

Sima Qian's Revision on the Mode of Strategist in Warring States

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Abstract—In the process of reading documents on strategists in the Warring States period, Sima Qian got to know, cognized or opposed the behavior of such strategists in combination with his experience, and finally formed a set of Sima Qian mode with the style of strategists in Warring States in *The Records of the Grand Historian* by selection and revision.

Keywords—*Sima Qian; The Records of the Grand Historian; Warring States; strategist*

I. INTRODUCTION

Yao Si said, "A literary work is not an object that is independent and provides the same viewpoint to every reader of every era. It is not a monument that metaphysically shows its super-era essence. It is more like an orchestral composition that can constantly obtain new response from readers in the performance so that the text can be released from the material form of the text and become a contemporary being".¹ For different readers, the same literary work may evoke their different personal experiences; that is to say, "the work will awaken the reader's previous reading memory and have reader enter a specific emotional attitude and reading expectation".² In the process of reading documents on strategists in Warring States, Sima Qian got to know, cognized or opposed the behavior of such strategists in combination with his experience, and finally formed a set of Sima Qian mode with the style of strategists in Warring States in *The Records of the Grand Historian* by selection and revision.

II. THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CHANGED SOCIAL SYSTEM AND THE STRATEGISTS' IDEALS

Qin state was originally a remote state in west-frontiers region, "In terms of national people's temperament, customs and ruling consciousness and style, it is very different from the six eastern countries".³ People of Qin state's attitude towards intellectuals was always relatively cold; in the

period of emperors Hui, Zhao and Zheng in Qin Dynasty, intellectuals from the six eastern countries were often rejected to enter Qin state. When Lv Buwei served as Prime minister of Qin state, he once said, "以秦之强，羞不如（战国四公子养士），亦招致士，厚遇之，至食客三千。（Meaning: It was really ashamed that Qin state was so strong but had so fewer intellectuals than that collected by the four feudal princes in the Warring States! Therefore, Lv Buwei began to recruit talents, gave them a generous courtesy, and finally recruited three thousand intellectuals accommodated in his mansion house)".⁴ However, Lu Buwei himself was also an alien minister, and his accommodating with intellectuals was just to pursue the trend at that time and could not represent the Qin ruler's attitude toward intellectuals. After Qin Shi Huang unified the six countries, the independent style of strategist in the Warring States was immediately suppressed. Just as Yu Yingchun said, "In the political structure of the state, except the core of rights formed by the superior emperor and a small group of officials supporting the emperor, almost all intellectuals in the state collectively constitute the absolute ruling objects of the emperor. There is only a one-way relationship of ruling and being ruled between the emperor and his subjects".⁵ This case cannot be compared with the case that Yan Chu still dares to scream that "士贵耳，王者不贵（meaning: Intellectuals are honorable instead of the king)"⁶ in facing the angry King Xuan of Qi state. Judging from the context of the times, the unified China has made the strategists lost the opportunity to make something different. From the perspective of the state system, it seems that the unified Qin State until its demise has not established a complete personnel system. In the Qin Dynasty, what intellectuals can expect is roughly in two ways such as to be civilian official and military officer. The former must can conduct basic writing, accounting, and knowing laws and orders. The latter must have martial skills.⁷ Hence, it can be

⁴ Sima Qian. *The Records of the Grand Historian* [M]. Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Co., 2006, p2510.

⁵ Yu Yingchun. *History of Intellectuals in Qin and Han Dynasties* [M]. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000, p10.

⁶ Liuxiang Jilu, Fan Xiangyong. *Notes of the Strategies of the Warring States* [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2006, p639.

⁷ Yu Yingchun. *Explanation of Knowledge and Sword Learning in The Records of the Grand Historian · The Whole Life of Xiang Yu* [A]. *Compilation A of the Collection of Lao Gan's Academic Papers* [M]. Beijing: Yiwen Press. 1976, p25.

¹ Yao Si. (trans.) Zhou Ning, Jin Yuanpu. *Receptional Aesthetic*. Liaoning: Liaoning People's Publishing House, 1987, p339.

² Liu Ning. *Research on Narrative in The Records of the Grand Historian* [D]. Ph.D. Thesis of Shaanxi Normal University. May 2006, p155.

