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MONOGRAPHIE IV

YEN CHIH-T'UI
顏之推

FAMILY INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE YEN CLAN
YEN-SHIH CHIA-HSÜN
顏氏家訓

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1968

FAMILY INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE YEN CLAN

YEN-SHIH CHIA-HSÜN

顏氏家訓

BY

YEN CHIH-T'UI

顏之推

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION
WITH INTRODUCTION

BY

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
LUCIUS C. PORTER
(*1880-1958*)

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INTRODUCTION

Family Instructions in China

A judge in New York city once wrote to the New York Times saying that not in the seventeen years he had been on the bench had a Chinese-American teen-ager been brought before him on a juvenile delinquency charge. The judge had queried his colleagues on the same matter and found that, to their knowledge, not one of the estimated 10,000 Chinese-American teen-agers there "had ever been haled into court on a depredation, narcotics, speeding, burglary... or mugging accusation. A check with San Francisco, where there is a large number of Chinese-Americans, tells the same story. It also holds true in Chicago, where the police report 'excellent' behaviour on the part of Chinese-American youngsters" [1]).

Among the various explanations given to support this phenomenon such as the Chinese family system, filial piety and serious fatherhood, the "family instruction" (*chia-hsün* 家訓) plays an important role in maintaining a traditional criterion of good conduct and manners. Chinese parents are mindful of the welfare of their children and take their duty very seriously. The relationship between Chinese parents and their children is based on both awe and affection. Nearing death, Chinese parents often leave instructions for their family members. These instructions influence not only the children and grandchildren, but possibly many generations, if the mentor is an important scholar-official. Ancestral instructions in a private family could become family laws, and in an imperial household could become an informal constitution to be followed by posterity, such as those of the early emperors of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties.

[1]) "Why no Chinese-American Delinquents", *Saturday Evening Post*, vol. 227 (April 30, 1955), 12; "No Chinese American J. Ds.", *America*, vol. 93 (July 23, 1955), 402; James C. G. Conniff, "Our Amazing Chinese Kids," *Coronet*, vol. 39 (Dec., 1955), 31-36; William A. McIntyre, "China offers us a lesson", *New York Times Magazine* (Oct. 6, 1956), 49-56; and Chandler Bossard, "Americans without a delinquency problem", *Look*, vol. 22 (April 29, 1958), 75-82. But in recent years the declining Confucian ethics no longer have so much influence on Americanized children in Chinatown; see Stuart H. Cattell, *Health, Welfare and Social Organization in Chinatown* (New York City, N.Y., Community Service Society, 1962), pp. 52-68, 81-86.

Various terms have been used for family instructions, including *chia-hsün*, *chia-chieh* 誡 (family warnings), *chia-hui* 誨 (family counsel), *chia-yüeh* 約 (family contract), *chieh-tzu-shu* 誡子書 (letters giving warnings to children), *i-ming* 遺命 (last will), and *chieh tzu-chih shu* 誡子侄書 (warnings to sons and nephews). There are other terms such as *chia-kuei* 規 (family regulations), *chia-fa* 法 (family law), *chia-chiao* 教 (family teaching), *chia-fan* 範 (family pattern) and *chia-feng* 風 (family custom or tradition). For an imperial house we have such books as the *Ming Ta-kao* 明大誥 (Great Instructions of the Ming), *Huang-Ming tsu-hsün* 皇明祖訓 (Ancestral Instructions of the Imperial Ming), and *Ch'ing Sheng-hsün* 清聖訓 (Sacred Instructions of the Ch'ing emperors).

The *Yen-shih chia-hsün* 顏氏家訓 or Instructions to the Members of the Yen Family, of the sixth century A.D. has been considered the earliest of this type of writing[1]). Nevertheless, Professor Moriya Mitsuo 守屋美都雄 traced the beginning of such literature to the Han dynasty (B.C. 206-A.D. 220) [2]). Ancestor Jen's family contract (*Jen-kung* 任公 *chia-yüeh*), which is found in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi*, says:

> What is not produced by your own field and animals, you should not eat or wear; until you have finished your public duties, you should not drink wine or eat meat. For this reason he became a great leader of his fellow country men; he was also rich and respected by the emperor. [3])

This lesson of self-reliance and public spirit seems to be the earliest piece of instruction literature. Yet a number of chapters in the ancient *Book of History* (*Shu-ching* or *Shang-shu*) such as the "Ta-kao 大誥" (The great announcement) and the "Ta-hsün 大訓" (The great instruction) [4]) may be considered the earliest form

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[1]) Ch'en Chen-sun 陳振孫, *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i* 直齋書錄解題 10.14b (*Wu-ying tien chü-chen pan* ed).

[2]) "Rikuchō jidai no kakun ni tsuite 六朝時代の家訓について" (On the Family Instruction in the Six Dynasties), *Nihon Gakushi-in Kiyō* 日本學士院紀要, 10.3 (1952), 171-194.

[3]) *Shih-chi*, 129.18 (the Wu-chou T'ung-wen shu-chü edition, Shanghai, 1903); the same edition of the *Twenty-four Dynastic Histories* is used throughout the following pages except a few cases where different editions are used.

[4]) Among other chapters are the K'ang-kao 康誥 (Instructions of Prince K'ang), "Do not seek repose, nor be fond of idleness and pleasure, so may you regulate the people" (Bk. IX, sec. 6, p. 387); the Chiu-kao 酒誥 (Instruction against drunkenness); the Chao kao 召誥 (Instructions of the Duke of Chao); and the K'ang-wang chih kao 康王之誥 (Instruction from King K'ang). James Legge translated *kao* as "announcement", but it might better be translated as "instruction" because the primary meaning

of this genre and the forerunners of the *Ming Ta-kao* (Great instructions of the Ming) and *Ch'ing Sheng-hsün* (Sacred instructions of the Ch'ing Emperors).

For a private family instead of a royal household, the predecessor of the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* seems to be Huang Jung's 黃容 *Chia-hsün*, which is, however, no longer extant [1]). The instructions of Fan Hung 樊宏 (d. 51 A.D.), Ma Yüan 馬援 (14 B.C. -A.D. 49) and Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (A.D. 127-200) are fortunately still available. Fan warned his sons against excessive wealth and extremely high official positions as means of incurring danger such as befell many nobles of former dynasties, admonishing them that it was better to be self-contented and modest in order to protect themselves [2]). General Ma Yüan wrote a letter to his nephews counseling them to listen to good or bad points of others but never to say such things themselves. They should never speak ill of others, nor make random remarks about what was right or wrong. He abhorred those who liked to pass careless judgments and criticize others groundlessly. He would rather die than hear that his sons and grandsons had such bad habits. They must be careful, frugal, honest and unpretentious [3]).

Such strong counsel may not often be given by a father or uncle in Western society, nor would it be accepted cheerfully by his sons and nephews. However, some Chinese gentlemen were less dogmatic. For example, after a serious illness the classical scholar Cheng Hsüan knew that he could not live long; so he wrote a letter to his son summarizing his experience in acquiring a good education through the help of his relatives. Finally he said, "If I were you, I would inquire about the health of the relatives, visit and take

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of *kao* is to "to tell." For instance, the "K'ang-wang chih kao" reads, "Now do ye, my uncles, I pray you, consider with one another and carry out the service... Though your persons be distant, let your heart be in the royal house. Thus enter into my anxieties and act in accordance with them, so that I, the little child, may not put you to shame." *The Chinese Classics* (Reprint by the Hong Kong University Press, 1960) III, 568. This is obviously the tone of an instruction. More quotations of instructions from the *Book of History* and other classics are presented in Liu Ch'ing-chih 劉淸之 (1139-1195), *Chieh-tzu t'ung-lu* 誡子通錄 (A general collection of instructions to children) 1. 3-4, 5-6 and *passim*, *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen* edition.

[1]) The book is mentioned in Ch'ang Ch'ü's *Hua-yang kuo-chih* 常璩, 華陽國志, 11. 16b (*SPPY* edition).

[2]) *Hou Han-shu* 62. 11b.

[3]) *Ibid.*, 54. 14; and *Chieh-tzu t'ung-lu* 3. 24b-25.

care of their tombs, be careful of your manner and bearing, keep in close association with those who have virtue..." [1]).

These are fragments of family instruction telling young people to associate with good company, work hard, live frugally, repay favors, be dutiful in public service, modest in manner, and careful in speech and conduct.

A systematic study of *The Traditional Chinese Clan Rules* by Dr. Hui-chen Wang Liu adds that clan instructions include filial piety to parents, respect to seniors, harmony with family and community members, giving sons and grandsons a strict education and discipline, attention to one's proper vocation and law-abidingness. The rules "combine moral teachings with human understanding and integrate social ethics with religious belief." A youngster should please his parents or at least serve them with a pleasing expression, support his parents and remain pious toward them. He should cause his parents no worry or disgrace, nor argue against their ideas. After their death he should bury them with ceremony and perform the ancestral rites for their spirits thereafter. A woman should be confined to the home a good deal of the time. She should not visit temples, take sight-seeing trips alone, leave the house at night without escort and lamp, stay away from home overnight, loaf around neighborhood houses and so on [2]).

The Chinese family was patriarchal. The grandfather or father was the ruling head with authority over all members of the family just like the emperor who had authority over all subjects in the empire. Were these rules strictly enforced by stern parents or voluntarily observed by nice children, juvenile delinquency would certainly be reduced. Thus the Chinese family instructions may be at least a partial explanation of the relatively good behavior of Chinese youth in foreign countries.

The instruction to the members of the Yen family is one of the

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[1]) *Ibid.*, 65. 14-15. For more information on such early literature, see Chou Fa-kao, "Chia-hsün wen-hsüeh ti yüan-liu", 周法高, 家訓文學的源流 (The evolution of the *Chia-hsün* literature), *Ta-lu tsa-chih*, 大陸雜誌 22, 2 (Jan., 1961), 33-37; 3 (Feb., 1961) 22-28, and 4 (Feb., 1961), 13-18; and Wang Yi-t'ung 王伊同, *Wu-ch'ao Men-ti* 五朝門第 (The social, political and economic aspects of the influential clans of the Southern Dynasties) published by the Institute of Cultural Studies, University of Nanking, Chengtu, 1942, Pt. B, 35-44.

[2]) Hui-chen Wang Liu, *The Traditional Chinese Clan Rules*. Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, No. VII (New York, 1959), 23, 25, 95 and *passim*.

most famous, and most comprehensive work now extant in this genre [1]). A widely learned and experienced scholar, the author deals mainly with the methods of establishing character and regulating a family, as well as criticizing absurd customs and correcting erroneous word usage, pronunciations and literary allusions, so that his descendants might speak elegantly without using slang and act sensibly without being obstinately conservative. In discussing religious problems he shows his inclination to Buddhism, reflecting the popular ideas of his time. Many passages of this instruction have been quoted in later Chinese dictionaries, works on textual criticism, grammar, and customs and folklore, as well as in ethical writings and other literature [2]). Chinese bibliographers for centuries have valued Yen's book [3]), and Western savants have also paid attention to it [4]).

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[1]) Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, *Law and Society in Traditional China* has a good discussion on "father's authority". (the Hague, Mouton & Co., 1961), 20-41.

[2]) For example George Kennedy's study of the particle *yen* used *Yen-shih chia-hsün* (see *J.A.O.S.* LX, 1940), 194-95, and Lü Ssu-mien's 呂思勉 *Liang Chin Nan Pei ch'ao shih* (History of the two Chin, Southern and Northern Dynasties) contains many quotations from this book, such as II, 918, 946, 994, 1002, 1052-53, 1060, 1185-86, 1359-60 and *passim*. (Hong Kong, Tai-p'ing shu-tien, 1963). Of course Miyakawa Hisayuki 宮川尙志, *Rikuchō-shi kenkyū, seiji shakai hen* 六朝史研究, 政治社會篇 (A study of the history of the Six Dynasties—Government and Society, 1956, 442-43, 545 and *passim*) also quotes Yen's work.

[3]) The notes in Chinese bibliographies about the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* (YSCH) from the T'ang to recent years have been conveniently reproduced in appendices III-IV, *ts'e* 3 by Chou Fa-kao in his *Yen-shih chia-hsün hui-chu* 彙注, published by the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica (Taipei, 1960) in 4 *ts'e*.

[4]) Alexander Wylie, for example, regarded *YSCH* as "one of the earliest of the works on domestic counsel...to enforce the importance of mental culture..." (*Notes on Chinese Literature* [Reprint, Peiping, 1939], p. 127). Several pages of summary and discussion are given to this book by Alfred Forke in his *Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie* (Hamburg U. Abhand., 1934), 238-43. Professor Étienne Balazs considers *YSCH* as an "ouvrage précieux pour ses nombreux renseignements sur les mœurs et la civilisation du VIe siècle", *Le Traité économique du "Souei chou"* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1953), 211, n. 110. Albert E. Dien has contributed a chapter, "Yen Chih-t'ui (531-591), a Buddho-Confucian", to *Confucian Personalities*, edited by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (Stanford University Press, 1962), 43-64. Dien's Ph. D. dissertation is *Yen Chih-t'ui* (531-591): *His Life and Thought* (University of California; 1962).

YEN CHIH-T'UI'S FAMILY BACKGROUND

Yen Chih-t'ui 顏之推 (T. Chieh 介: A.D. 531-591) [1], whose early ancestors were natives of Lang-yeh 琅邪 [2] in modern Shantung, while he was born in Hupei, was a descendant of a scholar-official family. His twelfth-generation ancestor, Yen Sheng 盛 served as Governor (*Tz'u-shih* 刺史) of Ch'ing-chou 青州 and Ch'i-chou 齊州 and Great Judge of Personnel [3], *Ta Chung-cheng* 大中正, in the Kingdom of Wei. His eleventh generation ancestor Ch'in 欽 was a master of the *Book of Odes*, the *Book of Rites* or *Decorum* and the *Book of History;* he also served as Great Judge of Personnel of Ch'i-chou. His tenth-generation ancestor Mo 默 was a Prefect (*T'ai-shou* 太守) in the Chin dynasty [4]. His ninth generation

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[1]) This date is based on Miao Yüeh 繆鉞, *Yen Chih-t'ui nien-p'u* 年譜, which is reproduced in Chou Fa-kao's *Yen-shih chia-hsün hui-chu*, III. 151-162. See also Takahashi Kunpei 高橋君平 "Gan Shi-sui betsuden 別傳" *Kindai*, 10 (1955), 64-68, and Satō Ichirō 佐藤一郎, "Ganshi-kakun shōron" 顏氏家訓小論, *Tōkyō Shina gakuhō* 東京支那學報 1 (1955), 192-205. See also Satō's essay on Yen in Tōkyō Daigaku-Chūgoku Tetsugaku, ed., *Chūgoku no Shisōka* (Chinese Thinkers; Tokyo, 1963), I. 375-386. Most workers on Yen Chih-t'ui agree on the fact that Yen died shortly after 591, and this idea is indicated by Dr. Dien as 591+. Professor E. Zürcher adopts a slightly different date: 531-595, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1959), I. 21. Professor Lo Hsiang-lin puts the date of Yen's death in 596 in his *Yen Shih-ku nien-p'u* 顏師古年譜 (Changsha, The Commercial Press, 1941), 25.

[2]) For this title see Donald Holzman, "Les débuts du système médiéval de choix et de classement des fonctionnaires: les Neuf Catégories et l'Impartial et Juste 九品中正," in *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des hautes études chinoises* I (Paris, Presses universitaires de France; 1957), pp. 387-414, esp. p. 396 ff.

[3]) *Lang-yeh* is the old name of Ch'ing-chou 青州, now I-tu 益都 in the eastern part of Shantung. It is 50 *li* south-east of Lin-tzu 臨淄 according to Aoyama Sadao's 青山定雄 *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao sakuin, Shina rekidai chimei yōran* (Tokyo, 1932), 645. Because this index gives succinct information, it has been frequently used for identifying geographic names in this book. Yen was born in Chiang-ling, Hupei, according to *Yen Chih-t'ui nien-p'u*, III. 151b.

[4]) *Ch'üan T'ang-wen*, 339. 14-21 and 340. 10-16 (Kuang-ya shu-chü edition, 1901; facsimile reprint, Taipei, 1961). For official titles in this paragraph, Miyakawa Hisayuki translates Chung-cheng 中正 as "Judges of Equality", *Ta chung-cheng* as "Major Judge". *Rikuchō shi kenkyū*, *op. cit.* 594. For other official titles such as *T'ai-shou*, I frequently consulted Robert Des Rotours' *Traité des Fonctionnaires et Traité de l'Armée* translated from the *Hsin T'ang-shu*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1948, 2 vols (quoted hereafter as Des Rotours).

ancestor, Yen Han 含, a courtier, followed the Chin Emperor Yüan-ti during the move from the North to Chien-k'ang 建康 [Nanking] in the 310's [1]), when North China fell into the hands of the barbarians under the leadership of Liu Ts'ung 劉聰 (d. 318) [2]). These political refugees or emigrants snobbishly regarded themselves as men coming from an area of higher civilization in the North to the underdeveloped South, and even when they had been settled in Nanking for many generations, their descendants still claimed to be natives of Lang-yeh.

Yen Han was canonized Marquis Ching or Ching-hou; Yen Chih-t'ui frequently refers to him with great admiration, because this early ancestor was described as a man of wisdom, integrity, modesty, and practical experience in living in a disturbed society. He was well-known for his filial piety and family devotion.

From Yen's Temple Epitaph (*Yen-shih chia-miao pei* 顏氏家廟碑 [3]) the family tree may be briefly traced to understand their family pride. One of Han's three sons Mao begat Lin 綝; Lin, Ching-chih 靖之; Ching-chih, T'eng-chih 騰之; and T'eng-chih, Ping-chih 炳之. Ping-chih's son, Chien-yüan 見遠 (died 502), was Chih-t'ui's grandfather; he served as a Court Censor (*Yü-shih* 御史) and concurrently as Vice-president of the Censorate (*Chung-ch'eng* 中丞 [4]) under the emperor Ho-ti (501) of the Southern Ch'i dynasty. As soon as Liang Wu-ti had usurped the Ch'i throne in 502, he went on a hunger strike and died after several days. Wu-ti abhorred the protest but praised his loyalty to the former dynasty. Loyalty and filial piety were certainly corner stones of the Chinese family

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[1]) Yen Han (T. Hung-tu 宏都, 265-357) a native of Lang-yeh, may be Yen Chih-t'ui's eighth generation ancestor, if he himself is not included. Yen Han's grandfather, Yen Ch'in 欽, was a court secretary (*Chi-shih-chung* 給事中—Cf. *Le Traité des Examens*, tr. by Robert des Rotours, (Paris, 1932), p. 8.). Han's father, Mo 默, was a prefect of Ju-yin 汝陰 [in Anhui]. Yen Mo had a reputation for good conduct and filial piety, and was appointed magistrate of Shang-yü 上虞 [in Chekiang] after moving to the South, and finally retired as a Grand Chamberlain (*Shih-chung* 侍中 —Cf. *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms*, tr. by Achilles Fang, Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 4). After his death he was canonized as Ching-hou 靖侯. Yen Han had three sons—Mao 髦, Ch'ien 謙, and Yüeh 約; all had some reputation. Yen Han's biography is in *Chin-shu*, 88, 13-15. The date for moving the capital from the North to the South is recorded in *Chin-shu* 6. 2b-3.

[2]) Liu Ts'ung was a descendant of the Hsiung-nu people. *Chin-shu* 102. 1-25.

[3]) For detailed bibliographical information on this epitaph see p. 1, n. 1.

[4]) Cf. Robert des Rotours 115, 301, 384.

system. Such heroic deeds naturally are worthy of family pride [1]).

Another son of Yen Han was Yen Yüeh whose son was Yen Hsieh 協 and grandson Yen-chih 延之 (384-456). Yen-chih was one of the two outstanding writers of his time in eastern China [2]), and the author of a family instruction entitled *T'ing-kao* 庭誥 [3]). Though carefree in his personal conduct, he was a patron of Buddhism and argued against its critics [4]). This famous man was Yen Chih-t'ui's great grand-uncle, whose Buddhism and writings had a far-reaching influence on his great grand-nephew [5]).

His father, Yen Hsieh 協 (498-539), was a widely learned scholar and a renowned calligrapher at the court of the Liang dynasty (502-556). His elder brother, Yen Chih-i 之儀 (523-591) was also a famous writer [6]). Chih-t'ui was the grandfather of Yen Shih-ku 師古 (581-645), whose annotations to the *History of the Former Han dynasty* have permanent value, and an ancestor of Yen Chen-ch'ing 真卿 (708-785), whose calligraphy has been used as a model for students in past generations. Based on various sources, the glorious family tree may be followed [7]). The reason for its con-

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[1]) Information about Yen Chien-yüan is in Yen Hsieh's biography, see p. I, n. 1 and p. 96, n. 3.

[2]) The other famous writer was Hsieh Ling-yün; both Yen and Hsieh left many essays and poems collected in anthologies for the appreciation of all generations (*Sung-shu* 73.13). See Richard Mather, "The landscape Buddhism of the Fifth Century Poet, Hsieh Ling-yün," *J.A.S.*, XVIII (Nov., 1958) 67-79.

[3]) Part of the *T'ing-kao* is in the *Sung-shu* 73. 3b-11b, *Ch'üan Chin-wen* 36. 4-9, and *Chieh-tzu t'ung-lu* 4, 7-16b.

[4]) T'ang Yung-t'ung 湯用彤, *Han Wei Liang Chin Nan-pei ch'ao Fo-chiao shih* (History of Buddhism in the period of Han, Wei, the two Chin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties), The Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1938, II. 427.

[5]) According to the biography of Yen Chih-t'ui in the *Pei Ch'i-shu* (45.17) his ninth-generation ancestor was Yen Han. According to Yen Yen-chih's biography in *Sung-shu* (73.1) his great grandfather was Yen Han, and hence Yen Yen-chih was Chih-t'ui's great grand-uncle. See also p. 89, n. 2. Another influence on Chih-t'ui's writing of the family instruction is Liang Yüan-ti's *Chin-lou tzu* (Book of the Golden Hall Master) from which several chapter headings and many anecdotes also appear in *YSCH*; its author once studied under and was a close associate of Liang Yüan-ti.

[6]) *Chou-shu* 40. 11-13; and *Pei-shih* 83. 19b-20.

[7]) Based on *Yen Chih-t'ui nien-p'u* (see p. XIV, n. 1), especially pp. 161-62; Lo Hsiang-lin, *Yen Shih-ku nien-p'u*; and Moriya Mitsuo, "Ganshisui to sono jidai" (Yen Chih-t'ui and his time), *Jimbutsu to jidai* 人物と時代, compiled by the Hakusan Shigakkai 白山史學會, Tokyo, 1947, 85-87. The main branches

tinuous flourishing for nearly twenty generations was that the social standing of an aristocratic family was used as a basis for selecting government officials of all levels—the *Chiu p'in chung-cheng* 九品中正 system or roughly the nine-grade judgement system [1]). Chih-t'ui's early ancestors, Yen Han and Yen Mao, served as Great Judges for civil recruitment according to this system. These posts, plus the old aristocratic family standing and, most important of all, the strict discipline, gave the Yen members a good chance for advancement. Yen Chih-t'ui recalled his family tradition with satisfaction. He said, "The habits and teaching of our family have always been regular and strict" (p. 1). "For generations the essays of our family have been very refined and orthodox, not imbued with vulgar style" (p. 96). "The ancestors of the Yen family originated in the States of Tsou and Lu. For generations they were professional Confucian scholars. Among

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of the Yen family tree are Yen Sheng 盛 — Ch'in 欽 — Mo 默, — Yen Han 含 (Mao 髦, Ch'ien 謙, and Yüeh 約). One branch: Yen Yüeh, — Hsien 顯 and Yen-chih 延之. The other branch: Mao—Lin 綝—Ching-chih 靖之—T'eng-chih—Ping-chih 炳之—Chien-yüan 見遠—Hsieh 協—Chih-t'ui—(Shih-lu 師魯, Min-ch'u 愍楚, Yu-ch'in 遊秦). Shih-lu's son Shih-ku was an excellent historian. His son, Yang-t'ing 揚庭, following his footsteps wrote a commentary on the *Hou Han-shu* and served as a reader to a prince. His nephew, Chao-fu 昭甫, a palaeographer and reader of the imperial court, was noted for his calligraphy in the *li* and grass styles. His grandson, Yüan-sun 元孫 (d. 714) said to be extremely brilliant and very famous through the T'ang empire, was appointed curator of imperial paintings by T'ang Hsüan-tsung. He also wrote *Kan-lu tzu-shu* 干祿字書, in which special attention was paid to correct writing, pronunciation and definition. Yen Shih-ku's great-grand sons, Yen Kao-ch'ing 杲卿, Ch'un-ch'ing 春卿 and Chen-ch'ing 真卿, were all scholar-officials; they have biographies in *Hsin T'ang-shu*, 192. Yen Chen-ch'ing died in Loyang at the hands of An Lu-shan; because of his opposition, his tongue was torn out before execution. His loyal action was similar to that of his ancestor Yen Chien-yüan. Hereafter the family tree has too many branches to be traced; it continued to produce scholar officials. Suffice it to say that the tree blossomed for some six hundred years from the period of the Three Kingdoms to the end of T'ang.

[1]) Under this system all officials were chosen from old aristocratic families and classified into nine grades or levels according to their "abilities" after some oral or written examinations. This system prevailed from the kingdom of Wei to the Sui dynasty (221-581); a comprehensive and illuminating study of this system has been made by Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定, *Kyūhin kanjin-hō no kenkyū* 九品官人法の研究 ("The Mechanism of the Aristocracy in China", Kyoto University, 1956. 581 pp.), especially pp. 309-371; and Miyakawa Hisayuki, *Rikuchō shi kenkyū*, chap. 4, see also page XIV, note 2.

the twenty-two direct disciples of Confucius, eight belonged to the Yen family (p. 128)." It is to be noted that he traced the family history much farther back than later historians and biographers. Proudly he pointed out, "From the time we received our surname until now only two persons were devoid of pure conduct, and they both incurred disaster and ruin (p. 129)." This is an illustration of the effectiveness of good family instruction.

His Personal Experience

Yen's life history was a product of his socio-political background. He lived at a time when the Chinese ruling class, compelled to leave the North, established a series of weak, ephemeral dynasties in the South, centered at Chien-k'ang, modern Nanking. Having suffered a severe psychological shock, they had a hard time to readjust themselves to the new environment. They found themselves in a rich area much of which was still jungle with water-buffaloes and backward peoples. They felt themselves exiles, and behaved like émigrés. Having lived in the South for many decades, they were still nostalgic. Such tones appear often in Yen's writings [1]).

Yen had a checkered career during the so-called Dark Age of the Southern and Northern dynasties (386-587). He says clearly "I was born in disordered times and grew up among military horses, wandering here and there and gathering much by ear and eye" (p. 46).

When he was nine years (*sui*) old, his father died. The family was "divided and scattered, every one lived in poverty." He was brought up by his brother and a cousin, who were kind to him and assisted him in his study. Meanwhile, at the age of seven, he could recite the long poem *Lu Ling-kuang Fu* 魯靈光賦, indicating that he was a bright child. Through continued schooling he acquired his family's speciality: knowledge of the classics, especially the *Chou-li* and Tso's *Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*. At twelve, on account of his father's relationship, he had the honor to study *Lao-tzu* and *Chuang-tzu* in Chiang-ling under Prince

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[1]) For an analysis of the socio-political background, see Arthur F. Wright, "Buddhism and Chinese Culture", *Journal of Asian Studies*, 17.1 (Nov., 1957), especially pp. 24-25; and for a more general and longer description of the background, see Kimura Eiichi 木村英一, "The New Confucianism and Taoism in China and Japan from the fourth to the thirteenth centuries A.D.", *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* V (1959-1960), 801-829.

Hsiao I 蕭繹 (508-554), who later became Emperor Yüan of the Liang. Taking little interest in philosophical discussions, Yen returned to the study of the Confucian classics. He read so avidly and wrote so beautifully that the prince made him court attendant and concurrently placed him in charge of some minor military work. Lacking parental love and strict discipline from his brother, he had acquired bad habits, being careless in speech and dress and fond of wine. At about eighteen he began to improve himself, but it was difficult for him to get rid of his ingrained childhood habits until he was over thirty [1]).

Yen Chih-t'ui was engulfed in the political and social chaos. Three times he encountered the fall of a dynasty, and four times he changed his service, moving here and there according to the exigency of circumstances. He was first employed by Prince Hsiao I of the Liang dynasty. When he was eighteen, the rebellion of Hou Ching 侯景 broke out in 548 [2]). When Liang Wu-ti died and Hsiao Kang succeeded the throne as Chien Wen-ti in 550, Yen Chih-t'ui, then twenty years old, was appointed secretary of Hsiao I's heir-apparent, Hsiao Fang-hsü 方緒, who was governor of Ying-chou 郢州 [Wuchang]. Unluckily this city was taken by Hou Ching in 551, when Governor Hsiao, Yen Chih-t'ui and many others were captured. Yen's clothes were taken off in preparation for execution, but a kind-hearted officer saved his life and sent him

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[1]) See the preface of *YSCH*, and his biography in *Pei Ch'i-shu*, 45. 17-26, and *Pei-shih*, 83. 18-19b. His "Kuan wo-sheng fu 觀我生賦" (Contemplating my life) reproduced in Chou Fa-kao, *Yen-shih chia-hsün hui-chu* III. 136b-149, gives the reader a deeper impression of his life, although it adds little concrete information. Part of this *fu* poem "Contemplating my life" has been translated by W. R. B. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), p. 123.

[2]) The rebellion occurred in 548-552 A. D., and was led by Hou Ching, who was formerly a general of the Wei dynasty (386-534). He changed his allegiance to the Northern Ch'i (550-577), then to the Western Wei (534-543) and then to the Liang dynasty (502-556). Emperor Liang Wu-ti made him lord of Honan, where he had a hundred thousand soldiers under his command. Soon afterwards he revolted against the Liang dynasty, killed Emperor Wu's successor and took his place. Finally, in 552 he was defeated by other generals and his corpse was torn to pieces by the people to whom he had shown extreme cruelty at the time of the revolution. See Hou Ching's biography in the *Liang-shu*, 56.1-32; and *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* VI, pp. 4970-5095 (punctuated edition, Peking, 1956). The destruction during Hou Ching's rebellion is vividly described in Yen's "Kuan wo-sheng fu".

back to Nanking. No doubt he was glad to have this opportunity to visit his ancestors' cemetery near Nanking [1]).

After the suppression of the rebellion in 552, Yen Chih-t'ui returned to Chiang-ling, Hupei, where Hsiao I had been proclaimed emperor, entitled Liang Yüan-ti (552-554). The emperor appointed Yen imperial counselor, secretary and compiler. In the last capacity he compared different copies of many books to decide which one was the best. He did this kind of library work for about two years. Near the end of 554 the kingdom suffered a severe defeat from the army of Western Wei. Liang Yüan-ti was executed, and many of the imperial collections on which Yen had worked were destroyed [2]). Yen Chih-t'ui became a prisoner of war for the second time. He suffered a great deal from cold, hunger and foot trouble while he was taken to Ch'ang-an, Shensi, where a son was born named Yu-ch'in, literally "Sojourning in Ch'in" (Shensi).

Suddenly in January 556, during a flood, Yen managed to escape with his family, making a hazardous boat trip on the Yellow River for the purpose of going back to Nanking by way of Northern Ch'i (550-577) in Honan. Unfortunately for Yen, no sooner had he reached Honan than the Liang dynasty was terminated (556) and replaced by the Ch'en dynasty under Ch'en Pa-hsien 陳霸先 (503-559). This ambitious Buddhist general ruled as Emperor Ch'en Wu-ti for three years (557-559) [3]). A man without a home state to return to, Yen Chih-t'ui was obliged to stay at Yeh 鄴, the capital of Northern Ch'i, in modern An-yang, Honan. He greatly pitied himself, as is vividly expressed in his poem, "Contemplating my life."

Unexpectedly, the "barbarian" Northern Ch'i emperor, Wen-hsüan, was delighted at Yen's coming, for he had heard of his reputation and literary talent. Immediately this emperor made him a courtier to write state documents. Sometimes he accompanied the emperor to Shansi where he made identifications of some vague historical names. At the age of twenty-eight, when he was unhappy, he indulged in wine. Possibly as a punishment, he was

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[1]) To be exact, it was West of Mo-fu shan 幕府山 in the district of Shang-yüan 上元; Lo Hsiang-lin, *op. cit.*, 5.

[2]) The destruction of books in this period—a great disaster to library collections in Chinese history—is well presented, with reference to the original sources and scholarly notes, by William R. B. Acker in *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, 121-127.

[3]) *Ch'en-shu, chüan* 1-2.

appointed Military Administrator (*Kung-ts'ao ts'an-chün* 功曹參軍) at Chao-chou 趙州 in Hopei about the year 561 or 562 [1]). Before long, however, he was again transferred to the court of Ch'i. Even so, Yen's promotion was slow. Yet his high intelligence, wide learning, beautiful calligraphy, quick answers to all inquiries, and prompt handling of imperial decrees won the full confidence of the emperor, who made him a chief assistant and secretary general of the Northern Ch'i dynasty. Moreover the powerful official, Tsu T'ing 祖珽 (T. Hsiao-cheng 孝徵, H. P'u-yeh 僕射) [2]) became Yen's protector. Thus in 572-74 Yen was made Director of the Wen-lin-kuan 文林館 or the Literary Academy, in which encyclopedias were compiled [3]). This was the heyday of Yen's official career.

This advantageous position did not last long, however, for Tsu T'ing lost his power in 573 as a result of racial struggles between the Hsien-pei descendants and Chinese officials and between military men and scholars. Tsu T'ing was compelled to leave the court and was eventually killed in 573. After Tsu's execution his partisans were to be stamped out. How could Yen deal with the situation?

Yen worked cautiously and dutifully. Other courtiers were jealous of him and attempted to do him harm. The crisis came in November 573, when the army of the Ch'en dynasty was attacking Yeh, the capital of Northern Ch'i. The Ch'i emperor decided to leave for Chin-yang 晉陽 [i.e. T'ai-yüan] in Shansi, the second capital of Ch'i. A number of high Chinese officials, led by Censor

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[1]) Based on his own statement about himself in the first chapter and his biography in *Pei Ch'i-shu* 45, 17-26, and *Pei-shih* 83, 18-19b.

[2]) For Tsu T'ing see p. 30, n. 2 and p. 33, n. 1.

[3]) The encyclopedias referred to were *Hsiu-wen-tien Yü-lan* 修文殿御覽 and *Hsü wen-chang liu-pieh* 續文章流別. The history of the compilation and the fragmentary remainders of the former work are well discussed in the article by Hung Yeh 洪業, "So-wei *Hsiu-wen tien Yü-lan* che" (The so-called *Hsiu-wen tien Yü-lan*), *Yen-ching Hsüeh-pao*, no. 12 (1932), 2499-2558. In this article Professor Hung tries to prove that the fragmentary material discovered from the Tun-huang caves by Paul Pelliot and believed by Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 to be the *Hsiu-wen-tien Yü-lan* is actually the *Hua-lin pien-lüeh* 華林遍略 which was compiled under the imperial auspices of Liang Wu-ti. Albert E. Dien, however, believes that "the problem still awaits a careful study of the textual variants", see "A Note on Imperial Academies in the Northern Dynasties", *International Association of Historians of Asia, Second Biennial Conference Proceedings* (Taipei, 1962) n. 32, pp. 63-65. In this paper Dr. Dien gives an informative discussion of the Lin-chih Academy of Northern Chou and the Wen-lin Hall of Northern Ch'i.

Ts'ui Chi-shu 崔季舒, wrote a petition, solicited signatures and finally presented the document to the emperor, asking him to change his decision. The Hsien-pei General, Mu-ti-p'o 穆提婆, accused the Chinese civil officials of nourishing rebellious attempts to help the Southern attackers. Many Chinese high officials were called to the court, and of those who had signed the document, six were instantly executed in front of the court. Yen Chih-t'ui was also summoned on the assumption that he had likewise signed the document, only to be dismissed when his signature was not found[1]). Thereafter Yen worked even more carefully among his unfriendly or antagonistic colleagues. He managed to maintain the position of *Huang-men shih-lang* 黃門侍郎, Attending Secretary inside the Imperial Yellow Gate. His duties were, *inter alia*, to attend the emperor's trips, to receive visitors, and to handle written communications with the court [2]). He accompanied the emperor to Chin-yang in 546, but the Northern Ch'i court was tottering because of court intrigues and outside invasions.

When the Chou army overthrew the Ch'i dynasty in 577, Yen was a man without a nation for the third time. Helplessly he surrendered to the conquerors, and was obliged to follow the Chou emperor to Ch'ang-an, where he had difficulty in making a living.

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[1]) The sources of this whole story are Ts'ui Chi-shu's biography in *Pei Ch'i-shu* 39.1-3b, and *Yen Chih-t'ui nien-p'u* 157-58.

[2]) *Huang-men shih-lang* was an official title, first found in the Ch'in dynasty (B. C. 221-207); since the Chin (A. D. 265-419) it became a vice lord-in-waiting of the *men-hsia-sheng*, which literally means a bureau in the palace gate; practically it was a bureau in waiting for the emperor's service. The head of that bureau was called *shih-chung*, lord-in-waiting. The function of the *huang-men shih-lang* was waiting in attendance to the emperor; transmitting information from the emperor to the outside and *vice versa*; writing edicts, orders and other essays of the same nature in cooperation with the head; giving advice and suggestions to the emperor; leading ceremonies at audiences; and examining and tasting medicine prepared for the emperor. The number of vice-lords was usually from two to four. For a long time the *men-hsia-sheng* had predominant power in the central administration. (*T'ang Liu-tien* 8, 4b-5 and 21, 16b, *Kuang-ya shu-chü* edition, and *T'ung-tien* 21, 121, *Shih-t'ung* edition). The rank of *Huang-men shih-lang* is the same as *Chung-shu shih-lang* 中書侍郎—5th rank. (See Miyazaki Ichisada, *op. cit.*, 209). It has been variously translated as Assistant Chamberlain (Achilles Fang, *op. cit.* 4), and as vice-président du Département de la Chancellerie impériale or Vice-Président de la Porte jaune (by Robert Des Rotours, 11, 140). The translation in the text is adopted from L. S. Yang's *Studies in Chinese Institutional History* (Harvard University Press, 1961), 182.

For three years he held no official position until 580, when he was made a *Yü-shih shang-shih* 御史上士, a low rank censor. [1])

In the subsequent Sui dynasty (581-617), the heir apparent summoned Yen to the court and respected him as a great scholar. Nevertheless his suggestion to adopt the musical system of the Liang Dynasty was not accepted. He was a leading consultant for a work on philology, entitled *Ch'ieh-yün* 切韻. [2]) He was one of the contributors to the revision of the calendar system during the Sui period. This work virtually occupied the rest of his life.

Thus he served four dynasties: Liang (from 549 to 554), Northern Ch'i (from 556 to 577), Northern Chou (from 577 to 581) and Sui (from 581 to 591). He weathered all storms of the time. Out of his sixty odd years of life he spent more than twenty years in Hupei and Kiangsu, another twenty in Honan, and the rest in Shensi. Sentimentally he liked to be a northerner, yet he was born in the South; mentally he was a southerner, yet he spent most of his life in the North. [3])

Yen died of illness after the eleventh year of the K'ai-huang period (581-600). He had three sons: Ssu-lu 思魯 (literally thinking of [their ancestors in] Lu), Min-ch'u 愍楚 (sorry for Ch'u, the Liang territory in Hupei and Honan), and Yu-ch'in 遊秦 (sojourning in Ch'in; see p. XX). They were brought up when the family was in the depths of poverty. Realizing their poor living conditions, Ssu-lu tried to earn some money in order to make ends meet. Yen said,

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[1]) Utsunomiya, "Yen chih-t'ui's Life in Kuan-chung," *Tōyōshi Kenkyū*, XXV, 4 (March, 1967), 146-156.

[2]) Yen Chih-t'ui was one of the leading scholars, who set up the general principles and then let Lu Fa-yen 陸法言 work as a compiler. For relevant information about the *Ch'ieh-yün* see Lien-tseng Wang, "Un dictionnaire phonologique des T'ang", *T'oung Pao* XLV (1958), 53-57.

[3]) From the *Yen-shih chia-hsün*, in which differences between the southerners and notherners are frequently analysed or compared, Yen Chih-t'ui seems to have been strongly influenced by his environment in the South and he is frequently in favor of southern customs. For instance, when southerners write essays, they beg others for comments or criticism, but it is not customary to do so in Shantung (p. 99). Southerners usually shed tears on the occasion of friendly separation; northerners say goodbye to each other at any crossroads (p. 31). Southerners seldom talk about ancestors; northerners, after meeting for a short time will converse about their family background (p. 30). "Traveling from the south to the north, I have never said a word to my contemporaries about their family histories" (p. 121). As Professor Dien says, "Yen Chih-t'ui . . . was very much a southerner." (*Confucian Personalities*, 52).

"A son should keep in mind serving his parents, a father should insist on educating his son," and so he did not allow Ssu-lu to work, but exhorted him to keep up his studies uninterruptedly. Finally Ssu-lu also became a noted scholar; he edited the collection of his father's essays and wrote a preface to it. Min-ch'u was an official at court (*Nei-shih* 內史) of the Sui dynasty and author of *Cheng su-yin lüeh* 證俗音略 (A brief collection of vulgar pronunciations corrected). [1]) Thus he was following in his father's footsteps. Yu-ch'in served as a prefect in two districts where he was loved by the people and highly praised by the T'ang emperor Kao-tsung (650-683) for his excellent administrative work. [2]) Equally good was his work *Han-shu chüeh-i* 漢書決疑 (Solutions of doubtful points in *Han-shu*), which was popular in the early T'ang period and which was a major source of Yen Shih-ku's work on the *Han-shu*. [3])

Yen Chih-t'ui was a profilic writer. Besides the collection of his essays (*Wen-chi*, 30 *chüan*) and his *Family instruction* (20 *chüan*), he is credited with the authorship of several works on subjects ranging from Chinese phonology and calligraphy to popular religion. He wrote a *Tzu-shih* 字始 (Etymology) and *Cheng su-yin tzu* 證俗音字 (Corrections of words with vulgar pronunciations); both were listed in the bibliographical section of the *History of the Sung dynasty* and reconstructed editions are available. [4]) His *Hsün su wen-tzu lüeh* 訓俗文字略 (Brief list of colloquial words with glosses) is listed in the *Sui-shu*. [5]) The *Chi-chiu chang-chü* 急就章句 (Commentary on the Chi-chiu glossary) and *Yüan-hun-chih* 冤魂志 (Tales of grieving souls) are registered in the two histories of the T'ang dynasty. [6]) The *Chi-ling-chi* 集靈記 (Collection of stories of spiritual manifestations), *Ch'i-wu* 七悟 (The seven awakenings),

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[1]) This book is listed in the bibliography of the *Chiu T'ang-shu* 1. 19 and the *T'ang-shu* 1.17.

[2]) Yu-ch'in's biography is in *T'ang-shu* 198.8.

[3]) Lo Hsiang-lin, *op. cit.*, 15-16.

[4]) *Sung-shih*, I-wen-chih (The *Pa-shih ching-chi chih* edition), 1.26b. Reconstructed editions of *Cheng su-yin* are in *Hsiao-hsüeh kou-shen*, *Hsiao-hsüeh su-i* and elsewhere.

[5]) *Sui-shu*, Ching-chi chih, 1. 34b.

[6]) *Chiu T'ang-shu* 1. 19a, 34a; *Hsin T'ang-shu* 1. 16a, 3. 19a. For a detailed study of the bibliographical information, editions, quotations and ideas of the *Huan-yüan chi*, see Chou Fa-kao, "Yen Chih-t'ui, Huan-yüan chi k'ao-cheng" 還冤記考證 in *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 22.9 (May 1961), 1-4; 10 (May 1961), 13-17; and 11 (June 1961), 14-22.

Pi-mo-fa 筆墨法 (Methods of using brush and ink) and *Chi-sheng fu* 稽聖賦 (A *fu* poem tracing the sages) are the other books recorded in historical bibliographies. [1]) Most of his writings are no longer in circulation with the exception of the *Yen-shih chia-hsün*, *Yüan-hun-chih* or *Huan-yüan chi* 還寃記 and *Chi-ling-chi*. [2]) No wonder he felt at home when he talked about etymology, ethnology, customs, manners, correct usages and pronunciations of words as well as about Buddhist ideas. His mastery of various branches of knowledge is presented in the instruction to his family members so that his descendants might come to have his interests and make further improvements, and that the content and manner of their conversation might distinguish them from uneducated people.

His Ideas on Society and Education

Of the several works by Yen Chih-t'ui now extant, the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* written about 589 [3]) is the most important. The main purpose of the instruction is teaching his descendants how to cope with their age. Modestly he said, "I do not venture . . . to model conduct for this generation but simply to regulate my own family" (p. 1). He left these twenty chapters of the *YSCH* to "warn and guide you boys."

Yen lived in a time of chaos when each of the two Chinas (Southern and Northern) was convulsed by civil wars and torn between ephemeral dynasties. The decadent aristocratic families still maintained a strong influence in politics and society, and the wealthy were extremely extravagant, while pretending to be real scholars, whereas the majority of the people were poor, ignorant, and superstitious. Yen shows the Liang scholars and officials as wearing loose garments with a wide girdle, big hats, and high overshoes. When they went out they used carriages or sedan chairs, coming back they had the help of servants. From such a society come

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[1]) See *I-wen-chih erh-shih-chung tsung-ho yin-te* (The Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series, No. 10, Peiping, 1933), IV, 56. Of these works, the *Chi-ling-chi* has reconstructed editions in *Shuo-fu* 118, *Ku-chin shuo-pu ts'ung-shu* and others.

[2]) The *Huan-yüan chi* or *Huan-yüan chih* is preserved in the collections of *Yen-shih ch'üan-shu*, *Hsü pai-ch'uan Hsüeh-hai*, *Han-wei ts'ung-shu* (compiled by Wang Mo 王謨), and *Ch'en Mei-kung chia-ts'ang kuang pi-chi* 陳眉公家藏廣秘笈. The *Chi-ling-chi* is in *Shuo-fu*, *chüan* 118, and others. See also XXIII n. 3.

[3]) According to Yü Chia-hsi 余嘉錫, *Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng* 四庫提要辨證 (1937 edition), V. 2.

Yen's educational ideas. Education must be given early and be strict. It is the only distinction between nobles and commoners. The more advanced children go through the *Book of Rites* or the *Book of Decorum*, Tso's *Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, the *Book of Odes* and the *Lun-yü*. Those who can go further become high scholar-officials; those without firm standing will thereafter drop down to the level of common persons (p. 52).

Good education is the best insurance for making a living in times of trouble. "Those who have learning and skill can settle down everywhere" (p. 54). "Many captives, though lowbred, have become teachers through knowledge and study of the *Lun-yü* and *Hsiao-ching*. Whoever can keep steadily at work on a few hundred volumes will never remain a common person. A proverb says, "To amass wealth by the million does not compare with the mastery of a small skill (p. 55)." To cultivate oneself by learning and skill is like polishing gold and carving jade. This is important, because as even gold and jade need polishing, so human beings need discipline and training.

The function of reading and studying is primarily to open the mind and clarify the vision in order to improve one's conduct. Those not knowing how to care for their parents are expected to observe how the ancients anticipated their parents' wishes; then, startled and frightened, they will put what they have learned into practice (p. 59). To study history is "to learn from the examples of the past." In every profession there must be masters in the past for students to study and to follow. Although the aim of study is to seek improvement, yet "nowadays men learn with a view to show off in speech" (p. 61); they are superficial and narrowminded.

Education must be thorough and fundamental through a careful study of the basic vocabulary, for "characters are the foundation for writings" (p. 78). It must be wide, not narrow. He who has not looked over all the books in the world should not carelessly criticise others' work. A good student must have knowledge about many subjects: botany, medicine, music and art. Since Yen had a genuine interest in art, he could not repress his indignation when he observed how artists were frequently bothered for service by those in power. He advised his descendants to acquire skill in the arts for self-enjoyment, not in order to be known by others. Disgusted with the men in power, he was on the side of those who were weak because they had no special family backing. He did not hesitate to give due recognition to individual talent. It seemed to Yen that

youth should cherish a high goal by admiring heroes, but should keep their feet on solid ground, forgetting superficial gain. "A first-class scholar forgets about reputation," says Yen, "a mediocre scholar works for a reputation, while the lowest sort of scholar steals a reputation" (p. 108).

Environmental education is also stressed by Yen Chih-t'ui.

> When men are young, their minds and emotions are not settled. With whomsoever they closely associate, they are imbued, soaked, moulded and dyed with each other's way of thinking, laughing and acting. Even though they have no intention of imitatating their associates, they are quietly moved and unconsciously changed, and naturally they end by resembling each other (p. 46).

Education must be practical. For practical purposes arithmetic, astronomy and other subjects must be studied. In literature, an essay should aim at "the three kinds of ease: facts easy to occur, words easy to recognize, and style easy to read" (p. 96). Literary allusions cited in speeches and writings should be personally checked, not based on hearsay. This is a warning against shortcuts by using secondary sources.

In short, Yen said everything he could and drew numerous examples from histories and his contemporary contacts to encourage education and study. Obviously he hoped that his sons and grandsons would be cultured enough to maintain the scholar-official tradition. [1])

His Superiority Complex in Philological Matters

Although the practical-minded Yen Chih-t'ui was very conservative in expressing any opinion about political figures—especially about the barbarian conquerors under whom he had to make a living—he was very particular in pointing out the mispronunciations or mis-reading of words by ancient and contemporary scholars. Numerous passages in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* could make people think that he was an intellectual snob. This is against his own teaching of modesty: not to show off one's wealth or talent in public.

One reason for his seeming air of superiority was that he had

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[1]) For a further resumé of Yen's ideas, see Wu Chen-tsu 伍振鷟, "Yen Chih-t'ui chih jen-sheng che-hsüeh yü chiao-yü ssu-hsiang . . . 人生哲學與教育思想" (Yen Chih-t'ui's philosophy of life and educational ideas), *T'ai-wan sheng-li shih-fan ta-hsüeh, chiao-yü yen-chiu so chi-k'an* 台灣省立師範大學, 教育研究所集刊, no. 2. 113-119.

received a good family instruction in the classics during his childhood. The other reason was not discovered until Professor Ch'en Yin-k'o's article on "The *Ch'ieh-yün*, A Historical Study" was re-read. [1]) According to Professor Ch'en, the *Ch'ieh-yün* was not based on the seventh century Ch'ang-an dialect. It was based on a composite phonetic system of the Lo-yang dialect of the third century. Lo-yang was the political and cultural center from the Eastern Han through the Western Chin. Refugees from the North to South of the Yangtze River were noble landlords who wished to distinguish themselves by still keeping the Lo-yang dialect. The *Ch'ieh-yün* compiled by Lu Fa-yen was based mainly on the works of scholars from the Yangtze area, or eastern China including Chien-k'ang. The Northern Ch'i capital at Yeh succeeded to the Lo-yang culture. The seven editorial advisors of Lu Fa-yen included no natives from Ch'ang-an; however, Yen Chih-t'ui, because of his Lo-yang accent, which his family had proudly retained, was the chief source of information. "The standard pronunciations of the *Ch'ieh-yün* were mostly taken from Yen Chih-t'ui and Hsiao Kai 蕭該. Yen's pronunciation as used by the aristocratic families in Nanking was the best" (p. 6).

Therefore, if the authority of Professor Ch'en Yin-k'o's words is accepted, the reason for Yen's linguistic superiority is that he possessed the best national standard accent of his time, and thus it was easy for him to tell whose pronunciation was different from his own. His wide learning and careful research for evidence from stone inscriptions, bronzes and other sources gave him additional power for comment or criticism about the correct reading and use of words and phrases. This point is very important for us in order to understand Chapter XVIII, On Philology.

Yen's Relation to Buddhism and Confucianism

The *Yen-shih chia-hsün* has been classified as a work of the Confucianist School (*Ju-chia*). [2]) However, because he wrote a chapter on Buddhism in which he considered Buddha as better than Confucius, he irritated some Chinese scholars so much that his work, *YSCH*, was also degraded by listing it in the Miscel-

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[1]) "Ts'ung shih-shih lun *Ch'ieh-yun*" 從史實論切韻, (On the *Ch'ieh-yün*, a historical study), *Ling-nan hsüeh-pao* 嶺南學報 9.2 (1949), 1-18.

[2]) The bibliographical section of the two T'ang and Sung histories classified the *YSCH* among the *Ju-chia*.

laneous School (*Tsa-chia*). Since the Sung dynasty Yen's work has been sometimes listed in the Confucian section and at other times in the Miscellaneous section. [1])

The question of the classification is a minor point; the major problem is Yen's relation to Buddhism and Confucianism. I believe that Yen Chih-t'ui is primarily a Confucianist.

Confucian ideas prevail throughout the whole work. His family pride, tracing its history back to Confucius' disciple Yen Hui, has been mentioned. The family system is particularly emphasized. An elder brother should be treated in the same way as a father, whereas "a younger brother should be loved like a son" (p. 10). Numerous examples of filial sons are given in order to promote filial piety (see chap. IV). Yen's emphasis on family tradition and filial piety, such as "Manners and breeding . . . bequeathed by earlier to later generations" (p. 16), is contrary to Buddhism which advocates celibacy and separation from one's family to live in a monastery.

To Yen a family is also a miniature of the state—"the use of clemency and severity in governing a family is the same as in a state" (p. 16). The livelihood of the people should be based on farming for food supply, and every man born into society should have a profession. This is again opposite to the common practice of monasticism.

Loyalty is highly desired by Yen Chih-t'ui. "Not bend the knee before two imperial families was the integrity of Po I and Shu Ch'i; to refuse to serve an illegitimate ruler was the principle of I-yung and Ch'i-tzu. But if you cannot help it, and suddenly have to bend your knees in serving another ruler, you should not change your thought about the former chief, whether he still exists or not" (p. 92).

In the last chapter written near Yen's death, he advised his sons to give him a simple funeral. He did not advise them, as P'ei Chih 裴植 did in his last will to his son and younger brother, "to cut off his hair and beard, dress him in a Buddhist robe and bury him as a monk." [2]) Nor did he think of any burial by cremation. Instead, he deeply regretted that he could not bring the coffins of his parents from Chiang-ling, Hupei, to the old family cemetery near Chien-yeh. This shows him as a Confucian in the last days of his life. Throughout

[1]) Information for the varied classifications of this work in major bibliographies or catalogues is conveniently given in Chou Fa-kao's edition, III, 181-183.

[2]) *Wei-shu* 71.7b.

the whole of the *YSCH*, the Confucian classics are quoted numerous times, and Confucius' name is mentioned with almost equal frequency, whereas no specific Buddhist sutra is ever quoted and Buddha's name is rarely mentioned. References to Buddhism are mainly confined to a special chapter (XVI), in which the style and the way of presentation are quite different from the other chapters. Thus it is safe to say that Yen Chih-t'ui had closer relations with Confucianism than with Buddhism and was much more influenced by Confucianism than by Buddhism.

It was a fashion in the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties for many emperors, nobles and aristocratic families to believe in Buddhism. Many old scholar-official families had taken an interest in this new religion for generations. [1]) For example Yen Yen-chih, a writer as famous as Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433) [2]), was so versed in Buddhist tenets that he wrote several books and convinced his challengers in open debate before Emperor Sung Wu-ti. [3]) It was easy for the clan-conscious Yen Chih-t'ui to be influenced by this ancestor, and to become an advanced and widely learned scholar, not a conservative and narrow-minded person. Moreover, Liang Wu-ti, a Buddhist devotee, under whom Yen Chih-t'ui studied and served during his boyhood, may have also influenced his ideas, whether for practical or academic reasons. [4])

Yen's chapter on Buddhism was, however, thoughtfully written so as to avoid practical difficulties. Formerly, Chinese scholars had attacked Buddhism on the grounds that it was a foreign or barbarian religion, or a challenge to the Confucian state—a monk did not have to pay reverence to the emperor—, or on economic grounds since it encouraged members of society not to perform their proper duties; or again Buddhism was considered detrimental to the family system because of its advocacy of celibacy and withdrawal from productive activities, or it was criticized on moral grounds—the questionable conduct and hypocrisy of some Buddhists being mentioned [5])

[1]) T'ang Yung-t'ung, *op. cit.* II. 415-515.

[2]) For Hsieh Ling-yün see p. 89, n. 3.

[3]) T'ang Yung-t'ung, II, 440-41.

[4]) As T'ang Yung-t'ung points out, the believers in Buddhism of the Liang dynasty were not always sincere. Many courtiers believed in Buddhism for the natural reason that they wished to side with the emperor, Liang Wu-ti; II. 477.

[5]) For a succinct survey of Chinese Buddhism during "the period of domestication", ca. 317-589, see Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese*

Yen summarized such criticism of Buddhism in five points and gave some answers (XVI);

> First, they (the critics of Buddhism) regard events beyond this world and the boundlessness of divine transformations as absurd and unreliable; secondly, they regard good luck or bad, disaster or happiness, since these are sometimes not (properly) requited as deceitful; thirdly, they regard the conduct and words of monks and nuns, since many of them are not sincere and pure, as unprincipled and hypocritical; fourth, they regard the waste of money and treasure and loss in taxes and labor services as harmful to the nation; fifth, even though there is a cause which results in good or bad effects, they wonder how the sacrifice of the self of today can benefit the self of a future generation.

Yen's arguments in favour of Buddhism are from a southerner's point of view dealing generally with tenets, not with the struggle between Church and State as in the North. [1]) His interpretation of Buddhism is rather superficial, however. He failed to understand Buddha's concept of mercy, stressing instead the idea of retribution, of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Good deeds would receive corresponding rewards in the present life or in a future one, and similarly with evil. The stories in *Huan-yüan chi* are also centered on the idea of retribution. Perhaps this was due to the chaos of the time, in which many innocent people were killed, and he, tormented by his sense of justice, could do nothing about it. As for his discussion about the cosmos and the thousands of worlds, it is a demonstration of his wide learning; not many scholars could challenge him about the invisible universe in the sixth century. He may have written these high sounding words from hearsay, for he does not quote any Buddhist scripture. [2]) Even in his chapter on Buddhism, Yen is not a thorough Buddhist; he tries

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History (Stanford University Press, 1959), 42-64; for a scholarly digging from original Chinese, Sanskrit and other sources see E. Zürcher, *op. cit.*, I, 81-176; Kenneth Ch'en's "Anti-Buddhist Propaganda during the Nan-ch'ao," *HJAS* 15, 1-2 (June, 1952), 166-192; and his article "On Some Factors Responsible for anti-Buddhist Persecution under the Pei-ch'ao," *JAOS*, 17 (1954), 261-273. Walter Liebenthal, "Chinese Buddhism during the 4th and 5th centuries," *Monumenta Nipponica* 11 (1955), 44-83 also supplies good background information. From these studies one can see that Yen did a clever piece of work in writing his chapter on Buddhism. See also p. 193 n. 1.

[1]) T'ang Yung-t'ung, II. 462.

[2]) Lack of quotation of Buddhist literature was a general tendency in the fifth century, because such material was not readily available in lay circles. See Liebenthal, "Chinese Buddhism," p. 68.

to persuade his children to believe in it, but not to leave the family shaving their heads and becoming monks. He was an amateur Buddhist. Although he considered Buddhism the "Inner Religion" and Confucianism the "Outer Religion," he was in fact a man whose outside expression was Buddhism, but whose inner mind clung to Confucianism (*nei sheng wai fo* 內聖外佛).

As for other miscellaneous information which may be found in the *YSCH*, such as on social customs and conditions, [1]) readers will find it out themselves.

Remarks on the Translation

The present translation is a story itself. It began in 1936 when the undersigned was one of the two Leighton Stuart Research Fellows at Yenching University, Peiping. He assisted the late Professor Lucius C. Porter in teaching the course, Chinese Translation, and at the same time he translated the *Yen-shih chia-hsün*, while Dr. Porter edited his English. In the summer of 1937 he had an opportunity to work in the Library of Congress, while the translation was still far from completion. He had to omit difficult passages and chapters, and worked on the last part. While he was translating the chapter "Last Will," Japanese airplanes were bombing the military barracks approximately a mile from the living quarters for staff members at Yenching University and the windows were so badly shaken that the house seemed about to fall to pieces. On the manuscript he marked that he would fully agree with Yen's idea of a simple funeral, were he to be killed by a Japanese bomb. Packing a few things hurriedly for his departure to the United States, he handed over the incomplete manuscript to Professor Porter, who was subsequently taken to a concentration camp in Wei-hsien. In 1947 the undersigned taught at National Peking University and discussed the manuscript, which had survived the war, with Dr. Porter, but neither of them could find time for working on it again. After Dr. Porter's retirement, some of the manuscript was still in the original handwriting of the

[1]) Many social customs which have been handed down from at least the author's time are recorded in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün*. The inferior position of women ("No hen should herald the dawn lest misfortune follow" and "Train a wife from her first arrival"), infanticide, and respect shown to paper with writing, Southerners raising their clasped hands but not bowing when meeting guests, the first birthday ceremony, the "baby test" and the taboo custom are examples of his rich descriptions of the life around him.

translator. It is unpleasant to leave something half done, and so a decision was reached to make a complete translation and an introduction. The latter Dr. Porter consented to undertake. Unfortunately he died on September 7, 1958. He spent most of his seventy-seven years of life in China as a missionary and professor of philosophy, assisting Feng Yu-lan in translating part of the *Chuang-tzu* into English.

In memory of Dr. Porter, all omitted chapters and paragraphs have been newly translated, and hundreds of notes have been added. The manuscript has been revised and retyped several times. Several years have been necessary to bring this translation to an end.

Deep gratitude is due to Professor William Hung for suggesting the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* for translation. Chapter XVIII was checked by Professors Chou Fa-kao, Walter Simon and Li Fang-kuei, whose expert suggestions are highly appreciated. For astronomical points, I had the honor to receive guidance from the late Professor Tung Tso-pin. Professor Chao Chuan-ying, former Chairman of the Department of Botany at Formosa University, has kindly examined botanical terms. Chapter XV, The Nourishment of Life, and XVI, On Buddhism, have been carefully reviewed by Professor Chang Chung-yuan, a specialist on Buddhism and Taoism, and by Professor H. G. Creel (Chapter XV); both of them made helpful suggestions. I should also thank Professors Wing-tsit Chan, T. H. Tsien, K. T. Wu for furnishing me various academic sources, Professor Theodore de Bary for encouraging me to do an unabridged translation; Professor Y. P. Mei for supplying sources about juvenile delinquency; Mr. J. Alvin Kugelmass and the *Saturday Evening Post* for permission to make quotations; Jeraline D. Haruen, Tomoko Honjo and others for typing and retyping the manuscript; and Jean Knowlton for reading a large part of the text and retyping many pages in the last revision; Indiana University for enabling the work to be revised and printed; librarians of Indiana University, the University of Chicago and Harvard and the Library of Congress for lending a large number of books, periodicals, microfilms and photostats. The editors of the *T'oung Pao*, Professors Paul Demiéville and A. F. P. Hulsewé, do me the honor of publishing the manuscript in its Monograph Series and making many valuable suggestions. Finally I owe my wife a debt of deep gratitude, not only for making the index, but also for excusing me from doing household work so that I could spend more hours in my office

day and night. In spite of so many helpers in various fields, I am alone responsible for shortcomings.

The text of the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* used in this final translation is Chou Fa-kao's *Yen-shih chia-hsün hui-chu,* whose additional notes, bibliographical data, and index are very helpful. It is certainly the most informative and convenient edition of *YSCH.* I have also used three supplementary studies: Chou Fa-kao, *"YSCH Hui-chu pu-i* 彙注補遺," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica,* Extra volume No. 4, Part II (Taipei, 1961), 857-897; Ch'en P'an 陳槃, *"Tu Yen-shih chia-hsün cha-chi* 讀 . . ." 札記 and Wang Shu-min 王叔岷, "Commentary on the *Yen-shih chia-hsün"* published in the *Symposium on Chinese Studies Commemorating the Golden Jubilee of the University of Hong Kong,* 1964, 1. 65-137.

A translation is made primarily for those who cannot read the original language. For this reason the style of the translation, though close to the text, must be fairly readable. An attempt has been made to eliminate the excessive use of parentheses, square brackets and Chinese characters, so that a non-sinologist may not be frightened away at first sight. The annotations, too, could be many times more bulky than they are now. After all, a sinologist would prefer to read the original, no matter how careful is the translation and how abundant are the footnotes.

Chinese and Japanese names are presented according to their own custom, i.e. family name first, followed by the personal names, unless a famous Oriental scholar such as Y. R. Chao has well established his name in Western style. The Wade-Giles romanization system is adopted throughout, but supplemented by the Karlgren system when needed for the indication of medieval pronunciations.

August, 1967. S.Y.T.

CHAPTER ONE

PREFACE

Of books written by sages and worthies to teach men honesty and filial piety, care in speech and caution in conduct, self-reliance and concern for reputation, there are already plenty. Since the Wei and Chin period (221-423) philosophical works have appeared over and over again, imitating one another, repeating principles and reduplicating facts as though making a room under a room or piling bed on bed. In writing another work of this nature myself, I do not venture to determine a course for events or to model conduct for this generation, but simply to regulate my own family and to get the ear of my sons and grandsons. The same advice spoken by different persons will be accepted only from those who are trusted most; the same orders given by different persons will be acted on in proportion to the respect felt. In checking mischief in children, the warnings of teachers and friends are not so effective as the commands of nurse or maidservant; in stopping quarrels and fights between coarse brothers, the doctrines of Yao and Shun are not so influential as the instruction of a widowed mother. I hope my book will be for you boys something a little better than the words of nurses and widows.

The habits and teaching of our family have always been regular and strict. In my childhood I had the advantage of good instruction from my parents. With my two elder brothers [1]) I went to greet our parents each morning and evening to ask in winter whether they were warm and in summer whether they were cool; we walked steadily with regular steps, talked slowly with good manners and moved about as dignified and reverent as though we were visiting

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[1]) According to Yen Hsieh's biography in *Nan-shih* 72.21 and *Liang-shu* 50.26, Yen Chih-t'ui had only one elder brother, Yen Chih-i (523-591), but here he says two elder brothers. The commentator, Lu Wen-ch'ao 盧文弨 explains that Chih-t'ui may refer to a cousin as an elder brother. However, according to *Yen-shih chia-miao pei*, the temple epitaphs of Yen Chen-ch'ing (708-784, in *Chin-shih ts'ui-pien* 金石萃編 compiled by Wang Ch'ang 王昶 (1725-1806), block print edition of 1825, 101.25b) Yen Chih-t'ui had another brother named Yen Chih-shan 之善, who was not famous.

the awe-inspiring rulers at court. They gave us good advice, asked about our particular interests, criticized our defects and encouraged our good points—always zealous and sincere. When I was just nine years old, my father died. The family members were divided and scattered, every one of us living in poverty. I was brought up by my loving brothers, who went through hardships and difficulties. They were kind but not exacting; their guidance and advice to me were not strict. Though I read the *Book of Decorum* and its commentaries and was somewhat fond of composition, I was greatly influenced by vulgar practices, uncontrolled in feelings, careless in speech and slovenly in dress. [1]) When about eighteen or nineteen years old I learned to refine my conduct a little. As these bad habits had become second nature, it was difficult to get rid of them entirely. After my thirtieth year gross faults were few but still I had to be careful always; for my words and my reason, my passions and my nature were like enemies to each other. Each evening I became conscious of the faults committed that morning, and today I regretted the errors of yesterday. How pitiful that the lack of instruction brought me to this condition! Recalling past experience, not merely precepts once learned from old books but my own experience engraved upon the bone and muscle of physical nature, I leave these twenty chapters to warn and guard you boys.[2])

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[1]) Literally: "I did not take care of hems and robes as to whether they were orderly or not." The expression is derived from Ma Yüan's 馬援 biography in *Hou Han-shu* 24.2b.

[2]) The literal meaning is that "when the front cart overturns, the hind carts take warning." See Chia I's 賈誼 biography in *Han-shu* 48.25.

CHAPTER TWO

TEACHING CHILDREN

Those of the highest intelligence will succeed without teaching; those of great stupidity even if taught will amount to nothing; those of medium ability will be ignorant unless taught. The ancient sage-kings had rules for pre-natal training. Women when pregnant for three months moved from their living quarters to a detached palace where sly glances would not be seen nor disturbing sounds heard, and where the tone of music and the flavor of food were controlled by the rules of decorum. These rules were written on jade tablets and kept in a golden box. After the child was born, imperial tutors conversant with filial piety, human-heartedness, decorum and righteousness guided and trained him.

The common people cannot follow such ways. But as soon as a baby can recognize facial expressions and understand approval and disapproval, training should be begun in doing what he is told and stopping when so ordered. For several years punishment with the bamboo rod should be avoided. Parental strictness and dignity mingled with tenderness will usually lead boys and girls to a feeling of respect and carefulness and so arouse filial piety. I have noticed in this generation that where there is merely love without training this result is never achieved. Children eat, drink, speak and act as they please. Instead of needed prohibitions they receive praise; instead of urgent reprimands they receive smiles. Even when children are old enough to learn, such treatment is still regarded as the proper method. After the child has formed proud and arrogant habits, they begin to control him. But whipping the child even to death will not lead him to repentance, while the growing anger of the parents only increases his resentment. After he grows up such a child becomes at last nothing but a scoundrel. Confucius was right in saying, "What is acquired in babyhood is like original nature; what has been formed into habits is equal to instinct." [1] A common proverb says, "Train a wife from her first arrival; teach a son in his babyhood." How true such sayings are!

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[1] This quotation cannot be located in any of the Confucian classics, but it appears in Chia I 賈誼 (200-168 B.C.) *Chia-tzu hsin-shu* (*SPPY* ed.) 5.3b and also in Chia I's biography in *Han-shu* 48.19.

Ordinary parents who cannot teach their sons and daughters do not intend to involve them in wickedness; they merely fear that heavy reprimands will cause loss of face, and that unbearable beating will injure their bodies. We should take illness as an illustration. If drugs, medicines, acupuncture and cautery are not used, can there be any cure? Should we think, then, that those who are strict in reproving and training are cruel to their own flesh and blood? No, indeed, they have no choice!

Madame Wang (née Wei), [1] mother of the minister of war, [2] was very severe and strict by nature. When minister Wang was in P'en-ch'eng, [3] already a commander of three thousand soldiers and more than forty years of age, his mother would beat him for anything slightly against her will. In consequence, he was able to perform distinguished service.

In the time of Liang Yüan-ti (reigned 552-54) there was a gifted and talented youth; his father loved him so much that his training was neglected. A single well-chosen word the father would praise for a whole year wherever he went; each evil act he would conceal and gloss over, hoping for self-reform. When old enough to marry and serve the state, he became daily more rude and arrogant. It is said that Chou T'i [4] disembowelled him for his ill-considered speech and consecrated a drum with his blood.

Relations between parents and children should be dignified without familiarity; in the love between blood-relations there should be no rudeness. If there is rudeness, affection and fidelity cannot

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[1] Madame Wang, née Wei 魏, was the mother of Wang Seng-pien 王僧辯 (d. 555), an important minister of the Liang dynasty, on whom and his subordinate, Ch'en Pa-hsien 陳霸先, the life of the regime chiefly depended. When Ch'en assassinated him in 555, the dynasty perished. Wang's biography is in *Liang-shu* 45.1 ff and *Nan-shih* 63. 1b-9b. His mother (d. 554) was an able lady with moral discipline important enough to have her own biography presented in *Liang-shu* 45. 9b-10b.

[2] In the text, it is *Ta ssu-ma* 大司馬 which literally meant a great general in charge of cavalry. This position is similar to a minister of war in later periods of Chinese history. Cf. William F. Mayers, *The Chinese Government* (3rd ed., 1897), no. 162.

[3] P'en-ch'eng 湓城 was in modern Kiukiang in the province of Kiangsi.

[4] Chou T'i 周逖 cannot be traced in the dynastic histories of this period. The commentator, Lu Wen-ch'ao, suggests that Chou T'i might be Chou Ti 迪, a cruel militarist in Kiangsi in the middle of the sixth century; Chou Ti's biography is in *Ch'en-shu* 35, 2b-7b and *Nan-shih* 80, 29-30b. As to who the youth referred to in the text was, is not ascertained by any of the commentators.

unite; if there is familiarity, carelessness and disrespect will grow. After sons receive an official appointment, they and their father should occupy different apartments. This is the way to avoid familiarity. To soothe the parents' pain and to relieve their itch, to hang up their coverlets and to put their pillows in a case, this is the training in avoiding rudeness. [1])

Someone asked, "Why was Ch'en K'ang fond of hearing that men of virtue kept their sons at a distance?" [2]) "That was," I replied, "due to the fact that men of virtue did not personally teach their sons." The satirical couplets in the *Book of Songs*, the warnings against jealousy and suspicion in the *Book of Decorum*, the cases of rebellion and disorder in the *Book of History*, the ironic comments on depraved deeds in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the symbols of procreation in the *Book of Changes*, all these should not be mentioned between fathers and sons, and so were not personally taught. [3])

The prince of Lang-yeh, son of the emperor Wu-ch'eng of Ch'i (560-564 A.D.) was the heir apparent's younger brother by the

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[1]) This brief phrase refers to two passages in the *Li-chi*, chapter *nei-tse* (Couvreur, *Li-ki*, vol. I, p. 622-623, par. 4, and p. 626, par. 8), rendered by James Legge (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXVII, Oxford, 1885, p. 450): ". . . (the children) should ask (their parents) . . . whether they are ill or pained, or uncomfortable in any part; and if they be so, they should proceed reverently to stroke and scratch the place. . . . (p. 452) When the parents . . . wish to lie down . . . they [*i.e.* the children] should . . . hang up the coverlet, put the pillow in its case . . .".

[2]) Ch'en K'ang 陳亢, a disciple of Confucius, is mentioned in the *Lun-yü*, Bk. 16, 13, *The Chinese Classics* I, 316; cf. Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, p. 208, n. 2.

[3]) The author's main idea seems to be that sexual education should not be given by parents, nor should they mention anything about sexual affairs in front of their children. In the Confucian Classics there are occasional references to abnormal sexual relations and other such matters which are not convenient for dignified parents to explain to their children. For instance, in the *Book of Odes* there are poems describing love affairs. In the poem, *Ch'iang yu tz'u* 牆有茨, we read "the story of the inner chamber cannot be told," because "the [former] marquis' son was living in intercourse with the [present] marquis' mother" (*Chinese Classics*, IV, 74, and the Prolegomena, 44). In the *Book of History*, a wicked man "ripped up a pregnant woman" (*Chinese Classics* III, 185), and "the palace is a wild of lust" (*ibid.*, 159). Duke Hsüan of Wei 衛宣公 had committed incest with I-chiang 夷姜, a concubine of his father, and brought forth an illegal child. (Duke Hwan, 2. 16, *The Chinese Classics* V, 66).

same mother. [1]) He was born clever and was heartily loved by both emperor and empress. His clothes and food were just as good as those of the heir. The emperor frequently praised him saying: "You are my clever boy, you ought to amount to something." When the heir apparent came to the throne, the prince lived in a detached palace; he had special privileges and was not treated like the other princes. His mother was still dissatisfied and constantly said so. About ten years of age he was proud, passionate and uncontrolled. He expected his furniture, clothing and knicknacks to be the same as the emperor's. Once having been at court in the South Hall, he saw that the imperial cook [2]) presented fresh ice and an imperial fruit gatherer [3]) offered early plums. After demanding these things and not getting them he was very angry and cursed saying, "His Majesty has had these already, why not I?" The prince's ignorance in distinguishing differences in rank was always like this. Learned observers at court spoke satirically of his resemblance to Shu-tuan and Chou-hsü. [4]) Later on, since he hated the prime minister, he forged an imperial edict ordering his decapitation. Afraid that there might be a rescue, he ordered soldiers under his command to guard the palace gate. He then realized that no one intended to rebel and all the trouble was for

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[1]) Emperor Wu-ch'eng of Ch'i 齊武成王, named Kao Chan 高湛, ruled the empire from 537 to 568. His career is described in *P'ei-Ch'i shu* 7. 1-6.

[2]) *Tien-yü* 典御 was an official in charge of the imperial diet. He is listed in *T'ung-tien* 26. 157 and the official section of *Sui-shu* 27. 3b.

[3]) *Kou-tun*, 鉤盾 literally hook and shield, was an official whose duty was to collect fresh fruit from trees and marshes for the consumption of the emperor. See *T'ung-tien* 26. 154, *Sui-shu, pai-chih chih*, 27. 6b, and Des Rotours, *Le Traité des Examens* I. 421.

[4]) Duke Wu of Cheng (鄭武公) had married a woman called Wu-chiang 武姜 who bore Duke Chuang (莊公) and his younger brother Tuan of Kung (共叔段). She hated Duke Chuang but loved Tuan, and wished him to be declared his father's heir. The father refused and made Duke Chuang his successor. Then she requested Duke Chuang to confer on Tuan the city of Ching 京 where Tuan took up his residence and lived presumptuously beyond his rank. Finally he rebelled against his elder brother, but he was defeated and fled to Kung. *Tso-chuan*, Yin, 1st year, *The Chinese Classics* V, 5-6. Chou-hsü 州吁, a son of Duke Chuang of Wei (衛莊公) was born of a favorite concubine. He was also treated well, but finally he killed his ruler and usurped the throne, *Tso-chuan*, Yin, 3rd year, *The Chinese Classics* V. 11, 13-14.

nothing. Finally, after a period of imprisonment, he was executed for this incident. [1])

Only in rare cases can parental love be equally distributed. From ancient to modern times, this fault has been frequent. Those who are wise and talented are naturally loved; while those who are mischievous and stupid should be pitied. When love is one-sided, even though well-intentioned, it generally causes the beloved more harm than good. The death of Kung Shu [2]) was really caused by his mother; the slaying of the Prince of Chao was actually due to his father. [3]) Liu Piao's [4]) overthrow of his clan and family and Yüan Shao's [5]) loss of territory with the destruction of his army may serve as warnings and examples.

