necessarily do not exist two. No thing behaves haphazardly; [they] necessarily follow their [own] principle. To unite them, there is a [common] progenitor; to bring them together, there is a [common] beginning. Therefore there is complexity but no chaos, multitude but no confusion.65

We can thus identify Wang Bi’s remark on the judgements (tuan 軛) as the conceptual kernel of a principle on which Zhong Hong’s approach towards constructing lines of poetic lineage is built. Wang Bi continued as follows:

This is why [if one] starts from what unites [all] and searches for it [i.e. the one which is behind], even though things are multitudinous, [one] then knows that it is possible to grasp the one which guides it. [If one] commences from its root in order to observe it, even though the concepts are very wide, [one] then knows that it is possible to cover [the many] with one single name.66

This philosophical basis for the systematization of an otherwise presumably confusing complexity was developed from the concept of ‘All-under-heaven [ultimately] reverts to the same, though [through] different paths’ (tianxia tong gui er shu tu 天下同歸而殊塗) first formulated in the ‘Xici’ commentary to the Zhouyi.67 It features not only in Wang Bi’s writings on the Zhouyi but also in his commentary on the Laozi where we read:

Matters have a [common] progenitor and [the multitudinous] things have a [common] master. Although the paths differ, they revert to the same.68

In addition, this dictum is reflected and echoed in a number of philosophical writings roughly contemporary to Wang Bi, such as in the Lunyu jijie (Collected explanations on the Lunyu) compiled by Wang Bi’s mentor He Yan 何晏 (190–249) and others.69

It thus follows that Zhong Hong applied a philosophical concept which originated from a commentary to the Zhouyi closely associated with Confucius by tradition, and which was expanded by Wang Bi, to his ‘poetics’ in order

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67 Zhouyi zhengyi, 169 [Xici. Xia; 8: 9b]. For other translations see R. Wilhelm, I Ging, 311f. and Lynn, Classic of Changes, 81.
69 See e.g. the passage ‘different paths but revert to the same end’ (殊塗而同歸) in his gloss on Lunyu 2.16 in Lunyu jijie, 7.
to gain a view beyond the diversity of poetic expression and creativity.\(^\text{70}\) In essence, he followed the principle of ‘the One is the progenitor of the many’ (gua zhe, zhong zhi zong ye 寡者，衆之所宗也). After ‘commencing from the roots’, he ‘observed’ the development (you ben yi guan zhi 由本以觀之) and ‘pushed’ (tui 推) a poet’s style back to its ‘source’ (yuan 源), traced his stylistic ‘ancestor’ (zu 祖), and identified his ‘model’ (xianzhang 業彰).\(^\text{71}\) What Wang Bi described from an all-embracing viewpoint, was epitomized by Zhong Hong and thus enabled him to create lineages of poetic development (liu 流) which ultimately revert to the two ‘archetypes’ of all penta-syllabic Shi-poetry. In Wang Bi’s language, the Shijing—though subdivided into the line deriving from ‘Guofeng’ 國風 (Airs of the states) and that deriving from Xiaoya 小雅 (Minor elegantiae)—and the Chuci represent the ‘origin/root’ (ben 本) from which diversity is derived. Understanding the origin (zhi qi yuan 知其元) thus becomes a hermeneutic strategy through which diversity is systematized.

To explore the connection between the Zhouyi and the basic structure of the Shipin even further, we shall proceed by suggesting that Zhong Hong’s scheme of poetic derivation reflects the triple meaning of yi 易.\(^\text{72}\) The aspects of ‘easy and simple’ (yijian 易簡), ‘changing’ (bianyi 變易) and ‘not changing’ (bu yi 不易) are integral parts of Zhong Hong’s dynamic scheme of particular poets developing from their ‘source’ to their own styles of composing poems. Thus the formula ‘A originates/derives from B’ (A yuanchu yu 源出於 B) emphasizes what their penta-syllabic shi have in common with the ‘source’. In the light of this vista, the ultimate ‘sources’ or ‘roots’ represent the kind of simplicity which qualifies them as ‘archetypes’. In coherence with the principle of ‘picking one to clarify [all]’ (ju yi yi ming 舉—以明), Shijing and Chuci became the terms through which he attempted to explain, summarize and exemplify the essentials of the intermingled diversity of poetic creation.\(^\text{73}\) Thus, these ‘archetypes’ are seen as what ‘unites the ends’ (tong mo 統末), what ‘unites the many’ (tong zhong 統衆). Moreover, it is highly significant that Zhong Hong’s scheme of poetic lineages focuses on (basic) characteristics, that is to say, on aspects which, in essence, did not change and which are therefore shared by all members of one lineage. In doing so, he certainly did not overlook the more or less eye-catching changes which occurred during the development of such a lineage. In cases where he compared poets and their penta-syllabic oeuvre directly to each other, his evaluative descriptions display a distinct preference for highlighting differences. These comparative comments constitute most valuable remarks on relative merits and demerits, achievements and failures.

