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HISTORIAN OF THE ORCHID TERRACE: PARTISAN POLEMICS

IN BAN GU'S *HAN SHU*

By

ANTHONY E. CLARK

A DISSERTATION PROSPECTUS

Presented to the Department of East Asian Languages and literatures
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

June 2003

* Notes in pencil by Prof. Stephen Durrant

- 1) say in one paragraph or on one page, what your topic is -
- 2) put the rest of this in your summary of chapters -

STATEMENT OF TOPIC

Although there is

- 3) then the 'methods & sources' section -
- 4) the bibliography

(Of the) scant scholarship regarding Ban Gu 班固 (32-92), most Western sinologists have valued his work primarily as a "reliable" historical record, and his writings have been honored for their usefulness in analyzing and reconstructing events of the Western Han 西漢 (202 BC – A.D. 9). In short, Ban Gu has been revered by historians because he was a "historian," and his name has become inseparable from his honored predecessor, Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-86), whose works Ban Gu is said to have "admirably carried on."¹ It has also been assumed that Ban Gu's authorship of the *Han shu* (*Records of the Han*) 漢書 was in great part a completion of the previous efforts of his father, Ban Biao 班彪 (3-54).² While the importance of Ban Gu's historical records cannot be overstated, his legacy extends far beyond the scope of his initial "private national" history and his later more exhaustive contribution to historical documentation, the *Han shu*. This dissertation will read Ban Gu's purportedly historical record as an illustration of the intellectual milieu of the early Eastern Han 東漢 (23-220), and as an example of the (literati) use of history as a literary polemic. Thus, this dissertation will be a literary, rather than a historical, reading of the *Han shu*.

Chinese or Western?

transliterated?

define it?

Contained within the *Han shu* are numerous works by Ban Gu that are clearly literary, unmotivated by historical recollection. He is known to have written many *fu* 賦 rhyme-prose, six of which remain preserved in either complete or partial form. His most famous *fu* appears as the first literary work preserved in Xiao Tong's 蕭統 (501-531) anthology of

¹ Wm. Theodore de Barry, Wing-tsit Chan, and Burton Watson, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 236. 274, p. 192-3 in handwritten 1963 ed.
² Ibid.

literature, the *Wen xuan* 文選, under its original title, “Liang du fu (Two Capitals Rhyme-prose)” 兩都賦. His other extant works include a modest number of *shi* 詩 poems, including his “Ming tang shi (Poem on the Bright Hall)” 明堂詩, and “Bao ding shi (Poem on the Precious Tripod)” 寶鼎詩. He composed many *song* 頌 eulogia, such as the “Dong xun song (Hymn of the Western Tour)” 東巡頌, and the “Nan xun song (Hymn of the Southern Tour)” 南巡頌. There is also preserved correspondence between Ban Gu and his brother, Ban Chao 班超 (c. A.D. 1st century), as well as letters to Chen Wentong 陳文通 (c. A.D. 1st century), and Dou Xian 竇憲 (c. A.D. 1st century). Three *ming* 銘 inscriptions, two *lun* 論 disquisitions, one *yi* 議 deliberation, and many other works in essay or lament form written by Ban Gu are preserved in a Ming 明 (1368-1644) dynasty collection of his works compiled by Zhang, the Director of the Imperial Granary 太倉張. This collection is entitled the *Ban lantai ji* (*Collected Works of the Orchid Terrace (Historian) Ban Gu*) 班蘭臺集.

This partial account of Ban Gu's literary oeuvre suggests that there was much more to his intellectual ambitions than merely recording history. The questions explored in this dissertation commence from the assumption that Ban Gu's works should be considered as a whole. I will assume, against contrary assertions, that an author's intentionality can and must be sought across the entire sweep of his works. This study will argue that Ban Gu's *Han shu* implores its reader to discover its author's propositions. Thus, it is important that such distinctions as “literature” and “history” be regarded lightly, for such distinctions were unknown during the Eastern Han, when Ban Gu lived and contributed his intellectual legacy.

is it singular?

as I will show,

this has still to be proven -

While this dissertation will provide a primarily literary study of the *Han shu*, in it I will nonetheless read historiographical work as ^{with} literary work, and putative "literary" genres such as poetry and eulogia as ^{themselves} inseparable from historical record.² To support my suggestion that these two (literature and historical record) were inseparable in the Eastern Han intellectual milieu I will need to demonstrate that the ^{literature} textual production of the classical Chinese court ^{work in} historian, Ban Gu, was infrastructurally ideological and philosophical. Historical record was intentionally subjugated beneath an ambition to provide a written polemic. This suggests that poetry, eulogia, and historical record were written greatly for the same end, as a venue or ideological or intellectual apologetics. Ban Gu's *Han shu* was ^{also} a record of historical events and people, intended to invoke in its readers certain ideals of orthodoxy that he and his family promulgated. This dissertation is, as far as I am aware, the first English study devoted exclusively to the motivations, works, and later impacts of Ban Gu's writings.

The questions explored will respond partially to suppositions expressed by Xu Fuguan 徐復觀 (1903-1982) in his monograph, *Lianghan sixiang shi* (*Intellectual History of the Former and Latter Han*) 兩漢思想史. In this study, Xu argues that it is incorrect to assume that Ban Gu was writing a new type of history, that is, a "dynastic" history as opposed to a "comprehensive" history, as was written by Sima Qian. He contends that owing to the Ban family's privileged relationship with the ruling Liu family, Ban Gu's work was in fact a work intended to praise the virtue and validate the legitimacy of the reign of the Han alone; this is unlike Sima Qian's premise that the Han represented one stage in a larger historical cycle.³

³ Xu states that, "Ban Gu's intention was to valorize the Han and to write a monograph about the Han's governance; he never intended to glorify divided dynasties" 其意在於尊漢，為漢代之統治者著書，絕無標榜斷代之意。 He additionally argued that Sima Qian's, "insistence upon the ideal that 'the kingdom is for all,' and the Ban Family's (Ban Biao and Ban Gu) idea that 'the kingdom is for the Han,' aptly

According to Xu's theory, the scope of the *Han shu* was established not as an effort to "pick up where Sima left off," but rather to validate the Han's Mandate, and thereby legitimate the authority of the Liu family. This suggests that the *Han shu* was not so much written as a record as it was as an argument.

Xu Fuguan's statements regarding a public record (*Shi ji*) as contrasted to a singular family's historical record (*Han shu*), and the notion that Ban Gu's history was written as a subtle polemic, precipitates my first question: is the *Han shu* primarily a historical record intended to preserve the events of the Former Han for posterity or is it a textually constructed partisan polemic that argued for, and helped produce, a new Eastern Han Confucian classicism? The results of this question may tell modern readers something of how history was perceived by Ban Gu and his contemporaries. My study, however, does not propose to challenge the *Han shu's* general historicity, but rather to rethink how Han dynasty historians and dynasts read, constructed, and understood what scholars today refer to as historical record.

The question of history's significance to Ban Gu is underscored once we consider the fact that he never mentions that his father wrote any historical records; we must wait until the *Hou han shu* 後漢書, by Fan Ye 范曄 (398-445), for mention of this.⁴ In fact, Ban

completes a clear comparison between the two" 是抱著「天下為公」的思想，這與班氏夫子「天下為漢」的思想，恰成一顯明的對照。See, Xu Fu Guan, *Lianghan sixiang shi* (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng shuju, 1979), 477. It may be necessary in this portion of my dissertation to explore Sima Qian's relationship with the Liu family in order to contrast him with Ban Gu.

⁴ Fan Ye informs us that "Biao was highly talented and fond of transmission through writing. Accordingly he focused his mind in the areas of historical texts. During the time of Wudi, Sima Qian authored the *Historical Records*. From after the Great Beginning [of Wudi's reign] there were omissions and things left unrecorded. Later, those who were fond of affairs all collected [the records of] events; many of these were vulgar and insufficient to continue in the footsteps of Sima. Biao then collected the histories of former affairs, and on the side connected together other accounts that he had heard of. He authored his *Later Biographies* in several tens of chapters. In this way he considered former histories in order to criticize and rectify their success and

Gu, in the autobiographical portion of his postface 敘傳 to the *Han shu*, states that his own motivation for writing the text was to, “summarize the actions and affairs [of the Han emperors] . . . penetrate the Five Canonical Texts, and disseminate them above and below. . . .”⁵ Nowhere is merely the “recording” of a general history mentioned as a reason for writing the *Han shu*. Additionally, Ban Gu does not, as did Sima Qian, recall that he was completing the work initiated by his father. Ban Gu, I will argue, wrote the *Han shu* as a valorization of the Liu House and in support of Han-sanctioned textual classicism. Indeed, Ban Gu’s entitling his work, the *Han shu*, or *Record of the Han*, says much about his motivation for writing the text. According to the *Shi tong* 史通, many of his predecessors had been adopting the title, *Shi ji*, or *Historical Records*, after Sima Qian’s title, to append to their own works on history; Ban Gu did not follow their precedent in order to focus his own efforts exclusively on his Han centered polemic.

