

Johnston, Ian Hugh
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The University of Sydney

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DEPARTMENT OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES

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KU YEN-WU'S

'RECORD OF DAILY KNOWLEDGE'

I. TEXT

Ian Johnston

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I. INTRODUCTION

Ku Yen-wu's life (AD1613-1682) spanned the turbulent years of the Ming decline and the Ch'ing ascension. His copious writings are of great interest for several inter-related reasons but in particular for the insights they provide into the nature of the man and the times and for the light they cast on his pivotal role in what is seen as a major redirection of the stream of Chinese philosophical thought. Nonetheless very little of his writing is available in translation, there being only excerpts from some of his major essays in works of a general nature¹ and one thesis, that of Bartlett², which as the title implies is devoted to a broad evaluation of his place in China's intellectual history with translations of only three complete essays all from the collection entitled the *Shih-wen chi*³.

Ku Yen-wu was a polymath in the true tradition of Chinese scholarship. He was unusual, however, in that apart from a brief and ineffectual flirtation with the Ming court, in exile, he never held an official position nor did he embrace the role of eremitic scholar. In a sense, however, his scholarship was aided by his examination failures and his subsequent sustained rejection of service with the alien Manchus in that his attention was focussed on issues of practical concern for the conduct of a good society, to wit, statecraft, and matters of historical geography, matters which he thought might bear on the possibility of a Ming restoration. Moreover, the times were unquestionably not conducive to the ethereal ramifications of speculative metaphysics. Certainly he was freed from the cares of office and could pursue his scholarly interests as he wished. On the other hand his peripatetic life was not without its share of personal difficulties which might be thought to have mitigated against his devotion to learning.

Whatever the advantages and disadvantages of his way of life, chronicled in brief in the following section, he was able to make significant contributions to several areas of scholarship, a fact to which the division of his works by the editors of the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*⁴ into those related to classics, phonetics, textual research and historical geography attests. Above all he was able to occupy a position in the vanguard of the forces opposed to the somewhat fanciful late developments of Sung Neo-Confucianism. Within the terms of two prevalent but undoubtedly simplistic dichotomies he championed Han learning against Sung learning and ching-hsüeh against li-hsüeh. On this he wrote:

"From ancient to modern times how could there be a separate entity called the philosophy of rational principle. Classical learning is itself the study of rational principle. Ever

since men started to discuss the philosophy of rational principle apart from classical learning heterodoxy has arisen.⁵

In identifying the major targets of Ku's opprobrium the three most obvious are the later and more metaphysical developments of Sung Neo-Confucianism, the Neo-Taoism of the Cheng-shih period (AD240-248) with the subsequent development of the Chinese form of Buddhism and, finally, the political philosophy of Wang An-shih. Conversely, what he stood for in essence has been well summarised by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao⁶ who enumerates three components; to cherish creativity as opposed to imitation and dependence, indeed plagiarism, which Ku saw as characterising much of Ming writing; to make extensive evidence paramount, that is to scrutinise each fact thoroughly, confirm it with supporting data and then to write it down, and finally, to emphasize utility which Ku expresses thus: "... in view of this I decided not to do any writing unless it had a relation to the actual affairs of the contemporary world as indicated in the six classics."⁷

Thus Ku Yen-wu may be said to have helped redirect philosophy away from the abstruse and back to the practical, away from the derivative and back to the original, away from concerns with the self and back to those bearing on the conduct of society. On these matters later Ch'ing scholarship acknowledged his pioneering role and thereby its debt to him. Indeed Ku may be said to epitomise a trend which gathered momentum in the years of the Ming-Ch'ing transition involving also such worthies as Huang Tsung-hsi, Yen Jo-chü and Wang Fu-chih, a movement which was sustained through the early and middle Ch'ing periods. In this Ku Yen-wu's pivotal role is beyond dispute.

The object of this thesis is to present an English translation of a substantial part of his writing chosen to incorporate and represent his views on all matters which held his interest. Given this avowed aim the obvious choice is the *Jih-chih lu* at once the most general and most complete of his works. It is substantial, containing over one thousand essays and was composed over a long period of time with much revision so may be said to encapsulate his mature and considered views on the subjects he addressed. His other works of comparable magnitude are more specialised such as the *Chao-yü chih*, the *T'ien-hsia chün-kuo li-ping shu* and the *Yin-hsüeh wu-shu* or, in the case of the writings collected in the *Shih-wen chi*, less formal more, in a sense, personal and less comprehensive. I have, however, supplemented the translations from the *Jih-chih lu* with a number of essays from the *Shih-wen chi* where I thought these contributed in an important way to a statement of Ku's views on issues central to his interest. I have prefaced the translations with a brief resume of his biography followed by an analysis of the sections of

translation, finally concluding with some general remarks on his place in the history of Chinese philosophy.

II. BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY¹

- 1613 Born 28th day of the 5th month (41st year of Wan-li reign period) he was first named Chi-shen which was later changed to Chiang. His tzu was initially Chung-ch'ing. He was the second son of Ku T'ung-ying a minor scholar and poet but was later adopted as heir of T'ung-ying's paternal uncle Ku Shao-fei and Shao-fei's deceased son T'ung-chi. At the time of his death (AD1601) T'ung-chi was betrothed to a woman named Wang who did not subsequently marry but attached herself to Shao-fei's household and was a model of propriety and rectitude. It was she who undertook the care of Ku Yen-wu and proved a particularly significant influence on his life.
- 1615 At the age of 2 he contracted smallpox which left a permanent effect on his right eye. In the same year his natural father, T'ung-ying, made the first of a series of unsuccessful attempts at the provincial examination although he was ranked in the supplementary list.
- 1618 His paternal grandmother, Li died and his adoptive mother, Wang, assumed management of the household.
- 1619 At the age of 6 he began his attendance at the local school, having prior to this been schooled by his adoptive mother. He began also his acquaintance with the classical writings, in particular the *Great Learning*.
- 1623 At the age of 10 he received a copy of the *Comprehensive Mirror* from his adoptive grandfather, Shao-fei, who had taken over the supervision of his studies.²
- 1626 In this year he is said to have completed his reading of the *Comprehensive Mirror* done in conjunction with his adoptive grandfather. According to Peterson, their practice was to compare what they had read in the older work with what appeared in the *Capital Gazette*.³ Also in this year, aged 13, he passed an examination in Soochow to become a government student. He is also said to have joined the Fu-she (Society for Restoration)⁴ in this year although there is some doubt about this. Finally, in 1626 his true father, Ku T'ung-ying died at the age of 42.

- 1630 Aged 17 he was placed 20th in the 1st rank of the preliminary examination in Soochow but failed the subsequent triennial examination held later that year in Nanking.
- 1631 He was placed 11th in the first rank of the annual examination. In this year also he married a woman of the surname Wang from T'ai-ts'ang and changed his name to Ku Chiang.
- 1632 He was again placed in the first rank of the annual examination, this time in 14th position.
- 1633 In this year he was placed in the 3rd (lowest) rank of the preliminary examination.
- 1634 His adoptive mother received official recognition of her virtue when the title 'chaste and filial' was given for her gate by a regional inspecting censor.
- 1636 In this year, to quote Peterson "another regional inspecting censor memorialised the throne for permission to grant her (Wang) the title 'chaste and filial'. The petition was approved and when the imperial honour was bestowed all of Ku Shao-fei's and Ku Chiang's friends from the surrounding districts came with gifts and congratulations."⁵ Ku was then in his 24th year.
- 1638 In both the annual examinations and the preliminary examinations for this year he was placed in the third (lowest) rank.
- 1639 In the seventh month of this year he again failed the triennial examination being ranked in the second class. This was however quite a significant failure for, as he wrote in the preface to the *T'ien-hsia chün-kuo li-ping shu*, "rejected in the autumnal triennial examination in 1639 I retired and read books. Realising the many grievous problems with which the state was faced I was ashamed of the meagre resources which students of the classics possessed to deal with these problems. Therefore I read through the twenty-one dynastic histories as well as gazetteers for the whole empire. I read the collective literary works of the famous men of each period as well as memorials and documents. I noted down what I gained from my readings."⁶ As Peterson has noted: "The prefaces to these

two compilations (ie the *Chao-yü chih* and the *T'ien-hsia chün-kuo li-ping shu*) refer to 1639 as the year in which he began to gather geographical materials.⁷

- 1640 He did however again attempt the annual examination in this year being ranked in the second class.
- 1641 In the spring of this year Ku's adoptive paternal grandfather Li-yüan (Ku Shao-fei) died. The period of mourning following this death marked the end of Ku's examination attempts.
- 1642 His older brother, Ku Hsiang died elevating him to head of the household. Faced with the expense of two funerals in quick succession and beset by financial pressures, he mortgaged part of the family estate to one Yeh Fang-heng, a matter which became the subject of an on-going dispute.
- 1643 Apparently in this year Ku purchased rank in the National University.
- 1644 This was, of course, a momentous year in Chinese history which saw the capture of Peking by Li Tzu-ch'eng, the suicide of the Emperor, Ming Ssu Tsung, and the subsequent occupation of the capital by the Manchu conquerors. Impelled by these events, in the fourth month, Ku moved his adoptive mother, Wang, and the remainder of the household to T'ang-shih in Ch'ang-shu hsien and, in the tenth month, to the family residence in Ch'ien-tun-chen. After suffering a robbery and with the further establishment of the alien dynasty, in the twelfth month of 1644 Ku moved his household again, this time to a village called Yü-lien-ching between K'un-shan and Ch'ang-shu. During this time the alternative Ming government was being established in Nanking. Late in 1644 the magistrate of K'un-shan, Yang Yung-yen submitted Ku's name to the Ming court as a recommended candidate for office and he was called to serve as ping-pu ssu-wu (associated with the Ministry of War).
- 1645 During this year the invading forces continued their southern advance and this included the capture of K'un-shan, a conflict in which several of Ku's relatives were involved. Indeed, two of his younger brothers were killed and his true mother injured. It seems probable that Ku himself was not involved in the fighting. Earlier in the year he had gone to Nanking ostensibly to take up his

position with the Ming Ministry of War but this never eventuated. In the fifth month the Ch'ing forces entered Nanking and the following month Ku retired to Yü-lien-ching where he was, in all probability, during the hostilities at K'un-shan. At the end of this year Ku's adoptive mother, Wang starved herself to death in response to the adverse political situation rather than submit to the alien regime. Two other significant events in this year were firstly Ku's presentation of four substantial essays on current affairs⁸ and secondly his change of name from Ku Chiang to Ku Yen-wu which was accompanied by the destruction of all his previously written poems.

- 1646 For this and several succeeding years relatively little is known of Ku's activities. According to Peterson⁹ in the spring of 1646 he was summoned to the court of the Prince of T'ang in Yen-p'ing but did not go, in part at least because his adoptive mother had remained unburied, awaiting the hoped-for Ming restoration.
- 1647 In this year, with no prospect of such a restoration, his adoptive mother was buried and, in the twelfth month, Ku returned to Yü-lien-ching. Prior to this he had travelled with his friend Kuei Chang to Wu-hsing.
- 1648 After completion of his mourning at Yü-lien-ching he began a period of travel, predominately in the Soochow area.
- 1650 Up to this year he had continued his travels in the south assuming an appearance in accordance with Manchu requirements. Whether this signified acceptance of the alien regime or was simply a compromise to allow greater ease of movement is not completely clear. Several of his poems, written during this period, are informative of Ku's feelings on the Manchu conquest and the consequent sufferings of the people.
- 1651 In this year, aged 38, Ku made the first of a series of visits to the tomb of Ming T'ai Tsu at Nanking.
- 1652-4 During these years he basically resided at Nanking although his wife continued to live at K'un-shan. He continued his visits to Ming T'ai Tsu's tomb.