Zhong Hong’s perception of the allegorical technique xing 興 (lit.: ‘to stimulate’, ‘to evoke’) is perhaps one of the best known examples showing the


\(^{71}\) On the term xianzhang see Liji zhushu 還記注疏, 899 [Zhongyang; 53: 12b]. For a short discussion of the three derivative models see Führer, Chinas erste Poetik, 50–53.

\(^{72}\) See Kong Yingda’s 孔穎達 (574–648) quotes from Yiwei qian zuo du 易微乾坤度 and from Zheng Xuan’s Yizan Yihan 易贊易讜 (see Zhouyi Zheng zhu 周易鄭注; CSJC) in ‘Lun yi yi san ming’ 論易之三名 in Zhouyi zhengyi, 3 [Xu; 3a–4b].

\(^{73}\) This is why when the six lines of a hexagram intermingle, one can pick out one of them and use it to clarify what is happening, and as the hard ones and the soft ones supersede one another, one can establish which one is the master and use it to determine how all are ordered’ (故六爻相錯，可舉一以明也。「剛柔相承，可以立主以定也」); Lou, Wang Bi ji jiaoshi, vol. 2, 591. Translation from Lynn, Classic of Changes, 25.
significance of the Zhouyi for his conceptions.\textsuperscript{74} In other cases, the Shipin bears testimony to a more amalgamating approach. I shall restrict myself to one example. As gauged from his praise of Cao Zhi’s 慕(192?–232?) poems and other paragraphs in the shangpin section, Zhong Hong’s ideal of pentasyllabic shi-poetry is intrinsically grounded on dicta which derive from two philosophical strata, though the ru tradition plays a dominant function.\textsuperscript{75} Clauses like

Their meaning is far-reaching, their wording is elegant. Their language twists and turns but hits the mark\textsuperscript{76} from the Zhouyi, namely from the ‘Xici’ commentary, and famous maxims from the Lunyu such as

\begin{quote}
...[only when] refinement (style) and substance are properly balanced, then [we] have an accomplished person
\end{quote}

constitute the conceptual lifeblood and the fundamental pedigree on which his ideal is developed and built. Granting that both texts are part of the ru tradition, we need to keep in mind that with Wang Bi’s reading, the Zhouyi was considered an eminent part of the xuan tradition too, a development which was, as mentioned above, institutionalized by establishing two chairs for studies on the Zhouyi.\textsuperscript{77}

In order to elucidate the paradigmatic function of the Lunyu for Zhong Hong’s poetic ideal, we may combine sequences from Lunyu 6.18, and the metaphors used by Liu Xie with relevant passages from the Shipin. We thus identify Liu Zhen 劉楨 (d. 217) as a wild or crude (ye 野) ‘eagle’: substance prevailed over refinement.\textsuperscript{79} Wang Can 王粲 (177–217) would be described as a pedantic (shi 史) ‘pheasant’: refinement prevailed over substance.\textsuperscript{80} And only

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{74} Compare the passage ‘The writing has already come to an end and the ideas (meaning/content) linger on’ (文已盡而意有餘) in Shipin, 01001.33–34 with passages like ‘words do not express ideas exhaustively’ (言不盡意) and ‘the sage establishes images in order to express [their] ideas exhaustively’ (聖人立象以盡意) in Zhouyi zhu, p. 53 [Xi c. Shang]; Lou, Wang Bi ji jiaoshi, vol. 2, 554. Note that Wang Bi used the concept of ‘catching the idea and forgetting the words’ (得意而忘言) from chapter ‘Waiwu外物’, one of the heterogeneous parts of Zhuangzi see Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 Zhuangzi jishi 莊子集釋 (ZZJC, vol. 3, 407) in his Zhouyi lüeli, 70f. [Ming xiang] stating: ‘To express ideas exhaustively, there is nothing like images; to express images exhaustively, there is nothing like words’ (盡意莫若象，盡象莫若言) and ‘Words are the means to clarify images; once one catches the image, [he] forgets the words. Images are the means to hold ideas; once one holds the idea, [he] forgets the image’ (言者，所以明象，得象而忘言；象者，所以存意，得意而忘象); Lou, Wang Bi ji jiaoshi, vol. 2, 609. Cf. Bergeron, Wang Pi, 165f and Lynn, Classic of Changes, 31.