³ Yu Yingchun. *History of Intellectuals in Qin and Han Dynasties* [M]. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000, p1.

seen that the level of talent recruitment in the Qin Dynasty is very low, and it is biased towards skills rather than thought, regardless of the ability to govern the country. For the reason why Qin Shi Huang discarded intellectuals beyond the regime, to certain extent, it is his unprecedented sense of authority.⁸ To some other extent, it is the uniform concept of order under the Legalist policy that has been implemented in Qin for long time.

With the rapid demise of Qin State, the world once again fell into chaos, and strategists again had room for activities, promptly inspired "the feudal princes to betray Qin", once again showing the active and lively atmosphere of strategists in the Warring States period. During the anti-Qin and Chu-Han struggle, all forces were accompanied by strategists, such as Han Xin was always accompanied by Kuai Tong, and Tian Rong was accompanied by Dong Guo, and Liang Shijun. In the period when Xiang Liang was in charge of Chu state's army, Song Yi who once was an official of the old Chu state came to seek for being retained and advised Xiang Liang that "战胜而将骄卒惰者败。今卒少惰矣，秦兵日益，臣为君畏之 (meaning: After winning the battle, the generals will be proud, and the soldiers will be idle. Such an army must be defeated. Now the soldiers are somewhat idle, while the Qin soldiers are increasing day by day. I am worried about you!)" But Xiang Liang didn't accept his advice and finally he was defeated to death. Before the Battle in Jvlu, Song Yi also said to Xiang Yu, "夫搏牛之虻不可以破虬虱。今秦攻赵，战胜则兵罢，我承其敝；不胜，则我引兵鼓行而西，必举秦矣。故不如先斗秦赵。夫被坚执锐，义不如公；坐而运策，公不如义。(Meaning: One may be able to damage gadbee on ox but cannot get rid of the louse and its ovum on ox body. At present, Qin state defeated Zhao state and Qin state's soldiers must be tired; we can take this chance to attack them; if failed, we can lead the troops to march westward to annihilate Qin state's army. So now, it'd be better to let Qin and Zhao fight with each other first. In terms of leading the soldiers and fighting on the battle field, I cannot compare with you; but in terms of making military decisions accordingly, you cannot compare with me.)" Soon after that, Xiang Yu found an excuse and killed Song Yi. According to The Records of the Grand Historian, there was a man called Fan Zeng who was 70 years old, always stayed at home and was good at providing incredibly sophisticated stratagem; he provided Xiang Liang with stratagem to welcome King Huai of Chu; later, he also reminded Xiang Yu about the dangerousness of Liu Bang for many times. "汉王患之 (meaning: the king of Han, Liu Bang think he is a trouble)", for this reason, Chen Ping designed to drive a wedge between the King and Fan Zeng; finally, Fan Zeng set off to Pengcheng, but died on the midway due to seizure of carbuncle on his back.⁹ Moreover, there were also nameless strategists advising Xiang Yu after he enter Qin state, "关中阻山河四塞，地肥饶，可都以霸。(Meaning: In this part of Guanzhong region, there are mountains and rivers as barriers, and there are fortresses on all sides. The land is fertile and

can be occupied to build up the capital make some achievements)". But Xiang Yu ignored his words. He satirize that "人言楚人沐猴而冠耳，果然。(Meaning: There is saying that Chu people are like macaques wearing human's hat, indeed so)". Immediately, he was killed by Xiang Yu. Based on those examples, it can be found that Xiang Yu obviously paid less attention to strategy and only took advantage of his martial skills; one can imagine his final failure.