- 1655 Now aged 42, Ku returned to K'un-shan and became involved in a legal matter of some considerable magnitude. It involved a servant, Lu En, a long time member of the Ku household, who transferred his allegiance to Yeh Fang-heng with whom Ku was contesting a property dispute. Perhaps with the connivance of Yeh, Lu sought to discredit Ku by informing local officials that he had been connected with the southern Ming court at Foochow. On his return to K'un-shan, in the fifth month of 1665, Ku and his associates seized Lu and put him to death. Ku was arrested and held by associates of Yeh Fang-heng. His initial trial, at which he was sentenced to forced labour, was also influenced by Yeh. Ultimately, through the intercession of his friends, in particular Kuei Chuang and Lu Tse-p'u, he was retried in a different court and was sentenced to a beating. He was released in the spring of 1656.
- 1656 Following his release Ku returned to K'un-shan. Shortly thereafter his natural mother, Ho died. In the intercalary sixth month Ku set out for Nanking and it was during this journey that he was attacked by an assassin sent by Yeh Fang-heng. He was fortunate to escape with only a head wound thanks to the intervention of a bystander. In this year also Ku's household in K'un-shan was robbed by Yeh's ruffians.
- 1657 In the spring Ku returned to K'un-shan but realising he was unable to contest effectively any legal battle with Yeh he again left his home area and departed on his northern travels. Thus began a period of extensive travel and also of substantial literary production. It was during the years from 1657-1677 that the major part of the *Jih-chih lu* was written. Peterson has identified four possible motives for Ku's itinerant existence: (i) involvement in activities conducive to Ming restoration (ii) collection of materials relating to his studies, in particular historical geography and epigraphy (iii) visiting friends and associates and (iv) as the above seem to be inadequate to explain the extent of his travels Peterson suggests that Ku had a particular predilection for being on the move.¹⁰
- 1658 In the spring of this year, now aged 45, he went to T'ai-an and climbed T'ai-shan. He then travelled to Yen-chou and thence to Ch'ü-fu and Tsou-hsien where he visited the temples of Confucius, Mencius and the Duke of Chou. Traversing Chang-ch'iu, Ch'ang-shan, Chi-nan and Lai-chou he reached the capital. He left Peking late in the year.

- 1659 Ku, based in Shantung since 1657, continued his travels, passing through Shan-hai-kuan, a place of obvious strategic importance, and then journeying in a south-westerly direction along the coast. There has been speculation that these travels were in fact directed at the gathering of strategic information for use in an attempted Ming restoration although such a supposition remains unsubstantiated. In the autumn of this year Ku went to Yangchow but returned to Tientsin later in the year. This year also saw his first visit to the Shih-san-ling or the northern Ming tombs at T'ien-shou shan, north of Peking. Also in 1659 Ku visited the Ling-yen temple south-west of Chi-nan in Shantung obtaining there, in the ruined building, a number of inscriptions from the T'ang period. Thereafter, at least in part, his travels were aimed at the gathering of such materials in addition to whatever role they may have had in acquiring strategic military information.
- 1660 This year saw his return to Kiangnan and to Nanking.
- 1661 In the spring of this year he resumed his travels traversing Soochow and Hangchow, before reaching Shao-hsing. Finally, in the autumn, he returned to Shantung. Apropos of these journeys Peterson has written: "It is difficult to discern why he travelled in the south at this time" suggesting subsequently that it may have been to attend to his property "...to reconnoitre the area and estimate the extent of Ch'ing consolidation."¹¹ In the last month of the year he returned to Shantung and completed his short work, the *Shantung k'ao-ku lu*.
- 1662 In this, his 50th year, his travels continued, including a visit to Shansi, during which he located an old text of interest at a temple at Mount Huo in the southern part of the province. In this year he wrote the preface to his extensive geographical work, the *T'ien-hsia chün-kuo li-ping shu*, begun in 1639, for which he had been collecting materials during his travels. The materials were of a literary nature as well as objective evidence to supplement his reading.
- 1663 In this year his travels included visits to T'ai-yüan, Wu-tai shan, Hua-yin and Sian. He called on Wang Hung-chuan and, later, the renowned Shensi scholar, Li Yung. Also, while in Shensi, he visited Chu Ts'un-kang a descendent of the Ming imperial house by whom he was asked to edit and write a preface for a compilation of his (Chu's) father's poems. This was also the year of the trial of literati in northern Chekiang involved in the preparation of an unofficial Ming

history. Although Ku himself was not directly implicated in the case, some of his friends were and he later wrote an account of the matter.¹²

1664 Ku's travels during this year included Ch'ang-p'ing, a further visit to the northern Ming tombs and Honan when he called upon the noted scholar Sun Ch'i-feng at Hui-hsien in the northern part of the province.

1665 This year, after travels through T'ai-an and Te-chou, saw his return to Chi-nan where he established a farm at Chang-ch'iu taking over some property of one, Hsieh Ch'ang-chi, who had been in his debt. He also travelled to Ch'ü-fu, where he again visited Confucius' tomb, and to Ch'üeh-li, the site of the Sage's home.

1666 Ku, now 53, continued his travels from his Shantung base and included a visit to the residence of Ch'en Shang-nien where the young scholar Li Yin-tu, with whom Ku had previously become acquainted, was working as a family tutor. Also in this year, in conjunction with twenty or so others, he was involved in the development of some uncultivated land north of Yen-men.

1667 His travels during this year included his last trip south to Kiangnan. It was in this year that his well-known work on phonetics, the *Yin-hsüeh wu-shu*, was first published, with the aid of Chang Shao, at Shanyang in Kiangsu.

1668 This was a momentous year for the 55 year old Ku for, on the fourteenth day of the second month, while residing in a monastery at Peking, he learned of his implication in a trial at Shantung. He travelled back to Chi-nan arriving in the third month to find that he had been accused of sedition by a certain Chiang Yüan-heng. The charge involved a number of scholars said to have been sympathetic to the Ming and slanderous, in their writings, towards the Ch'ing rulers. Ku remained in custody for approximately six months being released in the tenth month. According to Peterson the reason why "... Ku was exonerated after being accused of defaming the Ch'ing government" was to be "...found in his extensive contacts with influential members of the bureaucracy who were able to exert pressure on his behalf."¹³

1669 His travels continued, especially between Shantung and the capital. He also went to Chang-ch'iu to resolve the issue of ownership of a farm which he had acquired

in 1665 and which had been taken over by others during the period of his imprisonment. It was towards the end of this year that P'an Lei travelled from Shan-yang to Chi-nan to become Ku's student.

- 1670 This year Ku, now 57, saw the first publication of the *Jih-chih lu* in 8 chüan.
- 1671 In the spring of this year he was visited by two young nephews, sons of two of Ku's younger brothers. Later in the year he was summoned by the Ch'ing official, Hsiung Tz'u-lü, and asked to collaborate in the compilation of the Ming history, a request he declined. Following this he left the capital and travelled to T'ai-yüan in Shensi where he was engaged in some literary work including the punctuation of the Han history and the composition of some poems.
- 1672 Despite reaching the age of 59 his travels continued. He travelled from Shansi back to the capital where he stayed for two months before returning, in the fifth month, to Chi-nan. In the eighth month he again returned to the capital and later travelled to Te-chou and through Honan back to Shansi. In his several visits to the capital during this period he developed his association with the Hsü brothers (Yüan-wen and Ch'ien-hsüeh), sons of his youngest sister who served at the Ch'ing court.
- 1673-4 Ku continued his travels through the northern region during these years, taking in Shantung, Shansi, Honan and Chihli.
- 1675 In this year Ku now aged 62 established a study in Ch'i-hsien, Shansi in a house built for him there by Tai T'ing-shih who had supported a number of Ming loyalists.
- 1676 In the first month of this year he returned from Shansi to Shantung and in the second month entered the capital. He is said to have taken a concubine at Ching-lo and subsequently ordered Ku Yen-sheng, the son of one of his distant cousins whom Ku had adopted as his own son, to come north to meet him. This he did at Te-chou where according to Peterson they "...fulfilled the rites of father and son."¹⁴

- 1677 Aged 64 Ku continued to travel leaving the capital in the fourth month and journeying to Te-chou. In the ninth month he went to Shensi where he visited Li Chung-fu. Towards the end of the year he travelled to Hua-yin visiting Wang Hung-chuan before returning to Ch'i-hsien. Whilst with Wang he apparently discussed the possibility of setting up a residence in Shensi.
- 1678 This year was notable for an attempt to involve the 65 year-old Ku in the Ch'ing officialdom. In the fourth month, while at Fu-p'ing in Shensi, he was invited to the magistrate's yamen. He refused this and a subsequent invitation as he also refused a request later in this year from the son of the commander-in-chief in Kansu, Chang Yün-i, to go to that province. The same Chang had earlier (in 1671) contributed to the cost of publication of Ku's short work entitled *Tso-chuan Tu chieh pu-cheng*.
- 1679 Earlier in this year Ku again visited Wang Hung-chuan in Hua-yin and joined with him in planning a shrine and academy there to commemorate a visit by Chu Hsi to the place in AD1185. Also in this year he petitioned the History Board for the inclusion of his adoptive mother, Wang, in the biographies of women in the *Ming History*.
- 1680 In the first month he went again to Fu-p'ing. Subsequently, while with his adopted son at Fen-chou, he received news of the death of his wife, who had remained in K'un-shan throughout the period of her husband's extensive northern travels. He met his mourning obligations while staying at a friend's house and sent a poem to mark the occasion of her death. Later in the year he returned to Hua-yin in relation to his work with Wang Hung-chuan on the shrine to Chu Hsi.
- 1681 The first part of this year found Ku, now aged 68, back in Fen-chou, which he left in the second month, to travel to Ch'ü-wo and thence to Hsieh-chou. In the fourth month he again went to Hua-yin to see Wang Hung-chuan. On the second day of the eighth month he began what was to be his last journey, setting out for Hua-yin to travel, via Yün-ch'eng, to Ch'ü-wo. On the eleventh day of the eighth month, three days after he arrived at Ch'ü-wo, he became ill and had difficulty walking. In the tenth month he moved to the house of Han Hsüan and while

there arranged the marriage of his adopted son to the daughter of an eminent local family.

1682

The start of this, his final year, found him, now aged 69, still staying with Han Hsüan in Shansi. Although his health had shown improvement, on the eighth day of the first month his foot slipped as he was mounting his horse and he fell to the ground. There was a marked decline in his condition and he died early on the morning of the ninth day of the first month of 1682. Han Hsüan attended to his funeral arrangements and, in the third month, his coffin accompanied by his adopted son, Ku Yen-sheng, was returned to K'un-shan where Ku Yen-wu was buried.

III ANALYSIS OF SECTIONS

Traditionally the 32 chüan of the *Jih-chih lu* have been divided into several sections. The categorisation followed here is that given by Hummel¹: Section 1, chüan 1-7, the classics; Section 2(i), chüan 8-12, government and economics; Section 2(ii), chüan 13-15, ethics and social relations; Section 2(iii), chüan 16-19, civil service examinations and the writing of essays; Section 3, chüan 20-32, literary historical and philological matters. To these has been added, in the present thesis, Section 4 comprising selected essays from the *Shih-wen chi*. In the following text reference to quotations is given by the chüan number followed by the page number of the Huang Ju-ch'eng edition or, in the case of the *Shih-wen chi* (SWC), the Chung-hua shu-chü edition. Where an essay is referred to without quotation the chüan is given followed by the number of the essay in that chüan.

1. Section 1: Classics

(1a) *Changes*: Ku Yen-wu's position with regard to the *Changes* may be said to typify his overall approach to the classics and to exemplify the range of his concerns. He is concerned with matters of fact, such as the origin and authorship of a particular work, and with the historical development of interpretations of the work as shown by the commentaries and analyses of later scholars. He is concerned with the subject matter of textual research and he is concerned finally with the applicability of the work to man's activities i.e. the classic as a vehicle for the 'cultivation of the self and the ordering of the people.' In this he is entirely representative of the return to Han learning seen in terms of the Han-Sung dichotomy alluded to above. Ku Yen-wu clearly saw the *Changes* as a work of major significance in the Confucian canon, not simply a somewhat obscure work of prognostication. It was to him a work embracing matters literary, historical, ethical and philosophical. Indeed, as he asks rhetorically, is not everything subsumed within the *Changes*?