Another question I will consider regards the literary strategies employed by Ban Gu for the construction of his polemic, a polemic that is subtly woven throughout the *Han shu*. This analysis of literary strategies, while directed at the *Han shu* as a whole, will by necessity focus on certain portions of the text. Selected passages will include the text’s final chapter (divided into two parts), where Ban Gu’s personal presentation of his family’s history and an outline of his motivations for authoring the *Han shu* are located. This study will also be directed toward Ban Gu’s editorial efforts as shown in such chapters as the “Yi wen zhi

subtly
polemic?

failures” 彪既才高而好述作，遂專心史籍之間，武帝時，司馬遷著史記，自太初以後，闕而不錄，後好事者頗或綴集時事，然多鄙俗，不足以踵繼其書。彪乃繼採前史遺事，傍貫異聞，作後傳數十篇，因斟酌前史而譏正得失。 See Fan Ye, *Xinjiao ben Hou han shu bingju bian* (Taipei: Dingwen Shuju, 1999), 1324.

⁵ See Ban Gu, *Xinjiao ben Han shu bingju bian* (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1997), 4235.

(Essay on Classical Literature)” 藝文志 and the biography of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (circa 195-105).

The *Han shu*, I will argue, was largely an editorial undertaking. According to the biography of Ban Biao located in the *Hou han shu* (Chapter 40a, b), Biao was dissatisfied with the limited records of the Han House in the *Shiji*, and additionally felt that extant historical documentation written after Sima Qian was “vulgar/common” 鄙俗 and “insufficient to follow in Sima’s footsteps” 不足以踵繼其書.⁶ Accordingly, Biao is said to have used what he had collected of old texts regarding former histories, and what he had heard, in order to write the *Later Biographies* 後傳 in several tens of chapters.⁷ Two points from this account are significant. First, it is reasonable to assume that Ban Gu would have drawn from the historiographical works of his father in order to write his own text. Second, the question arises, why did Ban Gu never mention his father’s authorship of what Fan Ye has called the *Later Biographies*? This is a problem worth consideration in light of the fact that in the “*Yi wen zhi*,” for example, Ban Gu clearly admits to having relied upon the extant bibliographical essays compiled by Liu Xin 劉歆 (1st century B.C. and A.D.) under the direction of emperor Aidi.⁸ The issues surrounding Ban Gu’s editorial efforts, and their literary merits, will, it is hoped, answer questions not only about source materials, but also about his use of biography and bibliography as a tool for polemic. That is, I intend to demonstrate that Ban Gu employed biography as hagiography (“Biography of Dong *paradoxic*”).

⁶ Cf. *supra*, n. 4.

⁷ The question remains whether the *Later Biographies* of Ban Biao is a text or not. I have italicized it as if it were a text; this represents my own conjecture.

⁸ HS, 1701.

Zhongshu”) and essay as partisan exegesis (“Yi wen zhi” and “Essay on the Kingly Mandate”).⁹

It was by utilizing such works as those already contained within the *Shi ji*, his father’s biographies (I am convinced that his father did indeed produce biographies), writings by others such as Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 B.C. – A.D. 18) and Liu Xin, and presumably those texts available to him at the imperial archive when he held the post of court historian, that Ban Gu compiled, edited, and wrote the *Han shu*. If one considers the stages of the *Han shu*’s completion, insertions from the *Shi ji*, the use of materials written after the *Shi ji*, and the subsequent amendments made by Gu’s younger sister, Ban Zhao 班昭 (c. A.D. 1st century) and her contemporary, Ma Xu 馬續 (c. A.D. 1st century), one wonders how the text can justifiably be attributed to Ban Gu at all. The issue of authorship precipitates the next question in my dissertation; how can a largely editorial work, by nature of its structural contrivance, be a unified literary ^{work} polemic? To answer this question will entail a detailed ^{done} consideration of the text’s editorial layers, and Ban Gu’s motivations for, and substance of, a polemic.

The biography of Dong Zhongshu is ^a one valuable source of scrutiny for facing the issue of how Ban Gu’s work bears the mark of ideological and polemical efforts, despite the *Han shu*’s editorial composition. This is a chapter that seemingly bears little opportunity for polemic, as it is comprised of three memorials presented to Han Wudi 漢武帝 (157-87), all couched within two biographical discussions of Dong’s life retold almost verbatim from the

⁹ My use of the term “hagiography” is for lack of a better term. Although Ban Gu’s biographical writings do not regard “saints” in the Judeo-Christian sense, some do, I argue, create laudatory records intended to highlight paragons of the intellectual views he is attempting to promote in the *Han shu*. However, I may use another term to avoid misunderstanding.

earlier work of Sima Qian. The chapter's final "Comment of the Historian [Ban Gu]" 贊曰 even consists mostly of quotations by Liu Xiang 劉向 (80-9 B.C.) and Liu Xin. Regardless of the biography's "editorial" construction, by careful analysis of the chapter's selections, content, and subtle alterations, it can be established that Ban Gu deliberately structured the biography as a hagiography of one he viewed to be a paragon of his own ideals.

Within Ban Gu's own outline of why he wrote the *Han shu*, he informs us that he wrote it to "summarize the actions and affairs [of the Han emperors,] . . . penetrate the Five Canonical texts, and disseminate them above and below . . ." by "selecting from what is in former records and from what I have heard to write the *Han shu*." By contrasting this statement with the content of Dong's biography, and Ban Gu's conclusions in his final commentary, it is evident that the chapter is much more an example of the orthodox Confucianism Ban is trying to propagate than a "biography" of a "historical" personage.¹⁰

While my final arguments await further research to provide conclusive results, I intend to argue the following: Ban Gu's *Han shu* was not written merely to preserve historical record for posterity, but rather was constructed as a cohesive and deliberate polemic, intended to valorize and confirm the Liu family's Mandate, as well as textually establish a new and syncretic Confucian classicism.¹¹ I will additionally argue that the *Han*

¹⁰ HS, 4235.

¹¹ This contention, while not entirely unlike Western conceptions of history, does stray somewhat from normative Western definitions of history. For example, the opening line of *The Histories*, by Herodotus, is often cited by historians in the Western tradition as a common incentive for recording history. In this history, Herodotus remarks, "Herodotus of Halicarnassus, his *Researches* are here set down to preserve the memory of the past by putting on record the astonishing achievements both of our own and of other peoples; most particularly, to show how they came into conflict." See Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Selincourt (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), 41. Ban Gu's motivations are much too enmeshed with the construction of classicism to assign to his works such a simple motivation as that of Herodotus. Additionally, Ban Gu's classical Chinese historical record cannot be compared to early Roman histories that were a properly "pragmatic history which had a political and military focus, [that] tried to demonstrate causes, and concerned

shu, while largely an editorial work, was structured (via such editorial selection) to sustain his partisan view. It is not, as has been presumed, merely an effort to establish a new form of historical writing aimed at the recording of the events and people of a single dynasty. The *Han shu* was not a "dynastic" history intended to continue the historical record where Sima Qian left off. If it were, then there would have been no need to repeat the Han historical records already written by Sima. Rather, Ban Gu desired to write a conclusive history of the Eastern Han with no other consideration of China's previous history beyond its construction of, and relevance to, intellectual orthodoxy. Within my argument will be an assertion that the historian's role, in Ban Gu's view, was less to judge as to convince.

Western
judges do both

In this study I will seek to locate and outline an intellectual (interlinear/subtextual) polemic. The results of my dissertation may provide an exegetical approach to reading Ban Gu's *Han shu*, and a more thorough study of a heretofore inadequately considered scholar and writer.¹² My ambition is to provide an alternative approach to reading the *Han shu*, and consider how Ban Gu employed textual production to amalgamate previous forms of thought and construct a new Confucian classicism, one that validates the permanent Mandate of the ruling family of his era.

no longer literary?

itself with the state and its welfare." See Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 50. Ban Gu's project did not concern itself too much about such causalities, even though his work followed in the wake of the Wang Mang 王莽 (33 BC - A.D. 23) usurpation that saw the Liu family's loss of imperial power.

¹² In my approach to reading the *Han shu* as an amalgamation of history and literature, and attempt to locate and extract emphatic points of narrative in which can be found Ban Gu's polemic, I continue to be influenced by Hayden White's, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), especially the chapter, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact," pp. 81-100.

what about focus on this line mandate?