However, Han army was quite different. Fan Dachong mentioned, "方汉祖龙兴于沛上，若萧、曹以刀笔，张、陈以智谋，勃、婴以织贩，布、唵以屠黥，凡有一技一能者，靡不各逞所长，以赴攀龙附凤之会，而竟得名垂竹帛，勋列鼎彝，何伟伟也。(meaning: When Liu Bang raised an army in Pei county, he had collected Xiao He and Cao Shen to respectively serve as his martial officer and civilian official, Zhang Liang and Chen Ping to provide him with strategies, and collected Zhou Bo and Guan Ying, Wang Qingbu and Fan Kuai; all those have any ability and skill were able to take their advantages to make something different and contribution. How great it is)".¹⁰ It shows that even those who have no title and right are allowed to offer stratagems to the ruler or boldly sting and criticize.¹¹ But it can also be seen from Fan Dachong's conclusion on meritorious statesmen of Liu Bang that the effect played by those people has been far less than that of strategists in the Warring States. Just as praised in "Han Shu` Biography of Li Shiqi, Lu Jia, Zhu Jian, Liu Jing and Shu Suntong (汉书 郿陆朱刘叔孙传)", "it is said that, 'the imperial court is not built only by branches of one wood, and the emperor's achievement is not achieved by virtue of strategies of only one strategist'".¹² In Liu Bang's words, "夫运筹策帷帐之中，决胜于千里之外，吾不如子房。镇国家，抚百姓，给饷饈，不绝粮道，吾不如萧何。连百万之军，战必胜，攻必取，吾不如韩信。此三者，皆人杰也，吾能用之，此吾所以取天下也。项羽有一范增而不能用，此其所以为我擒也。(meaning: Speaking of the making planning and strategies that determines the success and failure of the battle thousand miles away, I am not as good as Zi Fang; speaking of guarding the state, pacifying the people, supplying army provisions and unblocking the route for providing foodstuff, I am not as good as Xiao He; speaking of gathering millions of soldiers and achieving success in each battle and attract, I am not as good as Han Xin. They are all famous persons; being available to use them is the reason why I can conquer the world. Xiang Yu once got Fan Zeng, but failed to take use of his talents; this is the reason why Xiang Yu was finally killed by me.)" As a whole, strategists in the period of Chu-Han struggles have not possessed the independently grand talents and courage of Su Qin, Zhang Yi and Fan Jv. After the success, even Zhang Liang who had made contribution to the state establishment and had supported the emperor by his talent and was granted a great amount of wealth and title, under the pressure of monarchical power, also had to deliberately indicate that "he is willing to abandon human affairs to live freedom life like

⁸ Yu Yingchun. History of Intellectuals in Qin and Han Dynasties [M]. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000, p12.

⁹ Sima Qian. The Records of the Grand Historian [M]. Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Co., 2006, p325.

¹⁰ Lu Jia. Xin Yu Jiao Zhu [M]. Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Co., 1986, Preface, p3.

¹¹ Yu Yingchun. History of Intellectuals in Qin and Han Dynasties [M]. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000, p34.

¹² Ban Gu. Han Shu [M]. Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Co., 2006, p893.

Chi Songzi". Hence, it can be seen that strategists began to have a change in mind from that time.

The establishment of Han Dynasty brought new hopes and confusions to strategists. The literature left by strategists in the Warring States period, including rhetoric, letters, folklore, etc., is very attractive to strategists in the early Han Dynasty. The same situation as Qin Dynasty is that Han Dynasty was also a big unified country, and no longer needed the advocating and inciting of strategists; but the different from Qin dynasty is that the system of enfeoffment in the early Han Dynasty made the Liu princes have greater autonomy right. Those princes and aristocrats actively attracted strategists and priests to serve themselves, and the trend of the accommodating with intellectuals re-emerged. However, the function of strategists in the early Han Dynasty was evolved from maneuvering among various political groupings being to serving as cultural aide of the princes, and was obviously inferior to the status in the Warring States period.