"The Master's frequent themes of discourse were the *Odes*, the *History*, and the writings on the maintenance of the rules of propriety so there is not one which is not included in the *Changes*. Later, when it came to the events recorded for the two hundred and forty-two year period covered by the *Spring and Autumn Annals* as well as Ch'in, Han and later historical writings, the traces of what was preserved or perished through a hundred generations, is there one thing which is not included in the *Changes*?" (SWC ch 3, p41)

He adduces Confucius' evaluation of the *Changes* from two statements in the *Lun Yü*. "If some years were added to my life I would give fifty to the study of the *Changes* and then I might come to be without great faults"² and "the Master said, 'The people of the south have a saying that a man without constancy cannot be either a wizard or a doctor. Good! Inconstant in his virtue he will be visited with disgrace'. The Master said, 'This is not just a matter of attending to the prognostications."³ Legge, in relation to the first statement, develops the idea that the Sage, in the later part of his life had his "... attention ... much occupied also by the *Changes* as a monument of antiquity which, in the prime of his days, he had too much neglected."⁴ The importance Ku Yen-wu accorded to the *Changes* may be illustrated by the final part of his "Letter to a Friend Discussing the Changes."

"Therefore it is said: The *Changes* contains the fourfold way of the Holy Sages. In speaking we should be guided by its judgements. In action we should be guided by its changes. In making objects we should be guided by its images. In seeking an oracle we should be guided by its pronouncements. I, previously, in my encouraging of men to study the *Changes* suggested that this be preceded by a study of the *Odes* and the *History* and by attention to the *Li Chi* with the *Changes* being used to preserve what is central. This being so then subsequently there may be examination of the diagrams and contemplation of its judgements. Then the Way would not be empty action and the way of the sages may be grasped. I wonder if you consider this to be so or not?" (SWC ch 2, p41)

There are, in all, fifty-three essays in the section devoted to the *Changes*. In broad terms there are ten essays of a general nature and forty-three related to specific quotations from the classic. As in the other sections the translations are taken to reflect the range of Ku Yen-wu's interest in the subject in question.

The first essay is concerned primarily with matters of fact, tracing the history of the *Changes*, its authorship and its relation to other, similar works of prognostication in the early period of antiquity. The essay on Chu Hsi's commentary (ch 1(3)) considers textual problems whilst also serving to convey Ku's favourable assessment of both Ch'eng I's and Chu Hsi's commentaries on the work. Although Ku Yen-wu is typically portrayed as inimical to the philosophical developments of Sung Neo-Confucianism⁵, here as elsewhere he is seen as well disposed to the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi as true purveyors of the classical Confucian tradition. A subsequent essay (ch 1(4)), in contrast, identifies with reference to the *Changes*, two particular developments which bore his opprobrium. In both Han and Sung times the work

which perhaps more than any other of the ancient texts was susceptible to variations of interpretation was the *Changes*. As Ch'en Ch'i-yün has observed: "The *Book of Changes* with its uncertain origin, rich symbolism and esoteric meaning has probably been the most controversial of all the classics in Confucian exegetical scholarship. In Han times treatment of this book could vary widely, ranging from occult prognostication, to numerological and cosmological speculation, to political and moral philosophising; exegetes generally drew on all these possibilities in their interpretation."⁶ The work was indeed, in Han times and subsequently, taken as the starting point for the creation of some rather elaborate and fanciful philosophical or quasi-philosophical constructions. Two such instances are the targets for Ku Yen-wu's criticism in this short essay. First, in the later years of the Han period, and in the Three Kingdoms period, Hsün Shuang and Yü Fan interpreted the work to support their particular viewpoints, a development analysed by Ch'en Ch'i-yün in relation to the first author.⁷ Second, and of more pervasive and enduring influence, two of the major contributors to Sung Neo-Confucianism, Chou Tun-i and Shao Yung invoked the authority of the classic in developing the concept of the 'great ultimate' and their systems of emblemology and numerology respectively.⁸ Both of these developments come under sharp attack in Ku's short essay. A further essay (ch 1(41)) is included to exemplify the basic nature of the majority of the pieces in this section - a short statement based on a quotation or diagram from the *Changes* and drawing some lessons for practical application to the affairs of men. However the two essays which are perhaps the most important and definitive of Ku's statements on the *Changes* are "Confucius' Discussion of the Changes" (ch 1(51)) and "Letter to a Friend Discussing the Changes" (SWC ch 3, p41). They may be said to summarise his judgement of the work; his view of it as being in the main stream of Confucian orthodoxy, indeed, perhaps the central text, and his opposition to its abuse as a basis for philosophical concepts remote from the concerns of daily life. In the opening paragraph of the former essay he writes, with reference to the two quotations from the *Lun Yü* cited above:

"This, then constitutes the Sage's study of the *Changes*. It consists simply of ordinary words and ordinary actions, not of mysterious diagrams and representations. Men of today who give a far-fetched and improbable interpretation of the diagrams consider themselves able to do this yet they are overstepping the mark." (ch 1, p18)

(1b) *History*

His writings on the *History* exemplify well Ku Yen-wu's breadth of interest in the classical texts. The essays range from philological minutiae through a broader concern for the structure

and authenticity of the work to the political and administrative lessons to be gleaned from its contents. On this last point it may be said that whereas Ku Yen-wu saw the *Changes* as a work of moral philosophy he saw the *History* as a work of political philosophy.

All are agreed that the *History* is an ancient work which presents significant problems in terms of authenticity and its mode of transmission. The generally accepted view, well outlined in detail by Legge⁹, is that from the Ch'in destruction of books, twenty-eight or possibly twenty-nine sections of the *History* were preserved by one Fu Sheng - the New Text version. Subsequently, in the declining years of Han Wu Ti's reign, there was discovered in the walls of Confucius' house another version of the *History* (as well as several other of the classics) with sixteen additional sections, all in ancient script - the Old Text version. This work was prepared with a commentary by a descendant of Confucius, K'ung An-kuo, but was rather lost sight of in what Legge describes as the 'diablerie' of the time. Nevertheless, the Old Text version gained and retained the ascendancy despite later versions such as Tu Lin's 'lacquered books'¹⁰. In the early Ch'ing period however, particularly as a consequence of the painstaking work of Ku's contemporary Yen Jo-chü, the *Ku-wen shang-shu* came to be regarded as false. Hummel, in his biography of Yen, writes: "The result is the above-mentioned *Shang Shu ku-wen shu-cheng* which, by convincing evidence and judicious arguments, proved beyond doubt that the 'ancient text', which had circulated for a millennium, was a forgery. Although some scholars took issue with Yen's conclusions most of the adherents of the school of Han learning (including Ku Yen-wu) saw no reason to doubt him."¹¹

Of the four general essays in this section Ku devotes one to a detailed analysis of the authenticity and transmission of the work. In this essay, entitled "*Ku-wen shang-shu*", on the vexed question of authenticity he concurs broadly with the accepted version outlined above giving consideration to the various landmarks in the history of the transmission of the text. He concludes with the expressed view that the *History* of his day (and indeed the present day) included both New Text and Old Text components:

"This being so then the present-day *Shang-shu* has both Old Text and New Text components. Thirty-three sections were originally a mixture of the writings of Fu Sheng and (K'ung) An-kuo. Twenty-five sections come from Mei Che while, with respect to the *Shun-tien*, the twenty-eight characters that came from Yao Fang-hsing were joined to it to make one book." (ch 1, p43)

In recognition of the uncertainty of composition and compilation he acknowledges the aptness of Mencius' observation, to wit, 'it would be better to be without the *History* than to give complete credence to it'¹² and in so doing typifies his own questioning attitude to this classic.

Of the three other general essays one is ostensibly about an allegedly spurious claim by the Ming scholar, Feng Hsi¹³, to have obtained a *Shang-shu* text from Japan supposedly based on a text taken there in Ch'in times. This essay serves, however, as a vehicle for a more general statement in support of Han learning and in opposition to what Ku Yen-wu sees as the scholarly excesses of Sung Neo-Confucianism. His view is well expressed in the following quote:

"Now people of the present time, in their readings of the classics crudely and rashly alter the ancient texts but are themselves far inferior to the ancients. Furthermore, not relying on former Confucian scholars as a basis, in an opinionated way they compose improper writings. Indeed, as if revising the commentaries and notes were not enough they go further and criticise the classics of the sages and, as if changing the paragraphs and sentences were not enough, they go further and modify the text (characters). This is what Lu Yu sighed over with regret in relation to the men of Sung. Nowadays, moreover, this is more completely so. Hsü Fang (of the Later Han) had these words to say: 'Nowadays (scholars) not relying on the sentences and paragraphs presumptuously give rise to strained interpretations. They consider following the preceptor (teacher) to be contrary to reason. They make assumptions about what is right and just and they treat with disdain the doctrines of the sages and these things gradually become established customs.' Ah alas! This is what it is appropriate that scholars be warned about most deeply." (ch 1, p47)

One of the other two general essays gives consideration to the question of the sequence of the *History*, a matter dealt with comprehensively by Legge in the introduction to his translation of the work, while the other examines the modes of naming of emperors in ancient times as they bear on this classic. The remaining thirty-seven essays in this section are based on quotations from the *History*. The several essays chosen for translation have been so selected to exemplify the range of Ku's interest in the work. One is a brief statement reflecting his concern for details of the text whilst another illustrates his philosophical interest with reference to this work. The three other translated essays indicate the sort of political and administrative lessons Ku wished to extract from the classic. The first is a brief statement of the strategic importance of Ho-tung, the second embodies some admonitory observations about the nature

of the relationship between a prince and his feudal lords and the third draws conclusions from certain events recorded in the *History* as to the need for respect towards the ruler and compliance with clearly-defined laws. Taking Yin Chou and others as examples, he argues that effective administration depends on political and administrative structure as much as the moral worth of the ruler, a lesson in practical political philosophy.

(1c) *Odes*

In relation to this work Ku Yen-wu's most substantial contribution came, it may be argued, from his examination of the rhymes therein and comparison of these with rhymes used in other works. His interest also extended to the matter of the origin of the rhymes and his views have been likened to those of his Ming predecessor, Ch'en Ti. It has been said that "Ku pushed one great step forward by applying a careful inductive method to the rhyming phenomena in the classics, especially the *Shih Ching*."¹⁴ This particular aspect of Ku's work on the *Odes* is predominantly represented by the *Shih pen-yin* section of the *Yin-hsüeh wu-shu* but is exemplified by the first essay in this section (ch 3(1)). Ku Yen-wu also expressed his views on the issue of Confucius' editing of the *Odes*. According to the traditional view, adumbrated by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, the Sage edited, selected and arranged what is now the *Odes*, taking from the more than three thousand poems then extant three hundred or so, removing "those which were only repetitious of others and selecting those which would be serviceable for the inculcation of propriety and righteousness."¹⁵ Ku addresses this issue in the third essay in this section and here makes the point that the Master did not exclude verses which spoke of the less salubrious aspects of human behaviour presumably seeing in such writings a negative moral lesson. Also in this essay he takes the opportunity to criticise the concept of li (principle) as part of his basic thesis of the equation of ching-hsüeh and li-hsüeh, taking as his target the Sung scholar, Chen Te-hsiu.¹⁶

On the topic of the ordering and arranging of the *Odes*, Ku Yen-wu also had distinct views, seen by one commentator as 'novel and stimulating to later researchers.'¹⁷ The arrangement identified by Ssu-ma Ch'ien and termed the 'Four Beginnings' theory has the *Odes* divided under the headings of *feng*, *ta-ya*, *hsiao-ya* and *sung*. Ku, in a very brief statement entitled "The Four Verse Forms" (ch 3(2)), proposes a subdivision into *nan*, *pin*, *ya* and *sung* to which the *feng* of various kingdoms were added. This view is likened by Ho I-hun to the later scholar, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's subdivision into *feng*, *nan*, *ya* and *sung*.¹⁸ The argument is extended in a later essay entitled "Pin" where he writes:

