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Human nature and governance: soulcraft and statecraft in eleventh century China

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Appendix

Dating Wang Anshi's Two Major Works

In this appendix, I discuss the dates of composition of the two major sources used in this study – *Miscellaneous Theories from Huainan* and *Commentary on the “Great Plan,”* and, in relation to them, delineate the timeline of Wang Anshi's work on statecraft and evaluate a commonly used reference on dating Wang's prose pieces since 2005.

1. Dating *Miscellaneous Theories* and the timeline of Wang Anshi's work on statecraft

Regarding the date of composition of this work, on top of the decade-long range Lu Dian gave us, Liu Anshi's 劉安世 (1048-1125) report further narrowed down its public circulation to the early 1060s.¹ This suggests its composition was completed in the late 1050s, around the time when Wang composed the long letter to Renzong.

Some scholars think the *Miscellaneous Theories* was written in the early-to-mid 1040s.² This is more likely the starting point of Wang's work on it,³ for if it had been finished at that time, it would be hard to explain why it could still impress Lu Dian as strikingly fresh nearly two decades later, or why Wang only got to make a name on it in the early 1060s.⁴

Moreover, it seems that in its taking the final shape, Wang Ling could have played a not insignificant role – in 1057, Ling was invited to live in Anshi's home for several months, the purpose of which, according to Anshi, was to “work on learning” (*xiu xue* 修學).⁵

Given the close correspondence between the ideas in the myriad-word letter and those in the *Miscellaneous Theories* volumes that we have seen, it is not impossible that Anshi had been finalizing his *Miscellaneous Theories* through discussions with Ling in the last few years before

¹ Ma Yongqing and Wang Chongqing, *Yuancheng yulu jie*, 6: “金陵在侍從時，... 《淮南雜說》行乎時。” Wang served as Drafter, a position considered “imperial attendant,” from 1061/6 to 1063/8. See also Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi, *Er Cheng ji*, 434.

² Yu Yingshi, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie*, 125; Deng Guangming, *Bei Song zhengzhi gaigejia*, 7-8.

³ On this my view is closer to Gao Keqin's (“Wang Anshi zhu shu kao,” 87, quoted in Wang Shuhua, “Jinggong xinxue zhushu kaobian,” 523). For indications of Wang's starting working on it, see, for example, Wang Anshi, “Yu Zu Zezhi shu,” in *LCJ*, 77.812. This was written in 1046, right after Wang completed his three-year tenure in Huainan. See also id., “Shang Zhang taibo shu,” in *LCJ*, 77.810 and “Shang ren shu,” in *LCJ*, 77.811. Whether or not this was the embryo of the *Miscellaneous Theories*, not all that Wang considered representative of him at this time were necessarily included in the later book, and he certainly wrote more thereafter, for the eventual size to become “tens of thousands of words.”

⁴ Wang Anshi had had a reputation for being easy to be demoted but hard to be promoted for decades (Zhao Dongmei, *Da Song zhi bian*, 142). It was only after the late 1050s that he began to make a name for his ideas.

⁵ Wang Ling, *Wang Ling ji*, 441-42. Ling's writings are worth looking into for possible further insight.

Ling's death in 1059. Some pieces in it, having just been worked out, were integrated into a massive reform blueprint on Wang Anshi's receiving a central government appointment,⁶ for presentation to the emperor. Besides, this also fits with the dating of major individual pieces that I have discussed in chapter 2, like "Nine Changes" and "Inscription for Qian Prefectural School."

Based on these, we can reconstruct the timeline of Wang Anshi's work on statecraft:

By the late 1050s, Wang had completed building his political theory, which was systematically formulated in the *Miscellaneous Theories* and the *Commentary on the "Great Plan,"* the latter not unlikely circulated as part of the former.⁷ These prepared the handy ideas for him to integrate when writing the myriad-word letter to Renzong between late 1058 and early 1059.

Between 1064 and 1065, during his mourning period for his mother, he further worked out the method for implementing this political theory in the "Inscription for Qian Prefectural School," his last major original theoretical work.