After the comprehensive rehabilitation in Wenjing period, Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty took the post and made great efforts to make the country prosperous. In order to enhance the autocratic rule, severe restrictions and strikes were imposed on the behaviors of the princes and aristocrats that accommodate with intellectuals, and the Huai Nan, Hengshan, Jiangdu and other prisons were successively built up. Therefore, up to tens of thousands of people were imprisoned in the three prisons, and most of them were accommodated intellectuals of the princes and aristocrats. Later, the "Zuo Guan Lv (左官律)" and "Fu Yi Fa (附益法)" were promulgated in the context of the ruling, and intellectuals were strictly forbidden to attach to the princes and aristocrats. While striking the phenomenon of accommodating with intellectuals, Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty further weakened the land and power of the princes and aristocrats so that they cannot afford to accommodate with intellectuals, which fundamentally blocked the way for intellectuals to serve the princes and aristocrats. So, when someone advise General Wei Qing to "try to follow the ancient examples in selecting intellectuals", Wei Qing said that "自魏其、武安之厚宾客，天子常切齿。彼亲附士大夫，招贤拙不肖者，人主之柄也。人臣奉法尊职而已，何与招士？ (meaning: Since Weiqihou Dou Ying and Wuanhou Tian Fen treat kindly and generously with guests, the people of the world often hate this behavior. As to pacify intellectuals, recruit talents and abolish ungifted person, it is the authority of the emperor. Serving as officials, they only need to abide by laws and do their job well; it is not wise to participate in recruiting talents.)".¹³ It is obvious that the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty is very determined to fight against the phenomenon of accommodating with intellectuals. Under the intervention of the Central Court, the phenomenon of accommodating with intellectuals in the early Han Dynasty gradually cooled down, and the intellectuals once again lost the freedom to choose.

¹³ Sima Qian. The Records of the Grand Historian [M]. Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Co., 2006, p2946.

On the one hand, Emperor Wu impeded the way out of intellectuals, and on the other hand ordered to "recruit righteous and meritorious talents". Under this circumstance, intellectuals left the house of princes and come to serve the court, forming an emerging phenomenon. In the "The Records of the Grand Historian · Collected Biographies of Pingjinkou's Zhufu", the descendant supplemented a section of "Ban Gu's praise" in nearly five hundred words, eloquently recorded the grandeur of the Han Wu Emperor's gathering of talents. For Emperor Wu, there are two advantages to recruit intellectuals: the first is to recruit a large number of talents for the court to serve the emperor; the second is to control those intellectuals more effectively. This kind of control can be obviously felt by intellectuals. The court's respect of intellectuals had no longer been comparable with that in the Warring States period, and thus intellectuals appeared varying degrees of feeling loss of individual independent personality.

Among these intellectuals, "其尤亲幸者，东方朔、枚皋、严助、吾丘寿王、司马相如。……上颇俳优畜之。(Meaning: those who are loved by the emperor such as Dongfang Shuo, Mei Gao, Yan Zhu, Wuqiu Shouwang, Sima Xiangru are accommodated as entertainers)." ¹⁴ In "Tai Shi Gong's Preface", Sima Qian also joked that he was accommodated as entertainer by Emperor Wu." In ancient times, "entertainer" is a funny artist whose main job is to be dispatched to please the emperor. It can be imagined how hate Sima Xiangru, Sima Qian and Dongfang Shuo were in mind, when they discovered that they were accommodated as entertainers by Emperor Wu and their usual works were to fill and write poems to please the emperor; hence, Sima Xiangru found an excuse of being ill to avoid from doing such work and Dongfang Shuo and Mei Gao put forward their own opinions without basis; those responses were all a powerless resistance to the political situation. Some Confucian scholars who were recruited for reading classics cannot play a role in political stage; their knowledge was even often used by Emperor Wu to attack the officials on the court. For example, "Han Shu `Biography of Yan Zhu" records: "朝廷多事，娄举贤良文学之士。……上令助等与大臣辩论，中外相应以义理之文，大臣数诎。"¹⁵ This record means that the emperor often takes use of intellectuals to debate with officials in the court, cleverly placed the intellectuals in an embarrassing and also incapable political situation.

Although the political reality was not as good as imagined, in terms of using talents, Emperor Wu often attached importance to the intrinsic actual value of the talents, which made intellectuals have an illusion of re-experiencing the view of values in the Warring States period. Sima Qian was promoted in a wave of recruiting talents for his excellent "article". The initial idea of Sima Qian on this matter is:

仆少负不羁之才，长无多曲之誉，主上幸以先人之故，使得奉薄伎，出入周卫之中。仆以为戴盆何以望天，故绝宾客之知，忘室家之业，日夜思竭其不肖之材力，务一心营职，以求亲媚于主上。

¹⁴ Ban Gu. Han Shu [M]. Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Co., 2006, p990.