(METHODS AND) SOURCES

The completion of this dissertation will require various methodological approaches. First, a few sources must still be gathered. After the remaining requisite sources have been acquired, I will continue to compare various classical approaches to reading history, especially those of the Han. I will construct a theoretical outline of how history was written and read; this will require a consideration of such early texts as the *Shang shu* (*Book of History*) 尚書, *Chunqiu sanzhuān* (*Three Commentaries on the Spring and Autumn Annals*) 春秋三傳, *Zhushu jinian* (*The Bamboo Annals*) 竹書紀年, and the *Shi ji* (*Historical Records*) 史記, in order to understand the intellectual evolution of historiography that preceded Ban Gu. Xu Fuguan's study of the term, *shi* 史, offers considerable insight into the origin and evolution of Chinese historiography.

This preparatory stage of reading will necessitate some reconsideration of the fashioning of the "canonical" tradition that became so important during Ban Gu's time. Indeed, the deliberations at the Baihu Tang (White Tiger Hall) 白虎堂 in A.D. 79 attest to the importance of defining and constructing classicism during the first century of the Eastern Han. This all suggests that the earliest section of my dissertation will be a careful scrutiny of materials and the formulation of an outline of how history and classicism were conceived at the time Ban Gu authored the *Han shu*. For this I will rely upon Xu Fuguan's useful chapter in his study of Han intellectual history, the "Yuan shi (Origin of 'History')" 原史.

keep/make your reliance on Xu proportionate -

x p. 14?

ft note?

abrupt juxtaposition of primary + secondary sources.

The next stage will be to establish that the *Han shu*, like other early historical and literary writings, was less intended to document than to deliberate, to form a standard of orthodoxy that transcends (or rather, explicates) ^{while it} annalistic data. This stage will proceed with a close reading of portions of the *Han shu* that most likely bear the imprint of Ban Gu's own hand. Such portions include his postface, introductory remarks within his treatises and charts, and commentaries/judgments located at the end of biographies.¹³ This is not to say that it will prove unrewarding to analyze portions of the *Han shu* outside of what Ban Gu has himself clearly written, wherein hints of his intentionality may be discovered. For example, the "Yi Wen Zhi" chapter, already mentioned, appears to prioritize the Confucian faction as it both categorizes their works first and affords them more space than is given to other ideologies.¹⁴ Such chapters represent how Ban Gu acted as an editorial apologist. I will additionally consult some excerpts contained in the *Ban lantai ji* and the *Baihu tang de lun* (*Deliberations on Virtue at White Tiger Hall*) 白虎堂德論, which may provide evidence of Ban Gu's partisan polemic that underpins his records of historical events.

Primary and secondary sources for this dissertation will be (or have been) obtained from four main libraries. They are the University of Oregon East Asian Languages Collection, the collection of Chinese historical texts and studies at National Taiwan University (already procured), the Center for Chinese Studies at the National Central Library, Taipei (already procured), and the Rare Books Archives at the National Central Library,

¹³ Professor Li Weixiong's research on the *Han shu* will be helpful to my investigation of Ban Gu's personal comments. Li has demonstrated that rarely does Ban Gu comment upon a person or topic that he does not invoke the words of Confucius.¹⁵ Li's monograph is called the *Han shu daodu* (*Exegesis of the Han shu*) 漢書導讀. Additionally, it should be noted here that many of the "Historian's Comments" are certainly from Gu's father's hand, rather than his own. I will attempt to prove this in my dissertation.

¹⁴ For a discussion of this prioritization of the Ru, see Benjamin E. Wallacker, "Han Confucianism and Confucius in Han," in *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization*, ed. David T. Roy and Tsuen-Hsuei Tsien (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1982), 215-228.

rather minimal

the editing or choice of docs. should be revealing itself -

this would be of great interest as Ban's views of Gu's were most likely the same -

Taipei (already procured). Additional recourse to consultations and textual sources may be sought at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei.

Numerous studies exist that I have yet to examine, mostly journal articles and relevant chapters within monographs. I will consult the Western works of scholars such as Michael Loewe, Anne Cheng, Sarah Queen, Mark Edward Lewis, Angus Graham, Benjamin Schwartz, Edward Shaughnessy, Michael Nylan, A. F. P. Hulsewé, Stephen W. Durrant, R. P. Peerenboom, David Knechtges, Jack Dull, and Lo Tchen-ying's French study of the *Han shu*. There are additional on-line sources presented by such respectable institutions as Academia Sinica and the National Central Library in Taipei; I will continue to reference these.

I anticipate completing a draft of my dissertation in time to defend by spring term, 2004. This schedule suggests that my doctoral requirements, such as prospectus defense and comprehensive exams, could best be completed during the 2002-2003 academic year. The bulk of my research and writing will occur in residence at the University of Oregon. Excursions to other repositories, such as Berkeley's, may be necessary for finishing my work while at the University of Oregon. I also plan to visit the collection at the Ricci Institute in Peking during the summer of 2003, to determine if there are any relevant sources there.

I am recognizing this expectation. Without completely abandoning this deadline, I am recognizing the risk of extending my expected term of defense to June 2004.

LOGISTICS AND TIMELINE

Regarding direction during the research and writing stages of my dissertation, I will most frequently rely upon the assistance of my advisor, Professor Stephen Durrant. My work will additionally benefit from the continued advice of faculty in related fields at the University of Oregon and elsewhere. Recourse to such excellent advisors as Professors Michael Fishlen (medieval Chinese literature), Maram Epstein (Ming/Qing literature), Wendy Larson (modern Chinese literature), Ina Asim (pre-modern Chinese history) and Yu Shiyi, who has already been of great help in reading some knotty passages in the *Han shu*, will improve my work. As for literary scholars in China and Taiwan, Professors Che Rushun 車如舜 (Zhou-Han) of Beijing, Xing Yitian 刑義田 (Han) of Taipei, and Wu Weiqing 吳衛清 (Zhou-Han) of Taipei have all offered to advise me regarding my dissertation research, especially in locating sources and clarifying ambiguous portions of Chinese monographs. I have maintained correspondence with these overseas scholars.

I anticipate completing a draft of my dissertation in time to defend by spring term, 2004.¹⁵ This schedule suggests that my doctoral requirements, such as prospectus defense and comprehensive exams, would best be completed during the 2002-2003 academic year. The bulk of my research and writing will occur in residence at the University of Oregon. Excursions to other repositories, such as Berkeley's, may be necessary for finishing my work while at the University of Oregon. I also plan to visit the collection at the Ricci Institute at Paris during the summer of 2003, to determine if there are any relevant sources there.

this could be updated

¹⁵ I am reconsidering this expectation. Without completely abandoning this deadline, I am entertaining the idea of extending my expected time of defense to June 2005.

1, 3, 5, 4, 2, 6, 7?
some other order?
the logic here is not
compelling, or always
evident -

OUTLINE OF INDIVIDUAL CHAPTERS

Tentatively, my dissertation will consist of seven chapters and two appendices (possibly three). Substantial portions of the middle chapters will include analyses of Ban Gu's historical context, personal life, the content and reliability of his works, and a careful scrutiny of his editorial efforts. Consideration of his editorial works will focus mostly upon the biography of Dong Zhongshu (Chapter 56), and the "Yi wen zhi" (Chapter 30). Since this dissertation will be, perhaps, the first in-depth study in English on Ban Gu and his *Han shu*, I intend to be less theoretical than expository. Below is an outline of each chapter of the dissertation as I have conceived it, which I hope will reveal the general pattern of my argument. I realize that the following chapter outlines remain a bit loosely structured. However, they will become ^(tightened) more refined as my research continues.

x p. 10?

CHAPTER 1

Pre-Han Historiography: Precedents for a Historiographical Classicism

The ^{focus of} (strand of analysis that will run through) this chapter will be the question, how did ^{2) and} the texts we now consider historical influence the works of Ban Gu, and how were they perceived in his era? This chapter will begin with a brief discussion of early conceptions of Heaven's Mandate 天命 as outlined in the *Shang shu* 尚書, and progress to a short consideration of the *Chun qiu* 春秋 as an annalistic record. Here, I hope to provide evidence that history was enmeshed both with the project of political legitimization as well as political commentary. Following this I will consider the exegetical strategies attached to the *Chun qiu*, the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, *Gu liang zhuan* 穀梁傳, and the *Gong yang zhuan* 公羊

and that of these could be the same thing -

To be distinguished from narrative strategies, or should the Chun qiu not be on this list? 'records' & 傳 should be distinguished.

傳.¹⁶ This portion of my dissertation will be relevant to a possible consideration of how Ban Gu's biography of Confucian scholars, "Rulin liezhuan" 儒林列傳, and his essay on classical texts, "Yi wen zhi" 藝文志, were employed, under the influence of historiographical practices, to construct a unified and classical tradition that handled historical record. Early historiography, as I shall suggest, was a mixture of historical record, political theory, and the construction of classicism.