Once a gentleman of the Ch'i court told me, "I have a son who is already seventeen years old. He knows something about writing letters and memorials. I am having him taught the *Hsien-pi* language [6]) and playing the lute (*p'i-p'a*) [7]) with the hope that he

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[1]) When the prince was executed, he was only fourteen years old. His name was Kao Yen (558-571); he was the third son of Emperor Wu-ch'eng. His biography is in *Pei-shih* 52. 14-18 and *Pei-Ch'i shu* 12. 7-10b.

[2]) That is Kung Shu Tuan (Tuan of Kung).

[3]) Prince Chao 趙, referred to as the Heir Liu Ju-i 劉如意, was a son of Han Kao-tsu's favored concubine. Because his mother tried to persuade Kao-tsu to have him replace the heir-apparent, after Kao-tsu's death the widowed empress Lü poisoned the prince and treated the concubine very cruelly. Empress Lü's biography is in *Shih-chi* 9.1 ff. and Prince Chao's biography is in *Han-shu* 38.3 and 97A. 4.

[4]) Liu Piao 劉表 (144-208), a distant relative of the imperial Liu family of the Later Han dynasty, had two sons: Ch'i and Tsung. The father at first loved Ch'i and then Tsung. A family intrigue compelled Ch'i to acknowledge allegiance to Ts'ao Ts'ao. *Hou Han-shu* 104B. 9-14.

[5]) Yüan Shao 袁紹 (died A.D. 202), governor of Chi-chou of the Later Han dynasty, was a formidable political rival of Ts'ao Ts'ao. Unfortunately, all of his territory was conquered by Ts'ao Ts'ao. See Yüan Shao's biography in *Hou Han-shu* 104A, 1-25 and 104B, 1-9.

[6]) The *Hsien-pi* or *T'o-pa* language was the official medium of communication in the courts of T'o-pa Wei and Northern Ch'i. A number of books and government statutes written in the *Hsien-pi* language and listed in the bibliographical section of the *Sui-shu* are no longer extant. There is no sufficient evidence to restore the dead language. During the Northern Ch'i period, being able to speak it or to play the *p'i-p'a* lute meant a stepping stone to high government positions. Examples have been collected by Liu P'an-sui and quoted in his notes. See also Gerhard Schreiber, "The History of the Former Yen Dynasty," *Monumenta Serica* XIV (1949-1955), 374-480, especially pp. 388-89; Peter Boodberg, "The Language of the T'o-pa Wei,"

may gain proficiency and mastery in both. With these accomplishments he may serve the high ministers and officials, and obtain their favors. Is not that an important thing?" At that time I looked down and did not answer. Alas! How strange was that man's idea of child training! Even if they gained for you positions as high ministers of state, I would not want you boys to follow such methods.

HJAS 1 (1936), 167-185; and Louis Bazin, "Recherches sur les parlers T'o-pa," *T'oung Pao* 39 (1950), 228-329, 356-367.

[7]) This is a kind of lute or zither probably introduced from Bactria to China according to L. C. Goodrich, *A Short History of the Chinese People* (N.Y., 1963), p. 55, or from Iranized Turco-Mongols in Central Asia in the second century A.D. according to Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* IV. 130. The history of this instrument has been carefully examined by L. E. R. Picken, "The Origin of the Short Lute," *Galpin Society Journal* viii (1955), 32-42. See also *New Oxford History of Music* I. 83-134.

CHAPTER THREE

BROTHERS

After the appearance of mankind, there followed the conjugal relationship; the conjugal relationship was followed by the parental; the parental was followed by the fraternal. Within the family, these three are the intimate relationships. The degrees of kinship all develop out of these three. [1]) Therefore those who regard human relationships as important must necessarily be trustworthy with brothers who are parts of the same physical inheritance and have the same spirit. In babyhood, they are led by their parents' left or right hand and cling to their parents' front or back garments. They eat at the same table, wear the clothes handed down from one to another. In school they have the same tasks and in their walks take the same direction. Even though sometimes quarrelsome and disorderly, brothers still cannot help loving each other. When grown, each marries a wife and begets children. They cannot avoid a little coolness even when there is true affection between them. Sisters-in-law, compared with brothers, are more distantly related. If such distantly connected persons are used to measure intimate affection, it would be like placing a round cover over a square base, necessarily unsuitable. This may be avoided only by deep-seated brotherly affection that cannot be changed by others.

After the death of their parents, brothers should regard each other as related like an object to its shadow or a sound to its echo. They should love the body bequeathed by the deceased and have sympathy with the spirit which is a part of their own; who else except brothers can share these common elements? The relation between elder and younger brothers differs from that of other

[1]) According to scholars of the Han dynasty, there are two interpretations of the nine degrees of kinship. One includes the nine generations of a family from the great-great grand-father downwards, and the other includes three groups: paternal relatives, maternal relatives, and relatives of the wife. Since the author says that the degrees of kinship are developed from the three most intimate relationships, he is inclined to take the second interpretation. Besides classical commentaries, convenient references to kinship are Olga Lang, *Chinese Family and Society*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, especially chapters 2 and 14, and Feng Han-yi, *The Chinese Kinship System*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948.

persons; to expect too much easily causes hatred; close intimacy is apt to produce resentment. Take living in a house as an example. When there is a hole, stop it up; or a crack, plaster it; there will then be no danger of ruin. If one is careless about sparrows and mice and defenseless against wind and rain, walls collapse, pillars are undermined and the house cannot be saved. Servants and concubines are like sparrows and mice; wives and sons like wind and rain—how terrible!

If brothers are not in harmony with each other, sons and nephews will not love each other. If sons and nephews do not love each other, the numerous cousins (of the big family) will become distant and cool toward each other; then the young slaves and servants will become hostile. Under such conditions the family members will be despised and insulted by outsiders. Who can save them? There are those who make friends with anyone in the world, gaining happiness and intimacy, yet who fail in respect for their elder brothers. How is it they are able to deal with the many, but unable to deal with the few? There are those who command thousands of soldiers, inspiring in them courage to face death, yet who fail in kindness to their younger brothers. How is it they can get on well with distantly related people, but cannot do so with their intimate kindred?

Sisters-in-law are the cause of many quarrels. When such conditions exist between blood relations, it is better that they go off somewhere between the four seas. Then when affected by frost and dew they may think of each other; or gazing at sun and moon they may look for each other. When outsiders enter the family and live together under quarrelsome conditions, it will be rare indeed if there be no grudges. This is due to insistence on selfish interest in handling general family affairs and attention to petty private gain when carrying important family responsibility. If it were possible to practice mutual consideration and to bring up the children of others as one's own, such troubles would not arise.

An elder brother should be treated in the same way as a father. Why, then, should love of a younger brother be less than love of a son? There is confusion and lack of clarity in such comparisons. Liu Chin of P'ei-kuo [1]) lived in the room under the same beam next to his elder brother, Huan, who called him repeatedly. When

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[1]) P'ei-kuo 沛國 or P'ei-chün 郡 was a political division in the period of the Six Dynasties, a region in modern Su-hsien, Anhwei.

there was no answer for some time, Huan, in surprise, asked why. The reply came, "I had not, then, put on my clothes and hat." [1]) To serve the elder brother in this way is quite praiseworthy.

Wang Hsüan-shao of Chiang-ling [2]) had two younger brothers, Hsiao-ying and Tzu-min. The three brothers were particularly affectionate and friendly. Whenever they got sweets or unusual delicacies, no one would taste anything until they could eat together. The earnest eagerness of their faces showed that they felt the time of meeting together was all too short. After the overthrow of the central government [3]) Hsüan-shao, because of his great size, was surrounded by soldiers. His two brothers struggled to embrace him, each one asking that he might die in place of the brother. Since they could not be separated, they were executed together.

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[1]) The story of Liu Chin 劉瑾 and Liu Huan 璶獻 mentioned here differs slightly from that recorded in the dynastic histories, *Nan-Ch'i shu*, 39, 1-4, and *Nan-shih* 50, 1-4b. In these two works there are biographies for the two brothers. One evening when Liu Huan was called out, his brother was already in bed; the latter had to put on full dress before going across to the next room for a talk.

[2]) Chiang-ling is in modern Hupeh.

[3]) According to *T'ung-tien* I. 125, Hsi-t'ai 西臺 in the Later Wei period meant the Central Secretariat. Hung Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202) also says that the capital was called *t'ai* in the Southern Dynasties in his *Jung-chai hsü-pi* 容齋續筆 (*SPTK* ed.) 3. 13. Thus, the commentator says, Hsi-t'ai was Chiang-ling, which fell to the armies of Western Wei in 554. Nothing is known of Wang Hsüan-shao 王玄紹 and his brothers Hsiao-ying 孝英 and Tzu-min 子敏.

CHAPTER FOUR

REMARRIAGE

Chi-fu was a virtuous father; Po-ch'i, a filial son. The harmony between such a father and son should naturally have lasted to the end. But the father's second wife estranged them and Po-ch'i was expelled from the family. [1]) When Tseng Shen's wife died, he said to his son, "I am not the equal of Chi-fu, you are not the equal of Po-ch'i."

When Wang Chün's wife died, he also said to someone, "I am not as good as Tseng Shen, my son cannot be compared with Hua and Yüan." [2]) These two remained unmarried for the rest of their lives.

Such cases give us adequate warning. In later times, stepmothers cruelly treated the lonely motherless children, causing separation between those of the same flesh and blood. How innumerable were those thus brokenhearted! Take care! Take care!

To the East of the (Yangtze) River [3]) people made no secret of concubinage. After the death of a wife, many persons took a concubine or married a maidservant to carry on family affairs. Little troubles, such as ringworm, itch, mosquitoes and other insects, were perhaps unavoidable; but their personal position was so modest that the disgrace of family quarrels was rare.

In the regions North of the (Yellow) River [4]) people despised the children of concubines so strongly that they were given no standing

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[1]) According Ts'ai Yung's 蔡邕 *Ch'in-ts'ao* 琴操, the stepmother tried to slander the son 伯奇 accusing him of misconduct because of her beauty. The father could not believe it. The woman begged her husband to watch her and 吉甫 in her room from a roof. Then she had some bees put into her collar and made her son hasten to remove them. Watching this action from a distance, the father, in great wrath, drove his beloved son away. The latter wrote a moving poem about the deceit and the injustice. Realizing his error, the father killed the second wife.

[2]) Hua 華 and Yüan 元 were sons of Tseng Shen 曾參, a disciple of Confucius. The two brothers asked their father to take a new wife, but the father refused, lest they should be maltreated. *K'ung-tzu chia-yü* (*SPTK* ed.) 9. 2b-3. Wang Chün's 王駿 story is given in *Han-shu*, 72. 9-10.

[3]) Chiang-tso 江左 is the same as Chiang-tung 江東 or the area in the eastern part of the Yangtze estuary.

[4]) In the general area of modern Hopei.

in society. Hence, remarriage was necessary, sometimes three or four times. Some mothers were younger than their stepsons. Difference in treatment between the younger sons of the later wife and the older ones by the former wife in such matters as clothes, food, marriage, state service, education and social standing existed as the usual thing. After the father's death, lawsuits filled the government court; slanderous criticism spread over the public roads. Older sons slandered the stepmother as a concubine; younger brothers denounced the elders as servants. Alas! How frequently the words and actions of ancestors were broadcast, and the good and bad points of a grandfather revealed for the sake of self-justification. From ancient times there have been numerous licentious officials and treacherous concubines who by a single word have brought people to ruin. Moreover, with conjugal loyalties changing day and night, with housemaids and men servants soliciting favors and helping to speak ill of others and to repeat gossip, piling it up for months and years, how could a son remain filial? Such conditions must of necessity be dreaded.

Among the common people a second husband generally loves the fatherless child of the previous husband; but the second wife is certain to maltreat the son of the previous wife. This is not only because women cherish jealousy while husbands have an indulgent inclination, but also because circumstances bring about such a result. A fatherless child of a former husband dares not dispute about family property with the son of the new husband, who fondles and cares for him and gradually love arises and devotion grows between them. A son of a former wife was always ranked above the later children; in training for government service, and in marriage, etc. he was given protection and so he was maltreated (by the stepmother). If those doted on were of a different surname, the father or mother would be hated; if the mistreatment was done by the stepmother, the brothers became enemies. Any family where such conditions are found, faces disorder in the household.

Yin Wai-ch'en 殷外臣, maternal uncle of Ssu-lu,[1]) and his brothers, a scholar of wide learning, had sons, Chi 基 and Shen 諶 who were adult and independent. Yet he married a second wife, née Wang. Whenever Chi visited his stepmother, he was deeply affected and sobbed uncontrollably; the members of the family could not bear to look up, and even Madame Wang herself was

[1]) The name of the author's son. Yin was Yen's brother-in-law.

grieved and did not know how to face the situation. After ten months she begged permission to leave and was accordingly sent off with some presents. It was a deplorable affair.

The *Hou-Han shu* tells of a man of Ju-nan [1]) named Hsüeh Pao [2]) of the time of Emperor An (A.D. 107-125). He was fond of study and noted for his sincere conduct and perfect filial piety shown at the time of his mother's death. As soon as the father married a second wife, Pao was hated and driven out. He wept day and night and would not leave until he was beaten with a cane. Helpless, he lived in a cottage outside the home, but every morning he went in to do the sweeping. This angered the father who drove him out again. He then lived in a thatched hut by the village gate, and did the early morning tasks without a break for more than a year. The parents felt ashamed and called him back. Afterwards, he wore mourning for six years—longer than the regular period. At a later time, the younger brothers asked for a division of the property and a separation of dwellings. Pao could not deter them and so divided the property equally among them. Taking the old men-servants and housemaids, he said, "They have served me for a long time; you could not use them." Taking the barren land and dilapidated cottages, he said, "In boyhood I looked after these and I am fond of them." Taking broken and useless utensils and furniture, he said, "I am accustomed to using them; they suit my body and mouth quite comfortably." When the younger brothers went bankrupt several times, Pao again helped and supported them. In the middle of the Chien-kuang period (A.D. 121-122) he was especially summoned by the Bureau of Public Affairs. [3]) On arrival he was appointed to the post of imperial court attendant. [4]) Quiet and modest by nature, Pao urgently requested retirement

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[1]) The Ju-nan 汝南 district is in modern Honan.

[2]) Hsüeh Pao's 薛包 literary name was Meng-ch'ang 孟嘗. A Ming edition has *Tzu* 字, after the word *Pao*.

[3]) *Kung-chü* 公車 is the name of a public bureau of the Han dynasty which had charge of memorials, rescripts and invitations of notable persons to the imperial court. See *Hou-Han shu* 1 B. 5; 4.12 and 25.8.

[4]) *Shih-chung* 侍中 "serving within the palace", was the title of an indefinite number of officials, ranking between high ministers and lower officials, who were in attendance on the emperor both at court and outside it. They assisted the emperor by giving advice or answering questions. The position was usually given to those who were learned and of good character and conduct. *T'ung-tien* 21, 121, and Chao I 趙翼, *Nien-erh-shih k'ao-i* 廿二史攷異 14.15b.

on the pretence of sickness, and would not resume service even though threatened with capital punishment. A royal decree granted him the honor of asking leave to return home. [1])

[1]) The story about Hsüeh Pao is in the *Hou Han-shu* 69, 1.

CHAPTER FIVE

FAMILY MANAGEMENT

Manners and breeding are transmitted from the upper to the lower classes and bequeathed by earlier to later generations. So if a father is not kind, the son will not be filial; if an elder brother is not friendly, the younger will not be respectful; if a husband is not just, the wife will not be obedient. When a father is kind but the son refractory, when an elder brother is friendly but the younger arrogant, when a husband is just but a wife cruel, then indeed they are the bad people of the world; they must be controlled by punishments; teaching and guidance will not change them. If ferrule and wrath are not used in family discipline, the evil practices of mean-spirited sons will immediately appear. If punishments are not properly awarded, the people will not know how to act. The use of clemency and severity in governing a family is the same as in a state.

Confucius said, "Extravagance leads to insubordination, and parsimony to meanness. It is better to be mean than to be insubordinate." [1]) Again he said, "Though a man has abilities as admirable as those of the Duke of Chou, yet if he be proud and niggardly, those other things are really not worth being looked at." [2]) That is to say, a man may be thrifty but should not be stingy. Thrift means strict economy in offering presents; stinginess means showing no pity for those in poverty and urgent need. Nowadays those able to give alms are extravagant; those who might be thrifty are stingy. To give alms without extravagance and to be thrifty without being stingy would be all right.

The livelihood of the people should be based on farming for food supply, on silk-worms and fibres for clothing. Piles of vegetables and fruits are the product of garden and orchard; the dainties of chicken and pork are the product of coop and sty; so also beams and rafters, tools and implements, fuel and candles, all come from what is sown and grown. Thus all who stick to work will have, within their own doors, plenty for a living, except for a salt-well.

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[1]) From the *Lun-yü*, Bk. VII, 35, James Legge, *The Confucian Classics* I. 207.

[2]) *Ibid.*, Bk. VIII, 11, p. 212.

Nowadays in the North it is customary to provide food and clothing by personal thrift and economical expenditure; while in the South unrestrained extravagance does not, in many ways, come up to the same standard.

In the time of emperor Liang Hsiao-yüan (A.D. 552-554) there was a state secretary (*chung-shu she-jen*) [1]) who mismanaged his family by using extreme severity and oppression. His wife and concubine together hired an assassin to kill him while he was intoxicated. [2])

Well-reputed scholars have usually managed affairs with kindness and large-heartedness. But food and provisions were handled by slaves and servants who reduced the allowances, and granting of favors and replying to requests were controlled by wife and sons, who mocked at guests and oppressed neighbors; such persons are like vermin in a family.

Fang Wen-lieh 房文烈 a vice-minister of Civil Service (*li-pu shih-lang*) [3]) during the (Northern) Ch'i dynasty (550-576) never felt angry. Once, facing a shortage of food due to long-continued rains, he sent a maid-servant to buy rice. Availing herself of this opportunity she ran off and was not caught for three or four days. "Where have you been?" asked Fang gently. "The whole family has had nothing to eat." In the end there was no whipping. Another time he rented a house to someone whose slaves and servants almost entirely demolished it for fuel. Although he looked distressed upon hearing this, he had not a word to say. [4])

P'ei Tzu-yeh used to shelter and support distant relatives and dependents who were unable to provide for themselves against hunger and cold. When the family was in poverty facing flood or drought, he provided two *shih*[5]) of rice to make thin congee, which was just enough to feed them all. He himself shared it and showed

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[1]) *Chung-shu she-jen* 中書舍人 was literally "central writing household man," a government post in which the rank was low, but the function important. It may be translated as secretary to the emperor, or simply government secretary, or secretary of the Grand Secretariat. *T'ung-tien* 21. 125 and *Sui-shu*, 26. 5b. Cf. Robert des Rotour's translation.

[2]) The victim's name has not been identified by any commentator.

[3]) For *Li-pu shih-lang* 吏部侍郎 see *T'ung-tien*, 23. 135 and des Rotours, 1. 32.

[4]) This story is told in the biography of Fang Fa-shou 房法壽 in *Pei-shih* 39, 4-5.

[5]) A unit of weight equal to about 30 kilos or 66 pounds; in modern times often rendered as 'picul'.

no reluctance. [1]) In the city of Yeh [2]) there once lived a general (*ling-chün*) [3]) who was covetous and had accumulated so much that he had eight-hundred domestic servants, yet he swore to make the number one thousand. To each person he granted, on the average, no more than fifteen pieces of cash for daily meals. In case there were guests the supply would certainly fall short. Later he was executed for some criminal offense, and in confiscating his property he was found to have left a roomful of hemp shoes, several storehouses of worn out clothes besides innumerable other valuables and treasures. [4])

In Nanyang [Honan] there was a retiring and somewhat mysterious person who was wealthy but miserly by nature. Once after the winter solstice he was visited by his son-in-law to whom he offered nothing but a bronze bowl of wine with a few slices of venison. In anger at such plain fare the son-in-law finished it off in one gulp. The host looked him over in great surprise but ordered the same thing twice. When the son-in-law had retired, the father chided his daughter and said, "Your husband is a drunkard; you will always be poor in consequence." After his death his sons quarreled over his wealth, and the elder brother killed the younger.

A wife in presiding over household supplies should use wine, food and clothing only as the ceremonial rules require. In the state, women should not be allowed to participate in politics; in the family, they should not be permitted to meddle in others' affairs. If they are wise, talented and versed in the ancient and modern writings, they ought to help their husbands by supplementing the latter's deficiency. No hen should herald the dawn lest misfortune follow.

East of the Yangtze [5]) women had very little social intercourse. Even families related by marriage might for ten years or so have

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[1]) P'ei Tzu-yeh 裴子野 (469-530) was a great grandson of P'ei Sung-chih 裴松之, the commentator of the *San-kuo chih*. See P'ei's biography in the *Nan-shih*, 33, 18-19, and *Liang-shu*, 30. 1-4.

[2]) Yeh, the capital of Northern Ch'i and Eastern Wei is in modern Anyang, Honan. See *Sui-shu* 30. 11b, and cf. Etienne Balazs, *Le Traité économique du "Souei-chou"*, p. 267.

[3]) *Ling-chün* 領軍 was a general whose duty was to guard the palace. *Sui-shu* 27. 8.

[4]) This general, located by Yang Shu-ta 楊樹達 in *Pei-Ch'i shu*, 20. 19b-20, was Ch'e-ti Fu-lien 厙狄伏連 whose career and stingy life were similar to Yen's description.

[5]) Chiang-tung is the same as Chiang-tso. See p. 12, n. 3.

no connection except for expressions of intimacy and goodwill through an exchange of messengers and presents. But in the city of Yeh it was the custom for women to handle all family business, to demand justice and to straighten out legal disputes, to make calls and curry favor with the powerful. They filled the streets with their carriages, occupied the government offices with their fancy dresses, begged official posts for their sons, and made complaints about injustice done to their husbands. Were these customs handed down from the T'o-pa Wei dynasty (386-534)? [1])

In the South the people, though usually poor, were concerned about outward appearance to such a degree that their carriages and attire had to be neat even though their wives, children and household could not avoid hunger and cold. Most people north of the Yellow River let their wives handle domestic affairs. (To these ladies) satin and silk, gold and jade were indispensable; yet lean horses and decrepit servants were good enough for service. Husband and wife sometimes could address each other by "thee" and "thou." [2])

The women North of the Yellow River are far superior to those East of the Yangtze in the arts of weaving and sewing, and in skill in various sorts of embroidery on silk garments. T'ai kung said, "Too many daughters means a (great) expense." [3]) Ch'en Fan said, "No bandit will transgress a five-daughter doorway." [4]) The burden of daughters on the family is heavy indeed. Yet since heaven gives life to the teeming people and ancestors transmit physical traits, what can be done about it? Many people today dislike their daughters and mistreat their own flesh and blood. Is it right for them to do so, and with such conduct should they hope for good

[1]) The text reads, *Heng-tai chih i-feng* 恆代之遺風, "a custom bequeathed from *P'ing-ch'eng* 平城 of Tai-chün 代郡 in Heng-chou 恆州 near Ta-t'ung, Shansi, where the capital of the Northern Wei dynasty was located before moving to Loyang; hence the translation.

[2]) From Yen Chih-t'ui's account, one can see that he favors the way of living of women in the North, while southern Chinese seem to be somewhat backward.

[3]) This sentence is from the *Liu-t'ao* 六韜, a work attributed to T'ai-kung 太公, a minister of the Chou dynasty. The work has been lost for a long time except recollected editions, but this sentence is quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 485. 3b.

[4]) Ch'en Fan 陳蕃, of the Later Han period, was an official under Emperor Ling-ti. See *Hou-Han shu* 96. 1-12. Here the text means that after the five daughters were married with all dowries demanded by them, there would be nothing left in the family for a thief to take.

fortune from Heaven? I had a distant relative in whose household there were many concubines. When any were pregnant and the time of delivery drew near, janitors and servants were set to watch. As soon as the birth pains were noticed, the watchers waited at the door and peered through the windows. If a girl were born, it was snatched away at once; though the mother screamed and cried, no one dared to save it; one could not bear to listen.

It is common for women to dote on a son-in-law and to maltreat a daughter-in-law. Doting on a son-in-law gives rise to hatred from brothers; maltreating a daughter-in-law brings on slander from sisters. A woman, whether married or not, brings trouble to her household; but the mother really causes it. Hence a proverb puts it, "Bickering forever at the dinner table by a mother-in-law." That is her recompense. With such difficulties common in family life should we not be very cautious?

Simple marriage arrangement irrespective of social position was the established rule of our ancestor Ch'ing Hou. [1]) Nowadays there are those who sell their daughters for money or buy a woman with a payment of silk. They compare the rank of fathers and grandfathers, take account of trifling items, ask for more and offer less, just as if bargaining in the market. Under such conditions a boorish son-in-law might appear in the family or an arrogant woman assume power in the household. To covet honor and seek for gain are, on the contrary, incurring shame and disgrace; is that not lack of care?

Books borrowed from others should be loved and cared for. If they were previously defective or out of order, they should be repaired at once. This is, indeed, one of the hundred points of good conduct for scholars-officials. Chiang Lu of Chi-yang [2]) if he had not finished reading a book would not get up until he had rolled up the scroll and put it in good order even though there was urgent business. By so doing there was no damage done and people did not object to his borrowing. [3]) There are some who scatter books about desk and side table in disorder; divide and separate the fascicles; let them become spotted by young children or maid-servants; or spoiled by wind, rain, insects, or mice. This is, indeed,

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[1]) Ch'ing Hou was the posthumous name of Yen Chih-t'ui's ninth-generation ancestor. His name was Yen Han.

[2]) Now Chi-nan, Shantung.

[3]) Chiang Lu of Chi-yang 濟陽江祿, a careful student, has a short biography in *Nan-shih* 36. 13, in which his habits of study are not mentioned.

misconduct. Whenever I read the writings of the sages, I never treat them with disrespect. For this reason paper on which there are quotations or commentaries from the *Five Classics* or the names of the sages, I dare not use for toilet purposes.

In our family, as you boys have observed, we excluded any mention or discussion of the prayers of diviners or necromancers, and never made use of Taoist charms or thanksgiving sacrifices. Don't waste money on crazy superstitions.

CHAPTER SIX

CUSTOMS AND MANNERS

In the *Li-chi* Classic, I have noticed that the teachings of the sage concerning (the use of) dustpan and broom, spoon and chopsticks, (the way of) coughing and spitting, saying yes or no, holding candles and washing one's hands: [1]) all have their apportioned texts which are quite comprehensive. But since there are omissions, the book is no longer complete. In cases that are not mentioned or where affairs of the world have changed, well-learned, superior men have made their own rules which have been followed in practice. For this reason the customs and manners of the so-called scholar-officials have differed considerably from family to family, and they have discussed each other's strengths and weaknesses according to their own viewpoints. Observing their main roads leading north and south, one will, however, learn the best by oneself. Formerly, when I lived south of the Yangtze, I could see and hear all this (best manner) by direct observation without the work of pen and ink, just as pigweed grows up straight in the midst of hemp. However, you boys, born in the area of military horses, see and hear what you cannot understand, and so I have to leave a rough record in order to hand down instruction to my sons and grandsons.

The *Li-chi* says: "Seeing someone like (his father), his eyes look

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[1]) For the use of dustpan and broom or brush, the *Li-chi* says, "In all cases of (a lad's) carrying away the dirt that has been swept up from the presence of an elder, it is the rule that he (place) the brush on the basket, keeping his sleeve before it as he retires. The dust is not allowed to reach the elder." Legge's translation of the *Li-chi*, Ch. 1. *Chü-li*, Sect. 1. pt. 3, sentence 1. *Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford, 1885) XXVII, 73. For the use of spoon and chopsticks, the *Li-chi* says, "Do not use chopsticks in eating millet." (ibid. 80) "If the soup be made with vegetables, chopsticks should be used; but not if there be no vegetables" (ibid. 82). Concerning coughing and spitting, the *Li-chi* says, "When with their parents, (sons and their wives), when ordered to do anything, should immediately respond and reverently proceed to do it . . . They should not presume to eructate, sneeze, or cough, to yawn or stretch themselves, to stand on one foot, or to lean against anything, or to look askance." (ibid. 453). With regard to the manner of saying yes, the *Li-chi* says, "When his father calls, (a youth) should not (merely) answer 'yes,' nor when his teacher calls. He should, with (a respectful) 'yes,' immediately rise (and go to them)" (ibid. 75).

startled; hearing of someone with the same name, his heart is agitated." [1]) Stirred by these impressions, eyes and heart would be deeply moved. Under ordinary conditions, if by oneself, one would gladly give way to one's feelings. When an unavoidable situation is met with, it will be necessary to repress the feelings. For example, if he sees uncles or brothers closely resembling his deceased father, can he, in bitter grief, break off relations with them for the rest of his life?

Again: "The name [of the deceased parents or grandparents] need not be avoided in literary compositions, nor in the ancestral temple, nor in the presence of the ruler." [2]) From this we may readily learn that in the matter of "hearing the same name" one should be calm, not become excited immediately and topple over. Hsieh Chü [3]) of the Liang dynasty (502-556) had a good reputation, but whenever he heard the name of his deceased father, he would weep; for this he was ridiculed by his contemporaries. Again take the case of Tsang Feng-shih, son of Tsang Yen, [4]) a man diligent in study and careful in conduct, who never injured the reputation of his family. When Hsiao Yüan [5]) was in charge of the Chiang-chou area, [6]) he sent (Tsang Feng-shih) to Chien-ch'ang [7]) to administer the (district) affairs. People of the prefecture and district hastened to submit petitions and letters to him; these came streaming in day and night, piling up on desks and tables. Whenever the phrase *yen-han* (severe cold) [8]) occurred, he was moved to tears and could no longer examine papers or make notes on them. Much public business was thus neglected; complaints and dissatisfaction arose

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[1]) Legge's translation of the *Li-chi* runs as follows: "After a man has put off the mourning (for his father), if, when walking along the road, he sees one like (his father), his eyes look startled . . .," ibid. vol. XXVIII, 154.

[2]) This is taken from the first paragraph of the first chapter of the *Li-chi*. Ibid., XXVII, 93.

[3]) Hsieh Chü 謝舉 was famous for his study of Buddhism and Taoism. His biography is in *Liang-shu* 37. 1-2, and *Nan-shih* 20, 14b-16.

[4]) Tsang Feng-shih 臧逢世, son of Tsang Yen 嚴; the latter's biography is in *Liang-shu*, 50, 18-19, with brief reference to Feng-shih.

[5]) Later on Hsiao Yüan became emperor of the Liang dynasty, but at that time he was still a minister.

[6]) It is 江州 or Hsün-yang 潯陽 in the province of Kiangsi.

[7]) It is 建昌, the modern Chien-ch'ang Hsien in Kiangsi.

[8]) "Severe cold" or "yen-han" is frequently used at the beginning or end of a letter such as "the weather is severely cold, please take good care of yourself." Since *yen* was the taboo character of Tsang Yen, his filial son wept.

because he did no work, thus making it necessary for him to withdraw from office. In these two cases mourning was carried beyond the proper limit.

Recently in Yang-tu, [1]) there was a scholar for whom the word shen 審 was prohibited. He was on very friendly terms with Mr. Shen 沈, and wrote him a letter putting only his name [on the envelope] without the surname Shen. This violated proper personal relationships.

In all cases of prohibited names [2]) a character of the same meaning may be substituted. Duke Huan's 桓公 name was *Po* 白 (meaning white), so in the game *Po* 博, *wu po* 五白 (five white) were

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[1]) It is 揚都, in modern Nanking, the former capital of the Liang dynasty.

[2]) The prohibition of the mention of names of deceased persons, especially y those of emperors, is a Chinese custom like the "taboo" in the South Sea islands, and is a complicated but important factor in Chinese history. It probably began in the Chou dynasty (ca. 1027-256 B.C.), became customary in the Ch'in dynasty (221-207 B.C.), and was strictly adhered to in the fifth and sixth centuries. Thereafter the observation of taboo characters was fully developed during the T'ang and Sung dynasties (618-1279), and was not neglected until 1911. Names of deceased persons were not used by educated descendants for three or four generations; names of emperors were not mentioned by all classes of subjects during the reigning dynasty. In old times when one visited a family, one enquired what its taboo words were, so as to be able to avoid them; this was regarded as etiquette. In examination papers, official dispatches, writing or publishing books, taboo words had to be carefully avoided; otherwise severe punishment followed. This was vitally important in the case of students and scholars. Taboo words were usually altered by the omission or addition of certain strokes, but in Yen Chih-t'ui's time different characters with similar sounds were substituted. Consequently, the text of older books was usually changed in order to avoid taboos; this practice has caused much misunderstanding. Yet from this peculiar custom certain advantages have arisen, for tabooed names of emperors differ in each dynasty; and this can be utilized in judging the time of publication of undated old editions, and in deciding on the authenticity of manuscripts. If a book is said to have been written in the T'ang dynasty, but the emperors' names and those of their ancestors are not avoided, then the authenticity of the book is doubtful. For this reason, Chinese scholars pay close attention to this subject. As it was an important custom relating to daily life and the written language, Yen Chih-t'ui paid special attention to the explanation of taboos by giving many examples. A number of special works devoted to this subject were written by scholars of the Ch'ing dynasty. The most useful recent publication is compiled by Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, *Shih-hui Chü-li* 史諱舉例, "The Traditional Omission of Sacred and Imperial Names in Chinese Writings" in *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao* 燕京學報 or the *Yen-ching Journal of Chinese Studies*, no. 4 (1928), also in *Li-yün shu-wu ts'ung-k'o* 勵耘書屋叢刻 *ts'e* 9 (1933 ed.), and reissued in 1965 by Chung-hua shu-chü.

called *wu hao* 五皓 (five bright) [1]. Since King Li's 厲王 name was *ch'ang* 長 (long), a long lute was called a *hsiu* 修 lute instead. But we never hear *pu po* 布帛 (cotton and silk fabrics) called *pu hao* 布皓 or *shen-ch'ang* 腎腸 (kidney and intestines) called *shen-hsiu* 腎修. [2])

The name given in infancy to Emperor Liang Wu was A-lien 阿練; his descendants all pronounced *lien* (bleached silk) as *chüan* 絹 (thin silk). For the same reason they spoke of *hsiao-lien wu* (smelted metal goods) as *hsiao-chüan wu* (refined silk fabrics), which, I am afraid, distorted the proper meaning. The character yün 雲 (cloud) was also prohibited for some one, so that for *fen yün* 紛紜 (numerous or complicated) *fen yen* 紛煙 (confused smoke) was substituted; and in the case of *t'ung* 桐, the *wu-t'ung* 梧桐 tree was called *po-t'ieh* 白鐵 (white iron) tree. What laughable absurdities!

Duke Chou named his son *Ch'in* 禽 (bird), and Confucius named his boy *Li* 鯉 (carp). When associated only with the persons themselves, these names would not be prohibited. But the marquis of Wei, the prince of Wei [Han] [3], and the heir apparent of Ch'u all were named *Chi-shih* 蟣蝨 (louse); Chang-ch'ing was named *Ch'üan-tzu* 犬子 (son of a hound); Wang Hsiu was called *Kou-tzu* 狗子, (son of a dog). [4] In view of the relation to the parents these names are unreasonable. This practice of ancient times is ridiculed today. In the North there were many who actually named their children "son of a donkey," "colt" or "pig" and allowed them to call themselves by such names and be so called by their brothers. Who would tolerate this? In the Early Han dynasty (206 B.C.-

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[1]) For this game, see Lien-sheng Yang, "A Note on the So-called TLV Mirrors and the Game *Liu-po*," *HJAS* 9.3-4 (1947) 202-206, and "An Additional Note on the Ancient Game Liu Po, "*HJAS* 15, 1-2 (1952) 124-139. The term *wu po* (five white) appears in the poem *Chao hun* 招魂 in the *Ch'u-tz'u*. See "One shouts for the five white", *HJAS* 9.3-4 (1947) 203-204. Yang's additional note reconstructs the playing of the game in remarkable detail with interesting illustrations from ancient patterns and sculpture. See also Lao Kan, "Evolution of the ancient game Liu-po and the TLV-board" (in Chinese) *CYYY* 35(1964), 15-30.

[2]) Because two characters are pronounced *ch'ang* but have different meanings, one of them cannot be arbitrarily replaced by *hsiu* for intestines.

[3]) According to *Shih-chi* 45.6: "After the death of the heir-apparent (Han) Ying 韓嬰, Prince Chiu and Prince Chi-shih struggled to become the heir-apparent." Thus, Wei should be Han.

[4]) Here the *tzu* used in the combination *Kou-tzu* (a puppy) may be a suffix. But the author seems to take it as "son of a dog" and hence the meaning of the name is ridiculous.

A.D. 9) there was Yin Weng-kuei 尹翁歸 (returning to old age), in the Later Han (A.D. 25-220) there was Cheng Weng-kuei 鄭翁歸, in the Liang dynasty (502-556) K'ung 孔 Weng-kuei, and also Ku Weng-ch'ung 顧翁寵 (old age favors). In the Chin dynasty (265-423) there was Hsü Ssu-pi 許思妣 (thinking of the deceased mother) and Meng Shao-ku 孟少孤 (little orphan Meng). [1] Names like these should be carefully avoided.

Nowadays people are more strict in avoiding the use of the names of deceased persons than in older times. In naming a son one should leave a chance for the grandson to find a substitute character for the one to be tabooed. Among my personal acquaintances the (common) characters *jang* 讓, *yu* 友, *t'ung* 同, *ch'ing* 清, *ho* 和 and *yü* 禹 are tabooed. Distant acquaintances might, at some gathering, have a hundred violations of the taboo characters. Each violation brought pain and helplessness to those who heard it.

Formerly Ssu-ma Ch'ang-ch'ing [2] admired Lin Hsiang-ju, [3] so he took the name Hsiang-ju; Ku Yüan-t'an admired Ts'ai Yung (132-192) and so he called himself *yung*. [4] In the Later Han dynasty (A.D. 25-220) the alternative name of Chu Chang was taken from Sun Ch'ing, [5] and that of Hsü Hsien from Yen

[1] Chinese characters in the text are given to those names which are hard to identify from other sources indicated in the notes.

[2] Ssu-ma Ch'ang-ch'ing 司馬長卿 (B.C. 179-117) was a distinguished scholar and poet better known as Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 相如; see *Shih-chi* 117. 1-45, *Han shu* 57 and Yves Hervouet, *Sseu-ma Siang-jou*, Paris, 1964.

[3] Lin Hsiang-ju 藺相如, (flourished 281-271 B.C.), a knight errant of the State of Chao, was greatly admired by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju who adopted Lin's given name. He was employed as counselor by king Hui-wen (337-311 B.C.), who was then threatened by the encroachments of the rising house of Ch'in. He showed great talent and courage in his negotiations with the enemy and was even admired by them. Cf. Lin's biography in the *Shih-chi* 81. 1-6, which has been translated into English by Frank A. Kierman, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien's historiographical attitude as reflected in four Late Warring States biographies* (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1962), pp. 16-18, 26-36, 81-95; Y. Hervouet, *Sseu-ma Siang-jou*, 13-14, 188, 394 and E. Gaspardone, "Sseu-ma Siang-jou", in *Études asiatiques* I (1960), 145-170; II (1962), 3-13.

[4] Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 (T. Po-chieh 伯喈) has a biography in *Hou-Han shu*, 60B. 1; and Ku Yung 顧雍 (T. Yüan-t'an 元嘆) has a biography in *San-kuo-chih, Wu-chih* 7.7-9b. The two Yung (邕, 雍), though written differently, can be used interchangeably since they are homophones.

[5] Chu Chang 朱張 (T. Sun-ch'ing 孫卿) is listed in *Hou-Han shu* 6.3. Sun-ch'ing, better known as Hsün-tzu 荀子, with a biography in *Shih-chi* 74.5-7 was so admired by Chu that he adopted Sun-ch'ing as his alternative name. See *Shih-chi*, 74, 5-7; *Hou-Han shu*, 6, 3b, and Burton Watson's introduction to *Hsün Tzu, Basic Writings* (Columbia University Press, 1963), 1-14.

Hui. [1]) [Similar cases] in the Liang dynasty were Yü Yen-ying [2]) and Tsu Sun-teng. [3]) To take an ancient person's surname as personal name or as style is a disgrace.

In former times Liu Wen-jao [4]) would not permit his slaves to be reviled as animal offspring, while our contemporary fools use such names to joke with each other; some are even called "pig" or "calf", at which the educated bystander tries to cover his ears. How much more for those who face the insult?

Recently at the *I-ts'ao* or council [5]) I deliberated with others on the question of rank and salary. [During the discussion] a certain noble, who was a famous minister at the time, objected that salaries were too high. Meanwhile one or two learned men of letters of the Ch'i dynasty said to this noble, "Today [589] the empire has been unified; we should make regulations to be followed as a model by a hundred later generations. How can we keep to the old ideas when we were restricted within the Pass (Kuan-chung)? [6]) It is clear that you certainly are like the eldest son of T'ao Chu-kung [7]) [an example of niggardliness]." They laughed together without any ill-feeling.

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[1]) Yen Hui 顏回, a famous disciple of Confucius (*Shih-chi* 67.2-3), was honored by Hsü Hsien 許遷, who adopted Yen-hui as his polite name. Hsü Hsien seems to have no biography in the dynastic histories.

[2]) Yü Yen-ying 庾晏嬰 is mentioned in the biography of Yü Chung-jung 庾仲容 in *Liang-shu* 50.23. Yen Ying (d. 493 B.C.), author of *Yen-tzu ch'un-ch'iu* 晏子春秋, has a biography in *Shih-chi* 62.3-4b.

[3]) Tsu Sun-teng 祖孫登, like Yü Yen-ying, has no biography; he is, however, mentioned in the biography of Hsü Po-yang 徐伯陽, *Ch'en-shu* 34. 15-16, and also in 8. 13b.

[4]) The story is taken from the biography of Liu K'uan 劉寬 (T. Wen-jao 文饒) in *Hou-Han shu*, 25. 12b.

[5]) I-ts'ao 議曹 is now located under the 17th year (440) of Yüan-chia of the Sung period. It was a branch office of the Shang-shu sheng or department of state affairs. (*Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 123, p. 3884. Rotours has "administrateur conseiller d'un prince", 629). In English *I-ts'ao* may be translated "council office", "advisory committee" or "discussion bureau".

[6]) Kuan-chung generally refers to Shensi province, where the capital of the Northern Ch'i was first situated; later it was moved to Yeh in Honan.

[7]) To cut a long story short, T'ao Chu-kung, a famous "millionaire" of the fifth century B.C., had a second son who was imprisoned in the State of Ch'u. He sent his eldest son with a thousand taels of gold to bribe the governor into freeing the prisoner. Loving money more than his brother, the eldest son caused the execution of the second son. For details, see *Shih-chih* 41. 11-13b, Chavannes, *Mh* IV, 441-444.

Formerly the descendants of Hou Pa [1]) spoke of their grandfather as *chia-kung* [2]) ("our" ancestor), and Ch'en Ssu-wang (A.D. 192-232) [3]) spoke of his own father as "my" father (*chia-fu* 父) and of his mother as "my" mother (*chia-mu* 母). P'an Ni (d. 311) [4]) spoke of his grandfather as "my" grandfather (*chia-tsu* 祖). These practices of men of the past are ridiculed today. It is not customary either in the South or North in speaking of grandparents or parents to use the expression *chia*, "my" or "our", though boorish country folk might use the word. When talking to others you should speak of your elder uncles in the order of their birth without saying "our"; since they are higher in honor than your father you dare not add "our". In talking about aunts or father's sisters the surname of the husband should be used when they are married; if unmarried they are referred to in order of birth. Since they may be given by marriage ceremony to other clans, one should not speak of them as our family (aunts). Children and grandchildren should not be referred to as "our", lest it seem to belittle them. Ts'ai Yung in his collected writings spoke of his aunt and elder-sister as "our" aunt (*chia-ku* 姑) and "our" elder-sister (*chia-chieh* 姐). Pan Ku (A.D. 32-92) [5]) in his collected writings spoke of his grandson as "our" grandson (*chia-sun*). Nowadays both these forms are obsolete.

In conversation with others, whenever grandparents, elder uncles and aunts, parents or elder aunts are mentioned, the word *tsun* 尊 (honorable) should be prefixed; in the case of younger uncles and aunts and others of lower generations the word *hsien* 賢

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[1]) Hou Pa 侯霸 (T. Chün-fang 君房), a high official, has a biography in *Hou-Han shu* 56, 7-8.

[2]) *Chia* 家 usually means family. Here chia-kung 家公 is used in expressions like "the grandfather of *our* family" or "*our* grandfather." Such expressions were ridiculed in the author's time, but in modern China *chia* is still used in *chia-fu* (my father), *chia-mu* (my mother), or *chia-hsiung* (my brother), etc.

[3]) Ch'en Ssu-wang 陳思王, or the Prince of Ch'en, posthumously called Ssu 思, is the honorary name of Ts'ao Chih 曹植 (Tzu-chien 子建). A literary genius, he was the third son of Ts'ao Ts'ao. His biography is in *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 19.3-22.

[4]) P'an Ni 潘尼 (T. Cheng-su 正俗), a famous writer, has a biography in *Chin-shu* 55. 17-26.

[5]) Pan Ku 班固 (T. Meng-chien 孟堅) was the chief author of the *Han-shu*. His biography is in *Hou-Han shu* 70A, 6-22 and 70B, 1-22. The two references Yen Chih-t'ui pointed out are not available in the current editions of the works of P'an Ni and Pan Ku.

(wise) should be prefixed to indicate the distinctions between the more and the less honorable. In the writings of Wang Hsi-chih (A.D. 321-379) the mother of another person is spoken of in the same way as his own mother without the "honorable prefix," a usage now incorrect. [1])

At the winter solstice festival and New Year's day people in the South would not visit a bereaved family. In case a letter was not sent, they would, after the festivals, extend sympathy by wearing a formal band. The Northerners on these same days would perform the formal consolation ritual. As there is no clear record in the *Ritual Classic*, I do not adopt this practice.

On the arrival of guests Southerners would not go out to welcome them; when meeting they would raise their clasped hands but would not bow; when guests were leaving, they would only come down to the edge of their mats [in the room]. Northerners would both greet and say farewell at the door and would bow to each other as soon as they met. These are all old ways; I prefer the welcome and bow.

In ancient times kings and marquises referred to themselves as the helpless one, the lonely one and the unfortunate. [2]) But since then even the sage teacher Confucius in talking with his disciples always used the personal name. Later on, although there were such titles as minister or servant, they were seldom used. South of the Yangtze high and low ranks were indicated by different titles which were recorded in *Shu-i* (or correspondence manners), [3]) while most Northerners used names, which is the ancient usage; I prefer the use of names.

In speaking of ancestors one should be moved by a sense of admiration. This was easy for the ancients, but it is difficult for modern persons. When people south of the Yangtze, in handling (social) affairs, were compelled to mention clan history, they preferred to express themselves in literary form; few talked of it face

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[1]) Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之, a very famous calligrapher and writer, has a biography in *Chin-shu*, 80. 1-10. See Lucy Driscoll and Kenji Toda, *Chinese Calligraphy* 28, 60 and *passim*, and Chu Chieh-chin 朱傑勤, *Wang Hsi-chih p'ing-chuan* 評傳, Hong Kong, 1963.

[2]) These designations come from *Lao Tzu*, section 39. Cf. the translations by J. J. L. Duyvendak, *Tao-Te Ching* (London, 1954), p. 93 and by John C. H. Wu (St. John's University Press. 1961), p. 59.

[3]) In the bibliographical section of the *Sui-shu* 41. 14, there are the *Nei-wai shu-i* 內外書儀, 4 *chüan*, written by Hsieh Yüan 謝元; *Shu-i*, 2 *chüan*, by Ts'ai Ch'ao 蔡超; and other works of the same nature.

to face. But Northerners after a short time would converse about it and even inquire of each other regarding the subject. Such matters must not be inflicted on others; if others do this to you, you should evade the question. When your position and rank are not high and you are compelled by the powerful and honorable, it is wise to endure it, reply quickly and end the questioning so as to avoid serious troubles and disgrace to your grandfather and father. If it is necessary to mention the deceased, you should assume a serious countenance, sit down solemnly and speak of those "belonging to the large family." Thus the elder and younger uncles might be referred to as "among the older and younger brothers;" the brothers might be spoken of as "among the sons of the deceased" of the large family. At each reference the facial expression should change from its usual appearance to accord with the degree of rank and relationship. When speaking in the presence of your ruler, you ought, even though you turn pale, to say "deceased grandfather," "deceased younger uncle," "deceased elder uncle." I have seen a well-known gentleman who spoke of his deceased brothers as the sons of the elder or younger brother in the household. This, also, was not fitting. Among northern customs there are no such practices. Yang K'an (495-549) of T'ai-shan [1]) went south at the beginning of the Liang dynasty. Soon after my arrival at Yeh, his elder brother's son, Su, inquired about K'an's recent affairs in detail. To this I answered "Your honorable collateral relative did so and so during the Liang dynasty." Su said, "That was my seventh departed younger uncle of blood relationship, not collateral." Meanwhile, sitting with us was Tsu Hsiao-cheng [2]) who knew the southern custom (of polite expression) and told him, "That refers precisely to the wise younger uncle of your family. Why can you not understand?"

The ancients used the titles "elder-uncle father" (*po-fu* 伯父) and "younger-uncle father" (*shu-fu* 叔父), while modern people simply say "older uncle or younger uncle." It is almost unavoidable

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[1]) Yang K'an 羊侃 or 侃, a native of T'ai-shan 太山, in modern Shantung, had served the Wei dynasty in 529 before he went over to the Liang kingdom, where he also held high government posts. His biographies appear in *Liang-shu*, 39. 4b-10b; and *Nan-shih* 63. 9b-15. K'an's nephew, Yang Su 羊肅 has biographies in *Wei-shu* 77, 18 and *Pei-shih* 39, 23b.

[2]) Tsu Hsiao-cheng 祖孝徵 or Tsu T'ing 珽, a high court official of the Ch'i and a friend of Yen Chih-t'ui, has a biography in *Pei-Ch'i shu*, 39. 3b-13.

to use the term "paternal older or younger aunt (*po-shu mu* 伯叔母)" before her fatherless sons or daughters; but it is unbearable to speak of the orphaned children of your brothers in their presence as your elder or younger brother's children. [Under such circumstances] northerners generally called them nephews (*chih* 姪) which, according to the *Erh-ya*, [1]) *Sang-fu ching* [2]) and *Tso-chuan*, can be applied to both male and female children of a father's sister. Since the Chin dynasty (265-420) the term uncle-nephew has begun to be used [in the sense of the son of your father's brother], but now to say nephew alone is superior in principle.

Parting is easy, but meeting is difficult, and both were stressed by the ancients. South of the Yangtze people were accustomed to weep at the parting words. Once there was a prince, a younger cousin of Emperor Liang Wu, who bade adieu to his brother before setting out for Tung-chün. [3]) The emperor said, "I am very old and deeply affected by our separation," and then very sadly tears trickled down. The prince, though his countenance was gloomy, shed no tears but blushed as he went out. For this reason he was punished. Although his boat drifted about at a pier for nearly a hundred days, in the end he could not leave. Northern customs, on the other hand, neglected such expressions. It was customary to say goodbye at any crossroad and to separate with a merry laugh. However, there are people who by nature have few tears—even though they are broken-hearted, their eyes are bright—and such people should not be forcefully reproved.

All titles of relatives should be defined or modified (lit. powdered and painted) and should not be confused. Those who have no manners and education will even after the death of the grandfather still address maternal grandparents with the same titles as paternal grandparents, causing unhappiness to all who hear them. Even when speaking in their presence, the word "maternal" should be added to make the proper distinctions. The elder and younger uncles of parents should be distinguished from each other by adding a number to indicate the order of their birth; the elder

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[1]) This is one of the *Thirteen Classics*, a glossary on the classics, traditionally attributed to the Duke of Chou, but actually compiled by scholars of the early Han dynasty.

[2]) *Sang-fu ching* 喪服經 is the eleventh chapter in the *I-li* 儀禮, one of the Thirteen Classics.

[3]) Tung-chün 東郡, was a commandery in modern Hua-hsien 滑縣, Honan. See Aoyama Sadao, *Tu shih fang-yü chi-yao sakuin*, 473.

and younger aunts of parents by adding their surnames; collateral older and younger uncles and aunts of parents, and collateral grandparents by adding official titles, ranks and surnames. North of the Yellow River scholars all spoke of maternal grandparents as *chia-kung* 家公 (our grandfather) and *chia-mu* (our grandmother). South of the Yangtze rural folk also used "our" to indicate relatives on the mother's side, instead of *wai* 外 (in-law). I cannot understand why.

The generations of kindred generally accepted were uncles, granduncles, and clan progenitors. South of the Yangtze it was customary in addition to give all those of high rank the modification "venerable", while those of the same generation were called brothers, even including cousins a hundred generations before. When speaking to others, all were called clansmen. Scholars from north of the Yellow River, though related as distantly as twenty or thirty generations, still spoke of collateral older and younger uncles. Liang Wu-ti once questioned a man of the central plain saying, "You are a northerner, why is it you do not know your clan?" He replied, "The blood relationship is easily rendered distant, so I cannot bear to say clan." Although this was considered a brilliant instantaneous reply, it is not in accord with the *Book of Rites* [which always stresses family and clan relationship].

Once I asked Chou Hung-jang [1]) saying, "How do you address your father's and your mother's sisters?" Chou answered, "We call them *chang-jen* 丈人 (elder)". From ancient times until now I have never heard the term *chang-jen* applied to a woman. Among my relatives a father's sister is called aunt of such and such a surname. The wife of the father-in-law is called *chang-mu* 丈母 in vulgar speech, or sometimes (addressed as) Mother Wang and Mother Hsieh by scholar-officials. In the writings of Lu Chi (A.D. 261-303),[2]) there was a letter entitled "To mother Ku 顧 of Ch'ang-sha," who was his collateral younger aunt. Titles like these are no longer used.

Scholars of the Ch'i dynasty (550-577) all spoke of the high

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[1]) Chou Hung-jang 周弘讓, a famous writer, has his biographical references in *Nan-shih* 34. 24 and *Ch'en-shu*, 24. 6.

[2]) Lu Chi 陸機 (T. Shih-heng 士衡), was one of the most famous writers in the third century. *Chin-shu* 54. 1-15; Chen Shih-hsiang, *Literature as Light against Darkness* (Peiping, 1948), 1-21; E. R. Hughes, *The Art of Letters: Lu Chi's Wen fu*, New York, 1951; Archilles Fang, "Rhymeprose on literature: the *Wen-fu* of Lu Chi," HJAS 14:3-4 (1951). 527-566, and G. Margouliès, *Le "fou" dans le Wen-siuan*, pp. 81-97.

minister, Tsu P'u-yeh 祖僕射, [1]) as Tsu Kung 祖公 (ancestor Tsu) entirely without any aversion to the implications of such a title. Some people even used it for fun in his presence.

In ancient times the name was used to designate the physical form and the *tzu* 字 (literary appellation) [2]) to indicate moral qualities. After death the personal name was not mentioned, while the *tzu* might be used as the family name of one's grandson. [3]) Confucius' disciples in recording his deeds called him Chung-ni. [4]) When Empress Lü was still unimportant, she used the *tzu* of her husband Chi, who became Emperor Kao-tsu of the Han empire. [5]) In this dynasty Yüan Chung called his younger uncle Ssu. [6]) Wang Tan, talking with Hou Pa's son, used the latter's *tzu*, Chün-fang. [7]) Southerners to this day do not avoid the use of *tzu*. Scholars north of the River, however, did not distinguish between the two, but

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[1]) Tsu P'u-yeh is Tsu T'ing (see p. 30, n. 2) whose exact official title was Tso p'u-yeh 左僕射. The office began in the Chou dynasty meaning literally serving (*p'u*) and shooting (*she* or *yeh*) while accompanying the emperor. In the Han dynasty it was the title of the chief of the imperial messengers in the palace. In the Wei, Chin and Six Dynasties the position of P'u-yeh was greatly enhanced as secondary to the *shang-shu* 尚書, secretary general or chief minister of the state. Thus P'u-yeh was an under-secretary or assistant director of state affairs. See Yang Shen 楊慎 *Sheng-an ho-chi* 升菴合集 219. 4; and Yüan Mei 袁枚, *Sui-yüan sui-pi* 隨園隨筆 (*Sui-yüan san-shih erh-chung* edition) 7. 19b; cf. des Rotours, *Le traité des Examens*, 6.

[2]) *Ming* 名 was given to a son in order to denote actualities or for identification purposes. *Tzu* 字 style or appellation was adopted, when a son was capped at about twenty, in order to show his interest, ambition or virtue. See *Hsün-tzu*, "The Rectification of Names," *History of Chinese Philosophy*, tr. Derk Bodde (Princeton Univ. Press, 1952) I. 305, and *Li-chi*, *Sacred Books of the East*, XXVII, 79.

[3]) For example, after the death of Kung-tzu Chan's 公子展 grandson, Wu-hsieh 無駭, the duke determined that Wu-hsieh's clan-name should be Chan from the designation of his grandfather. See the 8th year of Duke Yin in the *Tso-chuan*, *Chinese Classics* (tr. by Legge) V. 26.

[4]) K'ung Ch'iu's 孔丘 *tzu* was Chung-ni 仲尼 which was frequently referred to by his disciples as "Chung-ni says." *Shih-chi*, 47.2; cf. Chavannes *Mh* 5.290 and *Hsiao-ching*, "Chung-ni chü 仲尼居." 1.1.

[5]) Liu Pang 劉邦 (B.C. 247-195) adopted Chi 季 as his *tzu* which was often used by his wife, Lü-hou 呂后, before his enthronement as emperor of the Han dynasty. *Shih-chi* 8.1 and 6. Cf. Chavannes, *Mh* II, 324-25, 331-33, and Homer Dubs, *History of the Former Han* I, 31-32, 36-37.

[6]) Yüan Chung's 爰種 uncle, Ang 盎; *tzu*, Ssu 絲. His nephew called him Ssu. See *Han-shu* 49. 4.

[7]) For Wang Tan's 王丹 story calling Hou Pa 侯霸 by his *tzu* Chün-fang 君房, see *Hou Han-shu* 57.4.

used them interchangeably. The well-known minister Wang Yüan-ching [1]) and his brother avoided both the father's name, Yün, and *tzu*, Lo-han; we should not, therefore, blame others for making the same mistake. [2])

In the *Li-chi*, chapter "Chien-chuan," a passage runs: "The wailing of one wearing the sackcloth for his father seems to go forth in one unbroken strain; that of one wearing the sackcloth for a mother is now and then broken; in the mourning of nine months, after the first burst there are three quavers in it, and then it seems to die away; in the mourning of five and three months, an ordinary wailing is sufficient. These are the manifestations of sorrow in the modulations of the voice." [3]) The *Hsiao-ching* (*Classic of Filial Piety*) also says, "Wail, but not with a prolonged sobbing." [4]) These deal with variations in the wailing sounds according to different degrees of lightness and gravity, genuineness and ostentation. According to the *Rites*, weeping without words is called wailing. [5]) From this we know that while weeping there were also words spoken. Southerners at the time of mourning and wailing used a sad appeal to the dead in words. People in Northeast China when deeply bereaved only cried "Oh august Heavens;" for less than one year's mourning they would only cry "deep is my sorrow." This is wailing but not weeping.

Whenever people South of the Yangtze met with deep bereavement and friends living in the same city did not go to console them in three days, the friendship was severed. After the funeral such friends would be avoided whenever they were met, in order to express bitterness for the lack of sympathy. Those who were prevented by long distance or other reasons were excused by

[1]) *Pei Ch'i-shu* 31. 1-2b: "Wang Hsin 王昕 (T. Yüan-ching 元景) ... father Yün 雲 (T. Lo-han 羅漢) an official of the Wei dynasty ... younger brother Hsi 晞 ... with good manners" were all famous. Cf. *Wei-shu* 33.4.

[2]) The author's idea seems to be that only the name of a deceased person should be avoided, not his *tzu*; a famous man like minister Wang should have known this. Unfortunately he did not know, but avoided both the name and the *tzu*; therefore we should not blame other more ignorant persons for making the same mistake.

[3]) *Li-chi*, Book 34 in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXVIII. 385-386; James Legge's translation.

[4]) *Hsiao-ching* in *ibid*, vol. III. 487.

[5]) Two Sung editions give "Wu-yen" (without words), and this version is followed in translation. See Wang Shu-min, "Tu YSCH chiao-chu," *Hsiang-ch'iang ta-hsüeh wu-shih chou-nien chi-nien lung-wen chi* (Hong Kong, 1964), 72.

sending a letter (of sympathy); otherwise they would be treated equally (as strangers). Northern customs were unlike these.

South of the Yangtze people who went to console would not, with the exception of the chief mourner, take the hand of those with whom they were unacquainted; and those who knew the mourners of the younger generation, not the chief mourner, would not necessarily participate in the funeral service but could send a note to the family on some other day.

According to the ideas of the Yin-yang school, it is said that "*Ch'en* is the 'water burial' (of a wife or one's mother) and also the 'earth burial' (of a husband or one's father); so (if any one of the two dies on that day) one must not weep." [1]) Wang Ch'ung

[1]) A book entitled the *Wu-hsing t'ai-i* 五行太義, written by Hsiao Chi 蕭吉 of the Sui Dynasty (581-618), *chüan* 2, p. 4 (the *Chih-pu-tsu-chai ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書 edition) deals with each of the five elements like human beings and regards the changes of human life as in harmony with the "twelve branches." Take water and earth for example: (1) Water exists as a sperm in *ssu* 巳, (2) in an embryonic state in *wu* 午, (3) develops in *wei* 末, (4) is born in *shen* 申, (5) is washed and bathed in *yu* 酉, and (6) receives the cap and the girdle in *hsü* 戌, (7) begins its official career in *hai* 亥, (8) obtains imperial glory in *tzu* 子, (9) becomes old and decrepit in *ch'ou* 丑, (10) sick in *yin* 寅, (11) dies in *mao* 卯, (12) and is buried in *ch'en* 辰. On page 5, a passage quoted from the *Wu-hsing shu* 五行書 reads: Earth (*t'u* 土) exists as a sperm in *ssu* (2) and *wu*, (3) in an embryonic state in *wei*, (4) develops in *shen*, (5) is born in *yu*, (6) is washed and bathed in *hsü*, (7) receives the cap and the girdle in *hai*, (8) begins its official career in *tzu*, (9) obtains imperial glory in *ch'ou*, (10) becomes decrepit and sick in *yin*, (11) dies in *mao*, and (12) is buried in *ch'en*. That is why *ch'en* is "water burial" and "earth burial." On page 4b, it remarks: *hsü* is fire burial, which indicates one's mother. A mother and a son cannot be buried in the same tomb, so one changes to *ch'ou*. *Ch'ou* is "metal burial," which indicates one's son. It also does not agree with the principle of the five elements. Then it is changed to the *ch'en*, which is "water burial" indicating one's wife. This is agreeable to the principles and so the wife is buried on *ch'en*. From this we know that the "earth burial" indicates a husband, or one's father; the "water burial," a wife or one's mother.

Again on the same page the author quotes a passage from Kao T'ang-lung 高堂隆, who lived in the Three Kingdoms period (221-265), saying, "*Ch'en* is water as well as earth burial, so on a *ch'en* day one must not weep; if one does so on this day, double bereavement may befall him." That is to say, if a parent dies on a certain unlucky day such as the *ch'en* day, one must not weep lest the other parent or another member of the family should die soon. Some magic of the Taoist or other religious sects may, like modern superstitious practices, ward off the second bereavement.

According to the bibliographical section in the *Sui-shu* 3.25b, (the *Pa-shih ching-chi chih* edition) Kao T'ang-lung wrote a work called *Tsa chi-li* 雜忌曆

(A.D. 27-ca. 100) in the *Lun-heng* says, "On a *ch'en* day one must not weep, for weeping will entail double bereavement." [1]) Nowadays when uneducated people meet with bereavement on a *ch'en* day, whether or not it is a close relative they have lost, the whole family remains silent, not daring to make a sound lest guests should come to mourn. Again a Taoist work says, "Those who sing on the last day of the month and wail on the first are all offenders whose natural lives will be cut short by Heaven." [2]) On these days a bereaved family would feel sorrow more deeply; could it cease weeping out of consideration for its own longevity? That is inconceivable.

According to unorthodox books, after a man's death there is a day when his soul returns [3]) and on such a day all his sons and grandsons would run away, no one daring to stay at home. Charms are drawn on tiles and plates to prevent the return. On the day for carrying the coffin to burial fires are lighted and ashes spread on the doorway to repel the family ghost and sever connection with it. Things like these are not in accord with human feelings, while persons following such practices are regarded by Confucianists as sinners who should be condemned.

Upon coming to the end of the year, or reaching the festival of the longest day (summer solstice), a fatherless child, already orphaned, would bow before his mother, paternal grandfather and grandmother, paternal elder and younger uncles, and maternal elder uncles and aunts and then all would be inclined to weep; a motherless child would bow before his father, maternal grandparents, maternal uncles and aunts, and maternal cousins and then all would be affected in the same way. Such are normal human feelings.

East of the Yangtze when the sons and grandsons of high officials begin to leave off mourning dress and have audiences with the

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which has been lost for a long time. Probably Yen Chih-t'ui and Hsiao Chi had access to such a work.

[1]) Wang Ch'ung 王充, *Lun-heng* 論衡 in which *Ch'ung-sang* 重喪 is wrongly translated by Alfred Forke as "deep sorrow" part I., 530 (London, 1927 edition).

[2]) This Taoist work has been identified by Chu I-tung 朱亦棟 as *Pao-p'u-tzu*, ch. 7, 微旨 (Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng ed., p. 27), where there are similar ideas as those given in the text, though the wording is not identical.

[3]) *Hui-sha* 回煞, or return of the soul, was still believed in until modern times. J. J. M. de Groot discusses this topic in his *The Religious System of China* (Leiden, 1892-1910) II, 769-777.

emperor and the heir-apparent, they should weep before the latter, who would be moved by this. Sometimes there were those whose countenances radiated joy without the slightest sign of sorrow. Such people were despised by the Emperor Liang-wu (464-549), and many of them were demoted or dismissed. When P'ei Cheng after his period of mourning visited Emperor Liang-wu with a lean and cadaverous countenance and floods of tears, the emperor watched him depart and said, "P'ei Chih-li [his father] will never die." [1])

After the parents' death, the son and his wife cannot bear to enter the room formerly occupied by the departed. Li Kou [2]) of Tun-ch'iu, [3]) who lived at the time of the Northern dynasties, [4]) kept locked throughout his lifetime the room in which his deceased mother, Liu, had lived—he could never bear to open it and enter in. She was a granddaughter of Liu Tsuan 劉纂 [5]), *tz'u-shih* [6]), governor of Kuangchow in the Sung Dynasty (420-477). Thus Li Kou was influenced by southern customs. His father Li Chiang, [7]) governor

[1]) P'ei Chih-li 裴之禮 was the father of P'ei Cheng 裴政, who was very filial when his mother died, and whose son also had the same spirit. That is why the emperor said, "P'ei Chih-li will never die." For a detailed description, see the biography of P'ei Sui 裴邃 in the *Nan-shih*, 58, 15b-16b.

[2]) Li Kou 李構 (T. Tsu-chi 祖基) was a man of integrity and uprightness. His biographical information is in *Pei-shih* 43. 36b; and *Pei Ch'i-shu*. 35.3b-4.

[3]) Tun-ch'iu 頓丘 lies 25 *li* southwest of Ch'ing-feng Hsien 清豐縣, Hopei.

[4]) The Northern Dynasties (386-581) include (1) the Northern Wei or Hou Wei (386-534), capital city first in P'ing-ch'eng in modern Shansi, then in Lo-yang; (2) the Northern Ch'i or Hou Ch'i (550-577), capital in Yeh, Honan; (3) the Northern Chou or Hou Chou (557-581), capital in Ch'ang-an, Shensi.

[5]) Liu Tsuan 劉纂, (d. 478), a member of the royal family of the Liu Sung period, has a biography in *Sung-shu* 51.5b.

[6]) The position of tz'u-shih 刺史 varied at different periods in Chinese history. In the Han dynasty it was an investigator of local administration. During the Wei-Chin period (221-423) it may be translated as governor (or even governor-general) because the incumbent sometimes governed more than one province and had military power. In the Sui, T'ang, Sung and Ch'ing periods it may be translated as magistrate, or perfect. Cf. Yüan Mei, *Sui-yüan sui-pi* 7.9b, Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕, *Ch'ien-yen-t'ang, wen-chi* 潛研堂文集, 12.16 (SPTK), W. F. Mayers, *The Chinese Government* 284; and Yen Keng-wang 嚴耕望, "Wei Chin Nan-ch'ao tu-tu yü tz'u-shih chih kuan-hsi 魏晉南朝都督與刺史之関係," *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 大陸雜誌 11.7 (Oct., 1955), 195-98.

[7]) Li Chiang's 李獎 biography is in *Pei-shih* 43.36.

of Yangchow, was killed in the defense of Shou-ch'un [now Shou-hsien, Anhwei]. Once Li Kou was dining with Wang Sung-nien, [1]) Tsu Hsiao-cheng, [2]) and several others. Hsiao-cheng was good at painting and would draw a portrait whenever he had paper and pen. After a few minutes, while he was cutting the deer's tail, he cut it like a portrait with no other purpose than pleasure and showed it to Kou. Kou's countenance was moved with grief and immediately he arose and rode off on his horse. All the guests at the party were surprised and perplexed as to what was the matter. After a little while Tsu realized the reason and was deeply distressed. At that time few people could understand it.

In Wu-chün [3]) when Lu Hsiang's [4]) father, Lu Hsien, was executed, Hsiang wore plain cotton clothes and ate vegetable food for the rest of his life. He could never endure to eat what was chopped or cut, not even ginger or vegetables. At home he used only hands and fingers for kitchen work.

In Chiang-ling, Yao Tzu-tu's 姚子篤 mother was burned to death, and to the end of his life he could not bear eating roasted food. In Yü-chang [5]) Hsiung K'ang's 熊康 father, while drunk, was murdered by a slave. Thereafter Hsiung never tasted wine. Rites have their basis in human nature, and kindness springs from upright decisions, yet if one's parent chokes to death, one should not give up eating.

The *Li-chi Classic* says that when books are handed down from a father and cups and bowls from a mother, the son cannot bear to use them, since they were touched by his hands or her mouth. [6]) The proper reason was that the books were often used in teaching, comparing texts, or copying; and the cups were favorites in use

[1]) Wang Sung-nien 王松年 was a famous writer and high official of the Ch'i dynasty. Because he criticised Wei Shou's 魏收, *Wei-shu*, he incurred the emperor's anger and punishment. He also served as Huang-men shih-lang. *Pei Ch'i-shu* 35.6.

[2]) Tsu Hsiao-cheng is Tsu T'ing, see p. 30, n. 2.

[3]) Wu-chün 吳郡 was in modern Soochow.

[4]) Lu Hsiang 陸襄 and his father Hsien 閑 are mentioned in *Nan Ch'i-shu*, 52, 8b. Both Lu Hsien and his third son, Lu Feng 絳, who tried to die for his father, were killed by the executioner; *Nan-shih* 48.7b-8.

[5]) Yü-chang 豫章 was in modern Nan-ch'ang, Kiangsi.

[6]) "When his father died, he could not (bear to) read his books; — the touch of his hand seemed still to be on them. When his mother died, he could not (bear to) drink from the cups and bowls that she had used; — the breath of her mouth seemed still on them," *Sacred Books of the East* XXVIII, p. 24.

and have marks that give rise to recollections. If they are common books or utensils for daily life, why should all of them be discarded? Things that are not read or used need not be scattered, but should be sealed up and preserved in order to be handed down to later generations.

The fourth maternal uncle's mother of Ssu-lu and his brothers was the daughter of Chang Chien 張建 of Wu-chün. She had a fifth younger sister, who at three lost her mother. The curtain of the deathbed and the old common utensils used all her life by the baby's mother became wet in the leaking house and were moved out to dry. As soon as the baby caught sight of these, she suddenly lay down on the bed and showered it with tears. Family members, surprised at her not standing up, went over to pick her up and found that the straw mattress and mat were soaked with tears and the baby's breath was failing. As she could not eat or drink, she was taken to consult a doctor. The doctor examined her pulse and said, "Her intestine is ruptured." The baby spat blood and died a few days later. People far and near had pity on her and sighed with grief.

The *Book of Rites* says that "on the anniversary of a parent's death the son does not enjoy (his ordinary work)." [1]) For on that day it is normal for him to be deeply affected without limit by painful recollections and therefore he receives no outside guests nor manages any affairs. If one really feels grieved and wishes to live in solitude by oneself, why is it necessary to limit oneself to deep concealment? Some of our contemporaries retain the formality of seating themselves stiffly in an inner chamber, yet do not hesitate to talk and laugh; delicious dishes for a vegetarian diet are lavishly prepared. But they will not attend to urgent affairs, or see close relatives or intimate friends. Is this not a misunderstanding of the real meaning of ceremonies?

Wang Hsiu's mother of the Wei period died on a sacrificial day. [2]) On the first anniversary Hsiu was deeply affected with sad recollection. The neighbors, hearing this, abolished the sacrifice

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[1]) Ibid, 211.

[2]) In every year there are two *she-jih* 社日, sacrificial days: one on the fifth *wu* 戊 day after the beginning of spring, one on the fifth *wu* day after the beginning of autumn. On these two days sacrifice is offered to the god of the soil. See F. S. Couvreur, *Dictionnaire classique de la langue chinoise* p. 645, and *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* II, sui-kung tien 歲功典 31-32 (Shang-hai, Chung-hua shu-chü, 1934).

for his sake. [1]) Nowadays when both parents die or are buried by chance on the festival of *fu-la* [2]) (the summer or winter solstice), or (the spring and autumn) equinoxes, or the last day of a twenty-nine-day month, or on a dread day (of a previous death), the members of the family should still be moved by sorrow on the anniversary as it is different from ordinary times, and they should not participate in dinner parties, in listening to music or in taking pleasure trips.

Liu T'ao and his brothers Huan and Sui were all famous. [3]) Their father was named Chao, so throughout their lives they never wrote the character *Chao* but selected the fire radicals from the *Erh-ya* to form a substitute character *chao* 炤. Yet words directly violating a prohibited character should be avoided; other homonyms but written in different forms cannot be so treated. The lower part of Liu 劉 is pronounced *chao* 昭. If the descendants of Lü Shang 呂尙 could never use the common word *shang* 上 (up), and the son of Chao I 趙壹 could never use the common word *one*, they would meet the prohibition in whatever they wrote or read.

Once a Mr. Chia (甲) invited Mr. I (乙) to be his banquet guest. In the morning Chia met I's son in a public place and asked the latter, "When will your respected father honor us with a visit at our house?" I's son replied that his father had already gone; this was ridiculed by people of that time. [4]) Whenever you meet similar cases, you must be very careful; don't fall into flippancy.

South of the Yangtze it was customary on the first birthday

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[1]) The story is almost copied verbatim from Wang Hsiu's 王修 biography in the *San-kuo chih*, Wei-chih 11, 12b-13.

[2]) On the days of solstices and equinoxes sacrifices were offered in honor of the spirits, the solstices occur in the summer (*fu* 伏) and once in the winter (*la* 臘) approximately in the sixth and 12th moons; the spring and autumn equinoxes usually occur in the 2nd and 8th moons. For the evolution of these sacrifices and the varied times in different dynasties, see Tu T'ai-ch'ing 杜臺卿, *Yü-chu pao-tien* 玉燭寶典 ch. 12 [pp. 11-12] (Ku-i ts'ung-shu ed.), *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng*, II, sui kung tien, ch. 36, 94; Tun Li-ch'en, *Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking*, tr. and annotated by Derk Bodde (Peiping, 1936), 25-27, 106-107 and *passim*, and Albert E. Dien, tr. and annotator, *Biography of Yü-wen Hu* (Univ. of California Press, Berkeley, 1962), 95-96.

[3]) Liu T'ao 紹, Huan 緩 and Sui 綏 were the sons of Liu Chao 劉昭, whose biography, including a brief notice of the sons, is in *Nan-shih* 72. 14b-15.

[4]) Here the boy is ridiculed because his answer seems to be too hasty and impolite. He should not use the term "father" and should give a more definite reply to the question "when."

to give the baby a bath and a new dress. Then for a boy, a bow, arrow, paper and pen, and for a girl, scissors, a foot rule, a needle and thread were put together with food, precious things and toys before the baby to see which the baby intended to take first. This determined whether he would be covetous, honest, wise or foolish in the future and was called the "baby test." Relatives and cousins gathered for a feast. Later on, if the parents are still alive, there is always some eating and drinking on the birthday. Uneducated fellows, even though fatherless, would prepare food on that day, drinking cheerfully, singing, or shouting loudly with no thought of sorrowful recollection. In his childhood the Emperor Liang Hsiao-yüan (509-555) always prepared a vegetable diet and a thanksgiving service for his birthday, the sixth day of the eighth moon. After the death of his mother, Juan Hsiu-jung, [1]) even this ceremony was stopped.