¹⁵ Ban Gu. Han Shu [M]. Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Co., 2006, p2775.

(Meaning: When I was a teenager, I didn't have outstanding talents. I also was not praised by people after I was an adult. Fortunately, because my father was a Tai Shi Ling, I was able to get a chance to contribute my tiny talents and go to the court. I think that I can't look at the sky with a pan on my head, so I cut off the communication with guests and forget about the affairs of my family. All I think is how to fully contribute my tiny talents and capability to obtain emperor's trust and love.)¹⁶

When Sima Qian got the exceptional admission of Emperor Wu, he was much moved. He even said that what he always thought about at that time was how to "get close to the Lord". Apparently, Emperor Wu created an atmosphere similar to that in the Warring States period and in line with the definition of "employing men according to their abilities" understood by Sima Qian.

This phenomenon also plagued other intellectuals in the period of Emperor Wu. They had the opportunity to become an official, but they did not have the feeling of being much accounted of. In the "Da Ke Nan (答客难)", Dongfang Shuo sighed: "彼一时也, 此一时也, 岂可同哉! ……圣帝德流, 天下震懼, 诸侯宾服, 连四海之外以为带, 安于覆盂。天下平均, 合为一家, 动发举事, 犹运之掌。贤与不肖, 何以异哉? (meaning: Today is incomparable with the past. Now it is an era of justice. Under the leadership of Emperor Wu, the world is unified and under good control; in this context, there is no large difference between gifted and ungifted officials.)"¹⁷ In "Poem sighing for intellectuals' un-recognition (悲士不遇赋)", Sima Qian said, "悲夫士生之不辰, 愧顾影而独存" "我之心矣, 哲已能忖; 我之言矣, 哲已能选。没世无闻, 古人惟耻。(Meaning: it is signed that we are not born in appropriate times; although we have talents, we cannot make contribution and make something different; ancient people may also be ashamed of us.)" In the "Sighing for intellectuals' un-recognition (悲士不遇)", Dong Zhongshu also mentioned that "生不丁三代之隆盛兮, 而丁三季之末俗。(meaning: We fail to be born in the prosperous times of three generations but born in a weakened times of three generations)". Intellectuals in the period of Emperor Wu all adapted to the situation of "the world is unified as a family" with a very contradictory mentality. They lamented that "they are not born in the right times" and they have no change to make something different; "Sighing for intellectuals' un-recognition became their common topic. Dong Zhongshu, Sima Qian, and Dongfang Shuo are representatives of different types of intellectuals in the period of Emperor Wu. The three people have different thoughts, characters, experiences, and endings, but they all wrote poems about their un-recognition".¹⁸ The period of Emperor Wu can be called a prosperous period in the history of China.

¹⁶ Han Zhaoqi. *Collection of Selected Notes and Comments on The Records of the Grand Historian* [M]. Beijing: Zhongzhou Ancient Books Publishing House, 1990, p646.

¹⁷ Sima Qian. *The Records of the Grand Historian* [M]. Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Co., 2006, p1024.

¹⁸ Yang Xia. *Seeing the phenomenon of "chanceless intellectuals" in the era of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty from the perspective of Dong Zhongshu, Sima Qian and Dong Fangshuo's Fu*. *Journal of Shandong Administrative College and Shandong Economic Management Personnel College*, No.6, 2003.

Dong Zhongshu, Sima Xiangru, and Sima Qian can also be called successful people in Chinese literati. It is evident that their feeling of un-recognition is dissatisfaction by comparison and the comparison object is the relatively equal status of emperor and intellectuals in the Warring States period.