Part of my discussion may consider the emergence of an authorial voice in historical texts. If my inclinations remain unchanged after more research, I will argue that the role of the author, previously perceived as judge, transformed into one of polemicist by the Eastern Han. While all history can be said to be somewhat apologetic, for Ban Gu, it is the primary function of his record.

Ban Biao's essay, predicated upon earlier intellectual precedents, the "Wang ming lun" 王命論, highly influenced the way his son, Ban Gu, perceived Mandate theory. Biao's theory was motivated by two factors: first, his essay was influenced by the *Shang shu*, and second, the Ban family had a privileged relationship with the ruling Liu family because of Ban Jieyun's 班婕妤 (c. 1st century B.C.) position as one of Chengdi's 成帝 (51-7) favored consorts. Jieyun marshaled considerable security for her family via her sway over the emperor. This chapter will conclude with the argument that the "Yi wen zhi" represents

¹⁶ Professor David Schaberg's recent study of the *Zuo Zhuan* and the *Guo Yu* 國語, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography*, will certainly be consulted as I write this chapter. I am most interested in Schaberg's assertion that by reading historical texts of ancient China we discover intellectual and literary signs of the era more than "history." See David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography* (Cambridge: Harvard Asia Center, 2001), pp. 12-13.

Ban Gu's conclusive comments on the nature, usefulness, and sanctioned exegesis of historical texts within the literary corpus of the Confucian school.¹⁷

this might be combined w/ the first three paragraphs of your methods + sources pp 10-11

CHAPTER 2

Ban Gu's Family Reflections: A Study of His Postface

Since a comprehensive English outline of Ban Gu's life and works is still lacking, a significant portion of this chapter (and the next) will present what available sources reveal about his family and personal history, as well as his consequent employment at court under the reigns of Mingdi 明帝 (r. 57-74), Zhangdi 章帝 (r. 75-87), and Hedi 和帝 (r. 88-105). Beyond the merely annalistic venture of this section, I will discuss in detail the Ban family's special relationship with the Liu Family. Additionally, it will be shown that Ban's assertions that all of his predecessors obtained an official post, beginning with his first ancestor, Zi Wen 子文, who was the Prime Minister of Chu 楚 during the Chun Qiu (722-481) era of the Zhou 周 (1045-221), is significant to Ban Gu's self-conceived obligation to valorize the Han dynastic House.

There are two points related to his family biography that will be emphasized in this chapter. First, Ban Gu's account of Zi Wen's birth and officialdom connects his own family to other great Confucian family lines (indeed, in many respects to Confucius himself), in that he recalls that Zi Wen was born and raised in supernatural circumstances.¹⁸ He was born,

not convincing?

¹⁷ By necessity, I will have to argue against the accepted belief that the "Yi wen zhi" represents the work of Liu Xiang and Liu Xin. There is evidence that Ban Gu, while likely relying on the Lius' notes, is in fact the original author of much of this great essay. Yan Shigu, in his commentary on the chapter, also suggest that the essay speaks in the voice of Ban Gu.

¹⁸ This argument remains tentative. *BG's origins?*

rejected by his mother and left in a swamp, suckled by a tigress, and eventually employed into Chu's highest official position. Second, Ban Gu's family biography creates a family history that is symbiotically connected with the state; all of his predecessors are ministers, state scholars, and one is a virtuous imperial consort. This is to say that Ban Gu's family, as he has portrayed its history, has always attained the highest ideals of Confucianism -- education, employment, and family harmony. They are all presented as idealized examples of the classicism he promulgates throughout the *Han shu*.

Ban Gu's uncle, Ban You 班郁, having singularly received duplicate copies of the texts contained in the imperial repositories, provided the Ban family with a unique opportunity to maintain a standard of literary learning beyond other families who were their contemporaries. This chapter will conclude with the suggestion that Ban Gu's personal history, in addition to those objectives just mentioned, aspired primarily to record the activities of the Liu ruling family, to valorize their virtue and establish his own clan's indispensable role in supporting the Han's ruling efficacy. Reading his family's biography is requisite to understanding the motives, theories, and praxis of his polemic.

what about Ban Biao?

CHAPTER 3

Ban Gu's Personal History: Authorship of Text and Self

I remain uncertain regarding how to finally structure this chapter. However, I am inclined to divide Ban Gu's biography into three sections, moving inward from state to person, that is, begin with an account of Ban Gu's political context, move then to his family context, and end with his personal history. In the first part of this discussion, I will consider four historical antecedents that contributed to the intellectual polemic that Ban Gu

constructs around his work. First, before the Wang Mang usurpation, a growing instability caused by consorts and their families who contended for political position resulted in a heightened critical outlook of the consort system in court. Second, emperor Aidi's infatuation with his seventeen year old minion, Dong Xian 董賢, resulted in an increasing mistrust of the Liu family's tenure of Heaven's Mandate. Third, Wang Mang's aunt, the Empress Dowager Wang 王太后, acted as regent after Aidi's death and installed an infant "emperor," thus intensifying the already extant disfavor of consort involvement in the selection of heirs. The fourth antecedent (historical event) that contributed to Ban Gu's political theories was the regency and final usurpation of the throne by Wang Mang, previously a close friend of the Ban family. These events occur just prior to Ban Gu's birth, and are of such significance that they must be included in his biographical account.

The next section will be a brief outline of Ban Gu's family context within the historical situation of his time; this will include a discussion of the interregnum and its ensuing turbulence. Here, I will re-emphasize what has been said in chapter two, that his clan were courtiers and scholars who removed themselves from service during rules without Heaven's Mandate (Qin and Xin). This chapter will conclude with an extensive personal history of Ban Gu himself, using the *Han Ban Mengjian xiansheng gu nianpu* 漢班孟堅先生固年譜 as a chief source. In this account, I will argue that the events outlined in the beginning of this chapter made it necessary for Ban Gu to position himself against the understood causes of political instability and moral degeneracy. Ban Gu's construction of a new classicism was on one hand sincerely interested in social harmony and political stability, and on the other, an effort to place him in the safest political position. All of his efforts of

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x this old?

altruism and political maneuvering, however, ended with his death in prison due to an unfortunate political affiliation. The primary sources for this chapter will be the above *nianpu* and the relevant chapters of the *Han shu* and *Hou han shu*. B.B.?

CHAPTER 4

Ban Gu's Literary Efforts and the Development of the *Han shu*

This chapter will begin with a brief mention of Ban Gu's works that do not focus directly on historical record, such as his *fu*, *shi*, *song*, and so forth. I will be satisfied here to select works, or portions of works, useful to revealing Ban Gu's motives and literary strategies. This initial consideration of Ban Gu's apparently non-historical writing will look primarily at his "Liang du fu (Rhyme-prose on the Two Capitals)" 兩都賦, as it is explicitly a reaction to erudites who, during a period of civil improvements of the Han capital, Luoyang 洛陽, implored the emperor to return to the former capital in the north, Chang'an 長安. This discussion of Ban Gu's "non-historical" writings will serve as an introduction to the following outline of the *Han shu*'s structural points, which will illustrate that Ban Gu's use of Sima Qian's textual structure did not carry with it ideological similarities. That is, Ban Gu's extra-historical writings reveal intellectual currents that act as an apt guide to interpreting the *Han shu*, in terms of both structure and content. west, really

Most important to the progression of my thesis in this chapter will be an analysis of the *Han shu*'s stages of development, and how the writing process of "more than twenty years" that went into the text reveals Ban Gu's persistent and deliberate attempts to

construct a work infused with his classicist polemic.¹⁹ This section of the chapter will react to Xu Fuguan's discussion on the topic of the *Han shu's* development, "*Han shu zhi chengli licheng*" 漢書之成立歷程, located in his monograph on Han thought. In Xu's account of the *Han shu's* development, he argues that the text underwent five distinct stages that are related both to his personal motive to ennoble the classical canon and to the alternating favorable and unfavorable circumstances in his life.

I will outline Xu's assertions and analyze points relevant to my own arguments. For example, it is curious that the *Hou han shu* clearly states that the *Han shu* was completed by Ban Zhao and Ma Xu after Ban Gu died in prison. In contrast, Ban Gu, in his own preface, states that, "I have accordingly investigated and collected former records, and edited that which I have heard, in order to write the *Han shu*. . . In order to record historical chronicles, I have investigated [and written] annals, charts, treatises, and biographies, into one hundred chapters total."²⁰ Here, it is evident that Ban Gu, at the time he wrote his postface, considered his work complete, bearing the title *Han shu* and specifying it as being one hundred chapters in length, the length at which it has remained. Scholars who have worked on the *Shi ji* have encountered similar problems in trying to reconcile the inconsistent accounts of that text's history.

¹⁹ For the assertion that the *Han shu* was written over the course of twenty years, see Fan Ye *Hou han shu* (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1999), 1334.