For those in sorrow or anguish to call on "heaven, earth, father or mother" has been natural from ancient times. Nowadays prohibitions (against calling parents' names) are strictly kept, so people east of the Yangtze, when in pain, cry *ni* 禰. *Ni* is a father's posthumous title in the ancestral temple. If the father were living, the posthumous title should not be used; if he had died, how could they use it? [2]) In the *Ts'ang-chieh p'ien* [3]) there was a character *hsiao* 倄, [4]), which according to the *Hsün-ku* 訓詁 commentary,

[1]) Juan Hsiu-jung's 阮修容 biography is in *Liang-shu* 7.8. She died in 543, according to Liang Yüan-ti, *Chin-lou tzu* 2.6.

[2]) The author, Yen Chih-t'ui, according to Liu P'an-sui, made a mistake by confusing 禰 and 嬭. The latter means mother, as illustrated by many quotations from historical sources. It is pronounced *nai*, written 奶 in modern times. In the *Kuang-yün* 廣韻, 嬭 was pronounced *ni*, the same sound as 禰; people of the Ch'u state called mother 嬭. Since the two characters are homophonous, they are easily confused. See Liu P'an-sui, *HSCK*, 2.5.

[3]) *Ts'ang-chieh p'ien* 蒼頡篇, a work attributed to Ts'ang Chieh, who lived in great antiquity and was said to be the inventor of Chinese characters. The compilation of the work, *Ts'ang-chieh p'ien*, attributed to Li Ssu 李斯 *et al.*, is listed in the bibliographical section of the *Sui-shu*; fragments have been collected by Ma Kuo-han 馬國翰 in *Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu* 玉函山房輯佚書. For a detailed discussion of this work, see Derk Bodde, *China's First Unifier* (Leiden, 1938), 148-151 and 157-159.

[4]) This is the contraction of the sounds *hsia* 下 and *chiao* 交 or in ancient pronunciation *γa*: and *kau*: = *γau*. Here lies a question of textual criticism. Tuan Yü-ts'ai 段玉裁 (1735-1815), in his commentary on the *Shuo-wen*, 8A.23b, Hung Liang-chi 洪亮吉 (1746-1809) in *Hsiao-tu-shu chai ssu-lu* 曉讀書齋四録, ch 2.7b, and Wang Nien-sun 王念孫 (1744-1832) in *Ts'ang Chieh p'ien chiao pu* 校補, 2.12b, thought that Yen Chih-t'ui might have

means "to cry when in pain." [1]) It is read like the combination of *jịu 羽 and dz'uâi 罪 [hence *juâi]. Modern northerners make this sound when in pain. It is pronounced in the *Sheng-lei* [2]) as a combination of *jịu 于 *liwi 耒, which at present southerners shout when in distress. These two pronunciations are used according to local practice. [3])

In Liang society, if a person was impeached or imprisoned, his sons, grandsons, younger brothers and nephews would stay (in front) of the court for three days, barefooted, explaining and apologizing for the accused. A son or grandson holding an official post would automatically disclose (the affair) and ask for dismissal. The son, wearing straw sandals and coarse clothes, with untidy hair and dirty face, waited nervously on a public road for the coming of the officials handling the affair. Before them he kowtowed until blood flowed (for asking their favour) to redress the grievance. In case the prisoner was sentenced to hard labour, [4]) all sons erected a straw hut opposite the government office, not daring to live comfortably at any lodge. Usually about ten days later they

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mistaken *yu* 侑 for *yao* 傜, and Morohashi Tetsuji's *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 大漢和辭典, under 傜 (I., 819-820) abruptly concludes that "the 傜 in *Yen-shih chia-hsün* is certainly a mistake for 侑." On the other hand, Yen Shih-hui 嚴式誨 in his edition of the *YSCH* and others reject the preceding suggestion that 傜 might be a mistake for 侑, because 侑 has neither the pronunciation *yao* nor the meaning of "screaming with pain." Since 傜 in the *Ch'ieh-yün* 切韻 is pronounced as 羽罪 **jiuai* meaning "screaming with pain," and in *Kuang-yün* 廣韻 is explained as "sound of pain," as well as in *Shuo-wen*, *Sheng-lei* and *Yü-p'ien*, there are more sources supporting this character. Most of the arguments pro and con presented in *Shuo-wen Chieh-tzu ku-lin* 說文解字詁林, pp. 3000 b and 3600-3601 are not conclusive, and thus the text of Chou Fa-kao still uses the character 傜. I am grateful to Professor T. H. Tsien for his kindness in getting some material for me from the University of Chicago library for this note.

[1]) The full title of the commentary *Ts'ang-chieh hsün-ku* 蒼頡訓詁 by Tu Lin 杜林 (23-47 A.D.) is listed in the bibliographical sections of the two T'ang dynastic histories. The work is not extant in its entirety. There are fragments including that in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün*, collected in Ma Kuo-han's *Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu.*

[2]) In the bibliographical section in the *Sui-shu* 32.34 there is an entry *Sheng-lei* 聲類, 10 *chüan*, written by Li Teng 李登 of the Wei dynasty (220-265).

[3]) It is to be noted that the character now pronounced *hsiao* was not pronounced that way by the author. Apparently there is no definite word to represent the agony sound.

[4]) For the legal term, *t'u-li* 徒隸, see A.F.P. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law* (Leiden, 1955), 86.

were driven away by the officials and would then withdraw.

South of the Yangtze censors looked into civil cases which, even though insignificant, might cause disgrace according to the principle of moral standing and justice, and a light punishment might result in death during imprisonment. The censors were then regarded by the sons and grandsons as their enemies, and there would be no relations between them for three generations. (For this reason) Tao Hsia (477-527) [1]), chief censor (*Yü-shih chung-ch'eng*) [2]) wanted to impeach Liu Hsiao-ch'o (481-539), [3]) who was on friendly terms with the censor's elder brother Tao Kai 到溉, and Kai, after bitterly advising his brother (against the impeachment) without effect, paid Liu a visit to bid him good-bye and departed in tears.

Weapons are dreadful; war is dangerous and not a safe route. In olden days emperors supervised troops in mourning dress, and generals went out by breaking the funeral gate. [4]) Hence, if their father, grandfather or uncle is in the fighting forces, (the offspring) at home should live quietly and humbly, with no music performed or dinners given, nor taking part in nuptials, cappings or other happy ceremonies. If (these relatives) are living in a besieged city, [their offspring] should appear sad, discard all ornaments and always have a timid manner as though drawing near the edge of a deep abyss or walking on thin ice.

When parents have a severe illness, no matter how lowbred or young a doctor may be, the son should kneel before him in order

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[1]) Tao Hsia 到洽, a good scholar, had held many government positions before he was appointed to the chief censorship. He is described as being strict and impartial in performing his duties. See his biography in *Liang-shu* 27.3-5. As for Tao Kai's biography, it is in *Liang-shu* 40. 2-3b.

[2]) *Yü-shih chung-ch'eng* 御史中丞 was the chief censor of the Liang. At first the function was called *Yü-shih ta-fu* (大夫), then in 502 it was changed to the above title. Below the chief censor there were eight subordinates, whose function it was to keep the emperor informed on all public matters of importance and to impeach all officials whose ranks were below the heir apparent. See the Official section in the *Sui-shu*, 26.3.

[3]) Liu Hsiao-ch'o 劉孝綽 was a friend of Tao Hsia, but he was so proud that he looked down on Tao's writings. When Tao became a censor, he impeached Liu for taking a concubine to the office. *Liang-shu*. 33. 11b-16b.

[4]) Hsiung-men 凶門, literally means "unlucky gate," through which the coffin was taken out; it was usually closed or blocked by bricks. Generals in time of war dug their way through the unlucky gate in order to indicate that they were determined to fight to the death. *Huai-nan tzu* 淮南子, ch. 15, *Ping-lüeh hsün* 兵略訓, p. 17 (SPPY ed.)

to arouse his pity. Once at Chiang-chou [1]) because Emperor Liang Hsiao-yüan felt unwell, the heir apparent, Hsiao Fang-teng (528-549),[2]) personally kowtowed before Li Yu 李猷, who was (merely) an assistant adjutant of the central army (*Chung-ping ts'an-chüin*). [3])

How can it ever be an easy matter to regard "all within the four seas" as brothers! It is necessary to have the same interests and equal generosity, and keep on good terms from beginning to end before one can regard (a man as a brother). After (the father) has found such a person, the son should be ordered to kneel on the ground before the friend and address him as "elder" (*chang-jen*), [4]) in order to show the respect due a father's friend. When serving the friend's parent, one should also be polite. I have noticed that northerners pay little attention to these matters. Strangers meeting on a public road immediately call each other "brother", guessing ages by looking at each other without consideration of whether it is right or not. Consequently there are occasionally sworn brothers who might be as old as one's father, and a "younger brother" might be younger than one's son.

In ancient times the Duke of Chou was (so busy that) once, during a bath, he had to hold his (long wet) hair three times and during a meal he had to put the food out of his mouth three times in order to receive scholars coming from plain thatched huts [to talk about important public affairs] and within a single day he interviewed more than seventy persons. [5]) (Later on) Duke Wen of Chin, on taking a bath, refused to see a mean eunuch, T'ou Hsü

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[1]) For Chiang-chou, see p 23, n. 6.

[2]) Hsiao Fang-teng's 蕭方等 biography is in *Liang-shu*, 44. 6-7b.

[3]) *Chung-ping ts'an-chün* 中兵參軍 means a minor official of the central army on garrison duty in the court or within the metropolitan district. The function of the title is recorded in the official section of *Sui-shu*, 26. 5, as soldiers in garrison at the palace of a prince. *Ts'an-chün* is a low-rank officer. Cf. des Rotours, 510, 755.

[4]) Chang-jen has two meanings: a "father-in-law," and an honorary designation for an old gentleman. Here obviously it means the latter. *Lun-heng*, I. 4; cf. Alfred Forke, I. 314-315.

[5]) This well-known story about the Duke of Chou is told in *Shih-chi*, 33. 3b; Chavannes, *Mh*, IV, 93; and *Shuo-yüan* 說苑, 10. 1 (SPPY ed.), and other sources which differ in detail one from another. Current scholars consider this story an exaggerated legend which fundamentally may not be true. See Chou Fa-kao's additional notes on the *YSCH Hui-chu* in *CYYY Academia Sinica Extra volume* no. 4, Part II (Taipei, 1961), p. 858, and Wang Shu-min, "YSCH chiao-chu," *Symposium on Chinese Studies*, p. 75; Ch'en P'an, "Tu YSCH cha-chi" in the same volume, p. 128-129.

頭須, who hinted at a revolt. [1]) An unceasing stream of guests at the door was a great honor in ancient times. [Nowadays] door-keepers of uncultured families have no manners; sometimes by using the pretext that the host is eating or sleeping, they rudely keep out visitors without reporting to the host. This is regarded as a great shame by people south of the Yangtze. P'ei Chih-li, [2]) Attending Secretary Inside the Imperial Yellow Gate (*Huang-men shih-lang*), was famous for entertaining scholar officials. If he had such servants, he would whip them before his guests. All his household attendants and old or young servants in contact with other persons treated them with the same solemn politeness and attentive complaisance as the host himself.

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[1]) Chin Wen-kung 晉文公 was one of the five powerful rulers in the period of the Spring and Autumn. The story is recorded in the twenty-fourth year of Duke Hsi in the *Tso-chuan*. Cf. Legge's translation in the *Chinese Classics* V. 188, 191.

[2]) For P'ei Chih-li, see p. 37, n. 1.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ADMIRATION OF MEN OF ABILITY

The Ancients said, "Though a sage appears but once in a thousand years, it seems as short as a day and night; a wise man appears but once in five hundred years, yet people should still try to compare with him shoulder to shoulder." [1]) With sages and wise men as rare and difficult to find as this, should one meet an extraordinary, brilliant man of talent, how can one not emulate and look up to him? I was born in disordered times and grew up among the military horses, wandering here and there, and gathering much by ear and eye. Whenever I met a famous and talented man, I could not keep from admiring him heartily, as if I were crazy. When men are young, their minds and emotions are not settled. With whomever they closely associate, they are imbued, soaked, moulded and dyed with each other's way of thinking, laughing and acting. Even though they have no intention of imitating their associates, they are quietly moved and unconsciously changed, and naturally they end by resembling each other. As for conduct and skill, the case is even clearer, for these are easier to learn. Therefore, "to live with good people is like staying in a room of orchids where, after a long time, one will naturally be sweet-scented; to associate with bad people is like living in a dried-fish shop, where, after a long time, one would unavoidably become imbued with the odor." [2]) That is why Mo Ti [3]) grieved about the rapid changes of color when silk is dyed, and why a superior man should be careful in selecting friends and companions. Confucius said, "Have no friend not equal to yourself." [4]) It is impossible to meet such wise men

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[1]) The first part of this quotation is identified by the commentator as coming from *Meng-tzu wai-shu* 孟子外書 (*Pai-ching lou ts'ung-shu* 拜經樓叢書 edition), p. 2 and the other part from *Yü-tzu* 鬻子, (a philosopher supposedly of the 13th century B.C.), p. 3 (*Shou-shan-ko ts'ung-shu* 守山閣叢書 edition)

[2]) Quoted from the *K'ung-tzu chia-yü* 孔子家語, chapter 4, Liu-pen 六本 (SPTK edition), p. 8b.

[3]) Mo Ti is also known as Mo Tzu. The story is quoted in the *Huai-nan-tzu* 淮南子, ch. 17, Shuo-lin hsün 說林訓 p. 14, and *Mo-tzu* 墨子, Sou-jan p'ien 所染篇, 1.4b (SPPY edition).

[4]) The sentence is quoted from the first chapter of the *Lun-yü*, I. i, *Confucian Classics* I. 141.

as Yen and Min [1]) in this generation, but any one who is superior to you merits your respect.

Common people usually have their minds beclouded; they value what they hear but disregard their own observations. They honor what is distant but despise what is near. When old and young consort together, the wise and talented are treated with familiarity and without respect. As soon as they hear even a whisper of a famous man in a distant area, they strain their necks and stand on tiptoe (to look up to him), as if their anxiety for this man were more than thirst or hunger. In comparing the strong and weak points and examining the coarse and fine facets of two persons, they may find that) the man (from a distant area) may not be so good as the one nearby. Thus a man of Lu spoke of Confucius as "Ch'iu, my neighbor on the east." [2]) Formerly, Kung Chih-ch'i of the state of Yü from youth grew up with the duke, who was so familiar with him that his advice [3]) would not be accepted, resulting in the overthrow of the state. Things like these cannot be overlooked.

To adopt a man's words and not give him credit (lit. cast the person away) was considered by ancients as a shame. [4]) Whenever you adopt a single word or action from other persons, you should make known the source and praise it; do not steal another's good points and use them as your own. However unimportant or mean they are, you should give them credit. Robbery of another's money is punishable by law; stealing of another's good points is damned by the gods.

When the Emperor Liang Hsiao-yüan was once in Chingchow [Chiang-ling, Hupeh], there was a subject of Hung-t'ing named Ting Yen [5]) who had a good literary style and wrote well in the

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[1]) That is Yen Yüan 顏淵, a kinsman and favorite disciple of Confucius and Min Tzu-chien 閔子騫, also a favorite disciple of the sage (for both see *Shih-chi* 67.2-3).

[2]) Tung-chia Ch'iu 東家丘: There was a fool who lived west of Confucius' house. He did not know that Confucius was a sage, but called him "my eastern neighbor Ch'iu:;" Ch'iu being Confucius' name. *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih,* 11. 18b. Wing-tsit Chan calls my attention to an earlier source referring to Confucius as Tung-chia Ch'iu in *Shen Yin-hou chi* 沈隱侯集, 1.83b (*Han Wei liu-ch'ao i-pai-san chia chi ed.*).

[3]) Kung Chih-ch'i's 宮之奇 story of the Yü 虞 state occurs in *Tso-chuan,* the second year of Duke Hsi. *The Chinese Classics* V. 135, 136.

[4]) The allusion comes from the 9th year of Duke Ting, ibid. 722.

[5]) Ting Yen 丁覎 is not important enough to have a biographical notice in dynastic history. However, in Chang Yen-yüan's 張彥遠 *Fa-shu yao-lu* 法書要録 (*Hsüeh-chin t'ao-yüan* 學津討源 edition) there is a mention of

"draft script" [1]) and the "clerkly script." [2]) The emperor employed him to copy all his writings and records. The position of a clerk in a military camp was very low and insignificant; most people disregarded him and felt ashamed to have their children imitate his handwriting. At the time people said ten papers written by Ting were not as valuable as a few characters by Wang Pao (514-577). [3]) I am very fond of his handwriting and always keep them as a precious thing. Emperor Hsiao-yüan on one occasion ordered his clerk of labels (*tien-ch'ien*), [4]) Hui P'ien 惠編, to deliver a few pages of his essays to the "Libationer" (*chi-chiu*) [5]) Hsiao, who asked, "Since the letter granted by the king and the poems are copied in excellent handwriting, why is the writer not famous?" Hui P'ien told him the truth; [Libationer Hsiao] Tzu-yün [6]) said with a sigh, "This man will find no equal in the young generation, and yet how strange that people in our society do not mention him." Those who heard this praise rubbed their eyes and treated him a little better. Later on his position was raised to that of a senior secretary in charge of ceremonies (*Shang-shu I-ts'ao lang*), [7]) and

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Ting Chan 覘, a contemporary of the monk *Chih-yung* 智永, who excelled in writing the *Li* script; he was known in his time as a great calligrapher. Ting produced two books: *Meng-shu* 夢書, compiled for Chin-lou tzu 金樓子 [Liang Yüan-ti, Hsiao I], and *Chu Ch'ien-tzu wen* 注千字文, as stated in the *Chin-lou tzu* 5.3 and the *Nihon koku kenzaisho mokuroku* p. 10, respectively.

[1]) That is *ts'ao-shu* 草書, the "grass" or draft style.

[2]) That is *li-shu* 隸書, the type of script developed during the Han period.

[3]) Wang Pao 王褒 (T. Tzu-yüan 子淵), a famous writer and calligrapher, was overloaded with requests for his beautiful handwriting. His biography is in *Chou-shu* 41. 1-5 and *Pei-shih* 83. 15-16b.

[4]) Tien-ch'ien 典籤, was an official of low rank in charge of labelling tallies and official documents. Actually, he had great power in controlling the Tz'u-shih, governors, most of whom were young princes for the emperor. For details, see Wang Chung-lo 王仲犖, *Wei Chin Nan-Pei ch'ao, Sui, Ch'u-Tang-shih* 魏晉南北朝隋初唐史 (Shanghai, Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1961), I. 279-81 and 288-89.

[5]) *Chi-chiu* 祭酒 or *Kuo-hsüeh* 國學 *chi-chiu* was libationer of the imperial academy whose duty it was to pour out liquids in offering sacrifice. At the time the position was the same as minister of state (*T'ung-tien* 27, 10-12). It corresponds roughly to a university chancellor.

[6]) Hsiao Tzu-yün 蕭子雲, also a famous calligrapher, has a biography in *Liang-shu* 35, 7b-10 and *Nan-shih* 42, 16-18.

[7]) Shang-shu i-ts'ao lang 尚書儀曹郎 was a section chief of the Shang-shu sheng or Department of State Affairs. The latter comprised one chief minister, two vice-ministers, two division heads and twenty subheads (I-ts'ao-lang); see *T'ang liu-tien* 1, 6. Des Rotours translates the title as "secrétaire supérieur du bureau des rites" (p. 86) see also I-ts'ao, p. 27, n. 5.).

finally he became a tutor (*shih-tu*) [1]) to Prince Chin-an [2]) and accompanied the prince to the east. After the overthrow of the central government [at Chiang-ling], the official documents (of Liang) were destroyed and scattered and shortly afterward Ting died at Yangchow. Those who formerly disregarded his handwriting were unable to get a single piece of it.

When Hou Ching [3]) first besieged the city of Chien-yeh, though the palace gates were closed, the officials and citizens were so disturbed that no one could control himself. Yang K'an, [4]) head of the left wing garrison of the heir apparent (*T'ai tzu tso-wei shuai* [5]) stationed at the east gate, arranged and finished all the defensive plans within a single night and was thus able to ward off the fierce rebels for more than a hundred days. At that time, though there were about forty thousand people in the city and not less than a hundred princes and ministers, yet their safety depended on this one man, K'an. So great is disparity in ability. The ancients said that Ch'ao Fu and Hsü Yu declined the offer of the empire, [6]) while

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[1]) Shih-tu 侍讀, literally "wait and read," was an imperial reader or tutor, or "lecteur" (Des Rotours, p. 572).

[2]) Prince Chin-an 晉安 is identified by the commentator Chao Hsi-ming as Liang Chien-wen ti before he became emperor in 550.

[3]) Hou Ching 侯景 (T. Wan-ching 萬景 502-552) was a regional military leader in So-fang, Kansu. He enlisted in the Wei army, and on account of his valor he was promoted to governor of Honan. He submitted to the Liang dynasty in 547 and defeated the Eastern Wei in 548. But soon he rebelled against the Liang. In 549 he took Nanking after a long siege, ended Liang Wu-ti's life and proclaimed himself emperor of Han in 551. A year later he was defeated by Ch'en Pa-hsien 陳霸先 and others and was killed in Chekiang. *Liang-shu* 56. 1-32, *Nan-shih* 80. 1-26b, O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, II, 175-171, and J. J. M. de Groot, *Religious System*, IV, 371, 375.

[4]) See p. 30, n. 1.

[5]) For *T'ai-tzu tso-wei shuai* 太子左衛率 cf. Des Rotours, 608-609.

[6]) Hsü Yu 許由, a legendary character, reputed to have been the counselor of the mythical emperor Yao. His conduct is commonly referred to as an example of elevated purity in conjunction with that of his friend Ch'ao Fu 巢父, who was so named because he lived in a nest among trees. When Yao planned to resign the government of his empire and offered him the post, Hsü Yu declined since he had no political ambition. He "washed his ears" in order to remove from them any lingering taint of defilement through listening to the offer. Meanwhile, when Hsü Yu was washing his ears, Ch'ao Fu's 巢父 calf was drinking; and Ch'ao Fu said, "The water makes my calf's mouth dirty," so he carried it to the upper stream. Huang-fu Mi 皇甫謐 (215-282), *Kao-shih chuan* 高士傳 2b-3 (SPPY edition) and Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, I. 520.

townsfolk and mean-minded persons quarrel over a little tiny profit; that is also a great difference.

A few years after Emperor Wen-hsüan of Ch'i (550-559) came to the throne, he indulged in wine and women without any control and was completely unprincipled. However, he put political affairs in the hands of the chief minister *shang-shu ling*, Yang Tsun-yen [1]) who maintained peace and order within and without the court. The officials and people were all contented, for each received his due and there were no criticisms against the government until the end of the T'ien-pao period (550-559). But after Yang Tsun-yen had been executed by Emperor Hsiao-chao, the government fell into decay. When [the minister of state] Hu-lü Ming-yüeh, [2]) a general of decisive importance, had been killed, although innocent, and the armies had become disorganized, the Chou people began to think of swallowing the state of Ch'i. People within Kuan-chung still praise Hu-lü. His ability was not limited to the command of ten thousand soldiers; his life or death determined the fate of the kingdom.

Chang Yen-chün, [3]) vice governor-general of a mobile branch executive office (*hsing-t'ai tso-ch'eng*) at Chin-chou 晉州 [in Shansi],[4]) led and helped the chief generals in garrisoning the border area and provided them with weapons and other necessities. He loved and supported the people as if that area, Chin-chou, were a belligerent state [against the corrupt government]. As all evildoers were

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[1]) Yang Yin 楊愔 (T. Tsun-yen 遵彥) has a biography in *Pei-Ch'i shu* 34. 1-8; and *Pei-shih* 41. 17b-25.

[2]) Hu-lü Kuang 斛律光 (T. Ming-yüeh 明月) has a biography in *Pei-shih* 54. 24b-29, and in *Pei-Ch'i shu* 17. 4b-9.

[3]) Due to the disparity between their careers, this Chang Yen-chün does not seem to be identical with the man mentioned in the *Pei-Ch'i shu* ... The information in the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* seems to be based on this very passage in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün*: *TCTC* 172. 5353 (punctuated edition, Peking, Kuo-chi ch'u-pan-she; 1956).

[4]) *Hsing-t'ai tso-ch'eng* 行臺左丞. The mobile branch of the metropolitan office in different provinces was called *hsing-t'ai*, and was in charge of military affairs at the beginning in the Three Kingdoms; it derived its original authority from the *shang-shu sheng*, the imperial secretariat. It had a definite function in the Hou Wei dynasty (535-554), and took care of military as well as civil affairs in the western Chou dynasty (557-581). Thus the title may be translated into vice governor-general. The organization is like the main office of the *Shang-shu-sheng* but smaller. There are *shang-shu ling*, chief minister, *shang-shu tso-ch'eng* and *yu-ch'eng*, two vice-ministers. See the *T'ung-tien* 22, 25b-26 and cf. des Rotours, p. 708.

unable to carry out their purposes, they cooperated to remove him. After he had been replaced by someone else, officials and individuals were thrown into disorder. This area was the first to be leveled by the troops of the Chou dynasty (557-577). The overthrow of Ch'i began with this spot.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TO ENCOURAGE STUDY

From ancient times wise kings and sage emperors still have had to be diligent in study; why can the common people not be so? Such events are recorded throughout the classics and histories, and I will not stress them, but simply give some modern concrete examples to enlighten you.

Of the children of scholar-officials, not one is untaught, beyond a few years of age. Those who read more, go through the *Li* and [*Tso*] *Chuan*, while those who read less do not neglect the *Shih* and *Lun* [*yü*]. [1]) Having arrived at the age of capping and marriage, [2]) when their bodies and habits are generally formed, a double effort is needed in instruction and guidance to take advantage of their faculties. Those who have ambition and determination should be trained and encouraged so as to accomplish their proper professions. Those without firm standing will thereafter drop down to the level of common persons.

Every man born into society should have a profession: farmers plan for plowing and sowing, merchants deal with goods and prices, workmen go as far as possible in making excellent tools and useful objects, artists ponder over their methods and techniques, warriors practice archery and horsemanship, scholars interpret and discuss classical books. I have often seen scholars who felt it disgraceful to associate with farmers and merchants, or to exert themselves like a workman or an artist. In archery they are not able to shoot through a coat of mail, and in writing they are able only to sign their names. Satiated with food, intoxicated with wine, and loafing without proper work, they thus waste their days and end their years. Sometimes, by inheriting honor from their family, they obtain an official position of low rank and then become quite self-satisfied, entirely forgetting study. In cases of great lucky or unlucky affairs and discussion of possible gain or loss,

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[1]) Here *Li* means the *Book of Rites*; *Tso Chuan*, Tso's commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*; *Shih* the *Book of Odes*, and *Lun-yü*, the *Confucian Analects*.

[2]) For the capping ceremony, see the special chapter Shih-kuan li 士冠禮 in *Li-chi*, *Sacred Books of the East* XXVIII, 428-434 and Chavannes, *Mh.* I.7.

they sit with foolish looks and widely-opened mouths as if sitting in a cloud or fog. At public or private feasts, when there is conversation about ancient history or when there is composition of poetry,[1] they silently hang their heads, yawning and stretching, unable to say anything. The learned bystanders would like to sink into the ground for them. Why do they refuse to spend a few years on diligent study so that they might avoid enduring shame and disgrace throughout their whole life?

In the most flourishing age of the Liang dynasty (502-556), the scions of royal stock were usually unlearned. Hence there was a proverb: "One who mounts a chariot and does not have to dismount is a compiler; one who cannot discriminate among the different styles of writing is granted a secretaryship." [2]) There was not one of them who did not perfume his garments, shave his face, use powder and rouge, ride in a carriage with long awnings, wear high-teeth clogs, sit on square cushions like a chess board, lean on soft, silk bolsters arranged with curios or trinkets on each side, going in and out gracefully, looking like deities. When seeking to pass the examination for the degree of "clearly understanding the classics," [3]) they hired others to answer the questions and compose essays. When attending public feasts for high state officials [4]) they

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[1]) It is a Chinese custom to compose a poem cooperatively for pleasure at a scholarly gathering. It is composed in this way: some one in the group thinks of one line, then another follows the same rhyme in writing the second line, and so on until each has composed a line. All are linked together into a poem. Cf. *Nan-shih* 34.7; and Liu Hsieh 劉勰思 (c. A. D. 465-522), *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* 文心雕龍, Chap. Ming-shih 明詩 2.3b (*SPPY* ed.). Vincent Yu-chung Shih uses the term "round robin" poetry for *lien-chü* 聯句; see Shih's translation of the *Wen-hsin tiao-lung, The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 34, n. 20.

[2]) At the end of the Ch'i and Liang dynasties a secretaryship was a beginner's position for young nobles, most of whom were poorly educated. It was a side job or sinecure position of very short duration. The office holder did not even have to dismount from the carriage when appearing in front of the office building for a few times. *T'ung-tien*, p. 155, *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, p. 511, and *Ko-chin ho-pi shih-lei hou-chi* 古今合璧事類後集, (a Ming, 1556 edition), 36.12;37.1.

[3]) Ming-ching 明經, was the title of a degree which could be obtained by public examination since the Han dynasty. *T'ung-tien* 75.

[4]) *San-chiu* 三九 means the three dukes and nine ministers. The three dukes were generally the grand tutor (*t'ai-shih* 太師), the grand assistant (*t'ai-fu* 太傅), and the grand guardian (*t'ai-pao* 太保); the junior guardian (*shao-pao*), the chief counselor (*chung-tsai* 冢宰), the minister of labor (*ssu-t'u* 司徒), the minister of ceremonies (*tsung-po* 宗伯), the minister of

used others' talents to compose poems for them. At that time such men were happy scholars. After the time of dispersion and disorder, when the court was overthrown and conditions changed, those in charge of civil service examinations were no longer their relatives as before; the chief ministers who assumed power no longer belonged to the former party. Forced to depend upon themselves, they could do nothing; when they were put in charge of practical affairs, they were of no use. Wearing coarse garments, they had no more pearls; [1] taking off the hide [of a tiger], the real body was disclosed. [2] They were as forlorn as withered trees—or as the thin trickle of an exhausted stream. Tottering in the area trodden by military horses, they wandered here and there until they died in a ditch or stream. At that time they had truly become useless material.[3]

Those who have learning or skill can settle down anywhere. In these disordered times I have seen many captives who, though lowbred for a hundred generations, have become teachers through knowledge and study of the *Lun-yü* and *Hsiao-ching*. Others, though they had the heritage of nobility for a thousand years, were nothing but farmers or grooms, because they were unable to read and write. Seeing such conditions, how can you not exert yourselves? Whoever can keep steadily at work on a few hundred volumes will, in the end, never remain a common person.

To understand the ideas of the Six Classics or to wade through the writings of the hundred philosophers, even though this cannot add to morality or improve conduct, it nevertheless is a resource

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war (*ssu-ma* 司馬), the minister of law (*ssu-k'ou* 司寇), and the minister of works (*ssu-k'ung* 司空). For details see Wang Ming-sheng 王 鳴盛, *Shih-ch'i shih shang-chio* 十七史商榷 (Kuang-ya shu-chü edition), 10.3-5. Here the author's idea is simply to indicate a feast with high ministers or officials present, without special significance.

[1]) This is a satire taken from the allusion *pei-ho huai-yü* 被褐懷玉 "to wear coarse clothes and hide the jade in the bosom," which shows a man careless in dress but with good ability. The metaphor is taken from *Tao-te ching* 2.20 (*SPTK* ed.); cf. the translations by Duyvendak, p. 147 and by Wu, p. 101. The young nobles of the Liang dynasty now wear coarse garments, but their shining pearl is lost.

[2]) "A sheep covered with a tiger's skin feels glad at finding grass, but trembles at seeing a jackal, forgetting the tiger's skin on its body." Yang Hsiung 揚雄, *Fa-yen* 法言, chapter "Wu-tzu." 2, 2b-3 (*SPTK* edition). It has been translated by Erwin von Zach, "Fa yen: Worte strenger Ermahnung," *Sinologische Beiträge* IV(1939), 1-74.

[3]) These two sentences are taken from Lu Chi's *Wen-fu*. Cf. Achilles Fang's ranslation, "Rhymeprose on Literature," *HJAS* 14 (1951), 545.

on which one can depend. You cannot always be dependent on a father or an elder brother; your home region and state will not always be protected. Some morning there will be a sudden scattering, and no one will be left to take care of you; you will have to call on your own resources. A proverb says, "To amass wealth by the million does not compare with the mastery of a small skill." Among valuable skills easy to learn there is none comparable to reading. People of the world, whether wise or stupid, all desire to understand more people and see a wide range of events, but they are unwilling to read. This is like wanting to eat a full meal while hating to cook it, or desiring warm clothing but being too lazy to make it. Those who read may know what has happened throughout the world from the time of [Fu] Hsi and [Shen] Nung [1]) until now—not only the personalities, events, success or failure, likes or dislikes of human beings, but also those things which the universe cannot hide nor the spirits conceal.

Suppose a guest challenges his host, saying, "I have noticed that some use a strong bow and a long spear to punish evil and bring peace to the people, thus becoming a duke or marquis. Others use literature, elegance, and official training to rectify (disordered) times and to enrich the nation, thus becoming ministers or premiers. Still others who are well learned concerning the past and present, with both civil and military ability, nevertheless have neither position nor income; their wives and children suffer from hunger and cold. Moreover such people are innumerable. What value is there in learning?"

To this the host replies, "Failure or success in a person's fate is like gold, jade, wood, and stone. To cultivate oneself by learning and skill is like polishing and carving: the polished gold or jade is certainly more beautiful than the gold ore or uncut jade, and broken pieces of wood or stone are naturally uglier than the well-carved. Can you say that carved wood or stone are more valuable than the unworked gold or jade? You cannot compare the poor and humble condition of a learned person with the riches and nobility of the unlearned. Moreover, mailed warriors and penholding officials, quite unknown after death, are as numerous as hair on a cow's hide; outstanding and eminent persons are as rare as the *chih* 芝

[1]) Fu Hsi 伏羲 and Shen-nung 神農 were two celebrated legendary emperors of ancient China. See *Records of the Grand Historian of China* translated from the *Shih chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien by Burton Watson, II. 19, and Chavannes, *Mh*, I. 7, 10, 12.

plant, [1]) while those who stick to plain (silk) [2]) and yellow (scrolls), who ponder morality and virtue, who work painstakingly without reward, are as unusual as a solar eclipse. Idle enjoyers of fame and gain are as numerous as autumn weeds. How can you find a common basis (lit. in the same year) on which to discuss such conditions? Moreover, I have heard that "the highest class of men are those who are born with a natural understanding; the next class are those who acquire understanding by study and application." [3]) Therefore study will increase one's knowledge and ability to understand. A genius with ability above all others may become a general who can unconsciously use the same tactics as Sun Wu and Wu Ch'i; [4]) or he may become a statesman who can attain to the teaching of Kuan Chung [5]) and Tzu-ch'an. [6]) Even though unlearned, I should

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[1]) Chih 芝, *Zoysia Pungens*, is said to be a sacred plant (*Shuo-wen chieh-tzu Tuan-chu*, (*SPPY* ed.) 1.2b. It grows on withered trees like a fungus with purplish stalk. It will keep for a long time and thus indicates longevity and prosperity. See Giles's *Chinese-English Dictionary* under *chih*.

[2]) For silk as writing material, see an excellent discussion in *Written on Bamboo and Silk*, by T. H. Tsien (The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 6, 114-130.

[3]) This comes from the *Lun-yü*, chapter XXXI; Ku Hung-ming's translation, the *Discourses and Sayings of Confucius*, p. 148.

[4]) Sun Wu and Wu Ch'i were two famous military commanders of ancient China. Sun Wu 孫武, commonly called Sun Tzu, lived in the 6th century B.C.; he conducted numerous campaigns in the service of the state of Ho Lü 闔廬, prince of Wu. He wrote a treatise on the art of war, called *Sun Tzu*, which is still esteemed. Wu Ch'i 吳起 was also a celebrated commander in the service of the State of Wei at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. He was the author of a treatise on military art, which is known as *Wu Tzu*, in reference to his authorship. They are regarded as the two masters of the science of tactics and strategy, and both have a biography in the *Shih-chi, chüan* 65. 1-7. See also *Sun Tzu, The Principles of War*, Ceylon 1943; and *Sun Tse et les anciens Chinois*, par L. Nachin, Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1948.

[5]) Kuan Chung 管仲, or Kuan I-wu 夷吾, died 645 B.C., is one of the most renowned statesmen of antiquity. He was the chief minister of Duke Huan 桓 of Ch'i, and by his prudent counsels and just administration he contributed effectively to the aggrandisement of Ch'i. A philosophical work on government and legislation, the alleged product of his pen, is still in existence, and his name is enrolled in the list of sages under the title Kuan Tzu. He has a biography in the *Shih-chi*, 62. 1-3. See *Economic dialogues in ancient China; selections from the Kuan-tzu* translated by T'an Po-fu and Wen Kung-wen, edited by Lewis Maverick (Carbondale Ill., 1954), and *Kuan-tzu*, tr. by W. Allyn Rickett (Hongkong, 1965).

[6]) Tzu-ch'an 子產, a noble of Cheng 鄭, was made chief minister of that state at a time when lawlessness and disorder prevailed. During his premier-

call him a scholar. Now you cannot be such; if you do not learn from the examples of the past, you are like those who sleep with their heads wrapped in the bedclothes.

When people discover an excellent and brilliant person among their neighbors or relatives, they order their children and younger brothers to admire and imitate him, but they do not know enough to have them study from the past. Alas, how short-sighted! People of this generation know only horsemanship, the wearing of armor, and how to carry a long spear and a strong bow. They say, "We can be generals," but they do not know the subtleties of interpreting the way of heaven, of understanding the topographical advantages, or of comparing and measuring the favorable and unfavorable, of observing the pattern of success and failure. Knowing only how to serve superiors and treat inferiors, how to accumulate money and amass provisions, they say, "We can be chief ministers." They know not that the goal [of such a position] was to preside over the worship of gods, to alter manners and improve customs, adjust to the yin and yang principles, select and employ sages and wise men. Knowing private interests are to be kept out and public services promptly managed, they say, "We can rule people," but they know not the art of being sincere with themselves and influencing others by example, of holding the reins of state as easily as ribbons, [1]) of turning the wind and putting out a fire [2]) or of changing the unfilial owl into a good phoenix. [3])

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ship he rendered such good service that the doors were not locked at night and lost articles were not picked up from the highway; *Shih-chi*, 119 2b-3.

[1]) "Chih p'ei ju tsu 執轡如組" is a sentence quoted from *The Book of Poetry*, Pt I, Bk 3, Ode 13. James Legge translated it, "The reins are in my grasp like ribbons," *The Chinese Classics* IV 61.

[2]) According to the *Hou-Han shu*, Biographies of scholars (*Ju-lin chuan*), when Liu K'un 劉昆 was magistrate of Chiang-ling, fires occurred in his district year after year. On such occasions, Liu would bow his head to the ground toward the fire. Frequently it rained and the wind stopped. In A.D. 46 he was promoted, and the emperor asked him how could he put out the fire by stopping the wind. He answered, "That was accidental;" *Hou-Han shu*, 109A. 5,

[3]) Ch'ou Lan 仇覽 was elected to head a small town where Ch'en Yüan 陳元 lived with his mother. Once the mother accused her son of being unfilial before the head. The latter personally went to the house, drank together with the mother and son, persuaded and influenced them, and finally the accused became a filial son. Thus Ch'ou Lan was promoted to a higher position and was asked how he could influence Ch'en to be filial instead of punishing him, "Do you lack the power of a hawk?" Ch'ou answered that a hawk was

Knowing only how to obey commands and keep the laws, how to execute criminals or set them free at the right time, they say, "We can be judges;" but they know not the method of letting a wrongdoer watch the punishment of another one from a carriage-gate, [1]) tracing property by means of an inherited sword, [2]) discovering a secret by a falsehood, [3]) and finding facts by asking nothing. [4]) Accordingly, the farmer, merchant, craftsman, retailer,

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not so good as a phoenix. That is to say, severe punishment is not so good as mild persuasion. *Hou Han-shu* 76. 15b-16.

[1]) No commentator has yet found a definite source of this literary allusion, and I have also tried in vain. However, *Yüan-men* 轅門 is derived from *Chou-li*, "she ch'e-kung yüan-men 設車宮轅門," to set up a carriage-palace and shaftsgate" (*Chou-li* 6.4b., SPPY ed.). It is translated by Édouard Biot as "Ils disposent la salle des chars et la porte des timons" (*Le Tcheou-li*, I.115, Paris. 1851). Yüan-men is also used in the *Shih-chi* (7.10) and translated by E. Chavannes as "la porte du camp" (*Mh.* II.268), and by Burton Watson as "carriage-gates formed by Ch'u's war chariots drawn up in array" (*Records of the Grand Historian*, I, 46).

[2]) A millionaire of the Han dynasty had a young son and a covetous daughter. When he was fatally ill, he gave all his property to the married daughter with the exception of a sword, of which he said, "Give it to your younger brother, when he is fifteen years old." When the boy reached the age of fifteen, the daughter did not keep the agreement, and the boy appealed to the magistrate. The latter thought that, "Since the woman was covetous, the dying father feared that the son might be mistreated, so he gave her all the property for the time being except a sword which cut off the involvement. The age of 15 meant that the boy would then be able to sue her in the court for redress." Therefore the woman was ordered to return the property to the son. *Feng-su t'ung* 風俗通, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan* 639. 8b-9.

[3]) Kou T'ai's 苟泰 three-year old son was kidnapped and was not found until a few years later at Chao Feng-po's 趙奉伯 house in the same district. Each claimed the child as his own, and each had neighbors as witnesses to support his claims. As the local magistrate could not decide which side was justified, an appeal was lodged with the governor-general of Yangchow who said, "That is easy to decide. Let the two fathers and the son be imprisoned in separate jails for several weeks, and then send a messenger to tell them individually 'Your boy suddenly died of a violent disease.' " Kou T'ai wailed bitterly and uncontrollably, while Chao Feng-po sighed without any sign of deep sorrow. Upon noticing this, the governor-general settled the case. The story is recorded in the *Wei-shu* 66.3b-4. The above two cases are included in *T'ang-yin pi-shih* 棠陰比事 translated by Robert Hans van Gulik as *Parallel Cases from Under the Pear Tree* (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1956), 79-80, 176-77.

[4]) In order to discover a murderer, the magistrate arrested the dead person's wife, imprisoned her for only about ten days, and then acquitted her without any inquiry but instructed his subordinates to follow her secretly. "After the woman has gone from the yamen not more than ten *li*," the magistrate

servant, slave, angler, butcher, cowherd, and shepherd—each one has successful predecessors, worthy to be taken as models. [1]) To those who seek wide learning, not one of these cases is without benefit.

The reason for reading and studying is primarily to open the mind and clarify the vision in order to help one's conduct. Those who do not know how to care for parents, are expected to observe how the ancients anticipated their parents' wishes, watching their facial expressions, with agreeable and low voices and with unwearied toil, and how they supplied them with delicious and soft food. Startled and afraid, they will start to put [what they have learned] into practice. Those who do not know how to serve their ruler are expected to observe how the ancients adhered to duty without interfering with others, preparing to give up their lives in view of danger, not forgetting to give the ruler earnest admonitions in order to benefit the state [literally, the altar]. Reflecting on such people with sympathy, they will think of their own conduct and try to emulate them. Those who are usually arrogant and extravagant should observe the humility and frugality of the ancients, who took modesty for self-guidance, propriety for basic teaching, and self-respect for their own standing. Then in alarm at their own loss, they will assume a stern appearance to repress their ambitions. Those who are usually mean and stingy should notice how the

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said, "there should be a person waiting to talk to her. Arrest both and bring them back." Events happened as he expected. As a result the murderer confessed "I have had illicit intercourse with the woman, and therefore we murdered her husband; learning that she was acquitted, I waited for her." The magistrate was praised for this by the people of the whole district, who regarded him as a god; *Chin-shu* 54.16b.

[1]) Good examples can be found in each profession. The ancient emperor Shun (*The Book of History* p. 104-5), and the chief minister I Yin (*Shih-chi* 3. 3), are said to have been farmers originally. Tzu Kung 子貢, a famous disciple of Confucius, was a merchant of Wei (*Shih-chi* 67.11b). Servants and slaves who became famous are I K'uan 兒寬, a cook who finally became censor of the Han dynasty (*Han-shu* 58. 11-14), and Wang Hsiang 王象, a slave who studied secretly and finally became a great scholar and compiler of the earliest encyclopedia *Huang Lan* 皇覽 (*San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 23. 8b). As for angler Chiang T'ai-kung 姜太公 who is also known as Lü Shang 呂尙, he later became a famous minister of Chou Wu-wang (*Shih-chi* 32. 1b). Butcher Ch'en P'ing 陳平 was finally elevated to chief minister of the emperor Han Hui-ti (*Shih-chi* 56. 1-10, and *Han-shu* 40. 12-13). The shepherds Pu Shi 卜式 (*Han-shu* 58. 8b-11), Lu Wen-shu 路溫舒 (*Ibid.* 51. 28-32), and Chang Hua 張華 (*Chin-shu* 36.15-24b) are all historical figures.

ancients valued generosity and disregarded property, reduced selfishness, controlled desires, [1]) avoided indulgence and disliked pride, gave to the poor, and took pity on the needy. Flushing with shame, these stingy people will distribute some of their accumulated wealth. As for those who are usually violent and cruel, I should wish them to observe how the ancients carefully demeaned themselves, and their conviction that the gentle can overcome the hard [literally, the teeth decay but the tongue lasts], [2]) their bearing of disgrace and sickness, their honors for the talented and those who bear with all; then they will become as worn out and downcast as if they were too weak to put on clothes. Those who are usually cowardly and timid should notice how the ancients understood life and met fate, their fortitude and straightforwardness, their sincerity and faithfulness and their working for fortune without disappointment; then suddenly they will be inspired to effort and be no longer cowardly. Going on from these examples (we know that) all sorts of conduct can be analogous. Although you cannot be perfect, you should avoid extravagance and extremity. The knowledge acquired from learning can always be applied with profit.

Usually men of the world who study can only talk but are unable to put their knowledge into practice. Of loyalty and filial piety they appear to have heard nothing; in benevolence and righteousness they are insufficient. When handling a simple legal case, they do not insist on finding justice; when managing a small district of a thousand households, they do not insist on governing the people properly; when asking about building a house, they do not know whether the lintel is horizontal or the pillar perpendicular; when inquiring about farms, they do not know that panicled millet is early and glutinous millet is late. They sing, whistle, laugh, jest, and hum over verses. They work leisurely and their knowledge becomes increasingly absurd. They have no practical use in the management of military and political affairs. Hence they are ridi-

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[1]) This is based on *Lao-tzu*, ch. 19. Thanks to Wing-tsit Chan for this note.

[2]) The text is *Ch'ih-pi she-tsun* 齒弊舌存, literally. "The teeth have decayed but the tongue remains." The literary allusion is taken from the *Shuo-yüan* 說苑, chap. Ching-shen 敬愼, which runs: Lao-tzu went to see a sick man. The latter opened his mouth and asked him, "Is my tongue there?" "Yes," said Lao Tzu. "Do my teeth remain?". "No," the latter answered. "Why then?" inquired the patient. "The tongue remains because of its softness," answered Lao-tzu, "and the teeth are gone because of their hardness;" 10. 2b-3 (SPPY ed).

culed and despised by both military men and common officials.

The aim of study is to seek improvement. But I have seen people who, after reading several scores of volumes, immediately become lofty and great, disrespectful to their elders and disdainful of those of equal rank. Others hate them like enemies or dislike them like owls. Such study brings harm to oneself and is worse than being unlearned.

"In ancient times men learned with a view to their own improvement" in order to make up for their own shortcomings; "nowadays men learn with a view to the approbation of others" [1]) simply to show off in speech. In the old days men studied for the sake of others, carrying out their doctrines to benefit society; nowadays men study for their own sakes, decorating themselves to seek advancement. In reality, learning should be like planting trees. In spring men appreciate the flowers; in autumn they gather the fruit. Discourses and essays are like spring flowers, and personal cultivation and useful practices are like atutumn fruit.

When a man is young his mind is concentrated and sharp; after maturity his thoughts and reasoning powers are scattered and slow. For this reason we should be educated early, so as not to lose the opportunity. When I was seven years old, I could recite the *fu* poem describing the *Ling-kuang* palace, [2]) and by reviewing once every ten years I can still recall it. After my twentieth year, if I put aside for a month the classics I had read, then my memory was vague or confused.

Even if people struggle with adversity and lose their best years, they should not be disappointed, but should study in later life. Confucius said, "At fifty I studied the *Book of Changes*, I then expected to be without great shortcomings in my life." [3]) Wei Wu and Yüan I [4]) also studied hard in their old age. These two, however, had studied from boyhood and continued unwearied to old age.

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[1]) The quotation is Legge's translation from *The Confucian Analects*, bk. XIV, Ch. 25, 285.

[2]) *Ling-kuang-tien fu* 靈光殿賦, or *Lu* 魯 *Ling-kuang-tien fu*, is a long descriptive poem about a palace established by Prince Kung 恭, son of the Han emperor Ching-ti 漢景帝 (B.C. 188-141), in Confucius' native district. The poem written by Wang Yen-shou 王延壽 of the Han dynasty is in *Wen-hsüan, chüan* 11. 8b-14; von Zach, *Die chinesische Anthologie*, 164-169.

[3]) *Lun-yü*, Bk. 7, 16. Legge's translation p. 200.

[4]) Wei Wu 魏武 was Ts'ao Ts'ao; Yüan I 袁遺, once a major of Ch'ang-an, was a subordinate of Ts'ao. The two were very diligent in study. *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 1.5.

Tseng Tzu attained learning and became famous in the empire at seventy,[1]) Hsün Ch'ing began to travel for study at fifty[2]) and still became a great scholar. Kung-sun Hung (B.C. 200-121) [3]) began to study the *Spring and Autumn Annals* when over forty but nevertheless became chief minister, Chu Yün [of the Han dynasty][4]) also started to read the *I-ching* and the *Lun-yü* at forty, Huang-fu Mi (A.D. 215- 282) [5]) first received instruction in the *Hsiao-ching* and *Lun-yü* at twenty; yet all became great scholars. These are examples (which show early) neglect of study overcome by conscious effort at a later age. It is foolish for those still uneducated at the age of marriage and capping to regard the time as too late for study, and so to remain ignorant with one's face against the wall. To learn when young is like having the sun shine in the morning; to learn when old is like taking a candle when walking at night, which is better than closing the eyes and seeing nothing.

The rise and fall or negligence and emphasis of subjects of study vary according to different periods. In the Han dynasty all wise and brilliant students tried to master one of the classics, from which they then developed the truth of the sages, understood natural phenomena, and analyzed human affairs; in this way

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[1]) The commentator cannot find the source for Tseng Tzu who attained learning at seventy. In the *Ta Tai li* 大戴禮, chapter Tseng-tzu li-shih 曾子立事, it is said, "If a man acquires no trade between thirty and forty, then there is no hope; if a man is not renowned at fifty, then there is no hope for fame; if a man has no virtue at seventy, then if he hopes to have but few faults, it may be encouraging." (701, p. 4 *Huang-ch'ing ching-chieh* edition). The Ch'ing scholar Chu I-tung 朱亦棟 regards this passage as the basis of the author's statement. According to *Sung Ching-wen pi-chi* 宋景文筆記, Tseng Tzu at seventy began attaining a good style and writing a book; formerly he was famous only for his filial piety. Chu considers this interpretation absurd. Chu I-tung, *Ch'ün-shu ch'a-chi* 羣書札記, Ch. 10.1 (block-print edition of 1878).

[2]) Or Hsün-tzu, a public officer in the State of Chao, the southern part of modern Hopei and northern Shansi, went East of the mountains to study. *Shih-chi* 74. 5-7; *Han-shu*, 58.1-8; and *Hsün Tzu*, translated by Burton Watson (Columbia University Press, 1963), 1-23.

[3]) Kung-sun Hung 公孫弘, a poor scholar of Han, did not have a chance to study until past the age of forty. His biography is in *Han-shu* 58.1-4

[4]) Chu Yün 朱雲 was adventurous in his boyhood, but at forty he improved his conduct and began to study hard under famous teachers. *Han-shu* 67, 4b-7.

[5]) Huang-fu Mi 皇甫謐 (T. Shih-an 士安), a famous scholar, who at the age of twenty disliked study but thereafter his aunt encouraged him to work hard. Finally he became the author of several books. *Chin-shu* 51. 1-10.

many became high ministers. More recently this tendency was no longer followed. People merely remembered the texts of the classics and repeated the words of their teachers. In practical affairs not an item of such knowledge was useful. Hence sons of scholar-officials all liked wide reading but were unwilling to concentrate on the classics. In the Liang dynasty (502-556) all below the rank of the emperor's grandson who were at the age when the hair was knotted up were first sent to school for observation of their interests and aims. After beginning their official career, they learned documents and history, but few completed the course. Yet among those who gained distinction in this way are Ho Yin (446-531), [1] Liu Huan, [2] Ming Shan-pin (443-527), [3] Chou She (469-524), [4] Chu I (483-549), [5] Chou Hung-cheng (496-574), [6] Ho Ch'en, [7] Ho Ko (479-540), [8] Hsiao Tzŭ-cheng, [9] Liu T'ao, [10] and others who were thoroughly

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[1]) Ho Yin 何胤 who studied classics under Liu Huan, below, and Buddhism under other scholars. He was the author of several books on classical studies. *Liang-shu* 51, 4b-9, and *Nan-shih* 30. 9b-13b.

[2]) For Liu Huan see p. 11, n. 1.

[3]) Ming Shan-pin 明山賓 (T. Hsiao-jo 孝若) was a precocious scholar who understood some metaphysics at the age of seven and mastered a few classics and history at thirteen. He is the author of several works on classics. *Liang-shu*, 27. 5-7, and *Nan-shih*, 50. 8b-10.

[4]) Chou She 周捨 (T. Sheng-i 昇逸) was a widely learned scholar who held high government positions in charge of confidential documents for more than twenty years, but for the duration of this period he never revealed any secret affairs. *Liang-shu*, 25. 1-14; and *Nan-shih* 34. 18b-23.

[5]) Chu I 朱异 (T. Yen-ho 彥和), a gifted scholar, was versed in classics, history, literature, mathematics and other subjects. He was also an efficient administrator. *Liang-shu*, 38. 1-4b and *Nan-shih*, 62.8-13.

[6]) Chou Hung-cheng 周弘正, a nephew of Chou She, and brother of Hung-jang, is said to have thoroughly understood *Lao-tzu* and the *Chou I* at the age of ten. He was strong in metaphysics and Buddhism; about the latter many famous monks asked him questions. *Ch'en-shu*, 24, 1-7; *Nan-shih*, 34. 20-23b.

[7]) Ho Ch'en 賀琛 (T. Kuo-pao 國寶) was an expert on the Three Rites (*San-li*). *Liang-shu* 38. 4b-15 and *Nan-shih* 62. 2b-7b.

[8]) Ho Ko 賀革 (T. Wen-ming 文明), a cousin of Ho Ch'en, was another expert on the three *Li* as well as the *Mao-shih*, *Hsiao-ching*, and *Lun-yü*. He served as libationer of the Imperial Academy of the Liang dynasty. *Liang-shu* 48. 12 and *Nan-shih* 62. 1b-2b.

[9]) Hsiao Tzu-cheng 蕭子政, a high official of the Liang dynasty, has three works, including *Chou-i i-su* 周易義疏, listed in the bibliographical section of the *Sui-shu* 32. 9, 35.

[10]) For Liu T'ao see p. 40, n. 3.

versed in literature and history not merely in (partial) discussions and lecturing. In the city of Loyang I heard of Ts'ui Hao (386-450),[1] Chang Wei, [2] and Liu Fang (453-513); [3] and in the city of Yeh I saw Hsing Tsu-ts'ai (died ca. 560). [4] These four scholars, though they are fond of classics, are also well-known for their gifts and wide learning. These savants are of the highest order. Apart from them the rest are mostly rustic persons whose speech is rough with unrefined manners. If you ask them of their special fields, they have mastered nothing; ask them a simple question, they will answer you with several hundred words in which there is no main idea, nor can they give you a summary if you request one. A proverb of Yeh runs, "A doctor of literature or an erudite man bought a donkey and wrote three documents in which (the complicated character) *Lü* 驢 for donkey does not appear once." If you should follow this doctor as your teacher, I would be choked with anger.

Confucius says, "With learning, emolument may be found in it."[5] Nowadays people are diligent in seeking useless knowledge. I fear that is no profession. The books written by sages are used for teaching people. If one thoroughly studies the classical text and roughly learns the commentaries and constantly makes progress in one's speech and conduct, one can become a perfect man. Why is it necessary to have two pages of commentary on Chung-ni chü

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[1] Ts'ui Hao 崔浩 (T. Po-yüan 伯淵), a votary of Taoism, a statesman and scholar, was anti-Buddhist. *Pei-shih* 21.5b. 28b, and *Wei-shu* 35. 1-24. Ts'ui Hao's plot for the first and most violent persecution of Buddhism in Chinese history and his cruel execution are vividly depicted in the first part of Zenryū Tsukamoto's article, "The Śramaṇa Superintendent T'an-Yao and his time," translated by Galen Eugene Sargent, *Monumenta Serica*, XVI, fasc. 1 and 2, 1957, pp. 363-396. The real cause of Ts'ui's execution, according to Wang Yi-tung is more racial than religious, political or literary; see Wang Yi-t'ung 王伊同 "A note on the real cause of Ts'ui Hao's execution in A. D. 450," *Ching-hua hsüeh-pao*, N. S. 1.2 (1957), 84-101.

[2] Chang Wei 張偉 (T. Chung-yeh 仲業) was a famous teacher. *Wei-shu* 84. 3b-4, and *Pei-shih*, 81.8.

[3] Liu Fang 劉芳 (T. Po-wen 伯文), a compiler of the classics and histories, has biographies in *Wei-shu* 55, 7-16; and *Pei-shih* 42, 5-13b.

[4] Hsing Shao 邢邵 (T. Tzu-ts'ai 子才) was a very famous man of his time, also one of the "Three Able Men" in the Northern Dynasties. A famous stylist and classical scholar, Hsing Tzu-ts'ai has a biography in Herbert A. Giles' *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, 296-297. Another one in *P'ei-Ch'i shu* 36, 1-5b; and *Pei-shih* 43. 20b-25b.

[5] *Lun-yü*, Bk. 15. Ch. 31. The *Confucian Classics* I, 303.

(Confucius' dwelling), his dining hall, bedroom and classrooms? And now where do such things exist? In adhering to such formalities, what actual benefit can one obtain? Time is valuable, it passes away as quickly as water. You should read extensively for important and practical knowledge to help your career and service. If you can truly master both [academic and practical knowledge], I will have no objection.

Narrow-minded scholars do not pay attention to perusing many books. Besides the texts of the classics and prognostic interpretations, they read commentaries, and that is all. When I first went to Yeh, I made friends with Ts'ui Wen-yen of Po-ling [in Hopei]. Once we discussed Wang Ts'an's (177-217) [1]) collection of writings, in which there is some criticism of Cheng Hsüan's [2]) interpretation of the *Book of History*. Ts'ui reported this point to the other scholars. [One of the latter] was about to speak, but he suddenly felt disturbed saying, "In a collection of writings there are only poetry, loose poems (*fu* 賦), inscriptions (*ming* 銘) and eulogies on epitaphs (*lei* 誄); how can there be criticism of the classics? Furthermore, I have never heard the name of Wang Ts'an among those of ancient scholars." Ts'ui laughed and withdrew without showing him Wang Ts'an's work.

Once when Wei Shou (506-572) [3]) was in the council (*I-ts'ao*) [4]) discussing with many erudite men (*Po-shih*) the ceremony in the royal ancestral temple, he quoted the *Han-shu* to support his point. One erudite man laughed and said, "We have never heard that the *Han-shu* can prove the meaning of classics and arts." Wei Shou immediately felt angry and would not reply, but taking out the biography of Wei Hsüan-ch'eng, [5]) he threw it to them,

[1]) The ignorance of narrow-minded scholars is thus exposed, because Wang Ts'an 王粲 (177-217) was a brilliant poet, a man of wide learning and one of the seven scholars of the Chien-an period. See Wang's biography in *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 21. 1-12; Giles' *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, 845; von Zach, *Sinologische Beiträge* II, 20, 26, 39, 42-43, 66-67.

[2]) Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (127-200) was one of the most famous classical scholars. *Hou-Han shu* 35. 10-16b.

[3]) Wei Shou 魏收 (T. Po-ch'i 伯起), a famous writer of the Northern Ch'i and compiler of the history, *Wei-shu*, has biographies in *Pei-shih* 56. 1-18; and *Pei-Ch'i shu* 37. 1-14b.

[4]) For *I- ts'ao* see p. 27, n. 5.

[5]) The biography of Wei Hsüan-ch'eng 韋玄成 is in the *Han-shu* 73. 5-20b, where there is a long discussion on the ancestral temple, based on the classics. Although very long and very well written, it would not be necessary for a group of erudite men to spend a whole night reading it. The author has

and then went off. The erudite men spent a whole night searching and examining the source. At daybreak they went to apologize, saying, "We never knew that Hsüan-ch'eng was so learned."

The teaching of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu [1]) is to perfect one's true self, nourish one's true nature, and not to let worldly cares entangle one's self. Hence one of them hid away under the title of a court recorder and finally went off to distant deserts, while the other concealed his tracks as a small official in Ch'i-yüan [2]) and eventually declined to become the chief minister of Ch'u. These were absolutely free thinkers. Ho Yen (d. 249) [3]) and Wang Pi (226-249) [4]) followed the philosophy of these Taoist ancestors so closely that they exaggerated and honored it as a shadow adheres to an object or grass bends before the wind. They thought that the influence of [Shen] Nung and Huang [Ti] [5]) was present within themselves and ignored the works of Chou Kung and Confucius. Yet P'ing-shu [Ho Yen] was executed because he was a member of Ts'ao Shuang's party, which was falling into the meshes of the law by assuming power [contrary to Lao Tzu's teaching]. [6])

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obviously exaggerated a little to ridicule the poor scholarship of the so-called erudite men.

[1]) The source of the text is obviously the terse biography of Lao-tzu in *Shih-chi* 63. 1-4 and Chuang Tzu's biography in the same chapter.

[2]) Chuang Tzu held a small post at Ch'i-yüan 漆園 in Meng 蒙 (modern Shantung). His refusal of official positions can be seen in his own writing, chapter 32, p. 434, of *Chuang Tzu*, tr. by H. A. Giles (London, 1926) and in his terse biography in the *Shih-chi* 63.5. Cf. Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, tr. and ed. by Derk Bodde, I. 221.

[3]) Ho Yen 何晏 (T. P'ing-shu 平叔) was a very handsome and brilliant youth with a high literary reputation. He was a well-known commentator on *Lao-tzu*, *Lun-yü* and other classics. *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 9.25. Cf. Fung Yu-lan II, 173, 188-9.

[4]) Wang Pi 王弼 (T. Fu-ssu 輔嗣) was a famous commentator on the *Book of Changes*, *Tao-te ching*, and *Lun-yü*. *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 28.39. T'ang Yung-t'ung's 湯用彤 appraisal of Wang Pi's new interpretation of the *I-ching* and the *Lun-yü* has been translated into English by Walter Liebenthal and published in the HJAS X, 2 (1947) 127-161; see Arthur Wright's review of "A. A. Petrov, Wang Pi: His Place in the History of Chinese Philosophy", *HJAS* X. 1 (1947), 75-88.

[5]) Sheng Nung and Huang Ti are legendary emperors of ancient China. Both of them are regarded by Taoists as their early founders; and many inventions, medicines and superstitions were attributed to them. See Ch'i Ssu-ho 齊思和, "Huang-ti chih chih-ch'i ti ku-shih 黃帝之制器的故事", *Shih-hsüeh nien-pao* 史學年報, vol. 2. No. 1 (1934). See also p. 55, n. 1.

[6]) Ts'ao Shuang 曹爽 (T. Chao-po 昭伯, died 249) was a relative of the royal family of Wei and a close friend of the heir-apparent who later became

Fu-ssu [Wang Pi] was hated for ridiculing others too much, which was falling into the pitfall of desiring victory. Shan Chü-yüan[1]) was jeered at for amassing great wealth, which was going against the saying, "Great hoarding implies great loss." [2]) Hsia-hou Hsüan (209-254) [3]) was executed because of his power and reputation, which were not in accord with the examples of "deformity and incapacity." [4]) After the death of Hsün Feng-ch'ien's [5]) wife, his spirit

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emperor Ming. Through this connection Shuang was promoted to high positions in the court. After Wei Ming-ti's death, Shuang was very arrogant and lived licentiously and extravagantly. He used Ho Yen 何晏 and others as his partisans in struggling against other courtiers and the emperor, Wei Ch'i-wang 魏齊王 [i.e. Ssu-ma I]. When his treason was uncovered, Ts'ao Shuang, Ho Yen and others including their family members were put to death. *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 9, 15b-21. Cf. Achilles Fang, *Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms* I, 626.

[1]) Shan Chü-yüan 山巨源 (also called Shan T'ao 山濤, 205-283), one of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, was fond of *Lao Tzu* and *Chuang Tzu*. The author, Yen Chih-t'ui, made a mistake in mentioning that he was jeered at for amassing great wealth, which is not true according to his biography in the *Chin-shu* 43. 1-6. Though poor he was very generous. Yen may have confused him with Wang Jung 王戎 (T. Chün-ch'ung 濬沖), another one of the Seven Sages, who was rich but niggardly; see Liu I-ch'ing, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 世說新語 III B. 24b (*SPPY* ed.) and *Chin-shu*, 43.9-13b.

[2]) Based on Lao Tzu's *Tao-te ching*, section 44 which reads, "The more hoarding the more loss." Duyvendak's translation, *Tao Te Ching* 103.

[3]) Hsia-hou Hsüan 夏侯玄, (T. T'ai-ch'u 太初), son of Ts'ao Shuang's aunt, a relative of the royal family of the Wei dynasty, was a nephew of Shan T'ao. For these connections he became famous when he was very young. When Ts'ao Shuang was executed, Hsüan's position was raised very quickly. He then attempted to usurp supreme power and hence was killed in 254. He had a treatise on *Lao Tzu* entitled *Tao-te lun*. See his biography in *San Kuo-chih, Wei-chih* 9, 26b-36, Yao Chen-ts'ung 姚振宗, *San-kuo i-wen-chih* 三國藝文志 3.24, and Achilles Fang, I, 149, 676.

[4]) The idea is derived from the *Chuang Tzu*, Chap. I, Hsiao-yao-yu 逍遙游, at the end of which there is an account of a large tree, "its trunk swells out to a large size but is not fit for a carpenter to apply his line to; its smaller branches are knotted and crooked so that the disk and square cannot be used on them. . ." (*Sacred Books of the East* vol. 39, 174). The idea may be also taken from Chapter IV, Jen-chien-shih 人間世, near the end of which is a long account of "the deformed object Shu. His chin seemed to hide his navel. . . when the government was calling out soldiers. . . because of his constant ailments, none of the work was assigned to him. If this poor man, so deformed in body, was still able. . .to complete his term of life, how much more may they do so whose deformity is that of their faculties" (*Ibid.* 220-221). The author's idea in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* seems to be that, because Hsia-hou Hsüan was a follower of *Chuang Tzu*, he should have learned the

was hurt and he also died; that was contrary to [Chuang Tzu's] feelings of "drumming on a (cooking) pan." [1]) When his son died, Wang I-fu [2]) could not control his deep sorrow; this did not follow Tung-men's 東門 thorough understanding of life. [3]) Hsi Shu-yeh (223-262) [4]) incurred injury for opposing customary courtesy; is that following the course of harmony with light and dust? [5]) Kuo

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truth that uselessness sometimes proves useful, and that a man getting just what he deserves will incur no danger.

[5]) Hsün Feng-ch'ien 荀奉倩 is mentioned in *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 11B. 46b as Hsün Ts'an 粲.

[1]) When Chuang Tzu's wife died he beat a basin and sang a song. See *Chuang Tzu*, chap. XVIII (Chih-lo 至樂). 6.47. *SPPY* ed.

[2]) Wang I-fu 王夷甫 has a biography in *Chin-shu* 43. 15a as Wang Yen 衍.

[3]) *Lieh Tzu* 列子, chap. "Li-ming 力命" 6.12 (SPPY ed): "In the state of Wei 魏, there was a man called Tung-men Wu 東門吳, who was not sorry when his son died. His wife said to him, 'There is no other person in the world who loves his son as strongly as you; now that your son died, why are you not sorry?" He answered, 'I had no son for a long time and then I was not grieving; now that the son has died, it is exactly the same as when I had none. Why should I be sorry?" Cf. A. C. Graham's new translation of *The Book of Lieh Tzu* (London, 1960), p. 133. As Lieh Tzu belongs to Taoism, the author used the story to satirize the followers of that religion.

[4]) Hsi (or Chi) Shu-yeh 嵇叔夜, known as Hsi K'ang 康 (223-262), a celebrated functionary and man of letters, was equally renowned as a lover of wine and as a musician. He was at the same time an ardent devotee of the study of *Lao Tzu* and *Chuang Tzu* and a member of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove—an association of convivial men of letters, accustomed to meet for learned discussions and jovial relaxation in a grove of bamboo. Such life and discussions formed an important custom called *ch'ing-t'an*, literally "pure discussion," prevailing in the Wei and the Chin dynasties (A.D. 221-419). These carefree intellectuals opposed worldly customs and formalities. Hsi K'ang even ignored his old friend Hsiang Hsiu 向秀, who paid him a visit. Therefore, Hsiang Hsiu slandered him before Ssu-ma I 司馬懿 and so caused his execution. *Chin-shu* 49.11-16b; Donald Holzman, *La Vie et la Pensée de Hi K'ang* (Leiden, 1957), 12-51; and R. H. van Gulik, *Hsi K'ang and his poetic essay on the lute* (Tokyo, 1941), 11-24.

[5]) The commentator notes that this phrase is taken from *Lao Tzu*, "Ho ch'i kuang, t'ung ch'i ch'en, 和其光, 同其塵," which Legge translates as "We should temper our brightness and bring ourselves into agreement with the obscurity of others". *(The Sacred Books of the East* XXXIX, 50). John C. H. Wu translates it as "It harmonizes all lights, it unites the world into one whole" (P. 4). Wing-tsit Chan translates "It softens its light. It becomes one with the dusty world." (*The Way of Lao Tzu*, 105). In the *Yen-shih chia-hsün*, the meaning seems to be that a man should be like the light which can pierce through a hole and agree with dust. Or as the Chinese literary allusion *Ch'en-su* 塵俗 indicates, a man should conform with com-

Tzu-hsüan [1]) assumed predominating power; is that the manner of placing oneself last or neglecting oneself? [2]) Juan Ssu-tsung [3]) indulged in wine and went to wild excess, which was contradictory to the examples of warning against a dangerous path. [4]) Hsieh Yu-yü [5]) was dismissed for accepting a bribe; that is against the idea of "giving away his excess fish." [6]) All these were famous leaders of Taoism and adherents of their abstruse progenitors. As for others who were fettered in the midst of the dust and dregs [of the mundane world], or who were crazy for fame and gain, how can all of them be mentioned? (We may) simply select some of their fine ideas from the "Pure conversations" [7]) and analyse the

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mon or trifling customs. Cf. Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kan-wa jiten* (1959 ed.) III.240.

[1]) Kuo Tzu-hsüan 郭子玄, i.e., Kuo Hsiang 郭象 (d. 312), is a famous scholar of the Chin dynasty, whose commentary on *Chuang Tzu* is still used; *Chin-shu* 50.8b-9.

[2]) This is also taken from the *Lao Tzu*: "Hou ch'i shen erh shen hsien, wai ch'i shen erh shen ts'un 後其身而身先, 外其身而身存. Legge translates: ". . . puts his own person last, and yet it is found in the foremost place; he treats his person as if it were foreign to him, and yet that person is preserved." (*Sacred Books of the East* 39.52).

[3]) Juan Ssu-tsung 阮嗣宗, i.e., Juan Chi 阮籍 (210-263), was a celebrated scholar and functionary, principally renowned for his habits of eccentricity and his love of winebibbing. He was one of the seven spirits who held revels together in a grove of bamboo. He professed adherence to the doctrine of *Lao Tzu* and *Chuang Tzu*, preferring the quietism they preached to the more tiresome duties of public life. Alone he frequently harnessed a horse to a cart and never followed a regular path, but travelled blindly. When he could not reach his destination, or was hindered by some other obstructions, he returned weeping bitterly. *Chin-shu* 49.8b-9 and excerpts from the biography of Juan Chi by E. Balazs, "Entre révolte nihiliste et évasion mystique," *Asiatische Studien* II (1948), 37-39.

[4]) *Chuang Tzu* chapter XIX, Ta-sheng p'ien 達生篇, "when people fear the dangers of a path, if one man of ten be killed, then fathers and sons, elder brothers and younger, warn one another that they must not go out on a journey. . ." Legge's translation, *Sacred Books of the East* 39, 17.

[5]) Hsieh Yu-yü 謝幼輿, i.e. Hsieh K'un 謝鯤, liked to study *Lao Tzu* and *I-ching*. Holding a minor government position he was dishonest and inefficient. *Chin-shu* 49, 18b-21.

[6]) *Huai-nan Tzu*, "Ch'i-su hsün 齊俗訓," 11:14 "When Chuang Tzu caught sight of Hui Shih 惠施 passing through Meng-chu 孟諸 followed by a hundred carts, he left his fish for Hui." Commentary: "Chuang Chou saw that Hui Shih was poorly supplied, therefore he gave him his fish."

[7]) *Ch'ing-t'an* 清談 has been variously translated as "pure talk," "pure discussion," "light conversation," "lofty conversation," "*causeries pures*," "philosophical wit" and "*Ch'ing-t'an*" etc., but "pure conversation" appears

profound and minute mysteries to please the mind and ear in conversations with friends. Nevertheless it [Taoism] is not essential for saving the world or establishing good customs. Coming to the Liang period, this tendency (of Taoist discussion) again flourished. The *Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu,* and *Chou I* were called the Three Schools of Mysticism (Taoism) which the emperors Wu (502-549) and Chien-wen (550-551) personally lectured on and discussed. Chou Hung-cheng was appointed to assist in promoting the great interest by establishing the instruction throughout the capital and other cities; he gathered more than a thousand students—truly a splendid result. The (emperor) Yüan-ti (552-554) in Chiang [-ling] and Ching [-chou] [1]) was also fond of discussing these works. He summoned students, lecturing to them in person so earnestly that he lost sleep and forgot to eat, keeping it up from night through to morning, until extreme fatigue and intolerable grief led him to give up his teaching. At that time I had the honor to attend some lectures and heard myself the voice and ideas of His Majesty; but being stubborn and dull by nature, I did not like them very much.

When emperor Hsiao-chao 孝昭帝 (560) of Ch'i waited upon his sick mother, Dowager Empress Lou,[2]) his countenance was wearied and distressed, his clothing and food were disregarded and neglected; while Hsü Chih-ts'ai [3]) was cauterizing her temples, the emperor in sympathy with her clenched his fists so tightly that the nails were pushed into his palms and blood flowed all over his hands. After the recovery of the empress dowager, the emperor became ill and died. In his last will and testament he regretted that he could not see the funeral of the empress dowager. Such was his filial nature, but he knew nothing of the prohibition against men-

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often. "Pure conversation" is a school of philosophy founded by Ho Yen and Wang Pi of the Wei dynasty and fully developed by Wang Yen and Lo Kuang 樂廣 of the Chin dynasty. The doctrine is based on the *Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu* and *Chou I*. The school, devoted to mystic discussion and empty talk took no care of worldly affairs; rejected custom and ceremony; and, in short, was the opposite of Confucianism. See Chou Shao-hsien 周紹賢, "Ch'ing-t'an wang-Chin wen-t'i chih shang-chüeh 清談亡晉問題之商榷." *Ta-lu tsa-chih, shih-hsüeh ts'ung-shu* 大陸雜誌, 史學叢書 Vol. 4 (1960), 137-142.

[1]) Chiang-ling and Ching-chou are both in Hupeh, see p. 11, n. 2, and Aoyama Sadao, p. 177.

[2]) Dowager Empress Lou 婁 (501-562) was the wife of Kao Huan. Her biography is in *Pei-Ch'i shu* 9.1b-3.

[3]) Hsü Chih-ts'ai 徐之才, a famous physician, who gave the dowager empress treatment, has a biography in *Pei-Ch'i shu* 33. 4-8.

tioning such subjects; this was due to lack of education. Had he seen the satire of the ancients on the son who promised to weep bitterly [but wished] his mother to die early, he would not have spoken as he did.[1]) Filial duty is primary in all conduct, yet the performance still has to be improved by study; how about other things?