\textsuperscript{75} On this and the following paragraph see Führer, Chinas erste Poetik, 122f. For another approach towards Zhong Hong’s ideal poetry see Cha Chun Whan, ‘On enquiries of ideal poetry. An instance of Chung Hung’, in Tamkang Review, 6.2/7.1 (1975/1976), 43–54.

\textsuperscript{77} Zhouyi zhu, 57 [Xi c. Xiang]: 其旨遠，其辭文，其言曲而中。Lou, Wang Bi ji jiaoshi, vol. 2, 565. Translation adapted from Lynn, Classic of Changes, 87.

\textsuperscript{78} N.B.: The distinction between different philosophical traditions and strata (vulg: schools) is primarily useful as a scholastic attempt to systematize. Especially for periods characterized by syncretistic thinking, it tends to beguile the observer into foregone conclusions and oversimplifications. As a matter of fact, one should—especially in this case—probably never be too confident about suggesting any such clear-cut line.

\textsuperscript{79} See the passages ‘If wind and bone lack colour, eagles group together in the forest of literature’ (若風骨之衰，則鵰集翰林) in Fan, Wenxin diaolong zhu, 6.14a and ‘When substance prevails over style, it is crude’ (質勝文則野) in Lunyu zhushu, 54 [6: 7a]. On Liu Zhen and his pentasyllabic oeuvre see Shipin, 01004.25–28 and Führer, Chinas erste Poetik, 243–4 [4.1.5].

\textsuperscript{80} See the passages ‘If colour lacks wind and bone, pheasants jump around in the garden of letters’ (采乏風骨，則鳳躍文園) in Fan, Wenxin diaolong zhu, 6.14a and ‘When style prevails over substance, it is pedantic’ (文勝質則史) in Lunyu zhushu, 54 [6: 7a]. On Wang Can and his pentasyllabic oeuvre see Shipin, 01004.29–31 and Führer, Chinas erste Poetik, 247–250 [4.1.6].
Cao Zhi's poems exhibit the ultimate harmonic equilibrium (binbin 彬彬). His pentasyllabic oeuvre thus stands for the embodiment of perfect poetry. In other terms, Zhong Hong considered Cao Zhi the only poet who represented the personification of the ultimate (cultural) achievement, a realm described as 'singing phoenix' (ming feng 喧鳯) by Liu Xie, and as 'accomplished person' (junzi 君子) in the Lunyu.81

In the light of Zhong Hong's intellectual biography, it is certainly no surprise that we can pinpoint a number of passages—mainly in crucial sequences of the Shipin—which allude to the Zhouyi. One example may suffice. Leaving aside that many 'joyful banquets' (jiahui 嘉會) were actually caused by one person leaving, and thus associated with the pain of separation, Zhong Hong stylistically juxtaposed jiahui with 'leaving one's friends' (liqun 離群; lit.: 'leaving the group/ herd/flock'), as well as expressing affection (qin 親) through the medium of the shi.82 Notwithstanding that we observe significant semantic shifts, the tension between jia (zhì) hui 嘉(之)會 and liqun as reflected in this rhetorical device is anticipated in the 'Wenyan' 文言 (On words and phrases) commentary to hexagram Qian 乾 (Pure Yang / Heaven).83 In the Zhouyi, jia (zhì) hui is understood as 'assemblage of excellencies' or 'coincidence of beauty', but Zheng Xuan's explanation of the term qun 群 (group) as 'fellows and friends' (tongmen pengyou 同門朋友) opened the way for transferring the terms jiahui and liqun onto the topic of poetic creativity.84 With qun being perceived as a group within which genuine emotions are communicated, Zhong Hong's list of stimuli of poetic creativity finds its climax in the following shortened quote from the Lunyu:

[pentasyllabics] poems can be used for socialising [and] for expressing resentment/grief.85

As seen from these examples, insights into Zhong Hong's approach should unquestionably not focus solely on the Zhouyi. Therefore, and despite the fact that this may seem trivial, it is necessary to emphasize that the influence of ru scholarship as well as concepts developed in xuanxue 玄學 metaphysics, such as ziran 自然, zhiwei 知味 and so forth, left their distinct mark on the Shipin.

81 See the passages 'Only where elegance [of the language] sparkles and [the content] soars high, we do have a singing phoenix in [the world of] literature' (唯當時而高翔, 原文筆之鳴鳯也) in Fan, Wenxin diaolong zhu, 6:14a and wen zhi binbin ranhou junzi in Lunyu zhushu, 54 [6: 7a]. On Cao Zhi and his pentasyllabic oeuvre see Shipin, 01004.17–24 and Führer, Chinas erste Poetik, 237–42 [4.1.4]. Cf. also Bernhard Führer, 'Apotheosis of poets. Two modi operandi of the reasoned exercise of literary taste', in Tamkang Review, 24/2 (1993), 59–81.