²⁰ HS, 4235. The Chinese for this passage is, "固以爲唐虞三代，詩書所及，世有典籍，故雖堯舜之盛，必有典謨之篇，然後揚名於後世，冠德於百王，故曰「巍巍乎其有成功，煥乎其有文章也！」漢紹堯運，以建帝業，至於六世，史臣乃追述功德，私作本紀，編於百王之末，廁於秦、項之列。太初以後，闕而不錄，故探纂前記，綴輯所聞，以述漢書，起元高祖，終於孝平王莽之誅，十有二世，二百三十年，綜其行事，旁貫五經，上下洽通，爲春秋考紀、表、志、傳，凡百篇。"

this would be worth translating in full -

In the passage from the *Han shu* postface just quoted, Ban Gu gives his reader no indication that the work was incomplete or required further editing. The *Hou han shu*, however, indicates that the *Han shu* was too abstruse for court scholars to understand, and that Ban Zhao was commissioned to explicate her brother's work. Whether Fan Ye's account that Ban Zhao both edited and completed portions of the *Han shu* is a misprision will perhaps remain unknown. This problem, among many others, will be important to distinguish which portions of the *Han shu* may be rightly attributed to Ban Gu, thus establishing portions of the *Han shu* most likely to represent his ideology.

acall for political writing?

This chapter of the dissertation, then, will be a venue for such concerns as how and why the *Han shu* was formed over its twenty plus years of formation. I will conclude the chapter with the assertion that Ban Gu's poetry, eulogia, and similar writings, cannot be separated from the greater project of his *Han shu*. Ban Gu included his more literary works in the *Han shu* intentionally; the process of more than twenty years of writing was intended to construct a manuscript with the materials of an intellectual polemic arguing for the perpetual leadership of the Liu family.²¹

negotiating
but there are only basically mentioned in the beginning

I'm not sure this chapter holds together...

CHAPTER 5

Classicism, Partisanship, and Ban Gu's Role in Structuring Han Ideology

Chapter 5 will utilize the results of the first three chapters to discuss Ban Gu's work in the environment of the newly established Eastern Han. This chapter will discuss the

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²¹ It is noteworthy that the biographies of Ban Gu and his father in the *Hou han shu* are in great part literary anthologies of both men. That is, Fan Ye's account of Ban Gu and Ban Biao is as much a literary exposition as a biography.

intellectual setting in the wake of the Wang Mang usurpation and consider how the road to a syncretic Confucian state classicism, which took root during the reign of Wudi, culminated into a political ideology that Ban Gu sought to endorse in the *Han shu*. It will be suggested that the *jingwen* dilemma that occurred during the early years of the Eastern Han was central to Ban Gu's polemic that argued for a reformed classicism.

To support my suggestion that Ban Gu was involved in a polemic that sought to construct a reformed Confucian classicism, one that was Liu-family-centered, I may need to delve a bit into the deliberations held at the White Tiger Hall in A.D. 79. Ban Gu was ordered by the emperor to edit and record the discussions, and this placed him in an ideal position to interpret the proceedings and recast them in favor of his own intellectual sensibilities. I will be brief here and direct my attentions more thoroughly to the "Yi wen zhi" chapter of the *Han shu* to extract similar evidence.²²

The "Yi wen zhi" may provide important evidence to strengthen my contention that Ban Gu's bibliographic arrangement serves as a polemic in favor of preserving, maintaining, and producing (editing) state-sanctioned exegetical texts considered "orthodox." I will suggest that Ban Gu strove to validate the Han's Mandate and its continued existence under the aegis of a Confucianized Heaven. Simply stated, Ban Gu's partisanship in favor of the Liu family's tenure of the Mandate of Heaven, and his participation, if not progenitorial role, in the standardization of Eastern Han Confucian classicism, remains an interwoven polemical strand in Ban Gu's construction of a textual history and arrangement.

²² I may not include a discussion of the White Tiger Hall documents, as I am not unreservedly convinced of their relevance to my greater argument.

this not done already?

re-stated

CHAPTER 6

Biography As Hagiography: History As Partisan Polemic

Whereas biographies in the *Han shu*, some of which are derived nearly verbatim from the *Shi ji*, and some of which are certainly of Ban Biao's hand, have been typically described as reliable accounts of the lives they record, I will assert that Ban Gu's principal objective in some of his biographies was apologetic. Dong Zhongshu's biography in the *Han shu*, for instance, functions as a hagiography, purposefully structured to both acclaim the merits of one who was distinguished as a paragon of the ideals of Eastern Han classicism, as well as an apologetic treatise for that classicism. In part, I will pursue this argument by contrasting Ban Gu's motivations for writing the *Han shu* as outlined in his postface with the content and tenor of Dong's biography.²³ Ban Gu's rather disparaging account of Wang Mang's part in history may additionally provide support for my assertions, as it both discredits Wang's claim to the dynastic House, while conceding that he was indeed partisan to the classicism that Ban Gu tries to approbate.²⁴

This chapter also will respond to the assumption of those, such as Xu Fuguan, who contend that the *Shi ji* and the *Han shu* may be distinguished as opposing ideologies. It is asserted by Xu Fuguan that the *Shi ji* promotes the view that "the Kingdom is for all" whereas the *Han shu* promotes the ideal that "the kingdom is for the Han."²⁵ This is an assertion I intend to support. Furthermore, I will suggest that while the *Shi ji* informs its reader that the Han is merely one part of a greater cycle of history, the *Han shu* employs

²³ This argument remains tentative.

²⁴ I may point out here that Wang Mang, as we discover from Ban Gu's biography of his predecessors, was intimately connected with the Ban family, especially intellectually. As I read Ban Gu's presentation of him, Wang Mang was intellectually correct, but erred in action.

²⁵ Xu, 477.

Huanghao
Conf-legalist
are there other sources on this?

biography to dispute this. That is, biography, as structured by Ban Gu, endeavors to sustain the Han's right to rule by including not-so-subtle hints that Heaven singularly endorses the Liu family. Evidence for this argument can be located within such chapters as 99 and 100.

CHAPTER 7

The Conflation of Canonicity and State Control

This final chapter of my dissertation will discuss how Ban Gu's *Han shu* participated in and influenced the Eastern Han intellectual movement toward a conflation of canonicity and state control. I will utilize the results of the arguments outlined in previous chapters to assert that ideas regarding political tenure, by Ban Gu's time, had become enmeshed with the whole of Han thought and textual production. It will be contended that the writing of history was less motivated by the will to record human achievement for posterity than by the need to explain how previous and current events corroborate with the prominent syncretic ideology that had emerged in the Eastern Han. Any text deemed "orthodox" or "canonical" was subsumed under the rubrics of State control, regardless of what scholars today call "genre." The progression of this idea gained momentum as early as the reign of Wudi, but had materialized into an ideal that Ban Gu sought to outline (explicitly and implicitly) in his *Han shu*.

Bibliographic delineation, such as in the "Yi wen zhi" and in the discussions at White Tiger Hall, was an attempt to define which texts acceptably validated the system of thought which maintained the state's Mandate to rule. Canonized texts were esteemed and used by Han intellectuals as a standard for governance; texts agreed to be canon were preserved and

explicated by Confucian erudites, of whom Ban Gu was one. Ban Biao's "Wang ming lun" was included in the *Han shu* as part of Gu's program to facilitate the Han's endurance and homogenize intellectual thought. The conclusion of the dissertation will recapitulate my previous arguments and tie them together in support of my thesis. The final section will describe the lasting impact that Ban Gu's *Han shu* has had upon later historical and literary works, such as the continuation of "dynastic" histories.

APPENDICES

The appendices will consist of my own annotated translations of two (possibly three) chapters of the *Han shu* that will be frequently mentioned and cited within my dissertation. They will include the "Biography of Dong Zhongshu (Chapter 56)," which I have already completed, and the final chapter of the *Han shu* (Chapter 100a, b), which is a biographical record of his ancestors and a discussion of the *Han shu*, respectively. The annotated translation of the final chapter of the *Han shu* is nearly finished. Complete translations of these two chapters have not, as far as I am aware, been completed in English to this date.