Emperor Yüan of Liang once told me that in Kuei-chi,[2]) when he was twelve, he was already fond of study. He was then suffering from sores so severely that he could not close his hands or bend his knees. He hung a reed curtain to keep flies away from his private room where he sat alone and studied with a silver pot of Shan-yin wine,[3]) drinking frequently to alleviate the pain. Yet every day he determined to read more than twenty *chüan* of historical works by himself; with no tutor to teach him. Sometimes he might not know a single word or understand a single sentence, but he held himself to it, unconscious of fatigue. If a dignified imperial prince, an easy going child such as he, still could do this, should not common students who hope to become learned?

Among the ancients who were diligent in study there were those who held an awl [to prick a leg in order to stay awake],[4]) who threw an axe [to test determination],[5]) and who utilized the

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[1]) *Huai-nan Tzu* 淮南子, chapter "Shuo-shan hsün 說山訓," "A woman died; her son did not weep much. When her western neighbor's son saw this, he went home and told his mother, 'Why do you not die early; if you do, I must mourn for you very bitterly.' Those who wish the early death of their mothers will no doubt not cry heartily when their hope is fulfilled" (16.8b).

[2]) Kuei-chi 會稽 is in modern Shao-hsing 紹興, Chekiang.

[3]) Shan-yin hsien 山陰縣 was a district in Shao-hsing fu, Chekiang. Shao-hsing wine is still famous.

[4]) Su Ch'in 蘇秦, d. B.C. 317, is said to have pricked his leg with an awl in order to keep himself awake while studying. See *Chan-kuo ts'e* 戰國策, 3. 4b (*SPTK* ed.). Cf. James I. Crump, *Intrigues—Studies of the Chan-kuo Ts'e* including translation of 51 items, University of Michigan Press, 1964.

[5]) "When Wen Tang 文黨 had not yet been educated, he went to cut wood with other boys to whom he said, 'I wish I could study in a distant place; I will try to throw my axe on a high branch of a tree on which it should hang.' Then he did as he said, and accomplished what he anticipated. Therefore he went to Ch'ang-an to study classics." The commentator gives the source as *Lu-chiang ch'i-hsien chuan* 廬江七賢傳 for which we looked everywhere in vain, including the Academia Sinica, Taipei. Actually the book is quoted in Yü Shih-nan's 虞世南 (558-638) *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 北堂書鈔, 97.1 (Facsimile ed. Taipei [1963]). *Lu-chiang ch'i-hsien chuan* referring to the same story with slightly different working is also quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 611, 7a. I thank Professor Jing-sheng Tao for taking the trouble of locating the original source.

reflection of snow or collected fireflies [for reading]. [1]) (There were also those) who carried classics when hoeing, [2]) and who wove rushes into tablets for writing while tending the flocks. [3]) These persons were really industrious.

In the Liang dynasty (502-556) Liu Ch'i of P'eng ch'eng [4]) was a grandson of Po 勃, governor of Chiao-chou. [5]) He was early orphaned, and his family was so poor that it was difficult to supply lamps or candles. He often bought reeds which he broke into pieces and lighted for reading at night. When the emperor Hsiao-yüan (552-554) first went to Kuei-chi, he carefully selected subordinates, among whom Liu Ch'i, because of talent, was appointed constant attendant (*ch'ang-shih*) and secretary (*chi-shih*) and was treated very politely. Finally the honorary title *chin-tzu kuang-lu*,[6]) "gold-purple (seal) with glorious emolument" was bestowed upon him.

Chu Chan 朱詹 of I-yang [in Hunan] originally lived in Chiangling and later moved to Yang-tu [Nanking]. He was assiduous, but his family was poor without any property. Having nothing to eat for a few days, he often swallowed paper to fill his stomach. When he was cold, having no blanket or bedclothes, he lay down hugging a dog. When the dog also became hungry, it ran away to steal food. His pitiful voice vainly calling it to return moved the neighbors. Still he did not cease his studies, and he ultimately became a scholar and served as South Garrison Secretary Adjutant

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[1]) Sun K'ang 孫康 had to study by the light reflected from snow (*Sung Ch'i yü* 宋齊語, quoted in *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* 初學記, 2.6b, 1587 edition). Ch'e Wu-tzu 車武子 was compelled by poverty to collect fireflies to supply light for his study. *Chin-shu* 83. 14b.

[2]) I K'uan 皃寬 carried classics to work in the field. When there was a moment for him to rest, he would study. *Han-shu*, 58. 10b.

[3]) Lu Wen-shu 路温舒 was a poor shepherd. When tending flocks he took rushes to weave into plates for writing material, because in the early Han dynasty paper had not yet been invented. Finally he became a good scholar and high official. *Han-shu* 51. 28b-32.

[4]) Liu Ch'i 劉綺 has no biography in the dynastic histories. P'eng-ch'eng 彭城 was in modern Hsü-chou, Kiangsu.

[5]) Chiao-chou 交州 was approximately in southern Kwangsi and part of Annam.

[6]) For Ch'ang-shih 常侍 and Chi-shih 記室, see des Rotours, 631, 632. *Chin-tzu kuang-lu* or *chin-tzu kuang-lu ta-fu* is a brevet official rank. *Kuang-lu* or *kuang-lu ta-fu* means "director of the banqueting house." *Chin-tzu* means a golden seal with purple ribbon. The combined term indicates the rank of vice-director of the banqueting house, which is simply an honorary title granted to high civil officials of good virtue. *Sui-shu* 26.8. Cf. Des Rotours, 35.

(*Chen-nan lu-shih ts'an-chün*), a man whom Hsiao-yüan respected. This is an unusual case, yet it is a case of one person diligent in study. Tsang Feng-shih, [1]) of Tung-kuan 東莞 [in Shantung], at the age of more than twenty wished to read Pan Ku's *Han-shu* (*History of the Han Dynasty*), but he could only borrow a copy for a short time. He therefore begged Liu Huan, husband of his elder sister, to give him useless visiting cards and letter paper, the margins of which he could use to make a copy for himself. The army headquarters [of Hsiao-yüan] praised such determination; finally he became famous for his knowledge of the *Han-shu*.

In the Ch'i dynasty (550-577) a eunuch and a palace attendant (*Nei-ts'an* 內參), T'ien P'eng-luan 田鵬鸞, was originally a southern barbarian. When he became a eunuch at the age of 14 or 15, he already had a desire for study. He always hid a book in his sleeves and would recite it in a low voice day and night. His position was low and the service toilsome; however, at any short respite he would hurry off to find some one he could question. Whenever he came to the Hall of Literary Galaxies (Wen-lin kuan 文林館), he panted and perspired all over and would say nothing beyond asking questions from books. When he saw some heroic or loyal deed of the ancients, he was always deeply moved, meditating for a long time. I had deep compassion and love for him and gave him double encouragement. Later on he was known and loved by the emperor, who granted him the name Ching-hsüan 敬宣, and raised his position to that of chamberlain with an independent office (*Shih-chung k'ai-fu*) [2]). When the last emperor of Ch'i fled to Ch'ing-chou [Shantung], Ching-hsüan was sent west to spy on military movement. The army of Chou captured him and asked the whereabouts of the Ch'i emperor. He deceived them, saying that (the emperor) had already gone away and estimated that he should be beyond the border. Suspecting him of lying, they beat and lashed him to force him to submit. As each of his limbs was cut off, his speech and appearance became more severe than before; when his four limbs were cut off, he died. That a young barbarian boy by study could achieve such fidelity! How inferior are the

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[1]) For Tsang Feng-shih see p. 23, n. 4.

[2]) *Shih-chung k'ai-fu* 侍中開府 were two official terms. *Shih-chung* or r chamberlain was a high position for a head eunuch in the palace. *K'ai-fu* meant an office for a high official in the court. *Nien-erh-shih k'ao-i* 14.15b, 26. 5b. Cf. Achilles Fang, 4.367 and Des Rotours XXIX, 131.

generals and high ministers of Ch'i to this slave Ching-hsüan.

After the pacification of Yeh [in 577], we were obliged to move inside the pass [Shensi]. Once Ssu-lu said to me, "At court you have no stipend or position; at home, you have saved no money. I should expend my strength to care for you, for you have faithfully taught and trained me by hard work on the classics and histories. If I prove ignorant of performing a son's duty, how can I feel at ease?" I corrected him, saying, "A son should keep in mind serving his parents; a father should insist on educating his son. If I let you stop your studies in order to make money to provide me with good clothing and food, the food would have no flavor and the garments no warmth. If you attend to the way of the earlier kings and continue the profession of our family, I will be content with vegetable soup and a wadded robe."

The *Book of History* says, "He who likes to ask questions will be enriched," [1]) and the *Book of Rites* says, "He who learns alone without friends will be solitary and ignorant." [2]) It is clear that one should discuss and seek enlightenment with others. I have seen those who shut the study doors, trust their own minds as teachers and think themselves right; but in a crowd of people many of them make grave mistakes. The *Ku-liang Commentary* states that when Kung-tzu Yu 公子友 was fighting with Chü Na 莒挐, his left and right attendants called for "Meng-lao 孟勞", which was the name of the precious sword of the Lu State. The name is also mentioned in the *Kuang-ya* (dictionary). Recently, in Ch'i, Chiang Chung-yüeh 姜仲岳 said that *Meng-lao* was a righthand or lefthand man of Kung-tzu, his surname being Meng and his name Lao. He was esteemed by the State as a treasure on account of his great physical strength. As Chiang argued vigorously with me, Hsing Chih, [3]) the prefect (*chün-shou*) of Ch'ing-ho 清和 and a great scholar of that time, supported me in giving evidence. Chiang then agreed blushingly.

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[1]) The phrase is quoted from Part 4, Bk. 4, "Chung-hui chih-kao" which is translated by Legge, "He who likes to ask becomes enlarged." *The Chinese Classics* III, 182.

[2]) Quoted from the *Li-chi*, chapter 16, "Hsüeh-chi," translated by Legge as, "Learning alone and without friends makes one feel solitary and uncultivated, with but little information." *Sacred Books of the East* XXVIII, 86.

[3]) Hsing Chih 邢峙 (T. Shih-chün 士峻) an expert on the *San Li, Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Tso-chuan*, has a biography in *Pei-Ch'i shu*, 44.9, and another one in *Pei-shih* 81.25.

The *San-fu chüeh-lu* [1]) says, "On the pillar of Emperor Ling's (168-188) palace there were inscriptions which read, 'How imposing is the manner of (Chang 張) T'ien-lang 田郎 of Ching-chao'. [2]) This is probably quoted from the *Lun-yü* [3]) and used here to praise T'ien Feng, [4]) a man of Ching-chao. There was, however, a brilliant student who regarded Chang Ching-chao and T'ien Lang as two men of dignified manners. When he heard my interpretation, he was first surprised, then felt ashamed and changed his view.

South of the Yangtze was a powerful nobleman who read a defective copy of the commentary on a *fu* poem, *Shu-tu-fu chu*, [5]) in which *Tsun-ch'ih* (蹲鴟 a squatting owl) is explained as a *yü* 芋 or tuber. Yü 芋 was miscopied as *yang* 羊 (for sheep). So when another man presented him with a lamb, he wrote in reply, "You kindly spent money in order to give me the *tsun-ch'ih*." The whole court was surprised at this and could not understand its meaning. Only after a long time was the matter traced out and understood. In the period of Yüan-shih [6]) when the capital was at Lo-yang, there was a gifted and learned important minister who had just obtained a copy of the *Shih-chi yin* [7]) in which there was a considerable number of mistakes such as the mispronunciation of Chuan Hsü, [8]) the last character of which is pronounced *hsü-lu* 許録 or *hsü*; however, it was mispronounced as *yüan* or *hsüan*. So the minister told the courtiers that the former mispronunciation of

[1]) *San-fu chüeh-lu* 三輔決録 by Chao Ch'i 趙岐 (d. A.D. 201) is listed in the Sui and T'ang bibliographies. It is no longer extant in its entirety but there are fragmentary parts in the *Shuo-fu* and in Huang Shih 黃奭, *Han hsüeh-t'ang ts'ung-shu* 漢學堂叢書.

[2]) Ching-chao 京兆 refers to the capital of Han in Ch'ang-an.

[3]) *Lun-yü*, Bk. 14, sentence 16, *The Confucian Classics*, 1.344.

[4]) T'ien Feng 田鳳 was a government secretary with excellent deportment. Whenever he went to report on state affairs, Emperor Ling watched him departing from the court with admiration. *San-fu chüeh-lu* quoted in *Ch'u-hsüeh-chi* 11.21b.

[5]) "Shu-tu-fu" 蜀都賦 or a *fu* poem describing the capital of Shu composed by Tso Ssu 左思 and annotated by Liu K'uei 劉逵 is in *Wen-hsüan* 4.9-17. Cf. Erwin von Zach, 46-55.

[6]) Yüan-shih 元氏, surname of the royal family of Later Wei (386-534) or T'o-pa Wei, was changed from T'o-pa to Yüan-shih in the year 494. *Wei-shu* 17B. 19b.

[7]) *Shih-chi yin* 史記音 by Tsou Tan-sheng 鄒誕生 who gave pronunciations for the unusual characters in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi*. It is listed in the *Sui-shu* 33.1 and it is no longer extant.

[8]) Style of the legendary emperor Kao Yang 高陽. *Shih-chi* 1. 81. Chavannes *Mh* 1. 11.

Chuan Hsü 專旭 should be corrected to *Chuan Huan* 專翾. [1]) This man had been very famous, and his idea was widely believed and followed until a year later, when eminent scholars who devoted laborious research to pronunciation discovered the mistake.

The eulogy of Wang Mang's biography in the *Han-shu* reads [Wang Mang] was like a purple color [2]) and a croaking sound or like the leftover minutes [that are given] the place of an intercalation." [3]) That is to say, the false displaces true order. Once when I was discussing books with others and spoke of the appearance of Wang Mang, a brilliant scholar, who boasted that he was an historian of high reputation, interrupted saying, "Not only were Wang Mang's eyes like those of an owl and his jaws like that of a tiger, he also had a purple complexion, and a croaking voice."

Again, the rites and music treatise in the *Han-shu* records, "providing *t'ung-ma* 挏馬 wine to the imperial cook (*T'ai-kuan*)." [4]) Li Chi [5]) explained that *t'ung ma* was the wine made of mare's milk by beating and churning it. The two characters *chuang* 撞 and *t'ung* 挏 are made with the radical for hand, and mean beating and churning respectively. Now the so-called "cream wine [kumiss]" is also made in this way. [6]) Yet the above-mentioned scholar misunderstood it to mean that the royal cook finished the making of the mare's milk-wine at the time of planting the *t'ung* 桐 tree. His ignorance was as bad as that. Yang Su [7]) of T'ai-shan, also

[1]) According to B. Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary*, the pronunciations are ṭ'śi̯wän — xi̯wok 顓頊 (nos. 1134 and 1318). Xi̯wok 頊 should be spelled as 'xi̯wo-li̯wok 許録 (or 'xi̯wok) but was mistaken as 'xi̯wo-i̯wän (or xi̯wän). The two characters have been erroneously given homophones: t'śi̯wän-xi̯wok 專旭. They ought to be t'śi̯wän-xi̯wän 專翾. (See Karlgren, *Gramata Serica Recensa*).

[2]) Purple is neither the blue of Heaven nor the yellow of Earth, see p. 164 below, note 4, and Dub's translation, III, 473-474.

[3]) *Jun-wei* 閏位 (literally "intercalary position"), used to indicate a dynasty not in the direct line of succession. *Han-shu* 99B. 24b and Dubs' translation III, 473-4.

[4]) T'ai-kuan 太官 was an official in the Shao-fu 少府 or a bureau in charge of imperial supplies. *Han-shu* 19A.9.

[5]) Li Ch'i 李奇 lived near the end of the Later Han dynasty. See his biographical notice in *Hou-Han shu* 60B. 16. Li compiled a book entitled *Han-shu chu* 漢書注 listed in Yao Chen-tsung, *San-kuo I-wen chih* (*Shih-yüan ts'ung-shu* ed.) 2.3b.

[6]) For a long discussion of the history and making of *t'ung-ma* wine or kumiss, see Dubs, III, 427-28.

[7]) Yang Su's biographies are in *Wei-shu* 77.18 and *Pei-shih* 39.23b. See also p. 30, n. 1.

renowned for wide learning, misread in P'an Yo's *fu* [1]) poem the word *chih* 枝 in the phrase "gentle lines and feeble twigs of a date tree" as *chang* 杖 in the sense of an old man's staff. In the *Shih-pen*, [2]) it is recorded that the calendar was invented by Jung Ch'eng 容成; he misread the *li* 歷 for calendar as *mo* 磨 for grinding.

Old literary allusions cited in speeches and writings should be personally checked, not based on hearsay. The so-called scholar-officials in the villages south of the Yangtze are usually not well educated, but as they are ashamed to appear mean and uncultured, they write what they know from hearsay evidence, using ill-fitted classical terms to embellish their statements. An exchange of hostages becomes Chou and Cheng; [3]) cholera becomes Po-lu. [4]) If they go to Ching-chou, [5]) they must say to Shensi; going down to Yang-tu [6]) is [thought of as being more refined by saying] going to the coastal states (*Hai-chün* 海郡). Speaking of eating, they say "to fill the mouth"; [7]) talking about money, they would call it the "square

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[1]) P'an Yo 潘岳 (died in 300) has a *Hsien-chü fu* 閒居賦 or "Living in retirement" in *Wen-hsüan*, 16.1b-6. Cf. von Zach, *Die Chinesische Anthologie* 239-244.

[2]) *Shih-pen* 世本, is an ancient historical work dealing with inventions and the origin of surnames. The work has been lost for a long time, but incomplete editions have been composed from early quotations, in *Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu*; see also *Hou-Han shu* 11.1.

[3]) Because in the *Tso-chuan* there are exchanges of hostages between the states of Chou 周 and Cheng 鄭, poorly educated people inappropriately called an exchange procedure "Chou and Cheng." *Tso-chuan*, third year of Duke Yin, *Chinese Classics* 5, 11, 12. See also Yang Lien-sheng, "Hostages in Chinese history," *Studies in Chinese Institutional History* (Harvard Yenching Institute, 1961), 43-57.

[4]) Po-lu 博陸 is the name of the place where Huo Kuang 霍光 of the Han dynasty was made marquis. As cholera in Chinese is *huo-luan*, scholars from hearsay confused or perverted the name to Huo Kuang. *Han-shu*. 68.2

[5]) Ching-chou 荊州 in the period of Eastern Chin, Liang and Sui was largely in Hupeh and Chiang-ling was a main city. But poorly educated scholars sometimes had such vague geographical notions that they confused Ching-chou with Shensi. A good example is given in the geographical treatise of *Nan-Ch'i shu* in which there is such a reference that "the Duke of Chou was in charge of the East of Shen (陝東); Duke of Chao, West of Shen (陝西). Therefore people consider Ching-chou as Shensi." (15.1b).

[6]) Yang-tu 揚都 was Chien-k'ang, while coastal states include many other places.

[7]) *Hu-k'ou* 餬口, a literary allusion, usually means to look for a job with just enough pay to make a living; it cannot be used in the sense of eating. Cf. the 7th year of Duke Chao, *Chinese Classics* V, 618.

hole;" [1]) asking about moving, they would say *ch'u-ch'iu*; [2]) arranging a marriage, they would say "to feast you;" [3]) referring to (Mr.) Wang, they would always say Chung-hsüan [4]) and to Liu, Kung-kan. [5]) There were one or two hundred such wrong usages transmitted and followed with no knowledge of the original source if it were asked for. How could they be used properly? In the *Chuang Tzu* there was the phrase, "Take opportunity like a rising magpie," [6]) and so Hsieh T'iao's [7]) poem says, "Rise like a magpie to the Wu terrace." I have a cousin who composed a poem to describe the seventh night with the line, "Tonight the magpies of the Wu terrace are going to bridge the Milky Way." The *Lo-fou-shan chi* [8]) said, "looking down on the plain, trees are like bushes," and so Tai Kao's 戴暠 poem says, "The trees in Chang-an are like bushes," and again a man of Yeh in a poem describing trees writes, "Looking at a distance for the bushes of Chang-an." Moreover I have seen the phrase "humble and soft" used by them in place of "boasting deceit;" and by them an "old man" is called "rich in springs and autumns." [9]) All these are faults caused by learning by ear.

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[1]) K'ung-fang 孔方, literally means square hole—the common copper cash is so called and the term is still in occasional use. *Chin-shu* 94, 12b.

[2]) *Tso-chuan*, Min-kung the second year: "The Duke Huan of Ch'i moved Hsing 邢 to I I 夷儀; conferred a dukedom upon Wei 衛 at Ch'u-chiu 楚邱." (*The Chinese Classics* V. 128-129.) So uneducated people misunderstood the conferring of a feudal estate to be the moving of a residence.

[3]) In the *Book of Odes*, 2.2.11b: there is the phrase *yen-erh hsin-hun* 宴爾新昏. "to feast your new marriage." So uneducated people used one-half of this phrase to indicate marriage; but that is meaningless.

[4]) Chung-hsüan 仲宣 is the style of Wang Ts'an 王粲, a vice-minister of the Wei dynasty, see p. 65, n. 1. Although he was famous, he cannot represent all the Wang.

[5]) Kung-kan 公幹 is the style or *tzu* of Liu Ching 劉楨, whose biography is attached to Wang Ts'an's in *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 24.1-12.

[6]) This phrase of *Chuang Tzu* is quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 921.3.

[7]) Hsieh T'iao 謝朓 (T. Hsüan-hui 玄暉), who flourished in the 5th century, was a distinguished poet of his time. *Nan-shih*, 19 11b-14b and *Nan-Ch'i shu* 47. 9-12.

[8]) *Lo-fou-shan chi* 羅浮山記 by Yüan Hung 袁宏 (328-376) is listed in the bibliography of the Chin dynasty (Wen T'ing-shih 文廷式, *Pu Chin-shu I-wen-chih* 補晉書藝文志, Chang-sha edition, 3.31b). Part of this work is quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 41.7 (A facsimile reproduction of a Sung ed. by the Chung-hua Bk. Co., Peking. 1960).

[9]) To be rich in springs and autumns means to be rich in years ahead, used for a young man. *Hou-Han shu* 73.17b.

Characters are the foundation of writings. Nowadays many students cannot recognize the characters. When reading the *Five Classics*, they follow Hsü Mo (344-397) [1]) but disregard Hsü Shen (30-124); [2]) when practicing verse writing, they believe Ch'u Ch'üan [3]) but neglect Lü Shen; [4]) when interpreting the *Shih-chi*, they are devoted to P'i [5]) and Tsou [6]) but dispense with the "lesser seal" and "greater seal" characters. [7]) When studying the *Han-shu*, they like Ying and Su [8]) but overlook the [*San*]-*ts'ang* [9]) and [*Kuang*]-*ya*.[10]) In reality they do not know that the pronunciations (of characters) in books are like branches and leaves, while etymology is like the trunk. They love to use the glossary of

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[1]) Hsü Mo 徐邈, who composed the glossary *Wu-ching yin-hsün* 五經音訓 (Pronunciations and Meanings of the Five Classics). *Chin-shu* 91. 11-14.

[2]) Hsü Shen 許愼 (T. Shu-chung 叔重) was the author of the *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 說文解字, one of the earliest etymological dictionaries in China (compiled about 100 A.D.). This is the fundamental source of Chinese characters and it is usually referred to simply by the title *Shuo-wen*. *Hou-Han shu* 109 B, 16b-17.

[3]) Ch'u Ch'üan 褚詮 should be Ch'u Ch'üan-chih 褚詮之 of the Sung period who made commentaries on the pronunciations of verses entitled *Pai-fu yin* 百賦音, 10 *chüan* listed in *Sui-shu* 35.22.

[4]) Lü Shen 呂忱 lived in the Chin dynasty; he was the author of *Tzu-lin* 字林, a dictionary of seven *chüan*, listed in the bibliographic section in the *Sui-shu* 32.33b.

[5]) P'i 皮, as the commentator pointed out, probably should be P'ei, as in P'ei Yin's 裴駰 *Shih-chi chi-chieh* 史記集解 which is still in use.

[6]) Tsou 鄒 was probably Tsou Tan-sheng 誕生 of the Liang period whose *Shi-chi yin* is listed in the *Sui-shu ching-chi-chih*. Cf. p. 75, n. 7.

[7]) The "greater seal" character, usually called *Chou-shu* 籀書, *Chou-wen* 文, or *Ta-chuan* 大篆, is a style of writing said to have been invented about 800 B.C. by Shih Chou 史籀, a minister to Hsüan Wang 宣王 of the Chou dynasty. The "seal" or "lesser seal" character was invented near the close of the third century B.C. by Li Ssu 李斯. Cf. L. Wieger, *Chinese Characters* (Peiping, 1940), 5-7. and D. Bodde, *China's First Unifier*, 147-159.

[8]) Ying was Ying Shao 應劭 (ca. 124-206), author of the *Han-shu chi-chieh yin-i* 漢書集解音義 in 24 *chüan* which is incorporated in the text of the *Han-shu* commentary. Su or Su Lin 蘇林 also wrote a commentary on the *Han-shu*, which is listed in Yao Chen-tsung's bibliography, 3.4b. His biography is in *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 21.22b.

[9]) *San-ts'ang* 三蒼, 3 *chüan*, compiled by Kuo P'o 郭璞 (276-324) who was also the commentator of *Erh-ya* 爾雅, the earliest Chinese glossary; see the bibliographical section, *Sui-shu* 1, 33.

[10]) *Kuang-ya* 廣雅, 3 *chüan*, compiled by Chang I 張揖 of the Wei dynasty. It is still a famous useful dictionary on ancient sounds, meanings, rhymes, and tunes, and Wang Nien-sun 王念孫 *Kuang-ya su-cheng* 疏證 (*SPPY*) is a good edition.

pronunciations and explanations by Fu Ch'ien [1]) and Chang I, but they do not care to look at their larger dictionaries, such as the *T'ung-su* [*wen*] and *Kuang-ya*. So it happens that the same persons accept some books and out of prejudice reject the others [all of which were compiled by the Han scholars]; they would be more prejudiced toward others of different dynasties.

A scholar should honor wide learning of names of principalities and states, mountains and rivers, official posts and surnames, garments and clothing, food, utensils, and institutions; he likes to trace the sources to their origin. As for words, they are neglected, and no attention is paid to them. Personal names and surnames are frequently perverse and contradictory; even when not mistaken, there is ignorance of the origin. In recent times, there are those who make names for their sons so that all brothers have a common radical, where the radical was *shan* 山 (mountain), one name appeared as Chih 峙; [2]) again among names of brothers written with the radical *hand* 才, there is one named Chi 機; [3]) and again among names written with the water radical 氵, there is one named Ni 凝. [4]) Even great and well-known scholars have made many such mistakes. How ridiculous are such people to those who know that the bell is out of tune.

Once I accompanied the Ch'i ruler to Ping-chou [5]) from the border pass at Ching-hsing [6]) into the Shang-ai district. [7]) Several score of *li* to the east there is a village called Lieh-lü-ts'un 獵閭村. Later when all officials were to receive provender for their horses at a

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[1]) Fu Ch'ien 服虔 of the second century A.D. was said to be the author of the *T'ung-su wen* 通俗文. *Hou-Han shu* 109B. 12. There are recollected editions in *Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu* and others.

[2]) The character Chih 峙 does not have the *Shan* 山 mountain radical, and so the names are inconsistent.

[3]) Chi 機 does not have the radical for hand.

[4]) The radicals 冫 and 氵 are different. This paragraph deals with the peculiar Chinese custom that all names of brothers should be written with the same radical to show their relationship. Simply by looking at the names, Chinese can generally recognize whether or not persons are brothers. If the names are chosen and arranged well, they indicate to some extent a scholarly parentage.

[5]) Ping-chou 幷州 was in modern T'ai-yüan, Shansi.

[6]) Ching-hsing kuan 井陘關 is a mountain pass near Shih-chia chuang 石家庄 in western Hopei.

[7]) Shang-ai hsien 上艾縣, southeast of P'eng-ting hsien, in the province of Shansi.

place more than a hundred *li* east of Chin-yang [1]) at the side of the city of K'ang-ch'ou-ch'eng 亢仇城, they did not know the ancient names of these two places [Lieh-lü-ts'un and K'ang-ch'ou-ch'eng]. Even though an extensive search was made in ancient and modern books, they could not understand until they looked into the *Tzu-lin* [2]) and *Yün-chi*; [3]) then they knew that Lieh-lü was a town formerly called Lieh-yü-chü 鬣餘聚 and K'ang-ch'ou was the old Wan-ch'ou-ting 鬘㑹亭, both of which belonged to the Shang-ai district. At that time Wang Shao [4]) of T'ai-yüan, who planned to compile a *Hsiang-i chi-chu* 卿邑記注 (notes on local counties and districts), was very glad to hear about these two names.

When I first read about the *hui* 蛔 with two heads in *Chuang Tzu* [5]) which is quoted by *Han-fei Tzu* [6]) saying, "Among the insects there is the *hui*, which has one body, two mouths. They struggle for food, gnaw each other and so kill each other." At a loss, I did not know the pronunciation of this character. I asked whomever I met, but no one knew. In the *Erh-ya* and other works of the same nature, the larva of silkworms are called *hui*, but that is not the creature with two mouths eager to harm each other. Later on, I saw in the *Ku-chin tzu-ku* (Dictionary of archaic and modern characters] [7]) that the character is the old form of *hui* 虺 [a venomous snake]. So the pending problem unsolved for years is cleared up like dispersed fog.

Once on a trip to Chao-chou [8]) I saw, north of Pai-jen ch'eng [9]) a brook for which even the natives knew no name. Later I read the inscription on the Hsü Cheng 徐整 tablet at the west gate of the city, "The brook flows eastward"; no one knows its name. Consulting the *Shuo-wen*, I learned that the character *Po* 洎 is the ancient

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[1]) Chin-yang 晉陽 was to the north-west of modern T'ai-yüan.

[2]) For *Tzu-lin* see p. 79, n. 4.

[3]) *Yün-chi* 韻集 (*A dictionary of rhyme*), 10 *chüan*, compiled by Lü Ching 呂靜 of the Chin dynasty and listed in the bibliographical section of *Sui-shu* 32, 34; see *Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu*.

[4]) Wang Shao 王劭, a highly learned scholar, has a biography in *Sui-shu* 69.1.

[5]) The reference to *hui* is not in the modern edition of *Chuang Tzu*.

[6]) *Han Fei-tzu*, chap. 23, *Shuo-lin* 說林 B. 8.3 (*SPPY* edition).

[7]) *Ku-chin tzu-ku* 古今字詁, 3 *chüan*, compiled by Chang I is listed in the bibliographic section of *Sui-shu*, 32.33; and *Chiu T'ang-shu*, 46.21. A recollected edition is in *Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu, ts'e* 61.

[8]) Chao chou 趙州 was in modern Chao-hsien, Hopei.

[9]) Pai-jen ch'eng 栢人城 was in Yao-shan 堯山 district, Hopei.

form of *p'o* 皤, meaning shallow water. The stream has had no name since the Han dynasty, having simply been called by the description "of shallow water." Perhaps the brook should be named Po.

In correspondence in the world, people often use the phrase *wu wu* 勿勿, an expression handed on by use from one to another without knowledge of its origin. Some have carelessly regarded that form as an abbreviation of the phrase *hu hu* 忽忽; but according to *Shuo-wen*, *wu* was the flag set up in the country districts (symbolizing the shape of a flagstaff with three streamers) used to promote the works of the people; therefore those who are in a hurry are described by the phrase *wu wu*.

At I-chou [in Szechwan] [1]) I was sitting with several friends; just as the sky cleared and the sun shone brightly, we saw a small shining bud on the ground and asked the natives near by, "What is that?" A young boy of Shu [Szechwan] looked at it and answered, "That is *Tou-pi* 豆逼 (bean sprout)." Looking at each other in surprise, we did not understand what he meant. We ordered him to fetch one; it was a small bean sprout. We inquired of people everywhere in Shu; they all used *pi* instead of *li* 粒 (a grain). At that time no one could understand why. I told them that in the *San-ts'ang* and *Shuo-wen* the character is *po* 白 with *pi* 匕 below; it is explained in the sense of *li* 粒 (a kernel or a grain), and the *T'ung-su wen* [2]) pronunciation is *fang* 方 and *li* 力 (or ancient, **p̣iwang and **l̥iek). [3]) Then all were glad to understand the reason.

Min-ch'u's [4]) brother-in-law, Tou Ju-t'ung, came from Ho-chou [5]) and brought with him a tame, blue bird which we all petted; it was commonly called the *ho* 鶴 (a long-tailed pheasant). I said, "The *ho* pheasant comes from Shang-tang [Shensi]; I have seen it several times; it is yellow and black without other mixed colors." So Ch'en Ssu-wang's *fu* poem describing the *ho* pheasant reads, "Spread the vigorous black and yellow feathers." Let us try to consult the *Shuo-wen*, [6]) "The *fen* 鴆 sparrow is similar to the *ho*

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[1]) I-chou 益州 is the modern Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan.

[2]) According to *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu ku-lin*, 皂 is the archaic form of *li* 粒 (p. 21 63 b.).

[3]) Karlgren's dictionary, nos 25 and 523.

[4]) Min-ch'u was Yen Chih-t'ui's second son. Tou Ju-t'ung 竇如同 cannot be identified.

[5]) Ho-chou 河州 was the modern Lin-hsia 臨夏 in Kansu province.

[6]) This bird is described in *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu ku-lin*, pp. 1644-45.

pheasant although blue; it comes from Chiang;" [1]) the *Yün chi* gives the pronunciation *fen* 分. The problem was thus immediately solved.

In the Liang dynasty there was one Ts'ai Lang 蔡朗; the prohibited name (of his father) was Shun 純. Not being well educated, he used *Lu-k'uei* (dew mallow) to replace *Shun* [an edible water plant]; [2]) this was imitated and followed by ignorant fellows (lit. "wall-faced" fellows). In the Ch'eng-sheng period (552-554) an official was sent to Ch'i, where the officer in charge of guests, (*Chu-k'o-lang*) [3]) Li Shu, asked the envoy of Liang, "Are there dew mallows south of the Yangtze?" He answered "The dew mallow is called *shun*; it is produced in marshy soil; what you are now eating, sir, is called *lu-k'uei-ts'ai* 綠葵菜 or green mallow vegetable". Though Li was also learned, he could not measure the depth of the envoy; but suddenly hearing that, he did not examine him further.

Liu Ling[4]) of P'eng-ch'eng, [5]) the husband of Ssu-lu's aunt, once sat with me surrounded by other boys. I asked Ju-hsing and Min-hsing saying, "How many characters have the same sound as *tzu-i* 諮議 (consultation and discussion). Do you know all of them?" They answered, "We have not investigated this; please tell us." I said, "Generally in a case like this, if you have not studied and examined the matter beforehand but suddenly see something you do not know and ask someone carelessly, is it not easy to be cheated by unreliable persons?" Then I explained to them and obtained about fifty characters. Liu and others said with a sigh, "We did not expect there would be so many that we did not know; it is a strange thing."

What a difficult task is the collating and editing of books! Only Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-18 A.D.) [6]) and Liu Hsiang (ca B.C.

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[1]) Chiang 羌 was an area covering part of Szechwan, Kansu and Tibet.

[2]) Lu-k'uei 露葵, (*Brasenia peltata*) is the same as Shun-ts'ai 蓴菜. See Giles' Dictionary, 10148 and *Chih-wu hsüeh ta tz'u-tien* (The Commercial Press, original ed. 1918. reduced ed. 1933), p. 1333 and p. 1548.

[3]) For Chu-k'o-lang 主客郎 see *Sui-shu*, 27.2b and des Rotours, 80 and 92.

[4]) Liu Ling 劉靈 has no biography in dynastic histories. He was, however, skillful in literature and painting as Yen says of him in chap. XIX p. 304.

[5]) For P'eng-ch'eng 彭城, see p. 72, n. 4.

[6]) Yang Hsiung 揚雄 (T. Tzu-yün 子雲) was a great editor of books, a famous writer and philosopher of the Han period. *Han-shu*, 87A and 87B, and Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 289-291.

79-8) [1]) were fitted for that service. He who has not looked over all the books in the world should not thoughtlessly make corrections or criticisms (of another's work). Sometimes what one considers wrong is considered right by another; sometimes there may be general agreement with slight differences; and sometimes the texts of two copies may both be imperfect. You should not partially believe one side [without knowing the others].

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[1]) Liu Hsiang 劉向 (T. Tzu-cheng 子政) is perhaps one of the earliest Chinese bibliographers who compiled a bibliography under the auspices of Emperor Ch'eng (B.C. 32-7). His biography is in *Han-shu* 36.6-21.

CHAPTER NINE

ON ESSAYS

The (forms of) essays are derived from the *Five Classics*: decree, order, *ts'e* 策 edict, and *hsi* 檄 proclamation from the *Book of History*; preface, narration, discussion and interpretation from the *Book of Changes*; folk song, hymn, *fu* 賦 poetry, [1]) and *sung* 頌 sacrificial poetry, from the *Book of Odes*; sacrificial essay and elegies from the *Book of Rites*; and *shu* 書 record, *tsou* 奏 memorial, *chen* 箴 admonition, and *ming* 銘 inscription, from the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. [2]) Court statutes and military declarations serve many useful purposes such as manifesting benevolence and justice, and demonstrating merit and virtue in order to look after the people, build up the nation and many other uses. As for writing essays to mold your own nature and spirit or to give others unembarrassed advice, if you penetrate to the interesting part, it is also a pleasure. If you have leisure after your other activities, you may practice essay writing. [3])

Unfortunately, from ancient times many men of letters have suffered from a light (mind) and a sharp (tongue). Ch'ü Yüan (ca. 343-290 B.C.) [4]) liked to show his talent, to praise himself, and to expose the faults of his prince. Sung Yü, [5]) in fancy dress and

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[1]) *Fu* can be translated in various ways: loose poetry, irregular verse, poetic essay, narrative or descriptive poetry etc. Perhaps the best is non-translation such as the treatment of *Lu Chi's "Wen Fu," A.D.* 302 by E. R. Hughes who well traced the evolution of the meaning of *fu* in pp. 83-90.

[2]) A similar summary of these styles of forms is given in *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* Chapter III, "The Classics as Literary Sources." Cf. Vincent Yu-chung Shih's translation, p. 20.

[3]) These words are taken from the *Lun-yü*, Bk. 1. ch. 6. Cf. Legge's translation in the *Chinese Classics* I. 140.

[4]) Ch'ü Yüan 屈原, a man of great literary talent and a loyal minister of the Ch'u state, was a favorite of the king till displaced by a rival. He wrote the ever-famous *Li-sao* (On encountering sorrow) in which he gave advice and warnings to the king who disregarded his words. The Ch'u state was eventually conquered by the Ch'in. Ch'ü Yüan drowned himself in the Mi-lo river in Hunan. *Shih-chi*, 84. 1-7b; Kuo Mo-jo, "A Sketch of *Chu Yuan in Li Sao and Other Poems of Chu Yuan*" (Peking, 1953), IX-XVI, and D. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South* (Oxford, 1959), p. 21-34.

[5]) Sung Yü 宋玉, another poet of the Ch'u state, was a romantic and somewhat dissolute person. He seems to have lived at the court of King

seductive looks, appeared like a clown. Tung-fang Man-ch'ien (ca. 160-87 B.C.) had an indecent sense of humor. [1] Ssu-ma Ch'ang-ch'ing (died 117 B.C.) took bribes and lacked good conduct. [2] Wang Pao's contract for a young slave was too detailed. [3] Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18) lacked integrity in praising Wang Mang. [4] Li Ling was humiliated by becoming a captive of barbarians. [5] Liu Hsin (ca. 46 B.C.-A.D. 23) was first loyal but later hostile to [Wang] Mang's dynasty (A.D. 9-23). [6] Fu I (died A.D. 89) took

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Hsiang of Ch'u 楚襄王 (reg. 298-265 B.C.) and to have been influenced by Ch'ü Yüan's literary ideas and style. It is hard to distinguish the style of the two poets. The stories about his life are presented in Yang Yin-shen 楊蔭琛, *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh chia lieh-chuan* 中國文學家列傳 (Shanghai, Chung-hua Bk Co., 1939), 8b-9, and David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u, The Songs of the South* (Oxford, 1959), 19 and 92.

[1]) Tung-fang So 東方朔 (T. Man-ch'ien 曼倩) was a courtier of wit and humor who never hesitated to boast about his own ability, nor was he slow in cracking jokes. *Shih-chi* 126. 7-10, and *Han-shu* 65. 1-23.

[2]) Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju (T. Ch'ang-ch'ing) was a great *fu* poet of the Han dynasty and a light-hearted romantic from Szechwan who, being unable to stand the official life in the Han court, had to retire at home. But he was poverty-stricken. Soon he was introduced to a wealthy man, Cho Wang-sun 卓王孫, who had a young widowed daughter Wen-chün 文君. Ssu-ma bribed a servant to bring them together and soon they were married but had nothing to live on. The father-in-law had to support the couple. *Shih-chi*, 81.3-5, and p. 26, n. 2.

[3]) Wang Pao 王褒 was a native of Shu 蜀 and a court counsellor (*chien-i ta-fu* 諫議大夫) under the Han emperor Hsüan (73-49 B.C.). See *Han-shu* 64B. 8b-14. He should not be confused with the other Wang Pao of A.D. 6th century (See p. 48, n. 3). As for the contract for a slave, it is in C. Martin Wilbur, *Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty*, (Chicago, Field Museum, 1943), pp. 121-122, and 382-392 (document 83), and Utsunomiya Kiyoyoshi 宇都宮清吉, *Kandai shakai keizai shi kenkyū* 漢代社會經濟史研究 (1955), pp. 256-274.

[4]) For Yang Hsiung, see p. 83, n. 6.

[5]) Li Ling 李陵 (T. Shao-ch'ing 少卿, died 74 B.C.) was a general sent by Han Wu-ti to fight against the Hsiung-nu. This was the first time Chinese infantry had to fight against the Hsiung-nu cavalry in a foreign territory. Although Li Ling scored initial success, he was defeated by lack of reinforcements. Most of his soldiers died, and he was forced to surrender. Receiving the humiliating news, the outraged emperor condemned Li's mother, wife, and children to death. See *Han-shu* 54.9-15b, Dubs, *History of the Former Han* II, 13-16, and Burton Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Grand Historian of China*, 216-217.

[6]) Liu Hsin 劉歆 has been accused of tampering with the texts of the classics in order to support Wang Mang's imperial attempt. After Wang usurped the throne, Liu Hsin was made the National Teacher. Soon for some involve-

the side of the powerful clan. [1]) Pan Ku (A.D. 32-92) plagiarized his father's (manuscript) history. [2]) Chao Yüan-shu (of Later Han) was too arrogant toward government officials. [3]) Feng Ching-t'ung (A.D. ca. 1- ca. 76) was not promoted and then was dismissed because of his unstable personality.[4]) Ma Chi-ch'ang's (79-166) flattery met with disgrace. [5]) Ts'ai Po-chieh (133-192) received capital punishment for his association with an evil (general). [6]) Wu Chih [3rd century A.D.] calumniated and alienated his fellow-country men [7]) and Ts'ao Chih (192-232) was an alleged law-breaker because of his perverse conduct. [8]) Tu Tu (died A.D. 78) asked favors endlessly. [9]) Lu Ts'ui (3rd century) was narrow-minded in

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ment with an omen unfavorable to the new dynasty, Hsin's three sons were executed by Wang Mang's order, and this caused the father's hatred against the usurper, who had several hundreds of Liu Hsin's friends, relatives and students killed, while Hsin himself was ordered to commit suicide. *Han-shu* 99 B. 26b-27. For Liu Hsin's connection with the classical texts, see Ch'en Shou-yi, *Chinese Literature*, 80-82.

[1]) Fu I 傅毅 (T. Wu-chung 武仲), a noted writer at court, took sides with the generals of his time. *Hou-Han shu* 110A. 10b-12.

[2]) Pan Ku 班固 (T. Meng-chien 孟堅), a scion of a famous family and son of the historian, Piao, was accused of plagiarizing his father's work on the history of the Han dynasty. *Hou-Han shu* 70A. 6-22, and A.F.P. Hulsewé, "Notes on the Historiography of the Han Period, "*Historians of China and Japan* edited by W. G. Beasly *et al.*, 31-43.

[3]) Chao Yüan-shu 趙元叔 also named Chao I 趙壹, lived about A.D. 170. He was a good writer but very proud and arrogant. *Hou-Han shu*, 110 B. 1-6b.

[4]) Feng Yen 馮衍 (T. Ching-t'ung 敬通), a writer of Later Han, could not get the promotion or rewards which he thought he deserved. From the government point of view, his personal problems caused him trouble and bad luck. *Hou Han-shu* 58B. 1-18.

[5]) Ma Yung 馬融 (T. Chi-ch'ang 季長), a grandee of the court for many years and a popular romantic professor of classics, was fond of flattering the powerful by his beautiful writings. He was dismissed from office for a period of ten years and despised by some of his upright contemporaries. *Hou-Han shu* 90A. 1-16.

[6]) Ts'ai Yung (p. 26, n. 4), a versatile poet and exponent of the short *fu*, sided with General Tung Cho 董卓, a very cruel and haughty soldier, who burnt the capital Loyang in A.D. 190. *Hou-Han shu* 90B. 1-14.

[7]) Wu Chih 吳質 (T. Chi-chung 季重) has a little biographical information in the biography of Wang Ts'an as given in p. 65, n. 1.

[8]) Ts'ao Chih (T. Tzu-chien 子建 also known as Ch'en Ssu-wang 陳思王), a lyrical poet and third son of Ts'ao Ts'ao, was an unhappy man because he was bullied by his jealous brother who became the first emperor of the Kingdom of Wei. *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 19, 3-22, and p. 28, n. 3.

[9]) Tu Tu 杜篤 (T. Chi-ya 季雅), a writer of some reputation, was careless in conduct. *Hou-Han shu* 110A. 1-9b.

the extreme.[1]) Ch'en Lin (d. 217) was indeed rough and careless.[2]) P'o Ch'in by nature could not examine and control himself.[3]) Liu Chen's stubborn opposition (to ceremony) was punished by hard labor.[4]) Wang Ts'an (177-217) was not respected because he was blunt and short-tempered. K'ung Jung (153-208) and Mi Heng (173-198) incurred death by their arrogance,[5]) and Yang Hsiu (2nd and 3rd century A.D.) and Ting I were executed for their (political) agitation.[6]) Juan Chi's (210-263) improper conduct ruined the custom;[7]) Hsi K'ang (223-262) met a disastrous end for want of ceremony.[8]) Fu Hsüan (217-278) was dismissed from an official post for violent argument (against a senior colleague).[9]) Sun Ch'u (d. 293) offended his superior by his pride and bragging.[10]) Lu Chi (261-303) was put to death for a political offense.[11]) P'an Yo

[1]) Lu Ts'ui 路粹 (T. Wen-yü 文蔚), a writer, has some information included in the biography of Wang Ts'an, as indicated on p. 65, n. 1

[2]) Ch'en Lin 陳琳 (T. K'ung-chang 孔璋) wrote a proclamation condemning Ts'ao Ts'ao; the document is in the *Wen-hsüan*, ch. 44. 3-7. Later on Ch'en's superior, Yüan Shao 袁紹, was defeated by Ts'ao Ts'ao. Ch'en now was employed by Ts'ao Ts'ao and was well treated because of his literary talent, whereupon he started to revile Yüan Shao. *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 6. 22b-23b. and T'an Cheng-pi 譚正璧, *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh-chia ta tz'u-tien* 中國文學家大辭典, 71. See also M. Loewe, "Some military dispatches of the Han period" *TP* LI (livr 4-5, 1964) 340-41.

[3]) P'o Ch'in 繁欽 (T. Shou-po 休伯) was a skillful writer. *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih*, 21. 6b.

[4]) Liu Chen 劉楨, a scholar, received hard-labor punishment for not bowing before a court lady. *San-kuo-chih, Wei-chih* 21, 4b-5.

[5]) K'ung Jung 孔融 (T. Wen-chü 文舉) was a 20th generation descendant of Confucius and a good writer. Mi Heng 禰衡 (T. Cheng-p'ing 正平) was a quick composer. They were close friends, having the same stubborn and strong-headed characteristics. K'ung's biography is in *Hou-Han shu* 100. 4-17b, and *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 12. 4-6b. Mi Heng's biography is in *Hou-Han shu*, 110B. 18b-23.

[6]) Both Yang Hsiu 楊修 (T. Te-tsu 德祖) and Ting I 丁廙 were partisans of Ts'ao Chih. *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih*, 3b-4; and Fang, *The chronicle of the Three kingdoms*, I. 22-23.

[7]) When Juan Chi's mother died, he refused to stop his chess game until it was finished and then he cried and spat blood. See p. 69, n. 3. *Wei-Chin Nan Pei Chao Wen-hsüeh shih ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao* 魏晋南北朝文學史參考資料, 174.

[8]) For Hsi K'ang, see p. 68, n. 4.

[9]) Fu Hsüan 傅玄 (T. Shou-i 休奕), a famous writer and fearless critic, has a biography in *Chin-shu* 47. 1-7b. See also Yang Lien-sheng, "Notes on the economic history of the Chin dynasty," *HJAS* IX (1946), 125.

[10]) Sun Ch'u 孫楚 (T. Tzu-ching 子荆), an egoistic writer with a six-*chüan* collection of essays, has a biography in *Chin-shu* 56. 12-16.

[11]) Lu Chi (T. Shih-heng 士衡, H. P'ing-yüan 平原) a very good *fu* poet,

(231-300), an opportunist, incurred danger.[1]) Yen Yen-nien (384-456) was degraded and humiliated on account of his bad temper.[2]) Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433) was arraigned and beheaded for his eccentricity (of conduct) and negligence (of duties).[3]) Wang Yüan-ch'ang (468-494) brought himself misfortune (for his attempt to set up) an evil "bandit" as ruler.[4]) Hsieh Hsüan-hui[5]) met his end (in jail) for his overbearing manners and contempt. All these persons, too many to be mentioned one by one but roughly listed above, are outstanding writers.

Even emperors are not entirely free [from light minds and sharp tongues]. From ancient times the emperors with literary talents were Han Wu-[ti] (B.C. 156-87),[6]) Wei T'ai-tsu [Ts'ao Ts'ao, A.D. 155-220], Wen-ti (186-226), Ming-ti (204-239), and Sung Hsiao-wu-ti (434-464);[7]) yet all were criticized by their contemporaries;

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has a biography in *Chin-shu* 54.1-15, and in *The Art of Letters*; *Lu Chi's "Wen Fu," A.D.* 302 translated by E. R. Hughes, Ch. II, "Lu's life and times" 26-58. See also p. 32, n. 2.

[1]) P'an Yo 潘岳 (T. An-jen 安仁) a poet and official, smart and attractive, was always blinded by the love of gain. His mother repeatedly advised him to get rid of this habit; but to no avail. On several occasions he whipped a minor officer who served under him. Later on the officer was promoted to a secretarial post and accused him of attempted rebellion. As a result he and his close and distant relatives were all executed. *Chin-shu* 55. 9b-17.

[2]) Yen Yen-chih 顏延之 (T. Yen-nien), a good writer and well-learned scholar, was obliged to retire early because of his bad temper which made it hard for him to get along with others. *Nan-shih* 34. 1-5b; and *Sung-shu* 73. 1-14.

[3]) Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運 and Yen Yen-chih were the two most famous writers and scholars in the Southern dynasties. Hsieh ruined his career by his eccentric and irritable disposition. Instead of doing his official duty he would absent himself and roam about the country side for days and weeks. He was exiled to Canton where he was executed, for he tried to build a force to rebel against the imperial order. *Sung-shu* 67. 1-35; *Nan-shih* 19. 1-5; and Richard Mather, "The Landscape Buddhism of the Fifth-century Poet Hsieh Ling-yün", *JAS*, XIIIV. 1 (Nov. 1958), 67-79.

[4]) Wang Jung 王融 (T. Yüan-ch'ang 元長), a fast writer; his biography is included in that of Wang Hung 王宏 in *Nan-shih*, 21. 7-10b.

[5]) For Hsieh T'iao 謝朓 (T. Hsüan-hui) see p. 78, n. 7.

[6]) Han Wu-ti was criticized as a warmonger and sorcerer. (See Dubs, *History of the Former Han*, II, 90-91). The three emperors of the Wei kingdom were excellent writers. However, Wei T'ai-tsu or Ts'ao Ts'ao was criticized as a usurper of the East Han dynasty (Achilles Fang, I, XIII, 45-48) Wen-ti, for treating his brothers harshly (*San-kuo chih*, 19, 3-21); and Ming-ti for his extravagance in construction (*San-kuo chih*, 3, 21b-22.)

[7]) Sung Hsiao Wu-ti was chided for shedding no tears at his father's death,

they were not princes of perfect virtue. Nevertheless I have also sometimes heard of famous writers free from faults and disasters such as Tzu-yu, Tzu-hsia [1]), Hsün K'uang [Hsün-tzu] [2]), Meng K'o [Mencius][3]), Mei Sheng (died 141 B.C.) [4]), Chia I (B.C. 201-169) [5]), Su Wu (ca. 145-60 B.C.) [6]), Chang Heng (A.D. 78-139) [7]), and Tso Ssu (died ca. 300); [8]) but they are less numerous than those who ruined their lives.

I have often thought, on the basis of accumulated (experience), a body of essays exhibits the writer's interests, develops his nature, and makes him proud and negligent of control as well as determined and aggressive. Such trouble affects men of letters

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when he was ten years old, and for indulging in wine and women in his later life. *Nan-shih* 2. 13-24, and Liu Hsieh, *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*, ch. Shih hsü, cf. Vincent Shih's translation, 243.

[1]) Tzu-yu 子游 and Tzu-hsia 子夏 were disciples of Confucius; both names often appear in the *Lun-yü*. See Confucius' immediate disciples, *The Chinese Classics* I. 116-117.

[2]) For Hsün K'uang 荀況 see p. 26, n. 5.

[3]) For Meng K'o 孟軻, or Meng Tzu, see *Shih-chi* 74. 1-4.

[4]) Mei Sheng 枚乘, (T. Shu 叔), a famous *fu* poet see *Han-shu* 51. 22b-28b, von Zach, *Die chinesische Anthologie*, 607-617 and 729-734.

[5]) For Chia I see p. 2, n. 2., Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 508-516, and Ch'en Shou-yi, 116-119.

[6]) Su Wu 蘇武 (T. Tzu-ch'ing 子卿), was a diplomatic official under Han Wu-ti who sent him to communicate with the Hsiung-nu where he was detained for nineteen years; *Han-shu* 54. 16-23, and von Zach, *Sinologische Beiträge* II, 77.

[7]) Chang Heng 張衡 is the author of the famous *Erh-ching fu* 二京賦 (a *fu* or poetic description of the two capitals), in which he took ten years to extract the beauty of the cities of Sian and Loyang and satirize the extravagance of the dignitaries of the Han dynasty. His literary reputation is, however, overshadowed by his contribution to Chinese astronomy and mathematics. *Hou-Han shu* 89. 1-31; the text of the *Erh-ching-fu* is in *Wen hsüan*. Cf. von Zach 1-37. See also E. R. Hughes, *The Art of Letters*, 87-89, 117-118 and J. Needham, *Science and Civilization of China* II. 556-57.

[8]) Tso Ssu 左思 (T. T'ai-ch'ung 太冲), seemingly less known than the others, is a scholar and poet of the Chin dynasty. In order to produce good poetry, he had his house and garden furnished at every turn with tables and materials for writing; and whenever any idea occurred to him while he was walking and thinking, he immediately jotted it down on paper. As a result of ten years of such deep thinking, he finalized the *fu*-poetry description of the three capitals (of the Three Kingdoms) so well that numerous people made copies, causing a scarcity of paper in Loyang. *Chin-shu* 92; the text of the "San-tu-fu" is in *Wen-hsüan*, ch. 3-6 inclusive. von Zach, 44-92.

even more deeply in the present generation. A proper expression of one fact or a clever construction of one sentence makes their spirits fly to the nine skies, and their pride towers over (the other writers) of a thousand years. They read aloud again and again for their own enjoyment, forgetting other persons nearby. Moreover, as a grain of sand or a pebble may hurt people more than a sword or spear, their satirical remarks about other persons may spread faster than a storm. You should carefully prevent such habits in order to keep your original safety.

In seeking knowledge some are sharp, some are dull. In writing essays some are clever and some stupid. A dull student with untiring work may overcome the hurdles to mastery; a stupid hand will be a mediocre writer in the end no matter how hard he tries. Therefore, if one becomes a scholar, one can certainly be an independent man; if one lacks the natural gift, one does not have to compel oneself to be a penman. In this world I have seen many people without the slightest literary talent who consider themselves elegant, flowery stylists, while spreading their awkward and stupid [writings]. South of the Yangtze such writers are called *Ling-ch'ih-fu*, or foolish self-advertisers.[1] Recently in Ping-chou [Taiyüan] an aristocratic scholar liked to compose ridiculous poems [including *fu*], challenging Hsing, Wei[2] and other eminent writers. All of them mocked and falsely praised him; but he was so excited that he prepared feasts (lit. cut beef and warmed wine) to entertain those with literary reputations. His wife, an intelligent woman, admonished him against (this folly) even with tears. The gentleman said with a sigh, "Even my wife cannot appreciate my talents; how can I expect much from strangers?" Yet until his death he was not conscious of the fact (that others had been making fun of

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[1]) Ling-ch'ih-fu 訾癡符 (Literally, means a silly self-advertising plate, used for a person who foolishly exaggerates the quality of his writing) was first used by Yen Chih-t'ui. Those south of the Yangtze who liked to inscribe their awkward writings on stone tablets or make copies for circulation were called foolish self-advertisers (*Ling-ch'ih-fu*, see *Shuo-fu* 說郛 ch. 36.12). This term was later used as a book title, the preface of which says, "When coastal fishermen sold their fish to the market, they boasted that their best fish was called *ling-yü* 訾魚, and even the smallest one was so named. In the south the best fish was called ling-yü (*T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 940.5b-6). *Ling*, according to dictionaries, means to boast, or to sell." Lou Yo 樓鑰 *Kung-k'uei chi* 攻媿集, 52.10-11b (*SPTK* ed.).

[2]) This is Hsing Shao 邢劭 (T. Tzu-ts'ai 子才, died ca. 560), a man with a marvellous memory, see p. 64, n. 4. As for Wei Shou, see p. 65, n. 3.

him). Self-understanding calls for wisdom and it is indeed difficult to achieve.

(One way of) learning to write essays is to show them to your relatives and friends first, asking for their comments. If you know the comments are favorable, then you may send the essays out of your hands. You should be cautious against overconfidence in your own judgment, which might incur ridicule from other critics. From ancient times there have been innumerable men trying to write essays and yet only several score pieces are really grand, beautiful and elegant. A man who can write essays in the proper style with presentable ideas and readable expressions may be called a talented scholar. To surprise the common people by an essay which is superior to others in the world is as hard as waiting for clear water in the Yellow River.

Not to bend (knees) before two (imperial) families was the integrity of I 夷 and Ch'i 齊; [1] to refuse to serve the wrongful ruler was the principle of I 伊 and Chi 箕. [2] Since the Ch'un-ch'iu period (722-481 B.C.) there have been many families annexed and nations conquered; and thus the relationship between a prince and a minister cannot be permanently maintained. A real gentleman who breaks friendship with a person should never speak ill of the latter. If suddenly he has to bend his knees in serving another person, he should not change his thoughts toward his former chief, whether the chief still exists or not. When Ch'en K'ung-chang worked under [Yüan] Shao in charge of the correspondence, he called [Ts'ao] Ts'ao a jackal or wolf; while later writing official proclamations for the Wei Kingdom, he regarded [Yüan] Shao as a venomous serpent. [3] He may have had no control over this, having been ordered to use such terms by the current ruler; never-

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[1] I and Ch'i mean the two brothers Po I 伯夷 and Shu Ch'i 叔齊 of the 12th century B.C. who declined to change their allegiance from the Yin to the Chou dynasty. They became hermits in the mountains, eating plants and finally dying of hunger and cold. *Shih-chi* 61. 1-6b.

[2] I and Chi are I Yin 伊尹 and Chi Tzu 箕子. The former, of the 18th century B.C., accepted the offer of ministership by the first emperor of Shang after declining it five times in order to make sure that he was to serve the right person. Chi Tzu, 12th century B.C., was thrown into prison for his protest against the notorious emperor, Shou 紂, the last one of the Shang dynasty. When Wu Wang 武王 set him free, he declined to serve the "usurper" and preferred to be a political refugee in Korea. *Shih-chi* 38. 2b-9, cf. Chavannes, *Mh*, IV, 216-219 and Mencius, Bk. II. Pt. I. Sec. 22.

[3] Ch'en K'ung-chang was the polite name of Ch'en Lin, see p. 88, n. 2.

theless, this is a great source of trouble for men of letters. You boys must tactfully avoid it.

Some one asked Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18) [1]) saying, "Sir, have you been fond of the *fu* poem since boyhood?" "Yes," said Hsiung, "but this is like a boy who is engraving worm (-like lines) in making seal characters; a great man would not do it." Personally I do not agree with him. (Emperor) Yü Shun sang the "Southwind" poem. [2]) Chou Kung wrote the "owl" verse, [3]) and Chi-fu and Shih K'o [4]) were the composers of the most beautiful *ya-sung* poems. [5]) I have not heard that their careers were impeded (because of writing poems) in youth. Confucius says, "Without study of poetry one cannot speak elegantly." [6]) Returning to Lu from Wei, he put the music directors and the *ya* and *sung* poems into their proper positions; and he quoted stanzas from the *Book of Odes* to support his explanation of *filial piety* (classic). How could Yang Hsiung dare ignore (the value of poetry)? Though he contested

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[1]) Yang Hsiung (see p. 83, n. 6) was a famous *fu* poet, a writer of philosophical prose, a student of dialects, and a critic of the court. Lacking good physical appearance, and being poor and a stutterer, he seemed to have suffered from an inferiority complex and from fear of insecurity. This explains his attempt to commit suicide (see p. 94, n 3.). He was not very popular among his contemporaries and his writings were not well received until forty years after his death. Yang Hsiung wrote two books: the *Fa-yen* 法言, in imitation of the *Confucian Analects*, and the *T'ai-hsüan-ching* 太玄經, which was patterned after the *Book of Changes*. *Han-shu* 87A, 1-32 and James Hightower, *Topics in Chinese Literature* 10.

[2]) Cf. the *Book of Rites*, the chapter on music, part of which reads: "Anciently, Shun made the lute with fine strings, and used it in singing the Nan Fang." Legge's translation in *Sacred Books of the East* XXVIII. 105.

[3]) It is in the *Chinese Classics* IV, 233-35. Legge's translation, "I returned from Wei to Lu, and then the music was reformed, and the pieces in the Royal songs and Praise songs all found their proper places", *Chinese Classics* I, 221.

[4]) Chi-fu 吉甫 is Yin 尹 Chi-fu, a 9th century B.C. military commander under King Hsüan 宣 of the Chou dynasty. Shih K'o 史克, is the name of a poet in the *Book of Odes* in which the poem, *Kung* 駉 (Pt. IV. Bk II) eulogizing Lu Hsi-kung 魯僖公 (B.C. 658-626), is attributed to him. *Mao-shih* 毛詩, 20.1 (*SPTK* ed.).

[5]) *Ya* 雅 and *sung* 頌 are two types of poems. The *ya* is subdivided into *Ta-ya* (The Greater Odes of the Kingdom) and *Hsiao-ya* (The Smaller Odes). The *sung* (sacrificial poetry) consists of Shang-sung and Lu-sung. Cf. Legge's prolegomena, 4-5 in the *Chinese Classics* vol. 4.

[6]) *Lun-yü*, Bk. XVI, ch. XIII. The translation here is different from Legge's version which reads, "If you do not learn the Odes, you will not be fit to converse with," *The Confucian Classics* I, 315.

that "A poet's *fu* is beautiful by means of rules and a man of letter's *fu* is beautiful by means of borrowed expressions," [1]) the writer should know how to make modifications. I do not know how great a man Yang Hsiung was himself. He wrote the essay "Chü Ch'in mei Hsin" to criticize the Ch'in and eulogize the Hsin [Wang Mang] [2]) and he jumped from the window [of a government building]. Hurrying and trembling, he could not understand the destiny of his life; his actions were merely childish. [3]) Huan T'an [4]) considered [Yang's work] to be better than Lao Tzu's; Ko Hung (ca. 250-ca. 330) compared Yang with Confucius. [5]) These (inappropriate remarks) make people sigh; Yang simply understood mathematics and the *yin-yang* principles and wrote the *T'ai-hsüang-ching* (the classic of great mystery) to befuddle his admirers. [6]) (As a matter of fact) his words and conduct are inferior to those of Hsün Ch'ing and Ch'ü Yüan; how could he dare to aspire to the honorable dust (i.e. to equal) the Great Sage [Confucius] ? [7])

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[1]) The source of these two sentences is Yang Hsiung's *Fa-yen*, ch. 2. 1, Wu-tzu p'ien 吾子篇.

[2]) This essay, "Chü Ch'in mei Hsin" 劇秦美新 is in *Wen-hsüan*, ch. 48. 4-8b; von Zach, 898-905.

[3]) On one occasion Yang Hsiung nearly lost his life by throwing himself out of a window to escape arrest for being the tutor of Liu Hsin's son, who was to be executed by Wang Mang. See *Han-shu* 87B, 20-21.

[4]) Huan T'an 桓譚 (T. Chün-shan 君山) a scholar of wide learning and author of *Hsin-lun* 新論 or "Tracts for the time" was also, like Yang Hsiung, unpopular with his contemporaries. His appraisal of Yang Hsiung's book is in *Han shu* 87B. 21 and *Hou-Han shu* 58A. 1-6.

[5]) Ko Hung 葛洪 (T. Chih-ch'uan 稚川; H. Pao-p'u tzu 抱朴子, 284-363) was a Taoist scholar, alchemist and physician. His great uncle was the famous Taoist adept, Ko Hsüan 葛玄 one of whose disciples became Ko Hung's teacher and passed to him the secret of the elixir. He traveled to Cochin-China to secure cinnabar for his researches. His biography is in *Chin-shu* 72, 13-16b. His opinion about Yang Hsiung's *T'ai-hsüan-ching* is in *Pao-p'u tzu, wai p'ien*, ch. 32 "Shang-po 尙博," p. 3 (*SPPY* ed.). See A. Forke, *The World Conception of the Chinese* (London, 1925) 21; Achilles Fang, "Bookman's Manual," *HJAS* 14 (1951), 248 n. 8; Jen An 靭庵, *Chung-kuo ku-tai i-hsüeh chia* 中國古代醫學家 (Chinese Ancient physicians; Hong Kong, The Shanghai Book Co., 1963), 36-42; Lionel Giles, *A Gallery of Chinese Immortals*, (London, 1948) 97-101; and Sanaka Sō 佐中壯, "Ko Hung no shōgai to sono fūkaku 葛洪の生涯とその風格 ("On the life and personality of Ko Hung), *Tōhōgaku Ronshū* 東方學論集 2 (1954), 85-103.

[6]) *T'ai-hsüan ching* is in the *SPTK* and other collections.

[7]) Ch'ing-ch'en 清塵 is found in the *Han-shu* and explained by Yen Shih-ku as "honorable dust", implying respect (言清者尊貴之意也). *Han-shu* 57B. 8b.

Moreover, what after all is the use of the *T'ai-hsüan* now? This book is good only for covering a pickle jar.

Hsi P'i 席毗 of Ch'i, [1]) a pure and capable man with an official position as *Hsing-t'ai shang-shu,* [2]) or field governor-general, despised literature. He ridiculed Liu T'i (525-573) [3]) saying, "The ornate expressions of you folk may be compared with beautiful flowers, enjoyable for a short while; they are not like large plants; whereas we are like the cypress a thousand fathoms high which will never wither even facing frequent wind and frost." Liu replied, "Why not have both winter trees and spring flowers?" Hsi laughed, "That may be all right."

Writing an essay is analogous to a man riding a horse. Even though the horse has excessive strength, its speed should be controlled by a bridle; you should not let it run out of its course and fall into ditches. In an essay the ideas should be the heart; the rhythm the skeleton; facts, the skin; and flowery expressions, the hat. Nowadays the tendency is to stress the superstructure, neglecting the foundation. Most writings are full of fancy and verbose terms which seem to be competing with the ideas; these fancy expressions overshadow their ideas. Facts contend with ability, and complicated facts diminish their handling ability. A prolific writer rambles on endlessly and forgets to return; a boring person patches illfitted idioms together but is unable to express himself adequately. Such a fashion cannot be objected to by you alone, but you must follow a middle course, not going to extremes. For you to possess great ability and enjoy a huge reputation so as to be able to change the style—that is really my expectation.

Essays of the ancients, so far as talents, fluency, substance and style are concerned, are far superior to those of modern people; but their organization is loose, not strict. Modern essays, with regard to harmonious rhyming, parallel sentences and careful watching of taboo words, are much better than those of the ancients. You should take the ancient style for a basis and modern rhythm for the superstructure; the two should be equally stressed without neglecting either.

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[1]) Hsi P'i 席毗 has no biography in the dynastic histories.

[2]) For *Hsing-t'ai shang-shu* See p. 50, n. 4.

[3]) Liu T'i 劉逖 (T. Tzu-ch'ang 子長) was a great bookworm. He would read a book even at a social banquet. That is probably why he was badly teased. *Pei Ch'i-shu* 45. 15-16.

For generations the essays of our family have been very refined and orthodox, not imbued with the vulgar style. When Liang Hsiao-yüan was the heir apparent, he compiled the *Hsi-fu hsin-wen chi* (A collection of new essays of Hsi-fu), [1]) in which not a single piece [from our family] was included. The omission was caused by the fact that our essays are different from the current style and we do not have the disorderly sounds of Cheng and Wei. [2]) Once we had a twenty-roll manuscript consisting of poetry, *fu*-poetry, inscriptions, epitaph eulogies, correspondence and official dispatches. At that time we brothers were in the mourning period; we did not compile it very well before it was completely destroyed by fire, and hence it could not be handed down to later generations. My deep sorrow and regret penetrate the inner core of my heart. [My father's] career and actions are in the biographies of men of letters in the *Liang-shih* [3]) and the *Huai-chiu chih* or *Recollections of Old Friends* by Emperor Liang Hsiao-yüan. [4])

Marquis Shen Yin-hou [Shen Yo] [5]) said, "An essay should aim at the three kinds of ease: first: events easy to occur; secondly, words easy to recognize, and thirdly, style easy to read." Hsing Tzu-ts'ai [6]) once said, "Sir Shen's use of idioms in his essays is so natural that it does not appear as such but as his own creation. For this reason I really admire him." Once Tsu Hsiao-cheng [7])

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[1]) *Hsi-fu hsin-wen chi* 西府新文記 by Hsiao Shu 蕭淑 is listed in the bibliographical section of *Sui-shu* 4.22b, *Chiu T'ang-shu* 2.29b; and *Hsin T'ang-shu* 4.22. Hsi-fu was so named because of its location west of Chien-k'ang, Nanking. Hsi-fu is in modern Ho-hsien 和縣, Anhwei.

[2]) The sounds of Cheng and Wei were "those of an age of disorder, showing that those states were near such an abandoned condition." *Li-chi, Yüeh-chi*; *Sacred Books of the East* XXVIII. 94.

[3]) Yen Hsieh's biography is in *Liang-shu* 50. 26-27.

[4]) Liang Yüan-ti's *Huai-chiu-chih* was still in existence in the T'ang dynasty, for it was listed in the bibliographical section of the *Sui-shu* and *Chiu T'ang-shu*. A reconstructed edition is in *Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu*.

[5]) Shen Yo 沈約 (441-513 T. Hsiu-wen 休文, posthumous Marquis Yin 隱候), a historian, a scholar, and the first classifier of the four tones, was a great scholar-official of the Liang dynasty. Although in boyhood he was poverty-stricken, he was very studious and toward his old age he managed to build a personal library of some twenty-thousand volumes. *Sung-shu* 100. 1-28; *Liang-shu* 13.4b-16b and *Nan-shih* 57, 1-13.

[6]) That is Hsing Shao, see p. 64, n. 4.

[7]) That is Tsu T'ing, see p. 30, n. 2; and p. 33, n. 1.

told me, "Shen's poem reads, 'Slanting rocks hold stalactites'. [1] Does this sound like a story incorporated into it?"

Both Hsing Tzu-ts'ai and Wei Shou [2] enjoyed great reputations and served as models and teachers for their contemporary students. Hsing admired Shen Yo but looked down on Jen Fang (460-508). [3] Wei, on the contrary, loved and admired Jen Fang but slandered Shen Yo. Whenever Shen's name was referred to in social gatherings or banquets, Wei was critical and angry. People in Yeh say "Each has his party members." Tsu Hsiao-cheng once told me, "The right or wrong of Jen Fang and Shen Yo reflects the strong and weak points of Hsing and Wei." [4]

In the collection of the writings of Wu Chün (469-520) [5] there is a narrative epic entitled *P'o-ching fu* which runs, "In ancient times, there was a town called Chao-ko, where Yen Yüan would not live, and a village named Sheng-mu, which Tseng Ts'an would not enter." They probably hated the implications of names which might harm their actual conditions. [6] The P'o-ching was a fierce, unfilial beast, which is mentioned in the *Han-shu*. [7] In writing essays it is well to avoid such names.

[1] Hsi K'ang and Wang Lieh 王烈 went to a mountain where they obtained a stalactite like a cake. They were said to have eaten it up. *Chin-shu* 49, 12 and R.H. van Gulik, *Hsi K'ang*, 15.

For a discussion on stalactites and their use in Chinese alchemy, see Berthold Laufer, "The Diamond, a study in Chinese and Hellenistic folklore," The Field Museum of Natural History, Publication 184, Anthropological series XV, no. 1 (Chicago, 1915), p. 21.

[2] For Wei Shou, see p. 65, n. 3, and Wei's historiography by Chou Yi-liang in *YCHP* 18.

[3] Jen Fang 任昉 (T. Yen-sheng 彥昇, posthumous name, Ching-tzu 敬子) was a famous fast writer and high official of the Ch'i and Liang dynasties. Shen Yo had to acknowledge his superiority of style. Many state documents of Liang were written by Jen. He was fond of friends and books, accumulating so many volumes that his family members had to eat wheat. *Liang-shu* 14.5b-12b; *Nan-shih* 59. 5b-13b.

[4] These words are in Wei Shou's biography in *Pei-shih*, 56.13.

[5] Wu Chün 吳均 (T. Shu-hsiang 叔庠), was a stylist. *Liang-shu* 49. 13b-14b.

[6] The narrative epic *P'o-ching fu* 破鏡賦 is not in the modern edition of Wu Chün's anthology. Similar lines are quoted in Tsou Yang's 鄒陽 biography, *Han-shu* 51, but are slightly different, indicating varied sources. *Chao-ko* 朝歌 was the place used as a capital by the notorious last emperor of the Shang dynasty, which is probably the reason why Yen Yüan 顏淵 would not live there. *Sheng-mu* 勝母 was also a place name with the meaning of overwhelming one's mother. That is probably the reason that the filial sage, Tseng Ts'an, would not enter it.

[7] Chiao-ssu chih 郊祀志 (*Han-shu, chüan* 25, 21b) records that the

In recent times, I have frequently seen those who cap a poem with the same rhyming words and acknowledge *ching-t'ung*, or "respectfully echoed." The *Hsiao-ching* says, "Tzu-yü shih-fu i-shih chün, erh ching t'ung," "as they serve their fathers, so they serve their rulers, and they respect them similarly." [1]) Therefore, these two characters, *ching-t'ung*, should not be used carelessly. [2]) In the Liang dynasty, Fei Ch'ang's poem [3]) reads, "pu chih shih *yeh* fei 不知是耶非," "I know not whether this is right or wrong." Yin Yün's 殷澐 [4]) poem reads, "Yao-yang yün-*mu* chou 飄颺雲母舟," "toss about in a mica boat." Emperor Chien-wen criticized these lines saying, "Ch'ang does not know who is his father, and again Yün tosses his mother." [5]) Although these are all past events, they should not be used.

Some authors of this time quote from the *Book of Odes* "striking the drums with a rolling sound" [6]), and in the *Sung-shu* there is already the reproach for [the use of the term] *lü yu*, "repeated travels." [7]) You should avoid such expressions.

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in sacrifices to the Yellow Emperor an owl and a *p'o-ching* (lit. "break mirror") were used. The commentator says, "An owl eats its mother, while the *p'o-ch'ing* beast eats its father." Therefore the ancient emperor Huang Ti ordered his officials and subjects to kill them for sacrifice.

[1]) *Sacred Books of the East* III, 470.

[2]) *Ching-t'ung* 敬同 being an expression used for parent or emperor, therefore could not be used for a friend.

[3]) Fei Ch'ang 費旭, a native of Chiang-hsia 江夏 [Wuchang] was a gifted man, a musician and essayist. *Nan-shih* 72.20.

[4]) A commentator suggests that Yin Yün 殷澐 may be a mistake for Yin Yün 殷芸 (T. Kuan-su 灌蔬, 471-529) who has a biography in *Liang-shu* 41. 15-16; and *Nan-shih* 60.23.

[5]) *Yeh* 耶 used in an interrogative sentence has the same pronunciation as *Yeh* 爺 meaning father. Then, the meaning of the sentence becomes, "I do not know whether he is my father or not." *Mu* 母 means mother. For this reason the use is ridiculed.

[6]) "Fa-ku yüan-yüan 伐鼓淵淵 or "Deep rolled the sound of drums" is in the *Book of Odes*, Hsiao-ya 小雅, Ts'ai-chi 采芑, Legge, *The Chinese Classics* IV. 287.