'From the Chou, *nan* to *pin* are all spoken of as *kuo-feng*. This is an error perpetrated by former scholars. Ch'eng T'ai-chih distinguished this in detail. The *pin* verses should not be included within the *kuo-feng*. At the time of the Chou kingdoms there was no Pin and those (verses) were not selected by the T'ai-shih. The Duke of Chou, recalling the founding of the kingly inheritance, wrote the verse entitled "The Seventh Month" combining it with the sounds of the *ya* and *sung* and using it in matters related to the spring and autumn sacrifices.' (ch 3, p57)

Other more specific points of arrangement and historical correspondence are also dealt with as exemplified by the essay entitled "Wang". On the dating of the *Odes* Ku writes:

"The two *nan*, the *pin*, the *hsiao* and *ta ya* are all verses of the Western Chou. This ended in the time of the King Yu. The remaining twelve *kuo-feng* are verses of the Eastern Chou." (ch 3, p55)

In the final two essays of the section Ku Yen-wu devotes further attention to the order of the poems, particularly in terms of historical sequence. Thus, he writes:

"The historical order of the *Odes* certainly cannot be relied upon. Nowadays the *Odes* also are not necessarily all as Confucius revised. Thus, for example, "Is being destroyed by Ssu of Pao" is a verse from the King of Pin yet it is former in sequence, whereas "The Earl of Chao built the city" is a verse from King Hsüan yet, in order it is subsequent." (ch 3, p68)

Apart from the essays on more general matters relating to the *Odes* as outlined above, the main body of the section comprises predominantly brief essays based on lines from the various odes. Broadly speaking these essays illustrate the ethical, social and political lessons to be learned from the verses in question and the whole work in general. As Hartman writes: "The Mao Commentary in the edition of Cheng Hsüan ... is the repository of exegesis that interpreted individual *Shih Ching* poems as critical comments on specific political situations of the early Chou period."¹⁹ One essay exemplifying this aspect of political commentary is given in the translations (ch 3(16)). The *Odes* were, in this respect, of central importance to traditional Confucian thinking. As the Master himself said: "It is by the *Odes* that the mind is aroused"²⁰ and further: "My children, why do you not study the *Book of Poetry*. The odes serve to stimulate the mind. They may be used for purposes of self-contemplation. They teach the art of sociability. They show how to regulate feelings of resentment. From them you learn the

more immediate duty of serving one's father and the remote one of serving one's prince. From them we become largely acquainted with the names of birds, beasts and plants."²¹

Elsewhere Ku Yen-wu has drawn attention to the twin dangers of dwelling too closely on matters related to the texts of the classics and of allowing flights of philosophical fancy to carry one away from the fundamental meaning of these works. In his writings on the *Odes* he epitomises the concept of the complete scholar's attention being directed both to textual matters and to the ethical and political lessons to be learned from a particular work.

(1d) *The Ch'un-ch'iu and its Commentaries*

Ku Yen-wu subscribes to the traditional view that the *Ch'un-ch'iu* was the work of Confucius, an historical composition recounting the events of the state of Lu over the two hundred and forty-two years of the Spring and Autumn period. If the Sage were not the actual author, at the very least he is thought to have spent time on revision and re-arrangement of the work. Thus Ku writes:

"From Duke Yin onward the way of the world declined, the Way itself was diminished and historians lost their offices whereupon Confucius, becoming fearful, rectified it. Prior to Duke Hui there was nothing to change in the writings so they were said to have been narrated and not created. After Duke Yin, Confucius restored it according to his own intuition; this is what is meant by 'writing the *Spring and Autumn Annals*'." (ch 4, p68)

It is a matter of general agreement also that the *Ch'un-ch'iu* is a very abbreviated or condensed chronicle of history and one moreover that contains errors, misrepresentations and lacunae. Much speculation is centred on why this should be so and to what degree such factors reflect the Sage's true intentions. In part, the omissions are thought by Ku to reflect the Master's reluctance to augment the given historical information and his reluctance also to accept evidence which was indirect or remote. Thus, in the second essay, prefacing his remarks on the dates with a quotation from the *Lun Yü*, "Even in my time I have seen a scribe leave a blank in his text"²², he goes on to say that "what the scribe omitted the Sage did not dare to add". On the specific issue of the omission of some dates in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* he continues as follows:

"Given the Sage's intelligence and the fact that 'one can calculate the solstices of a thousand years without stirring from one's seat', how is it difficult, if the calendar is

examined, to determine how to repair these omissions? Nevertheless, the Master did not dare to do so. How much more so then would he not undertake to correct errors in historical writings? How much more also should the affairs of the various kingdoms which are learned of by hearsay not be recorded in historical writings?" (ch 4, p70)

In part also, the apparent vagaries of the work are thought to represent an expression of Confucius' evaluation of an event or individual, his praise or censure. This was a common view of the work to which Ku was certainly party. It is indeed clear that Ku took the historical work to embody the Master's views on various issues. This is exemplified by a subsequent essay in which he opines that various oblique ways of indicating the men of Ch'u and Wu are the Master's way of demeaning these upstart states and asserting the pre-eminence of the central kingdom. Thus he writes:

"This is the way in which the Master made record of Ch'u and Wu. Nevertheless, in the completed work, there is contained his intention of demeaning them (i.e. Ch'u and Wu). From this act the Sage's way of thinking may be seen (i.e. the Sage's mind was at no time not concerned with the central kingdom)." (ch 4, p82)

In this essay Ku sees also, in the mirror of antiquity, a view of the righteousness of the people's feelings antagonistic to an alien and colonial power and thus presages the later Ming experience in relation to the Manchu invaders.

In a number of the essays in this section Ku takes up traditionally contentious entries in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and examines these in the light of other views and his own interpretations. These include the use of particular terms and interpretations of their meanings and also the identity of certain individuals. In addition, the question of omissions, considered above, is also given attention; do they represent lost material and the Sage's reluctance to employ inadequately verified data or do they represent a statement by the Sage on the individual or event in question. Naturally, in considering these and related issues, Ku must direct his attention to the commentaries, in particular the three ancient works, the *Tso Chuan*, the *Kung-yang chuan* and the *Ku-liang chuan*. Over the post-Ch'in period the *Tso Chuan* increasingly achieved a position of preeminence among the commentaries and it is to this work that Ku gives his greatest consideration in the remainder of the essays of the section. He concludes that the *Tso Chuan* was definitely posterior in time to the classic itself and that Confucius therefore did not see the work. Ku was openly critical of the converse of this view and critical also, in many of the essays, of Tso Ch'iu-ming's interpretations. Thus he writes:

"Tso Shih, continuing on from the capture of the lin, collected an extensive array of material which, in reality, the Master did not see. Nevertheless later scholars continued to say that there was already this writing which the Master relied on and revised. Accordingly, in Tso Shih's commentary on the classic, in that which does not tally, there are many erroneous explanations. Further, in the discussion of the scholars, they subsequently considered that which the Sage did not know should be avoided. Hence new theories became increasingly numerous and the rights and wrongs of a matter were not established. Therefore the words of present-day scholars who study the *Spring and Autumn Annals* are so much empty moralising and trivial argumentation. This is something on which the Master would not adjudicate!" (ch 4, p70)

Ku is likewise critical of the other two early commentaries, the *Kung-yang chuan* and the *Kung-liang chuan*, although he devotes much less space to these works. Examples are given in the translated material (ch 4(64)), ch 4(75)). In general terms Ku's position in relation to the three ancient commentaries may be summarised by saying that while recognising each commentary had defects and advantages, he attempted in his analysis to cast out the shortcomings and select the good aspects. His approach was essentially both eclectic and analytical. He wrote favourably of the noted Chin commentator, Tu Yü, and compiled a short work on this later commentary entitled the *Tso chuan Tu-chieh pu-cheng*, in which the *Ssu-k'u t'i-yao* introduction says Ku 'was able to rectify its (i.e. Tu's work) faults and omissions, to sweep aside cliques and sects and to perceive the balance between what is right and what is wrong.'²³

It may be said, in conclusion, that Ku saw the *Ch'un-ch'iu* as a work concerned more with human affairs than celestial matters, which reached its final form at least through the work of Confucius and embodied the Sage's reluctance to include dubious material while acting as a vehicle for the expression of his ideas. He acknowledges that the work is difficult to penetrate and recognises therefore the value of the commentaries while at the same time drawing attention to their deficiencies seeing, in a sense, their complementarity as aiding interpretation of the classic. His approach to the work may be seen as typical of Ku, critical, analytical and individualistic.

(1e) *San Li*

Ku Yen-wu, by his own admission, gave relatively little attention to the three classics of li (propriety). Thus, in a letter replying to Wang T'iao-wen²⁴, he wrote that in his early years he had concentrated his attention on the Four Classics, paying little attention to the *San Li*, a

bias which in later life, he attempted to redress. Despite his early neglect of these works he clearly accorded them considerable importance. Especially was this so of the *I Li*. This view was expressed in a preface to the *I Li cheng-chu chü-tou* thus:

"Of the li of the Three Dynasties that which was preserved for later generations and was without flaws was only the one classic - the *I Li*."

and subsequently

"From the Hsi-ning reign period, Wang-An-shih brought change and confusion to the ancient regulations first taking the *I Li* and not establishing it in the official curriculum. From this the classic was subsequently done away with, representing the first of the evils" (SWC ch 2, p32)

Elsewhere he laments the earlier trend to ignore both the *Chou Li* which he describes as the 'standard for the administration of the kingdom' and the *I Li* which he views as 'the model of gravity and reverence'. For Ku Yen-wu, "Li, based as it is on the sense of propriety in the hearts of men may be considered to be a tool for the regulation of the self and others." (SWC ch 2, p32). In keeping with his view of the *Chou Li* as the 'standard for administration' ten of the twenty essays on this work are concerned with what might broadly be termed administrative matters. Two essays of particular interest are those concerned with the importance of adequate control of functionaries of the inner palace (ch 5(1)) and the detrimental effects of the formation of cliques among scholars (ch 5(19)). Of the remaining ten essays four are concerned with clarification of the meanings of terms, two with modes of division of a day, two with matters related to music and two with consideration of certain practices.

The general importance which Ku attaches to the *I Li* notwithstanding, the majority of the twenty-three essays on this work are concerned with details of etiquette. Apropos of this his comment in the essay entitled 'The Nine Classics' (quoting a memorial by Hsün Sung of Chin) is apposite:

"With reference to the one classic, the *I Li* on what might be termed the propriety of the minutiae of etiquette Cheng Hsüan was particularly clear in all instances with documentary proof."(ch 7, p173)

In the one essay from this section in the translation 'Three Years of Mourning' (ch 5(28)), there is a long and detailed consideration of various practices related to mourning and indeed, elsewhere no fewer than sixteen of the twenty-two essays are based on quotations from a single chapter of the *I Li*, the *Sang-fu*, and concern aspects of mourning practices. Although much of this writing is detailed and specific, he does, in the translated essay which is based on quotations from both the *I Li* and *Li Chi*, give consideration to the distinction between substance and show in mourning and also uses the essay as a vehicle for criticism of later modifications of mourning procedures founded on the perceived worthiness of ancient methods. The majority of the remaining essays are to do with the meanings of terms.

A total of thirty-seven essays are included in the section on the *Li Chi*, excluding those which concern the *Doctrine of the Mean* and *The Great Learning* which are considered in the following section. As with the section on the *I Li* the majority of these essays are of a specific nature, either a clarification of the meanings of terms (12 essays) or statements about details of etiquette and behaviour, particularly in relation to mourning (15 essays). In the one essay from the section included in the translations ("Tan-kung" ch 6(5)) there is initially a detailed consideration, in an historical context, of specific matters related to mourning and dress. This essay concludes however with a general statement lamenting the decline of scholarship especially in relation to li and calling to mind the adverse effects of empty scholarship and pure talk. Several of the remaining essays are of a more general nature. The first is a brief statement, based on the initial lines of the classic, on the importance of cultivating the self through reverence, while two consecutive essays draw attention to, and laud, the filial behaviour of King Wen. Subsequently there are essays on the desirability of the spirit of love informing personal relationships and examining the theme of local and personal relationships being a paradigm of more general relationships, bearing on the administration of the kingdom. There is also an essay on the adverse effects of the disparity of wealth as well as a final essay (based on the *Hsiao Ching*) on the importance of an appropriate attitude in supporting one's parents. Elsewhere in this section there are three essays on historical matters relating to entries in the *Li Chi*.