In 1068/4, when meeting Shenzong for the first time, he orally presented the gist of his statecraft, both his political theory and the method for its implementation, to the emperor, who found it convincing and commissioned Wang to act upon this blueprint step by step from 1069/2.⁸

In the early 1070s, Shenzong asked Wang Anshi to create a new curriculum based on the core ideas in his statecraft, resulting in the *New Meanings of the Three Classics* completed in 1075 that became textbooks used in government school education. These Wang kept revising into the 1080s, alongside his work on *Explication of Characters*.

2. Dating Wang Anshi's *Commentary on the "Great Plan"* and evaluating *Wang Jinggong wenji jianzhu*

About this commentary, Lu Dian reported it was available for him to obtain a copy between 1056 and 1067.⁹ Li Tao further informed us that it was being cited in the 1070 decree exam¹⁰ and

⁶ This could have stimulated Wang with the access it granted him to Renzong, offering him opportunities to convince the emperor to adopt his ideas on governance.

⁷ When speaking of Wang's representative work that made his first fame, both Cai Jing and Liu Anshi just mentioned *Miscellaneous Theories*.

⁸ During the 1068/4 meeting, Shenzong asked Wang to write down what he orally presented him, but Wang did not eventually spell out his statecraft in one piece, perhaps not feeling comfortable leaving such a written record. On this, see Kong Xue, *Wang Anshi Rilü ji jiao*, preface. Zhao Dongmei offers an explanation from the political perspective (*Da Song zhi bian*, chapter 12).

⁹ Lu Dian, "Fu Fujun muzhi," in Zeng Zaozhuang and Liu Lin eds., *Quan Song wen*, 101.244.

¹⁰ Li Tao, *XCB*, 215.5246.

that Wang had presented a slightly revised edition of it to the emperor before 1070/10/17.¹¹ While we probably have no way to know the exact extent of revision,¹² “deleting, polishing, and calligraphing” (*shanrun shanxie* 刪潤繕寫)¹³ isn’t overhaul. These should be sufficient to locate the date of composition of the core ideas in the copy of it as found in *Collected Writings of Mr. Linchuan* to roughly the same time as *Miscellaneous Theories*, that is, around the late 1050s.¹⁴

In a frequently consulted annotated edition of Wang’s prose pieces, however, Li Zhiliang claims it was written in early Yuanfeng (1078-1085), after Wang had permanently retired.¹⁵ Because since its publication in 2005, it is common for scholars to rely on Li’s view to decide when a prose piece was written by Wang Anshi,¹⁶ it is necessary to take a close look at how Li arrived at his conclusion on this piece, as an illustration of his working method.

After stating his aforementioned view, Li cites a sentence from Cai Shangxiang’s *Wang Jinggong nianpu kaolüe*, which speculates that Wang must have presented this to the emperor during the Yuanfeng period,¹⁷ for which I have found no textual support. Then Li follows by saying that Gu Donggao in *Wang Jinggong nianpu* says this piece was written in 1077, also without giving the grounds. Thinking these point to a similar date, Li finishes substantiating his view that the composition of this text dates to early Yuanfeng. Neither of them, however, actually supports Li’s view: Cai’s was about its date of presentation, while Gu’s date was not yet Yuanfeng. But the bigger issue is that Li only considers these two Qing views, for reasons unknown, while entirely ignoring those from the Song listed above, nor does he engage existing present-day scholarly views that date this commentary differently.¹⁸ Unfortunately, for the seven volumes from 26 to 32 (corresponding to volumes 63-69 in *Collected Writings of Mr. Linchuan*), this is one of the only four pieces for which Li offers an explanation for his dating view at all.¹⁹ For the rest, Li simply

¹¹ Li Tao, *XCB*, 216.5257; Wang Anshi, “Jin ‘Hongfan’ biao,” in *LCJ*, 56.609.