[7]) One commentator suggests that *Sung-shu* 宋書 is a mistake for Sung Yü 宋玉, the poet, because the Chin-lou-tzu (6.10) by emperor Yüan of the Liang contains the sentence 宋玉戲太宰屢遊之談, but, as all editions of *YSCH* write *Sung-shu* (which was compiled between 483 and 493), this does not warrant a change of the text. Another suggestion is that *Sung-shu* stands for *Sung-wang* 王 or *Sung chu* 主. — In view of the context there must have been an implication either in the meaning or in the sound of these two expressions which made their use inacceptable to filial sons, but the reason remains unclear to all commentators.

In serving the mother reverently (lit. facing the North), to chant of Wei-yang and its leave of the mother's nephew: [1]) in attending the aged carefully, to express the grief of seeing the elder brothers off at Huan-shan 桓山 [2])—such expressions are great mistakes. I point out these few examples to caution you against similar cases.

When people south of the Yangtze write essays they beg for others' comments or criticism. As soon as they know the defects, they immediately correct them. Ch'en Wang [3]) received such a criticism from Ting I. [4]) East of the Mountains, appreciation of criticism is not customary. When I first went to Yeh, I offended someone in this way. I regret it even now. You boys must not give opinions inadvertently.

In writing an essay for others, writing it with their own expressions is certainly proper. But if you have to describe sad and unfortunate events, you should avoid doing this. When Ts'ai Yung wrote a funeral eulogy for Hu Chin-ying's mother, he said, "How sorrowful that mother could not enjoy a long life, leaving me in mourning so early." [5]) Also he wrote a stone inscription for

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[1]) According to the *Shih hsiao hsü* 詩小序 "The Little Preface" which is reproduced and translated by James Legge in the *Chinese Classics* IV. Prolegomena. 37-81: "In the Wei-yang [渭陽] we have duke K'ang thinking of his mother. His mother was a daughter of duke Hëen [Hsien] of Tsin [Ch'in]. When duke Wan [Wen] was suffering from the evil brought on him by Le Ke [Li-chi 麗姬] ..... his aunt in Ts'in died. When Duke Muh then restored him to Tsin, duke K'ang was the heir-apparent, made presents to Wan, and escorted him to the north of the Wei. He thought now he could no longer see his mother, but the sight of his uncle seemed to bring her to his sight again" (p. 58). The poem reads in part: "I escorted my mother's nephew to the north of the Wei." (p. 203; also in Legge's translation).

[2]) Huan-shan 桓山 is a place where a bird raised four small birds. When the small ones could fly and were about to leave the nest, the mother bird wept. See *K'ung-tzu chia-yü. Yen Hui p'ien* 5.2 The author's idea is that when one's parents are still alive, one should not use such literary allusions, so as to avoid sad associations.

[3]) Ch'en Wang 陳王 is Ch'en Ssu-wang 陳思王 or Prince Ssu of Ch'en, i.e., Ts'ao Chih (T. Tzu-chien) whose original letter, "Ts'ao Tzu-chien yü Yang Te-tsu 曹子建與楊德祖書," part of which is quoted here, is in *Wen-hsüan*, ch. 42. 8-9b; see also p. 87, n. 8.

[4]) Ting I 丁廙, (T. Ching-li 敬禮, died ca. 220), a friend of Ts'ao Chih and a man of wide learning, was killed by Ts'ao P'ei 曹丕 (188-227) when he became emperor as a result of struggles with his brother Chih. *San kuo-chih, Wei-chih* 21.7.

[5]) This essay is in *Ts'ai chung-lang wen-chi* 蔡中郎文集 (*SPTK* edition) 4.11.

Hu Hao's father which reads, "Oh, my departed father, I-lang is buried . . ." [1]) and the eulogy of Yüan San-kung 袁三公 which reads, "How glorious are my ancestors who came from the Wei 嫣 (river)!" Wang Ts'an composed the poem, *Ssu-chin shih* 思親詩, "Thinking of my mother" for P'an Wen-tse 潘文則 saying, "She personally toiled to nourish me, the young child . . . so I would have expected that my mother, now deceased, would be able to enjoy long life." These are in the collections of (Ts'ai) Yung and (Wang) Ts'an's writings. These numerous examples of usage by earlier writers should be avoided by modern people. Ch'en Ssu-wang's [Ts'ao Chih] elegy to Emperor Wu-ti has one phrase "A deep contemplation of him in his eternal hibernation." [2]) P'an Yo's narrative epic of lamenting his dead (mother) says "So I am moved by the utensils which have been touched by the hands of the departed." [3]) This is to compare the father with worms [in hibernation] and mistakenly to regard the mother as the father. [4]) Yang Ping's stone tablet written by Ts'ai Yung says, "He dominates an important position (as firmly) as the foot of a mountain." [5]) P'an Ni presented a poem to Lü Ching-hsüan 盧景宣, which reads:" Nine in

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[1]) Hu Kuang 胡廣 (91-172) a high official of the later Han period has a biography in *Hou-Han shu* 74.8-14 in which there is no mention of his children and grandchildren. Fortunately Ts'ai Yung wrote several epitaphs for the Hu family members, some of which are still available in the collection of Ts'ai's writings. From these various essays, we know that Hu Kuang's daughter was Chin-ying 金盈, his son, Hu Ning 胡寧 (T. I-lang 議郎) and grandson Hu Hao 胡顥. *Ts'ai chung-lang wen-chi* 4.1-12 (SPTK ed.)

[2]) Ts'ao Chih's elegy, "Wu-ti lei 武帝誄", is in *I-wen lei-chü* 13. 1-2 (Chung-hua shu-chü facsimile edition, 1959) and also in *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* 9.1. Cf. Vincent Shih's translation, 217. Here Wu-ti means Wei Wu-ti or Ts'ao Ts'ao who never actually became emperor, but to whom his son gave the title posthumously.

[3]) For P'an Yo, see p. 77, n. 1 above. His *Tao-wang fu* 悼亡賦 is in *I-wen lei-chü* 34,2.

[4]) Worms have a period of hibernation; but this simile cannot be used in connection with a deceased emperor. P'an Yo's mistake lies in the misuse of the sentences in the *Book of Rites*, "When his father died, he could not (bear to) read his books—the touch of his hand seemed still to be on them. When his mother died, he could not (bear to) drink from the cups and bowls that she had used—the breath of her mouth seemed to be still on them." *Sacred Books of the East*, XXVIII, 24.

[5]) The literary allusion comes from the legendary Emperor Shun who was sent to the great plains at "The foot of a great mountain." ("Shun-tien" in the *Book of History*, *Chinese Classics* III, 32).

the fifth place means a flying dragon in the heavens." [1]) Sun Ch'u's (d. 293) elegy to chivalrous General Wang says: "Suddenly he ascended to Heaven." [2]) Lu Chi's elegy to his father says, "hundreds of thousands and millions of the subjects are peaceful and quiet; the General Regulator makes officials obedient and harmonious." [3]) Eulogizing his elder sister he said, "She is like a denizen of Heaven." [4]) Were such expressions used today, they would offend the court. [5]) Wang Ts'an presented a poem to Yang Te-tsu [6]) saying, "My lord gives you a farewell party at which there is joyful harmony." [7]) This should not be applied to a son of an ordinary person; how can it be used for an heir apparent?

Some writers hold that the style of the dirge originated from ancient funeral songs; others say it came from T'ien Heng's followers. [8]) In any case it is a lamentation of survivors expressing grief for the

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[1]) For P'an Ni see p. 28, n. 4. The dragon is the symbol for an emperor; it cannot be used to describe an ordinary person. Cf. the *I-ching* or *Book of Changes* translated by Richard Wilhelm, p. 8.

[2]) For Sun Ch'u (T. Tzu-ching), see p. 88, n. 10. The epitaph, which Sun wrote, is no longer extant. The expression "ascending to heaven" is usually applied to an emperor.

[3]) These phrases were applied to emperors as the classics say, "With reference to the son of Heaven we speak of the millions of the people; with reference to the prince of a State, of the myriads." Duke Min, 1st year, the *Chinese Classics* V.125. King "Shou has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men" the *Book of History*, *Chinese Classics* III. 209. When King Shun was appointed the General Regulator (*Pai-k'uei* 百揆), "the affairs of each department were arranged in their proper seasons." The "Canon of Shun," *ibid*, III.31.

[4]) The poem, Ta-ming 大明 says, "Ta-pang yu-tzu, ch'ien-t'ien chih mei 大邦有子,倪天之妹, which is translated by Legge as "In a large State was the lady, like a fair denizen of Heaven." *Chinese Classics* IV. 434.

[5]) All these terms are limited to the praise of an emperor; ordinary people cannot be so described.

[6]) Yang Hsiu (T. Te-tsu, 173-217; see p. 88, n. 1) son of General Yang Piao 楊彪 was a brilliant, well-informed scholar who served under Ts'ao Ts'ao but was finally executed by his superior. See Piao's biography in *Hou-Han shu* 84. 24-25; and *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh chia ta tz'u-tien*, 75.

[7]) The phrase *Ch'i-lo hsieh-hsieh* 其樂洩洩 is quoted from the *Tso chuan*, the first year of Yin-kung. It refers to the fact that Prince Cheng Chuang was formerly not on good terms with his mother, but later on he became reconciled to her, so that the harmony was very joyful. Because of this background, the literary allusion cannot be used in the situation the author mentions in the text. *Chinese Classics*, V. 2 and 6.

[8]) T'ien Heng 田橫, third and second century B.C. proclaimed himself ruler of Ch'i, but the conqueror Liu Pang summoned him to the Han court.

dead. Lu P'ing-yüan [i.e., Lu Chi] usually writes such poems as though the dead feel self-pity. There is no such style in poetry, nor is this in accordance with the essential purpose of elegies.

Admonitory maxims and elegant panegyrics written by a poet have separate origins; the contradictory ideas of good and bad should never be mixed in the same verse. Lu Chi's song of Ch'i describes the beauty of hills, rivers, products, customs and culture in the first part; but in the latter he suddenly shows his antipathy toward the hills and rivers. This careless contradiction spoils the style. Why does he not mention Tzu-kuang and Fu Ch'ai in his poem "Wu-ch'ü hang" and Nan-wang and Ling-ti in the poem "Ching-Lo hang" [1])

From ancient times, there have been many scholars who, with great talent and wide learning, (still) misused literary allusions. Since the miscellaneous tales of the many schools of philosophy are occasionally different, and their works have usually been lost or unavailable, I dare not criticize them inadvertently. Now I will simply select as examples a few mistakes of which I am certain to serve as warnings.

The *Book of Odes* says, "There is the note of the female pheasant," and again it says, "it is the pheasant calling for her mate." [2]) Mao's commentary also indicates *yao* 鴞 to be the sound of a female pheasant and he adds, "The pheasant crows in the morning seeking his mate." [3]) Cheng Hsüan's commentary on the "Yüeh-ling 月令" says, "*Kou* 雊 is the sound of a male pheasant." [4]) P'an Yo's

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On the way he committed suicide. Liu Pang allowed him to be buried with the ceremonies due to a prince. His followers expressed their grief in a dirge, after which they also committed suicide at T'ien's grave. *Shih-chi* 94. 1-5; *Han-shu* 33.2-6. and Ts'ui Pao 崔豹 *Ku-chin chu* 古今注. As for *yü pin* 虞殯 or funeral songs, see the 11th year of Duke Ai, *The Chinese Classics* V. 825.

[1]) Wu is the author's native place. In the poem, *Wu-ch'ü hang* 吳趨行, (*Lu Shih-heng wen-chi* 陸士衡文集 6.5) he mentions less important persons, and praises the place very highly. But he neglects mentioning Fu Ch'ai 夫差 (died B.C. 473), the king of the ancient state of Wu who caused its ruin. In the *Ching-lo hang* 京洛行, which is no longer extant in modern editions of Lu Chi's collection of writings, he should similarly speak of the last notorious emperors Nan-wang 赧王 of the Chou dynasty and Ling-ti 靈帝 of the Han dynasty in order to warn future rulers. Tzu-kuang is unidentifiable; for Fu Ch'ai see *Shih-chi* 41. 1-14. cf. Chavannes, *Mh*, IV 418-448.

[2]) The two quotations of the *Shih-ching* are in *The Chinese Classics* IV. 53.

[3]) *ibid.* p. 338.

[4]) Legge translates, "The (cock) pheasant crows" *Sacred Books of the East* XXVII, 306.

descriptive epic says, "The *yao* pheasant is crowing to call for his *kou* pheasant." That confuses the male pheasant with the female.

The *Book of Odes* says, *K'ung huai hsiung-ti* 孔懷兄弟, "It is brothers who think of each other deeply." *K'ung* means very; *huai*, thinking. That is "deep recollection." [1]) In Lu Chi's letter to Mrs. Ku of Changsha, reporting the death of Shih-huang 士璜, a younger cousin, his paternal grandfather's grandson, he says, "I am as broken-hearted and senseless as *k'ung huai.*" [2]) He has already been broken-hearted, and that means in deep recollection, why does he say "as *k'ung huai*"? Examining this idea, he must have misunderstood *k'ung huai* as brothers born of the same mother. The *Book of Odes* says *Fu-mu k'ung-erh* 父母孔邇, "Your parents are very near to you." Would it be reasonable to use the phrase *k'ung-erh* for parents?

The *I-wu chih* says, "The *yung-chien* [a certain kind of crab] looks like a crab, but the carapace is larger and flatter." [3]) Ho Hsün's [4]) poem uses the description, "The jumping fish is like a *yung-chien.*" Obviously he fails to distinguish the fish from the crab.

The *Han-shu* states that in the courtyard of the Imperial Secretary, there were rows of cypress on which thousands of wild birds usually nested. They went out in the morning, coming back at night. Hence they were called "morning and night birds." Unfortunately men of letters usually mistook these birds for crows. [5])

Pao-p'u tzu mentions the fact that Hsiang Man-tu 項曼都 pretended that he had obtained the secret of becoming an immortal (*hsien* 仙), and he himself said, "An immortal gave me a cup of volatile liquid to drink; since then I have felt neither hungry nor

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[1]) Cf. Legge's translation in the *Chinese Classics* IV. 251.

[2]) This letter is not in *Lu Shih-heng wen-chi*, the *SPTK* ed.

[3]) *I-wu chih* 異物志, (Accounts of strange objects) by Yang Fu 楊孚 of the later Han period has a reconstructed edition in *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*. But there is no entry concerning *yung-chien* 擁劍. In the *Ku-chin chu* 古今注, *yung-chien* is explained as "a crab living on sea coast and eating mud. The kind which has large nippers and is flat and large is called *yung-chien.*" (II.5). *Yung-chien* literally means "to hold swords"; it is also used in Tso Ssu's "Wu-tu fu" in *Wen-hsüan*, 5. 3 or von Zach, 57. Cf. Morahashi Tetsuji, *Dai kan-wa jiten*, V. 402.

[4]) Ho Hsün 何遜 (T. Chung-yen 仲言, died in 520's) was a writer as famous as Liu Hsiao-cho (see p. 43, n. 3). His biography is in *Liang-shu* 49. 8-9; and another one in *Nan-shih* 33, 26-27.

[5]) This is in the biography of Chu Po 朱博, *Han-shu* 83. 11-19b.

thirsty." [1]) Chien-wen's poem misinterpreted the story saying that "Vapour flows into Pao-p'u's bowl." That is like Kuo Hsiang, [2]) who took the paradoxes of Hui Shih for the words of Chuang Chou. [3])

In the *Hou-Han shu*, Ts'ui Lieh, [4]) a minister of justice, was imprisoned with tinkling *lang-tang* 鋃鐺 chains (on his feet) [5]), which means a great chain. Usually people miswrite it in the sense of a silver or gold fetter. Wu Lieh, [6]) an heir apparent, also a scholar who had read thousands of volumes, once composed a poem, "The silver fetter locks (one of) the three high ministers' feet; the knife strikes the lord chamberlain's head." He was misled by a vulgar mistake.

Place names used in an essay must be accurate. In the Liang Emperor Chien-wen's poem to the Prefect of Yen-men [7]) is written "The goose army [8]) attacked Jih-chu,[9]) the cavalry of Yen [10]) destroyed K'ang-chü [Trans-Oxiana],[11]) Ta-yüan [Ferghana] presented good horses, and Hsiao-yüeh-[chih] 小月 [12]) sent surrender

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[1]) *Pao-p'u tzu* 抱朴子, nei-p'ien 內篇, chap. 20. 4b.

[2]) For Kuo Hsiang, see p. 69, n. 1.

[3]) Hui Shih 惠施 was a contemporary of Chuang Tzu and a lover of sophisms. His doctrines are paradoxical and his definition of terms is ambiguous. He argues that "a chicken has three legs, a dog may be considered as a goat." His doctrine is in *Chuang Tzu*, chapter *T'ien-hsia*, in which some of Hui Shih's words were said have been mistaken by Kuo Hsiang as Chuang Tzu's words.

[4]) For Ts'ui Lieh 崔烈 see the biography of Ts'ui Yin 崔駰 in *Hou Hanshu* 82. 20b-21.

[5]) For the *lang-tang so* 鋃鐺瑣 (chain or lock) see Dubs, III. 410.

[6]) Wu Lieh 武烈 was Hsiao Fang-teng, p. 44 n. 1.

[7]) "Yen-men T'ai-shou hang 鴈門太守行 "or a poem to the prefect of Yen-men [Tai-hsien 代縣, Shansi] is not in the collection of Chien Wen-ti's essays in *Ch'üan shang-ku san-tai Ch'in Han, San-kuo Liu-ch'ao wen.*

[8]) A name for an army drawn up in battle array; see *Tso-chuan*, Chao-kung 11th year, *The Chinese Classics* V. 686, 689.

[9]) Jih-chu 日逐, was the title of the assistant king of the Hsiung-nu in the Han dynasty. *Han-shu* 94 A. 27-28.

[10]) Yen 燕, name of a state, was mainly in modern Hopei.

[11]) K'ang-chü 康居 was an old state in Trans-Oxiana in the Han dynasty. Roughly it is the modern Kirghiz of Soviet Russia. Cf. Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian* II. 265, and Yanai Watari 箭內亙 and Wada Sei 和田清, *Tōyō dokushi chizu* 東洋讀史地圖 (Far Eastern historical atlas) 7, 33.

[12]) Ta-yüan 大宛 was in Ferghana in Russian Turkestan. It is now divided between Uzbek S.S.R. and Kirghiz S.S.R. Yüeh-chih 月氏 (Indo-Scythia) was south of Sogdiana and north of Kashmir. After the Yüeh-chih migrated

messages." Hsiao Tzu-hui's (poem) [1] *Lung-t'ou shui* reads, "When it is cold, the Lung river flows rapidly, spreading here and there in varicus directions, northward to Huang-lung and eastward to Pai-ma." [2] That is also like a flaw in a bright pearl, or a blemish on beautiful jade. You should be careful.

Wang Chi's [3] poem describing the entrance into the Jo-yeh 若耶 stream reads, "The chirp of the cicada makes the grove more silent; the singing of birds makes the hills more quiet." People south of the Yangtze regard it as especially superb in all literature; no one has a different opinion about it. (Emperor) Chien-wen frequently recited it; he could not forget it. (Emperor) Hsiao-yüan chanted and enjoyed it, and considered its quality no longer obtainable. In his work *Huai-chiu chih* (*Recollections of Old Friends*) he quoted the sentence in Chi's biography. But Lu Hsün-tsu [4] of Fan-yang, [5] and a gifted man in the city of Yeh, criticized it saying, "This is not a logical sentence. How is it elegant?" Wei Shou also agreed with this criticism. The *Book of Odes* says, "As if at their ease the horses neighed, long and slow moved the lines of pennons and banners." Mao's commentary annotated, "This is describing the army as not noisy but in good order." [6] I often

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west of the Pamirs, about 165 B.C., the remaining residents were called Hsiao Yüeh-chih or the Lesser Yüeh-chih in Nan-shan or Southern Mountain in modern Kansu and Chinghai. *Shih-chi*, Ta-yüan chuan, 123. 1-4, cf. Watson, 264-69, and G. F. Hudson, *Europe and China*, 42, 60 ff. The trouble with this poem is that the armies of Yen and Sung had no contact or connection with K'ang-chü, Ta-yüan and Yüeh-chih, and so the literary allusions are used in the wrong place.

[1]) Hsiao Tzu-hui 蕭子暉 (T. Ching-kuang 景光, d. in 520's) younger brother of Hsiao Tzu-yün 蕭子雲 (p. 48, n. 6), was a scholar and writer. *Liang-shu*, 35. 7b-10.

[2]) The Lung 隴 river rises in Kansu and Shensi in West China; while Huang-lung 黃龍 [in Shensi] is in the west, Pai-ma 白馬 [in Szechwan] is in the southwest. A river cannot flow at such widely separated distances in opposite directions. This example shows the inaccurate use of literary allusions of place names.

[3]) Wang Chi 王籍 (T. Wen-hai 文海, lived about 500) was a famous poet. He could write essays when he was seven years old. *Liang-shu* 50. 13; and *Nan-shih* 21. 12b-13.

[4]) Lu Hsün-tsu 盧詢祖, great grandson of Lu Kuan 盧觀, was a writer of considerable reputation. See Kuan's biography in *Wei-shu* 85. 11b-12, and *Pei-shih* 30. 19b.

[5]) Fan-yang 范陽 is in Cho hsien 涿縣, Hopei.

[6]) Part II, Ode VI. *The Chinese Classics* IV, 290.

praise this thoughtful interpretation. (Wang) Chi's poem was derived from this idea.

Hsiao Ch'io [1]) of Lan-ling, son of the marquis Shang-huang 上黃, of the Liang royal family, was versed in poetry. Once he wrote a poem describing the autumn, saying, "The lotus flower falls down with dewdrops, the willow twigs look thin through the moonlit night." People of that time could not appreciate it. I like the graceful and imaginative expression which recreates the scene before people's eyes. Both Hsün Chung-chü [2]) of Ying-ch'uan and Chu-ko Han [3]) of Lang-yeh have the same thought, while people like Lu Ssu-tao [4]) and others were rather displeased with it.

Ho Hsün's [5]) poems were really clear, witty and full of vivid descriptions. The critics of Yang-tu [6]), however, hated the frequent complaints about his laborious life and his overabundant allusions to poverty, and so judged his poem not so natural as Liu Hsiao-ch'o's. [7]) Nevertheless Liu was very jealous of him. Once when Liu read Ho's poem, "Chü's cart rumbles at the northern palace," he remarked (ironically) that "it was so perverse that it must have been an other unprincipled driver." [8]) He also compiled

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[1]) Hsiao Ch'io 蕭慤 (T. Tsu-jen 祖仁, lived in the later half of the 6th century), a native of Lan-ling, modern I-hsien 嶧縣, Shantung, and son of Marquis Hsiao Yeh 嶧, was a skilful poet. His famous poetic expressions have been quoted here and elsewhere. *P'ei-Ch'i shu* 45.27.

[2]) Hsün Chung-chü 荀仲舉 (T. Shih-kao 士高, 6th century, a native of Ying-ch'uan 潁川 [Ying-hsien 潁縣, Anhui]) was a scholar-official. *P'ei-Ch'i shu* 45.27.

[3]) Chu-ko Ying 諸葛潁 (T. Han 漢) was a writer of the 6th century. *Sui-shu*. 76.6, and *Pei-shih* 83.33.

[4]) Lu Ssu-tao 盧思道 (T. Tzu-hsing 子行, ca. 531-ca. 582) was a writer as famous as Wei Shou and Tsu T'ing (q.q. v.). Eight of his elegies for a deceased emperor were selected for an anthology, while only one of the elegies composed by Wei and Tsu for the same occasion received such honor. *Sui-shu* 57. 1-7b, and *Pei-shih* 30. 3b-7b.

[5]) For Ho Hsün, see p. 103, n. 5.

[6]) 揚都; the author's designation of Chien-yeh 建業, modern Chiang-ning 江寧 in Kiangsu.

[7]) For Liu Hsiao-ch'o, see p. 43, n 3.

[8]) Chü is Ch'ü Po-yü 蘧伯玉 (died B.C. 500), a disciple of Confucius. He was said to be so polite that when his cart came near the court, it was kept noiseless. But now Ch'ü's cart is described as rumbling toward the court; it must be driven by a muddleheaded man who is wicked or impolite. How can it be Ch'ü Po-yü's carriage? The story is told in *Lieh-nü chuan* 列女傳, Jen-chih chuan 仁智傳 3.4 (SPPY edition).

the *Shih-yüan* (*An Anthology of Poetry*), [1]) in which only two of Ho's poems were selected. The contemporaries criticized the collection as being far from complete. Liu Hsiao-ch'o, already very famous at that time, yielded no ground to anybody but he admired Hsieh T'iao, [2]) whose poems he always placed at his side table, murmuring them whether he was walking or sitting. Emperor Chien-wen loved T'ao Yüan-ming's [3]) essays also in such a way. A proverb south of the Yangtze says, "In the Liang dynasty, there are three Ho; among them Tzu-lang [4]) is the best." The three Ho are (Ho) Hsün, Ssu-ch'eng and Tzu-lang. Tzu-lang's work was really very clear and witty. Ssu-ch'eng, while making a trip to Lu-shan [5]), frequently produced essays which are also superb.

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[1]) *Shih-yüan* 詩苑 is listed neither in the bibliographical sections of dynastic histories nor in the *Ssu-ku ch'üan-shu tsung-mu chi wei-shou shu-mu yin-te* 四庫全書總目及未收書目引得.

[2]) For Hsieh T'iao see p. 78, n. 7.

[3]) T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛 (T. Yüan-ming 淵明, H. Wu-liu hsien-sheng 五柳先生 and Ching-chieh 靖節; A.D. 365-427) was one of China's most famous elegiac poets. See *Chin-shu* 94.35b-37; *Nan-shih* 75. 2-5b; A. Bernhardi, "Tau Jüan-ming," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* (Berlin) XV (1912), 60-68; William Acker, *T'ao the Hermit*; and Yang Yung 楊勇, T'ao Yüan-ming nien-p'u hui-ting 陶淵明年譜彙訂, *Hsin-ya hsüeh-pao* 新亞學報 VII, 1 (Feb. 1965), 213-304.

[4]) Ho Ssu-ch'eng 何思澄 (T. Yüan-ching 元靜) who lived between ca. 481 and 534, was a well-known writer and a compiler of the encyclopedia *Hua-lin pien-lüeh* 華林遍略. His son Ho Tzu-lang 子朗 (T. Shih-ming 世明), who lived about the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th centuries and who died at the age of 24, was even more brilliant as a writer than his father. *Liang-shu* 50. 13b-14b; and *Nan-shih* 72. 19-20.

[5]) Lu-shan 廬山, a famous summer resort, is in Kiukiang, Kiangsi.

CHAPTER TEN

REPUTATION AND REALITY

Reputation and reality are like an object and its reflection. With perfect virtue and great ability one's reputation will of necessity be excellent, just as with a charming appearance one's reflection must be beautiful. Now, those who do not cultivate character and yet seek for a good reputation in society are like a very ugly person who wants a lovely reflection in a mirror. A first-class scholar forgets reputation; a mediocre scholar works for a reputation; while the lowest sort of scholar steals a reputation. He who forgets reputation acts in accord with truth and virtue; he will enjoy the protection of the spirits—this is not the way to seek a reputation. He who works for reputation cultivates himself and is careful in conduct; he fears that his honor and glory will not be manifest—that is not the way to waive a reputation. [1]) He who steals a reputation is brazen-faced and deeply treacherous; he strives for superficial and empty titles—that is not the way to gain a reputation.

A man's footstep covers only a few inches. Yet in walking a very short distance one may fall over a precipice, and in passing over a very narrow bridge [2]) one may drop off into a valley stream. Why is this? Because there is no extra space on either side of the foot. The self-establishment of an ideal man is also like this. His truest words people may not believe, and his purest actions people may suspect. These are due to the lack of sufficient foundation for his words, actions, and reputation. Whenever people have defamed me, I frequently have made it (a reason) for blaming myself. If one can open a path for carriages to proceed side by side or widen the bridge of boats to replace navigation, then he will be

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[1]) In *Lao Tzu*, 26, there is a phrase "Sui-yu jung-kuan 雖有榮觀" which is translated by J. J. L. Duyvendak as "though he may have a camp and watch-towers (around him)," (*Tao Te Ching*, p. 67), by Wing-tsit Chan "Even at the sight of magnificent scenes "(*The Way of Lao Tzu*, p. 146), and by Lin Yutang as "In the midst of honour and glory" (*The Wisdom of Lao Tse*, 149). Lin's translation is adopted because it fits in the text.

[2]) Literally it is a bridge which "may be grasped with both hands." Cf. Legge's translation of the same phrase in "The Works of Mencius," *Chinese Classics* II. 415.

like Chung Yu, [1]) whose words are believed more firmly than an oath made on the altar, [2]) or like Chao Hsi to whom a city surrendered; [3]) as he was wiser than a wall breaching general.

I have noticed cases in which after a man gets a pure reputation he receives much gold and jewelry; after a man gains a good credit, he becomes careless in his promises. He is not aware (of the fact) that his later halberds destroy his earlier shields. [4]) Fu Tzu-chien [5]) said, "If sincerity is shown in one thing, it may be manifest in others." [6]) Whether a man is pretentious or real, true or false in his heart will be revealed in his actions unless your observation is not keen enough to see it. If a man's fault is once detected, then

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[1]) Chung Yu 仲由 (T. Tzu-lu 子路) was a disciple of Confucius. Cf. The *Confucian Analects*, I. 151. But here Yen made a mistake. It was not Tzu-lu but Yo-cheng Tzu-ch'un; see note 2 below.

[2]) In *Han Fei-tzu*, chapter 13, Shuo-lin B (說林下) "Ch'i attacked Lu and demanded the tripod from Ch'an 讒 [where the Great Yü made his nine tripods]. Lu sent a forged one. "It is a forged one," said the Ch'i people. "It is a genuine one," argued the Lu. "Then let us bring Yo-cheng Tzu-ch'un 樂正子春 here to look at it" suggested the Ch'i, "we will listen to his judgement." Thereupon the Ruler of Lu asked Yo-cheng Tzu-ch'un (to decide). "Why did you not send them the real one?" asked Yo-cheng Tzu-ch'un. The Ruler replied, "Because I love it." Then he concluded, "I also love my own reputation." Cf. W. K. Liao's translation, *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu* (London, 1939), 1.255.

[3]) According to Chao Hsi's 趙熹 biography in the *Hou-Han shu* 56, 15-18, Chao was famous for his faithfulness and righteousness. In A.D. 23-24 the big Li family of Wu-yin 舞陰 held a city to which the emperor sent a great general to force it to surrender. The Li family refused and said they would yield to Chao Hsi because Chao was a man of good faith. As soon as Chao was sent there, they did surrender the city.

[4]) This famous story is probably based on *Han Fei-tzu*, chap. 40, "Nan-shih p'ien 難勢" in which there was a man selling halberds and shields. He praised his shields as being so solid that nothing could penetrate them. He also praised his halberds, saying, "My halberds are so sharp that they can penetrate anything!" In response to his words people asked: "How about using your halberds to pierce through your shields?" W.K. Liao's translation, II. 203-204.

[5]) Fu Tzu-chien 虙 (宓 or 密) 子賤 whose name was Fu Pu-ch'i 虙不齊, born in B.C. 513, was a disciple of Confucius. He was governor of Shan-fu 單父 in Lu but left the administration in the hands of five virtuous inhabitants while he played his lute in the city hall. When people asked him about his technique in public administration, he said that he placed his trust in men. *Shih-chi* 67. 14b-15 and Gile's *Chinese Biographical Dictionary* 238-39. In the *Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu*, there is a *Fu-tzu*, 1 *chüan* by Fu Pu-ch'i.

[6]) This sentence is taken from *K'ung-tzu chia-yü*, chap. 37. Ch'ü-chieh 屈節, 8.20 (*SPTK* ed.).

"skilful deception is not as good as unskilful sincerity." [1]) The shame thus generated is great indeed. Pai Shih declined an offer to become a minister; [2]) Wang Mang refused to accede to the administration. [3]) At that time they must have considered themselves very crafty and vigilant, and yet the facts were recorded (by historiographers) and handed down from generation to generation. This is enough to make one's bones freeze and one's hair stand on end. Recently there was a great noble who was famous for filial piety. He kept two periods of mourning and felt deep sorrow beyond the ritual requirements. That was quite sufficient to make him superior to other persons. Nevertheless, when he was in mourning, he rubbed his face with castor beans in order to make sores and to give the appearance of over-weeping. Young slaves and servants near at hand could not keep it secret, so that outsiders seriously suspected the sincerity of all of his activities and food during the time of mourning. A single hypocritical action, due to the unlimited coveting of reputation, spoiled hundreds of honest deeds.

A man of a learned family who had read no more than two or three hundred *chüan* was extremely dull by nature but his family had been rich for generations. He was proud and assertive. He often managed to associate with famous persons by offering them wine, feasts, and precious curios. Those who were fond of the bait he offered praised him, one after another. As a result the court regarded him as a man of great talent and sent him as a representative out of the state. Han Chin-ming, [4]) Prince of Tung-lai, [5]) and a devotee of literature, suspected that most of his writings were not of his own ingenuity. [6]) So Han prepared a dinner party in which he suggested

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[1]) *Han Fei-tzu*, chap 22, Shuo-lin. Cf. W. K. Liao's translation, I. 238.

[2]) Pai Shih's 伯石 name appears in the *Tso-chuan*, Hsiang, 30th year. Pai was offered a ministership by another officer; he refused. When the officer went away, he requested the appointment; when the post was offered again, he refused again. This procedure was followed two or three times. Finally he accepted the post, and he was despised by the famous statesman Tzu Ch'an 子產. Cf *The Chinese Classics* V. 558.

[3]) See Wang's biography translated by Clyde Bailey Sargent, pp. 129-132, and by Homer Dubs, III. 130-131.

[4]) Han Chin-ming 韓晉明, son of Han Kuei 韓軌, was fond of study but also fond of wine. According to his biography he liked to invite guests to big banquets, each of which cost "ten thousand cash." *Pei Ch'i-shu* 15. 7b-8b.

[5]) Tung-lai 東萊 was a *chün* or commandery in modern Shantung.

[6]) In the original text it is "a weaver's shuttle," which may be rendered workmanship, or ingenuity. In other words, the spendthrift's essays and poems were suspected to have been done by ghostwriters.

discussions and trial writings. Many men of letters were invited to join the party, and all day long they were very happy and harmonious in writing all kinds of verse. Pens were ordered for composing poems; this fellow finished his hastily without pondering, but it was entirely different from the assigned rhyme. At that time all the guests were murmuring over their own poems; no one discovered the trick. Han retired and said with a sigh, "It is exactly what I suspected." Han also asked, "What shape is the head called *K'uei-shou* on the top of the (ceremonial) jade tablet?" The man answered, "The head of the tablet is curved and round like the leaf of a sunflower." [1]) Han, a learned man, stifled his laughter while telling me the story.

Polishing essays of sons or younger brothers in order to make them famous would do them great harm. First, it cannot be constantly kept up, as eventually the trick will be disclosed; secondly, the student who has someone to rely upon will not work hard.

A youth of Yeh was commissioned to serve as a magistrate of Hsiang-kuo. [2]) He was conscientious and assiduous in caring for public affairs and frequently giving alms in order to build up a good reputation. Whenever people were drafted into military service, he would send them off by holding their hands, giving them fruits and cakes, and saying, "I cannot bear to see you off; it is my superior's order to trouble you, I cannot help it. On your way,

[1]) This is a tricky question, because *k'uei* or k'uei-hua 葵花 means sunflower; but k'uei-shou 葵首 here means a knob as depicted in the *Li-chi* and *Chou-li*. In chapter Yü-tsao 玉藻 of *Li-chi* (9.3 *SPPY* ed.) there is a sentence, "The Son of Heaven carried in his girdle the thing [thin ?] tablet, showing how exact and correct he should be in his relations with all under heaven" (The *Sacred Books of the East* XXVIII. 6). The commentary says, this is a *hu* 笏 or a tablet nearly three feet long made of jade or ivory to be held before the breast at an audience with the emperor. *Chung-k'uei-shou* 終葵首 means a head like a knob or mallet to be put on "shu-shang 杼上" or the shuttle's end. This suggests the idea of strong-headedness which will not bend before power or unrighteousness. The *Chou-li*, "K'ao-kung-chi 周禮考工記 (12.2, *SPTK* ed.) has a similar explanation which runs, "The great *k'uei* or jade is three-feet long; on (the top like a) shuttle's end is a head called *Chung-k'uei-shou*." Chung-k'uei is like a mallet "en forme de marteau" indicating that it does not bend before any force. This tablet is sometimes called a scepter. (Cf. *Le Tcheou-li*, translated by Edouard Biot II. 522). Apparently these classical references were the correct answer expected by Han Chin-ming. Unhappily the pretended scholar mistook the *k'uei-shou* for a sunflower. That is why Han could not keep himself from laughing when he told Yen this story.

[2]) Hsiang-kuo 襄國 was in modern Hsing-t'ai 邢台, Hopei.

you may be hungry and thirsty, and hence I present you with this little gift to show my concern." People praised him endlessly, and it was impossible to shut their mouths. Soon he was promoted to lieutenant governor *p'ieh-chia* [1]) of Ssu-chou 泗州 [in Kiangsu] where such expenditures increased daily, so he could not always keep up. Once he had performed some hypocritical action, he could not continually support it all the way, and his official career was eventually ruined.

Someone asked, "In general if the spirit is vanished, the body dead, the remaining reputation and its value like the exuviae of a cicada, the slough of a snake, the foot-marks of birds and animals, what does this (reputation) have to do with the dead person, and why does the sage use reputation to teach people?" The answer is that it is for exhortation: through exhorting people to establish a reputation the reality may be achieved. If you exhort with a Po I, [2]) then hundreds of thousands of people may establish a pure spirit; if you exhort with a Chi Cha, [3]) then hundreds of thousands of people may establish a kind spirit; if you exhort with a Liu-hsia Hui, [4]) then hundreds of thousands of people may establish an honest spirit; if you exhort with a Shih Yü, [5]) then hundreds

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[1]) P'ieh-chia 別駕, literally travel in a separate cart, was a lieutenant governor. See *T'ung-tien*. 185; cf. Des Rotours, 705.

[2]) For Po I, see p. 92, n. 1.

[3]) Chi Cha 季札, about 6th century B.C., was the favorite son of his father, who wished to bequeath the throne to him. He declined to usurp the rights of his elder brother, however, and he also performed other kind actions. *Shih-chi* 31. 4-5.

[4]) Liu-hsia Hui 柳下惠, whose name was Chan Huo 展獲 (T. Ch'in 禽) was a governor of the district of Liu-hsia and was canonized as Hui, and hence is commonly known as Liu-hsia Hui. (Herbert Giles, *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*. 8) He "was not ashamed to serve an impure prince," said Mencius, "nor did he think it low to be an inferior officer. When advanced to employment, he did not conceal his virtue, but made it a point to carry out his principles. When neglected and left without office, he did not murmur." The *Work of Mencius* in the *Chinese Classics* II. 206.

[5]) Shih Yü, according to *Chung-kuo jen-ming ta tz'u-tien* 中國人名大辭典, I-ming p'iao 異名表 (Chinese biographical dictionary, list of various names p. 7), is Shih Ch'iu 史鰌 of the Ch'un-ch'iu period. A historiographer of the state of Wei, he openly and fearlessly urged the prince not to employ a certain person. His advice was refused, and when he was seriously ill, he left word to his son that his body should be exposed in front of the house. The prince was surprised at this when he went to console the bereaved family. The son told of his father's wish that not until his remonstrance was accepted should he be buried. The prince apologized and acquiesced. When Con-

of thousands of people may establish a straight-forward spirit. Therefore the sages wished people (to follow famous leaders to establish a good reputation) like mounting dragon scales, cleaving to phoenix wings, producing a galaxy of brilliant people, and continued endlessly in the world; would this not be grand!

Throughout the world, all people admire reputation. It is the best way to lead them to be good according to their nature. Moreover, the good reputation and splendid fame of a grandfather or father are also a crown, clothing, and shelter to his son and grandson. From ancient to modern times, there have been numerous people who obtained protection (from their forbears). Thus, the cultivation of the good and the establishment of reputation are like building a house or planting on orchard from which, in his lifetime, the founder obtains interest and, upon his death, hands down the benefit. The overly keen people of this world cannot understand this idea—as if they were to rise up [to heaven] together with their soul, ever luxuriant like the pine and the cypress, but that is a mistake!

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fucius heard the story, he remarked, "Truly straightforward was the historiographer Yü." Thus even after his death he should still remonstrate by his corpse. *The Confucian Analects*, Bk. XV., ch. x; *The Chinese Classics* I. 296.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

MEETING PRACTICAL AFFAIRS

A scholar of worth living in this world should exalt his ability to be of benefit to others. (His life) is not meant to be merely high-sounding words and frivolous discussions with a guitar in the left (hand) and a book in the right, wasting both the salary and the position given by the ruler.

There are in general not more than six ways for talent to be used in a state: first, as court officials, drawing upon a thorough understanding of polity, policy making, wide learning, and refined manners; second, as officials concerned with literature and history, drawing upon an ability to compile and phrase legal documents and statutes, and not to forget old precedents; third, as military officials, drawing upon decision-making power, strategic resources, a strong body and actual experience; fourth, as frontier officials, drawing upon a clear understanding of popular customs, honesty, and love of people; fifth, in the diplomatic service, drawing upon a grasp of the situation, and adoption of suitable policies that bring no disgrace to the emperor's orders; and sixth, as officials in charge of construction, drawing upon a capacity to accomplish a piece of work in due time with good economy, calculation, planning and method. Each of these can be achieved by those who are diligent in study and careful in conduct. As human nature has its strength and weakness, a man cannot be expected to be capable in all six ways; but if one has general ideas about them all, and can carry through in one of them ably, he will have no regret.

In the world I have seen men of letters who can comment on ancient and modern writings as easily as pointing to their palms; yet when employed on probation, most of them are incompetent. Living in a time of peace, they do not know the disasters of a time of chaos; lodged in court palaces, they do not know the worries of a battlefield; maintaining a source of regular emolument, they do not know the toil of farming; commanding subordinates and giving orders to the people, they do not know the hard work of corvée. Hence it is difficult for them to meet the needs of the times and to handle practical affairs. When the Chin dynasty moved to the South, the learned gentry there were well-treated. Hence, south

of the Yangtze gentlemen of ability were appointed to positions lower than president and vice-president [of the department of state], but higher than a secretary of the department or that of the imperial secretariat, to take charge of important affairs. [1]) The other literati were to a great extent absurd, pompous, and ignorant of worldly affairs. They were excused from whipping for making minor mistakes. So they were placed in high honorary positions in order to conceal their shortcomings. As for junior secretaries (*ling-shih*) of the department of state affairs (*t'ai-ko*), clerks (*chu-shu*), supervisors (*chien-shuai*), labellers (*ch'ien*) and inspectors (*sheng*) of the various princes, [2]) if they were versed in official procedure, they were used to carry on the practical affairs and do

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[1]) The text here is *ling-p'u* 令僕 which means *Shang-shu ling* 尙書令, President of the department of State Affairs, and *Shang-shu p'u-yeh* 尙書僕射, Vice-president of the same office. The title *Shang-shu*, which literally means in charge of state documents, began in the Ch'in state (*I-shih chi-shih* 壹是紀始 7.5b, Peking. 1891 ed.). In the Han dynasty, Shang-shu ling was the central office of public administration, even though its salary and rank were still low. In the Later Han period the salary was doubled. From the Chin dynasty on, Shang-shu ling was tantamount to a chief councillor, but the T'ang dynasty discontinued this post because it was once occupied by Emperor T'ang T'ai-tsung (Yü Shen-hsing 于慎行, *Tu-shih man-lu* 讀史漫録, 9b). Shang-shu ling was above other Shang-shu, the number of which was five in the Chin period (Yüan Mei, *Sui-yüan sui-pi* 7.3b). Shang-shu lang 郎 duties were mainly drafting official documents and keeping night services once every five days. This official must have passed the civil service examination and have served as a probational secretary, *Shang-shu lang-chung* 中, for a year before becoming Shang-shu lang. (*Chin-shu*, chih-kuan-chih, 24. 8-11). As for *Chung-shu she-jen*, or secretary of the grand secretariat, see p. 17, n. 1. Cf. Des Rotours, 21 and 180.

[2]) T'ai-ko 臺閣 was the same as Shang-shu 尙書, department of state affairs. (*Hou-Han shu* 39.32, and Wang Ming-sheng, *Shih-ch'i-shih shang-chüeh* 37. 1b-3). Ling-shih 令史, literally "beautiful scribes" may be translated as junior secretary (*T'ung-tien* 134). Chu-shu 主書, in charge of copying, or clerk, was the common name of a minor functionary during the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties (*T'ung-tien* 127, Des Rotours, 31). Chien-shuai 監帥, which seems too low to be explained in books such as *T'ung-tien* and ordinary dictionaries, may be rendered as director or commander. Ch'ien 籤 was a labeller or filing clerk (Cf. Des Rotours, 637, 717). Sheng or Sheng-shih 省事 seems to be an inspector of government policy or law to the public in the country side. It may be translated as inspector of government affairs. Yen Keng-wang 嚴耕望, "Wei Chin Nan-ch'ao ti-fang cheng-fu shu-tso k'ao 魏晉南朝地方政府屬佐考" ("Junior staffs of local governments of the Wei Chin and Southern Dynasties"), *CYYY* 20 (1948), 445-454.

what was needed. Even though they were of inferior status and could be punished and driven, such people were usually appointed to do the actual work, in order to take advantage of their strong points. People, who hardly ever think for themselves, always complain about Emperor Liang Wu-ti's and his son's loving the inferior fellows and keeping scholar-officials at a distance. That is like the eyes which cannot see the eyebrows.

The Liang scholar-officials usually wore loose garments, along with a wide girdle, a grand hat, and high clogs. When they went out they used carriages or sedan chairs; coming back they had the help of servants. In the suburbs and environs of the city nobody was ever seen on horseback. Chou Hung-cheng [1]) was loved by Prince Hsüan-ch'eng, [2]) who granted him a small horse, [3]) which he often rode. The whole court considered him unrestrained. If a high state minister (*Shang-shu lang*) rode on horseback, he would be impeached. When the rebellion of Hou Ching [4]) occurred, people were so flabby and soft that they were unable to walk, and their bodies so lean and breath so short that they could not endure cold and heat. It often happened that such people died suddenly. Wang Fu 王復, a magistrate of Chien-k'ang, who was born weak and gentle, had never mounted a horse. Whenever he saw a horse neighing and galloping, he trembled with fear. He said to somebody, "Really, it is a tiger; why is it called a horse?" Customs had reached such a level!

The men of old wished to know the hardships of farming, for they regarded grain as the necessary source of life. Food is people's heaven; without food people cannot live. Without a single grain of food for three days, father and son cannot exist. To plough, to plant, to reap, to accumulate, to thresh and to grind—these are the required procedures before grain can be stored in a granary. How can farming be neglected and unimportant professions honored? Court officials south of the Yangtze, taking advantage of the restoration of the Chin dynasty, moved to the south of the

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[1]) For Chou Hung-cheng see p. 63, n. 6.

[2]) Hsüan-ch'eng wang 宣城王 or Hsiao Ta-ch'i 蕭大器 (T. Jen-tsung 仁宗; 523-551), son of Liang Chien-wen ti, was made prince of Hsüan-ch'eng in 531, but he was killed by Hou Ching in 551. His biography is in *Liang-shu* 8.7b-8b.

[3]) In the text the horse is called *kuo-hsia ma* 果下馬, a small three-foot high pony able to run "under the trees." *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 30.19.

[4]) For the rebellion of Hou Ching, see p. 49, n. 3.

River, [1]) where they have lived continuously for eight or nine generations as immigrants. Not one of them worked hard at farming, but lived on a salary. Since all that they had was done by young slaves, they had never seen the removing of a furrow of soil, nor pulled a blade of grass; they did not know the month in which to sow or reap. How then could they know other fundamentals of world affairs? Therefore, as officials, they could achieve nothing; at home they could manage nothing. All these are faults of idleness and leisure.

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[1]) The beginning of the Eastern Chin was in 317 when the capital was moved from Loyang to Chien-k'ang in modern Nanking.

CHAPTER TWELVE

TO SAVE TROUBLE

An inscription on a bronze statue reads, "Let not words be many, for with many words there are many failures. Let not affairs be many; with many affairs there are many troubles." [1] How extremely (good) is this warning! Those able to run are deprived of wings; those good at flying lack hoofs; those which are horned have no tusks; those with strong back legs have weak ones in front. It is not the way of Heaven to give animals strength of all sorts. The ancients said, "Effort in many directions with skill in few is not so good as concentration on one thing. A flying squirrel has five abilities, no one of which forms a special skill." [2] In the present generation there are two persons who are brilliant scholars with a natural interest in taking up many things yet unable to win reputation in any. Of classics they do not have enough to stand questioning; of history, not enough for discussions; their essays are not good enough to be transmitted in anthologies; their handwriting is not worth keeping for appreciation. In divination they hit only three cases out of six; in medicine, of ten patients only five are cured; in music, they rank below several scores of persons; in archery, among hundreds or thousands, their rank is medium. As to astronomy, painting, chess, and the *Hsien-pei* language; extracting walnut oil, refining tin into silver, and all this class of skills, they understand simply the general idea, not mastering a single one. [3] What a pity (for such brilliance)! If they could

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[1] This quotation is taken from *K'ung-tzu chia-yü*, "Kuan-Chou p'ien 觀周篇" 3.3 (*SPTK* ed.). This chapter is not translated by R. P. Kramers.

[2] A flying squirrel can neither fly over a house, nor climb to the top of a tree, nor swim across a gorge, nor dig a hole to cover its own body, nor run faster than a man. *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu chu* 說文解字注, under *wu* 鼯, 10.26 (*SPPY* ed.).

[3] Hang Shih-chün 杭世駿 (1696-1773) suggests that these two persons were Tsu T'ing (p. 30, n. 2) and Hsü Chih-ts'ai (p. 70, n. 3) because they were able to do many things including refining of walnut oil as described in their biographies. *Chu-shih jan-i* 諸史然疑, 16b (*Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu*). Hang's suggestion seems not reliable, because after all Tsu and Hsü, according to their biographies, were not so useless as Yen describes them.

have discarded strange interests, they would have become well-versed and excellent (in one thing).

The submitting of memorials (to the throne) to discuss affairs began at the time of the Warring States (403-221 B.C.). Through the two Han periods this custom was very widespread. Based on their styles and manners, [we may say that] those who criticize the strengths and weaknesses of a ruler are like censors; those who divulge the success or failure of ministers belong to the category of those fond of making legal charges; those who analyse the advantage or disadvantage of state affairs are like (examination) candidates and those who try to support or undermine (someone) according to their individual interests are like the wandering politicians (of old). (In each) of these four categories sincerity is pretended in order to seek for a position, and ideas are sold to get an emolument. This effort is perhaps without the slightest value, or may even be met with the disgrace of being unheeded. If by luck the memorial inspires the ruler who accepts it for the time (of need), (the author) acquires a priceless reward at the beginning; but eventually unexpected execution might befall him. This happened to Yen Chu, Chu Mai-ch'en, Yü-ch'iu Shou-wang, Chu-fu Yen [1]) and many others! The good historian [of the *Han-shu*] simply chose a few cases of the ardent and cautious persons [2]) for his record in order to show the success or failure of politics. Princely law-abiding scholars would not submit memorials. Modern people with integrity and virtue would all feel

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[1]) Yen Chu 嚴助 was the first candidate in the civil service examination at the time of Han Wu-ti, who admired his examination paper on the discussion of some problems of national policy and appointed him to service near the emperor's person. Later on Chu Mai-ch'en 朱買臣, Yü-ch'iu Shou-wang 吾丘壽王, Chu-fu Yen 主父偃 and many others of great talent were all appointed to serve the emperor. When the rebellion of a prince occurred, Yen Chu was involved and executed. Chu Mai-ch'en was very poor in his early life, and during his middle age he presented a memorial to the throne. At that time his fellow countryman Yen Chu was assuming power, so he got into the court and worked together with Yen through the latter's influence. Finally Chu charged Chang T'ang 張湯 with secret affairs. Chang committed suicide and hence Chu was executed by the emperor. Yü-ch'iu Shou-wang presented a memorial to the throne voluntarily asking to fight against the Huns; Chu-fu Yen also did the same, asking to talk about law and regulations. They were all used by the emperor but finally executed for certain reasons. All these persons are described in the same chapter of *Han-shu*, 64 A. 1-20b.

[2]) Cf. The *Confucian Analects*, in *the Chinese Classics*, I. 272.

ashamed to do so. [1]) However there are those who wait at the gate to get into the court and present memorials to express their plans. The contents are mostly superficial; they speak high sounding words but lack a grand plan for the whole project. All that they say is trifling, like chaff. Not one proposal out of ten is worth adopting. Even though it suits the needs of the time, it has lost the value of foresight. They cannot say that [the emperor] does not know; the trouble is that he knows but does not act. Sometimes treachery and selfishness are disclosed and examined face to face in a complicated and lengthy procedure. The memorialist fears that he may incur some punishment. The emperor, who wishes to maintain his fame and influence in the outside, may excuse them. [2]) They are but lucky fellows, unworthy of your association.

Censors are used for rectifying the emperor's errors. If you are in a position where you have to speak, you ought to perform the duty of giving the emperor admonitions. You should not shun your duty, take your ease, cast down your head and close your ears. But you should "in every possible way wait on and nourish him," [3]) "in your thoughts, do not go out of your place." [4]) If your interference is outside your duty, then you are actually an offender. So, the *Piao-chi* chapter says, "In the service of a ruler, (a minister) whose place is remote from (the court) to remonstrate is an act of sycophancy; for one whose place is near the ruler not to remonstrate is to hold his office idly for the sake of gain." [5]) The *Lun-yü* says: "If one has not gained the confidence of the ruler and gives him remonstrance, he will think that one is vilifying him." [6])

A gentleman should observe morality, respect virtue, and accumulate wisdom to await a favorable time. If you do not rise to official position and emolument (by effort), this is truly Heaven's

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[1]) Literally scholars with beautiful pieces of jade and the fragrance of orchid and cassia in their bosoms would feel ashamed to do so. It may mean scholars with integrity (jade), loftiness and special ability. Cf. Duke Hsüan, 15th year, *Tso-chuan*, *Chinese Classics* V, 327.

[2]) "Yü-kung" 禹貢: "Sheng-chiao ch'i-yü ssu-hai 聲教訖于四海, his fame and influence filled up all within the four seas." Legge's translation, *The Chinese Classics* III. 150.

[3]) This sentence is taken from the *Li-chi*, Bk 2, Section 1, part 1, *Sacred Books of the East* XXVII. 121.

[4]) This sentence is quoted from *Lun-yü*, XIV, Ch. 28. *The Chinese Classics* I. 286.

[5]) *Sacred Books of the East*, XXVIII. 345.

[6]) *The Chinese Classics* I. 342.

decree. If you urgently crave and shamelessly compete with others without remorse; compare your ability and measure your contribution (to that of others) with serious mien and a loud voice, blaming this (man) in the east and hating that in the west; if sometimes you get a reward by picking on some petty fault of a chief minister; or attract public attention by making much noise in order to seek an appointment: to obtain a post by such methods and declare that you are dependent on your own ability, what difference is there in this from those who steal food to satisfy their hunger or rob clothes for warmth? In this world I have seen those struggling to get a post ask how they could obtain it without demanding it. They do not know that when good fortune comes, a post will be offered to you without being sought! I have noticed that those who are quiet, retiring and unemployed inquire "What achievement can be made without earnest effort." [1]) They do not know that when wind and cloud do not rise, it is useless to pray for it. Is there any exhaustive calculation of the number of those who without seeking have received appointments or of those who by seeking have received nothing?

At the end of the Ch'i dynasty many people gave money and presents to imperial maternal relatives for maneuvering interviews through the help of court ladies. Some of them were appointed governors or ministers, granted seals with glittering tassels, splendid carriages and horses; the honor almost extended through nine generations of their families, making them the most honorable of the time. Unfortunately they were disliked by other officials, and subsequently were closely watched. As they had obtained position through money, so they must be penalized by the same. Slightly stained with dirt (bribery), they could never maintain an honest reputation; they fell into a deep pit (prison) with scars unhealed. Even though they managed to escape death, they were bankrupt. Then repentance was too late (literally, they tried to bite their own navel, how could they reach it?) Traveling from the south to the north, I have never said a word to my contemporaries about their family histories. Being unable to become familiar with them, I have no grudge.

Wang Tzu-chin said, "An assistant cook can get a taste; an

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[1]) This is Legge's translation of the same phrase in *Chinese Classics* III. 211.

assistant fighter can get a wound." [1]) That is to say, take part in that which is good, avoid that which is bad, have no desire to join others in unrighteous actions, and have no share in anything harmful to others. But when a poor bird comes to one's bosom, a kind-hearted person will pity it. If a fugitive scholar comes to me, should I throw him aside? Wu Yüan's escape in a fishing boat, [2]) Chi Pu's being placed in a covered cart, [3]) K'ung Jung's harboring of Chang Chien [4]) and Sun Sung's concealing of Chao Ch'i [5]) are deeds honored by previous generations and practiced by me too. Should I be punished for doing such things, I would take it without regret. Nevertheless, cases such as Kuo Hsieh's taking revenge for others, [6]) or Kuan Fu's angry demand of land for his

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[1]) Wang Tzu-chin 王子晉 was an heir apparent of Chou Ling-wang 周靈王 or King Ling of Chou. The quotation is from the *Kuo-yü* 國語, "Chou-yü" hsia 周語下, 3.7b (*SPPY* ed.).

[2]) Wu Yüan 伍員 (T. Tzu-hsü 子胥) was the son of a royal tutor of the State of Ch'u. When the tutor was defamed by a high official and consequently imprisoned by the king, the vilifier also attempted to kill his son Wu Yüan. Fleeing to the Wu border, Yüan was almost caught by the soldiers in pursuit. Fortunately for him, a fisherman who knew the honorable history of the Wu family and the present difficulty ferried him over the river, and so he escaped. *Shih-chi* 66. 11-12.

[3]) Chi Pu 季布, a famous general in the State of Ch'u, fought bravely against the first emperor of the Han dynasty. When the state was conquered, a stringent search for him was made, but a kindhearted person protected him by putting him in a covered cart along with a few dozen slaves and transported him to a safe place. *Shih-chi*, 100, 1-4. Cf. Watson I. 299-303.

[4]) Chang Chien 張儉 was hated by a high minister who attempted to arrest him. Chang went to a friend's house; his friend was not at home but his fifteen-year old brother K'ung Jung (See p. 88, n. 5), a descendant of Confucius, invited him to stay. After Chang's escape the secret became known, and the two brothers were to be punished severely. They endeavored to die for each other; finally both were excused and their actions were praised by the court. *Hou-Han shu* 97.21-22.

[5]) Chao Ch'i 趙岐, a great scholar of the Han dynasty, hated eunuchs, by whom all his family save himself were killed. He fled by changing his name and pretending to be a cake hawker. Suddenly Sun Sung 孫嵩 looked closely at his face and believed that he was an unusual person, and then guessed his real name correctly. Sun offered Chao asylum in his own big family of a hundred members. *Hou-Han shu* 94. 16-20. See also p. 75, n. 1.

[6]) Kuo Hsieh 郭解 (died 127 B.C.) was a famous wandering knight of the Han dynasty. He was bloodthirsty and liked to take revenge or redress the wrongs of others. *Shih-chi* 124. 4-7, and *Han-shu* 92.4-7. Cf. Watson, II, 457-61.

friend [1]) were the deeds of wandering knights, not what a superior man would do. If there were disobedient and rebellious activities against the emperor or parents, then you should not spare your counteractions. When relatives and friends are in danger or poverty, you should not stint your help through your family property or through your own strength. But truculent interference in the plans of others and requests for interviews (with officials) without reason are not part of my teaching. Mo Ti [2]) and his disciples are usually regarded by the age as warmhearted; Yang Chu [3]) and his fellowers are usually considered cold-blooded. In truth the blood should not be too cold nor the heart too warm; this should be regulated by kindness and justice.

Formerly [while I was] a division chief of the Palace for Cultivation of Literature (Hsiu-wen tien) [4]) there were scholars from Eastern China (Shan-tung) who debated with astrologers from Kuan-chung [Shensi] on the almanac. With more than ten persons on each side, disorderly arguments went on for years. Then the palace secretaries (*Nei-shih*)[5]) transferred their discussions to the

[1]) Kuan Fu 灌夫, a governor under Han Wu-ti (140-187 B.C.), was so straight-forward and uncompromising that he would never flatter the powerful. He even dared insult the chief minister T'ien Fen 田蚡 before the public, for which he was impeached and executed. *Han-shu* 52. 5-12; cf. Watson, II, 116-28.

[2]) Mo Ti 墨翟 or Mo Tzu (470-391 B.C. ?), a great rival philosopher of Confucius, was an advocate of "universal love" and sympathizer of the oppressed kingdom or people. Although he opposed offensive warfare, he approved defensive warfare. He and his followers would not mind marching ten days and nights in order to fight for the underdog, nor did they care for any reward for their action. See Yi-pao Mei, *The Ethical and Political Works of Motse* (London, 1929), William Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan *et al. Sources of Chinese Tradition* (Columbia University Press, 1960) 36-49; and Burton Watson, tr. *Mo Tzu* (ibid, 1963), 1-17.

[3]) Yang Chu 揚朱, 4th century B.C., was a philosopher of egoism. Mencius described him by saying, "the principle of the philosopher Yang was —'Each one for himself.' Though he might have benefited the whole kingdom by plucking out a single hair, he would not have done it." *Mencius* Bk. VII. Ch. 29 or *The Chinese Classics*, II. 464. Cf. A. Forke, *Yang Chu's Garden of Pleasure*, 1-35; and chap. 13 "The Vanity of Reputation," and Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton University Press, 1963), 309-311.

[4]) That was in 572 when Yen Chih-t'ui was in the Hsiu-wen tien compiling the encyclopedia, *Hsiu-wen-tien yü-lan. Pei-Ch'i shu* 48, 18 and *Yen Chih-t'ui nien-p'u* 155-57.

[5]) *Nei-shih-sheng* 內史省, literally department of palace clerks, used in the Sui period, was formerly called *Chung-shu sheng* 中書省 or de-

councilors (*I-kuan*) [1]) for comments. I offered an opinion saying, "Scholars in general are divided into two schools (of astrological theories), the 'quarter-calendar system' [2]) and the 'smaller-decimal system'. [3]) The essential element is measurement by shadow on a sundial. In examining the equinox, solstice or eclipse the use of the quarter-calendar system is a coarser scale, while that of the smaller-decimal system is a finer scale. Those favoring the coarser scale say that, just as the governmental orders are sometimes magnanimous and sometimes severe, so the movement of the heavenly bodies is sometimes slow or rapid; there is no error in calculation. Those preferring the finer scale say that the sun and moon have slow and rapid motions; when measured by a definite technique, we may know their progress in advance, so there is neither disaster nor good fortune. If the coarser scale is adopted, evil deeds are concealed, and there is no sincerity; if the finer scale is adopted, everything depends on calculation, and the classics are discredited. Moreover the councilors' knowledge about astronomy cannot be better than that of the disputants. When using those with a superficial knowledge to judge the experts, how can

partment of the central secretariat. It had two ministers and four vice-ministers. *Sui-shu* 28. 1, 2b; and Des Rotours, II. 981.

[1]) I-kuan 議官 cannot be found in the *T'ung-tien* and the official sections in the *Sui-shu* and *T'ang-shu*. It was an officer in the I-ts'ao (see p. 27, n. 5, and thus it may be translated as councilor. There is a "I-kuan" term in E-tu Zen Sun's *Ch'ing Administrative Terms*, no. 114 which is translated as "conferring official."

[2]) *Ssu-fen li* 四分曆, the quarter-calendar system, which was used from 85 to 263 A.D., fixed a year at 365 and a quarter days. For a detailed calculation see Kao P'ing-tzu 高平子, "Ssu-fen li tung-p'u 四分曆統譜 in *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, Extra No. 4. Studies Presented to Tung Tso-pin on his sixty-fifth Birthday, Vol. 2, 693-742.

[3]) *Chien-fen-li* 減分曆, the smaller decimal calendar system, according to Tung Tso-pin 董作賓, is also called *Ch'ien-hsiang-li* 乾象曆. This calendar was made by Liu Hung 劉宏 during the Hsi-p'ing period (A.D. 172-177). Liu realized some of the inaccuracies of the quarter-calendar system in which a year consists of 365. 25000000 (365 and a quarter) days; so he reduced the number to 365. 24617996. That is why it is called the smaller decimal calendar system. The quarter system was used from A.D. 85-263; while the *Ch'ien-hsiang li* was used by the Kingdom of Wu, A.D. 223-280. For technical details, see Chu Wen-hsin 朱文鑫, *Li-fa t'ung-chih* 曆法通志 (A general account of calendar systems), pp. 14, 31, 38 (The Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1934). For a thorough study by a high authority in the Far East, see Yabuuchi Kiyoshi, "Astronomical Tables in China, from the Han to the T'ang Dynasties," *Chūgoku chūsei kagaku gijitsu shi no kenkyū*, pp. 445-492.

the latter be convinced? This is not the (councilor's) duty prescribed by regulations or orders; they need not face the problem."

All the members in the bureau, high or low, agreed with me, except one official in charge of rites who felt ashamed to make the concession. He tried bitterly to hold up the problem; he wished to force a re-examination. His knowledge was so poor that he could not make a (new) measurement, but he re-summoned the disputants to look again into their strong and weak points, discussing the points in a gathering day and night, toiling from winter to summer and from spring to winter. In the end he had no way to settle the question, but caused himself numerous grievances and much ridicule. [1]) Feeling abashed he withdrew, and finally he was defeated by the palace secretaries. This disgrace was caused by coveting fame.

[1]) The background of the almanac debate was that Chang Pin 張賓 and others made a new almanac based on Ho Ch'eng-t'ien's 何承天 methods and presented it in 584 to the emperor who authorized its circulation by a decree. Both Liu Hsiao-sun 劉孝孫, a young local government official with a biography in *Hsin T'ang-shu* 102.12b, and Liu Ch'o 劉焯 a *hsiu-ts'ai* of Chi-chou 冀州 (in Hopei), pointed out about 610 the almanac's six defects including the lack of good teachers of the compilers and inaccuracies of calculation of eclipses. At that time the almanac was just issued and its maker Chang was a favorite of the emperor and was supported by Liu Hui 劉暉 who was promoted to director of astronomical observation (T'ai-shih ling 太史令. cf. Des Rotours, 210). Chang Pin and Liu Hui united and attacked Liu Hsiao-sun accusing him of slandering the Celestial almanac with arbitrary distortions. Liu Ch'o, in return, offered additional evidence supporting his charges. The people were confused. Before long the almanac's critics were dismissed for one reason or another. After Chang Pin's death, Liu Hsiao-sun reopened the attacks which were met by Liu Hui who shelved all his writings without taking any action. Hsiao-sun was, however, re-employed to work in the observatory where he lived and observed for years without any promotion or change of status. With his books and disciples, they knelt down and cried bitterly before the palace court. Greatly surprised, Emperor Kao-tsu consulted Ho T'o 何妥, libationer of the National Academy; Ho T'o spoke well of Hsiao-sun's astronomical knowledge. As a result Hsiao-sun was immediately promoted to the rank of a grand governor-general (*ta tu-tu* 大都督, Des Rotours, 668) and was ordered to compare the strong and weak points of his ideas with Chang Pin's almanac. He was reinforced by Chang Chou-hsüan 張冑玄, a mathematician, who had served in the observatory for a long time without receiving any recognition of his ability. Then both he and Liu Hsiao-sun cavilled at the shortcomings of Chang Pin's almanac. The arguments, pro and con, arose like bees and for a long time no decision or agreement could be reached. The above story is in *Sui-shu* 17.6b-7b, 9-10, and 14. The time when the debate took place was around 590 and it lasted longer than Yen Chih-t'ui's life. Later on Yen's son, Min-ch'u, also participated in the almanac debate. See *Yen Chih-t'ui nien-p'u* 159-60 and *Sui-shu*, 17.15-20.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

BE CONTENT

The *Book of Rites* says, "Desires should not be indulged; the will should not be gratified to the full." [1]) We can reach the extremity of the universe; we cannot perceive the limits of human nature. The only course is to reduce desire and be content with a fixed limit. Your ancestor Ching-hou warned his offspring saying, "Your family was a home of scholars, and for generations it has never been rich or noble. Hereafter your official position should not be higher than (the annual salary of) two thousand piculs (of rice), [2]) and in your marriage you should not covet (a girl) from a powerful family." Through my life I have kept these words in mind as a famous saying.

The way of heaven and earth, or spirits and gods, is to hate oversatisfaction. Through modesty, humility, unassumingness and self-suffering one may escape harm. In human life, clothes should be merely enough to protect one from cold and exposure and food just adequate to compensate for hunger and weariness. For the body one should still not be too extravagant; outside of the body should one incline to extreme luxury and comfort? Chou Mu-wang (1001-945 B.C.), [3]) Ch'in Shih-huang (221-208 B.C.) and Han Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.), whose wealth possessed the "four seas" and whose honor was that of emperor, had no limit; nevertheless, they ruined themselves. Then what about the common people?

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[1]) Quoted from the beginning of the first chapter of the *Book of Rites*, *Sacred Books of the East* XXVII. 62.

[2]) The salary scale indicates that the Yen family members should not hold high government positions such as premier and minister but only middle-rank posts such as governors and magistrates. This is because the higher the position one may occupy, the greater responsibility and danger one may incur. A picul equals 133 pounds. Yang Lien-sheng, "Numbers and Units in Chinese Economic History," *Studies in Chinese Institutional History* 75-84.

[3]) Chou Mu-wang 周穆王, son of Chao-wang 昭王, came to the throne at the age of fifty. He took a hunting trip to the west and enjoyed it so much that he forgot to return to the capital. All political and judicial affairs were neglected and rebellions arose. He also engaged himself in military expeditions against the frontier barbarians without much success, only alienating his neighboring peoples. *Shih-chi* 4.17-20b.

I have always thought that in a family of twenty mouths the male and female slaves should not at most exceed twenty persons, with ten *ch'ing* [1]) of good land and a house just good enough to keep away wind and rain; a carriage and horse simply to take the place of a walking stick; and a reserve of some 10,000 coins for the expenses of lucky, unlucky, and urgent circumstances. If the family has more than these requirements, the rest should be distributed in charities; and if it has less than this standard, (the difference) should not be obtained unrighteously.

It is safe for an official to stand in a position of middle rank with fifty persons he can see in front and another fifty in the back, a sufficient number to protect him from insult and danger. In case a position is superior to this, you should courteously decline it, and retire to your private home. Not long ago I became Attending Secretary inside the Imperial Yellow Gate (*Huang-men shih-lang*), a post high enough for me to retire. At that time I was a refugee and feared to incur slander and hatred. Though I intended to carry out the plan, I had no chance. In this time of chaos I have seen many who utilized the opportunity to obtain wealth and position by luck. In the morning they took charge of important affairs, at night they were buried in graves; on the first day of a month they were as joyful as Cho and Ch'eng, [2]) on the fifteenth they wept like Yen and Yüan. [3]) This did not merely happen to five or ten. Be careful, be careful.

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[1]) Ch'ing, a land measure of a hundred *mou*. A *mou* equals approximately one sixth of an acre. *Yü-p'ien* 玉篇, *chüan* A, 30 b (*SPPY* ed.) and Herbert Giles, *Chinese English Dictionary*, 2195.

[2]) Cho-shih 卓氏 or Mr. Cho made a fortune by smelting iron and owning quicksilver mines. He grew so rich that his slaves numbered a hundred (according to *Shih-chi*) and eight hundred (according to *Han-shu*). The pleasure he indulged in among his land and lakes and on his bird and animal hunts was like that of an emperor. Ch'eng Cheng 程鄭, also smelted and cast and traded with a barbarian people. He rivaled Mr. Cho in riches. *Shih-chi* 129.16; *Han-shu* 91, 8b-9; cf. Watson, 495-96, and Nancy Swann, *Food and Money in Ancient China*, 411-12 and 453.

[3]) Yen is Yen Hui 顏回 (T. Tzu-yüan), who was the most brilliant and diligent disciple of Confucius but died at the age of 32. Confucius wept for him very bitterly (See also p. 27, n. 1). Yüan was Yüan Ssu 原思 or Yüan Hsien 原憲 (T. Tzu-ssu 子思), better known as Tzu-ssu. A native of the Sung state, he was thirty-six years younger than Confucius. "He was noted for his purity and modesty, and for his happiness in the principles of the master amid deep poverty." "Confucius' Immediate Disciples" in James Legge, *The Chinese Classics* I, 118-119.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

A WARNING AGAINST BECOMING WARRIORS

The ancestors of the Yen family originated in Tsou and Lu, though some branches removed to Ch'i. [1]) For generations they were elegant Confucian scholars and their names were mentioned in books and histories. Among the seventy-two direct disciples of Confucius, [2]) eight belonged to the Yen family. [3]) From the Ch'in, Han, Wei and Chin down to the Ch'i and Liang dynasties not a single man achieved success through a military career. In the Ch'un-ch'iu period, Yen Kao, Yen Ming, Yen Hsi, Yen Yü and others were simply combatants. [4]) In the state of Ch'i there was Yen Cho-chü; [5]) in Ch'ao, Yen Chü; [6]) at the end of the Han

[1]) Tsou 鄒 was in modern Tsou-p'ing 鄒平, Shantung, where Mencius was born. Lu 魯 and Ch'i 齊 states were both in the current Shantung peninsula; Ch'i was in the eastern part, Lu in the southern, near Ch'ü-fou 曲埠 where Confucius was born. The home of Yen's early ancestors in Lang-yeh, later called Ch'ing-chou, now I-tu, was located between the Ch'i and Lu states. In this area it was a center of civilization in ancient China. See introduction, p. XIV, n. 3 and Yanai Watari's *Historical Atlas of the Far East* 2-3 and *passim*, and Albert Herrmann, *Altas of China*, Harvard-Yenching Institute, (1935) 8 and 19.

[2]) The number of Confucius' disciples varies from 70, 72 to 77. See *Shih-chi* 67.1 and Liang Yü-sheng 梁玉繩. *Shih-chi chih-i* 史記志疑 (*Doubts on the Shih-chi*) 28. pp. 1135-36 (TSCC ed.).

[3]) The eight Yen members were Yen Hui (pp. 27, n. 1; 127, n. 3), Yen Wu-yu 顏無繇 (T. Lu 路) father of Hui, Yen Hsing 幸 (T. Tzu-Liu 子柳), Yen Kao 高 (T. Tzu-chiao 子驕), Yen Tsu 祖 (T. Hsiang 襄), Yen Chih-p'u 之僕 (T. Shu 叔), Yen K'uai 噲 (T. Tzu-sheng 子聲) and Yen Ho 何 (T. Yen 冉): all were natives of the Lu state. The biographhy of Confucius' disciples is in *Shih-chi* 67. 1-23.

[4]) The four combatants Yen Kao 高, Yen Ming 鳴, Yen Hsi 息 and Yen Yü 羽 are mentioned in the *Tso-chuan* or, the *Chinese Classics* V: Ting 8th year (pp. 766, 768); Chao, 26th year, (pp. 713, 716), and Ai, 11th year (pp. 822, 824).

[5]) Yen Cho-chü 涿聚 is described in the chapter, "Ten faults," of *Han Fei-tzu* saying Viscount T'ien Ch'eng 田成 "was travelling on the sea and amusing himself. What can be done in case ministers at home plot against the state? Though you are now amusing yourself, what will you have when back home?" (W. K. Liao's translation, 1.88). Yen was almost killed by the Viscount because of his frank admonition. His life was, however, saved by his sincerity and loyalty.

[6]) Yen Chü 聚, a general of the Ch'i State, is mentioned at least twice in the *Shih-chi* 43.38b, and 102.7.

there was Yen Liang; [1]) and in Sung, Yen Yen-chih [Yen Yen] [2]) all of whom were generals and thus perished. Yen Ssu, a secretary in the Han court, professed himself as fond of military arts, but nevertheless there are no more facts about him. [3]) Yen Chung was executed for joining Prince Ch'u's party; [4]) Yen Chün was killed while occupying Wu-wei. [5]) From the time we received our surname until now, these two persons alone were devoid of pure conduct and they both incurred disaster and ruin. In recent times of disorder and dispersion some noble scholars, though without strength or skill, have gathered a crowd of followers and discarded their original occupation to seek a chance for military glory. Since I am weak and I have respect for my ancestors, I made up my mind to avoid (such adventures). Oh! my sons and grandsons, pay attention.

Confucius had strength enough to lift a gate, yet his fame does not rest on his physical strength. [6]) This is evidence from a sage. I have seen modern scholar-officials, who have some physical vigor,

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[1]) Yen Liang 良, a general, was killed on a battle field by Ts'ao Ts'ao. *San kuo-chih, Wei-chih* 6.21b.