My underlying ambition for writing this dissertation is to provide a study of a literary intellect worthy of more thorough mention in the Western Academy. Ban Gu's contributions to the world of scholarship are valuable as both a source of historical data and as an example of intellectual polemic. He was a humanitarian concerned with the peaceful welfare of his homeland and its people. Ban Gu sought to contribute to the intellectual world inasmuch as his contributions could facilitate the security and happiness of the people of the Han. In the *Hou han shu*'s biography of Ban Gu it is said that, "His nature was

not for his
own
benefit?

magnanimous and he accepted all, he did not elevate himself above others on account of his own talents, and all of the Confucians admired him because of this.”²⁶

It is fitting to conclude this prospectus with an example of how Ban Gu carried out his very humane literary mission. As Ban Gu often does, I cite a quote from the *Lun yu* that is included in a highly edited chapter, the “Yi wen zhi,” first compiled by Liu Xiang and Liu Xin, who used sources originally written by scholars under the reign of Han Wudi. This passage included in the *Han shu* is embedded in layer upon layer of citation and editorial stages, distilled into a line from Confucius. Ban Gu, when discussing the *Chun qiu* and *Zuo zhuan* as historical record, conjures Confucius’ thoughts on the matter of its worth with the statement, “When the Zhou House had diminished, and written records were destroyed and lacking, Confucius set his thoughts to the occupations of former sages. He said, ‘The Rites of the Xia I can discuss, but [the records of their descendants] in Qi are insufficient to investigate. The Rites of Yin I can discuss, but [the records of their descendants] in Song are insufficient to investigate. This is because their literary contributions are insufficiently recorded; if they were sufficient I could investigate them indeed!’”²⁷ What Confucius implies here, and Ban Gu endorses, is that the value of written record is reducible to its moral value; it is the usefulness of the Xia and Yin Rites that the Master is concerned with, more than the record itself.

rather, not
merely a
record to
support a
moral judgment

²⁶ Fan Ye, 1330. The original Chinese for this quote is, “性寬和容衆，不以才能高人，諸儒以此慕之。”

²⁷ HS, 1715. Also see *Lun Yu*, 3.9.

PROPOSED DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

In order to comply with the department, and the University of Oregon Graduate School requirements that three committee members are faculty from the department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, and that one be from outside of the department, I propose the following committee:

1. Professor Stephen Durrant, Chair (Zhou-Han literature)
2. Professor Michael Fishlen (3-Dynasties-Yuan literature)
3. Professor Maram Epstein (Ming/Qing literature)
4. Professor Ina Asim (Pre-modern Chinese history)

I have already received immeasurable benefit from the intellectual advice and personal kindness of each of the above professors, and I eagerly anticipate working with them as I continue toward the final stages of my doctoral work. Finally, I express my heartfelt gratitude in advance for their ongoing mentorship, the rigors of which will surely improve both the *zhi* 質 and *wen* 文 of this dissertation.

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Anthology of Chinese Literature. 2 volumes. Edited by Cyril Birch. New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1965.

Ban Gu 班固. *Baihu tong de lun* 白虎通德論. Commentary by Chen Li. Taipei: Guangwen shuju youxian gongsi, 1987.

This text is a facsimile of the Qing, Guang Xu 光緒 (r. 1875-1908) reign edition. While it is unpunctuated and will be cumbersome to use, it nonetheless contains valuable commentary. This text is an original work by Ban Gu, and will provide valuable insight into the formation of Later Han Confucian orthodoxy during his era. I also will rely upon the English translation of the text by Tjan Tjo Som, entitled the *Po Hu T'ung: The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*.

_____. *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from the History of the Former Han*. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974.

This translation of selected biographies in the *Han shu* by Burton Watson contains English renderings of Chapters 54, 63, 65, 67, 68, 71, 74, 78, 92, and excerpts from Chapter 97a, b. The introduction provides little more than a cursory glance at Ban Gu's life and work, however, Watson's comments regarding the literary merits of Gu's biographies are often insightful.

_____. *Han Shu* 漢書. Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1999.

This text will be the most important primary source in my dissertation. The edition I will use, mostly for the convenience of its punctuation, will be the *Zhonghua shuju*, Beijing, publication, reprinted with additional studies by Dingwen shuju, Taipei. Its amended title is *Xinjiaoben Han shu bingfu bian er zhong* 新校本漢書并附編二種, which includes the important commentary by Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645), as well as Yan's preface, the "*Han shu xulie*" 漢書敘列. Although many other editions do exist, I am confident that this edition is both reliable and contains the most important commentaries.

_____. *Han Shu* 漢書 (*Bona ben ershisi shi* 百衲本二十四史). Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yin shuguan gufen youxian gongsi, 1937.

I have acquired, and will refer to, this reprint of the Bona 百衲 unpunctuated edition. This two-volume edition is part of the *Bona ben ershisi shi* 百衲本二十四史 series, reprinted by Taiwan shangwu yin shuguan gufen youxian gongsi 臺灣商務印書館股份有限公司.

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This annotated translation of Ban Gu's biography of Yang Xiong by David R. Knechtges contains copious notes, and I will consult it for information relevant to the textual history of the chapter.

_____. *Han shu bu zhu* 漢書補注. Edited by Wang Xianqian 王先謙. Taipei: Xin wen feng chuban gongsi faxing, 1955.

This two volume collection of supplemental commentaries contains notes by Yan Shigu (already mentioned), Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842-1918), Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728-1804), and others. Since many of the commentators in this volume are from the Qing 清 (1644-1911), I will rely heavily upon this text for modern notes on the *Han shu*. This recension is a reprint of the Qing edition by Xin wen feng chuban gongsi 新文豐出版公司, Taipei. I discovered, while reading through the "Yi wen zhi," that this text is extremely helpful to understanding recalcitrant passages of the *Han shu*.

_____. *History of the Former Han Dynasty, The*. 3 volumes. Translated by Homer H. Dubs. Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938.

This is the most extensive English translation of the *Han shu* to date. It was translated by Homer H. Dubs, and covers the first twelve chapters of the *Han shu* (the twelve basic annals). The three volumes also include copious notes and studies on specific topics (e.g., solar eclipses).

Ban lantai ji 班蘭臺集. Edited by Zhang, the Director of the Imperial Granary 太倉張. Facsimile of original Ming edition in the rare book archives at the National Central Library, Taipei.

I will use this facsimile of the version couched within the Ming 明 (1368-1644) text, the *Han wei liuchao bai san jia* 漢魏六朝百三家. I acquired this text at the Rare Books Archives at the National Central Library, Taipei. This copy of the original Ming edition is a collection of Ban Gu's literary works from all available sources.

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DeBlasi, Anthony. *Reform in the Balance: The Defense of Literary Culture in Mid-Tang China*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.

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This text is a study of the *shelun* 設論, or "hypothetical discourse," genre of early writing. Dominik Declercq's work considers Ban Gu's part in the incipient evolution of this genre. Ban Gu's *shelun* appears within the postface of the *Han shu*.

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Fan Ye 范曄. *Hou han shu* 後漢書. Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1999.

The version I will use is a reprint of the Zhonghua shuju edition by Dingwen shuju. I will mostly be referring to Fan Ye's biographies of Ban Gu and his father, Ban Biao.

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Fung Yu-lan. *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. 2 volumes. Translated by Derk Bodde. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952.

Gardner, Charles S. *Chinese Traditional Historiography*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938.

This text by Charles Gardner has become a standard reference when discussing Chinese historiography. Despite its early publication, 1938, it remains a valuable monograph for information regarding the early growth and textual organization of historical works, such as the *Shi ji* and *Han shu*.

Gernet, Jacques. *A History of Chinese Civilization*. Translated by J. R. Roster. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Goldin, Paul Rakita. *Rituals of the Way: The Philosophy of Xunzi*. Chicago: Open Court, 1999.

Golden Age of Chinese Archeology, The: Celebrated Discoveries from the People's Republic of China. Edited by Yang Xiaoneng. New haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Graham, Angus Charles. *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China*. Chicago: Open Court, 1989.

Hall, David L. and Roger T. Ames. *Anticipating China: Thinking Through the Narratives of Chinese and Western Culture*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995.

Han Ban Mengjian xiansheng gu nianpu 漢班孟堅先生固年譜. Edited by Zheng Hesheng. Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yin shuju gufen youxian gongsi, 1980.

This text, by Zheng Hesheng 鄭鶴聲, is a concise outline of Ban Gu's life, and will be an important supplement to the information I gather from Ban Gu's postface and the biographies of Gu and his father in the *Hou han shu*.

Han Fei Tzu: Basic Writings. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.

Han shu cidian 漢書辭典. Edited by Cang Xiulang. Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe chuban fa xing, 1996.

Han shu lunwen ji 漢書論文集. Edited by Chen Xinxiong and Yu Dacheng. Taibei: Mu duo chubanshe, 1976.

This work is a collection of studies regarding various topics on the *Han shu*, e.g., the "Yi wen zhi" and various commentaries on the text.

Han shu suoyin 漢書索引. Taibei: Datong shuju, 1986.

Harper, Donald. "Warring States Natural Philosophy and Occult Thought," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* Edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series: Index to Po Hu Tung. Taibei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing, 1966.

Hawkes, David. *The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology of Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*. New York: Penguin Books, 1985.

Hegel, Robert G. "Sui T'ang Yen-i and the Aesthetics of the Seventeenth-Century Suchou Elite," in *Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays*. Edited by Andrew H. Plaks. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.