Sima Qian was mainly active in the heyday of Emperor Wu. The intellectuals also serving as officials in the court were not so crazy as him in admiring the culture in the Warring States period although they also had doubts about the problems of being recognized or not. For example, Gongshun Hong who actively cooperated with Emperor Wu, Dong Zhongshu who strived to find a balance between politics and ideals, and Sima Xiangru who has no choice but serve as imperial literati all abandoned their personality of being intellectuals in the Warring States period and adapted to the new situation in new ways. However, Sima Qian's thoughts on political, moral, legal, ideological, academic and other issues all seemed to be incompatible with the ethos of the period of Emperor Wu, so Han Zhaoqi said that his ideological personality still stayed in the period of pre-Qin and early Han.¹⁹

Sima Qian put his own understanding of the Warring States period into his own historical writing behavior, and his choice of consciousness is reflected in Sima Qian's calm understanding of real politics. He was not unable to use other methods to get the favor of Emperor Wu, but unwilling to do so. Therefore, when Sima Xiangru made poem for Emperor Wu, Sima Qian was writing "The Records of the Grand Historian". He found that only in "The Records of the Grand Historian" can he see the familiar atmosphere of the Warring States and spoke freely; he put his ideals in this record in the hope of finally being freed from the imprisoned reality.

III. SIMA QIAN'S PARTIAL MODIFICATION ON THE MODE OF STRATEGISTS

One of the most important parts of the mode of strategists in the Warring States period is expostulating. In terms of this "Strategies of the Warring States", most articles in it are records of oral account and only a dozen articles are records of written account.²⁰ In the political freedom atmosphere of the Warring States period, strategists can speak freely as "If you don't follow my advice for three times, I will go" and can come and go freely. Strategists in the Warring States period gave advice actively; no matter for protecting themselves or looking for another wise king, or for being attached importance and realizing their ambitions, they all had absolute initiative. However after the Han Dynasty, superficially speaking, the status of intellectuals (especially Confucian scholars) was raised, and they can talk about governing the state and benefiting people; in specific political practice, they had no other choice but only offer advice to the emperor and were full of dangerousness.

¹⁹ Han Zhaoqi. *General Theory of The Records of the Grand Historian* [M]. Guangxi: Guangxi Normal University Press, 1996, p158.

²⁰ Zheng Jiewen. *New Theory of Articles in the Strategies of the Warring States* [M]. Shandong: Shandong People's Publishing House, 1998, p87.

During the period of Emperor Wu, there was even a so-called "unspoken criticism" method. "Unspoken criticism" means that one does not speak but laugh at in the heart. The "Ping Zhun Shu (平準书)" records that "汤奏当异九卿见令不便，不入言而腹诽，论死。自是之后，有腹诽之法。(meaning: After Zhang Tang knew this event, he submitted memorials to the throne and said that, as a Jiuqing (an official title at that time), Yan Yi did not give advice to the court but only criticize in heart when he found any wrong in the law; thus he should be punished to death. Since then, "unspoken criticism" became a name of crime.)"²¹ Even if you don't talk, you will also be sinned by cruel officials, let alone use words or letters to criticize the current politics. In the era when "King's Minions" prevailed, it was like Mr. Lu Xun said, "Social satirists are dangerous."²² The officials of the court began to be eulogistic. Those giving correct advice to Emperor Wu were inversely the "funny" figures with not that high title. Sima Qian originally defined the "funny" figures' advice as: "Speaking vaguely and arbitrarily, you can also solve the dispute".²³ But When Chu Shaosun supplemented the funny figures in the period of Emperor Wu in "Biographies of funny figures (滑稽列传)", he wrote that before Dongfang Shuo died, he quoted the story of "The Book of Songs" to Emperor Wu, and advised Emperor Wu to not listen to the slanderous talks; as for other figures such as Guo Sheren and Mr. Dongguo, they can only use small cleverness to solve some insignificant problems; they are incomparable with the advice offered in the Warring States period "淳于髡仰天大笑，齐威王横行。优孟摇头而歌，负薪者以封。优旃临槛疾呼，陛楯得以半更。岂不亦伟哉！(meaning: Entertainers such as Chun Yukun, You Meng and You Zhan can also exclude the difficulty and anxiety of emperor; what a great thing it is!)"