[2]) Yen Yen-chih 延之, according to his biography in the *Sung-shu* 73, was never a general. In *chüan* 47, Liu Ching-hsüan's 劉敬宣 biography, there is, however, a record of General Yen Yen 顏延 who was killed by Liu Lao-chih 劉牢之. Perhaps the character "chih" 之 is a typographical mistake in later editions of the *Yen-shih chia-hsün.*

[3]) Yen Ssu's 顏駟 meager information is in the *Han-wu ku-shih* 漢武故事 as quoted in *Hou-Han shu* 89.21. From this work we learn that Yen Ssu was a palace chamberlain who served the three Han emperors: Wen-ti, Ching-ti, and Wu-ti, but he never received much recognition for his service by his superiors. It was because, for example, while Wen-ti was fond of literature, Yen Ssu was fond of military arts. It is not in the *Han-wu ku-shih* in *Shuo-fu* 說郛, *Shuo-k'u* 說庫 and *Yüeh-ya-t'ang ts'ung-shu* collections.

[4]) According to *Hou-Han shu* (72.5-7b), Ch'u-wang Ying's 楚王英 biography, in A.D. 70 Prince Ch'u, Yen Chung 忠 and others were accused of being rebellious, and consequently the alleged party was wiped out.

[5]) Yen Chün 俊, formerly unidentifiable, is now proved by Liu P'an-sui to be the Yen Ch'üan 悛 who allied with others and started a rebellion in 219. Wu-wei 武威 is in the province of Kansu. Yen's biographical information is in *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih.* 15. 9-15, and *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* A. D. 219, pp. 2158-59.

[6]) The story about Confucius' physical strength is mentioned in the *Lieh Tzu* 列子, *Shuo-fu p'ien* 說符篇; but later scholars have discovered that most probably it is a strained interpretation or misunderstanding of his father's strength, who is described in the *Tso-chuan*, the tenth year of Prince Hsiang, *The Chinese Classics* V, 442, 446.

immediately rely upon it. Unable to wear armour or bear weapons to protect the state, they act mischievously, dress gallantly and brag about their physical exploits. On a large scale this leads to danger and death; on a small scale to disgrace and insult. No one can escape.

The rise and fall of a nation and the success and failure of an army should be discussed when wide learning has been attained. To enter into a general's tent [staff office] [1]) or to participate in court (meetings) and be unable to advise the ruler so as to plan for the benefit of society would be a cause of shame to a man of honor. Yet I have frequently seen scholars, who have read some military books but possess little experience in strategy, during peaceful times look upon the palace with disdain, rejoice in the misfortune and calamity of others and take the lead in revolt, cheating and injuring good people. In times of war they contrive and fan rebellions, repeatedly persuading and deceiving others by every means. They can not foretell who will survive and who will fall, but will impulsively give support to any leader. Such practices are the root of personal ruin and family destruction. Take warning, take warning.

Those who are trained in using the five weapons [2]) and have mastered horseback riding can properly be called warriors, but modern scholar-officials who, when they do not study, forthwith call themselves "warriors" are in reality simply like rice-sacks and wine-jars. [3])

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[1]) Cf. *Han-shu* "Kao-ti chi 高帝紀", "Yün-ch'ou wei-wu chih chung 運籌帷幄之中 which is translated by Dubs as "in involving plans in the tent." *History of Former Han* I. 106.

[2]) The five weapons were the lance, spear, a lance with two points, bow and arrow for infantry. *Chou-li chu-su* 周禮注疏, Hsia-kuan 夏官, ssu-ping 司兵 32.3 (*SPPY* ed.), cf. Biot. *Le Tcheou-li*, II,237.

[3]) The same expression, Chiu-weng fan-nang 酒甕飯囊 is used in *Chin-lou tzu* 4.14b.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE NOURISHMENT OF LIFE [1])

The tales of *shen-hsien* (spirits and immortals) may not all be fictitious. [2]) But life is determined by heaven; it can hardly be planted (by man). [3]) A man living in society has entanglements

[1]) The Chinese title is *Yang-sheng* 養生, which has been translated by Henri Maspero as "Nourrir la Vie" (see "Les procédés de 'Nourrir le Principe Vital' dans la religion taoïste ancienne", *Journal Asiatique*, 1937; and "Le Taoïsme" in *Mélanges Posthumes sur les Religions et l'Histoire de la Chine*, edited by P. Demiéville, Paris, Civilisations du Sud, 1950. Vol. 11, especially pp. 205n, 209-210). In English *Yang-sheng* is rendered by Fung Yu-lan, as "cultivation of life" (*Chuang Tzu*, Shanghai, 1933); by Arthur Waley as "nurturing life" (*Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*, first published in 1939, paperback ed. N.Y., 1956, p. 43 ff); by E. R. Hughes as the "nourishment of life" (*Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times*, Everyman's Library ed. 1942, p. 184 ff) and by H. G. Creel as "preserving life" (What is Taoism", *JAOS*, 76.3 (July-Sept. 1956, 139-152) p. 151). Of these examples, "nourishment of life" is the most popular translation. It is also used by Joseph Needham whose discussion on Taoism offers many interesting points: *Science and Civilization in China* (Cambridge, 1956) II. 33-164.

[2]) It is hard to find an exact translation for *shen-hsien* 神仙 or *hsien*, for which genii, spirits, immortals give some approximate idea; the last one is in common use. Since early days many Chinese have cherished the dream of a life on high mountains, deep jungles or misty seas without material needs but enjoying the beauty of nature and the pleasures of an earthly paradise. To become a *hsien* meant that one would achieve the prolongation of natural life with a youthful body which may be as light as a feather. "Certain groups attempted through meditation and secret elixirs to discover the way to spiritual or even physical immortality" (Chang Chung-yuan, "The concept of Tao in Chinese culture", *The Review of Religion* (May, 1953) especially pp. 130-131). As a result of Taoist propaganda about the existence of *hsien* and the efficacy of the elixir of life, a popular idea was so firmly built up in the minds of many people that it was difficult to deny it entirely. For a deeper discussion of Taoism see H. G. Creel "On two aspects in early Taoism", *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zimbun-kagaku Kenkyūjo*, Kyoto University (Kyoto, 1954) 43-53.

[3]) Here is a textual problem between *chung-chih* 鍾值 and *chung-chih* 種值. In Chou Fa-kao's text, the commentary favors the first two characters. But Wang Shu-min, who compares the text with several other versions, thinks that the second two characters are correct. (See Wang's *YSCH Chiao-chu* 斠注 in the *Symposium on Chinese Studies . . . Golden Jubilee of the University of Hong Kong*, p. 103). Since the two first characters are homophones which could be used interchangeably in ancient times, this translator takes the meaning from the second character.

everywhere. In boyhood he has to render service to his parents, in manhood is added the care of his wife and children. The necessary cost of clothing and food and the pressing duties, both public and private, are such that those who can hope to escape to the mountains and forests and find seclusion from the pomps and vanities of the world are not one in a thousand or ten thousand. In addition, the price of gold and jade and the necessary crucible and equipment are beyond the reach of a poor scholar. [1]) Those who have studied (alchemy) are as many as the hairs on a cow; those who have succeeded are as few as a unicorn's horn. At the foot of Hua mountain [2]) the whitened bones (of the dead) are piled up like jungles. Is there any possibility that (immortality) can be achieved? Examining the *Inner Doctrine* [3]) (we find that)

[1]) Apparently here the idea is taken from Ko Hung's *Pao-p'u tzu*, nei-p'ien, chap. 4, p. 1b where it is said that in ancient times a man in deep meditation was given sacred books dealing with the elixir of life and immortality by a heavenly being. The recipient practiced the manufacture of the drug on a sacred mountain, and thereafter he handed down the books and methods to posterity. After generations of transmission, Ko Hung finally received them. "But harassed by poverty, I lacked the means of compounding the elixir." Cf. Eugene Feifel's translation of *Pao-p'u tzu*, *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. IV, (1944) 4-5. Some illustrations of the instruments, methods and materials of manufacturing the drug of immortality are presented by Yoshida Mitsukuni 吉田光邦, "Chūsei no kagaku (Rentanjutsu) to senjutsu" 中世の化學 (煉丹術) と仙術," (Chemistry - the technique of refining cinnabar - and *hsien*-craft in medieval times) in Yabuuchi Kiyoshi藪內清 ed., *Chūgoku chūsei kagaku gijutsushi no kenkyū* 中國中世科學技術史の研究 (Studies of the history of science and technology in medieval China; Kadokawa shoten, Tokyo, 1963) 199-258; Yamada Keiji 山田慶兒, "Chūsei no shizenkan" (The view of nature in medieval times) Ibid., 55-110. More elaborate studies are "The Laboratory Equipment of the Early Medieval Chinese Alchemists" by Ho Ping-yü and J. Needham in *Ambix*, vol. 2 (June, 1959) 57-115; and "An early medieval Chinese alchemical text on Aqueous Solutions" by Ts'ao T'ien-ch'in and J. Needham, in *Ambix*, 3 (Oct., 1959) 122-158.

[2]) Hua-shan 華山 is one of the five sacred mountains in China, and is situated in the province of Shensi. The legends state that on the top of the mountain there were many *hsien-jen* (immortals) so that those who sought for the elixir of life went there. Hsü Chien, *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* I, 98-99. It was also said that when a Taoist climbed the Hua mountain, he would achieve longevity and would never die. *K'ung Ts'ung Tzu* 孔叢子 ch. 5. 1b. (*SPPY* ed.). The *K'ung Ts'ung Tzu*, supposedly written by the eighth generation descendant of Confucius, was actually forged by Wang Su 王肅 (195-256); see Chang Hsin-cheng 張心澂, *Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao* 僞書通考 (Shanghai, new ed.; 1954) pp. 622-628.

[3]) *Nei-chiao* 內教, according to to Professor Lao Kan, is Buddhism (see the notes in Chou Fa-kao's edition), and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, p. 3982.

even though a man should obtain immortality, he must eventually die and cannot escape the world. I do not want you to concentrate your energy on this search. [1]) But if you are fond of nourishing the spirit, taking care of your breathing, carefully regulating the time of rising and sleeping, making suitable adaptation to cold and warmth, abstaining from careless eating and drinking, and taking or preparing medicine according to physical need to avoid premature death, then I shall have no fault to find. [2])

Dosing oneself with medicine need not upset the conduct of business. Yü Chien-wu always took legumes of Sophora. When over seventy years of age, he could read small characters, and his beard and hair were still black. [3]) In the city of Yeh, there were courtiers who took only a combination of almonds, *Lycium*, *Thunbergia* and *Plantago major*. [4]) So many people have been helped

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[1]) Yen Chih-t'ui was certainly wise in giving this advice to his family members, because some of the elixirs contained substances such as mercury, lead and even arsenic, and many emperors and nobles who could afford the drug were poisoned to death. See "Elixir poisoning in medieval China" by Ho Ping-yü and Joseph Needham, *Janus*, XLVIII, 4 (1959) 221-251. For the historical background of Taoism, and the current mystery and folly of elixirs, one must read Wei Shou's (506-572) summary on Taoism, in *Wei-shu*, 114. 24b-32b, which has been translated in English by James R. Ware, including the *Sui-shu* on Taoism, published in *JAOS*, 53(1933) 215-250.

[2]) Maspero gave a detailed account of the respiratory techniques in "Les procédés de nourrir le principle vital", 197-232. Chang Chung-yuan, "An introduction to Taoist Yoga", *Review of Religion*, XX (Nov., 1955) 131-148 is a succinct illustrated article on meditative breathing and similar techniques adopted by Neo-Taoists, or Hsien Taoists as Professor H. G. Creel precisely calls them. The idea of this paragraph in the text may be traced to *Pao-p'u tzu*, chapter *Chi-yen* 極言 in which the methods of nourishing life are presented. They include "not walking too fast, not sitting or sleeping too long, not overeating and drinking nor waiting until one is extremely hungry and thirsty and then eating and drinking; not getting too tired or too lazy, not keeping too warm in the winter and too cold in the summer; restraining anger to preserve the *ying* spirit, controlling excitement to nourish the *yang* spirit. Then one may first take herbs to make up physical weakness, and later take the golden elixir to prolong life indefinitely" (13.5b). As to the effectiveness of the elixir, see p. 131, n. 2 and Needham's *Science and Civilization* II. 329-334, 434-441 *passim* and "section 33."

[3]) Yü Chien-wu 庾肩吾 (T. Tzu-shen 子慎), younger brother of Yü Yü-ling 庾於陵, was a member of one of the literary galaxies invited to the court by Hsiao Kang 蕭綱 before he became Liang Chien-wen-ti (550-551). During the Hou Ching rebellion he fled to Chiang-ling where soon he died. *Liang-shu* 49.5-7b.

[4]) Cf. B. E. Read, "Botanical, chemical and pharmacological reference list

(in this way) that I cannot mention them one by one. Once I had trouble with loose teeth which were about to come out. The eating or drinking of hot or cold were both painful. I learned *Pao-p'u tzu's* method of biting on them three hundred times each morning. [1]) Following this practice for a few days I was cured, and have kept it up until now. Such little methods do no harm to your work; you may learn them. For doses of medicine, T'ao Yin-chü's [2]) collection of prescriptions in his *T'ai-ch'ing-fang* 太清方 [3]) is very complete, but careful consideration is needed; it should not be followed lightly. Recently in the city of Yeh, Wang Ai-chou 王愛州 tried to take pine oil. He did not use the proper amount, and died from stoppage of the intestines. The people who kill themselves by (mistaken use of) drugs are many.

Those who nourish their life should first take precautions against calamity by keeping their whole body and nature intact. When there is a life, they can nourish it. When they have already become lifeless, nourishing it will be vain. Shan Pao took care of his inner self but (a tiger) took his life externally; Chang I took care of himself externally but disease destroyed him internally. [4]) These are warnings from earlier wise men. Hsi K'ang wrote a treatise

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to Chinese Materia Medica", *Contributions from the Peking Union Medical College* (Peking, 1924) Vol. III, p. 11.

[1]) *Pao-p'u tzu* 15.6b.

[2]) T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 (T. T'ung-ming 通明, H. Yin-chü 隱居, 452-536) was an alchemist who spent a good deal of time on the writings of Ko Hung. He tried to live without food and to discover the secret of immortality. *Liang-shu*, 51.12-13b; and *Nan-shih* 76. 10-14b. He is considered an outstanding physician by a current Chinese scholar, Jen An, *Chung-kuo ku-tai i-hsüeh-chia* 43-46.

[3]) The *T'ai-ch'ing ts'ao-mu chi-yao* 太清草木集要, by T'ao Hung-ching, is listed in the bibliographical section of the *Sui-shu* 3.29b.

[4]) "In Lu there was a Shan Pao 單豹, who lived among the rocks and drank only water. He would not share with the people in their toils and the benefits springing from them; and though he was now in his seventieth year, he had still the complexion of a child. Unfortunately, he encountered a hungry tiger, which killed and ate him. There was also a Chang I 張毅, who hung up a screen at his lofty door, and to whom all the people hurried (to pay their respects). In his fortieth year, he fell ill of a fever and died. (Of these two men) Pao nourished his inner man, and a tiger ate him from without; while I nourished the outer man, and disease attacked the inner man." *Chuang Tzu*, Book XIX, *Sacred Books* V. XL, 17. The same story appears in *Huai-nan tzu* 18. 18b-19 which adds that Shan Pao "wore neither silk nor linen nor did he eat the five grains." It is also briefly mentioned in *Pao-p'u tzu, wai-p'ien* Chap. 1. p. 5b. Cf. Wang Shu-min, *op. cit.*, 104-105.

on the nourishment of life but he was executed for his arrogant attitude toward others. [1]) Shih Ch'ung desired to secure the elixir of life but incurred disaster from indulgence in dissipation. [2]) These show how past generations went astray.

One should not be reckless with life nor overly careful of it. To become involved in a dangerous course, to interfere in disastrous affairs, to have inordinate desires that injure oneself, and to slander others viciously and so incur the death penalty: these are the things that a superior man would avoid. To act with sincerity and filial piety even when injured, to walk in the path of kindness and righteousness even when offended by others, to lose one's body for the protection of the whole family, and to sacrifice oneself in order to save the nation: the superior man does not regret such acts. Since the oncoming of disorder and dispersion, I have seen famous officials and wise scholars who at the point of death begged that their lives be spared. In the end they were not saved; they simply brought upon themselves embarrassment and insult. This fills a man with vexation and anger. In the Rebellion of Hou Ching [3]) most of the princes, lords, generals, and ministers were insulted and executed; of the empresses, princesses, maids and concubines hardly any remained unviolated. The only exceptions were Chang Ch'eng (488-549), [4]) a prefect (*t'ai-shou*) of Wu-chün, [5]) who tried to re-establish the court but failed; though he was (tortured and) killed by the rebels, he never flinched in words or demeanor; and Madame Hsieh, wife of Prince Po-yang's heir-

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[1]) See Donald Holzman, *La vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang* Leiden, 1937, 48-51.

[2]) Shih Ch'ung 石崇 (T. Chi-lun 季倫 H. Ch'i-nu 齊奴, 249-300) was a very rich man possessing, *inter alia*, thirty water mills and some eight hundred slaves. On account of his refusal to surrender his most beautiful concubine to a powerful prince, Shih Ch'ung was executed and his properties confiscated. During the course of argument, the beautiful woman jumped from an upper story and killed herself. *Chin-shu*, 33.18-23. Shih Ch'ung was fond of "*fu-shih yen-ch'i* 服食咽氣 for the purpose of not perishing and thus he was very arrogant." *Wen-hsüan* 45.20 (*SPPY* edition). *Fu-shih yen-chi* is translated by Maspero as "avaler le souffle" (*op. cit.*, p. 211) and by Herbert Giles as "to swallow the breath" (The *Chinese-English Dictionary* under no. 13068).

[3]) For the Rebellion of Hou Ching, see p. 49, n. 3.

[4]) Chang Ch'eng 張嵊 (T. Ssu-shan 四山), a loyal defender of the Liang territory, was executed by Hou Ching with ten more of his family members. *Liang-shu*, 43. 5b-7; *Nan-shih* 31. 16b-17b.

[5]) Wu-chün 吳郡 or Wu prefecture was in modern Wu-hsien, Kiangsu.

apparent, who went to the top of her house to denounce the rebels in great anger and so was killed by arrows. This lady was Hsieh Tsun's daughter. [1]) Alas, it was so difficult for the wise men to hold on to their (heroic) action, and so easy for this woman to bring about self-destruction! [2])

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[1]) Prince Po-yang 鄱陽王 was Hsiao K'uei 蕭恢 (T. Hung-ta 弘達) whose son was Hsiao Fan 範 and whose heir-apparent was Hsiao Ssu 嗣. It was Hsiao Ssu who put up a heroic resistance against Hou Ching and met a heroic death in the battle. *Liang-shu* 22.15b and *Nan-shih* 52. 11b-12. His wife and children were arrested by the enemy. The official history does not mention Madame Hsieh, nor is there any biography of her father, Hsieh Tsun 謝遵. Thus we have no way to check the accuracy of the supplementary information presented by the contemporary author, Yen Chih-t'ui.

[2]) Yin-chüeh normally means "to commit suicide," as it is used in "tsang-huo pei-ch'ieh, yu neng yin-chüeh 臧獲婢妾, 猶能引決 (*Han-shu* 62.20b). This sentence is translated by Burton Watson, "The lowest slave and scullion maid can bear to commit suicide." (*Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Grand Historian* 65). But here the woman was killed on the roof by arrows and so she brought herself to honorable death. It was a contrast to many men who begged in vain for life, received much humiliation and eventually met slaughter.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

TURN YOUR HEART (TO BUDDHISM)

The fact of the transmigration of life in three existences, [past, present and future] is true and self-evident. [1]) It is traditional in our family to turn our hearts (to Buddhism), you should not neglect it. Its profound theories are fully explained in the *sūtras* (basic discourses) and *abhidharmas* (treatises by later masters). [2]) I cannot again briefly praise and narrate them here. Nevertheless, fearing that you are not yet firm in your faith, I therefore repeat my little advice and persuasion.

Originally the "four (objects of) senses" [3]) and the "five aggregates" [4]) form a scheme to analyze all phenomena; the "six boats" [5]) and

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[1]) San-shih means the existence of the past, present and future. William E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 57. A more authoritative explanation is given by Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 in *Wei Shu, Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism*, translated in English by Leon Hurvitz and published as Appendix II in *Yun-k'ang*, edited by Mizuno Seiichi *et al.*, vol. XVI (Kyoto, 1956) p. 32.

[2]) *Ibid.*, 409; and Mochizuki Shinkyō 望月信亨, *Bukkyo Dai Jiten* 佛教大辭典 (Tokyo, 3rd edition, 1960) V. 5082. Quoted hereafter simply as Mochizuki.

[3]) Ssu-ch'en 四塵 (literally four-dust) is not listed in Soothill, whose dictionary has, however, an entry on "wu-ch'en 五塵" the objects of five senses corresponding to the senses of form, sound, smell, taste and touch. Being dusty or earthly things, they can taint the true nature. Ssu-ch'en are identical with "*five ching* 五境." Giles' *Chinese-English Dictionary* has an item, "*liu-ch'en* 六塵, which is translated as "the six senses" (see under ch'en, 661). *Ssu-ch'en*: color (or sight), smell, taste and touch is included in Ting Fu-pao 丁福保, *Fo-hsüeh ta-tz'u-tien* 佛學大辭典 (Shanghai, I-hsüeh shu-chü, 192), p. 802, and Mochizuki, II. 1923.

[4]) The five *yin* 陰 or *yün* 蘊, *pañca skandhāh*, are the five aggregates or components of a living being, especially a human being. They are (1) *Se* 色 (*rūpa*), outward form or physical form, matter; (2) *Shou* 受 (*vedanā*), perception; (3) *Hsiang* 想 (*saṁjñā*), consciousness; (4) *Hsing* 行 (*saṁskāra*), active functions; and (5) *Shih* 識 (*vijñāna*), cognition. Cf. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, p. 126, and Mochizuki, 1094-1095. Cf. Leon Hurvitz, *Chih-i* (Bruxelles, 1962) 12.

[5]) *Liu-chou* 六舟 (six boats) are a translation of the "six *parāmitās*," the "six ways of crossing over from this shore of birth and death to the other shore" of *Nirvana*. The six *parāmitās* or means of so doing are:
a. Charity. b. Observance of the precepts. c. Patience. d. Energy (in religious devotion). e. Meditation. f. Wisdom. Cf. Soothill, p. 267 and Nyanatiloka,

the "three vehicles" [1]) convey all living beings [to the shore of supreme enlightment]. Myriad practices turn towards emptiness [2]) and a thousand gates lead to good. The eloquence and wisdom of Buddha, are they less comprehensive than our seven classics and hundred schools of philosophy? Obviously Yao and Shun, Duke Chou and Confucius can not be compared with Buddha. [3])

The two religions, the Inner (Buddhism) and the Outer (Confucianism) [4]) are, however, fundamentally the same. Gradually they became very different from each other in depth and shallowness. At the entrance to the Inner scriptures there are five prohibitions which correspond to the humanity, justice, propriety, wisdom, and sincerity of the Outer scriptures. [5]) Humanity corres-

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Buddhist Dictionary, Manual of Buddhist Terms and Doctrines, (Colombo, 1956), pp. 116-117.

[1]) The three Vehicles (Sanskrit, *triyanā*) consist of (a) those who listen (*Śrāvakayāna*), (b) those who have intelligence (*Pratyekabuddhayāna*); and (c) those whose being is illumination (*Bodhisattvayāna*). For more information see Tsukamoto Zenryū, *Gisho Shaku-rō shi no kenkyū* 魏書釋老志の研究 (A study of Wei Shou's treatise of Buddhism and Taoism; Kyoto, 1961), 117-118 or the English translation 35-36.

[2]) *K'ung* 空, *śūnya* means void or "emptiness", Mochizuki, I. 636a.

[3]) For this reason the author, Yen Chih-t'ui, was badly criticized for his pro-Buddhist attitude by the Confucianist Chu Shih 朱軾 (1665-1736) and others. The book had been classified in the section of Confucian works, but the *Ssu-ku ch'üan-shu* 四庫全書 editors re-classified it in the section of miscellaneous works (*tsa-chia* 雜家). See Chu Shih's preface to YSCH and Huang P'ei-lieh, *Jao p'u ts'ang-shu t'i-shih* 蕘圃藏書題識; both are reproduced in Chou Fa-kao, *YSCH Hui-chu*, III, 168b and 185-86.

[4]) That is, Buddhism and Confucianism. The Buddhists consider their own religion the orthodox, the inner, proper, the domesticated or home religion (*nei-chiao* 內教); while all other religions were considered to be the outside religions (*wai-chiao* 外教) i.e. heterodox or foreign. Monk Tao An 道安 (314-385) wrote a treatise on the two religions (Erh-chiao lun 二教論) in which he considered Confucianism and the other nine philosophical schools as the *Wai-chiao*, Buddhism as the *Nei-chiao*. *Kuang Hung-ming chi* 廣弘明集 8, 37b-38, in *Dai Nihon kōtei Daizō kyō* 大日本校訂大藏經 (The Tripitaka edited and printed in Great Japan, [1881-1885]), *tse* 384.

[5]) Ordinarily the five precepts or prohibitions are not to take life; not to steal; not to commit adultery; not to lie; not to drink. The author's version is perhaps for the sake of the correspondence with the five virtues of Confucianism. Soothill, p. 118. It is interesting to compare the similar ideas presented by Yen's contemporary, Wei Shou (506:572, see p. 65, n. 3) in *Wei-shu*, chap. 20, in which he wrote: "There are the Five Negative Injunctions which prohibit killing, stealing . . . Their general meaning is the same as that of humanity, rectitude, propriety . . ." Even the wording is almost the same. Leon Hurwitz's translation, p. 33.

ponds to the prohibition against taking life. Justice corresponds to the prohibition against stealing. Propriety corresponds to the prohibition against depravity. Wisdom corresponds to the prohibition against lust, and sincerity corresponds to the prohibition against falsehood. As for hunting and fighting, feasting and punishment, the original characteristics of the people cannot be eradicated all at once, but should be restrained from excess. To turn to Duke Chou and Confucius and reject Buddhism is foolish indeed!

The common slanderers (against Buddhism) usually make five points; first, they regard things beyond this world and the boundlessness of divine transformations as absurd and unreliable; secondly, they regard good luck or bad, disaster or happiness, since these sometimes are not in line with retribution, as deceitful and cheating; third, they regard the conduct and acts of monks and nuns, since many of them are insincere and impure, as immoral and hypocritical; fourth, they regard the waste of money and treasure, and loss in taxes and labor services as harmful to the state; fifth, even though there is a causality which commands retribution, they wonder how the painful exertions of the man of today can benefit the man of a future generation; thus he is an atypical man. [1]) Let me now explain these points as follows.

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[1]) These five Confucian criticisms of Buddhism summed up by Yen Chih-t'ui are somewhat different from those mentioned by modern research scholars. Kenneth Ch'en, for instance, mentions arguments against Buddhist tenets such as karma, the endless transformation, and immortality of the soul. Buddhism was accused of undermining the power of the throne; usurping the imperial authority; destroying the Confucian concept of government; doing harm to the family by promoting celibacy, to the state by wasting public funds. Buddhists were guilty of hypocrisy and immoral acts. Richard Mather discusses the metaphysical, social, economic, political, cultural and moral issues. Walter Liebenthal finds the principal arguments against the Buddhists were (1) they introduced foreign religion and customs and (2) they were wasteful and unproductive of wealth and offspring. Arthur F. Wright sums up the economic arguments concerning celibacy, too many monks, nuns and monasteries; political arguments against armed revolts by Maitreya Buddhists, the influence of Buddhist clergy at court; nationalistic and xenophobic arguments against the danger of Buddhism to the Confucian state system; socio-psychological arguments against their exaggerated propaganda of heaven, hell, and retribution, which terrorized and deluded the masses; and intellectual arguments opposing Buddhism to Confucianism and Taoism. From these summaries, one can see that Yen Chih-t'ui ignored the political and nationalistic issues, even though, as Dr. Hu Shih said, all the edicts for the four anti-Buddhist persecutions of 446, 574, 845 and 955 emphasized the fact that Buddhism was

In explanation of the first point, I ask whether immense objects can always be measured. In what is known by modern people, there is nothing larger than heaven and earth. That heaven is an accumulation of air, and earth an accumulation of clods; that the sun consists of *yang* essence, the moon of *yin* essence, and the stars of the essence of all objects is accepted by Confucianists. There are stars which have fallen; these become stone (meteorite). [1]) If the essence becomes stone, it cannot have light; moreover, matter is heavy; how could it be hung up (in the sky)? The diameter of a larger star is a hundred *li* (ca. a third of a mile); the extent of a constellation several myriad *li*. Thousands of objects with a diameter of a hundred *li*, grouped together with varying density and in different directions, never vary in their positions. Also, the stars, the sun and the moon are alike in shape and color, but differ in size. Hence how could sun and moon be made of stone? Since stone is solid, how can the crow and rabbit live there? [2]) How can

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an alien religion introduced from a foreign barbarian country and that it was a national disaster and humiliation for China to be thus barbarized. This nationalistic objection to Buddhism is also underlined by T'ang Yung-t'ung, Feng Yung-lan, Maspero and Zürcher. It is surprising to notice Yen's exclusion of this crucial point. Perhaps he was obliged to avoid discussions of racial and political problems, as he served alien rulers. Ts'ui Hao's fate was certainly a good lesson for him. See Kenneth Ch'en, "Anti-Buddhist Propaganda during the Nan-ch'ao" *HJAS*, XV (June, 1952), 166-192, "On some Factors responsible for the Anti-Buddhist Persecution under the Pei-ch'ao" *HJAS*, XVII (1954), 261-273 or Kenneth Ch'en's *Buddhism in China*, 121-194; Richard Mather, "The Conflict of Buddhism with Native Chinese Ideologies," *Review of Religion*, XX (Nov., 1955), 25-37; Walter Liebenthal, "Chinese Buddhism during the 4th and 5th Centuries," *Monumenta Nipponica*, XI. 1 (April, 1955), 44-83; Arther F. Wright, "Fu I and the Rejection of Buddhism," *Journal of History of Ideas*, 12 (Jan., 1951), 33-47; Hu Shih, "The Indianization of China" in *Independence, Convergence, and Borrowing in Institutions, Thought and Art* (Harvard University Press, 1937), 219-247. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *Han Wei Liang Chin . . . Fo-chiao shih*, II. 461-465, 531-540; Henri Maspero, *Les religions chinoises* in *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine* (Paris, 1950) I. 76-78; and P. Demiéville, "La pénétration du bouddhisme dans la tradition philosophique chinoise," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* III. 1 (1956) 19-38; E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest* I. 214, 231-239.

[1]) There was a man in the State of Ch'i 杞 who worried that the heavens, an accumulation of air, would fall; the earth, an accumulation of clods, collapse; and he would have no place to stay. This worried him so much that he could neither eat nor sleep. See *Lieh Tzu*, chap. T'ien-jui 1.14 (*SPPY* ed.) Yen Chih-t'ui may have borrowed from this source.

[2]) Chinese people imagined that the shadow appearing in the moon or

stone move by itself in the air? If sun, moon, and stars are all made of air, which is light and floating, their revolutions back and forth should accord with the movement of the sky without error and disagreement, and their speed should be the same; why should sun, moon, the five planets and the twenty-eight constellations have each a separate rate of motion out of harmony with the others? When the air falls, does it suddenly become stone? Since the earth is composed of sediment and is muddy, it naturally sinks (to form) a thick layer. Digging into the soil, we find springs, as though it floated upon water. What sort of thing is there below the accumulation of water? From what source come the Yangtze, the Yellow River, and the hundreds of valley streams? Flowing eastward into the sea, why do they not overflow it? In the converging abyss, where does any outlet discharge the water? [1]) What vapor forms the stones on the Wo-chiao hill? [2]) Who regulates the ebb and flow of the morning and evening tides? Why does the Milky Way, hung up in the sky, not scatter and fall down? The nature of water is to flow downward; why does it evaporate upward? When heaven and earth were first dissociated, there were stars and constellations. Before the nine regions (of China) were delineated and the various states separated, how were the topographic boundaries so well drawn like the orbits of the stars? Since the establishment of "feudalism", who has regulated and divided the territories? The number of states has increased or decreased, while that of the stars has had no gain or loss. Catastrophes or favorable omens, disaster or good fortune [of a state] are always accurately indicated

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sun looks like a crow, a rabbit or a toad. From this idea many legends and myths have been produced. See *Ch'u-tz'u, T'ien-wen* 天問 3.4; David Hawkes' translation, p. 47 especially note 4.

[1]) The inquiry here may be based on *Lieh Tzu* and *Chuang Tzu*. According to the former work, in the east of the Pohai there is a vast ocean which is as large as several million (square) *li* and is as deep as if it were bottomless. This bottomless abyss is called *kuei-hsü* 歸墟, or a concentration ravine into which the waters of all streams and rivers flow. Yet it always maintains its equilibrium — neither rising nor falling (*Lieh Tzu*, 5. 3b-4). According to the latter, "there is no body of water under the sky which is greater than the ocean. All streams pour into it without cease, yet it does not overflow. It is constantly being drained off and yet it is never empty" (*Chuang Tzu*, chap. 17. "Autumn water," 6. 6b, *SPPY* edition). Cf. Herbert Giles' translation of *Chuang Tzu* (London, 1889, p. 201).

[2]) *Wo-chiao* 沃焦 was said to be the name of a hill situated some 30,000 *li* south of the East Sea. When the sea water rushed to the hill, it disappeared. The source is *Hsüan-chung-chi* 玄中記, p. 2 (*TSCC* ed.).

[by natural phenomena]. Although the universe is vast, why are numerous constellations distributed over and hung only above the sky of China? [1]) The Pleiades, under which lies the Hsiung-nu kingdom, are called the Hairy Head *mao-t'ou*. [2]) Then would you discard the western barbarians, Hu 胡, the eastern barbarians, Yüeh 越, and the tattooed barbarians of Chiao-chih 交阯 (because their constellations are not known)? To search in this fashion is endless. Can we gain knowledge from human affairs only and reject all else which is outside the cosmos?

All human beliefs depend only on eyes and ears; whatever is outside that which is not seen and heard is to be doubted. The Confucianists themselves, in explanation of heaven, have several theories: that it is either like a sphere (*hun*) or a dome (*kai*); that it is an unsubstantial void (*hsüan*) or a motionless quietude (*an*). [3]) Opinions regarding the circumference of the Pole-star, the sphere

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[1]) In *Chou-li*, ch. 26, Pao-chang-shih 保章氏, "Officier Chargé de Préserver et d'Eclaircir: Il s'occupe des étoiles du ciel, pour conserver le souvenir des mouvements et changements des planètes, du soleil et de la lune, pour examiner les révolutions du dessous du ciel (du monde terrestre), pour distinguer le bonheur et le malheur *annoncés au monde*. Il divise les territoires des neuf régions de l'empire, en terres *dépendantes* d'astérismes spéciaux. Les limites de toutes les principautés d'investiture, ont des astérismes distincts, pour reconnaître les pronostics extraordinaires *qui les concernent*." Biot, *Tcheou-Li*, II, 113-4.

[2]) The Pleiades are called *mao-t'ou* 旄頭, a barbarian star or stars over the barbarian territory. *Shih-chi* 27,11. Chavannes translated *mao-t'ou* as "Tête chevelue," *Mh* III, 351.

[3]) The conception of heaven was the subject of various theories. The *Hun-t'ien* 渾天 theory considers heaven as consisting of a celestial shell surrounding the earth on all sides in much the same way as the yolk of an egg is surrounded by the outside shell. It was expressed by the uranographists of ancient times. The *Kai-t'ien* 蓋天 system likens the heaven to a covering umbrella and earth to an upturned bowl. Both are high in the center and sloping at the periphery. The *Hsüan-yeh* 宣夜 system claims that heaven has no shape at all, being deprived of substance and simply appearing to us as of immense height. The *An-t'ien* 安天 system is merely an amplification of the *Hsüan-yeh* theory on the unsubstantial sky. It considers heaven as immeasurably high and earth as unfathomably deep. Heaven above is in a state of permanent rest, and the mass of the earth below is likewise immovable. Both cover each other and fit together tightly. Among these four conceptions the *Hun-t'ien* theory was more generally accepted. For detailed explanations and arguments, see the *Chin-shu, chüan* 11 (section 1—astronomy); Alfred Forke's *The World-Conception of the Chinese* (London, 1925), pp. 12-29; and Yabuuchi Kiyoshi, "On Chinese cosmic theories," CCKG SK, 177-187.

of the pivot (*kuan*) and its supporters (*wei*) would not easily differ if these could be seen by naked eyes; but if these dimensions are conjectured or estimated, how could they be reliable? [1]) Then why should you believe the imaginary ideas of ordinary people, doubt the profound principle of the great sage (Buddha), and necessarily deny that the worlds are as many as the sands of the Ganges and cosmic periods as numerous as atoms? [2])

Nevertheless, even Tsou Yen talked about the Nine Continents of the Universe. [3]) People living amid mountains do not believe that there are fish as large as a tree—people dwelling on the seashore do not believe that there are trees as large as fish. (Emperor) Han Wu-ti did not believe in the bow-string glue [a glue strong

[1]) In ancient and medieval times heaven seems to have been conceived of as a sort of canopy sustained by a central pivot (*kuan* 管) on which the sky turns. Four mountain-like supports (*wei* 維) at the cardinal points hold up the sky. The diameter between these supporters was said by Chang Heng (78-139), an eminent astronomer and mathematician of the Later Han dynasty, to be 200.032.300 *li*. *Ch'u Tz'u, The Songs of the South*, chap. *T'ien-wen*, translated by David Hawkes, 47; *Huai-nan tzu*, chap. T'ien-wen hsün, 3.5 and Chang Heng's "Ling-hsien 靈憲" (in Yen K'o-chün *Ch'üan Hou Han wen* 55.4); cf J. Needham, *Science and Civilization* II, 556-557.

[2]) According to the Buddhist dogma there are four heavenly spheres corresponding to the four *Dhyānas* of meditation (*ssu-ch'an*). The first Dhyāna (*ch'u-ch'an*), comprising three heavens, was said to be as large as one whole universe. The second Dhyāna was made to comprehend three other heavens and to correspond in size to a small chiliocosmos. The next three Brahmalokas or heavens of Brahmā were assigned to the third Dhyāna and described as resembling in size a middle chiliocosmos. The fourth Dhyāna equals a large chiliocosmos. The cosmoses are as countless as the sands of the Ganges. But having once given to those four Dhyānas a place in cosmology, the Buddhist mind logically proceeded to make them participate in those changes to which every universe was believed to be subject by the rotation of the *kalpas* (a period during which a physical universe is formed, maintained and destroyed). It was said that in the course of every "kalpa of destruction" within a cycle of 64 kalpas, the first Dhyāna is destroyed 56 times by fire, the second Dhyāna 7 times by water and the third Dhyāna once (during the 64 kalpas) by wind and so on. Kalpas are as numerous as atoms ("fine dust," paramāṇu); Soothill, 179 and 232. Cf. "The World Conception of Chu Tao-sheng" translated by Walter Liebenthal, 75-77.

[3]) Tsou Yen 鄒 or 騶衍, a philosopher who is supposed to have flourished in the fourth century B.C., composed treatises on cosmology and the influence of the five elements. His works were classified in the *Yin-yang* school in the bibliographical section of *Han-shu*. He said that the Chinese world known to the Confucianists was only one-eightieth of the globe which comprised Nine Continents. This is mentioned in the biography of Mencius and Hsün Ch'ing in *Shih-chi* 74. 1-7.

enough to mend a broken bow-string]; [1]) while (emperor) Wei-wen did not believe in fire-proof cloth [asbestos]. [2]) When western barbarians saw brocade, they did not believe that the material came from a worm that eats leaves and spins silk. Formerly when I was south of the Yangtze I did not believe there were tents that could shelter a thousand persons; when I came north of the Yellow river, I found there were people who did not believe there were ships that could carry twenty thousand piculs. These are all practical examples. There are in our times sorcerers and all sorts of magicians who can tread on fire, trample on knives, grow melons and move a well (in the sight of the public), making in an instant many changes and transformations. [3]) Since human power is able to perform such deeds, why should not the unimaginable efficiency of the spiritual power (of Buddhism) create by transformation a Paradise (Pure Land) with jewelled standards [4]) of a thousand *li* and seats of a hundred *yojanas*, [5]) and marvellous *stūpas* appearing suddenly?

In explaining the second point, I say that the actions of believing in and denouncing Buddhism follow each other like a reflection

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[1]) According to Tung-fang So's 東方朔 *Shih-chou chi* 十洲記. (4b-5b, *Lung-wei mi-shu* 龍威秘書 ed.) Feng-lin chou 鳳麟洲 was at the center of the West Sea where immortals stewed the beaks of phoenixes and the horns of unicorns to a jelly which could firmly glue together broken bows and swords. But it is said Emperor Han-wu did not believe it.

[2]) Wei Wen-ti, i.e. Ts'ao P'ei (T. Tzu-huan 子恒, 188-227), was a brilliant scholar of wide learning. He did not believe that there was a cloth which could not be burned by fire until he actually saw the asbestos cloth. See *Pao-p'u tzu, nei-p'ien*, chap. 2. 2b.

[3]) These magicians were believed to have visited China from Central Asia or the Near East since the time of Chou Mu-wang 周穆王 about 1,000 B.C. They claimed to be able to swallow a knife, to plant and grow melon before an audience, etc. *Lieh Tzu*, chap. Chou Mu-wang, 3.1, translated by A. C. Graham, *The Book of Lieh Tzu*, p. 61; *Pao-p'u tzu*, nei-p'ien 2.3; and Yang Hsüan-chih 楊衒之 of Northern Wei (386-534), *Lo-yang chia-lan chi*, 1.9 (*SPPY* ed.).

[4]) Jewelled standards or banners is a translation of *Pao ch'uang* 寶幢. *Ch'uang*, Sanskrit, *dhvaja* means a pennant or banner, and so *Pao-ch'uang* means a banner decorated with gems. An illustration is given in Mochizuki, III, 3841.

[5]) *Yojana*, or *Yu-hsün* 由旬, was a unit for measuring distance, equalling thirty, forty, or sixty *li*, according to different sources. (Mochizuki, V. 4926).

The commentator Lu Wen-ch'ao criticized Yen Chih-t'ui for comparing Buddhism with magic; if it were so, why should he believe in it?

and an echo.[1]) I have seen and heard of many such cases. Sometimes, because people's devotion and faith are not sufficiently earnest and the causality of karma has not yet been effected, it appears that the time of fulfillment has been deferred or delayed; but eventually the due retribution will be received. Good or evil acts bring disastrous or fortunate consequences. The Nine Schools[2]) and the Hundred Philosophers all agree upon this theory. Are the Buddhist scriptures alone to be held as untrue and unreliable? In the premature death of Hsiang T'o and Yen Hui,[3]) the cold and hunger of Yüan Hsien and Po I,[4]) the happiness and longevity of T'ao Chih and Chuang Ch'iao, 莊蹻[5]) and the riches and power of Ch'i Ching and Huan T'ui,[6]) if the actions of their previous

[1]) Chu Tao-sheng also said "Reward follows (upon a deed) like a reflection (upon a form) and an echo (upon a sound)," Walter Liebenthal, "The World Conception of Chu Tao-sheng," *Monumenta Nipponica* XII, 1-2 (1956), 95.

[2]) The Nine Schools were Confucian, Taoist, Mohist, Legalist, Logicians, the *Yin Yang* school, Political (*ts'ung-heng*), Miscellaneous, and Agricultural. See *Shih-chi* 130. 3b-6b, and introduction to the bibliographical section of *Han-shu* 30, 19b-33.

[3]) It is said that Hsiang T'o 項橐 became Confucius' teacher when he was seven years old. Yen Hui was the most brilliant disciple of Confucius; his hair turned white when he was twenty-nine, and he died at thirty-one. *Chan-kuo ts'e*, Ch'in ts'e. 7.5 (*SPPY* ed.) and *K'ung-tzu chia-yü*, chap. 9.1 Ti-tzu-hsing chieh (*SPTK* ed.). Hsiang T'o died at the age of ten (*T'u-ching* 圖經 quoted in *T'ien-chung-chi* 天中記 25). For Yen Hui see p. 27, n. 1, p. 127, n.3 and p. 128, n. 3. For additional information, see Wang Shu-min, *YSCH Chiao-chu* 106.

[4]) Yüan Hsien 原憲, another disciple of Confucius, was so poor that when he straightened his cap, he broke the string, and when he tightened the collar of his coat, his elbows came out. Once Tzu Kung asked him, "Why are you so sick?" He answered, "Those who lack money are poor, those who learn the truth but cannot put it into practice are sick. I am poor but not sick." *Han-shih wai-chuan* 1.5 (*SPTK* ed.). Cf. James R. Hightower's translation of *Han-shih wai-chuan* (Harvard University Press, 1952), 20; *Chuang Tzu*, chap. 28, Jang-wang, 9.3; H. A. Giles' translation, p. 378; and Wang Shu-min, p. 107. For Po I, see p. 92, n. 1.

[5]) T'ao Chih 盜跖, Robber Chih, killed innocent people every day and ate their liver and flesh, but he died a natural death. Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 was a general of Prince Wei of Ch'u and was formerly a great thief. *Chuang Tzu*, chap. 29, 9.6; Legge's translation of "Robber Che," pp. 387-406; and Wang Ch'ung, *Lun-heng* Book II, chap. 2, Ming-yi 命義; Alfred Forke's translation I. 139; Wang Shu-min, p. 107; and B. Watson, II. 453.

[6]) Prince Ch'i Ching 齊景 possessed a thousand teams of four horses. Huan T'ui 桓魋 made a stone sarcophagus, which after three years was still not finished. This shows the richness and power of the two persons.

life are examined and their next life is considered, these will be found to agree with the principle of retribution. If, when you see those who do good occasionally suffering a disastrous result or those doing evil sometimes rewarded with good fortune, you complain and consider the Buddhist doctrine to be a lie and a cheat; then the theory of emperors Yao and Shun may be said to be false, and Duke Chou and Confucius are also untrue. What then would you like to believe and rely upon as the guide of your life?

To explain the third point, I say that from the creation of the universe, the bad people have been numerous and the good ones few. By what means can we urge them all to be devoted and pure? Seeing an eminent good monk with high conduct, people leave him unmentioned; if ordinary monks imbued with vulgar habits are seen, slander and defamation immediately arise. When a student is not diligent, is it his teacher's fault? How does the study of *sūtras* and discipline texts by ordinary monks differ from studying the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Rites* by secular students? If one takes the teaching of the *Odes* and *Rites* as a standard in judging courtiers and ministers, few will be found with perfect conduct; if one takes the prohibitions from the *sūtras* and discipline texts to check those who have given up their families (i.e. monks), can we blame them that none is faultless? Moreover, officials lacking good conduct still seek for higher salaries and posts; why should monks who have broken the prohibitions be ashamed to receive presents and supplies? Their conduct undoubtedly violates the prohibition, yet once they have put on the monk's robe they are living in the monastery, where every year if we count the number of days they devote to fasting, preaching and chanting, they are much more (lit. like mountain and sea) pious than the white-clothes people (laymen). [1])

To explain the fourth point, I would say that Buddhism has many avenues of approach. To give up one's family (by entering a monastery) is only one of them. If you can really cherish faith and filial piety, act with humanity and charity, then like Hsü-ta (Sudatta)[2])

Confucian Analects, XVI, ch. XII, p. 135 and *Li-chi*, chap. T'an-kung, part 1, art. iii. Cf. S. Couvreur's translation, I. 165.

[1]) The commentator Chao Hsi-ming says that here Yen is trying to white-wash the violations of prohibitions by some Buddhists.

[2]) Hsü-ta 須達 or Sudatta was a name of a person who was known as a philanthropist, and a benefactor of orphans. Even though he was not a monk, he reached Buddhahood. Mochizuki, III. 2486-87.

and Liu-shui (Jalavāhana), [1]) it is not necessary to shave the beard and hair. How could one demand that all the land be exhausted to build monasteries or all the people be registered as monks and nuns? (That this happens) is all due to the inability of the government to restrain illegal monasteries from obstructing the people's farm work and idle monks from decreasing national taxation. That was not the original purpose of the Great Enlightment. [2]) Moreover, let us consider again that searching for truth is a personal concern, while saving money is a national policy. Personal concerns and national policy cannot be pursued together. A faithful minister who dies for his lord will disregard his parents; a filial son who brings peace to his family will forget his nation. Each has its virtue. There were Confucianists who did not bow to king or noble but loftily carried out their own way; there were hermits who gave up a kingship or resigned from a prime ministership to retire from the world into mountainous forests. [3]) Can we make the matter of taxation a basis for condemning them as guilty? If all black-headed (common) people could be converted and enter monasteries, conditions would be like the world of mystic happiness in the Kingdom of Jang-ch'ia (*Śankha*) [4]) where rice grows spontaneously and precious treasures are inexhaustible; would it be necessary then to seek for profit from farms and sericulture?

To explain the fifth point, I would say that though the body dies, the soul is still preserved. When a man is alive in the world, it seems inappropriate to look for future existence; but after death the

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[1]) Liu-shui 流水 or Jalavāhana is the name of a layman who was a rich donor, a former incarnation of Śākyamuni. Soothill, p. 328.

[2]) Ta-chiao 大覺, the supreme *bodhi* or awakening of Buddha. Soothill, 95. Seng-chao 僧肇 (374-414) in *Ch'üan-Chin wen* 全晉文, 165. 2418. See Ōchō Enichi 横超渡日, in *Jōron Kenkyū* 肇論研究 (Kyoto, 1959) and W. Liebenthal in *The Book of Chao* (The Catholic University, Peiping, 1948).

[3]) Chapter 28. in *Chuang-tzu*, entitled "Jang-wang 讓王" lit. 'decline kingship', is translated by Herbert Giles as "On Declining Power" in which (pp. 370-386) many cases of declining offers of high government positions are mentioned.

[4]) Jang-ch'ia 儴佉 or 蠰佉, 穰佉, *Śankha*, is the name of the king under whom Maiteya will become a Buddha. Although furnished with the seven treasures, he will rule his kingdom by proper methods without resorting to weapons, and yet every one will obey. The kingdom will be as calm as a mirror, its people enjoying peace and prosperity. All precious mineral resources will come out naturally and hence there will be a steady supply of money for charitable purposes. Mochizuki, III. 2596. Cf. *Fo-shuo Mi-lo ta-ch'eng fo-ching* 佛說彌勒大成佛經 in *Daizōkyō* 大藏經 v. 39. 43-44.

relation to former existence resembles that of old age to youth or morning to night. There are not a few cases in society where souls have appeared in dreams, descending upon the body of concubines or inspiring a wife or maid to ask for food or request a blessing. Nowadays people, if poor, humble, sick or sorrowful, without exception blame themselves for not cultivating virtuous deeds in a former life. From this point of view, how can one not prepare for a good place in the future life? When one has a son or grandson, it is simply an addition of living beings in the universe; in what does it concern his personal affairs (in the future)? Yet one still loves and takes care of them and bequeaths to them land and buildings. Then, with regard to one's own soul, why should one cast it off entirely? [1]) Ordinary people are blind; they do not look to the future, so they believe that the preceding and present stages of life do not have the same substance. Suppose they had "heavenly eyes" watching the repeated deaths and the endless continuity of rebirths, would they not be terrified? Again, a true gentleman living in the world values his ability to restrain himself and return to propriety, [2]) to help the world and to benefit others. A head of a family wants the family's prosperity; a ruler of a state wishes the state's welfare. And yet none of the servants, concubines, officials and subjects is as important to him as his own self: why should he exert himself for their benefit! Would it be that Yao, Shun, Duke Chou and Confucius sacrificed their own happiness for nothing? Consider it carefully: for one man who pursues his inner cultivation, how many living beings will be saved and freed from the sins of their several lives? If you, my sons, want to plan worldly affairs and establish families, and cannot leave your wives and sons to become monks, you should nevertheless cultivate your pious conduct, observe the precepts and pay attention to chanting and reading the scriptures in order to provide a passage to your future stage of existence. The opportunity for human life is difficult to get; do not pass it in vain!

A Confucian gentleman even keeps away from the kitchen, for "having seen the animals alive, he cannot bear to see their death;

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[1]) According to Tsukamoto Zenryū, the character *shen* in such terms as *shen-ming* 神明 "does not mean god, but rather the souls of living beings, as opposed to their bodies." *Yün-kang* vol. XVI, p. 33. This definition suits the writings of both Wei Shou and Yen Chih-t'ui.

[2]) *Confucian Analects* in the *Chinese Classics* I. 250.

having heard their dying cries, he cannot bear to eat their flesh." [1] Kao Ch'ai and Che Hsiang, [2] though knowing nothing of Buddhist doctrine, were both able to refrain from taking life. This is the natural kindhearted attention of people. All creatures that have life love to be alive. All that involves killing must be avoided. The cases when men fond of killing have received retribution at their death or in disaster to their offspring are so numerous that they cannot be listed in detail, but for the time being several are set forth here in conclusion. [3]

In the Liang period there was a person who used to mix egg whites in water as a hair wash, saying that this gave a shine to the hair. For each washing he had to use twenty or thirthy eggs. When he was about to die, he heard nothing but the chirping of thousands of chicks in his hair. [4]

The Liu family of Chiang-ling sold eel broth as their business. Later on a child was born with a head like an eel's, while from the neck down it was like a human being. [5]

When Wang K'o was prefect of Yung-chia, [6] a certain man presented him with a sheep. He gathered guests and was going to prepare a feast. When untied, the sheep went before one of the guests, knelt first, bowed twice, and then crept under his garments. The guest said nothing and made no request that the sheep be spared. Soon afterwards the sheep was killed and roasted. The dish was first handed to the guest. As soon as he had put one slice of the meat into his mouth and swallowed it, something moved

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[1] This is quoted from Mencius, chap. 7, sentence 10, the *Chinese Classics* II. 141.

[2] Kao Ch'ai's 高柴 name appears in *K'ung-tzu chia-yü*, chapter "Ti-tzu chieh 弟子解," (9.11). Che Hsiang's 折像 event is mentioned in the *Hou-Han shu* 112A, 14. These two men did not even kill insects.

[3] Yen Chih-t'ui, as pointed out in the introduction, was the author of *Huan-yüan chih* 還冤志 (Retributions of wrongdoings), 3 *chüan* consisting of *Cheng-t'ien ta-hsing lun*, 承天達性論 (Understanding nature according to heaven's will), 1 *chüan*, *Yüan-hun chih* 冤魂志 (Tales of grieving souls), 1 *chüan*, and *Chieh-sha hsün* 誡殺訓 (Instructions against killing), 1 *chüan*; Yao Chen-tsung, *Sui-shu ching-chi chih k'ao-cheng*, 20. 346 (*Erh-shih-wu-shih pu-pien* 二十五史補編 ed.). Since Yen had special books on these tales, he gives here only a few examples.

[4] Yen's story told here is quoted in *Fan-i ming-i chi II*, Chu-sheng 畜生 22.56b-57, and *Fa-yüan chu-lin* 91.7b (both are in *TPTK*).

[5] The same story is quoted from YSCH in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 937.7.

[6] Yung-chia 永嘉 was in Wen-chou 温州, Chekiang. Wang K'o 王克 is not known otherwise.

under his skin and throughout his whole body. Calling out in distress, he then told what had happened; then, making a noise like a sheep, he died. [1])

When the emperor Liang Hsiao-yüan was in Chiang-chou (Kiangsi), there was a prefect of the Wang-ts'ai district.[2]) The prefectoral building was burned during the revolt of Liu Ching-kung, [3]) and the magistrate took lodgings in a monastery. His subjects brought him an ox and wine as presents. The ox was tied up to the pillar of the monastery, the images were taken off, and divans and seats were placed in the main hall for the magistrate to receive guests. Just before being slaughtered, having been untied, the ox went right up to the steps of the hall and made obeisance. The magistrate with a great laugh ordered the persons near at hand to kill it. Well satisfied with food and drink, he lay down under the eaves for a nap. When he woke, his body felt itchy. Scratching the small pimples, he became leprous and died in about ten years. [4])

When Yang Ssu-ta 楊思達 was the prefect of Hsi-yang, [5]) it was the period of Hou Ching's rebellion [6]) and was, furthermore a time of terrible drought. Hungry people stole wheat from the fields. Ssu-ta placed one of his private soldiers (*pu-ch'ü*)[7]) on guard.

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[1]) The same story appears in *Hsü shou-shen chi* 續搜神記 as quoted in Ch'en Yao-wen 陳耀文, *T'ien-chung-chi* 天中記 (block-print edition of 1569), 54.7.

[2]) Wang-ts'ai 望蔡 was in Kiangsi province.

[3]) The revolt of Liu Ching-kung 劉敬躬 happened in A.D. 542. Liu was from An-ch'eng chün 安城郡 in the province of Kiangsi; he deluded the multitude by heresy, raised a rebellion and occupied several important cities of the province. He was soon suppressed and executed. *Liang-shu* 3. 20b.

[4]) Another version of the same story reads ". . . soon it caused great trouble and after more than ten days he died." *Fa-yüan chu-lin* 91.8.

[5]) Hsi-yang chün 西陽郡 was about a hundred *li* from Huang-kang 黃岡 in the province of Hupeh.

[6]) For Hou Ching's rebellion, see p. 49, n. 3.

[7]) Pu-ch'ü 部曲 roughly meant battalion and company during the Han dynasty (*Hsü Han-shu po-kuan chih* 續漢書百官志 in *Hou Han-shu* 34.8). Gradually it came to mean private soldiers of generals or clan chiefs. The large clans of the kingdom of Wu 吳 had *pu-ch'ü* to bar the advance of soldiers during the civil war and frequently scored victories (see Teng Ai's 鄧艾 biography in *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih* 28.19). Tsu T'i 祖逖 commanded more than a hundred *pu-ch'ü* families across the Yangtze River (*Chin-shu* 62.17b). From private soldiers and body-guards, *pu-ch'ü* became private servants in the Sui-T'ang period. As the *T'ang-lü shu-i* 唐律疏義 says,

All the thieves the *pu-ch'ü* caught had a hand cut off at the wrist; a total of more than ten persons suffered amputation. Later on the *pu-ch'ü* begot a son born without hands. [1])

In the Ch'i dynasty there was a guest at court (*feng ch'ao-ch'ing*) [2]) whose family was very rich and extravagant. Unless an ox was slaughtered by his own hand, the taste was not good. At about his thirtieth year he was very sick and saw oxen coming in droves. All over his body he felt as if he were stabbed by knives. Crying out in distress, he died. [3])

Kao Wei 高偉 of Chiang-ling accompanied me to (Pei) Ch'i, where he stayed for several years catching fish in the shallow water of Yu-chou. [4]) Later on he was sick and always saw a school of fish gnawing him, and thus he died. [5])

In the world there are idiots who are ignorant of humanity and righteousness and unconscious of the fact that wealth and honor are both determined by the decrees of heaven. When they arrange a marriage for their son, they hate the young woman's low birth and lack of property, and presume on their superiority as her parents-in-law, behaving like snakes; they slander her with poisonous tongues, not knowing what should be avoided in speech. They insult and revile the young woman's parents. Nevertheless, their nagging is meant to discipline the woman who does not behave in a filial manner to them. They disregard the hate of

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"*Pu-ch'ü* and *nu-pei* 奴婢 were household servants and they were frequently referred to together." 22. 499, 525 and *passim* (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* ed.). For further reference see Hamaguchi Shigekuni 濱口重國, Tōdai no bukyoku to iu kotoba ni tsuite 唐代の部曲といふ言葉について" (On the word *pu-ch'ü* in the T'ang period), *Yamanashi Daigaku gakugei gakubu kenkyū hōkoku* 山梨大学学藝部研究報告 (Dec. 1955), 37-50. See also Wang Yi-t'ung, "Slaves and other Comparable Social Groups during the Northern Dynasties," *HJAS* 16. 3-4.

[1]) This story comes from Yen's *Huan-yuän chi* quoted in *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 120. p. 844.

[2]) *Feng ch'ao-ch'ing* 奉朝請 could easily be misunderstood as an official title; in reality it is not. The three high ministers, the relatives of the empress' family and the feudal lords were often granted the honor of *feng ch'ao-ch'ing* which means that when there were entertainments or social gatherings at the court, they were summoned or invited to attend. So it may be translated as "court guests". See *Sung-shu*, pai-kuan chih, 40.2b.

[3]) The same story is quoted from YSCH in *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 131.931.

[4]) Yu-chou 幽州 was in the area around modern Peking.

[5]) The same story with minor differences in wording is quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 935. p. 8, and *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 131, p. 931.

others. They love only their own sons and daughters and do not love a son's wife. [1]) The sin of such persons, hell will record, and the spirits will take away their allotment of life. Take care to avoid being neighborly with them, and even more avoid being friendly with them. Keep away from them! Keep away from them!

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[1]) Chih-t'ui makes use of the Buddist beliefs to criticize the misconduct of bureaucrats and family heads.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

EVIDENCE ON WRITING

The *Book of Odes* says, "Here long, there short, is the *hsing* plant (*hsing-ts'ai* 荇菜)." [1] The *Erh-ya* glossary explains *hsing* 荇 as *chieh-yü* 接余, with *hsing* 莕 as a variant. All past scholars interpret (this word) as the name of a water-plant with ovate leaves and a slender stalk, long or short according to the water's depth. Now it appears almost everywhere in the water. Its yellow flower resembles that of *ch'un* 蓴 (*Brasenia peltata*) and some people south of the Yangtze colloquially also call it bitter-plant (*chu-ch'un* 猪蓴); others call it *hsing-ts'ai*. It was explained also by Liu Fang 劉芳. Nevertheless, most ordinary people north of the Yellow river do not know it. Even scholars mistake this plant with its long and short leaf stalks for *hsien-ts'ai* 莧菜 (*Amaranthus inamoenus*, or the green like spinach); they mislabel the *jen-hsien* 人莧 (*Acalypha australis*) plant as *jen-hsing* 人荇. This is very ridiculous.

The *Book of Odes* reads, "Who says that the *t'u* 荼 plant is bitter?" [2] Both *Erh-ya* and Mao's commentary consider *t'u* a vegetable with a bitter taste. The *Li* [*chi*] [禮記] also says, "The bitter vegetable (*k'u-ts'ai* 苦菜, *Sonchus oleraceus*) is pretty."

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[1] The second stanza on the first page of *Shih-ching*. In this poem, *hsing-ts'ai* 荇菜 is translated by James Legge as duckweed (The *Chinese Classics*, IV. 1), by S. Couvreur as "aquatic *hing*" (*Cheu King*, Sien Hien, 1934, p. 5); by Arthur Waley as "water mallow" (*The Book of Songs*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937, p. 81) and by Bernhard Karlgren as "The *hing* waterplant" (*The Book of Odes*, The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, 1950, p. 2). Since this is a linguistic study of the term, it is better to translate it as the *hsing* plant. The Latin name is *Nymphoides peltatum*. See *An Illustrated Flora of Japan with Cultivated and Naturalized Plants*, by Makino Tomitarō, enlarged edition (Tokyo, 25th ed. 1956), p. 210, and *Botanical, Chemical, and Pharmacological Reference List to Chinese Materia Medica*, compiled by B. E. Read, Peking, 1923.

[2] *T'u* 荼 is translated by Legge (p. 56) and Waley (p. 100) as "sow-thistle," by Couvreur (p. 40) as "chicoree" and by Karlgren (p. 22) as the "*t'u* plant." The last is preferred here. *T'u* 荼 and *ch'a* 茶 (tea) may be used interchangeably, for the *t'u* plant is described by the *Erh-ya* as tea which has also a bitter taste. For sources see Teng Ssu-yü's review article in the *T'u-shu p'ing-lun* 圖書評論 2.11 (July 1934), 53.

According to the *I-t'ung t'ung-kua yen-hsüan t'u* 易統通卦驗玄圖, or "Mysterious illustrations of divination" according to the *Book of Changes*, "the bitter vegetable begins to grow in chilly autumn, continues through winter into spring and summer, and is then fully grown." Now the bitter vegetable in the Central Plain [Honan and the surrounding area] grows like this. It is also called *yu-tung* 游冬 or Play-in-the-winter plant. Its leaf looks like chicory but is more slender; when broken, it exudes a white juice, and its yellow flower looks like an aster.

South of the Yangtze there is another species of the bitter vegetable, with leaves like those of *suan-chiang* 酸漿 (*Physalis Alkekengi*), purple or white flowers, and seeds as big as pearls. When the seeds are ripe, they become purple or black. This vegetable can give people energy (literally, relieve people from fatigue). According to Kuo P'o's commentary on the *Erh-ya*, [1]) this is *chih-huang-ch'u* 藙黃蒢 (*Physalis angulatus*), which is now called *lung-k'uei* 龍葵 (*Solanum nigrum*) in Hopei. Scholars of the *Book of Rites* in the Liang dynasty considered this plant to be the bitter vegetable, which has no deep root but germinates from seeds in the spring. This is also a great mistake. Kao Yu [2]) in his commentary on the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* says that a plant which blossoms without bearing seeds is called *ying* 英 (infertile). The bitter vegetable also belongs to this category and thus we know it is not *lung-k'uei*.

The *Book of Odes* says, "There is a solitary russet pear tree (*yu ti chih t'u* 有杕之杜)." [3]) In the text of the Odes extant south of the Yangtze, *ti* 杕 is made of a "tree" 木 radical, and *ta* 大. The commentary (*chuan* 傳) says, "Ti 杕 means solitary." Hsü Hsien-min 徐仙民 spells it *t'(u-ch)i: t'i*. The *Shuo-wen* 說文 says, "*Ti* is a tree classified under the radical *mu* (wood)." The *Yün-chi* says it is pronounced *ti* as in the term *tzu-ti* 次第 order (see p. 81, n. 3).

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[1]) Kuo P'o 郭璞 (T. Ching-shun 景純, 276-324), a widely-learned Taoist scholar and a master of geomancy, was also a famous commentator of the *Erh-ya*, *Shan-hai ching* and many other books. *Chin-shu* 72. 1-13; Lionel Giles, *A Gallery of Chinese Immortals* pp. 102-104; Shinoda Osamu 篠田統, *Kuo P'o Hyōden* 郭璞評傳 in Yabuuchi Kiyoshi, *CCKGSK*, 45-54.

[2]) Kao Yu 高誘 has no biographical references in the dynastic histories. Living in the Later Han period, he was a famous commentator of *Chan-kuo ts'e*, *Huai-nan tzu*, *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, etc. Most of his commentaries are still available. See *Hou-Han shu* 30A. 28 and 30B. 3.

[3]) In the *Book of Odes*, no. 119, translated by Legge (p. 181) as a "solitary russet pear tree," by Waley (p. 310) "tall stands that pear tree," and by Karlgren (p. 77) as "a solitary Pyrus tree."

Yet *ti* appears in all the texts extant north of the Yellow River as in *i-ti* 夷狄 (barbarian), pronounced also as *ti* 狄. This is a great error.

The *Book of Odes* says, "Fat and large are the stallions" (*kung-kung mu-ma* 駉駉牡馬). [1] *Mu* 牡 in versions South of the Yangtze is written *mu* 牡 as in *p'in-mu* 牝牡 (a female and a male horse); whereas it is *mu* 牧 (shepherd, or to pasture) in all copies north of the Yellow River. A scholar in Yeh tried to confuse me by arguing, "Since this *Kung* poem is symbolically eulogizing Duke Hsi 僖 who tended horses on a vast area, why is the meaning limited to stallions, excluding mares?" [2] I answered, "According to Mao's commentary 毛傳, *kung-kung* means a fine horse with strong, sleek body and legs." Down below it says, "A feudal lord has six corrals for raising horses including fine horses, war horses, farm horses and jades." If *mu* is used in the sense of pasturing horses and is applied to both mares and stallions, then pasturing should not be limited to steeds which alone can be described as fat and large. A fine horse is used by the emperor to draw his state carriage and by feudal lords for visits to the imperial court and for offering sacrifices at the suburban altar; in the latter case, mares must be excluded. According to the *Chou-li*, one imperial groom was to take care of one fine horse, but one groom was to attend two jades. [3] The fine horse cared for by one groom is again not a mare. The eulogist stresses the strong and exalted characteristics of the horses, and that makes sense. When the *Book of Changes* says, "Fine horses are galloping," [4] and Tso's *Commentary* says, "to use two fine horses," [5] both mean strong and exalted horses. "Fine horse" is not an inclusive noun. Now if you take the fine horses in the Commentary of the *Odes* as including the mares in

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[1] *Ibid.*, Lu-sung 魯頌, no. 297, Kung 駉. The phrase "*kung-kung mu-ma*" is translated by Legge (p. 613) as in the text; by Waley (p. 252) as "Stout and strong our stallions" and by Karlgren (p. 254) as "Sturdy are the stallions."

[2] The poem is a song of praise by the people of Lu 魯, because Duke Hsi was kind to his subjects, attentive to husbandry and made much of the cultivation of grain, and pastured his horses near the remote borders of the state. Cf. Legge's translation of the *Chinese Classics*, Prolegomena, p. 80.

[3] *Chou-li*, Hsia-kuan, Yü-jen 圉人, "two grooms take care of a good horse," 7.8 (*SPTK*, ed.) So Yen's quotation is different from the modern text.

[4] *Chou-i chu-su* 周易注疏, I ta-shu 易大畜 3.25 (*Sung-pen shih-san-ching chu-su* edition, Shanghai, 1887).

[5] *Tso-chuan*, Hsüan, 12th year, *The Chinese Classics*, V. 314.

the pasture, I am afraid that you miss the correct meaning of Mao's Commentary on the *Odes*. [1]) Moreover, have you not read Liu Fang's interpretation of the *Odes*? [2])

(In the chapter) "Yüeh-ling" of the *Li-chi*, (a clause) reads: "The *li-t'ing* 荔挺 (*Iris ensata*, "broom-sedge") appears." [3]) Cheng Hsüan [4]) explains *li-t'ing* as *ma-hsieh* 馬薤; and the *Shuo-wen* says, "*Li* looks like rushes but is smaller, and its roots may be used to make brushes." The *Kuang-ya* (dictionary) says *ma-hsieh* is *li* 荔; while the *T'ung-su wen* calls it *ma-lin* 馬藺. [5]) The *I-t'ung t'ung-kua yen-hsüan t'u* says, "When the *li-t'ing* does not appear, the state will have many fire catastrophes." [6]) Ts'ai Yung's (133-192) *Yüeh-ling chang-chü* (Commentary on the Yüeh-ling) says, "*Li* looks like *t'ing*." Kao Yu's Commentary on the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* says, "The *li* grass rushes out." Then the explanation of *li-t'ing* as a grass in the *Yüeh-ling* is mistaken. It usually grows in the plains and marshy lands north of the Yellow River; it also appears in the region east of the Yangtze. Some people plant it in a court-yard and merely call it dry rushes, and by and by they cannot recognize the *ma-hsieh* 馬薤. The exegetes of the *Li-chi* mistook it for *ma-hsien* 馬莧 (*Portulaca oleracea*) which is edible; it is also called *t'un-erh* 豚耳 (pig's ear), and colloquially called

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[1]) In brief, Yen's argument is that the fine horse referred to in the quoted *Odes* must be a stallion, while the scholar north of the Yellow River insists that the horse may be a stallion or a mare. In the notes of YSCH the commentators criticize Yen for this pointless quotation which implies that both sexes could be meant. In the translator's opinion the short clause in the *Odes* may mean stallion, and Yen's poor argument does not prove the point but confuses the reader.

[2]) Liu Fang was the author of a *Mao-shih chien yin-cheng* 毛詩箋音證 (Sounds and evidences of Mao' Commentary of the Odes), *Li-chi yin-cheng* 禮記音證 and others, which were listed in the bibliographical sections of the histories of the Sui and T'ang dynasties. See also p. 64, n. 3.

[3]) *Li-chi*, Yüeh-ling 月令, section 4, sentence 14. James Legge translates *li-t'ing* as "broom-sedge" with a note that it is "a species of iris," the roots of which are made into brooms. *The Sacred Books of China*, XXVII, 205.

[4]) For Cheng Hsüan see p. 65, n. 2.

[5]) *Li-t'ing*, *ma-hsieh*, *ma-lin* and *li-shih* 蠡實 are synonyms: *Iris ensata* or *Iris Pallasii* according to *Chih-wu-hsüeh ta tz'u-tien* 植物學大辭典 (Botanical dictionary, small-sized ed. 1933), pp. 799, 851, 852 and 1539. See also the *Illustrated Flora of Japan* by Makino, *op. cit*, pp. 601 and 716. *Li-t'ing* is a plant or flower.

[6]) Ts'ai Yung (see p 26, n. 4), *Yüeh-ling chang-chü* 月令章句 originally 12 *chüan*, is no longer extant except a reconstructed version in one *chüan*, in *Yü-han-shan-fang chi-i shu* and other similar collections.

ma-ch'ih (horse teeth). In Chiang-ling [Hupeh] there was a monk whose face was broad in the upper part but narrow in the lower. Liu Huan's youngest child, Min-yü 民譽, a few years old, who was bright and observing, saw this monk and said, "His face looks like *ma-hsien*." Hence, his uncle, T'ao, called this monk the *Li-t'ing* Buddhist teacher. T'ao, a famous scholar who personally lectured on the *Book of Rites*, also made such a mistake! [1])

The *Book of Odes* says, "He would come jauntily [to me]," (*chiang ch'i lai shih-shih* 將其來施施). [2]) Mao's Commentary says, "*shih-shih* 施施 means going ahead with difficulty;" Cheng explains, "*Shih-shih* is an expression describing slow-walking." The Han 韓 text of the *Odes* also writes *shih-shih*. The texts north of the Yellow River all give *shih-shih*; according to all the texts south of the Yangtze, *shih-shih* is only one *shih*, and many people follow this reading. I am afraid this is an error. [3])

The *Book of Odes* says, "The clouds form in dense masses, and the clouds come down slowly" (*Yu-yen ch'i-ch'i, hsing-yün ch'i-ch'i* 有淰萋萋, 興雲祁祁). [4]) Mao's Commentary says, "*Yen* 淰 is an expression describing dense clouds, *ch'i-ch'i* an expression describing cloud's movement, and *ch'i-ch'i* an expression describing slowness." Cheng explains, "In ancient times the *yin* and *yang* were harmonious; the wind and rain were timely; their coming was slow, not violent." I think *yen* already means dense cloud; therefore why is it necessary to take the trouble to say, "the clouds are gathering slowly?" *Yün* 雲 should be *yü* 雨 (rain); this was an error made by vulgar scribes. [5]) Evidence can be found in Pan Ku's *Ling-t'ai* 靈臺 poem which reads:

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[1]) The mistake is to consider iris as a grass or a vegetable.

[2]) No. 74: "*Ch'iu-chung yu-ma* 丘中有麻," in which the phrase is translated by Legge in *The Chinese Classics* IV. p. 122 as quoted in the text; by Waley as "If only he would come in and rest" (The *Book of Songs* p. 32); by Karlgren as "I pray that he may come and bestow a gift (on me)" (*The Book of Odes*, p. 51); and by Marcel Granet as "Oh that he would come and be happy" (*Festivals and Songs of Ancient China*, New York, 1932, p. 58). Since it is a love poem, the translators used some imagination.

[3]) The author's main point is whether the text should have been one *shih* or two *shih*. He believed that the old Kiangnan text with one *shih* was wrong. The current text of the *Odes* is still *shih-shih*.

[4]) This is Legge's translation in *The Chinese Classics* IV, 381.

[5]) Yen Chih-t'ui's judgment is correct, Legge's translation follows his version, "The clouds form in dense masses and the rain comes down slowly," and so does Karlgren's (p. 167). Obviously Yen has a logical mind, for it makes good sense.

The three lights illuminate the essence,
The five elements illustrate the order,
Gentle, gentle is the auspicious wind,
Slowly, slowly comes the seasonable rain. [1])

The *Li-chi* says, "to settle misgivings and determine perplexities" (*ting yu-yü, chüeh hsien-i* 定猶豫, 決嫌疑); [2]) and the *Li-sao* says, "I still have doubts (*yu-yü*), with caution like a fox." [3]) Previous scholars offered no explanation of this passage. The *Shih Tzu* 尸子 says, "The five-foot dog is called *yu* 猶." [4]) This is corroborated by the *Shuo-wen*: "People in Lung-hsi [southeastern Kansu] call the pup *yu*." I think that when a man walks with a dog, it likes to walk ahead of him; then it waits for its master awhile and goes back to meet him. In that way it runs back and forth all day long. That is why *yü* means undecided and hence we say *yu-yü*. Another explanation is based on the *Erh-ya* which says, "*Yu* 猶 is like *chi* 麂, which is good at climbing trees." [5]) It is the name of an animal. No sooner does it hear a human voice than it climbs a tree and then keeps going up and down; hence, *yu-yü*. As for the fox, it is an animal full of suspicion. It dares not cross a frozen river unless it hears no sound of running water under the ice. Now there is a popular saying, "A fox is suspicious; a tiger, cautious." [6]) This is the exact meaning.

The *Tso-chuan* says: "The Marquis of Ch'i contracted malaria with intermittent fever" (*Ch'i-hou chieh, sui tien* 齊侯疾, 遂痁). [7]) According to the *Shuo-wen*, *chieh* means malaria which occurs every other day; *tien* means malaria fever. Marquis Ch'i's illness occurred every other day and gradually became serious enough to

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[1]) This poem is in the *Wen-hsüan* 1.19b.

[2]) *Ch'ü-li* 曲禮 A, 1.18 (*SPTK*), cf. Legge's translation in the *Sacred Books of the East*, XXVII, 94.

[3]) *The Li-sao* translated by Lim Boon Keng, p. 98. Cf. David Hawkes' translation "My mind was irresolute and wavering," p. 30.