(1f) The Four Books

The Four Books were first isolated as a group of texts in the Sung period becoming the fundamental canon of the Sung Neo-Confucianists. Ku Yen-wu's writings on these works, and his observations on the historical development of scholarly interpretations of them, identify him clearly as being in the orthodox tradition of Confucianism. For Ku, li-hsüeh in ancient times

was equated with ching-hsüeh whereas, subsequently, the li-hsüeh chia of the Sung and post-Sung periods, who considered themselves to have reached to the essence of the Four Books (a claim vigorously disputed by Ku), were to be equated with the ch'an-hsüeh chia. Ku can then be recognised as being implacably opposed to abstruse metaphysical speculation, and to have had his own views firmly rooted in the objective, practical and ethically oriented writings of the two major Confucian sages. He saw such speculation as being fundamentally antipathetical to man and the society he might create.

Thus he wrote:

"The confusion brought to China by the Five Barbarians basically arose out of the prevalent calamities of pure talk; everyone is aware of this. Who knows but that the pure talk of the present day is not worse than that of former times? The pure talk of former times concerned Lao and Chuang while that of the present day concerns Confucius and Mencius"

and subsequently;

To substitute the empty words of pure mind and original nature for the practical learning of cultivating the self and administering men means that the arms and legs grow weak and the ten thousand things are neglected, the talons and teeth are lost and the four kingdoms fall into confusion." (ch 7, p153)

It was the practical learning, inherent in the Four Books which he especially espoused. Thus, quoting Chu Hsi to whom he saw himself to a definite degree as a philosophical successor, in the same essay he wrote:

"... sages and worthies expound their ideas based on commonplace things whereas nowadays (scholars) promote what is exalted and attempt to penetrate what is abstruse."

For Ku the Master's position on such matters as nature and the way of heaven, subjects subsequently of abstract speculation, certainly lay in the commonplace:

"That which the Master taught men concerned literature, conduct, loyalty and sincerity."
and

"... the Master's culture and outward manifestations of virtue are nothing other than his statements on nature and the way of heaven." (ch 7, p153)

On the general issue of man's nature he aligned himself with Mencius, saying:

"Thus, finally, it may be said that the nature of man is good. Mencius, in his deliberations on man's nature, spoke of it particularly in terms of its manifestations." (ch 7, p159)

Moreover, on this issue he considered that Confucius and Mencius were of one accord.

Two other important concepts of orthodox Confucianism to which Ku attached particular importance were 'the broad study of wen' and 'to have shame in one's actions'. In his long essay entitled "Discussing Scholarship with a Friend" he wrote:

"What is it that I speak of as the way of the sages? I say 'widely study in wen'; I say 'to have shame in one's actions'. From the individual life right up to the empires and kingdoms, all are the concerns of scholarship. From son, subject, younger brother and friend right up to what lies within; going out and entering, coming and going, rejecting and accepting and taking and giving, all are matters in which there may be (a sense of) shame. Shame, in relation to man, is a very great matter Ah alas! Scholars who do not first speak of shame are men without a basis. Not to love the ancients and hear much constitutes empty learning. To be a man without a basis and to expound empty learning I see as daily to become more remote from the matters of the Sage." (SWC ch 3, p40)

The aims of scholarship for Ku remained entirely practical. He opposed the scholar's focus on mind and nature with the view that 'cultivating the self (in order) to govern men' was true scholarship and that such cultivation was in turn based on study. On the matter of 'seeking the lost mind' he writes, quoting Mencius:

"The way of scholarship is nothing other than to seek for the lost mind; that is all. If this is so is it yet possible to seek for the lost mind without resorting to scholarship?" In the words of Confucius 'I have passed the whole day without eating and the whole night without sleeping for the purpose of thinking. It was of no use; better to study.' Is this not the same concept?" (ch 7, p167)

Two other central issues of Confucianism which Ku identified were the apparently opposed, but essentially connected, 'learn many things and keep them in the memory' and 'to seek an all-pervading unity'. The former needs little further clarification but, to Ku, the latter was devoid of the abstract connotations later attendant upon it, meaning the discerning of what was fundamental in various aspects of learning; eg the *Odes*, demeanour, methods of administration etc. In other words there was consciousness of the perils of being mired in textual complexity and/or abstract speculation while failing to comprehend the overall concept. On this Ho I-hun wrote: "He (Ku) truly understood the scientific inductive method and in his scholarship was therefore broad yet able to achieve unity."²⁵

There are, in toto, sixty-nine essays devoted to the Four Books included in chüan 6 & 7. Whilst a number of these are concerned with textual clarification and matters of historical or biographical interest, in the majority Ku examines some of the fundamental and enduring issues of Confucianism, including inevitably, issues central to the concepts of the Sung Neo-Confucianists. Thus, in the essay entitled "Extending Knowledge to the Limit", he concludes as follows:

"In the *Li Chi* it is said: 'The benevolent man does not go beyond things; the filial son does not go beyond things. The investigation of things may be considered to be more than (merely) widening the acquaintance with the (correct) names of the birds and bees, plants and trees.' (Mencius said): 'Those who know must truly know but they may bend their attention to what is most pressing'. The hearing of litigation and the conduct of relationships with the people of the state are one matter.' (ch 6, p145)

In relation to the *Lun Yü*, the essays on the Master's concepts of nature and the way of heaven and on the matter of 'an all-pervading unity' have already been discussed. In addition, the subjects of filial piety and fraternal submission, of loyalty, of the need for diligent effort in the pursuit of study and the important concept of 'wen' are, inter alia, discussed. Of the thirty essays on Mencius a greater proportion (almost one half) are devoted to textual clarification or specific matters of historical or textual interest. Of those which bear on philosophical or political issues arising from Mencius' writing several have been included in the translations. Thus there is a brief reflection on the 'unperturbed mind' (ch 7(27)) and a somewhat longer discussion of the seeking for the 'lost mind' (ch 7(44)). There are, in addition, essays on respect, on self-examination and on the *modus servandi* of the scholar. The final three essays on Mencius are to do with specific aspects of the text, quotations from other works which are not to be found in the *Mencius* itself, quotations from the *Lun Yü* in the *Mencius* and the form of

characters used in the text. There are appended to chüan 7 four additional essays, two being analyses of characters found in a number of ancient texts and two of a more general nature, one being concerned with the history of the utilisation of the various classics for didactic and examination purposes and the other with the issue of sections of dubious sequencing in some of the classic texts. The penultimate essay, entitled 'The Nine Classics', is of undoubted relevance to Ku Yu-wu's views on the classics and has been included in full in the translations. (ch 7(55))

2. Section 2(i): Government and Economics

In the first two subsections of section 2(i), ie chüan 8 & 9, Ku addresses several fundamental questions of administration, to wit how the land should be divided and administered, how tax revenue should be determined and how officials should be selected and conduct themselves. The first four essays in chüan 8 deal with the subdivision of land and here, in broad terms, Ku favours the T'ang system, specifically in relation to prefectures and districts. He also stresses the need to relate tax imposts to the quality and productivity of the land and is critical of later developments in this area. Thus he writes:

"When the (Ming) dynasty was first established little time was available so that the malpractices of the Yüan period were continued and subsequently persisted for two to three hundred years. This being so, then later kings must carefully examine particular situations as a means of regulating systems of administration and look closely at the areas involved as a way to delimit chün and hsien. Then lands and fields will again flourish and tax imposts will be equitable. The empire's first responsibility is not to allow thought of difficulty in beginning (this) and doing away with the benefits of the ten thousand years." (ch 8, p176)

On the question of administration Ku would seem to attribute greatest importance to an effective local organisation not hamstrung by a proliferation of overseeing officials. The main thrust of his argument is for significant devolution, with matters being placed in the hands of worthy local officials.

"Thus, under the rule of the wise kings of the Three Dynasties there was nothing which exceeded this (principle). Accordingly if, within the confines of one hsiang, officials (for different tasks) were to be sufficiently provided and were to apply the laws with meticulous care then subsequently, in the government of the empire, the situation would be like the main rope in a net and there would be order not chaos. Yet, when it comes to the present day, all this is wasted away and not preserved." (ch 8, p181)

Necessary also to this concept of effective local administration is an appropriate legal system based essentially on Confucian rather than Legalist principles.

"Laws and prohibitory regulations are what a king cannot set aside and yet they are not what makes for good order. This lies in making the heart of men correct, in making substantial their customs and that is all." (ch 8, p189)

The fundamental requirement is thought to be moral cultivation as a means of ensuring the wise, equitable and effective functioning of a local bureaucracy.

Two particular evils are seen by Ku as mitigating against such a desirable situation. First, there is the very considerable danger of allowing duties to fall inappropriately on minor functionaries who may be motivated by thought of personal gain or constrained by selfish concerns and, as a consequence of their ultimate lack of authority, their increasing involvement in local administration will have an enervating and destructive effect. Secondly, Ku returns to the other perceived evil alluded to above ie. the expansion of an overseeing bureaucracy. Thus he writes:

"Nowadays official documents daily grow more troublesome, litigation daily more common so those who are responsible must assume control, effecting a reduction. Otherwise the business of the empire will certainly become increasingly vexatious and unable to be borne. When this situation reaches an extreme there is an increase in the number of officials and things cannot be accomplished." (ch 8, p190)

A number of essays in the later part of chüan 8 and the first part of chüan 9 are concerned with the means of selection of officials. Not only must the administrative structure be satisfactory but of course, those officials who man it must be upright, worthy and effective. Ku is generally critical of the quality of officials selected as is evident from the following excerpt:

"Nowadays among all those scholars upon whom the official robes are conferred for the first time those who are fully conversant with official matters scarcely amount to one or two in every ten, while those who are vacillating and incompetent account for eight or nine out of every ten." (ch 8, p191)

While several specific problems, such as the use of the method of selection by drawing lots, the dispatch of officials to far-flung places, the customs and language of which are entirely unfamiliar to them and the use of short terms of office in a particular place are addressed here and elsewhere, the selection of meritorious officials is a problem with broad ramifications. In the first essay of chüan 9 Ku treats of some of these matters. Two important points which he

makes are, first, the deleterious effect which an oppressive and malfunctioning bureaucracy will have on the enthusiasm and desire of worthy men to serve in it. He quotes Yeh Shih of Sung as follows:

"Laws and regulations daily become more troublesome, essential instruments for ruling the nation daily more arcane with prohibitions and restrictions more burdensome until it becomes so that one cannot move. In this way men's wisdom and foresight is unable to escape the enmeshing network of bonds and constraints and so their ability cannot find an effective outlet." (ch 9, p202)

and second, that a balance must be struck between the restraining and civilising influence of laws and their stultifying effect. Ultimately, the right men must be encouraged to come forward and they must be rightly assessed by a suitable examination system. Alternative methods must also be available to permit the emergence of men of worth who, for one reason or another, might be adversely treated by the regular methods of selection. Ku devotes two essays to such methods. (ch 9(1) & (2))

The essays in the body of chüan 9 are concerned with specific offices; regional chiefs, district magistrates, prefects etc. Several of these essays deal predominantly with the clarification of terms and will not be further considered here. Two essays however merit particular attention. Thus, in one (ch 9(5)), Ku examines the role of peripatetic officials appointed to carry out surveillance over matters of an official nature and those administering them. Whereas elsewhere Ku has been identified as being quite opposed to such surveillance here he does acknowledge some role for such officials if they function within strict terms of reference as exemplified by the Han system and are themselves upright and worthy. In this way, they may be beneficial, otherwise they will be meddlesome and disruptive.