Sima Qian knew the importance of expostulating very well. Even if the political atmosphere of in the period of Emperor Wu was so severe, he could not give up the thinking of expostulating. So Sima Qian used the method of expostulation in "The Records of the Grand Historian". The so-called expostulation is to politely exhort. According to the preface of "Shi Jing Zhou Nan Guan Jv (诗经周南关雎)", "上以风化下，下以风刺上，主文而諷諫，言之者无罪，闻之者足以戒，故曰风。(Meaning: The emperor used the influence-styled poetry education to influence the officials and people, and the officials and people used the influence-styled poetry to persuade the princes and the emperor. Poetry must be euphemistically based on the portrayal of things when using to politely exhort. In this way, the person who wrote the poetry is not guilty and the monarch who heard the chorus should take the warning, hence the name of "influence (风)"), Zheng Xuanjian said, "諷諫，咏歌依违不直諫。(meaning: expostulation is to politely exhort and do not directly point out the emperor's mistakes)". According to the "Confucius Ana Bianzheng (孔子家语辨政)", "忠臣之諫君有五义焉：一曰諷諫，二曰愬諫，三曰降諫，四曰直諫，五曰风諫。

(Meaning: There are five manners for loyal officials to exhort the emperor: expostulation, rude exhortation, imploring exhortation, direct imploring, and influence-styled implore.)". Sima Qian made a careful arrangement on the chapters and contents in "The Records of the Grand Historian". Those contents were included in the dialogues of the biography of figures in "The Records of the Grand Historian", including the "Zi Yue (子曰)" and "Zhuan Yue (传曰)" quoted by Sima Qian. In addition, Sima Qian also uniquely developed the expostulation consciousness into the external system of "The Records of the Grand Historian"; that is, the catalogue and title arrangement of "The Records of the Grand Historian" also have an expostulation effect, hoping that the Emperor Wu can finally realize the mistake.

"The Records of the Grand Historian" contains many corresponding chapters which were used flexibly by Sima Qian. For example, the collected biography of figures often has its special meaning. Special styles such as "The Biography of Confucius" and "Biography of Huaiyinhou" have already revealed Sima Qian's comment on the object of the biography; with respect to the arrangement of the catalogue names, "Biography of Mengchangjun", "Biography of Pingyuanjun Yuqing", "Biography of Wei Gongzi" and "Biography of Chunshenjun" can also reflect Sima Qian's special views on the four princes of the Warring States; and there are also chapters composed of two consecutive articles. For another example, "Biography of Sycophantic Officials" and "Biographies of Funny Figures", and "Biography of Intellectuals" and "Biography of Cruel Officials" showed Sima Qian's feeling about the current events in deliberately arranged expostulation manner as he had no way to exhort the emperor, and revealed Sima Qian's opinion on the politic situation in Han Dynasty or expostulation on Emperor Wu.

IV. CONCLUSION

In summary, on the one hand, Sima Qian included the administrative situation in the period of Emperor Wu of Hany Dynasty into the "The Records of the Grand Historian", and on the other hand also made a hidden arrangement, implying his tiny expostulation to Emperor Wu. In the "Source of Articles (文章源流)", Gao Buying said, "Sima Qian had to use some witty descriptions in the book". Mr. Han Zhaoqi said that "Sima Qian's special techniques used in "The Records of the Grand Historian" are not as clear and uncontroversial as ordinary calligraphy. The author had praised or belittled opinion, right and wrong, but it is not easy to see clearly"²⁴. Because of this, "if being slightly careless, you may even draw the opposite conclusion; the academic circles' disputes on Sima Qian's thought and opinions and the comment on the historical figures involved in the *The Records of the Grand Historian* may be often related to this reason"²⁵. Compared with the political environment in which strategists in the Warring States period can act freely like "If you don't follow my advice for three

²¹ Sima Qian. *The Records of the Grand Historian* [M]. Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Co., 2006, p1434.

²² Lu Xun: *Collected Works of Lu Xun* [M]. Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House, 1982, p221.

²³ Sima Qian. *The Records of the Grand Historian* [M]. Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Co., 2006, p3197.

²⁴ Han Zhaoqi. *General Theory of The Records of the Grand Historian* [M]. Guangxi: Guangxi Normal University Press, 1996, p78.

²⁵ Han Zhaoqi. *General Theory of The Records of the Grand Historian* [M]. Guangxi: Guangxi Normal University Press, 1996, p78.

times, I will go”, Sima Qian was in the context of unified autocratic regime and had lost some freedom of him as an intellectual. Sima Qian's use of expostulation method is precisely a helpless revision on his valued mode of strategists in the Warring States period under the pressure of the times.

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