CHAPTER THREE

DONG ZHONGSHU’S WRITINGS

To the account of his writings that is given in Dong Zhongshu’s biography in the Han shu, as above, there may be added the references to the following items:1

1. The bibliographical list in the Han shu includes the entry 董仲舒百二十三篇.2 Wang Xianqian comments by citing the account given of his writings in Han shu 56 and concluding that the 123 pian mentioned here had been lost at an early time and were not included in the various Fanlu writings.

2. Gongyang Dong Zhongshu zhiyu shiliu pian 公羊董仲舒治獄十六篇; Han shu 30, p. 1714 HSBZ 30.16b (under Chunqiu); see p. 115 below.

3. The Xi jing za ji, dated not earlier than the third century and perhaps finalized with late texts from 500 CE, includes a short statement that Dong Zhongshu wrote (zuo 作) the words (ci 詞) of the Chunqiu fanlu after dreaming that a reptile had made its way into his breast.3

1 See Chapter Two above, p. 50. For an account of Dong Zhongshu’s writings, see Queen, Chronicle to Canon, Chapter 3.

2 HS 30, p. 1727, HSBZ 30.31a. The entry is to be distinguished from that of Dongzi yi pian 董子一篇 under Rujia which is taken to refer to Dong Wuxin 董無心 of pre-imperial times; HS 30, p. 1726, HSBZ 30.30b.

3 Zhou Tianyou, Xi jing za ji 2 (2006), p. 96. For the vexed question of the authorship of the Xi jin za ji, see Si ku quan shu zongmu tiyao, 27, p. 2882, and Zhang Xincheng, Wei shu tongkao (revised edition 1957), pp. 649–59. The editors of the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao consider carefully the ascription to Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343), on the basis of the statements of Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BCE to 23 CE), and to other writers such as Wu Jun 吳均 (469–520); although they placed the names of Liu Xin and Ge Hong at the book’s title they clearly harboured considerable doubts in doing so, while stating that the work was of value and should not be dismissed. Zhang Xincheng concludes (p. 653, repeated p. 582) that Ge Hong gave the book its form, partly on the basis of items seen in an incomplete Han shu of Liu Xin but not found in Ban Gu’s Han shu.

In his preface Zhou Tianyou names four writers to whom authorship of the work has been ascribed, together with the possibility that it was written by another person, unknown. He takes citations from the Xiao shuo 小說 of Yin Yun 殷縉 (471–529) and the Qimin yaoshu 齊民要術 of Jia Sixie 賈思勰.
4. The entry *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 17 juan, in *Suishu* 32, p. 930, where it is placed under *Chunqiu* with appended notes ‘Han; compiled by Dong Zhongshu Jiaoxi xiang 輯西相; see also *Jiu Tang shu* 46, p. 1979.

5. The entry *Dong Zhongshu Chunqiu fanlu* 17 juan, in *Tang shu* 57, p. 1437 and *Song shi* 202, p. 5057.

6. The entry *Chunqiu jueshi* 春秋决事 10 juan, in *Sui shu* 32, p. 930, placed under *Chunqiu*, with an appended note ‘Han; compiled by Zhongshu;’ for five other writings of this type, see p. 115 below.

7. *Qingdao tu* 請禮圖 3 juan; named in the note to *Za zhan meng shu* 雞占夢書 (*Sui shu* 34, p. 1038) as extant in Liang times but lost; under Wu xing.

8. The following items are ascribed to Dong Zhongshu in the *Gu wen yuan* 古文苑, for which see the Appendix below (p. 122).
   a. A *fu* entitled *Shi bu yu fu* 士不遇賦 (3.3a; see p. 109 below).
   b. A *shu* 書 entitled *Yi chengxiang Gongsun Hong ji shi shu* 諡丞相公孫弘記室書 (10.4a; see p. 110 below).
   c. *Jiao si dui* 郊祀對, a response concerning the regular cults of worship (*pian* no. 71 of the *Chunqiu fanlu*; 11.1b; see Chapter Six below p. 254).
   d. *Yu bao dui* 雨雹對, a response concerning the nature of hail (11.3b; see Chapter Four p. 167 below).
   e. The *Shan chuan song* 山川頌 (*pian* no. 73 of the *Chunqiu fanlu*; 12.1b; see Chapter Six below p. 255).
   f. *Dong Zhongshu ji shu* 董仲舒集叢; a biographical account including text seen in *Han shu* 56, pp. 2495, 2525 with some variants (17.1a).

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(Northern Wei, 386–533) to show that the book was in existence before the sixth century. He excludes Wu Jun and Xiao Ben 蕭賁 (ca. 495–ca. 552) as possible authors and believes that attribution to Liu Xin cannot be sustained. Zhou Tianyou accepts Ge Hong 葛洪 as the author, without excluding the possibility that he might have made use of some of Liu Xin’s writings. See also the preface of Xiang Xinyang 向新陽 and Liu Keren 劉克任, ed., *Xijing za ji jiaozhu* (1991). A preface under the name of Ge Hong, which William H. Nienhauser (*The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, second, revised edition 1986, p. 406) regards as spurious, claims that the received text had survived in Ge Hong’s family from remnants of Liu Xin’s writings. Nienhauser writes ‘Actually, the work in its present form dates from around A.D. 500, possibly from the hand of Hsiao Pen (c. 495–c. 552). Yet to speak of an “author” for this work is misleading, since much of it is copied from earlier sources’. For fuller treatment, see Nienhauser, ‘Once again, the Authorship of the *Hsi-ching tsa-ji* (Miscellanies of the Western capital) (1978).

4 References are to the *SBCK* edition.