In the essay entitled "Prefects and District Magistrates" there is detailed consideration of the roles of such officials. This is an important statement bringing together a number of points. Thus, Ku reiterates his earlier argument that such men, who are of course simply instruments of the emperor's authority, will be prevented from functioning effectively if they are unduly constrained by regulations and prohibitions. He also identifies the evils of such officials being hampered by the complexity of the laws and of allowing their functions to devolve onto petty officials and sub-official functionaries motivated by relatively base considerations. For Ku the prefects and district magistrates are critical to the effective administration of the empire. Thus, he writes:

"...what was of particular importance in the empire was that the prefects and district magistrates should be officials who were close to the hearts of the people yet those who, today, are particularly devoid of power are those very officials (are none other than the prefects and district magistrates). If the prefects and district magistrates are without authority the hardships and sufferings of the people do not come to the ears of the emperor so how can it be hoped that a secure peace will be achieved or that there will be prolongation of the imperial mandate."

Later in the same essay he writes:

"The troublesome surveillance of officials should be done away with and attention directed to the efficacious activities of those long established in office whilst power should devolve onto men of quality so that prefects and district magistrates are worthy and the affairs of the people well ordered. This is of particular importance at the present time." (ch 9, p212)

He is also opposed to short terms of office preventing such officials from becoming properly conversant with the various aspects of local administration. The use of central officials to supervise and oversee is viewed as non-productive and likely to be manipulated by petty officials for their own selfish ends. That control of financial and military matters is taken out of the hands of prefects and district magistrates is also seen as detrimental. Subsequently he writes:

"The appointment of officials, the conduct of administration, the regulation of finances and the management of military matters are the four areas of authority of the prefectures and districts yet nowadays, in all cases, they do not have these powers. For this reason, although the form of intercourse between superiors and inferiors is maintained, there is no unanimity in the orders given and, although the lawful orders may be preserved, there is no uniformity in their discussion." (ch 9, p212)

Thus, essentially Ku sees the effective local control of prefects and districts by men of worth with appropriate delegation of central authority and freedom from meddlesome surveillance as the lynch-pin of the functioning of the kingdom.

"How then is it possible again to discuss the way of enriching the kingdom and making the people prosperous? Certain is it that the authority in these four matters must, in

all cases, again return to the prefectures and districts for then the prefects and district magistrates will assuredly fill their posts with credit. Then the kingdom may be enriched and the people made prosperous; then the soldiers and farmers may each attain their livelihood." (ch 9, p212)

Of the remaining essays in this section, two give further consideration to various official positions while one is a plea for the central administration to recognise the importance of the peripheral administrative structure. A further essay gives detailed attention to the role of members of the imperial clan while three essays concern questions of military organisations. The final two essays are important statements on the vexed question of eunuchs.²⁶ The first of these two essays is a detailed historical consideration of the role of eunuchs predominantly focusing on the dangers of allowing such men to become involved to any extent in the administration of the empire. Ku's position is perhaps most adequately summed up by part of the extended quotation which he includes from Chiang Te-ching:

"In short, to take heed of the admonitions (instructions) of Kao Huang Ti there are two (important) statements: inner officials (eunuchs) should not participate in administrative matters and outer officials should not be in communication with them (ie. with the eunuchs). These sentences are sufficient to embody the causes of order and upheaval throughout the ages. I and others have respectfully read these precious instructions and have pondered deeply on the bequeathed stratagems (recognising) that if there is no allowing of eunuchs to render service there will naturally not be the calamity (of them) usurping power." (ch 9, p224)

The final essay is a consideration and condemnation of the method of self-castration for gaining advancement and also of the practice of eunuchs adopting foster sons.

In chüan 10 there is a return to the matter of land distribution and subdivision and the related issue of the collection of tax revenue. Ku, as ever, looks to antiquity for the solution to modern problems, reflecting on the merits of the well-field system.

"Confucius said: 'Do not seek to do things quickly; do not look for small advantages.' If it is deemed desirable to implement the well-field system then certainly one must start with these two sentences." (ch 10, p230)

A number of the following essays are largely devoted to a general historical consideration of these issues but several specific practices come under Ku's critical scrutiny. Thus he voices his opposition to Ming methods of encouraging people to open up hitherto uncultivated land through tax concessions, writing:

"... from ancient times there did not exist land which was exempt from taxation in perpetuity so that at the beginning of the Ming period the people being encouraged to purchase their newly reclaimed land (by the offering of tax exemption) established a method which was exceptional. In this way, contrary to intention, there were sowed the seeds of the disputations of later times." (ch 10, p234)

Subsequently he speaks out against the development of the administrative practice of drawing taxation revenue in advance of the allotted time in response to the heavy demands on government resources, directing attention to the evils which must ensue therefrom. Further, he dwells on the need to develop and disseminate expertise in the arts of spinning and weaving with consideration of the benefits which might accrue, especially to distant regions.

The first two essays in chüan 11 are historical reviews of terms used in the systems of weights and measures. The remaining fourteen essays in this section concern fiscal matters, the majority being, essentially, discussions of terms, again in an historical context. Thus Ku considers particularly the term shih (石), its origin in Han times and its subsequent development. The use of gold and silver as currency is also given consideration as are particular forms of currency, such as wu-shu and kai-yüan. There is little of a more general nature in these essays other than some observations on the fundamental importance to the nation of establishing an accepted and uniform system of weights and currency. In the final essay the issue of counterfeiting is given brief historical consideration.

The first two essays in chüan 12 encapsulate Ku's thoughts on the distribution of wealth and the pursuit of profit. The essence of his position is that the well being of the nation is founded on the equitable distribution of wealth. Both excessive concentration of wealth in the emperor's coffers and the pursuit of personal profit by individuals are found exceptionable by Ku. On the former he writes:

"From ancient times to the present has there been an occasion when the people have been poor and without wealth yet the ruler alone has much stored in the nation's treasury? There is no other reason but the ignorance that the basis of currency lies in

the prosperity of all, high and low, and is not to be regarded as a commodity belonging to one family."

And subsequently:

"For wealth to be concentrated in the emperor's hands may be termed: 'the misfortune of the nation'." (ch 12, p277)

On the latter he remarks, quoting in part an exchange between Wang Yün-tao and the first Ming emperor:

"I hear that to bring order to the world the empire should not neglect worthy men. I do not hear that the empire should not neglect profit. Moreover profit lies not with the officials but with the people and if the people obtain profit then the source of wealth is universal and there is benefit also to the officials. If the officials alone secure profit then the source of profit dries up and this must necessarily bring harm to the people." (ch 12, p284)

Indeed this essay may be said to echo to a degree Mencius' observations on the deleterious effects of the pursuit of profit.²⁷

The remaining essays in this section may be subdivided into two broad groups with one additional essay. The first group, comprising five essays, concerns official matters and includes a long historical survey of the payment of officials, a consideration of the means of raising revenue, two essays on the reporting and control of malfeasance and one on the need to control private ownership of military equipment. The second group, comprising seven essays, concerns the utilisation and maintenance of certain natural and man-made amenities to wit, in the former category, waterways and rainfall (3 essays), and in the latter, roads, inns, roadside trees and bridges. The one additional essay provides a clear and concise statement of some essential elements in what may be termed Ku's social prescription and is translated in full. (ch 12(9))

3. Section 2(ii): Ethics and Social Relations

In the first five essays of this section Ku traces the waxing and waning of the fortunes of the empire in ethical terms and, in so doing, clearly establishes himself as a proponent of the cyclical concept of history.

"Ah alas! If you consider that Ai and P'ing could be subject to change to form the Eastern Capital and the Five Dynasties could change to become the Sung then you will realise that within the empire there are no customs which cannot be changed." (ch 13, p308)

His assessment of the relative merits of the various periods examined in this sequence also confirms his position as an orthodox Confucian and clearly delineates his opposition to the Neo-Taoist developments of the Chin period. For Ku the decline of the moral climate of the kingdom which proceeded through the late Chou, Ch'in and Western Han was arrested with the advent of Kuang Wu and the establishment of the Eastern Han.

"As a consequence Kuang Wu held integrity in high regard urging a correspondence between name and substance while those whom he employed in official positions were never other than men who understood the classics and cultivated morality so that customs underwent a complete change. When it came to the last years of the Eastern Han the court and administration was disordered and corrupt. The nation's affairs daily declined yet those of the proscribed party and those given to independent action following the path of benevolence and righteousness continued to risk their lives." (ch 13, p305)

In historical terms, the period of flourishing was relatively transient coming to an end with the later years of the Eastern Han.

"At the close of the Eastern Han there was a decline in morality with a rise of elegance and sophistication which began with Ts'ai Yung. His appointment by Tung Cho was without integrity and his expression of surprise and regret on (learning) of (Tung) Cho's death was ill-advised. If one examines his collected works there is an excess of funeral inscriptions and eulogies from which it may be inferred how he conducted himself in his daily affairs. Because his literary talents were rich and his friends numerous so the people of later times gave him a most complimentary biography. Ah alas, scholars and

gentlemen who live in the final stages (declining years) of a dynasty must bear the reputation of the times. Those who would effect a change in the moral climate of the empire should examine Po Chieh's conduct and be warned by it." (ch 13, p305)

This adverse development reached its apogee in the Cheng-shih reign period (AD240-249) which is singled out as a particular target for Ku's opprobrium.

"At that time unconventional scholars of high repute filled Loyang. They set aside the classics and esteemed especially the works of Lao and Chuang. They despised the rites and ceremonies and respected only unrestrained freedom. If they were to see their ruler in difficulty they acted like indifferent observers and all worthy men took their lead from this. From this time onward, they were vying with one another to imitate such practices."

Especially is 'pure talk' seen as harmful.

"How can the 'pure talk' of Wei and Chin periods be considered responsible for the loss of the empire? This is what Mencius referred to as the words of Yang (Chu) and Mo (Ti) reaching a point where they caused the empire not to acknowledge ruler or father and to enter the state of birds and beasts." (ch 13, p306)

Subsequently the Sung (somewhat curiously there is no essay on the T'ang period in this section) saw a resurgence of the fundamental Confucian values.

"The scholars who discussed these matters (eg. the integrity of early Sung officials) might say that the way of the superior man was waxing." (ch 13, p308)

The development was however (in Ku's opinion) sadly curtailed by the rise to power of Wang An-shih and the implementation of his policies, an historical trend to which Ku was implacably opposed in retrospect.

"When it came to the court of Shen Tsung (AD1068-1086), Ching-kung gained political power and there was suddenly encouragement to those given to fawning and flattery and (there was) widespread eradication of those with opposing views."

and subsequently:

"... there was a substantial development of political intrigue and the affairs of the nation daily declined. This malady of the vitals was beyond cure. Men of later times said simply that his agricultural irrigation schemes, his green sprouts method and his protection tithes method were all injurious to the people. What they did not realise was that in the matter of influencing people's minds and changing scholar's practices they were also harmful to the court." (ch 13, p308)

The next part of this section contains a number of Ku's most important statements on what might be termed pure and applied ethics. Taking the former first, the essay entitled "Incorruptibility and Shame" is a statement about what he sees as the fundamental bases of morality. Quoting initially from the (*Hsin*) *Wu Tai Shih* he writes:

"Propriety, righteousness, modesty and shame are the four social bonds of the kingdom. If the four bonds are not made manifest then the kingdom is doomed to destruction."

He goes on to give particular attention to the idea of shame which assumes a central importance in his concept of morality.

"This being so, within these four bonds shame has particular importance. Thus the Master, in discussing scholars, said: 'In conducting himself there is shame.' Mencius said: 'A man may not be without shame ... if a man is not incorruptible and goes as far as rebelling against propriety and opposing righteousness the origins of such behaviour may, in all cases, be traced to the absence of shame. If the official classes are without shame this may be spoken of as the country's shame'."

He then reiterates his recurring view of the progressive decline of the moral basis of society, relating this necessarily to the lack of shame.

"If I look (at the kingdom) from the Three Dynasties onward, the decline of society and the trivialisation of the Way, the abandonment of propriety and righteousness and the rejection of incorruptibility and shame are not the work of one night and one day. Still, 'the leaves of pine and cypress are the last to fall in the winter of the year' and 'the crowing of the cock is not stilled by wind and rain.' Moreover, in these days of darkness certainly there never was a man who was not alone sober." (ch 13, p314)

Several literary and historical examples are adduced to give weight to this argument.

In subsequent essays he focuses his attention on frugality as a moral quality providing a series of historical examples of frugality and the avoidance of extravagance with the underlying premise that it is by one's conduct being exemplary that one can influence society.