[4]) *Shih Tzu*, B. 1b (*SPPY* ed.).

[5]) *Chi*, according to Giles' *Chinese Dictionary*, is "a large species of deer found in western China," but it does not fit the text. According to the *Tung-wu hsüeh ta tz'u-tien*. 動物学大辞典 (Shanghai 1932), *Chi* is *moschus chinensis*; pp. 1772, 2478.

[6]) Literally "a tiger divines," that is, it smells food before eating it. Its paws make marks on the ground to see whether a certain food is to be found or not. Wang Chih-teng 王穉登, *Hu Yüan* 虎苑 5b-6.

[7]) *Tso-chuan*, Ch'ao, the 24th year; Cf. Legge's translation, *The Chinese Classics* 683.

cause concern among the feudal lords. Such a disease is still called *chieh-yao* 痎瘧 by northerners today. But the current versions of *Tso-chuan* miscopied *chieh* as *chieh* 疥, meaning ringworm, for which Tu Cheng-nan [1]) offers no explanation. Hsü Hsien-min [2]) gives the pronunciation as *chieh* 介. Then vulgar scholars interpreted it as ringworm, which makes the patient feel cold and which changes to malaria. This interpretation is sheer guesswork for ringworm is too insignificant to cause concern. Is there a kind of ringworm which becomes malaria?

The *Book of History* reads, "[Cause and effect] are like the shadow and the echo (*wei ching-hsiang* 惟景嚮)." [3]) The *Chou-li* says, "to measure the shadow in the morning and evening by a sundial." [4]) *Mencius* said, "Painting from the shadow misses the (real) appearance." [5]) *Chuang Tzu* said, "The penumbra asked the shadow." [6]) *Ching* (shadow), in these cases, is written as the *ching* in *kuang-ching* 光景 (scenery or circumstance). The *ching* 景, in the sense of light and shadow, is caused by light. It is called the *ching-chu* 景柱 or column of light or "pristine nature" [7]) in *Huai-nan tzu*; and in the *Kuang-ya* it refers to the shadow of a column of sunlight. Both are correct. Nevertheless, Ko Hung of the Chin dynasty compiled a glossary, [*Yao-yung*] *Tzu-yüan* [要用] 字苑, in which he added the element 彡 beside the character for shadow and pronounced it as *ying* 影. Henceforth, scholars changed the texts of the *Book of History*, *Chou-li*, *Chuang Tzu* and *Mencius* in order to follow the character coined by Ko Hung. [8]) This is indeed a mistake.

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[1]) Tu Cheng-nan 杜征南 or Tu Yü 杜預, 222-284, was a profound student of Tso's commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. His biography is in *Chin-shu* 34. 14-22.

[2]) For Hsü Hsien-min, see Hsü Mo, p. 79, n. 1.

[3]) *Shang-shu* 尙書, chapter 3, "Ta-yü mo 大禹謨," Cf. The *Chinese Classics* III, 54.

[4]) Ti-kuan (地官, ta-ssu-t'u 大司徒). 3.13b (*SPTK* ed.).

[5]) This sentence is not in the modern editions of *Meng Tzu*.

[6]) From the chapter, "The Equality of Things and Opinions;" cf. Fung Yu-lan's translation, p. 63.

[7]) *Huai-nan Tzu* 淮南子 (The Book of Prince Huai-nan, i.e., Liu An 劉安), 2.9 (*SPPY* ed,) and a partial translation by E. Morgan, who rendered *ching-chu* 景柱 as "pristine nature" or the Eastern wilds, whence the sun comes forth (pp. 46, 253).

[8]) In reality this word was not coined by Ko Hung in the fourth century; it already appears some two centuries earlier on a stone tablet, Chang P'ing-tzu pei 張平子碑, of the Han dynasty. See Chao Ming-ch'eng 趙明誠, *Chin-shih*

In T'ai-kung's 太公 *Liu-t'ao* 六韜 (The Six Tactics) [1]) there are tactical dispositions (*chên* 陣) like astronomical arrangements in the sky, topographical dispositions on earth, dispositions of men, and dispositions like clouds and birds. [2]) The *Lun-yü* says, "The duke Ling of Wei asked Confucius about tactical dispositions (*ch'en*)." [3]) In the *Tso-chuan*, (the soldiers) were "drawn up (*ch'en*) in fish-scale array." [4]) The word "disposition" or "array" (*chen*) is mostly made of *fou* 阜 and *cart* 車 (陣) in current texts. I remark that in the above-mentioned texts, the character for "array" is written *ch'en* 陳, as in the Ch'en 陳 and Cheng 鄭 states. This meaning of troop array is taken simply from the meaning of *ch'en* as in *ch'en-lieh* [陳列]. Such a usage is an example of the *chia-chieh* in the six methods of forming Chinese characters. [5]) There is no other character to express this idea in the *Ts'ang Ya* and modern glossaries except in Wang Hsi-chih's *Hsiao-hsüeh chang* 小學章 (Glossary for elementary schools) where the *chen* 陣 made of *fou* and cart was introduced. Even though the latter is in common use, the texts of the *Liu-t'ao*, *Lun-yü* and *Tso-chuan* should not be changed.

The *Book of Odes* says, "Yellow birds fly about and gather on the thickly growing trees" (*huang-niao yü fei, chi yü kuan-mu* 黃鳥于飛, 集于灌木). [6]) *Kuan-mu*, according to Mao's commentary, is "trees growing together." This is taken from the *Erh-ya*, and, hence, Li Hsün [7]) explains that trees growing together are called

lu 金石錄 20.11b (*Hsing-su Ts'ao-t'ang chin-shih ts'ung shu* 行素草堂金石叢書 ed.)

[1]) This military work supposedly of the 11th and 12th c. B. C., attributed to Lü Shang 呂尙, also known as Chiang Tzu-ya 姜子牙 and T'ai-kung, has long been considered by the Ssu-ku editors as a forgery. Several fragmentary collections of this work have been made from old encyclopedias. *Ssu-ku t'i-yao* 99. 1b.

[2]) *Liu-t'ao* 4.29b-30 and 5.40b (*SPTK* ed.).

[3]) *Lun-yü* Bk. 15, chap. 1. *The Chinese Classics* 1.294.

[4]) The fifth year of Huan-kung, cf. Legge's translation, *The Chinese Classics* 46.

[5]) Chia-chieh, 假借 to borrow, to adopt or to use as a metaphor is one of the six classes of characters. Tai T'ung, *The Six Scripts*, tr. by L.C. Hopkins, 6, 12. See also p. 183, n. 3.

[6]) The second poem of the *Book of Odes*; cf. Legge's translation, *The Chinese Classics* IV, Pt. I, p. 6. Karlgren also translated *kuan-mu* as thickly-growing trees (p. 3).

[7]) Li Hsün 李巡 was a scholarly eunuch of the Later Han dynasty, when he was one of the supervisors to inscribe the Five Confucian classics on stone tablets. His commentary on *Erh-ya*, 3 *chüan*, is listed in the bibliographical section of the *Sui-shu* 1.29. His biography is in *Hou-Han shu* 68.29.

kuan. In the last chapter of *Erh-ya*, it is said, "Trees thickly growing are called *kuan*." Growing together and thickly growing mean the same. Thus in the old southern versions of the (commentary on) the *Odes*, the thickness is expressed by the word *ts'ung* 叢. But the archaic form of *ts'ung* looks like *chü* 叢; so modern scholars change *ts'ung* to *chü* with the gloss that it means a cluster of tall trees. This is unknown to all recensions of the *Erh-ya* and commentaries on the *Odes* except Chou Hsü-chih's *Mao-shih chu*, [1]) which gives the pronunciation *tsui*, and Liu Ch'ang-tsung's *Shih-chu* [2]) which spells it as *tsung* or *tsui*. All these are twisted ideas which are contradictory to the *Erh-ya* explanation.

Yeh 也, a final particle and an auxiliary particle of sentences, is fully illustrated in all kinds of texts. In the texts of the classics and commentaries current north of the Yellow River this particle is frequently omitted. But there are many cases where it cannot be left out, such as "*Po yeh, chih shu* 伯也執殳, my husband, he is grasping his halberd"; [3]) "*yü lü yeh yü* 於旅也語, when the ceremonial performance ended, [4]) (the ancients) talked;" "*Hui yeh lü k'ung* 回也屢空, Hui, he is often in want;" [5]) "*feng, feng yeh, chiao yeh* 風, 風也, 教也, *feng*, is to influence, to teach;" [6]) and in the commentary on the *Odes* "*Pu ch'i, ch'i yeh*; *pu no, no yeh*; *pu to, to yeh* 不戢, 戢也; 不儺, 儺也; 不多, 多也 are they not self-restrained? it means restrained; are they not careful? [7]) it means careful; are there not many? it means many." [8]) If *yeh* is deleted, these clauses do not make sense.

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[1]) Chou Hsü-chih 周續之 (T. Tao-tsu 道祖, 377-423), a famous private school teacher, was a master of *Mao Shih*, Kung-yang *Commentary of the Spring and Autumn Annals* and others. His biography is in *Nan-shih* 75.10. His *Mao-shih chu* 毛詩注 is recollected in Ma Kuo-han, *Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu*.

[2]) Liu Ch'ang-tsung 劉昌宗 of the Chin dynasty was a commentator on the *Odes* (*Shih-chu* 詩註), and *Li-chi* and *I-li* as listed in the bibliographies of Chin (1.11), and *Sui-shu* 1.15 and 17.

[3]) The *Confucian Classics* IV. 105; and the *Book of Odes* translated by Karlgren, 43.

[4]) *I-li* 儀禮, "Hsiang-she-li," 5.37 (*SPTK* ed.).

[5]) *Lun-yü*, Bk. XI Hsien-chin 先進", Ch. 18. The *Chinese Classics* 1. 243. The commentator wrongly attributes this quotation to Bk. II "Wei-cheng 為政."

[6]) This is quoted from *Shih*, Hsiao-hsü 詩, 小序. Cf. *The Chinese Classics*, IV, Prolegomena, p. 37.

[7]) *Ibid*, 387.

[8]) *Ibid*, 495.

The *Odes* say, "*Ch'ing-ch'ing tzu chin* 青青子衿, O you, with the blue collar." [1]) The Commentary explains, "The blue *chin* 衿 means a blue collar; it was a uniform for students to wear." [2]) In ancient times the sloping collar (*ling*) was connected with the lapel (*chin*), and thus *ling* and *chin* could be used alternatively. The commentaries by Sun Yen [3]) and Kuo P'o on *Erh-ya* and by Ts'ao Ta-ku on the *Lieh-nü chuan* (Biographies of eminent women) [4]) unanimously say, "*chin* is a crossing collar." The Yeh [Honan] text of the *Odes* lacks the particle *yeh*, and hence scholars erroneously say, "*Ch'ing-chin* and *ch'ing-ling* are the names for two different parts of a garment, but both are decorated in blue", in order to explain the two words, "blue, blue." This a is great mistake. Moreover, there are poorly educated students who have heard that *yeh* must often appear in the classics and commentaries, and they arbitrarily add this particle many times in improper places, making their writings even more ridiculous.

Shu Ts'ai wrote a commentary on the *Book of Changes*. [5]) No scholar south of the Yangtze knows who this commentator is. Wang Chien (452-489) in his *Ssu-pu mu-lu* (Bibliography according to the fourfold classification) [6]) did not mention the author's name beyond indicating that he was a descendant of Wang Pi (226-249). [7]) Hsieh Ying [8]) and Hsia-hou Kai, [9]) both scholars who

[1]) *Ibid.*, 144, which is translated by Karlgren as "Blue is your collar" (p. 59).

[2]) See notes in the *Chinese Classics* IV. 144.

[3]) Sun Yen 孫炎, who lived in the period of the Three Kingdoms, has commentaries on the *Chou I*, *Mao-shih*, *Erh-ya* listed in Yao Chen-tsung, *San-kuo I-wen chih* 1.14, 24, 29.

[4]) Ts'ao Ta-ku 曹大家, maiden name Pan Chao 班昭, was a lady scholar of the first century, A.D. Her commentary on Liu Hsiang's *Lieh-nü chuan* 列女傳 (Biographies of eminent women) is listed in the bibliographical sections of the *Sui* (2.19) and T'ang (2.21) dynastic histories. See Nancy Lee Swann, *Pan Chao*, pp. 46-47 and *passim*.

[5]) *Chou-i chu* 周易注, 10 *chüan*, by Shu Ts'ai 蜀才 in *Sui-shu* 32.8.

[6]) Wang Chien 王儉 (T. Chung-pao 仲寶) catalogued the books in the imperial library of S. Ch'i dynasty and taught the heir apparent and other princes. The *Ssu-pu mu-lu* 四部目錄 compiled in 424 is listed in the bibliographical section of *Sui-shu* 2.28b. He has one biography in *Nan Ch'i-shu* 23.9-15 and another one in *Nan-shih* 22.4b-10b.

[7]) For Wang Pi see p. 66, n. 4.

[8]) Hsieh Chiung 謝炅 is mentioned in the biography of Yao Ssu-lien 姚思廉 in *Chiu T'ang-shu* 73.6-7b, and *Hsin T'ang-shu* 102.13b-14b. Yao Ssu-lien's father, Yao Ch'a 察, had participated in the compilation of the history of the Liang dynasty, but the work was not finished. Then in 629 Ssu-lien

have read several thousand volumes, suspect Ch'iao Chou (201-270) [1]) to be the author. Nevertheless the *Li-shu shu*, [2]) which is also entitled *Han chih-shu* 漢之書, says, "the author was Fang Ch'ang-shen 范長生 who called himself Shu Ts'ai 蜀才 or 'the genius from Shu'." After the imperial family of the Chin court crossed the Yangtze, the northern bibliographers considered this book apocryphal. Because scholars did not read attentively, they could not discover the author's name.

The chapter on the royal system ("Wang-chih") of the *Li-chi* says, "expose the arms and legs (*lo ku-kung* 羸股肱)." [3]) Cheng's commentary explains, "This means to raise (*hsüan* 揎) one's clothes in order to expose one's arms and legs." Now *hsüan* is written in all books as *huan* 擐 in the sense of *huan-chia* 擐甲, to put on one's armor). The Academy Scholar Hsiao Kai [4]) says, "擐 should be 揎, which means to put on; it does not mean to expose the arms." According to the *Tzu-lin*, Hsiao's reading pronounced *hsüan* 宣, is correct, while Hsü Yüan's [5]) pronunciation as *huan* is wrong.

In the *Han-shu*, it says, "T'ien K'en congratulated the emperor

was ordered by the emperor to finish the Liang history, so he adopted the old manuscripts by Hsieh Ying and others as a basis. In the bibliography of the *Sui-shu* (2.3) there is listed a *Liang-shu* 梁書, 49 *chüan* by a Hsieh Wu 謝吳. As William Hung pointed out, Hsieh Wu is a mistake for Hsieh Chiung 炅, who also compiled the *Liang Huang-ti shih-lu* 梁皇帝實錄, 5 *chüan*, listed in the Sui bibliography, 2.7.

[9]) Hsia-hou Kai 夏侯該 is a mistake for Hsia-hou Yung 詠 who compiled d *Han-shu yin*, 2 *chüan*, and *Ssu-sheng yün-lüeh* 四聲韻略 in 13 *chüan*. Both are listed in the Sui bibliographical section, 2.1b and 34.

[1]) Ch'iao Chou 譙周 (T. Yün-nan 允南) was a famous scholar of Sze-chwan and author of works on law, classics, history and literature. *San-kuo chih, Shu-chih* 12.9-16.

[2]) *Li-shu shu* 李蜀書 is quoted in *Tai-p'ing yü-lan* mainly as *Shu-li shu* of which a recollected edition is in *San-shih kuo ch'un-ch'iu* 三十國春秋 in *Kuang-ya ts'ung-shu* and *TSCC*.

[3]) *Li-chi*, chap. Wang-chih 王制, 4.11 (*SPTK* ed.). The phrase is translated by Legge as "(If they were to go to a distant quarter), they had to display their arms and legs." *Sacred Books of the East* XXVII. 235.

[4]) Hsiao Kai 蕭該 was a scholar of the Sui dynasty and a master of *Han-shu* and *Wen-hsüan*. His brief history is attached to Ho T'o's 何妥 biography in *Sui-shu* 75. 11b-12.

[5]) Hsü Yüan 徐爰 (T. Chang-yü 長玉, 394-475), a great scholar with unprincipled conduct, wrote a book called *Li-chi yin* 禮記音 which is listed with several other books in the bibliographical sections of the Sui and T'ang dynastic histories. *Nan-shih* 77, 5b-7b and *Sung-shu* 94, 8-15. (the *Erh-shih wu shih* edition, Taipei, 1956).

田肯賀上; *K'en* 肯 is written as *hsiao* 宵 in all the texts extant south of the Yangtze River. [1]) Liu Hsien (481-543), [2]) a native of P'ei-kuo [in Anhwei] was a widely learned classical scholar and in particular a specialist on Pan [Ku's] *Han-[shu]*, who was regarded as "the Han sage" in the Liang period. His son, Chen (527-598), [3]) who upheld the family reputation, reading (aloud) Pan's history called him T'ien K'en 田肯. (Emperor) Liang Yüan-ti once asked him why. He replied, "It is hard to trace the meaning, but in an old copy of your official's family, the word *hsiao* 宵 is changed to *k'en* 肯 in orpiment ink." Yüan-ti could not baffle him. The copy I saw north of the Yangtze also had *k'en*.

The eulogy of Wang Mang's biography in the *Han-shu* reads, "[Wang Mang] was like a purple color or a croaking sound or the leftover minutes [that are given] the place of an intercalation." This probably means that it is not a blue color, [that of heaven] nor a yellow color, [that of earth] and that it is a sound which does not agree with the [twelve] musical tubes. [4]) Recently a scholar with a fine reputation said, "Wang Mang not only had arms like a kite and eyes like a tiger, but also a purple complexion and a croaking voice." [5]) This is also a mistake.

In the expression *chien-ts'e* 簡策, meaning bamboo or wooden slips, the word *ts'e* 策 is made of bamboo 竹 above and *tz'u* 朿 below. In the *li* script of recent generations, the lower part is written like sung 宋, as in *ch'i-sung* 杞宋. There are also those who write *chia* 夾 under the bamboo part as the left side of *tz'u* 刺,

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[1]) *Han-shu*, 1B.7b Cf. Homer H. Dubs' translation, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* 110. Both editions have 田肯賀上.

[2]) Liu Hsien 劉顯 (T. Ssu-fang 嗣芳), an authority on Han history, has a biography in *Liang-shu* 40.3b-5b.

[3]) Liu Chen 劉臻 (T. Hsüan-chih 宣摯) became famous in the Liang dynasty when he was very young, and later on in the Chou he drafted many military dispatches *Sui-shu* 76.3-4. It is to be noted that it was Liu Chen and not his father, Liu Hsien, who was considered "master of the two Han histories and the Han sage," see *Pei-shih* 83, 32-33.

[4]) Since Wang Mang was an usurper, he did not represent a pure color nor a correct sound; he only occupied an extra period like the days of a calendrical intercalation. *Han-shu*, 99c, 29 b-30. cf. Homer Dubs' translation, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* III, 473-474. The same example was given in the text, p. 76, n. 2-3.

[5]) The quotation here is different from that in chapter VIII, p. 76, and also from Wang Mang's biography. The latter source says Wang is "a person who may be said to have owl's eyes, tiger's jaws, and a wolf's voice." Dubs III, 312.

which should be *tz'u* 朿; it is now also written as *chia* 夾. Hsü Hsien-min's pronunciations (of difficult words) in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Li-chi* take *chia* 筴 as the proper way of writing, and *ts'e* as the correct pronunciation; this is reversing the order. Moreover, the word *hsi* 悉 in the *Shih-chi* is misinterpreted as *shu* 述 and the word *t'u* 妬 as *kou* 姤. The commentators P'ei, Hsü [1]) and Tsou, [2]) all give the pronunciation *hsi* for *shu*, and *t'u* for *kou*. If this is the case, why could not *hai* 亥 (the twelfth branch) be misread as *shih* 豕 (pig), and *ti* 帝 (emperor) as *hu* 虎 (tiger)? [3])

Chang I [4]) said, "*Fu* 虙 is now *Fu Hsi* 伏羲." Meng K'ang in his *Han-shu ku-wen chu* [5]) (Notes on the archaic characters in the *Han-shu*) also said "*fu* 虙 is now *fu* 伏;" but Huang-fu Mi [6]) said "*Fu Hsi* 伏羲 was sometimes called *Mi Hsi* 宓羲." Note that there is no such name as Mi Hsi in all the classics, histories, and apocrypha. The word *fu* 虙 is derived from the radical *hu* 虎, while *mi* 宓 is made of the radical *mien* 宀, although the lower part of the two characters is *pi* 必. After copying and recopying, *fu* 虙 was miswritten as *mi* 宓. Hence, the *Ti-wang shih-chi* (Genealogy of ancient emperors) erroneously created a new name. How can we prove it? Well, Fu Tzu-chien 虙子賤, a disciple of Confucius and magistrate of Shan-fu 單父, was a descendent of Fu Hsi 虙羲. A vulgar reading has *Mi* 宓 (Tzu-chien), and sometimes *shan* 山 is added (密). Fortunately the city of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 in Yen-chou 兗州 [Shantung] is the old home of Shan-fu; and at its east gate there is a stone tablet about Tzu-chien which was written during the Han dynasty. On this tablet it says, "Fu-sheng 伏生 of Chi-nan 濟南 was a descendant of Tzu-chien 子賤." Hence, we know that

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[1]) Here the full names should be P'ei Yin (see p. 79, n. 5), Hsü Kuang 徐廣 (T. Yeh-min 野民, 352-425) a profound scholar who wrote *Shih-chi yin-i* 史記音義, 12 *chüan*. See *Chin-shu* 82.22-23, *Sung-shu*, 55.5b-8, and *Nan-shih* 33.15b-15.

[2]) Tsou Tan-sheng 鄒誕生 of the Liang period compiled a *Shih-chi-yin* 史記音, 3 *chüan*, listed in the bibliographical sections of the Sui and T'ang histories.

[3]) Hai 亥 and shih 豕, ti 帝 and hu 虎 look somewhat alike in the seal character.

[4]) For Chang I, see p. 79, n. 10.

[5]) Meng K'ang 孟康, *Han-shu ku-wen chu* 漢書古文注 is not listed in the *Combined Indices to Twenty Historical Bibliographies*; his *Han-shu yin-i* 音義 appears in the two T'ang bibliographies.

[6]) For Huang-fu Mi, see p. 62, n. 5. He was the author of the *Ti-wang shih-chi* 帝王世紀.

in ancient times the two forms of *fu* 虙 and 伏 could be used interchangeably, and it is easy to see that *mi* 宓 is a mistake. [1])

T'ai-shih-kung [Ssu-ma Ch'ien] says in his [*Shih-*] *chi*, "Better be a chicken's beak than an ox's buttocks (*ning wei chi k'ou, wu wei niu hou* 寧為雞口, 毋為牛後)." [2]) This is merely from a revised version of the *Chan-kuo ts'e* ("Intrigues of the Warring States"). [3]) According to Yen Tu's *Chan-kuo-ts'e yin-i*, [4]) *shih* 尸 is the lord of roosters, *ts'ung* 從 means a calf. [5]) It follows then that *k'ou* should be replaced by *shih*, and *hou* by *ts'ung*; these are copyists' errors. [6])

Ying Shao's *Feng-su t'ung* says, [7]) "T'ai-shih-kung notes that Kao Chien-li 高漸離 changed his two names and became a servant hiding himself at Sung-tzu. [8]) After a long time he was tired of the hard work. When he heard a guest playing a lute in the hall, his own dexterity (on this instrument) itched him (*chi-yang* 伎癢), but he could not say a word." *Chi-yang* means that he thought of his ability to play and his belly felt itchy. Thus P'an Yo's *She-chih fu* (a descriptive poem about shooting a pheasant) also says, "But his mind is excited and his skill itches." [9]) Now all the present texts of *Shih-chi* replace *chi-yang* by *p'ei-huai* 徘徊, restlessness, or by the phrase, "he is restless and cannot keep silent." These errors are simply due to vulgar copyists.

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[1]) As additional evidence for Yen's conclusion we may quote James Legge: "Fu Pu-ch'i, styled Tzu-chien 宓 [(*al.*) 密 and 虙, all = 伏] 不齊, 字子賤)." The *Chinese Classics* I. Proleg. 119.

[2]) In Su Ch'in's 蘇秦 biography, *Shih-chi* 69.9b.

[3]) *Chan-kuo ts'e*, "Han Ts'e" 韓策 26.2 (*SPPY* ed.)

[4]) Yen Tu 延篤 of the Han dynasty has a *Chan-kuo ts'e lun* 論 listed in the bibliographical sections of the Sui and T'ang dynastic histories.

[5]) Then the sentence should be read, "*Ning wei chi shih, wu wei niu ts'ung*" and translated as "It is better to be a lord of roosters than to be a little calf."

[6]) But, according to the commentators, Yen Chih-t'ui's premature conclusion, without supporting evidence, is unacceptable.

[7]) For Ying Shao, see p. 79, n. 8. His *Feng-su t'ung* 風俗通, 31 *chüan*, is now entitled *Feng-su t'ung-i* 義, 10 *chüan*. The quotation is not in the current edition in *SPPY* and *Han-wei ts'ung-shu* collections, but it is in the notes of Li Shan's commentary on *Wen-hsüan* 9.8.

[8]) *Shih-chi*, 86.17b-18. Sung tzu 宋子 was a district in modern Chü-lu, Hopei.

[9]) For P'an Yo see p. 77, n. 1. His She-chih fu 射雉賦 "The Foo on Pheasant Shooting" was translated by J. Chalmers, *Chinese Review, Notes and Queries* 1 (1872-73), 322-324. The original text is in *Wen-hsüan* 9.5b-9b, not translated by von Zach.

T'ai-shih-kung's remark on Ying Pu 英布 reads: "The misfortune, born of his love for a concubine and bred in jealousy and flattery (*tu-mei* 妬媚), eventually destroyed his kingdom." [1]) Also in the *Han-shu*, the Biography of maternal relatives says, "The death of a favorite concubine was the result of jealousy (*tu-mei*)." [2]) These two *mei* 媚 should be written *mao* 嫉, which means jealousy, [3]) a meaning given in the *Li-chi* and the *San-ts'ang*. Moreover, the *Wu-tsung shih-chia* [the Hereditary House of the five sons by different mothers, a chapter of the *Shih-chi*] also says, "The queen of Prince Hsien 憲王 of Ch'ang-shan 常山 was jealous" (*tu-mao* 妬嫉); [4]) and Wang Ch'ung's *Lun-heng* says, "Jealous (*tu*) husband and jealous (*mao*) wife were born angry and quarrelsome." [5]) Thus again we know that *tu* and *mao* are synonyms. Ying Pu's 英布 execution was caused by his suspicion (*i* 意) of Fei He 賁赫 [having sexual relations with his concubine]. This is not flattery (*mei* 媚).

The Basic Annals of Shih-huang in the *Shih-chi* says, "In the 28th year (219 B.C.) Minister Wei Lin 隗林, Minister Wang Kuan 王綰 and others had a meeting on the sea (shore)." [6]) *Lin* 林 appears in all recensions (of the *Shih-chi*) as *lin*, "a forest." In the fifth month of 582 (the second year of K'ai-huang of the Sui dynasty), people of Ch'ang-an dug out the weight of an iron balance of the Ch'in dynasty, on the sides of which two inscriptions were engraved on a bronze cover. One reads, "In the twenty-sixth year (221 B.C.), the [First] Emperor completely annexed all feudatories under the heaven, and the commoners (lit. black-heads) enjoyed great security. He established the title, *Huang-ti* (emperor), and then he ordered the ministers [Wei] Chuang [隗] 狀 and [Wang] Kuan [王] 綰 to codify the regulations and units of measurement which hitherto had not been uniform and clear." The number of characters is forty. The other inscription reads, "In the first year (209 B.C.) [of the Second Emperor of Ch'in] a decree instructed the ministers [Li] Ssu [李] 斯 and [Feng] Ch'ü-chi [馮] 去疾 saying that "The

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[1]) *Shih-chi* 91.9, the concluding remark; cf. Watson, I, 207.

[2]) *Han-shu* 97B. 17. The widow of Han Ch'eng-ti (r. 32-8 B.C.) was jealous of the concubine, Chao, and finally caused her death.

[3]) *Mao*, according to the *Shuo-wen*, is a husband's jealousy of his wife, while *tu* is a wife's jealousy of her husband (12B. 15b, *SPPY* ed.).

[4]) *Shih-chi* 59.7b.

[5]) Forke, I, 196.

[6]) *Shih-chi* 6.17.

laws and units of measurement were entirely made by the First Emperor and the statements were all inscribed. Now although I have inherited his title of '*Shih-huang-ti*', it should not appear on stone inscriptions for his (the First Emperor's) name will be long lasting. If my successors make inscriptions, they should not praise (personal) accomplishments and splendid virtue. Inscribe this decree on the left [of the first inscription] so that there should be no doubt." [1]) This inscription consists of fifty-eight characters, of which one is obliterated, while fifty-seven are perfectly clear. The style of both inscriptions is the archaic *li* script. I was ordered (by the Ch'i emperor) to copy and read it, and Li Te-lin (531-591), [2]) the court's chief secretary (*nei-shih ling*), [3]) was assigned to proof-read it. At present the weight of this iron-balance is in the official treasury. Now the minister's name is *Chuang* 狀 as in *chuang-mao* 狀貌 (manner, style) and is formed from *ch'iang* 爿 and *ch'üan* 犬. Hence, it is a mistake to write Minister Wei Lin 林 in vulgar versions. It should be Wei Chuang 狀.

The *Han-shu* says, "(People) within and without (China) are secure and happy (*chung-wai shih-fu* 中外禔福)." [4]) *T'i*, with the radical *shih* 示, means secure and is pronounced *shih* as in *shih-pi* 匙匕 (spoon); its meaning is given in the *Ts'ang Ya* and *Fang-yen*. All scholars north of the Yellow River agree, but many versions south of the Yangtze mistakenly write *t'i* 提 with the radical *shou* 手 (hand) in the sense of *t'i-ch'ieh* 提挈 (to help or carry), used by writers in parallel sentences. I am afraid this is a mistake.

Someone asked about the following commentary in the *Han-shu*: "Because Empress Yüan's father's personal name was Chin 禁,

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[1]) Cf. Edouard Chavannes, *Mh* II, 550.

[2]) Li Te-lin 李德林 (T. Kung-fu 公輔) was a distinguished scholar and statesman, a colleague of Yen Chih-t'ui in the Wen-lin kuan, and a court secretary or ghost writer of official dispatches. He served the Northern Ch'i and the Sui dynasties. He started the compilation of the *Pei-Ch'i shu*, which was completed by his son, Li Po-yo. His biographies are in *Pei-shih*, 72.18-22, and *Sui-shu* 42.1-18.

[3]) Nei-shih-ling 內史令 is the same as Chung-shu ling 中書令 "President of the Imperial Secretariat," as it is translated by H. S. Levy in the *Biography of An Lu-shan* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1960) 45.

[4]) In the biography of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, *Han-shu* 57B, 7b. Note 禔 in Karlgren's ancient pronunciation is *tśie* and in Giles' dictionary *chih* or *t'i*. 匙 in ancient pronunciation is *si* or *tś'i* and in modern pronunciation is *shih* or *ch'ih*.

the expression *chin-chung* 禁中 (the forbidden palace) was changed to *sheng-chung* 省中. Why was *sheng* chosen to replace *chin*?" [1]) The answer is that according to the *Chou-li*, the chief palace guard (*kung-cheng* 宮正) was in charge of the laws and prohibitions in the royal palace; he investigated and enforced all restrictions (*chiu-chin* 糾禁). Cheng's commentary explains that *chiu* 糾 means to incise and to examine. Li Teng [2]) says, "*sheng* 省 means to examine," and Chang I also says, "*sheng* now means to examine or investigate (*sheng-ch'a* 省詧)." Thus the two spellings 小井 and 所領 are both to be explained as "to examine". Since in the palace there are frequent examinations by the guards, therefore *sheng* was used for the taboo word *chin* 禁. *Ch'a* 詧 is the archaic form of *ch'a* 察.

According to the Basic Annals of Han Ming-ti (r. 58-75), he "set up schools for the minor lords of the four families." [3]) It is to be noted that when Huan-ti mounted the throne [in 147], he also granted silk to the minor lords of the four families and to the Liang and Teng clans. So we know they were all maternal relatives. During Ming-ti's time the four families, the maternal relatives of the Fan, Kuo, Yin and Ma were called minor lords, possibly because they were enfeoffed in their youth, and it was necessary to set up schools for them. Some people consider that those who attended temple worship and appeared at the imperial court but were not regular feudal lords were called the minor lords. The *Li-chi* says, "The princelets of various tracts" [4]) and that gives us the right idea.

The *Hou-Han shu* says, "A crane catches three eels (*shan-yü* 鱓魚)." [5]) This *shan* can be used interchangeably with *chan* 鱣 (the sturgeon). Nevertheless, poorly educated students mistook the *shan* as *chan*. Now according to (Emperor) Wei Wu's 魏武 *Ssu-shih shih-chih* 四時食制 (Cookbook for the four seasons), the sturgeon is as large as a box which holds five bushels and as long as ten feet; while Kuo P'o's notes on the *Erh-ya* say, "The *chan* fish is 20 or 30 feet long." A crane can never take one; how could it take three? Moreover, the skin of *chan* is a pure ash color with no pattern. On the other hand, the eel (*shan*) is not longer than

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[1]) *Han-shu* 6, 1b; Dubs II, 152.
[2]) For Li Teng see p. 42, n. 2.
[3]) *Hou-Han shu* 2.13.
[4]) *Ch'ü-li* B, Sacred Books of the East XXVII, III.
[5]) *Hou-Han shu* 7.4.

three feet and not larger than three fingers in diameter, and its skin is yellow with a black pattern on it. An old student [of Yang Chen] said, "The snake-like eel resembles the costumes of high officials." [1]) The *Hsü Han-shu* and *Sou-shen chi* [2]) also mention this story and both write *shan* 鱓 for eel. Sun Ch'ing [Hsün Tzu] says, "Fish, turtle, loach and eel (*chan* 鱣);" and both *Han Fei-tzu* and *Shuo-yüan* describe *shan* as like a snake, and a silkworm as like a green caterpillar. [3]) In these two cases, eel is written as *chan* 鱣. *Chan* and *shan* have been used interchangeably in the borrowed sense for a long time.

The *Hou-Han shu,* Ku-li chuan (Biographies of tyrannical officials) say, "Fan Yeh 樊曄 was prefect of T'ien-shui; the people of Liang-chou [4]) made a folk song, part of which said, 'We prefer to visit the den (穴 *hsüeh*) of a suckling tigress to stepping into the office of the Chi district'." [5]) *Hsüeh* is miswritten *liu* (six 六) in all versions current south of the Yangtze, and students have followed this reading blindly without realizing this error. It is obvious that a tiger or leopard lives in a den, and for this reason Pan Ch'ao (31-101) said, "Without entering a tiger's den, how can we catch its cub?" [6]) How could it be mistaken for six (六) or seven?

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[1]) The background of this statement is in Yang Chen's 楊震 biography in *Hou-Han shu* 84, 1b-2. Yang Chen, a slightly eccentric scholar, would not return the social calls of local officials, but instead preferred to teach school on a lake shore. After doing so for a few decades, a crane came one day carrying three eels (*chan* 鱣) and stopped in front of Yang's lecture hall. His best student took the fish to him saying that the color of the eel skin signified the costume of high officials, and that the number three suggested the three high government bureaus. These signs were taken to mean that the teacher might be advanced to a high government position. The commentator explains that *chan* 鱓, 鱣 can be used interchangeably.

[2]) Hsü Han-shu 續漢書 or *Hou-Han shu* by Hsieh Ch'eng 謝承 of the Chin dynasty is listed in the bibliographical sections of the Sui and T'ang dynastic histories. A reconstructed edition is in *Ch'i-chia Hou-Han shu* 七家後漢書, compiled by Wang Wen-t'ai 汪文臺, block-print edition of 1882. *Sou-shen chi* 搜神記 (a collection of supernatural legends) by Kan Pao 干寶 of the Chin period, is in *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* and other collections. Yang Chen's story is not located in the 20 *chüan* edition.

[3]) The reference is in *Hsün Tzu,* 10, *Fu-kuo p'ien,* 6, 6; *Han Fei tzu, Shuo-lin,* B, 8.1b *Nei-ch'u-shuo,* A, 9.12b; *Shuo-yüan* 說苑 16.8; all *SPPY* ed.

[4]) T'ien-shui 天水 has been changed to Liang-chou 涼州 since A.D. 74; it is a district in Kansu.

[5]) *Hou-Han shu* 107. 4b. Chi 冀 hsien means T'ien shui.

[6]) *Hou-Han shu,* Pan Ch'ao's 班超 biography, 77, 2b. This sentence means "Nothing ventured, nothing gained."

The *Hou-Han shu*, Yang Yu's biography says, "The wind blows (and) scrapes (*hsiao* 削) the lung (*fei* 肺)" [1]) This (*fei* 肺) should be *fei* 柿, which are the shavings obtained when scraping documents. In ancient times, a copying error (on bamboo or wooden tablets) was scraped off; [2]) hence, the *Tso-chuan* says, "To scrape [the document] and cast it away." [3]) That is the idea. Some people referred to wooden tablet (*cha* 札) as whittled plates (*hsiao* 削), as in Wang Pao's "contract for a young slave" [whose duties included] "whittling wooden plates to take the place of [commercially prepared] tablets." [4]) In a letter, Su Ching said, "Formerly my talent was used for rubbing the inkstone, compiling scraped (official tablets)." [5]) All these are evidence (to prove that *fei* 柿 was a wooden tablet). The *Book of Odes* says, "They hew the trees; it sounds *hu-hu* 滹沱." Mao's commentary explains, "*Hu-hu* describes [the sound of] whittling." [6]) The historian borrowed *fei* 柿 in the sense of *kan-fei* 肝肺 liver and lung; the common text (of the *Hou-Han shu*) accordingly uses *fu* 脯, which

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[1]) Yang Yu 楊由 was a magician and a fortune-teller. The sentence is taken from Yang's biography in *Hou-Han shu* 112A.10b. The text reads "Feng ch'ui hsiao fu 風吹削哺" in current editions of *Hou-Han shu*. Fu means "to feed by hand" and it makes no sense in the four-character clause. The early *Hou-Han shu* commentator, the heir-apparent Chang Huai 章懷 (651-684) said that fu 哺 should be *fei* 柿. Hui Tung 惠棟 (1697-1758) based on *I-pu ch'i-chiu chuan* 益部耆舊傳, which was written by Ch'en Shu 陳術 in the period of the Three Kingdoms, also believed that *fu* should be 柿 (*Hou-Han shu pu-chu* 19, p. 904). In *YSCH*, the clause is "Feng ch'ui hsiao fei 肺." Yen's point of contention is that fei 肺 is wrong; it should be 柿 which has two pronunciations, *fei* and *shih*. This pharagraph offers us a good example of the shortcomings of Chinese language for it has many homophones and different forms of handwriting and printing which in ancient times could be used in the borrowed or adoptive sense. In modern times they are very confusing. See *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu ku-lin*, pp. 2613b-2616; 2771-2773, and *K'ang-hsi tzu-tien* under 柿.

[2]) For an excellent discussion on "documents of bamboo and wood," see Tsuen-hsun Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk*, the University of Chicago Press, 1962, 90-113. Professor Tsien translates *shih* 柿 as "wooden slice."

[3]) *The Chinese Classics*, V. 534.

[4]) For Wang Pao see p. 86, n. 3. Cf. C. Martin Wilbur's translation in *Slavery in China*, 387.

[5]) Su Ching 蘇竟 (T. Po-k'uang 伯況) was made a *shih-chung* 侍中, court attendant or chamberlain, in A.D. 29 and was assigned compilation or editing work in the palace library. *Hou-Han shu* 60. 1-5.

[6]) The *Chinese Classics* IV. 254; and Karlgren's translation of the *Book of Odes* 109.

means dried meat, or *fu* 哺, which means returning the feeding [as a young crow feeds the old ones]. Scholars therefore explained that *hsiao-fu* 削哺 is a name for a screen. This is groundless and fantastic. This [unscholarly] explanation is exactly the type of work entitled *feng-chiao chan-hou* or (observing) wind directions for foretelling the weather. [1]) The *Feng-chiao shu* says, "The wind for the common people blows against the soil, spreads the dust and whirls around the scrapings." [2]) If it were a screen, how could it whirl around anything?

The *San-fu chüeh-lu* [3]) says, "The grand administrator of Ch'ien-sui, (*Ch'ien-sui ta-fu*) [4]) Fan Chung-kung 范仲公, put salt, salted beans and garlic (*suan-kuo* 蒜果) into one tub." *Kuo* 果 should be *k'o* 顆, as in the name Wei K'o. [5]) In the north, people usually call 'one piece' (*i-k'uai* 一塊) *i-k'o* 一顆. *Suan-k'o* 蒜顆 was a popular term. Therefore, Ch'en Ssu-wang's *fu* of the sparrow hawk says, "Its head is like a garlic bulb (*suan k'o*) and its eyes like whole peppers." Moreover, the Sacred book of the Tao (*Tao-ching* [6]) says, "As they hummed the sacred book in chorus, their voices were tinkling; the tears from their eyes came down like grains (*k'o* 磕) of pearl." Although the character is different, the pronunciation and meaning are somewhat the same (as those of *k'o* 顆). South of the Yangtze people say only *suan-fu* (蒜符 garlic) and do not say *suan-k'o* 顆. Scholars follow each other in reading this word as *kuo* 裹, meaning a package, and they say that the salt and garlic were wrapped in one package and put in a tub. In the *Cheng-*

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[1]) In the bibliographical section of the *Sui-shu* (34.3b), there is a *Feng-chiao chan-hou* 風角占候, 4 *chüan*.

[2]) *Feng-chiao shu* 風角書 12 *chüan* listed in the bibliographical section of *Sui-shu*, 3.20b. Such works on divination cannot make much logical sense.

[3]) *San-fu chüeh-lu* 三輔決錄, 3 *chüan*, was written by Chao Ch'i (see pp. 75, n. 1, and 122, n. 5). This passage is quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 977.4 and it is [an item of folklore], usually rhymed, to praise the frugality of the governor. Cf. Liu P'an-sui's notes in *HSCK*, 2.14.

[4]) Ch'ien-sui ta-fu 前隊大夫 was an official title under the reign of Wang Mang whose Nan-yang commandery was called Ch'ien-sui, and Grand (Administrator) ta-fu. Cf. Hans Bielenstein, *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty* 108, n. 1.

[5]) Wei K'o 魏顆, an official of Chin, is mentioned in the 15th year of Duke Hsüan, *The Chinese Classics* V, 326.

[6]) This *Tao-ching* 道經 is identified by Liu P'an-sui as the *Lao-tzu hua-hu ching* 老子化胡經 discovered in the Tun-huang caves. In this work there are words identical with Yen's quotation. *HSCK*, I. 9.

shih hsiao-fan (Abridgment of Dynastic Histories),[1] (the glossary) on pronunciations and meaning spells *suan-k'o* as *suan-ko*, and that is also a mistake.

Someone asked me, "In the *Wei-chih*, Chiang Chi submits a memorial in which he speaks of "the exhausted people, *pi-kuei chih-min* 弊劾之民." [2] What is the 劾 character? I replied, "I imagine it is *kuei* 劾 as the *kuei* 敧 in "*kuei-chüan* 倦 (exhausted)." [3] Both Chang I and Lü Shen said, [4] "This word is made of *chih* 支 and *tao* 刀; it is also written *chi* 剞 (a deep-cutting chisel)." I do not know whether it was Chiang (Chi) who coined a character with *li* 力 (instead of *tao* 刀) at the side of *chih* 支 or perhaps borrowing it for *chi* 剞; in any case, 劾 should be spelled *kuei*. [5]

The *Chin Chung-hsing shu* (Book on the Revival of the Chin dynasty) [6] says, "Yang Man (274-328) of T'ai-shan was frequently careless and adventurous, indulging in wine until dawn. [7] People at Yen-chou [8] called him Uncle 酳." This character has neither pronunciation nor meaning. Emperor Liang Hsiao-yüan (r. 552-554) once told me, "No one ever knew this character, but Chang Chien-hsien taught me that it is *t'a* as in *t'a-keng* 嚃羹 (to drink soup with

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[1] *Cheng-shih hsiao-fan* 正史削繁 94 *chüan*, by Juan Hsiao-hsü 阮孝緒 is listed in the Sui bibliographical section, 33.7b.

[2] Chiang Chi's 蔣濟 biography is in *San-kuo-chih, Wei-chih* 14, 25b-32. The phrase discussed by Yen Chih-t'ui is written as 弊敧之民 14.29h.

[3] Yen's original note: "The *Yao-yung tzu-yüan* indicates: 敧 is spelled ch[iu 九 and w]ei 偽 = chei. This character also appears in *Kuang-ya* and Ch'en-ssu-wang's collection.

[4] For Chang I and Lü Shen see p. 79, n. 10 and p. 79, n. 4 respectively.

[5] Note 劾 or 敧 can be pronounced as k'i (or ch'i) and kuei. See Couvreur's *Dictionnaire Classique*, the Trindex, p. 27, and Giles, 6446. These two pronunciations caused Yen's explanation.

[6] The *Chin Chung-hsing shu* 晉中興書 (78 *chüan*) was written by Ho Fa-sheng 何法盛, who was a prefect (*t'ai-shou* 太守) of Hsiang-tung 湘東 [Heng-yang, Hunan]. His book is listed in the dynastic histories of the Sui (2, 2b) and T'ang (*Old T'ang History* 1,22 and *New T'ang* 2, 2b). It is no longer extant; some of its parts have been collected by Huang Shih 黃奭 in *Huang-shih i-shu k'ao* 黃氏逸書考 (A study of lost books by Mr. Huang) which is also called *Han-hsüeh-t'ang ts'ung-shu* 漢學堂叢書. Another copy is in T'ang Ch'iu 湯球, *Chiu-chia chiu chin-shu chi-pen* 九家舊晉書輯本, 7 *chüan*, pp. 385-492 (*TSCC* ed.).

[7] Yang Man 羊曼 (T. Tsu-yen 祖延), one of the eight notable drinkers of the Chin period, has a biography in *Chin-shu* 49. 23b-25b.

[8] Yen-chou 兗州 was in the southeast of modern Fan-hsien 范縣, Shantung.

a noise)." [1]) Thereafter this explanation was accepted even though no one knows the etymology (of 虺沓). (Chang) Chien-hsien is the posthumous name of Chang Tsuan, governor (*tz'u-shih*) of Hsiang-chou [in Hunan], and is considered an eminent scholar by the people south of the Yangtze. [2]) I remark that in [Ho] Fa-sheng's time, which was very near that period, the elders said that there was a popular expression *t'a-t'a* 虺沓虺沓, meaning that everything may be done and everything may be tolerated. Ku Yeh-wang's *Yü P'ien* (dictionary) miswrote it as 黯沓. [3]) Although Ku is erudite, he is still inferior to Chang Chien-hsien and Emperor Hsiao-yüan, both of whom say the side of the character was *chung* 重. Of the several copies I saw none is written with the side *hei* 黑. *Chung-t'a* 重沓 means repetition of forgiveness and accumulation of kindness. If it is written with *hei*, it becomes meaningless. [4])

In the *Collection of Old Songs* from the "Music-Bureau," [5]) (*Ku Yüeh-fu* 古樂府), a song first mentions three sons and then mentions three wives (*fu* 婦). The word *fu* refers to the daughter-in-law in regard to her parents-in-law. The last stanza reads, "May the Elders (*chang-jen* 丈人) sit quietly for the time being; the silk arrangement has not been done yet." In ancient times a son's wife served her parents-in-law by waiting on them day and night in the same manner as the sons or daughters of the parents-in-law. This is the meaning of the song. *Chang-jen* is an elder; at present it is still the custom to refer to the deceased grandfather as "the late *chang-jen*." Some people suspect that *chang* 丈 should be *ta* 大

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[1]) In Couvreur's *Dictionnaire Classique*, 虺沓 is pronounced *ta* (p. 541) 黯沓 *t'a* (p. 1059) and 噠遂 *t'a* (p. 155).

[2]) Chang Tsuan 張纘 (T. Po-hsü 伯緒), a son-in-law of Liang Wu-ti, was a man of gallant appearance and high scholarship. His posthumous name was Chien-hsien 簡憲; *Liang-shu* 34, 2b-14 and *Nan-shih* 56.4b-8b.

[3]) Ku Yeh-wang 顧野王 (T. Hsi-p'ing 希馮, 519-581) was a distinguished scholar who made contributions to the suppression of the Hou Ching Rebellion. He was author, *inter alia*, of the *Yü-p'ien* 玉篇 dictionary, 30 *chüan*, which is based on the *Shuo-wen* and arranged under 542 radicals. The dictionary is no longer extant in its entirety. *Ch'en-shu* 30. 46-6; and *Nan-shih* 69.12-13.

[4]) From the context, then, one gathers that Uncle T'a may mean a kindhearted and good-natured gentleman. While Yen Chih-t'ui thought that *t'a* should be written as 虺沓, not as 黯沓, the *Po-na* and the Palace editions of the *Chin-shu* write 黯沓, indicating that Yen's criticism was not always heeded by later publishers.

[5]) For a brief discussion of Yüeh-fu, see Hightower, 49-52; Ch'en Shou-yi 128-32; and Liu Wu-chi, *An Introduction to Chinese Literature*, 45-47.

(great). In the north it is customary for a daughter-in-law to call her father-in-law *ta-jen-kung* 大人公. It is easy to confuse *chang* and *ta*. Modern men-of-letters like to write poems about the three wives, referring to the wife, the concubine, and the mistress using in addition unrefined expressions of the Cheng and Wei states. O refined gentlemen, how mistaken you are!

In the *Collection of Old Songs* a folk-song about Po-li Hsi reads, "Po-li Hsi had only five sheep skins. Do you remember the time of your departure, when I [your wife] cooked for you the only sitting hen and even burned the door bar for fuel (*ch'ui yen-i* 吹扈扆)? Now you are rich and noble, why do you forget me?" [1] *Ch'ui* 吹 (to blow) should be *ch'ui* 炊 (cooking), Ts'ai Yung's *Yüeh-ling chang-chü* says, "*Chien* is a bolt to lock up a door: it is sometimes called *yen-i* 剡移." Then it is clear that the family was so poor that even the door bar had to be used for fuel. The *Sheng-lei* dictionary (Classification by sounds) has the *yen* written as 扈; sometimes it is also in the form 戺.

The *T'ung-su wen* is generally attributed to the pen of Fu Ch'ien (T. Tzu-shen 子慎), a native of Honan. [2] Although Ch'ien was a man of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), the introduction to his book quotes Su Lin 蘇林 and Chang I, both of whom lived in the Wei period (221-265). Furthermore before Cheng Hsüan (127-200) scholars did not understand the *fan-yü* system, [3] and yet the author of the *T'ung-su wen* is very familiar with it. Juan Hsiao-hsü (479-536) [4] attributed to Li Ch'ien 李虔 the authorship

[1] Po-li Hsi 百里奚, 7th century B.C., a poor fugitive from the Yü state, was once kidnapped by some ruffians. The Ch'in state offered five ramskins for his ransom and later made him minister of state. When he first became a fugitive, he left his wife behind; she later sang the song as follows:

> Po-li Hsi, of ram-skin fame,
> Have you forgotten how we cooked the hen
> At parting, by burning the window-frame?
> You are richer now than you were then,
> And you think no more of your poor old dame.

See Giles' *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, 631-632; and Shang K'uei-chai 尚達齋, "Po-li Hsi K'ao," *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 30.12 (June, 1965) 19-23.

[2] For Fu Ch'ien *T'ung-su wen* see p. 80, n. 1.

[3] *Fan-yü* 反語 or *fan-ch'ieh* 切 is the Chinese way of spelling which uses the initial part of one syllable with the final part of another; e.g., the character *yung* is spelled y[in-s] ung = yung. See Tai T'ung, *The Six Scripts* 48.

[4] Juan Hsiao-hsü 阮孝緒 (T. Shih-tsung 士宗), a hermit and Taoist scholar, is famous for his bibliographical study *Ch'i-lu* 七錄 or the seven divisions of Chinese books. *Liang-shu* 51. 9b-11; and *Nan-shih* 6.6-9.

(of the *T'ung-su wen*). My family had a copy of this book made north of the Yellow River. But it was not attributed to Li Ch'ien, nor is this title listed in the bibliographies of the *Chin Chung-ching po* [1]) and *Ch'i-chih.* [2]) I do not know who the author is. Nevertheless, its style and content are satisfying; it must have been done by a man of high ability. Yin Chung-k'an's *Ch'ang-yung tzu-hsün* (Meanings of common characters) [3]) also quotes Fu Ch'ien's *Su-shuo* 俗說 which is no longer extant. Whether the latter is the same as the *T'ung-su wen*, whether there has been more recently another Fu Ch'ien, is not clear to me. [4])

Someone asked, "The *Shan-hai ching* 山海經 (Mountains and Seas Classic) was written by Yü 禹 and I 益 of the Hsia dynasty and yet there are in this book not a few commanderies or prefectures such as Ch'ang-sha 長沙, Ling-ling 零陵, Kuei-yang 桂陽 and Chu-chi 諸暨 [names which appeared much later than the author's time]. Why?' The reply is that historical books have long been incomplete. In addition the Ch'in emperor tried to destroy scholarship, and Tung Cho (d. 192 A.D.) burned books; [5]) these acts caused disorder not only in this book but in other records and scriptures. Take, for example, the *Pen-ts'ao* 本草 ("*Materia Medica*") compiled by Shen Nung, in which there were inserted later geographic names such as Yü-chang 豫章, Chu-yai 朱崖, Chao-kuo 趙國, Ch'ang-shan 常山, Feng-kao 奉高, Chien-ting 眞定, Lin-tzu 臨淄, Feng-hsiang 馮翊 and other commanderies or prefectures where various herbs

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[1]) Hsün Hsü 荀勖 (T. Kung-tseng 公曾 d. 289), author of the *Chin Chung-ching po* 晉中經簿 and several other works dealing with music and the Bamboo Books, has a biography in *Chin-shu* 39.10-16.

[2]) The *Ch'i-chih* 七志 was compiled by Wang Chien, see p. 162, n. 6.

[3]) Yin Chung-k'an 殷仲堪 (d. 399), author of the *Ch'ang-yung tzu-hsün* 常用字訓 which is listed in the Sui bibliography but is no longer extant. He has a biography in *Chin-shu*, 84.11-18b.

[4]) Yen Chih-t'ui's question is answered by Professor William Hung who says that, according to Yao Chen-tsung's *Sui-shu ching-chi chih k'ao-ch'eng* (Studies on the bibliography of the *Sui-shu*), both Su Lin and Chang I lived at the beginning of Wei and could see Fu Ch'ien; while Li Ch'ien was the author of a supplement to the *T'ung-su wen* which is listed in the bibliographical section of the *Old T'ang History*. See Hung's comment in YSCHHC, 108-109.

[5]) Tung Cho 董卓, a notorious general, burnt the capital, Loyang, in A. D. 190 when all government buildings, temples and private homes within a radius of some two hundred *li* were destroyed by fire. This was one of the great disasters for books. *Hou-Han shu* 102.1-22.

were produced. [1]) The *Erh-ya* was compiled by the Duke of Chou and yet it mentions Chang Chung 張仲, "the filial and brotherly" [of a later period]. [2]) Chung Ni [Confucius] prepared the *Ch'un-ch'iu* (*The Spring and Autumn Annals*), and yet this classic records the date of his death. [3]) The *Shih-pen* 世本 was from the pen of Tso-ch'iu Ming 左丘明, [4]) and in it Yen-wang Hsi 燕王喜 and Han Kao-tsu [of later generations] are mentioned. In an old tomb [of the Wei state] at Chi-(chün) are found the *So-yü* in which were recorded even the eulogistic stone-tablet inscriptions of the Ch'in dynasty. [5]) The *Ts'ang-chieh p'ien* [6]) was compiled by Li Ssu (d. 208 B.C.) [7]) and yet it says, "The Han united the empire, peace prevailed within the (four) seas; [Ch'en] Hsi [陳] 豨, Ch'ing [Pu] 黥 [布], Han [Hsin] 韓 [信] perished, and the rebels were suppressed and their remnants extinguished." The conclusion of the *Lieh-hsien chuan* (Biographies of Taoist immortals), [8]) [supposedly] written by Liu Hsiang, says "Seventy-four of the biographies are taken from Buddhist sutras." [9]) The *Lieh-nü chuan* (Biographies of

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[1]) These place names were adopted in the Ch'in and Han periods.

[2]) The *Chinese Classics* IV. 284

[3]) The 16th year of Duke Ai, 480 B.C., The *Chinese Classics* V. 843.

[4]) Yen's original note: "This idea comes from Huang-fu Mi's *Ti-wang shih-chi* 帝王世紀."

[5]) *So-yü* 瑣語, 11 *chüan*, written in archaic script on "bamboo slips," was discovered among other works from an old tomb of a prince of Wei by a tomb robber in A. D. 279, at Chi-chün 汲郡 in the northern part of present Honan. The authenticity of books from this source has been challenged. See *Chin-shu*, Shu Chih's 束晳 biography, 51. 19b-26b, especially 24-25; Chavannes, *Mh*, II. 185-86, and Jung Keng 容庚 "Ch'in Shih-huang k'o-shih k'ao 秦始皇刻石考" *YCHP*, XVII (1935) 125-171.

[6]) For *Ts'ang-chieh p'ien* see p. 41, n. 3.

[7]) Li Ssu 李斯 the renowned minister and righthand man of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti is said to have invented the Small Seal Script and the compilation of *Ts'ang-chien p'ien* is attributed to him. *Shih-chi* 87.7-8, 20-21, and Derk Bodde, *China's First Unifier* 148-151.

[8]) *Lieh-hsien chuan* 列仙傳 attributed to Liu Hsiang (p. 84, n. 1) is considered a forgery by some later compilers. It has been translated into French by Max Kaltenmark, entitled *Le Lie-sien Tchouan* ("Biographies légendaires des immortels taoistes de l'antiquité,") Pékin, 1953. Cf. Chang Hsin-cheng, *Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao* 1036-1038.

[9]) This sentence is not included in several current editions but it is in the *Lieh-hsien chuan* quoted in *Yü-chu pao-tien* 玉燭寶典, Ch. 4[p. 17], by Tu T'ai-ch'ing 杜臺卿 of the Sui. It says, "During the time of Han Ch'eng-ti (r. B.C. 32 — 7 A.D.) [not Han Wu-ti] Liu Hsiang edited the *Lieh-hsien chuan* and listed 146 persons, 74 of whom had already appeared in Buddhist sūtras."

eminent women) [1]) were written by Liu Hsiang; but his son, Hsin, [2]) wrote the eulogies and ended with one for queen Tao of Chao 趙悼后, yet there are (later) biographies for [emperor] Keng-shih's 更始, [concubine], Madame Han 韓夫人, for the empress *née* Ma of Ming-ti 明德馬后, and for Liang Fu-jen I 梁夫人  . These were not part of the original text, but were inserted by later scholars.

Someone asked, "In the *Tung-kung chiu-shih* (Old tales of the East Palace),[3]) why is *ch'ih-wei* (*tś'i-mjw'ei*) 鴟尾 (an ornament on a roof to prevent fires) called *tz'u-wei* (*zi-mjw'ei*) 祠尾 (temple roof)?" The answer is that (the author), Chang Ch'ang, a native of Wu, was not versed in antiquity; he kept a casual record by following the local customs and coined some words. Since the Wu people pronounced **zi-zi* (祠祀 temple worship) as **tś'i-zi* 鴟祀, he replaced **zi* by **tś'i*; since **kâm* 紺 (a deep purple) was pronounced as **kiəm* 禁 (to forbid), **kâm* is replaced by the character **kiəm* 襟; since he pronounced *ṭṣăn* 盞 (a classifier of lamps) as *ṭiăn*, he replaced **ṭṣăn* by coining a character 棧; since he read **ɣwâk* 鑊 (a cauldron) as **xwâk* 霍, he replaced **ɣwâk* by a new character 鑊. Similarly he replaced **ɣwan* 鐶 (a metal ring) by 鐀; **k'uâi* 魁 by 槐; **tśiäk* 炙 (blister) by 燋; **kiei* 髻 (a hair-dress) by 髦. A metal-flower, 金華, is expressed by **ɣwa* 錵; *ts'ang-śiän'* 窗扇 (a window lead) by the character 榻.[4]) He was arbitrary in many cases like these.

Again someone asked, "In the *Tung-kung chiu-shih*, there is the phrase, *Liu-se chi-wei* 六色罽緌: what is *chi-wei* and how is it pronounced?" My answer is: according to the *Shuo-wen*, "the character 蒍, an aquatic plant for oxen is read as *wei* 威;" [5]) the [*Shuo-wen*] *Yin-yin* [說文] 音隱 lexicon spells it as *wu-kuei* or *wei*. It is as Lu Chi says, "The leaves of tussocky pondweed appear

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As we know Buddhist sūtras were not introduced into China until several decades later.

[1]) For *Lieh-nü chuan* by Liu Hsiang see Pan Chao, p. 162, n. 4.

[2]) For Liu Hsin see p. 86, n. 6.

[3]) *Tung-kung chiu-shih* 東宮舊事 was written by Chang Ch'ang 張敞 who lived near the end of Eastern Chin (317-418). The book, in 10 *chüan*, was listed in the bibliographical section of the *Sui-shu*, but now only a text in one *chüan* is in the collections of *Shuo-fu* and *Wu-ch'ao hsiao-shuo* 五朝小說.

[4]) The ancient pronunciations with an asterisk are based on B. Karlgren's *Analytical Dictionary of Chinese*, and *Grammata Serica Recensa*.

[5]) Now 蒍 is *chün* in Giles' *Chinese-English Dictionary*, meaning mare's tail (*Hippuris*).

like an awning..' [1]) Kuo P'o's commentary on the *San-ts'ang* also says, "Wen 蘊 belongs to the same species of pondweed, and its strings of tufts grow luxuriantly." Now there exists this underwater plant, each section of which is several inches long, with slender fiberlike threads in lovely round bundles. The longest leaf may have twenty or thirty sections, and is still called *wei* 蒍. When people cut colorful silk into inch-long pieces and horizontally tie them up with thread on a rope to make it look like the *wei* plant for decoration, it is also called 蒍. Then a six-color net should be knit to make this silk *wei* look like a decorative embroidered sash. Hence, Chang Ch'ang coined the character *wei* 緭, [2]) meaning silk decoration, which should be written 隇.

Northeast of (the city) Pai-jen-ch'eng, [3]) there is an isolated hill which is not mentioned in any old books except Han Yin's *Shih-san-chou chih* (An account of the thirteen regions). [4]) Han believed this hill was the Ta-lu 大麓, where (the legendary Emperor) Shun once visited. A temple of (Emperor) Yao still remains there. Some local people call it Hsüan-wu shan 宣務山, while others call it Hsü-wu shan 虛無山. No one knows its origin. Outstanding among the scholarly families of Chao-chün [5]) are the brothers Li Mu-shu 李穆叔 and (Li) Chi-chieh; [6]) while Li P'u-chi 李普濟 is also a learned man; yet no one of them can trace (the history of) this hill in their native district. I was once an assistant officer of Chao-chou and along with Wang Shao 王邵 of T'ai-yüan read a stone tablet inside the west gate of Pai-jen ch'eng. It was placed there by the people of Pai-jen ch'eng in honor of their magistrate, Hsü Cheng 徐整, during the time of Han Huan-ti (r. 147-167). The inscription reads, "This hill was called Ch'üan-wu 巏嵏; there Wang Ch'iao [7])

[1]) Lu Chi 陸機 or 璣, was the author of *Mao-shih ts'ao-mu ch'ung-yü su* 毛詩草木虫魚疏 listed in Sui, T'ang and Sung bibliographies. It is still extant in incomplete form. The sentence referred to in the text is in Lu Chi's work, Ch. A, 6b-7 (*TSCC* ed.)

[2]) The character, Wei 緭 is not in the *Trindex* to *K'ang-hsi*, Giles, and *P'ei-wen yün-fu*, but in Couvreur's *Dictionnaire Classique* (p. 713).

[3]) Pai-jen-ch'eng 柏人城 was in modern Ta-ming, Hopei.

[4]) Han Yin 闞駰, *Shih-san-chou chih* 十三州志, 10 *chüan*, is listed in the bibliographical sections of the Sui and the two T'ang histories.

[5]) Chao-chün 趙郡 or Chao-chou was in Ta-ming, Hopei.

[6]) Li Kai 李槩 (T. Chi-chieh 季節) wrote books on history and philology. *Pei-shih* 33.11.

[7]) Wang Ch'iao 王喬 or Wang Tzu-ch'iao 王子喬, son of the king, Chou Ling-wang 周靈王, was said to have become an immortal on this mountain. *Lieh-hsien chuan* 列仙傳, chap. 28, p. 109 as translated by Max Kaltenmark.

became an immortal." Then, I knew this was the Ch'üan-wu shan; but I am ignorant of the etymology of the word *ch'üan* 巇; while *wu* 峖, according to all dictionaries, is *mao* 旄 as in *mao-ch'iu* 旄丘. This character *mao* 旄, according to the *Tzu-lin*, has one pronunciation as *wu*. Following its colloquial name, it should be read *ch'üan-wu*. When I went to Yeh, I told Wei Shou (506-572) of this identification, and he was greatly pleased. At that time he was composing a stone inscription for the Chuang-yen 莊嚴 temple at Chao-chou, and included in it the phrase, "the spirit of Ch'üan-wu;" thus he made use of my discovery.

Someone asked why there are five *keng* 更 (watches) in a night and what the explanation of *keng* is. The answer is: Since the Han and Wei dynasties, there have been such terms as night-*chia* 甲, night-*i* 乙, night-*ping* 丙, night-*ting* 丁 and night-*wu* 戊; [1]) or the first, second, third, fourth and fifth drum; or first, second, third, fourth and fifth *keng*; all are limited to five. The *Hsi-tu fu* poem also says, "[The Palace] is protected by an office which vigilantly watches (night) changes (*yen keng* 嚴更)." [2]) The reason for using *keng* is this: if the first moon (of a year) starts with *yin* 寅, then the handle of the Dipper points to *yin* in the evening and to *wu* 午 in the morning; from *yin* to *wu* there are five [Chinese] hours. [3]) During the winter and summer months the length of nights varies, but it is never longer than six [twelve hours] or shorter than four [eights hours]—frequently around five. *Keng* means "to pass through" or "phase"; so there are five "passages" or "phases". [4])

The *Erh-ya* says, "The *Shu* 朮 plant is a mountain thistle (*shan-chi* 山薊)." [5]) Kuo P'o explains, "At present the *shu* looks like thistle, and grows in the mountains." I remark that the shape of the *shu* leaves resembles *chi*. Then some modern men of letters read *chi* 薊 as *chin* in *chin-jou* 筋肉 (mussel) and use the two characters to

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[1]) These symbols are like A B C D E to indicate the order.

[2]) That is Pan Ku's *Hsi-tu fu* 西都賦 in *Wen-hsüan* 1, 2b-12.

[3]) That is ten western hours, because in China a day and night were divided into twelve hours.

[4]) In the Chinese system a day and a night are divided into twelve instead of twenty-four hours. The five night watches of two hours each, are generally from 7 p.m. to 5 a.m. It was a traditional practice, that each night the watchman made five rounds beating his wooden rattle to ward off thieves in a city.

[5]) Shu-tu is *atractylis ovata*, a thistle-like plant. Makino's *Illustrated Flora of Japan*, p. 24.

match *ti-ku* (lit. earth bone). [1]) I am afraid this (loose) use misses the real meaning.

Someone asked, "Is there any basis for calling the owner of a puppet show Kuo the Bald?". I replied: "The *Feng-su t'ung* says, "*T'u* (bald-headed) was a taboo for the family name of Kuo." [2]) There must have been in ancient times a man named Kuo who was bald and a comic character. Later on people imitated his appearance and so were called Kuo the Bald. [3]) It is the same as the relation of Yü Liang (289-340) with the Wen-k'ang music." [4])

Someone asked why the *chih-yu ts'an-chün* 治獄參軍 (the adjutant in charge of prisons) is called *ch'ang-liu* 長流. The reply is that according to the *Ti-wang shih-chi* (Genealogy of emperors and kings), "When Emperor Shao-hao 少昊 died, his spirit descended to the Ch'ang-liu mountain, and sacrifices were offered to him in autumn." [5]) According to the *Chou-li*, among the autumn officials was a minister of crime in charge of punishments. The duty of a *ch'ang-liu* resembles that of the officer in charge of arrests in the Han and Wei dynasties. Since the Chin and Sung periods, this officer has been called the adjutant (*ts'an-chün*), whose superior was the minister of crime. Thus the auspicious name was derived from the place where the autumn emperor dwelt.

A certain guest tried to puzzle his host by saying, "You seem to think that all the modern Classics are wrong, but that everything said in the *Shuo-wen* dictionary is right. Well then, is Hsü Shen (the author of the *Shuo-wen*) better than Confucius?" Clapping

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[1]) *Shan-chin* 山筋 and *ti-ku* 地骨 are matching or parallel terms: the former means mussel, the latter, an herb whose alternative name is *kou-chi* 枸杞 *Lycium chinense*. See Li Shih-chen 李時珍, *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* 本草綱目, 36.107 (Peking, 1959) and B. E. Read, *Botanical. . . Reference List*, p. 14.

[2]) For Ying Shao, *Feng-su t'ung*, see p. 166, n. 7. The sentence is not in current editions of *Feng-su t'ung* which is, however, quoted in *Yü-chu pao-tien*, 5, [p. 21b].

[3]) *K'uei-lei* 傀儡, a type of puppet show, is said to have begun in the Han dynasty and become popular in the Six Dynasty period; see Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, *Lu-ch'ü yü-t'an* 錄曲餘談 p. 146 (*Wang Chung-ch'üeh kung i-shu nei-pien* 王忠慤公遺書內編 edition).

[4]) Yü Liang 庾亮 was canonized as Wen-k'ang 文康, which suggests his smart appearance and staunch loyalty. But Wen-k'ang was also the name of a musical composition, which actually has no connection with Yü Liang. *Chin-shu* 73, 1-10 and *Sui-shu* 15. 33b.

[5]) Huang-fu Mi, *Ti-wang shih-chi chi-ts'un* 帝王世紀輯存, compiled by Hsü Tsung-yüan 徐宗元 (Chung-hua shu-chü, Peking, 1964), p. 27.

his hands and laughing loudly, the host replied, "Are all the classics we have now from the hand of Confucius?" The guest countered, "Is all the present text of the *Shuo-wen* from Hsü Shen's hands?" The host answered, "Hsü Shen classified (the formation of) characters into six categories and arranged the characters by radicals so that there could be no mistake, if there is a mistake, it can be detected. Confucius preserved the ideas of the Classics but did not argue about the words. Ancient scholars were free to change some words, according to the ideas; not only that, but there must be many errors as a result of numerous recopyings. In the *Tso-chuan* it is said that to stay (*chih* 止) with spears (*ko* 戈) is war (*wu* 武); that "the reversed character for 'correctness' (*cheng* 正) becomes that for *fa* (乏 failure); that 'insects' 蟲 and 'a vessel' 皿 make *ku* 蠱 'insanity';" and that "*hai* 亥 is composed of 'two' at the head of the character and 'six' in the body of it." [1]) Obviously such (carefully defined) characters could not be carelessly changed by later scholars, nor modified by invoking the *Shuo-wen*. Moreover, I do not believe that the *Shuo-wen* is always correct. I dare not follow its quotations of the Classics and Commentaries, if they are different from the present texts. For instance, [Ssu-ma] Hsiang-ju said in the *Feng-shan shu* 封禪書, 'to select (*tao* 導) a stalk of grain with six ears (and put it) in the kitchen as a sacrifice to the animal with two horns.' [2]) Here the *tao* 導 is used in the sense of selection and the same idea appears in (Emperor) Kuang-wu's decree: 'It caused trouble not only in preparation and selection (*tao*) . . .' [3]) Nevertheless the *Shuo-wen* says, *Tao* 禱 is a name for grain and quotes the *Feng-shan shu* as its basis. It does no harm to say that a certain grain is called *tao*, but this is not the character used by Hsiang-ju, and it does not make sense to say merely, "grain, one stalk, six ears at kitchen." Even if Hsiang-ju were so stupid as to write such a phrase, the following parallel line should be, "*Lin* (unicorn), two-horn-with-one-stem animal"; he should not say "to sacrifice." I often laughed at Hsü [Shen] as being a pure scholar who did not understand the style (or logical sense) of an essay. The examples just presented show him to be unreliable. Generally speaking, I admire his book (*Shuo-wen*) for its comprehensiveness, organization and analysis of the etymologies of characters. Cheng

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[1]) Cf. *The Chinese Classics* V., 320; II, pp. 556, 581.
[2]) *Han-shu* 57 B. 17b.
[3]) *Hou-Han shu* 1B. 8b.

Hsüan frequently quotes Hsü's words as a source in his commentaries. If we do not believe what Hsü said, then we shall be completely ignorant of the meaning of such and such a dot or such and such a stroke in characters."

Some philologists of the world, who lack a thorough understanding of the evolution (of Chinese writing) from ancient to modern times, insist on the "small seal script" [1]) (as a standard) to correct other inscriptions. As a matter of fact, how could the *Erh-ya*, *San-ts'ang* and *Shuo-wen* completely preserve the original ideas of Ts'ang Chieh? [2]) Because it is necessary to modify the characters from time to time, some differences in writing result. We cannot ignore all the lexicons compiled before the Western Chin (A.D. 316). We should only take note of their methods of compilation and their scope of comprehension, not believe blindly in one work. When we do research work to determine right or wrong, we particularly need all the available information. As to the characters *Chung-ni chü* 仲尼居 (Confucius sits), two out of the three have different forms: the *San-ts'ang* adds *ch'iu* to *ni* 屔; the *Shuo-wen* puts a *chi* 几 under *chü* 凥. In a case like this, which one should we follow? In ancient times, there was only one character for one idea; and moreover, many characters were used as "(sound) loans" [3]) such as *chung* 中 (middle) for *chung* 仲 (second); *shuo* 說 (to speak) for *yüeh* 悅 (happy); *chao* 召 (to summon) for *shao* 邵 (a name of a place); and *hsien* 閒 (leisure) for *hsien* 閑 (to restrain). In these cases, it is not necessary to take the trouble of correcting the text; such errors are well established. In poorly educated circles, *luan* 亂 is simplified as 乱 and *i* 揖 as 扣. *Yuan-pieh* 黿鼈 (a sea turtle) is written with the radical 龜; *fen-to* 奮奪 (to seize violently) with the element 雚; *hsi* 席 (seat) is written with 帶 (below); *wu* 惡 (to hate) is written with 西 above; *ku* 鼓 (drum) as 皷; *tso* 鑿 (punch) as 鑿; *li* 離 (to separate) as 離; *ho* 壑 (pool) as 豁; *wu* 巫 (divination) as 巠; *kao* 皋 (river bank) as *i* 睪; *lieh* 獵 (to hunt) as *ko* 獦; *chung* 寵 (to love) as *lung* 竉 (a hole); *yeh* 業 (trade) as 牃; *ling* 靈 (spirit)

[1]) *Hsiao-chuan*, the "small seal script" was invented by Li Ssu towards the close of the third century B.C. This style of character is used mainly in the *Shuo-wen* dictionary. Derk Bodde, *China's First Unifier*, 148-151, 153-159.

[2]) The legendary inventor of the art of writing, Ts'ang Chieh, was said to be a contemporary of Huang-ti, the Yellow Emperor in the 25th century B.C. See L. Wieger, *Chinese Characters* (Hokienfou, 1915), 5-8.

[3]) In the case of "sound loan" a character with a well-established meaning of its own is used to write a homophonous word with a completely different meaning.

as 蟀. One of the original pronunciations of *shuai* 率 (to lead) is *lü*, and yet it is arbitrarily changed when so pronounced. And *tan* 單 may be pronounced as *shan* 善, and yet for this pronunciation another character is used. All these cases should be remedied. When I first read the *Shuo-wen*, I despised the characters used in the world. If I wrote a character in the correct form, I feared that no one could recognize it; if I followed the vulgar style, I was aware of the fact that it was wrong. As a result, I could hardly start writing. After more study, I learned how to adjust myself to the changes. I modified my former obstinacy and adopted a middle course. In writing essays and books, I still select the forms of characters which have classical respondents, while in official dispatches and social correspondence I simply follow the vulgar forms.