_____. *The Novel in Seventeenth-Century China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.

Hou han shu cidian 後漢書辭典. Edited by Zhang Xunhui. Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994.

Hsiao Kung-chuan. *A History of Chinese Political Thought, Volume 1: From the Beginnings to the Sixth Century A.D.* Translated by Frederick W. Mote. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Hsün Tzu: Basic Writings. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

Huang Qingxuan 黃慶萱. *Shi ji Han shu rulin liezhuan shuzheng* 史記漢書儒林列傳疏證. Taipei: Taiwan shengli shifan daxue guowen yanjiusuo, (no date).

This study of the chapters on Confucian scholars located in the *Shi ji* and the *Han shu*, authored by Huang Qingxuan 黃慶萱 under the direction of Professor Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, begins with a glance at the Confucian canon during its incipience in the Chun Qiu era. It also considers how the Confucian school's major contributors are portrayed in both the *Shi ji* and *Han shu*. This study will be a valuable source for understanding how classicism was conceived and discussed in the *Han shu*.

Huang Zhangjian 黃彰健. *Jing jingwuxue wenti xin lun* 經今古文學問題新論. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1982.

Hulsewé, A. F. P. *China in Central Asia: The Early Stage, 125 B.C.-A.D. 23*. Leiden: Brill, 1979.

This monograph on the history of the region of Central Asia during the Han will be useful to this study as it includes annotated translations of chapters 61 and 96a, b. It additionally provides a helpful list of geographical names in the index.

_____. "Notes on the Historiography of the Han Period," in *Historians of China and Japan*. Edited by W. G. Beasley and Edwin G. Pulleyblank. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.

Jullien, François. *The Propensity of Things: Toward A History of Efficacy*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. New York: Zone Books, 1995.

Kennedy, George. *Selected Works of George Kennedy*. Edited by Tien-yi Li. New Haven: Far Eastern Publications Yale University, 1964.

Knoblock, John. *Xunzi: Translation and Study of the Complete Works*. 3 volumes. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.

Laozi yi zhu 老子譯注. Commentary by Feng Dafu. Taipei: Shulin chuban youxian gongsi, 1995.

Lie Xueqi 雷學淇. *Zhushu jinian yi zheng* 竹書紀年義證. Taipei: Yi wen yin shuguan, 1977.

Leban, Carl. "Managing Heaven's Mandate: Coded Communications in the Accession of Ts'ao P'ei, A.D. 220," in *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization*. Edited by David T. Roy and Tsuen-hsuei Tsien. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978.

Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm. *Discourse on the Natural Theology of the Chinese*. Translated by Henry Rosemont, Jr. and Daniel J. Cook. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1977.

Lewis, Mark Edward. *Writing and Authority in Early China*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

Li Konghuai 李孔懷. *Han shu: ershiwu shi xin bian* 漢書二十五史新編. Hang Kong: Zhonghua shuju youxian gongsi, 1998.

This one volume monograph, edited by Li Konghuai 李孔懷, is an abridged modern Chinese translation and discussion of the *Han shu*. Professor Xing Yitian 邢義田, a researcher at Academia Sinica, advised me that this text is a good source for a modern translation (modern Chinese) of the classical version of the *Han shu*, but contains some hasty conclusions about Ban Gu's motives. I will consult this source mostly to check my own translations of the *Han shu* against.

Li Weixiong 李威熊. *Han shu daodu* 漢書導讀. Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1977.

I acquired this out-of-print text, by Li Weixiong 李威熊, from my classical Chinese professor in Taipei, Wu Weiqing 吳衛清. It is an excellent survey of various opinions regarding the *Han shu* and strategies for reading it.

Liang han shu jinghua 兩漢書精華. Edited by Qin Tongpei. Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1954.

Liu Dehan 劉德漢. *Cong Han shu wuxing zhi kan chunqiu dui xihan zhengjiao de yinxiang* 從漢書五行志看春秋對西漢政教的影響. Taipei: Hua zheng shuju, 1979.

Liu Zhiji 劉知幾. *Shi tong tong shi* 史通通釋. Taipei: Li ren shuju, 1993.

This is a classic study of early historiography by Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661-721), and is perhaps the first work of historical criticism (*shiping* 史平) in China. It has already been useful in my research as a source of textual history and criticism of the *Han shu*. Liu's comments have reinforced certain generalities regarding early Chinese historiography, such as that it was both Confucian and court-centered. These two factors will play an important role in the argument of my dissertation.

Loewe, Michael. *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

_____. *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality*. Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1994, 1979.

Lü Buwei 呂不韋. *Lü shi chunqiu jin zhu jin yi* 呂氏春秋今註今譯. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yin shuguan gufen youxian gongsi, 1985.

Lu, Sheldon Hsiao-peng. *From Historicity to Fictionality: The Chinese Poetics of Narrative*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

Sheldon Lu's study of the history and theory of Chinese narrative includes considerable commentary on historiography. This text also includes some consideration of Ban Gu's discussion of the *xiaoshuo* 小說 (novelistic) genre.

Lun yu yi zhu 論語譯注. Commentary by Yang Bojun. Taipei: Hua zheng shuju youxian gongsi, 1989.

Luo Guanzhong. *Three Kingdoms*. 3 volumes. Translated by Moss Roberts. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1994.

Mair, Victor H. *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu*. New York: Bantam Books, 1994.

McMullen, David. *State and Scholars in T'ang China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Mencius. Translated by D. C. Lau. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1970.

- Mengzi yi zhu* 孟子譯注. Commentary by Yang Bojun. Taipei: Wunan tushu chuban youxian gongsi, 1992.
- Mote, Frederick W. *Intellectual Foundations of China*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971.
- Mozzi jin zhu jin yi* 墨子今注今譯. Commentary by Li Yushu. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yin shu guan faxing, 1974.
- Nienhauser, William H. Jr. 1972. An Interpretation of the Literary and Historical Aspects of the *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* (Miscellanies of the Western Capital). Ph.D. diss., Indiana University.
- _____. "Diction, Dictionaries, and the Translation of Classical Chinese Poetry." *T'oung Pao* 34 (1978): 47-109.
- Norman, Jerry. *Chinese*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Nylan, Michael. "The *Chin wen/ku wen* Controversy in Han Times." *T'oung Pao* 80 (1994): 83-145.
- _____. *The Five "Confucian" Classics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Owen, Stephen. *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*. Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies Harvard University, 1992.
- Peerenboom, Randall P. *Law and Morality in Ancient China: The Silk Manuscripts of Huang-Lao*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993.
- Peterson, Jens Østergård. "Which Books Did the First Emperor of Ch'in Burn? On the Meaning of *Pai Chia* in Early Chinese Sources." *Monumenta Serica* 43 (1995): 1-52.
- Pines, Yuri. "Intellectual Change in the Chunqiu Period: The Reliability of Speeches in the *Zuo zhuàn* as Sources of Chunqiu Intellectual History." *Early China* 22 (1997): 77-132.
- Plaks, Andrew H. *Archetype and Allegory in the Dream of the Red Chamber*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- _____. *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Puett, Michael. *The Ambivalence of Creation: Debates Concerning Innovation and Artifice in Early China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Pulleyblank, Edwin G. *The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-shan*. London: Oxford University Press, 1955.

Qian Dazhao 錢大昭. *Han shu bianyi* 漢書辯疑. Taipei: Hong dao wenhua shu ye youxian gongsi, 1973.

This is a *kaozheng* study of the *Han shu*, that, as can be deduced from the title, studies aspects of the text considered suspect. A cursory glance at the recent reprint of the Qing edition that I have acquired reveals that this text may be a bit difficult to work through. However, a careful reading of pertinent sections may be beneficial to my research.

Qiu Xigui. *Chinese Writing*. Translated by Gilbert L. Mattos and Jerry Norman. Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 2000.

Queen, Sarah A. *From Chronicle to Canon: The Hermeneutics of the Spring and Autumn According to Tung Chung-shu*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Rolston, David L. *Traditional Chinese Fiction and Fiction Commentary: Reading Between the Lines*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Sargent, Clyde Bailey. *Wang Mang: A Translation of the Official Account of His Rise to Power as Given in the History of the Former Han Dynasty*. Westport: Hyperion Press, 1947.

Clyde Bailey Sargent's translation of the *Han shu* biography of Wang Mang, with introduction and notes, is an excellent work and will be a helpful companion as I reconstruct the Wang Mang era that preceded Ban Gu's employment in the Han court. Sargent's translation was a large undertaking, as Wang's biography is the largest and, perhaps, most intricately presented one in the *Han shu*.²⁸

_____. "Subsidized History: Pan Ku and the Historical Records of the Former Han Dynasty." *Far Eastern Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (February, 1944): 119-43.

Schaberg, David. *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001.

_____. "Remonstrance in Eastern Zhou Historiography." *Early China* 22 (1997): 133-79.

Schwartz, Benjamin I. *The World of Thought in Ancient China*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985.