"Indeed, if one cultivates frugality in one's own person, conducts oneself according to it within one's family and manifests it within the village community can the Way in truth, be far off?"

And elsewhere:

"Indeed, it is only the princely man who is able to change customs through his own conduct. If he occupies an official position he can transform a state; if he is at court he can transform an empire." (ch 13, p318)

Thus frugality is seen as a desirable quality and, as such, should be exercised and made manifest. By so doing the princely man may encourage others to follow suit and exert thereby a broad and beneficial influence. There are also two brief essays based on quotations from the *Ch'u Tz'u* and the *Lun Yü*, on moral matters.

What I have termed applied ethics is basically further expression of Ku's ideas on the critical importance of moral qualities as the basis for selection of officials. In one essay there is essentially a plea for the restoration of the means of selection of scholar officials which gave primacy to such qualities while incorporating also a lament for declining standards exemplified by an increasing tendency for scholar-officials to seek personal gain. Again the old is contrasted favourably with the new. Thus he writes quoting the *Nan Shih*:

"In Han times scholars deemed cultivation of the self as fundamental, therefore loyalty and filial behaviour became standard practice so that up to those who ascended the carriage and wore the ceremonial cap (ie. officials) conduct deviating from this did not occur. However, from Chin and Sung times onward customs declined and righteousness was wanting."

Later, writing again of the Han period, he observes:

"As a consequence scholars given to propriety and integrity who, with diligence and virtue cultivated themselves, were, by their local areas, promoted highly and subsequently assumed government positions."

As a prelude to a critical comparison with the modern situation, he writes:

"Nowadays, in the selection of men, there is a perversion of what is right. In the countryside decisions are made on the basis of the writings of petty men and the cultivation of behaviour is not discussed among the elders. For examination ranks, like wind in the bamboo, there is noisy contention in district and prefecture and prostration without limit while begging for favour."

He goes on to remark:

"When the pursuit of self-interest is paramount then the public interest will be obstructed. When the coveting of government office manifests itself then the spirit of modesty and purity is diminished." (ch 13, p312)

There follows a series of historical examples illustrating these points. Subsequent essays in this section develop the same general thesis.

In the essays entitled "On Doing Away with Corruption" (ch 13(15)) and "Honour and Incorruptibility" (ch 13(16)) Ku turns to the question of laws and their application in which, interestingly, he espouses a somewhat Legalistic position, at odds with earlier statements and his generally very orthodox Confucian view. The first of these two essays is a long discussion, with Legalistic overtones, on the issue of corruption and what to do about it. In broad terms Ku subscribes to the view that strict laws strictly applied represent the most effective means of dealing with this problem.

"Ah alas! If laws are not established and punishments not certain then it is not possible to find officials who desire to be such without covetousness. If the emperor relinquishes his grasp of the handle of the great sword then those who are called his chief ministers will all be concerned with the drawing up of minor indictments and the boxes of documents and the bringing up of many irrelevant and petty matters would be considered to be discharging the responsibility of the empire. How, under these

circumstances, can the administration of minor functionaries be made good?" (ch 13, p319)

It is not, perhaps, the harshness of the penalties however which Ku sees as important but rather their clear delineation and unwavering application. The second of these two essays is a further statement on the same topic with particular criticism being directed at the practice of permitting financial atonement for crimes. Much of this essay is taken from a memorial by Kung Yü of the Western Han period.

"If an examination is made of how this came about it is all through the fact that those who transgress the law can achieve financial atonement for their crimes. When one attempts to find scholars one does not find the truly worthy whilst the chancellors of vassal kings and commandery administrators all honour wealth and profit. If punishment is not carried out then this is what transpires. Nowadays if there is the desire to achieve greatness in government and to reach a great peace it is appropriate to eschew the method of financial atonement for crimes." (ch 13, p321)

A summary of the remaining essays in this section is as follows: ch 13(6) is a statement in favour of allowing political criticism by scholars while ch 13(9) is a discussion of the matter of social standing and observances based thereon. Essays ch 13(17) to ch 13(23) comprise a series of writings on relatively specific matters of national and domestic administration the former being exemplified by writing on the practice of incarcerating the offspring of treacherous ministers and the latter by a consideration of the acquisition of male slaves. Essays ch 13(24) and ch 13(25) consist of brief sentences on the different failings of the northern and southern regions, the first with reference to customs and the second with reference to scholars. The two following essays ch 13(26) and ch 13(27) are about individuals from the Sung era. Essay ch 13(28) is an interesting deliberation on what scholars study in their declining years, particularly their tendency to turn to Buddhism (in the south) and the 'Immortals' (in the north) as they recognise the limits of possible achievement in self-cultivation and other studies and the difficulties and uncertainties of attempting to apply their acquired moral precepts to the vicissitudes of the practical world. The final nine essays (ch 13(29) to (37)) comprise a miscellany of various, unrelated topics and are seen as being of relatively little importance.

There is a total of 23 essays in chüan 14 devoted almost entirely to matters which would fall under the heading of *li* (propriety). Overall, several aspects of discussion may be identified. First, there is consideration of the merits or otherwise of a particular practice seen generally in

an historical context. Thus, Ku examines the practice of conferring feudal rights stressing the importance of determining and establishing the correctness of names and the failure to attend to such matters which he sees as characterising the (late) Ming period. Similarly there is consideration of the accessory sacrifices to the Confucian disciples with the admonitory conclusion that there must be familiarity with the relationships between the Master and his disciples as a basis for undertaking any reforms in these sacrifices. Secondly, some of the essays are more or less purely historical, considering a particular practice in such a context without any attempt to draw conclusions as to subsequent modification etc. Such essays are exemplified by the brief statement on abdication (ch 14(10)). Finally, several essays are concerned predominantly with the clarification of terms.

Nineteen of the twenty essays in chüan 15 are devoted to matters relating to funerals and burial, the final essay being a brief consideration of the domestic regulations of the Sung court. In general the pattern follows that of the preceding section with the majority of essays being written in support or criticism of a particular practice, the discussion being set, typically, in an historical context with a strong general trend towards favouring ancient over modern practices. The long essay on extravagant funerals (ch 15(3)) is translated as an illustrative example. The remaining essays are either purely historical accounts of particular funeral or burial practices or clarification of terms, or indeed both.

4. Section 2(iii): Examinations and Essays

This comprises chüan 16 to 19 inclusive. The first of these, chüan 16, is concerned primarily with matters pertaining to the examination system and it is possible, in this, to discern three major concerns of the author. First he is, as usual, at pains to effect a clarification of the derivation and usage of terms with a particular focus on the historical development of the various terms under consideration.

Thus, in the first four essays entitled respectively "Ming-ching", "Hsiu-ts'ai", "Chü-jen" and "Chin-shih", he outlines the origin and application of these terms and defines their then current usage. He also uses these essays as a vehicle to carry his oft-reiterated adverse comparison of contemporary practices in the conduct of examinations with those of former times, in particular the T'ang period. He identifies two major areas of concern. First, he is of the view that the examination methods as developed had led to a progressive deflection of attention away from the original texts of the classics and the commentaries thereon, towards other writings narrowly directed at examination topics and inimical to the desired objectives of broad scholarship. Thus he writes:

"The scholars of the present day do not even look at the commentaries almost to the point of completely losing (both) essentials and non-essentials. This being so then the chin-shih of the present day may in no way be compared to the ming-ching of T'ang times." (ch 16, p376)

Secondly, he is troubled by the intrusion of corrupt practices into the examination system. Quoting a request from K'ung Yu-liang, he comments as follows:

"I request that a general estimate be made of those recommended scholars who, prior to this, had failed to be ranked and that regulations be established to clarify the principles involved. This is because, when the nation first instituted the practice of having chü-jen, corrupt methods were clearly in existence."

Ku concludes this essay with the following observation:

"The evil customs were, however, already too deeply entrenched and could not be reversed." (ch 16, p377)

This comparative decline, with the two elements of diversion of attention from the original texts and the occurrence of corrupt practices, is seen by Ku as a gradual process one consequence of which was to mitigate against the identification of scholars with particular talents who may not have been identifiable by conventional examination methods. Thus, commenting on a recommendation by Wang Wei-chen to follow the Han and T'ang systems, he writes:

"What he did not realise was that the particular evils of the chin-shih system were the accumulation of two or three hundred years and not the sudden destruction of an established method. Thus, although there may be other scholars with other talents there is no means whereby they may be advanced and utilised." (ch 16, p379)

Finally, on a broader scale, Ku is concerned about the overall decline of scholarship and the role the examination system had in this process. Thus, the long essay entitled "Eighteen Fang" is used predominantly as a general statement lamenting this decline and the adverse effects which narrow attention to examination success, often impelled by unworthy motives, had on the fostering of learning. He concludes this essay as follows (quoting in part the *Tso Chuan*):

"When young I did see two or three who loved scholarship, who wished to penetrate the classics and become conversant with ancient works. Then their fathers and teachers would ridicule them, considering that they would not achieve examination success and would, in the future, meet difficulty, being undeserving of benefit. How can this not be described by saying that 'the great men were at a loss and became deluded.' In just such a way a nation's rise and decline, and the order and disorder of the times, may be known." (ch 16, p382)

The main contribution which the examination system makes to the overall decline of learning is to be found primarily in just this diversion of attention from classical writings. This issue is given further attention in the essay entitled "Question and Themes in the Interpretation of the Classics" (ch 16(9)) in which the evils of neglect of the ancient texts and dynastic histories again come under the spotlight. In this essay strong criticism is directed at Wang An-shih for his role in this perceived decline. The remaining eight essays in chüan 16 concern other aspects of the examinations, predominantly particular forms of examination and styles of preparation of answers. The final essay focuses on the study of history and the decline thereof related to its lack of importance within the examination system.

Chüan 17 continues the theme of examinations comprising a total of twenty-one essays. The first two deal with numerical restrictions on particular categories of students, (*sheng-yüan* and *chin-shih*) whilst the third bears on the special situation of none of the examinees reaching the standard necessary for ranking. There then follows a miscellany of topics again relating to examinations (ch 17(4)-(16)) considered predominantly in an historical context. In one essay in this group having a more general relevance entitled "Examination Masters and Disciples" (ch 17(11)) Ku focuses on the practice of having those students who passed a recruitment examination consider themselves disciples of the examiner and under an obligation to support him in what Hucker refers to as '...any partisan struggles and controversies.'²⁸ The consequent tendency to clique formation is then discussed. The remaining five essays (ch 17(17)-(21)) move away somewhat from the immediate topic of examinations. Thus, two essays (ch 17(17)&(21)) consider respectively the time in a man's life when he is fit to serve in an official capacity and the relationship of an understanding of the classics to the functioning of an official, while ch 17(19) looks at the establishment of a military school (*wu-hsüeh*) during the Sung period and its subsequent use during the Ming era. Finally, essays ch 17(18)&(20) consider particular official positions.

Chüan 18 is a somewhat miscellaneous collection of essays which may be further subdivided into several groupings. The first comprises essays predominantly concerned with different aspects of literature in the broadest sense to include histories and other chronicles of events. In the initial essay Ku raises the issue of the storage of literary works and their accessibility to those who would study them, citing a number of examples of ancient scholars who were able, freely, to avail themselves of government organised collections in preparing their own works of enduring value - men such as *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, *Pan Ku*, *Liu Hsiang* and others. These examples are contrasted with the contemporary situation in which scholars being denied adequate access to storehouses of literature is seen as resulting in the general decline of erudition. He concludes the essay with the following observations:

"Was it not that the government was strict about prohibiting histories but lax in educating the people, good at keeping books but stupid in education? Subsequently if it had come about that the curtains and bags (of the teachers) were all equally destroyed then one would merely hear the name of the Seven Epitomes of Literature and if the walls of the houses had been broken down then the characters of the Six Classics would not be visible. Ah alas, how this grieves me." (ch 18, p420)

Two of the later essays in this chüan (ch 18(8)&(9)) deal with the documentation of official matters. The former is a discussion of t'ieh-huang, the practice of having scholars, at the emperor's behest, make a summary of submitted memorials, encapsulating the essence in one to three hundred words and appending this summary to the original document. The latter is a consideration of the need for accurate recording of the official business conducted by the emperor and exemplified by reference to the early T'ang emperors. A suitable system is perceived as being essential for the veracity of recording and the need to preserve an accurate historical record.