83 See the passages 'Heng is the coincidence of beauty. … the coincidence of beauty is sufficient to accord with propriety' (亨者，嘉之會也……嘉會足以合禮) in Zhouyi zhengyi, 12 [Qian. Wenyan; 1: 10a] and 'Although advance and withdrawal have no constant norm, [one does] not leave his fellows/group (進退無常，非離群也) in Zhouyi zhengyi, 14 [Qian. Wenyan; 1: 14b]. Translations in the notes are adapted from Lynn, Classic of Changes, 130, 136. Cf. James Legge, ed. by Ch’u Chai and Winberg Chai, I Ching. Book of Changes (Repr.: New York: University Books, 1964), 408, 410, and R. Wilhelm, I Ging, 346ff., 352.

84 These two translations are from Legge, I Ching, 408 and Lynn, Classic of Changes, 130. On liqun see Zheng Xuan's and Lu Deming's notes on qun in Liji zhushu, 129 [Tan Gong. Shang; 7: 9a].

85 The sequence shi ... ke yi qun, ke yi yuan 詩 ...可以群，可以怨 from Lunyu 17.8 in Lunyu zhushu, 156 [17: 5b] and its shortened quote shi ke yi qun, ke yi yuan 詩可以群，可以怨 in the Shipin, 01002.10 show different points of reference. Whereas in Lunyu the passage refers to the songs of the Shijing, Zhong Hong’s interest lies in pentasyllabic shi-poems. The statement 'The Songs can be used for socialising [and] for expressing resentment' thus turned into 'Pentasyllabic poems can be used for socialising [and] for expressing resentment.'
The first sentences of his preface (序) to the *Shipin* may serve as a convenient illustration of the variety of textual layers. Zhong Hong’s line of argument turns from the *Liji* (Book of Rites)—perhaps an indication that the *li* (rites) were one of the central concerns of his days—and the ‘Mao Shi xu’ (Preface to Mao’s [redaction of the] Songs) to the cosmic function of poetry which originates from the ‘Shuo gua’ and was further developed by Dong Zhongshu (c. 197–c. 104 B.C.) during the Earlier Han (206 B.C. –25 A.D.). Following a short reference to the *Shangshu*, Zhong Hong’s argument finally returns to the ‘Mao Shi xu’ but silently passes over the social therapeutic effects of *shi* featured there by Han classicists. In addition, a close reading of the first clauses of the preface reveals similarities in wording and thought with passages in the *Zhuangzi*, in a number of literary works of the Han periods, and in Xiao Yi’s *Jinlouzi*. 87

**Technical considerations**

Like any other sophisticated work, the *Shipin* deserves to be read *sub specie temporis* and within its own semantic system. Although at first glance perhaps received only in passing, the biographers’ statement about Zhong Hong’s scholarship on the *Zhouyi* proved an extremely valuable pointer towards a more thorough reading of the *Shipin*. There exists, however, the peril of such a remark leading to a monofocused approach which would consequently invite us to disregard the factual realities of intellectual history as well as the fact that the structure and the concepts exploited in the *Shipin* represent a multifaceted blend of scholarly traditions, philosophical strata and original insights.

On the one hand, attempts to uncover intertextual connections in the *Shipin* need to focus on Zhong Hong’s evaluative comments which, sometimes in a tenuous and occasionally in a more transparent manner, correspond to passages found in poems written by the author discussed. In addition, such efforts need to address the more conceptual level, which is much more problematic to work on since identity in wording does not necessarily indicate identity of thought and concept. 88 Indeed, when clauses or words are transferred from one text into another, semantic consistency is not the rule but merely the exception. In order to make the transmission and adaptation of ideas manifest, most of the referential clauses do, to varying degrees, call for a de-contextualization from their sources and a subsequent re-contextualization in the *Shipin*—or indeed any other work.

Though limited in number, the examples set forth some insights into the way in which philosophical strata and traditions are interwoven in the *Shipin*. The technique of pinpointing intellectual influences sheds light on an intricate textual fabric and its dynamics. Further to that, it also recalled the description of Zhong Hong as ‘thoughtful on the ratio [of matters]’, as a learned, analytical and original student of the reasoned exercise of literary taste.

86 For an in-depth study of a number of important aspects of the ritual code during the Liang dynasty see Andreas Ernst Janousch, *The reform of imperial ritual during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty* (502–549) (unpublished PhD dissertation, Cambridge University, 1998).

87 See *Shipin*, 01001.04–06; for more detailed references see Führer, *Chinas erste Poetik*, 61–70.

88 In principle, this observation also applies to the comparison of the evaluative statements with the poems, though the degree to which this might become topical varies.