The character *keng* 亙, as in *mi-keng* 彌亙, is composed of "two" 二 with "a boat" 舟 in between, as the Odes say, "*Keng chih chü-p'ei* 亙之秬秠(they planted extensively the black and double-kernelled)."[1] In the modern *li* script the *chou* 舟 is changed to *jih* 日; and yet Ho Fa-sheng in his [*Chin*] *Chung hsing shu* [2] considered the "boat" between the character "two" as *hang* 航 (navigation), which is a mistake. In the *Ch'un-ch'iu shuo* 春秋說 (Interpretations of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*), (the words) "man 人 plus ten 十, four 四 and heart 心" make the character *te* 德 (virtue); according to the *Shih-shuo* 詩說 (Interpretations of the Odes), an *erh* 二 under *t'ien* 天 makes *yu* 酉; [3] in the *Han-shu, huo-ch'üan* 貨泉 (goods and money) was interpreted as *pai-shui chen-jen* 白水真人 or True Men of the White Liquid. [4] In [Huan T'an's] *Hsin-lun* (New Discussions), silver 銀 is considered as a brother 昆 of gold 金. [5] According to the

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[1] Cf. Legge's translation, *The Chinese Classics* IV, Pt. II, 470. In the present recensions (see Legge and the *Mao-shih cheng-i* 毛詩正義 *SPPY* ed.), *heng* 恒 is used instead of *keng* 亙 as in the *Yen-shih chia-hsün*. Karlgren's translation of this poem also uses the text with *heng* (p. 201).

[2] See p. 173, n. 6.

[3] Both *Ch'un-ch'iu shuo* and *Shih-shuo* were apocryphal appendices to classical works and were no longer extant. Perhaps the erudite author tried to demonstrate his wide scholarship.

[4] This reference is actually in the concluding remarks to the Basic Annals of the first emperor, *Hou-Han shu* 1 B.24b.

[5] This sentence is quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 812.8 Although Lu Wen-ch'ao (d. 1796) says in the commentary that Huan T'an's 桓譚 *Hsin-lun* 新論 is no longer extant, several editions reconstructed from quotations of this book are available now.

[*San*] *Kuo-chih, wu* 吳 is made of *t'ien* 天 under a mouth 口.[1]) In the *Chin-shu,* [Wang] *Kung* [王] 恭 is referred to as Huang-t'ou hsiao-jen 黃頭小人.[2]) In the *Sung-shu, shao* 邵 is explained as composed of *chao* 召 and *tao* 刀;[3]) and in *Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i, kao* 告 in *tsao* 造 is considered to be composed of *jen* and *chi* 吉.[4]) Examples like these were probably mistakenly coined by magicians and Taoists who used words in loaned or twisted meanings for the sake of making fun, as *kung* 貢 explained as *hsiang* 項, and *ch'ih* 叱 to *pi* 匕. How can we use such definitions as bases for determining the pronunciation and reading of characters? The *Li-ho shih-fu*[5]) by P'an 潘, Lu 陸 and others, the *P'o-tzu-ching* 破字經 (A Classic of character analysis) by Shih Pu 拭卜, and the *Mi-tzu* (Enigmas) by Pao Chao;[6]) all these works, in which characters are

[1]) This is explained in *San-kuo chih, Wu-chih,* Hsüeh Tsung's 薛綜 biography, 8.7b, and this variant of writing is still in use today.

[2]) This is an example of the dissection of characters to find a hidden meaning; cf. e.g. Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty* III, 540. The upper part 頭 of *kung* and *huang* is similar (⺾); the remaining lower half of *kung* can be —wrongly— dissected into 小 and 人, *hsiao-jen* meaning "a mean fellow". The implications of "yellow head(ed)" are no longer understood; it is unlikely that this alludes to the Yellow Turban insurgents of 184, as the phrase was coined two centuries later, Wang Kung (for whom see i.a. E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest* I, 113, 154) being executed in 398. At present the anecdote is to be found in *Sung shu* 31.23b.

[3]) The author believes that *shao* should have been written 卲, not as 劭.

[4]) The *Ts'an-tung-chi* 參同器 (The Kingship of the Three, or The Accordance [of the *Book of Changes*] with the Phenomena of Composite Things, J. Needham *op. cit.*, II. 606) was written by Wei Po-yang 魏伯陽 and translated in English by Wu Lu-chiang and T. L. Davis, "An Ancient Chinese Treatise on Alchemy entitled *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i*" *ISIS,* vol. 18 (1932), 210-289. Like European alchemists who frequently concealed their names, Wei Po-yang also tried to hide his name in a cryptogram of three words in his epilogue. In similar manner, he concealed the character *tsao* 造 (written or made) in four short lines of verse, which do not make much sense today even though they have been faithfully translated and annotated by Wu-Davis, *ISIS,* 262 (the translation) and p. 285 (the explanation).

[5]) *Li-ho shih-fu* 離合詩賦 literally "separation and combination poems" is a peculiar style of verse in which the first line may mean the upper part of a character, the second line another part; the two parts make up a character of a part of a name or that of an idiom. This style, commonly practiced in the period of the Six Dynasties, can be as short as four lines and as long as sixteen or more. It requires mastering the technique of writing verse and forming conundrums. Even so, poetic qualities suffer and the reader is confronted with a set of riddles. See Vincent Yu-chung Shih (translator), *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* p. 38.

[6]) P'an refers to P'an Yo, see p. 77 n. 1; Lu's full name has not been identi-

used to suit the taste of vulgar circles, are of no philological value.

Hsing Fang 邢芳 of Ho-chien 河間 told me that Chia I's biography [in the *Han-shu*] says, "In the middle of a day, it must be good to expose (*jih-chung pi-wei* 日中必暴);" [1] and the commentary explains that *wei* means to expose (*pao* 暴). I have heard a gentleman explain this phrase saying, "This *pao* 暴 means a sudden illness, (*pao chi* 暴疾), which attacks a man in the middle of a day, and soon after he dies." Is this explanation correct? I said to Hsing (Fang), "This clause comes from T'ai-kung's *Liu-t'ao*. [2] According to dictionaries the character *pao* 暴, to expose in sunshine, and the other form 暴 for sudden illness, look very much alike in ancient times except for a slight difference in the lower part. Later on people arbitrarily added a 'sun' part to *pao* 曝, indicating that the best time to expose something in the sun is at noon, for otherwise one misses the right time. A thorough explanation has already been made by Chin Shao." [3] (Hsing) Fang went away with smiling admiration.

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fied by the commentators. *Mi-tzu* 謎字, enigma, that which intends to hide ideas from those for whom they are not intended, has been used since the time of the Wei dynasty. See Vincent Shih, 82. The *Li-ho-shih* and Pao Chao's *Mi-tzu* poems are quoted in *I-wen lei-chü, chüan* 56-57 and *passim*.

[1]) *Han-shu* 48.25.

[2]) For *Liu-t'ao* see p. 160, n. 1. Here the quotation is from 1.5b (*SPTK* ed.).

[3]) Chin Shao 晉灼, a native of Honan, and an imperial secretary of the department of state affairs (*Shang-shu lang* 尚書郎) of the Chin dynasty, compiled a *Han-shu chi-chu* 集注, 14 *chüan*, with a *Yin-i* 音義, 17 *chüan*, which are listed in the bibliographical sections of the Chin, Sui and T'ang histories. He does not have a biography in a dynastic history, except the meager information about his life in Yen Shih-ku's introduction to his commentary on the *Han-shu, ts'e* 1, 5b.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

ON PHONOLOGY

People of the nine regions (of ancient China) spoke different dialects; and it has been so since the beginning of mankind. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* told the stories in the Ch'i dialect; the *Li-sao* was viewed as a classic of the Ch'u dialect. These are obvious early examples of varied dialects. Later on Yang Hsiung (B.C. 53-A.D. 18) wrote the *Fang-yen* (Local Dialects) in which (the collection of) words is fairly complete. [1]) Nevertheless, it is a comparative vocabulary of words and objects in various dialects; the correct sounds are not indicated. The practice of indicating pronunciation by a homonymous character (or a character of similar pronunciation) began with Cheng Hsüan (127-200) who wrote commentaries on the Six Classics; Kao Yu who explained the *Lü-lan* [2]) and *Huai-nan* [3]); Hsü Shen (A.D. 30-124) who compiled the *Shuo-wen* dictionary; and Liu Hsi who composed the *Shih-ming* (Explanation of names). [4]) There are, however, differences between

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[1]) *Fang-yen* 方言, 13 *chüan*; a current edition with commentaries is in the *SPPY* collection. A famous Chinese linguist, Lo Ch'ang-pei 羅常培 considered *Fang-yen* a very good ancient book, *Lo Ch'ang-p'ei yü-yen lun-wen hsüan-chi* (A collection of selected articles on philology by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, Peking, Hsin-hua shu-tien, 1963) pp. 142, 177-179. A special monograph on this work is Paul L. M. Serruys, *The Chinese Dialects of Han Time according to Fang-yen*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1959, 2 vols. In the first volume, Serruys carefully verifies the traditional attribution to Yang Hsiung 揚雄 as beyond doubt.

[2]) *Lü-lan* 呂覽, also entitled *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, 26 *chüan*, is a miscellaneous treatise embodying a great number of data about the early history of China. Attributed to Lü Pu-wei 呂不韋 of the third century B.C., this work is generally understood to have been written by a number of scholars under Lü's support and influence. Kao Yu's commentary on this work was written in the third century A. D. A good edition of *Lü-lan* is in the *SPTK* collection. (For Kao Yu, see p. 154, n. 2).

[3]) Or *Huai-nan tzu*, by Liu An (B.C. 179-120), a miscellaneous treatise on the doctrine of *tao* and cosmology. The *Huai-nan-tzu* was partly translated *Great Luminant*, (Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1937), 287 pp. See also p. 159, n. 7.

[4]) *Shih-ming* 釋名, 20 *chüan*, by Liu Hsi 劉熹, (usually 熙), ca. 200 A.D., a collection of pronunciation glosses. See N. C. Bodman, *A linguistic study of the* Shih-ming (Harvard Univ. Press, 1954).

ancient and modern languages; among them the distinctions between unstressed or stressed, unvoiced or voiced [1]) are still hard to understand clearly. Very doubtful, furthermore, is the distinction between back and open words (*nei-yen* 內言) and front and closed words (*wai-yen* 外言), [2]) between fast and slow utterances, as well as the indication of the reading of a character by means of another character said to be pronounced in the same way. Sun Shu-yen (3rd century, A.D.) wrote the *Erh-ya yin-i* (Pronunciations and meanings of the *Erh-ya*), [3]) which proves that only near the end of Han did scholars begin using the *fan-yü* spelling system. [4]) Its use

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[1]) For a detailed discussion, see Chao Yuan-ren 趙元任, "Shuo ch'ing cho 說清濁", *CYYY*, 30.2 (1959) 493-497; and Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "Shih chung-ch'ing 釋重輕", *Lo Ch'ang-p'ei yü-yen hsüeh lun-wen hsüan-chi* 80-86.

[2]) According to the definition given by Chou Tsu-mo in his supplementary commentary to the *YSCH*, the *nei-yen* are words with back and open vowels; *wai-yen* are words with front and closed vowels, influenced by the medials i̯ and i. See Chou Tsu-mo, "Yen-shih chia-hsün yin-tz'u p'ien chu-pu (Supplementary notes to the chapter on phonology on YSCH)," *FJHC* XII, 1-2 (Dec., 1943) 201-220, especially 201-205 in which the main ideas are in the notes; B. Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, concerning the medial *i*, p. 25; Y. R. Chao, "Distinction within Ancient Chinese", *HJAS*, 5 (1941) 203-233 especially p. 230 concerning the close *i*, the open *i*; and Samuel E. Martin, "The Phonemes of Ancient Chinese", Supplement to *JAOS* 16 (April-June, 1953) 1-46.

[3]) The *Erh-ya yin-i* 爾雅音義 by Sun Shu-yen 孫叔言 is no longer available. Fragmentary quotations of this book are collected in the Ma Kuo-han's *Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu*. As a matter of fact, the commentary of *YSCH* makes a mistake when he says that the *Erh-ya yin-i*, 8 *chüan*, by Sun Yen is listed in the bibliographical section of the dynastic history, *Sui-shu*. There only Sun Yen's *Erh-ya yin* is listed, while the *Erh-ya yin-i* is attributed to Kuo P'o (See p. 154, n. 3). Thus *Erh-ya yin* and *Erh-ya yin-i* must be two different books; Yen Chih-t'ui may have remembered incorrectly.

[4]) The *fan-yü* or *fan-ch'ieh* is a spelling system using two known characters to spell a third one. The initial consonant is represented by the first character and the final with its tone is indicated by the second character. For instance, 甫鞔 *f(u w)an* [3] gives *fan*.[3] Although this sentence of Yen has been widely quoted in many books on Chinese phonology, modern researchers put the beginning of the *fan-ch'ieh* spelling in the latter part of the second to the third century A. D. A systematic study is made by Ogawa Tamaki 小川環樹, "Hansetsu no kigen to shisei oyobi goin 反切の起源と四聲及び五音 (The origin of Fan-ch'ieh spelling and the four tones and the five sounds of the Chinese language)," *Gengo Kenkyū* 言語研究, 19.20 (Dec., 1951) 35-42, in which the author traces this system of phonetic analysis for divination in the first century B.C.; he says that it received no influence from Indian phonology, as was traditionally believed. Cf. Luh Chih-wei, "How was the ancient *fan-ch'ieh* spelling formed?" *Chung-kuo yü-yen* no. 5 (1963).

became popular in the Wei period (221-265), when people were surprised that Kao-kuei hsiang-kung was still ignorant of the *fan-yü*. [1]) Thereafter, many works dealing with sounds and rimes came out. Each work kept its local pronunciation and criticized the others. As in the illustration of fingers and horses, [2]) we do not know which is correct. Only between the two imperial capitals, Chin-ling (Nanking, the capital of Southern Dynasties) and Lo-yang (the capital of Northern Dynasties), can different usages be compared and ancient and modern pronunciations examined, so as to obtain a well-balanced point of view.

The climate of southern China is mild and agreeable; human sounds are clear, high and warm, but their weakness is that they are shallow and superficial, and their expressions are unrefined. The topography of northern China is austere and stern; the people's voices are sonorous and heavy, distinguished and earnest; their speech is full of ancient expressions. In general, a southern gentleman speaks better than a northern gentleman; however, a northern peasant (literally *hsiao-jen,* a small man) speaks better than his southern counterpart. The speech of a southern-educated gentleman can immediately be detected even if he dresses as a commoner. On the other hand, behind a wall you cannot tell a northern courtier from a peasant even if you listen to their conversation all day. The southerners have been imbued with the usage of the Wu-Yüeh states, [3]) while the northerners have assimilated barbarian habits. Both have their deep-rooted defects which are too numerous to be discussed in detail. [4]) As examples of minor mis-

[1]) Kao-kuei hsiang-kung 高貴鄉公, also known as Ts'ao Mao 曹髦, (ca. 241-260), a grandson of Ts' ao P'ei, was the fourth emperor of the Wei dynasty (see *San-kuo-chih* 4.14-29). He was the author of the *Tso-chuan yin* 左傳音 (Pronunciations of [difficult characters in] the *Tso-chuan*), and hence it seems odd for Yen Chih-t'ui to say that he was ignorant of the *fan-yü* system.

[2]) This literary allusion is from the second chapter of *Chuang Tzu*, "To take fingers in illustration of fingers as not being fingers, is not so good as to take non-fingers in illustration of fingers as not being fingers. To take a white horse in illustration of horses as not being horses, is not so good as to take non-horses in illustration of horses as not being horses. The universe is a finger; all things are a horse." Translated by Yu-lan Fung, *Chuang Tzu* 50-51.

[3]) Roughly refers to the people on the eastern seaboard of China, including the Yangtzu delta.

[4]) According to Ch'en Yin-k'o 陳寅恪, south of the Yangtze scholarly families spoke northern Mandarin, while the commoners spoke the Wu

pronunciations, the southerners pronounce **dz'i̯än* 錢 as **zi̯än* 涎; **źi̯äk* 石 as **dź'i̯a* 射; **dz'i̯än* 賤 as **zi̯än* 羨; and **źię* 是 as **tź'ię* 舐. The northerners pronounce **śi̯wi* 庶 as **śi̯u* 戍; **ńźi̯wo* 如 as **ńzi̯u* 儒; [1]) **tsię* 紫 as **tsi* 姊, and **γăp* 洽 as **γap* 狎. Such examples are plentiful on both sides. [2]) Since coming to Yeh, I have met only Ts'ui Tzu-yüeh [3]) and his nephew, Ts'ui Chan, Li Tsu-jen and his younger brother, Li Yü, who are careful in their speech and comparatively accurate in their pronunciations. [4]) Li Chi-chieh wrote the *Yin-yün chüeh-i* (Determination of doubtful sounds and rimes) which contains frequent errors. [5]) Yang Hsiu-chih (509-582) compiled the *Ch'ieh-yün* which was rather carelessly done and, therefore, unpolished. [6]) My sons and daughters, even during your childhood your speech was seriously drilled and corrected. Any single mispronounced character was considered my own fault, and I dared not name any actions, words or objects without consulting books. You know it well.

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dialect. In the north, though there were different social levels, the language of all the people was identical. "Tung-chin Nan-ch'ao chih Wu-yü (The Wu dialect in the Eastern Chin and Southern Dynasties), *CYYY* 7 (1936), p. 2.

[1]) The reconstructions of the ancient Chinese (ca. 600 A. D.) with asterisks, are mostly based on Bernhard Karlgren's *Grammata Serica Recensa*, and his *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese* with minor modifications made by Chou Fa-kao. For example, rime no. 9 *yü* 魚 and no. 10 *jü* 虞 are reconstructed as *-i̯o* and *-i̯uo* respectively instead of Karlgren's reconstructions *-i̯wo* and *i̯u*. Besides, 岐 and 祇 are written by Chou as *g'ię* and *g'ie* respectively, while Karlgren writes them both as *g'jie*.

The tones of ancient Chinese are indicated by Chou Fa-kao as A (for *p'ing-sheng*), B (for *shang-sheng*), C (for *ch'ü sheng*), and D (for *ju sheng*), while the tones in Mandarin are called first, second, third and fourth tone. See also Luh Chih-wei's articles "The 51 Initial Categories Demonstrated" and "The Divisions III and IV and the so-called Yodicization" in *YCHP* nos. 25-26; and Arisaka Hideo, "A Critical Study on Karlgren's Medial i Theory," *MTB* 21 (1962) 49-75.

[2]) By the above examples Yen tried to show that the rime classification of the northerners was not as minute or strict as that of the southerners and consequently the northerners made no distinction between 洽 and 狎.

[3]) Ts'ui Tzu-yüeh 崔子約 was a Libationer of the Northern Ch'i dynasty. His nephew, Ts'ui Ch'an 崔瞻 (T. Yen-t'ung 彥通) was a brilliant scholar with whom many famous men of the time associated. *Pei-Ch'i shu* 23.5-11.

[4]) Li Yo 李岳 (T. Tsu-jen 祖仁) and his younger brother Li Wei 李蔚 were both government secretaries and refined scholars. *Pei-shih* 43. 37b-38.

[5]) Li Kai's *Yin-yün chüeh-i* 音韻決疑, 14 *chüan*, is listed in the *Sui-shu* bibliography, but no longer extant; see also p. 179, n. 6.

[6]) Yang Hsiu-chih 陽休之 (T. Tzu-lieh 子烈, d. 582) was a famous writer whose work, *Ch'ieh-yün* 切韻, which was said to be a careless

From ancient to modern times, language and customs have frequently changed. A writer of the Ch'u state differs from one of Hsia. [1]) In the glossary, *Ts'ang-chieh hsün-ku*, [2]) **b'ai* 粺 is spelled **puo* 逋—*mãi* 賣; and **wa* 娃 is spelled **uo* 於 **kwăi* 乖. [3]) The *Chan-kuo ts'e* gives the pronunciation of **mi̯uən* 刎 as **mi̯än* 免; [4]) the *Mu T'ien-tzu chuan* [5]) gives the sound of **kan* 諫 as **kăn* 間; the *Shuo-wen* indicates the sound of **kăt* 戛 as **ki̯ək* 棘 and reads **mi̯wɒng* 皿 as **mɒng* 猛. [6]) The *Tzu-lin* glossary [7]) pronounces **k'an* 看 as **k'əu* 口—**kâm* 甘; it gives the sound for **śi̯ĕn* 伸 as **si̯ĕn* 辛. The *Yün-chi* (A Collection of rimes) [8]) classifies **zi̯äng* 成

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classification of rimes, is no longer extant. *Pei-Ch'i shu* 42.9-13.

[1]) Hsia 夏 seems to be used here as a general term for the Hsia kingdom or for north China, while the vast state of Ch'u 楚 represents south China.

[2]) For *Ts'ang-chieh hsün-ku* by Tu Lin see p. 42, n. 1.

[3]) Yen Chih-t'ui approves the pronunciation given in the *Kuang-yün* 廣韻 which was based on or derived from the *Ch'ieh-yün* compiled in 601 by Lu Fa-yen and others including Yen Chih-t'ui. According to *Kuang-yün chiao-pen* 校本 (an edition compared with Sung and other rare editions by Chou Tsu-mo, Peking, Chung-hua Bk Co., 1960, 2 vols), **b'ai* 粺 should be spelled, **b'wâng* 傍 **kwāi* 卦 in rime 15th, *kua* 卦 (4.23); and *wa* 娃 should be spelled **uo* 於-**tświ* 佳 in rime 13th, *chia* 佳. Thus Yen does not approve the pronunciations given in *Ts'ang-chieh hsün-ku*. The modern pronunciation of the two characters under discussion is *pai* and *wa*.

[4]) According to Chou Tsu-mo, this was the local pronunciation of the modern Shantung area in the Han dynasty. Modern pronunciations are *wen* 刎 and *mien* 免. See Chou's supplementary notes on Yin-tzu p'ien in *FJHC*, XII, 1-2 (1943) 211.

[5]) *Mu T'ien-tzu chuan*, 穆天子傳, 6 *chüan*, a narrative of the journey to the West of the Chou dynasty ruler, Mu-wang 穆王 to visit Hsi-wang-mu 西王母. This book is said to have been found in the tomb of a Wei prince. The reference here is not so much to the text as to the commentary by Kuo P'o (276-324); the passage is to be found in *Mu T'ien-tzu chuan* 3.15b. **Kan* and **kăn* were in the same rime in ancient times, but in the T'ang rimes they were different; hence Yen noticed the difference.

[6]) Yen denounces these pronunciations because *kăt* and *ki̯ak* belonged to different rimes in the early T'ang period, while **miwɒng* and **mɒng*, uttered in soft (細) and loud (洪) voices respectively, could not be the equivalent of each other. Nevertheless in the Han period the *Shuo-wen* was certainly right. For a detailed explanation, see Chou Tsu-mo, *FJHC*, p. 212.

[7]) *Tzu-lin*, 7 *chüan*, was compiled by Lü Shen (see p. 79, n. 4). According to Tuan Yü-ts'ai (p. 41, n. 4) *k'an* should be spelled *k'ou-kan* 口干, but, as it is done in the *Tzu-lin*, it belongs to the rime *t'an* 談 which is quite different. According to *Ch'ieh-yün*, the two characters 伸 and 辛 are in different rimes; they are not exactly the same. It is easy to recognize the discrepancy of the two graphs in the modern pronunciation, *shen* 伸 and *hsin* 辛.

[8]) The *Yün-chi* by Lü Ching is no longer extant (see p. 81, n. 3). Accor-

and **ȵziəng* 仍, **γwvng* 宏 and **təng* 登 into two rimes; and arranges **jwie* 為, **g'jię* 奇, **i̯äk* 益, and **zi̯äk* 石 under four different parts. Li Teng's *Sheng-lei* (Classification by sounds) pronounces **γiei* 系 as **ngiei* 羿. [1]) Liu Ch'ang-tsung in his *Chou-kuan yin* (Pronunciation of [uncommon characters in] the *Chou-kuan*) [2]) reads **dz'i̯əng* 乘 as **źi̯əng* 承. [3]) There are many such examples which should be carefully examined.

The *fan-yü* spellings of earlier generations are often inaccurate. In Hsü Hsien-min's *Mao-shih yin* (Pronunciations [of unusual characters] in the *Mao-shih*), **dz'i̯u* 驟 is spelled as **dz'ài* 在—**kəu* 遘; and his *Tso-chuan yin* (Pronunciations of [uncommon characters] in the *Tso-chuan*) [4]) has **d'i̯wän* 椽 spelled as **d'uo* 徒—**i̯'wän* 緣. [5]) Such unreliable spellings are numerous. The pronun-

ding to Tuan Yü-ts'ai's commentary, the present edition of the *Kuang-yün* is based on the *T'ang-yün*, and the latter is derived from Lu Fa-yen's *Ch'ieh-yün*. Thus Yen's preference of classification is about the same as that in the *Kuang-yün*, where **źi̯äng* is in the 14th rime, *ch'ing* 清, and **ȵzi̯əng* in the 16th *cheng* 烝: **γwvng* is in the 13th, *kêng* 耕; **təng* in the 17th, *têng* 登; all are under different rimes. But Lü Ching's *Yün-chi* grouped **źi̯äng* and *ȵzi̯əng* into one rime, **ywvng* and **təng* into another, making a total of two rimes instead of four. In the present *Kuang-yün*, **jwię* and **g'jie:* are in the 5th *chih* 支 (II. 1. 17, 18), **i̯äk* and **źiäk* in the 22nd, *hsi* 昔 (II, 5.36): two rimes. The *Yün-chi* classifies the four characters into four different rimes. That is why Yen Chih-t'ui accepts the *Yün-chi* with caution. He does not say that it is wrong.

[1]) The present edition was reconstructed from quotations in other works in the *Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu* and *Han Hsüeh-t'ang ts'ung-shu.* (See p. 42, n. 2). According to *Kuang-yün*, **ziei'* has *z-*; **ngiei'*, *ng-*. Yen objects to the confusion of the two sounds.

[2]) For Liu Ch'ang-tsung see p. 161, n. 2. It is to be noted that Liu's *Chou-kuan yin* has never been listed in historical bibliographies. See *Combined Indices to Twenty Historical Bibliographies.*

[3]) From Yen's point of view these two different phonemes should not be confused. The two characters are now pronounced *sheng* 乘 and *ch'eng* 承. In ancient times, when vocabulary was not very large, homonyms and synonyms could be used interchangeably and they were governed by complicated rules, written or unwritten. This belongs to the scope of morphophonemics or phoneme morphology. An interesting book is Tai Huai-ch'ing 戴淮清, *Yin-chuan hsüeh fa-fan* 音轉學發凡 (Introduction to phoneme morphology), The World Book Co., Singapore, 1962, 82p.

[4]) Both *Mao-shih yin* 毛詩音 and *Tso-chuan yin* 左傳音, compiled by Hsü Mo, (see p. 79, n. 1), are frequently quoted in *Ching-tien shih-wen* 經典釋文; see Sakai Ken'ichi's study of Hsü's phonetic classification in *Tōhōgaku* 33 (Jan. 1967) 1-10.

[5]) Tuan Yü-ts'ai comments that *Tsou* 驟 is in *Kuang-yün's* 49th rime, *yu* 宥, but by Hsü's spelling it would be in the 50th rime *hou* 侯, which is

ciations of present-day scholars are not correct. But if the ancients are also incorrect, why should we follow their mistakes? The *T'ung-su wen* [1]) says that in the phrase "to enter a room and search for something"; *ʂi̯ə̯u* 搜 (to search) is to be spelled **xi̯wɒng* 兄—**γəu* 侯. Then 兄 **xi̯wɒng* should be spelled **ʂi̯wo* 所—**ji̯wəng* 榮. [2]) This pronunciation is common at present among the northerners, indicating that the ancient pronunciation is not usable.

Yü-fan 璵璠, a precious stone of the Lu state, [3]) ought to be pronounced **i̯wo-*b'i̯wɒn* 餘煩; but the people south of the Yangtze pronounce **b'iwɒn* as **pi̯wɒn* in **pi̯wɒn-*b'i̯eng* 藩屏. [4]) In *Ch'i-shan* 岐山, *ch'i* should be pronounced **kjie̯* 奇, but south of the Yangtze it is read **g'ie̯* as in **d'źi̯ĕn-*g'ie̯* 神祇. After Chiang-ling (in Hupei) was taken, these pronunciations spread to Kuan-chung (Shensi). I do not know the basis for these two pronunciations. With my superficial knowledge I have never heard these pronunciations before.

Most northerners pronounce **ki̯uo* 矩 as **ki̯o* 擧 or **ki̯o* 莒. Li Chi-chieh [5]) said that when Duke Huan of Ch'i (B.C. 684-642) and Kuan Chung [6]) were sitting on a platform planning to attack the state of **ki̯o* 莒, Tung-kuo Ya 東郭牙 observed that Duke Huan's mouth was open, not closed; so he knew he was saying **ki̯o*. Then **ki̯o* 莒 and **ki̯uo* 矩 must be different; [7]) [Li Chi-chieh] was really a connoisseur of pronunciation.

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different from Lu Fa-yen's *Ch'ieh-yün*. In the latter work, *ch'uan*'s 椽 spelling is different from Hsü's and that is why the author criticizes Hsü's spellings as inaccurate and unreliable.

[1]) *T'ung-su wen* by Fu Ch'ien (See p. 80, n. 1) is available in several recollected editions including the *Hsiao-hsüeh kou-shen* 小學鉤沈.

[2]) Yen thought that **ʂi̯ə̯u* 搜 should be spelled **ʂi̯wo* 所一 **ki̯ə̯u* 鳩; **xi̯wɒng*: **xi̯wo* 許一 **ji̯wang* 榮, but in north China the pronunciation **xiwɒng* —**γəu* for **ʂi̯eu* was popular. Even though it was an ancient pronunciation, it should not have been used in his time.

[3]) *Tso-chuan*, Duke Ting. 5th year, the *Chinese Classics* V. 760.

[4]) According to Chou Tsu-mo, the two signs: **b'i̯wɒn* 煩 and **pi̯wɒn* 藩 are in the same rime *yüan* 元; but there is a "clear" and "muddy" difference. Chou Tsu-mo, *HJHC* 215. Cf. R. Kono's translation in *MTB* (1962) 57.

[5]) That is Li Kai; see p. 190, n. 5

[6]) For Kuan Chung see p. 56, n. 5.

[7]) The author tries to show that the northerners cannot tell the difference between the two rimes, *yü* 魚 and *yü* 虞. *Chü* [3] (for 擧 and 矩) is articulated with the mouth slightly open: the medieval pronunciation was **ki̯o*; *chü* (for 矩) was uttered with the lips closed; the medieval pronunciation was **ki̯uo*. It is to be noted that this point is explained by Chou Fa-kao differently from Karlgren: i.e. he gives **ki̯wo* for 莒 and 擧, **ki̯u* for 矩. Since Chou's interpretation fits better with the text of YSCH, it is adopted here.

A substance naturally has fine or coarse qualities, which are called **xâu* 好 (tone B, good) and **âk* 惡 (bad); the minds of people determine acceptance or rejection, which are called **xâu* 好 (tone C, to like) and **uo* 惡 (to dislike) respectively. These pronunciations are accepted by Ko Hung and Hsü Mo. But scholars north of the River read the sentence in the *Book of History* "**xâu* (tone C)-**ṣɐng* **âk*-**ṣat* 好生惡殺" (To love living-being and to hate killing). These pronunciations do not make sense, because **âk* means a bad substance (badness), while in **xâu* (tone C) means a human feeling (to like). [1])

The word **'piu̯* 甫 (venerable) was an elegant appellation applied to a gentleman, [2]) and was often replaced by the character **b'iu̯* 父 (father). I do not understand why not a single northerner pronounces 甫 correctly. Only in Kuan Chung's 管仲 *hao*, 仲父, and Fan Ts'eng's 范增 *hao*, 亞父, should 父 be read as the original character (**'b'iu̯*).

According to dictionaries, **'iän* 焉 (name of a bird, or grammatical particle) is spelled **iu̯wo* 於—*kiu̯än* 愆. Ko Hung's *Yao-yung tzu-yüan* 要用字苑 (A Lexicon of important words and usages) [3]) divides *iu̯än* into two parts according to its sound and meaning. When it means "why" and "how", it should be read **iän*, in such phrases as *yü *iän hsiao-yao* (spend his time here at his ease),

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[1]) There are two pronunciations of the expression 好惡: 1. **xau* (tone B)—**âk* means good or bad; 2. **xâu* (tone C)—**uo* means to like or hate. **Xâu* (tone B) means good, as in good material; **uo* means "to hate"—a feeling of human beings. Scholars north of the Yellow River misread the clause from the *Shang-shu*, which resulted in an incoherent meaning. The point may well be explained by the Giles' romanization system, in which 惡: *Wu* [4] means to hate; 惡, *O* [3] means bad, opposed to 善 good. Thus scholars north of the Yellow River read, "Hao[3]-sheng' o[3]-sha" instead of "Hao[3]-sheng' wu[4] -sha" (Love living being, hate killing).

[2]) *Fu* 甫 was occasionally used immediately after an old gentleman's name, somewhat like the English usage of "The Reverend" or *emeritus*. Since it is a homophone for "father," many people avoided using it. The pronunciations of **piu̯* 甫 with the voiceless initial *p* and **b'iu̯* 父 with the voiced initial *b'* differ from each other. Because the northerners read **piu̯* 甫 as **b'iu̯* 父, the author points out their mistake.

[3]) Ko Hung was the author of the *Yao-yung tzu-yüan* (see p. 159) and other works which are listed in the bibliographical section of the two dynastic histories of the T'ang; and Hsü Mo compiled the *Mao-shih yin* and *Tso-chuan yin*. All three works are mentioned in the introduction to Lu Te-ming's 陸德明 *Ching-tien shih-wen* 經典釋文. Yen Chih-t'ui considers these two experts to be authorities on the correct usage and pronunciation of characters.

*yü *iän chia k'o* (be here, an admired guest!) [1] **iän yung ying*? (why should he show readiness of the tongue?), and **iän te jen*?" (how can he be said to have perfect virtues?) and the like. [2] Where it is used for a concluding sentence or as a particle, it should be spelled **ji* 矣—**k'iän* 愆 (*jiän*), in phrases as *ku ch'eng lung *jiän*" (hence it is called a dragon), *ku ch'eng hsüeh *jiän* (hence it is called blood), *yu min-jen *jiän* (there are people), *yu she-chi *jiän* (there are the altars of the spirits of the land and grain); [3] *t'o shih *jiän-erh* (this is just the beginning); *"Chin Cheng *jiän i"* (it was through the help of Chin and Cheng). [4] The two sounds are still distinguished south of the Yangtze and may be clearly recognized. But people north of the Yellow River confuse them, having only one pronunciation. Even though this follows the ancient reading, such confusion should not be practiced at present.

Yeh 邪 is a particle indicating uncertainty. The *Tso-chuan* says, "I do not know whether Heaven has abandoned Lu *yeh* or whether the ruler of Lu has somehow offended the spirit *yeh*." [5] The *Chuang Tzu* says, *"T'ien yeh ti yeh*?" (Is this the work of heaven or earth?). The *Han-shu* says, *"Shih yeh fei yeh*?" (Is it so or not?), and so on. But notherners read this word *yeh*[2] 邪 as *yeh*[3] 也; this also is wrong. A man who was trying to puzzle me asked, "The Great Appendix of the *Book of Changes* says, *'Ch'ien* and *k'un* may be regarded as the gate of changes *yeh*? [6] Is this a sentence of uncertainty?" "Why should it not be?" I replied, "The question is raised first, and then the reasons are listed below for explaining the question".

Scholars south of the Yangtze read the *Tso-chuan* by following the traditional oral pronunciation and established general principles, such as: the defeat of one's own army was called **b'wai* 敗, and defeating another army was called **pwai* 敗 (spelled **pao* 補 **b'wai*). But I have never seen this spelling in any commentary.

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[1] *The Chinese Classics* IV, 299-300.

[2] *Ibid.* I. 174, 180. In these three cases it may need another definition. For example, when it is used as an introductory particle, it is read *i̯än*.

[3] *The Chinese Classics*, I. 246.

[4] *Ibid.*, V. 21. See also Jos L. M. Mullie, "Note sur 焉" *HJAS*, 15, nos. 1-2 (June, 1952) 140-165; and George Kennedy's article mentioned in the introduction.

[5] *Ibid.*, V., 716. This paragraph is used by A. C. Graham, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XIX(1957) 120.

[6] *Hsi-tz'u* II, Chapter VI, Cf. Z. D. Sung's translation of the text of the *Yi Ching* (Shanghai, 1935) p. 324.

This **pwai* pronunciation occurs only once in Hsü Hsien-min's reading of the *Tso-chuan,* but he does not point out a difference between being defeated oneself and defeating others. I think that is overdone [by the southern scholars].

The ancients said, "It is hard to train pampered youths," meaning that because of their pride, extravagance and conceit, it is impossible to discipline them. I have noticed that most of the princes, lords and maternal relatives (of the emperor) speak incorrectly, because they have been imbued with the speech habits of their poorly educated guardians and tutors at court, and they lack good teachers and friends outside the court. During the Liang dynasty there was a noble who, in an intoxicated and joking mood, once described himself to Emperor Yüan-ti as **tṣ'i-*d'uân* 颸段 instead of **t'i-*d'uən* 癡鈍 (stupid or dull). Yüan-ti remarked, "Your **tṣ'i* 颸 should be different from the cool breeze and your **d'uan* should not be as in *D'uan-*kam *Muk" [1]). He also misread the name of *Iäng-*t'śi̯əu 郢州 [2]) as *Ji̯wɐng-*t'śi̯əu 永州. [3]) Yüan-ti repeated the story to Chien-wen [ti] [4]), who said ironically, "It is as if the name of **Iäng* 郢 where the Wu army entered on the *keng-ch'en* 庚辰 day, was confused with [the word **ji̯wɐng* in the name of] the *ssu-li* [*B'au *Ji̯wɐng 鮑永]." [5]) Such mistakes are often made when the nobles open their mouths.

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[1]) **Tṣ'i* means the first cool breezes of autumn; **d'uân'* is here associated with the historical name Tuan-kan Mu 段干木. Obviously the poorly educated noble mispronounced and misunderstood the two words *t'i-d'uən.*

[2]) It is an old name for Wu-ch'ang.

[3]) Here the modern pronunciation *Ying* 郢 and *Yung* 永 makes better sense, and it is easier to understand the mistake.

[4]) Emperor Liang Chien-wen-ti's given name was Hsiao Kang 蕭綱, whose son was Liang Yüan-ti (r. 552-554).

[5]) The historical background of *keng-ch'en Wu ju* 庚辰吳入 is that in the 4th year of Duke Ting (505 B.C.), the 11th month, on the day *keng-wu,* the marquis of Ts'ai and the viscount of Wu fought with an army of Ch'u in Pai-chü 伯舉, when the army of Ch'u was disgracefully defeated. "On the *keng-ch'en* day, Wu entered Ying (**Iäng*)." *The Chinese Classics* V. 753.

The term *ssu-li* 司隸 was an official title, a kind of controller of order and peace in the capital and its vicinity. Its duties included the arrest of robbers and bandits, and the censorship of high officials (*T'ung-tien* 31, 183). When *(B'au *Ji̯wɐng) Pao Yung 鮑永 was *ssu-li chiao-wei* 司隸校尉, in 35 A.D., he impeached the emperor's uncle for misconduct (*Hou-Han shu,* 59. 6-9). Subsequently his reputation was so high that a *ssu-li* was *B'au Ji̯wɐng and *vice versa.* As the exegetes point out, the fifth-century learned men were masters of phonology and they had sharp ears and quick wits to discover the finest discrepancy in speech sounds.

Yüan-ti used the above-mentioned examples to teach his sons.

People north of the Yellow River spell **kung* 攻, as **kuo* 古 -**dz'uong* 琮, and read this character differently from the three characters 工, 公 and 功 (all pronounced **kung*); this is very wrong. [1] In recent years someone who was named **Si̯äm* 遾 called himself **Si̯äm* 纖; another, named **Kuən* 琨, called himself **Kuən* 衮; and one named **Kwâng* 洸 called himself **Wâng* 汪; one named **Iak* 豙 called himself **Śi̯ak* 猰. Not only are sounds and rimes different, [2] but the sons and grandsons of these men will have difficulty in observing the various taboo characters.

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[1] That is to say Yen Chih-t'ui read all four characters *kung*, just like Karlgren (*Analytic Dictionary*) (cf. Chiang Liang-fu 姜亮夫, *Chung-kuo yin-yün hsüeh* 中國音韻學, A Study of Chinese phonology, Shanghai, World Bk Co., 1933, p. 153).

[2] Chou Tsu-mo wonders what could be the correct pronunciation in n Yen's mind. He suspects that **si̯äm* 纖 might be a wrong reading in *YSCH* for **tsi̯äm* 殲, because both **siäm* and **tsiäm* are under rime *yen* 鹽, but **siäm* is under initial *hsin* 心 (*s-) while *tsiäm* is under initial *ching* 精 (**ts-). He also explains that in the *Ch'ieh-yün*, **kuən* 琨 is under rime *hun* 魂; and **kuən* 衮 under rime *hun* 混; the former is even (*p'ing*) tone; the latter rising (*shang*) tone. To read 琨 as 衮 is thus wrong in tones. As to **kwâng* 洸 and **wâng* 汪, both are under the same rime *t'ang* 唐, but **kwâng* is under the initial *chien* 見 (i.e. **k-*) **wâng's* under the initial *ying* 影 (glottal stop). To read **kwâng* as **wâng* is confusing a velar with a laryngal. **I̯ak* 豙 is under the initial *yü* 喻 (vocalic onset); **śi̯ak* 猰 is under the initial *shen* 審 (**ś-); to read **i̯ak* as **śi̯ak* is also a serious mistake. Yen criticises the inexactitude of the pronunciations of his contemporaries, and all his corrections agree with the *Ch'ieh-yün*, to which his great contribution in determining uncertain pronunciations and rimes is acknowledged in Lu Fa-yen's preface. See *Kuang-yün chiao-pen* I. 15, and *FJHC* 220.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

MISCELLANEOUS ARTS

Calligraphy in the "formal script" [1]) and the "draft script" deserves some slight attention. As a proverb south of the Yangtze says, "A one-foot tablet [for a letter] or a memorial is like the face and eyes (of the sender) shown from a distance of a thousand *li*." [2]) Having followed the custom of the Chin and Sung dynasties by practicing this art with other students, I am not too awkward in handwriting. During my childhood I practiced it in accordance with our family tradition, [3]) and in addition I am fond of this art by nature; I have seen many model calligraphies and spent considerable time in appreciation and practice. Still, for lack of innate talent I am not excellent in penmanship. But it is not necessary to be so, because "the shrewd are drawn to trouble, the wise to grief"; [4]) and (an eminent calligrapher) is always obliged to write something for others, which would be a nuisance. [5]) There is certainly a good reason for Wei Chung-chiang's last will [waring his descendants against learning calligraphy]. [6])

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[1]) *Chen-shu* 真書, also called *li-shu* 隸書 or standard script now *k'ai-shu* 楷書, clerkly script, is written stroke by stroke in a careful way. It is different from the draft script or running hand *ts'ao-shu* 草書 or ts'ao style. See pp. 47-48 and Lucy Driscoll and Kenji Toda, *Chinese Calligraphy*, with beautiful illustrations of various styles.

[2]) "One-foot tablet" or *chih-tu* 尺牘 was the standard size fixed in the Han dynasty for wooden stationary for the use of correspondence. Hence *ch'ih-tu* means correspondence. T. H. Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk*, 105-106.

[3]) Yen Hsieh, the author's father, as mentioned in the introduction, was a skilful calligrapher of the *li* and *ts'ao* script. *Liang-shu* 50, 26-27.

[4]) *Chuang Tzu* chap. 32, "Lieh Yü-k'ou", 10.7b; Cf. Giles' translation of *Chuang Tzu*, p. 425.

[5]) It has been customary in China to request a calligrapher to write a piece of verse or prose and have it mounted to hang on the wall for decoration. It is an honor for the calligrapher, but he has to grind the inkstone and work day and night in order to fulfil the social obligations of his scholar-gentry class.

[6]) Wei Tan 韋誕 (T. Chung-chiang 仲將) an excellent calligrapher, was ordered by the emperor Wei Ming-ti (r. 227-240) to decorate the top of a new palace with his handwriting. He had to climb up a shaky ladder, supposedly some 300 feet high, and write the inscriptions stroke by stroke. So frightened was he and so strenuous was it that after the work was done

Wang I-shao, a romantic with literary talent and a famous man without care, is known only for his penmanship, which overshadows his other abilities. [1]) Hsiao Tzu-yün (486-548) frequently said with a sigh, "I wrote the *Ch'i-shu* [read *Chin-shu*], [2]) making it into a complete standard work, and I believe myself that the style and ideas are presentable; yet I received credit only for my penmanship. What a strange thing!"

Wang Pao was a man of eminent family background, brilliant talent and excellent knowledge. Later even though he went to Kuan-chung, there he also received courteous treatment. Because he was a master of calligraphy, he had a rough road among stone tablets and pillars; he toiled at service with pen and ink. Frequently he regretted this, saying, "If I were not a master of calligraphy, I should not be so harassed as I am today." [3])

On the basis of these examples you should carefully avoid self-pride as a calligrapher, although many persons of low position do gain recognition or promotion through their beautiful handwriting. Thus "those whose courses are different cannot lay plans for one another." [4])

Since the scattering of the Liang imperial library, [5]) I have seen many samples of the formal and draft scripts of the two Wang, [6])

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his hair was reported to have turned gray. *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, chap. 21, "Ch'iao-i" 巧藝, I. p. 25b (*SPPY* ed.).

[1]) Wang Hsi-chih (see p. 29, n. 1; T. I-shao 逸少 H. Yu-chün 右軍) was a good student of classics, history and calligraphy. But his penmanship is so famous that he is considered the paragon of calligraphers of all times. His *li* script was "light as floating clouds, vigorous as a startled dragon." *Chin-shu* 80.1-10, and Driscoll, *Chinese Calligraphy* 28, 60 and *passim*.

[2]) Hsiao Tzu-yün 蕭子雲, a good calligrapher, was the author of the *Chin-shu* 100 *chüan*, listed in the bibliographical sections of the dynastic histories of the Sui and T'ang. Hsiao Tzu-hsien 子顯, an elder brother of Tzu-yün, was the author of *Ch'i-shu* [i.e. *Nan-Ch'i shu*], 60 *chüan*, one of the twenty-four dynastic histories. Here Yen Chih-t'ui made a mistake; *Ch'i-shu* should be *Chin-shu*. See *Liang-shu* 35, 7b-10; and also p. 48, n. 6.

[3]) For Wang Pao see p. 48, n. 3.

[4]) *Lun-yü*, bk. 15, chapter 39. Cf. Chou Yi-liang's notes on *YSCH* in *Wei Chin Nan-pei ch'ao shih lun-wen chi* (Peking, 1962) 405.

[5]) The Liang imperial library at Chiang-ling housed more than 70,000 *chüan*. Before the Chou army reached the capital, all books were burned by the Liang authorities. See the introduction to the bibliographical section, *Sui shu* 32.5b-6.

[6]) Wang Hsi-chih (see note 1), and Wang Hsien-chih 獻之, (T. Tzu-ching 子敬, 344-388), his son, were both eminent calligraphers and scholars; *Chin-shu* 80. 12-14.

and ten rolls (*chüan*) of them are collected in our family. I began to know that T'ao Yin-chü, [1]) Juan Chiao-chou [2]) and Hsiao the Libationer [3]) were all influenced by the style of [Wang] Hsi-chih; and thus I understand the evolution of calligraphy and that the modification made by Hsiao in his later years was actually the style which [Wang] Yu-chün [4]) practiced during his youth.

Since the Chin and Sung dynasties there have been many able calligraphers who were mutually influenced, so according to the current custom there are many remarkable volumes of the regular and orthodox calligraphy. Even though there are occasional vulgar characters, they do no great harm. This tendency was maintained without change until the T'ien-chien period (502-519) of the Liang dynasty. Near the end of Ta-t'ung (535-546), mistaken forms and substitutes multiplied. Hsiao Tzu-yün changed the style of writing, and Prince Shao-ling [5]) used a considerable number of wrong characters. People in the court as well as in the country followed these practices as models. Like an unsuccessful tiger-painter, [6]) they changed the writing forms from bad to worse by using only a few dots to represent a character or by wantonly adding or omitting the number of strokes and rearranging the parts at their convenience. Thereafter, the books became unintelligible. Under the Northern dynasties, after the time of trouble, handwriting was very vulgar and defective. In addition the people coined characters arbitrarily with a vulgarity and awkwardness worse than that south of the Yangtze. They combined *pai* 百 and *nien* 念 for *yu* 憂; *yen* 言 and *fan* 反 for *pien* 變; *pu* 不 and *yung* 用 for *pa* 罷; *chui* 追 and *lai* 來 for *kuei* 歸; *keng* 更 and *sheng* 生 for *su* 蘇; *hsien* 先 and *jen* 人 for *lao* 老. Such forms are numerous in all the classics and histories. Only Yao Yüan-piao 姚元標, who was skilful in the

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[1]) T'ao Yin-chü is the *hao* of T'ao Hung-ching, see p. 134, n. 2.

[2]) Juan Chiao-chou 阮交州 (name, Yen 研) was governor of Chiao-chou. Yen Shih-hui found a source on him in Chang Huai-kuan 張懷瓘 *Shu-tuan* 書斷. The translator and his friends, K. T. Wu and Chang Tsun-wu, could not locate him in current editions of *Shu-tuan* in the Congressional and Harvard University libraries. Juan Yen's beautiful calligraphy is in *Ch'un-hua ko-t'ieh* 淳化閣帖, 79-80.

[3]) Hsiao Chi-chiu 蕭祭酒 is Hsiao Tzu-yün, see p. 48, n. 6.

[4]) Yu-chün 右軍 is Wang Hsi-chih, see p. 199, n. 1.

[5]) Shao-ling wang 邵陵王, whose name was Hsiao Lun 蕭綸, was the sixth son of Kao-tsu of the Liang dynasty; *Liang-shu* 29, 5-11.

[6]) A man painting a tiger which looks more like a dog than a tiger. This was said by Ma Yüan, see p. 2, n. 1.

draft script and the clerkly script, was attentive to etymology. He was respected by many young students as a teacher, and, consequently, near the end of the Ch'i dynasty, the copying done by imperial secretaries was much improved.

The *Hua-shu fu* 畫書賦 (A poetic description of the techniques of painting and calligraphy), which was circulated in many villages south of the Yangtze, was written by the Taoist Tu 杜道士, a disciple of T'ao Yin-chü. This Taoist, with a limited knowledge carelessly formed rules and principles which he claimed to have learned from his famous teacher. His work spread and was believed by the common people, and misled young students.

Skill in painting also is admirable. Since ancient times it has been mastered by many famous men. Once I had in my possession a round white fan with a cicada and a sparrow, which had been painted by emperor Liang Yüan-ti with his own hand, and a painting of a horse, both of which are rare. The heir apparent Wu-lieh was so particularly capable in portraiture that he could quickly sketch several of his dinner guests by a few free-hand dots and strokes, and show them to children who could identify them by name.[1] Hsiao Pen,[2] Liu Hsiao-hsien[3] and Liu Ling[4] were all excellent in this art, apart from their reputation in literature. To find amusement in looking at the art objects of all times is particularly valuable and enjoyable. But if your official position is not high enough, you are frequently ordered to paint for the government or for private friends, which is also a disgusting service. Ku Shih-tuan 顧士端 of Wu-chün [Soochow] started his career as an attendant secretary (*shih-lang*) of the princedom of Hsiang-tung[5] and later on became an administrator of a criminal court (*hsing-yü ts'an-chün*)[6] at the prefecture of Chen-nan 鎮南 [in Kwangtung].

[1]) For the heir apparent Wu Lieh 武烈, see p. 104, n. 6.

[2]) Hsiao Pen 蕭賁 (T. Wen-huan 文奐), grandson of Prince of Ching, a prefect (*t'ai-shou*) of Ho-tung 河東, was a scholar as well as a good calligrapher and painter. Ch'en Ssu 陳思, *Shu hsiao-shih* 書小史 7. 56b, *Mei-shu ts'ung-shu* 美術叢書, the 4th collection, pt. IX.

[3]) Liu Hsiao-hsien 劉孝先, the seventh younger brother of Liu Ch'ien 潛, held various government positions in the Liang dynasty and was a good poet. (*Liang-shu* 41. 14b-15). From the *Yen-shih chia-hsün* we learn that Liu Hsiao-hsien was also a good painter.

[4]) Liu Ling, "The husband of Ssu-lu's aunt" appeared in chapter 8, p. 83.

[5]) The prince of Hsiang-tung 湘東, Heng-yang 衡陽, (Hunan) was Hsiao I (508-554) who later became emperor Liang Yüan-ti, as was said in the introduction.

[6]) *Hsing-yü ts'an-chün* 刑獄參軍 was an official title under a prince or

He had a son named Ku T'ing 顧庭, an imperial secretary (*chung-shu she-jen*) of the Western Court. [1]) Both the father and son were skilful calligraphers and lute-players, and they were especially well-versed in painting. [2]) Whenever they were ordered by (Emperor) Yüan-ti to paint, they felt humiliated and harbored resentment. Liu Yo 劉岳 of P'eng-ch'eng, son of Liu T'o 橐, with an official career from a secretaryship in the headquarters of a swift cavalry division (*p'iao-ch'i-fu kuan-chi*) [3]) to magistrate of P'ing-shih 平氏 (in Nanyang, Honan), was a very brilliant scholar with unsurpassed ability in painting. Later on he followed Prince Wu-ling [4]) to Szechwan, where he suffered a defeat at Hsia-lao; [5]) he was compelled to paint the walls of the Chih-chiang temple [6]) for the Protective General Lu (Lu Hu-chün) [7]) and lived together with other craftsmen. If these three scholars had been ignorant of painting, simply engaging themselves in their original professions, would they have met such humiliations?

The use of archery to intimidate (the people of) the world was the ancient kings' basis for examining people's virtue and selecting the wise. [8]) It was also urgent for protecting one's own body. People south of the Yangtze consider ordinary archery to be

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prefecture. *Sui-shu* 27, 12 and Des Rotours, 636.

[1]) The post of *chung-shu she-jen* 中書舍人 belonged to the *chung-shu sheng* 中書省 (imperial grand secretariat), and hence *Hsi-ch'ao* 西朝 (the Western Court) refers to the *Chung-shu sheng*. Cf. Wang Ming-ch'ing 王明清, *Hui-chu ch'ien-lu* 揮麈前錄 1.9b-10, and Des Rotours, 10. See also p. 17, n. 1.

[2]) Here the text literally means "red and blue" or color painting.

[3]) *P'iao-ch'i-fu kuan-chi* 驃騎府管記 was a secretary or clerk (*kuan-chi*) in the headquarters of a swift cavalry division (p'iao-ch'i-fu). *Kuan-chi* took charge of documents and correspondence as Lu Chieh 陸玠 was summoned to serve as *Kuan-chi* in the East Palace (*Nan-shih* 48.23b). As for p'iao-ch'i, it was a common military rank in the Han, Southern and Northern Dynasties. *Sui-shu* 27.1b, 16 and Des Rotours, 520.

[4]) Prince Wu-ling 武陵 was Hsiao Chi 蕭紀, the eighth son of Liang Kao-tsu, Hsiao Yen 衍 (*Nan-shih* 53.10). He was proclaimed emperor in Shu in 552, but was killed in 553 (*Liang-shu* 5.7-9).

[5]) Hsia-lao 下牢 is 25 *li* northwest of I-ch'ang 宜昌, Hupeh.

[6]) Chih-chiang 支江 or 枝江 is also in Hupeh.

[7]) Lu Hu-chün 陸護軍 was Lu Fa-ho 陸法和, a 6th century hermit of Chiang-ling, Hupeh and a Taoist who claimed to have possessed magic power to defeat Hou Ching. He has a biography in *Pei Ch'i-shu* 32, 1-5b.

[8]) Archery in ancient times was used partly for physical exercise, in which it was an indicator of sportsmanship, and partly for military drill. That is why the virtuous and wise were selected through it. *Li-chi*, chap. 46, She-i 射義, 20.8b.

military archery, which is not practiced by the well-dressed scholars. There is another form of archery, a game in which weak bows and long arrows are used for charging a sure target, with courteous obeisance and solemn steps in performing the ceremony. This is utterly useless for defense against invasions. After the period of disorder, this practice was discontinued. Scholars north of the Yellow River are well-versed in military archery. Not only could Ko Hung stop the soldiers in pursuit by one arrow, [1]) but imperial prizes were bestowed abundantly at banquets with high officials (lit. the three dukes and the nine ministers). In spite of this gain, I do not wish you children to bring down small birds or cut down cunning animals by archery.

Divination was a work of the sages. In modern times there are no longer good teachers and many predictions have not come true. In ancient times divination was used to settle doubts, but now people's doubts are created by divination. Why? The reason is that when some people believe in a doctrine, or have made up their mind to some plan, and the divination is unfavorable to these, they are frightened and perplexed. Moreover, when six or seven out of ten divinations come out true, the diviner is first-class. But he has only a general rough idea, and does not care for detail, always, when guessing at odd or even, of course half the guesses are right. How could he be reliable? Tradition says that he who understands the *yin* and *yang* principles is envied by devils; he who is disappointed and poverty-stricken frequently encounters bad luck. I have noticed that since the near-ancient period the skilful diviners have been Ching Fang, [2]) Kuan Lu [3]) and Kuo P'o, [4]) all of whom obtained no high official rank but met disastrous deaths. Hence what the tradition says may well be believed.

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[1]) In the last chapter of *Pao-p'u tzu,* Ko Hung says, "Formerly when I was in the army, I shot down two cavalry pursuers and one horse as soon as my arrows left the bow, and consequently my own life was saved." 50.7.

[2]) Ching Fang 京房 (T. Chün-ming 君明), first century B.C., was an expert on the *Book of Changes*. He predicted that his learning would lead to his destruction. He was thrown into prison and put to death at the age of 42. *Han-shu* 25. 6-11, and Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 156.

[3]) Kuan Lu 管輅 (T. Kung-ming 公明) of the kingdom of Wei was fond of watching stars and studying astronomy during his childhood. When he grew up, he read the physical make-up of many people, and claimed to have predicted the death of more than a hundred without mistake, including his own in 255 A.D. *San-kuo-chih, Wei-chih* 29. 11-12, and 25b.

[4]) For Kuo P'o see p. 79, n. 9.

At the time when the meshes of the law are so tight, the reputation of pretentious prophets may be a source of woe when something goes wrong. You should not toil to learn astrology and geomancy. Once I studied the *Liu-jen-shih* [1]) at a time when some good men of society collected the *Lung-shou,* [2]) *Chin-kuei,* [3]) *Yü-ling* 玉軨, *Pien Yü-li* 變玉歷, [4]) and more than ten other books. I studied these books but found them ineffective. After a short while I regretted this and gave it up.

Generally speaking, the *yin* and the *yang* are born together with heaven and earth. We cannot but believe their correlation with luck and misfortune, goodness and punishment. Unfortunately we are far away from the sages, and the current books on divination were produced by the poorly educated with slang and superficial expressions. Their predictions were more often wrong than correct: even though one evades the *fan-chih* days [5]) by not traveling, a man eventually meets a misfortune; even though one avoids (*kuei-chi* [6]) days by spending a night elsewhere, a man still cannot

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[1]) *Liu-jen-shih* 六壬式 was a book of divination listed in the bibliographical section of the *Sui-shu* 3.23b.

[2]) In the period of the Three Kingdoms there was a *Lung-shou ching* 龍首經 and in the Chin dynasty came a *Lung-shou chi* 記. *Combined Indices to Twenty Historical Bibliographies,* 4.55.

[3]) This may be the *Huang-ti chin-kuei yü-heng ching* 黃帝金櫃玉衡經, in the Taoist Canon (*Tao-tsang* 道藏).

[4]) The last two works cannot be traced.

[5]) *Fan-chih* 反支 literally "reversing the combination of Stems (*kan* 干) and Branches" (*chih* 支). The twelve "branches of earth", such as *tzu* 子, *ch'ou* 丑 *yin* 寅 and *mao* 卯, which combine with the ten "stems of heaven" such as *chia* 甲, *i* 乙, *ping* 丙 and *ting* 丁, make a series or cycle of sixty. The day on which the twelve branches are to be repeated is an unlucky day. In the Han dynasty official dispatches were not received on that day, and in later times traveling was avoided. This superstitious and wasteful observance was abolished by Emperor Ming-ti in A.D. 75. Obviously some people still believed in it, because Ch'en Pai-ching 陳伯敬 at the time of Han Huan-ti (r. 147-167) observed all superstitious practices, but eventually he was killed. See Ssu-ma Kuang, *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 45, Han-chi 37, p. 1467-1468; *Hou-Han shu* 79.9b.

[6]) *Kuei-chi* 歸忌 "the returning taboo", was the day when an evil spirit made his monthly return to the house. A Taoist could calculate the exact day of a month occurring on one of the twelve branches. On an unauspicious day no one should start a journey, return home, move to another house, or get married. If one were on his way home he should slow down the trip and spend a night elsewhere so as to reach his destination on the next day. *Han-shu* 92. 12b-13, and *Hou-Han shu* 76. 3b-4.

save himself from a violent death. [1]) Obviously it is useless to be bigoted and superstitious.

Mathematics is an important subject in the six arts. Through the ages all scholars who have participated in discussions on astronomy and calendars have had to master it. However, you may take it as a minor occupation, not as a major one. South of the Yangtze there were very few mathematicians besides Tsu Keng [2]) of Fan-yang who was very well-versed in mathematics and who was eventually appointed prefect of Nan-k'ang. Many scholars north of the Yellow River are also familiar with this art.

Medicine is very difficult to understand thoroughly. I do not advise you to pride yourselves on being experts. A little knowledge of the nature of medicine and the making of some simple prescriptions for first aid at home is good; Huang-fu Mi (215-282) [3]) and Yin Chung-k'an (d. 399) were men of this type. [4])

The *Book of Rites* says, "A superior man should not abandon his lutes without some (sad) cause;" [5]) Lutes have been loved by many famous men since ancient times. At the beginning of the Liang dynasty, children of the respectable scholar class who did not know how to play the lute were considered to have missed something; then, near the end of Ta-t'ung (535-546), this tradition was completely neglected. However, this music, soothing and elegant, has a rich flavor. Current songs, though different from the ancient ones, are still able to amuse us. But you should not allow yourself to have a reputation in this art, for then you will have to entertain nobles, sitting in a humble place and taking the insult

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[1]) This man was Ch'en Pai-ching. See Ch'en Tsun's 陳遵 biography, in *Han-shu* 92. 9b-13.

[2]) Tsu Keng 祖暅, should be Tsu Keng-chih 之, son of the famous mathematician and scientist, Tsu Ch'ung-chih 祖冲之 (ca. 430-510). Keng-chih was a participant in making the calendar of the T'ien-chien period (502-519), *Nan-shih* 72, 12b. For Tsu Ch'ung-chih see A. C. Moule, "The Chinese South-pointing Carriage," *T'oung Pao* XXIII (1924), 88, and Joseph Needham, III. 35-36; for Tsu Keng-chih 101, 102, 262 and *passim*.

[3]) The famous scholar Huang-fu Mi 皇甫謐 had trouble with serious rheumatism, through which he learned some medicine. *Chin-shu* 51.7. See also p. 62, n. 5.

[4]) Yin was a filial son who attended his father's long illness, for which he studied medicine and personally prepared the herbs for the patient to take. *Chin-chu* 8.14; see also p. 176, n. 3.

[5]) *Li-chi*, Ch'ü-li hsia. Cf. Legge's translation, *Sacred Books of the East* XXVII. 106.

of drinking the dregs and eating the cold remains. Even Tai An-tao[1]) himself was so disgraced, to say nothing about you.

The [*K'ung-tzu*] *chia-yü* (School sayings of Confucius) say: "A superior man does not play *po*, for it concurrently brings forth other evil actions." [2]) The *Lun-yü* says, "Are there not gamesters and chess players? To be one of these would still be better than doing nothing at all." [3]) Well then, the sage did not consider game and chess as a part of his education. A scholar should not be an addict, but when he is tired he may play at these games occasionally, and this would be better than over-eating, sleeping soundly or sitting still. Crown Prince Wu 吳太子 considered such games useless and ordered Wei Chao to criticize gamblers; [4]) Wang Su (464-501), [5]) Ko Hung [6]) and T'ao K'an (259-334) [7]) would not allow themselves to look at or touch these objects; they were all diligent and earnest scholars. If you can do likewise, that is fine.

In ancient times the *ta-po* 大博 used six sticks (*chu* 箸); and the *hsiao-po* 小博 used two dice called *ch'iung* 琼; now no one understands them. Modern gambling uses one die and a set of twelve draughtsmen (*ch'i*). The mathematics and techniques are so simple that playing is not worthwhile.

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[1]) Tai An-tao 戴安道, or Tai K'uei 戴逵 (died 395), was devoted to literature and music. The Prince of Wu-liang summoned him to give a performance of his skill as a musician; he declined and fled here and there to avoid the service. Finally he broke his lute before the court messenger and said that he would not be an imperial entertainer. *Chin-shu*, 94, 31b-33.

[2]) *K'ung-tzu chia-yü*, chap. 7, 2.26b. *Po* 博, was orginally a game with a board and dice, but later degenerated into mere dice throwing, and became gambling. Cf. R. P. Kramer's translation and notes, 227, 316, and note 1 on p. 25 above.

[3]) *The Analects*, Bk. XVII, Ch. 22. *The Chinese Classics* I. 329.

[4]) Wei Chao 韋昭 should be Wei Yao 曜; in accordance with a Chin dynasty taboo, Yao was replaced by Chao. Because someone in the palace of the Crown Prince was fond of gambling, Wei Yao was ordered to criticize his behavior. *San-kuo chih, Wu-chih* 20.7b.

[5]) Wang Su 王蕭 (T. Kung-i 恭懿), a puritan, lived a very simple life without desire for music, colorful attractions or money. *Pei-shih*, 42.1-5.

[6]) Ko Hung, author of the *Pao-p'u tzu*, and other works, was a famous Taoist scholar of wide learning. He had no hobby and knew nothing about chess, gambling and other games. *Chin-shu* 72.13-14, and also see p. 94, n. 5.

[7]) T'ao K'an 陶侃 (T. Shih-hsing 士行, 259-334), a very assiduous official, tried to save every second of his time from waste. A man of exemplary conduct, he would not drink, play, gamble or talk idly. He ordered his subordinates to throw their wine cups and gambling instruments into the river and whipped those who violated his prohibitions. *Chin-shu* 66. 12b-13.

The *wei-ch'i* 圍棊 (Surrounding Chess, a game of war), also called *shou-t'an* 手談 (finger talk) or *tso-yin* 坐隱 (sitting hermits), is a refined game. But it makes people self-indulgent and neglectful of other duties. You should not play it often.

The *t'ou-hu* ceremony [1]) has become more difficult in modern times than it was long ago, when the vase target was filled up with small beans which prevented the arrow from jumping out. Now it is desirable to have *hsiao* 驍 [to rear, i.e.] to rebound; the more *hsiao* one can make, the better. [2]) The game became so complicated that names arose such as leaning-on-a-post, carrying-a-sword, wolf-jar, leopard-tail and dragon-head. The most amazing was the lotus-flower *hsiao*. Both Chou Kuei 周瓌, son of Hung-cheng in the district of Ju-nan, [3]) and Huo Hui 賀徽, son of Huo Ko 革 in the district of Kuei-chi, could make more than forty *hsiao* with one arrow. [4]) Huo once constructed a small fence outside of which a jar was placed; he could shoot from behind the fence and still hit the mark without missing. When I came to Yeh, I saw that Prince

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[1]) *T'ou-hu* 投壺 or Pitch-pot, practiced in China for many centuries, was done by two contestants who attempted to toss (*t'ou*) arrows into the mouth of a narrow necked vessel (*hu*) according to very elaborate rules of procedure. The game existed as early as the Chou dynasty. It was described in the *Li-chi* (*The Sacred Books of the East* XXVIII, 397-401), *Tso-chuan* (*The Chinese Classics* V, 639), *Shih-chi* (126.3), *Hou Han-shu* (50.10b) and others. The *t'ou-hu* game had been played from Chou to modern times. G. Montell, "T'ou Hu—The Ancient Chinese Pitch-pot Game," *Ethnos*, V (1940) 70-83 (well illustrated), and Richard C. Rudolph, "The antiquity of *t'ou hu*," *Antiquity*, 96 (Dec. 1950) 175-178.

[2]) The *hsiao* is described in Ko Hung (284-363), *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* 西京雜記, which reads: "During the time of Han Wu-ti (r. 140-87 B.C.) a Household-man Kuo (Kuo She-jen 郭舍人) was skillful in the *t'ou-hu* game. He used (game) arrows made of bamboo, not a (wooden) lance. In ancient period the thrower tried to hit the mark (a jar), but no attempt was made to have the arrow bounce out. The (target) jar was filled up with small beans to prevent the lance from jumping out. The Household-man Kuo forced his "arrow" to return; and an arrow could be made to return more than a hundred times. Then he called this *hsiao* 驍, because in the game it bounced like a strong galloping horse. 5.9 (*Han-wei ts'ung-shu* edition, Shanghai, Han-fen lou, 1925). The more complicated the target jar was, the more bounces the "arrow" could make, the more interesting the game was. The *hsiao ch'i* 驍棋 or *hsiao-ch'i* 梟 (owl) 棋 were the leading draughtsmen.

[3]) For Chou Hung-cheng and his son, see p. 63, n. 6. But about Chou Kuei, *Ch'en-shu* has mentioned a few words (24.6).

[4]) For Ho Ko see p. 63, n. 8, but the sources make no mention of his son, Ho Hui.

Kuang-ning [1]) and Prince Lan-ling [2]) had such instruments. But there was no one who could make a single *hsiao* throughout the whole nation.

T'an-ch'i, [3]) [a kind of Chinese "tiddly winks"] is an elegant game of modern times. You may frequently play it to dissipate ennui and relieve dizziness.

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[1]) Prince Kuang-ning 廣寧王, i.e. Kao Hsiao-heng 高孝珩, the second son of Emperor Wen-hsiang 文襄 of the Northern Ch'i dynasty, was a great master of miscellaneous arts besides being excellent in classics and history. *Pei Ch'i-shu* 11.2b-4.

[2]) Prince Lan-ling 蘭陵王, i.e. Kao Ch'ang-kung 高長恭 or Hsiao-kuan 孝瓘, the fourth son of Wen-hsiang, was a handsome gentleman with a lovely voice. He always shared fruits and sweets with his subordinates. *Pei Ch'i-shu* 11. 5-6.

[3]) T'an-ch'i 彈棊 was an ancient game which, according to Herbert A. Giles, was a kind of Chinese "tiddly-winks," or squails. The game was played on a board two feet square with a small part of the center raised, and used twelve small marbles, half white and half black. There were two players, each trying to knock the other's marbles to the corner. The best sources for these various games and their evolution have been given in p. 25, n. 1.

Yen's instruction to his family members including even their choice of hobbies indicates his thoughtfulness and comprehensiveness. He has said everything concerning their correct speech and conduct except what is left for the last chapter.

CHAPTER TWENTY

LAST WILL

Death is every man's lot; it cannot be avoided. At the age of nineteen [549], I experienced the disorder of the destruction of the Liang dynasty. Under those conditions there were several occasions when I faced a bright sword, but fortunately, by the merits inherited from my ancestors, I have survived until now. The ancients said, "Fifty years are not to be regarded as a short life." I am already over sixty, so my heart is quite calm, without worry over my declining years. I have already suffered the trouble of apoplexy and constantly expect a sudden end, [1]) so I roughly put down my long-cherished wishes as a warning to you.

Neither my father nor my mother was brought back to our old (burial) hill at Chien-yeh [near Nanking], but they were buried in the eastern suburb of Chiang-ling [in Hupeh] where we were sojourning. At the end of the Ch'eng-sheng period (555), I reported on this and petitioned the authorities at Yang-tu [Nanking], expressing my desire for removal of the coffins there. Receiving the gracious contribution of a hundred ounces of silver, I had bricks baked north of a small field outside of Yangchow. The overthrow of our dynasty [556] stopped the work. My wanderings for several decades since that time destroyed any hope for arranging the removal. Though the nation is now [589] reunited, our family means are exhausted. How could we raise funds for the proper interment? Moreover, Yang-tu has been entirely destroyed, and nothing remains. It is not a good plan to remove the coffins to a

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[1]) The text is *feng-ch'i chih chi* 風氣之疾 which may be translated as rheumatism or apoplexy. Rheumatism should not worry the author so much that he could die at any moment, so his illness must be apoplexy. This supposition may be supported by two similar historical cases. Hsü Ling 徐陵 (507-583) wrote a letter to a royal family member from Northern Ch'i (*Tsai Pei-Ch'i yü tsung-shih shu* 在北齊與宗室書) in which he said "My wind trouble is kept on, half of my body is withered and useless" (*Ch'üan Ch'en-wen* 全陳文 7, 10b). Prince T'an Lin-huai 臨淮王譚 had wind trouble, "his arms and legs could not follow (his wish), his mouth could not talk" (*Pei-shih* 16.24). This so-called "wind trouble" is obviously apoplexy.

low and damp place. My condemnation and self-reproaches pierce my heart and bones.

My brothers and I should not have entered government service, but because of the decline of our clan fortune, the weakness of our family members, the lack of superior persons within five generations, our scattering outside our native country leaving no influential man to help you, and my fear lest you should be debased to the level of servants and bring disgrace upon our ancestors, I therefore have brazenly taken a public post, hoping to preserve the family status from a fall. Moreover the government regulations in the North are so strict that no one is permitted to retire.

Now, old and sick, if I should suddenly expire, how could I ask for full funeral rites? Just bathe the body on the first day after the arms have stiffened and dress it in ordinary clothes; do not trouble about "recalling the soul". At our late mother's death, which was just at a time of famine, our family resources were exhausted and we brothers were young and weak, so the coffin was thin and roughly made; no bricks were used in the grave. I deserve only a pine coffin, two inches thick, and nothing to accompany me into the tomb besides my clothes and hat. On top of the coffin, place only a seven star board. [1]) Other objects such as a waxed crossbow, an ivory or jade pig, and pewter men should all be omitted. Jars of provisions and mortuary figures must not be prepared; a biographical stele and elegiac scrolls cannot be considered. Carry the coffin on a clamshell hearse, and bury it underground with no grave mound. If you fear that you will not know where to find the grave for future sacrifices, you may build a low wall at the left and right, front and back of the tomb to serve as a private sign. In the soul shrine, do not prepare any pillow or couch. In sacrifices on the first and the fifteenth of the month, there must be no wine, meat, cakes, or fruit; offer only white congee, clean water, and dry jujubes. Stop all relatives and friends who come to offer libations of wine. If you, my children, disobey my wishes and treat me better than I did my mother, you will make your father seem unfilial. Could you then feel happy?

The use of the Inner Scriptures (Buddhist ceremonies) to raise merits may be determined by your financial strength, but do not

[1]) On the so-called "seven star board" seven figures as large as pieces of money were cut and linked together by lines to represent the constellation of the seven stars of the Big Dipper on the inner coffin. See notes to text, and *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* I, 95.

use up what is needed for your living so as to leave you cold and hungry. The four seasonal sacrifices were taught by Duke Chou and Confucius with the hope of deathless remembrance and filial devotion. If we look into the Inner Scriptures, they are useless. To kill living beings for such purposes only adds to sin and trouble. If you would requite the boundless love you had received and alleviate your grief when it is intensified by the change of seasons, an occasional vegetarian offering and services at the soul delivering festival in the mid-seventh-moon, [1]) are all I expect from you. When Confucius had buried his mother he said, "I have heard that the ancients made graves only, and raised no mound over them. But I am a man who has travelled east, west, south, and north; I cannot do without something by which to recognize the place." [2]) Then he decided to accumulate soil and raise a four-foot mound over the grave. Well, even the princely man who responded to the needs of his age by practicing his doctrine still could not attend to the (elaborate) construction of the grave; then due to the compulsion of the present circumstances (you should not pay much attention to my grave).

I am now wandering like a floating cloud. I know not what district will be my burial place. Wherever I expire, just bury me there. You children should make it your task to hand on what I have done and display your reputation; do not give such loving attention to what is perishable under the soil as to bring destruction upon yourselves.

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[1]) Yü-lan-p'en 盂蘭盆, a festival for the deliverance of "hungry spirits," often spoken of as the Chinese "All Souls' Day," held on the 15th of the seventh moon. See *Fo-shuo yü-lan-p'en ching* 佛說盂蘭盆經 in *Dai Nihon kōtei Daizōkyō*, part, *fang-teng* 方等, section, *chou* 宙, *ts'e* 60.

[2]) *Li Chi*, chap. Tan-kung, part I, *Sacred Books of the East* XXVII, 123.

A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CYYY	Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan, Li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Senica).
Des Rotours	Robert des Rotours, *Traité des Fonctionnaires et Traité de l'Armée.*
Dubs, III	Homer Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. III.
FJHC	*Fu-jen hsüeh-chih.*
H.	*Hao* 號, literary name.
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*
HSCK	*(Nü-shih-ta) Hsüeh-shu chi-k'an.*
JAS	*The Journal of Asian Studies.*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
MTB	*Memoirs of the Tōyō Bunko*
Mochizuki	Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō Daijiten.*
SPPY	*Ssu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要.
SPTK	*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊.
Soothill	William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms.*
T.	*Tzu* 字, courtesy name.
TCTC	*Tzu-chih t'ung-chien.*
TSCC	*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* 叢書集成.
WCTWSC	Wu-chou T'ung-wen shu-chü edition of the *Twenty-four dynastic histories*, Shanghai, 1903.
Yabuuchi Kiyoshi, CCKGSK	*Chūgoku chūsei kagaku gijutsu shi no kenkyū.*
YCHP	*Yen-ching hsüeh-pao.*
YSCH	*Yen-shih chia-hsün.*

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