²⁸HS, 4039-4195.

Shang shu 尚書. Commentary by Chu Wanli. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yin shu guan faxing, 1997.

Shankman, Steve and Stephen Durrant. *The Siren and the Sage: Knowledge and Wisdom in Ancient Greece and China*. London: Cassell, 2000.

Shaughnessy, Edward L. *Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.

_____. *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Shijing jin zhu 詩經今注. Commentary by Gao Heng. Taipei: Han jing wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1884.

Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 四庫全書總目提要. Compiled by Yong Rong. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yin shuguan gufen youxian gongsi, 1983.

This abbreviated “index” of the enormous Qing collection of textual analyses will serve to outline the formative stages that the contemporary version of the *Han shu* has undergone. Since my dissertation may touch only briefly upon the *Han shu*'s textual history to this date, only a short survey, such as can be located in this text, may be required.

Sima Qian 司馬遷. *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*. Revised Edition. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.

_____. *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*. Revised Edition. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.

_____. *Records of the Grand Historian: Qin Dynasty*. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

_____. *Shi ji*. 史記. Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1999.

The version I will use is a reprint of the Zhonghua shuju edition by Dingwen shuju.

Shi Zhimian 施之勉. *Han shu bu zhu xin zheng* 漢書補注新證. Kowloon: Xin ya yanjiusuo, 1961.

This difficult-to-acquire monograph by Shi Zhimian 施之勉 is a contemporary study based on the Qing *Han shu bu zhu*. It was published in 1961, and reconsiders the commentaries of the *Han shu bu zhu*, dividing them into the four topical sections of the *Han shu* (“Imperial Annals,” “Charts,” “Treatises,” and “Biographies”).

Song Xiaoyong 宋效永 and Yuan Shiquan 袁世全. *Han shu qi mou* 漢書奇謀. Taipei: Li feng chuban, 1999.

Stange, Hans O. H. *Die Monographie Über Wang Mang*. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1938.

Sullivan, Michael. *The Arts of China*. 3rd Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Sunflower Splendor: Three Thousand Years of Chinese Poetry. Edited by Wu-chi Liu and Irving Yucheng Lo. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975.

Swann, Nancy Lee. *Food and Money in Ancient China: The Earliest Economic History of China to A.D. 25*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950.

This is a study of Ban Gu's treatise on Han numismatics. Swann's translation and study of *Han shu* 24 is a large tome, replete with notes explicating the various passages in the Chapter. This monograph also contains some discussion of *Han shu* 91 and *Shi ji* 129.

_____. *Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies the University of Michigan, 2001 [originally published 1932].

This study, by Nancy Lee Swann, is primarily concerned with Ban Gu's younger sister, Ban Zhao. Swann's work will be useful as it provides information regarding Ban Zhao's involvement in the final recension of the *Han shu*. Additionally, Swann's consideration of the Ban family's genealogical history has been useful to my own reconstruction.

Thomsen, Rudi. *Ambition and Confucianism: A Biography of Wang Mang*. Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1988.

Thomsen's work on Wang Mang is mostly a political study of Wang Mang's economic reforms, foreign policies, and so forth. While it does not deal explicitly with Ban Gu's work on the basis of its literary merits, Thomsen's text will be useful as a historical reference.

Thompson, Laurence G. *Chinese Religion: An Introduction*. 5th edition. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing, 1996.

Tjan Tjo Som. *Po Hu T'ung: The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*. Leiden: Brill, 1949.

Tjan's study of the text, and the *jinguwen* polemic of Ban Gu's time, will be a critical source for my dissertation, as those debates were pivotal to the production of

orthodoxy and State control. I will consider Michael Nylan's contention in her article, "The Chin/Ku Wen Controversy," that the *jingwen* controversy was in great measure a Qing fabrication. I will likely use her work as an opposing view to my own.

- Twitchett, Denis. *The Writing of Official History Under the T'ang*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Van der Sprenkel, Otto B. *Pan Piao, Pan Ku, and the Han History*. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1964.
- Wallacker, Benjamin E. "Han Confucianism and Confucius in the Han," in *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization*. Edited by David T. Roy and Tsuen-Hsuei Tsien. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1982.
- Wang, Aihe. *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Wang Chong 王充. *Lunheng jiao yi 論衡校譯*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990.
- Wang Hui 王恢. *Han shu dili zhi tu kao tong jian 漢書地理志圖考通檢*. Taipei: Wen hai chubanshe youxian gongsi, 1975.
- Wang Liqi 王利器 and Wang Zhenmin 王貞 . *Han shu gujin ren biao shuzheng 漢書古今人表疏證*. Taipei: Guan ya wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1990.

This study by Wang Liqi and Wang Zhenmin is an exhaustive study of the names included in Ban Gu's various charts of personages (see chapters 13 – 19 of the *Han shu* for the charts discussed in this study). The value of this text will be in further investigation of persons mentioned in the *Han shu*.

- Wang Mingtong 王明通. *Han shu daolun 漢書導論*. Taipei: Wunan tushu chuban gongsi, (no date).

This monograph, written by Wang Mingtong 王明通, is a lengthy modern study of the *Han shu*. It was published in Taiwan by Wunan tushu chuban gongsi 五南圖書出版公司, and provides a considerable amount of theoretical information regarding the textual organization of the *Han shu*. Additionally, it is helpful for cross-referencing citations within the *Han shu* on various topics I will discuss in my dissertation.

- Waters, Geoffrey R. *Three Elegies of Ch'u: An Introduction to the Traditional Interpretation of the Ch'u Tz'u*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Watson, Burton. *Chinese Lyricism: Shih Poetry from the Second to the Twelfth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.

Wei Shang. "Ritual, Ritual Manuals, and the Crisis of the Confucian World: An Interpretation of *Rulin waishi*." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 58. no. 2 (1998): 373-424.

Wen xuan 文選. Edited by Xiao Tong 蕭統. Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju yinhang, 1971.

Wilkinson, Endymion. *Chinese History: A Manual*. Revised Edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000.

Wilkinson's revised "manual" for scholars working with Chinese historical texts is a handy companion to my work on the *Han shu*. This sizeable tome contains information on historical sources and genres, including much about various editions of the Standard Histories.

Wu Ching-tzu. *The Scholars*. Translated by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Wu Fuzhu 吳福助. *Han shu cailu xihan wenzhang cai tao* 漢書採錄西漢文章探討. Taipei: Wen jin chubanshe, 1988.

Xu Fuguan 徐復觀. *Lianghan sixiang shi* 兩漢思想史. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1979.

This text, by Xu Fuguan, is an excellent study of Han ideologies, and has already influenced the way I read the *Han shu*. Xu's comparative studies of the *Han shu*, *Shi ji*, and the *Hou han shu* provide several examples of Ban Gu's individual circumstances, influences, and partisan agendas as he wrote his history of the Western Han. Xu's wide reading has been helpful in directing me to areas in other texts that either influence or react to Ban Gu's writings. The portions in this monograph that cover Ban Gu's motives for writing the *Han shu*, and the stages of development of the text's completion, are pertinent to the arguments I will present in my dissertation.

Xu Shen 許慎. *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字. Taipei: Wang juan lou tushu youxian gongsi, 2000.

Yang Shuda 楊樹達. *Han shu kuiguan* 漢書窺觀. Taipei: Shijie shuju yinhang, 1955.

This text was authored by Yang Shuda 楊樹達, and is a critical commentary on the *Han shu* with references to the pagination of the first edition of the *Han shu bu zhu*. I will be using the punctuated Shijie shuju yinhang 世界書局印行 edition.

Yang Xiong 揚雄. *Fa yan* 法言. Commentary by Zhu Rongzhi. Taipei: Taiwan guji chubanshe youxian gongsi, 2000.

Xunzi 荀子. *Xunzi duben* 荀子讀本. Commentary by Wang Zhonglin. Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1978.

Heng Tianwei 田惟. *Zhanguo ce zhengjie* 戰國策正解. Taipei: He luo tushu chubanshe yinhang, 1976.

Zhouli jin zhu jin yi 周禮今註今譯. Edited by Wang Yunwu. Taipei: Taiwin shangwu yin shuguan gufen youxian gongsi, 1972.

Zhouyi xin yi 周易新譯. Commentary by Xu Zhirui. Taipei: Li ren shuju, 1996.

Zhuangzi jin zhu jin yi 莊子今注今譯. Commentary by Chen Guying. Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju youxian gongsi, 1990.

Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (putative author). *Chunqiu zuo zhuan* 春秋左傳. Commentary by Yang Bojun. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000.

_____. *Guo yu* 國語. Taipei: Hong ye shuju youxian gongsi, 1980.

_____. *The Tso Chuan: Selections from China's Oldest Narrative History*. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.