¹² For discussions of the difference between this edition and the one Lu Dian read, see Hu Jinwang, “Wang Anshi ‘Hongfan’ zhuan zuo nian lunbian,” 276; and Zhang Bing, “Hongfan” *quanshi yanjiu*, 138-39.

¹³ Wang Anshi, “Jin ‘Hongfan’ biao,” in *LCJ*, 56.609.

¹⁴ For example, Ma Zhenduo dates its completion to not too long before 1066 (*Zhengzhi gaigejia Wang Anshi*, 39). For a strong defense of this view, see Zhang Bing, “Hongfan” *quanshi yanjiu*, 138.

¹⁵ Li Zhiliang, *Wang Jinggong wenji jianzhu*, 992.

¹⁶ See, for example, Skonicki, “Cosmos, State and Society,” 454n28; Song, *Traces of Grand Peace*, 362n11; Chen Yingrui, “Fa Kongshi zhi mi,” 90n39; Hu Jinwang, *Wang Anshi de zhexue sixiang yu Sanjingxinyi*, 171n4. Yanan Luo quotes from it without discussing the issue of dating (“Ideas in Practice,” chapter 1).

¹⁷ Cai Shangxiang, *Wang Jinggong nianpu kaolüe*, 270.

¹⁸ Like those mentioned above.

¹⁹ The other three being “Yi fan lun” (Li Zhiliang, *Wang Jinggong wenji jianzhu*, 939), “Dui yi” (ibid., 988-89), and “Laozi” (ibid., 1083). The grounds he offered for the first two are speculative; those for the third are the view of Cai

gives a date without saying anything about his grounds, despite his declared claim to the contrary.²⁰ In this way, Li attained his goal of providing a date for all of Wang's prose pieces.²¹ As such, in my discussions in the main body of this study, I have not referred to the dates Li gives but rather drawn on well-founded views there are and, failing that, provided my own analysis based on available evidence.²²

Shangxiang, who was not determined on this dating but simply put it there based on apparent topical similarity to a dated letter (*Wang Jinggong nianpu kaolüe*, 308).

²⁰ Li Zhiliang, *Wang Jinggong wenji Jianzhu*, 11.

²¹ Ibid. This was a goal at which other scholars have to admit their failure. See, for instance, Li Deshen, *Wang Anshi shi wen xi nian*, 2, and Liu Chengguo, *Wang Anshi nianpu changbian*, 709. On the quality of Li's other works, see Wang Shengduo punctuated, *Songshi quanwen*, 1-2; and Liu Chengguo, "Du *Wang Jinggong shi zhu bu jian xian yi*."

²² This is not to say some of Li's dating cannot happen to be right, nor is it my intention to negate the convenience his work has provided Wang scholars, as the first detailed annotation of Wang's prose pieces. What I am stressing here is only the need to check his grounds before following his view. For instance, when Skonicki does this checking on this commentary, he decides to call its date of composition "indeterminate," given the differences between Li's view and the evidence from Lu Dian and Li Tao he noted ("Cosmos, State and Society," 454n28, 456-57).

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Abbreviations for frequently cited works:

CJJ Sima Guang, *Sima Wenzhengong chuanjia ji* 司馬溫正公傳家集

LCJ Wang Anshi, *Linchuan xiansheng wenji* 臨川先生文集

HCLJ Han Yu, *Han Changli wenji zhushi* 韓昌黎文集注釋

SHY Liu Lin et al. eds., *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿

XCB Li Tao, *Xu Zizhitongjian changbian* 續資治通鑒長編

JSBM Yang Zhongliang, Huang Song Tongjian Changbian *jishi benmo* 皇宋通鑒長編紀事本末

XCBSB Huang Yizhou, *Xuzizhitongjianchangbian shibu* 續資治通鑒長編拾補

Ames, Roger T. “The Mencian Conception of *Ren xing* 人性: Does It Mean ‘Human Nature’?” In *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts: Essays Dedicated to Angus C. Graham*, ed. Henry Rosemont, Jr. Chicago and La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1991, 143–75.

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