There are several essays about specific aspects of ancient and historical works. Thus, the essay entitled "Commentaries on the Thirteen Classics" (ch 18(2)) consists of an historical review of the various groupings of the ancient classics and the preparation of commentaries thereon, whilst the following essay (ch 18(3)) discusses the edition of the twenty-one dynastic histories prepared by the Imperial Academy with particular reference to areas of deficiency. The essay "Wrong Characters" (ch 18(5)) provides some brief observations on the matter of textual errors, either through the use of common expressions in current usage or characters wrongly written, whilst the remainder of this initial grouping focuses on individual works.

There follow two essays of a more philosophical hue, the second (ch 18(13)) in particular being an important statement of Ku's philosophical position. In the first he traces the development of Taoism and Buddhism as a parallel stream of philosophical thought coursing alongside orthodox Confucianism. He finds the origins of Buddhism in the writings of the pre-Ch'in philosopher, Mo Ti.

"The origin of the theory of compassion and kindness and the benefitting of all things with its ultimate extension to the saving of all living beings from torment, rescuing them from the bitter sea, comes from Mo Ti's universal love. If the theories of the empire cannot be traced back to Yang they can be traced back to Mo. The Buddha then united them and subsequent scholars later called the writings the *Nei-tien*."

Not surprisingly Ku is opposed to this combination of doctrines.

"Being a Buddhist within while externally embracing Confucianism is the path of heresy and will bring delusion to the people. It is something which the former kings certainly eradicated and with which they in no way complied." (ch 18, p428)

The next essay is one of the most important statements of Ku's philosophical position encapsulating, as de Bary has written, Ku's "... criticism of the learning of mind and heart itself." De Bary proceeds to observe that in this essay "...Ku demonstrates his awareness that this learning, the *hsin-hsüeh*, did not originate with Wang Yang-ming, of whom he is highly critical in other portions of his work, or even with Lu Hsiang-shan (to whom Wang was often linked as his predecessor in *hsin-hsüeh*) but with Chu Hsi himself. That is to say, he knows that this learning lies at the heart of the Ch'eng-Chu school. Citing the very lines from the *Book of Documents* which Chu Hsi had fixed upon in his preface to the (Doctrine of the) Mean - 'the insecurity of the mind of man and the imperceptibility of the way', 'refinement' and 'holding fast the mean' - he explains how such expressions had been taken out of context to formulate the new doctrine of mind and heart."²⁹

Ku, in tracing thus the origin of the concept of the mind to the early writings of the *History* identified the developments of Ch'an as being clearly a departure from orthodox concepts. Truly, the mind is concerned with the conduct of affairs.

"Although Chiu-feng also made clear the mind of emperors and kings, (for him) the mind was the basis of governance of the kingdom and pacification of the empire; his works certainly established an orthodox principle. Those who subsequently presented his commentary on the *History* to the court took it to embody the theory of the Three Sages' transmission of mind and the scholars of the world subsequently pointed to these sixteen characters from the *History* as being the essence of the transmission of the mind. Moreover students of Ch'an (Buddhism) availed themselves (of these words) to be prof of their own theories. I cannot help but think that the mind does not wait upon any such transmission. What is prevalent in heaven and earth and is the thread linking ancient and modern and is everywhere the same is principle. Principle is altogether encompassed in one mind and is verified in affairs and in things. The mind is that which effects a synthesis of this principle and distinguishes clearly between right and wrong, whether a man is worthy or not, whether affairs are successful or otherwise, and whether order or disorder prevails in the empire. All are determined by this."

Ku is quite clearly opposed to this concentration on the mind. Thus quoting a letter written by the Ming scholar T'ang Po-yüan he continues:

"Nowadays there are many who would castigate me for speaking of learning and neglecting mind."

And subsequently:

"I do not however know, when you speak of learning, whether you refer to benevolence, propriety and affairs or, in fact, mind. To cast aside benevolence, propriety and affairs and speak of mind, even if you know of it, is not possible. Your purpose is certainly to say that benevolence, propriety and affairs are all subsumed under mind so that to use one's strength for benevolence is to use one's strength for mind; to recover propriety is to recover mind and to conduct affairs is to make manifest mind. This I do not understand, as I said before, and so may be said to be without learning." (ch 18, p429)

Of the final essays in this subsection, three (ch 18(14)-(16)) concern the subject matter of examinations and merit no further analysis. Two essays focus on particular works, the first being a long discussion of the important work by Wang Yang-ming entitled *Chu Tzu wan-nien ting-lun* in which the author attempts a synthesis of the philosophical thoughts of Chu Hsi with those of Lu Chiu-yüan (ch 18(17)) while the second is a consideration of the authorship of the *I-lin* (ch 18(23)). There are two essays on individual Ming scholars, Li Chih and Chung Hsing (ch 18(18) & (19)), and finally three essays on particular scholarly and literary activities, to wit plagiarism, textual comparison and the revision of ancient books (ch 18(20)-(22)).

Chüan 19 is primarily concerned with literary matters, although in one essay in particular the basis of conduct befitting a scholar is given consideration. There is a natural dichotomy in Ku's treatment of literature in this section; first, literature considered as a social instrument and secondly, the technical aspects of writing. Ku's position on the former is quite clear. To be of worth literature must fulfil a practical need, must be of benefit to the empire. In broad terms, to achieve this objective, brevity with a low-volume, high-quality output is to be prized whilst prolixity and a high-volume, low-quality output is denigrated. Thus he writes:

"Literature flourishes through brevity, decays through prolixity. In speaking of the two Hans the writings of the Eastern Capital were much greater (more numerous) than those of the Western Capital, nevertheless literature itself declined. In speaking of the Three Dynasties the writings of the Spring and Autumn period and onward were much more numerous than the Six Classics, yet again literature (itself) declined. In the *Li Chi* it is written: 'If the empire is without the Way then words are concerned with the non-essentials'." (ch 19, p445)

As an extension of these considerations, writings painstakingly and diligently produced by a single author are to be valued much more highly than compilations. Likewise, literature with a didactic or ethical content, such as the teachings of the sages and philosophers, has rather greater value than literature devoted to the chronicling of administrative or organisational matters. The latter, of course, have a particular relationship to one time whereas the former possess an enduring relevance. Nevertheless, Ku is cognisant of the value of practical matters as is obvious in his essay on the proliferation of literati where he quotes from the *Sung Shih* as follows:

"Ou-yang Yung-shu, in speaking with his students, never touched on the subject of literature but discussed only politics, saying that literature stops at being beneficial to the self, whilst through a consideration of affairs it is possible to reach to things." (ch 19, p450)

In this essay also he advances the view that, since T'ang and Sung times, there had been too great a number of literati without a proper foundation in the classics and that this increase in numbers had occurred *pari-passu* with a decline in the substance of learning. Other specific issues which come under scrutiny include the custom of offering direct criticism of the emperor from the *Odes*, the use of ghostwriters and what Ku calls 'misleading writings', focusing on Wang Wei and Hsieh Ling-yün as examples.

The essay entitled "Artful Words" is devoted more specifically to the issue of how a scholar should conduct himself, an issue on which Ku takes a firmly traditional Confucian position. Having posed to himself the question: 'How should a scholar act?' he replies thus:

"Certainly, first, by means of filial and fraternal behaviour he must quell his refractory and cruel heart. He must continue through loyalty and sincerity to cast aside speciousness and insinuating looks. He must make every word and action come forth from his fundamental mind and not cause that which is contrary to benevolence to attach to himself. In this way it may be possible (for him) to cultivate the self and govern the nation."

He is also desirous of avoiding taking the shadow for the substance and concludes this essay by writing:

"The emperor cannot do otherwise than give deep thought to the distinction between ornament and reality." (ch 19, p450)

Turning to the matter of writing as a technique, Ku makes several pertinent comments in the final essays of this chüan. First, he is conscious of the desirability of skill in phraseology as a necessary component of expressing one's thoughts. Next, he is openly critical of the prevalent tendency of imitation of the ancients by later writers, commenting thus:

"The faults of present day literature lie entirely in imitation. Even if writers feel compelled to imitate the ancients still they do not reach their levels. Do they not moreover, neglect the spirit and principle (of ancient literature) and achieve only the superficialities?" (ch 19, p453)

Similarly, he finds fault in the artificial incorporation into modern writing of ancient words and terms in an affected way:

"Still to plagiarise and take the grammar of the *Shih Chi* and the *Han Shu* considering it to be ancient and, in particular, linking up one or two sentences for use as quotations is, in writing, especially not to be commended. Just as the regions at the present time are not the ancient regions yet may borrow the ancient names or officials of the present time are not ancient officials but may borrow the ancient names, so those who in writing set aside characters in regular use and borrow ancient characters for use in their place all do so as a means of concealing their own vulgarity and superficiality."

He continues by saying:

"I, formerly, was unskilled in literature but did not (resort to) imitation. When it came to the establishment of the rightness of names I did not dare to be careless. Ordinarily it was a small task or there was some compromise, but literature which is strong and enduring certainly does not dare, in the matter of official and place names, to change the modern and utilise the ancient. Of the celebrated people in former generations many also knew this." (ch 19, p454)

Finally, returning to the question of simplicity versus complexity, he concludes that the central issue is, in reality, that literature be capable of comprehension. Thus, in the essay entitled "Simplicity and Complexity in Writing", he observes:

"The Master said: 'In language it is simply required that it convey the meaning.' The prime importance of writing lies in its being comprehensible no matter whether it is simple or complex. When discussion of what is simple and what is complex arises then the literature itself is forgotten." (ch 19, p453)

After several illustrative examples he goes on to remark that Mencius' repetition of phrases (exemplifying complexity) in the passage on the man of Ch'i and the fish keeper and Tzu-ch'an of Cheng may be contrasted favourably with the brevity and simplicity of the *Hsin T'ang Shu* where the result may be obscuration of meaning. Thus, his position may be summarised by saying that what he values most in literature is clarity of expression, without the accoutrements of ancient phraseology or unnecessary borrowings from ancient writings. Such clarity should be a component of literature of social and ethical relevance and extend beyond matters of a particular time to assume a broad and enduring relevance.

5. Section 3: Literature, History and Philology

Chüan 20 comprises a somewhat miscellaneous grouping of 29 essays which may be said to be predominantly concerned with literary matters especially in terms of textual issues. The two topics which receive considerable attention are the recording of time in ancient literature (ch 20(2)-(8)) and the recording of reign titles, in both ancient and modern writings (ch 20(9)-(12),(15)&(16)). Apart from these specific topics, particular works are also given consideration. Thus the first essay concerns the use of the term san-kung (三 公) in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, whilst a later essay is about Sun Shih's *Western Study Record*. There are also three essays about particular terms as used in the *Comprehensive Mirror*. Several essays (ch 20(19)-(23)) deal with the use of terms for names and places in the dynastic histories while other essays (ch 20(24)-(26)) are of a more general nature being directed mainly at the topic of quoting from ancient writings. Of this group the essay entitled "To Hand Down the Words of the Ancients" is included in the translations as an example. Ku's point in this short essay is to stress the necessity for accurate quotation and appropriate attribution. Thus, initially, he writes:

"Whenever there is transmission of the words of the ancients it is necessary to quote appropriately the one who established the words. If one of the ancients transmitted the words of another of the ancients then both should be quoted. It is not permissible to plagiarise and consider them (ie. the words) to be one's own theories."

To give due attribution is, he wrote, finally:

"... the humility of the princely man and a pre-requisite for making progress in scholarship." (ch 20, p480)

The other two essays of this subgroup stress the importance of accurate quotation of the original text and the need for the quote to be such as to illuminate meaning. One essay explores examples from Han Yü and Li Po to advocate a reverential attitude to the literature of early times and to speak against what Ku sees as a modern tendency to criticise and ridicule earlier writings. The final three essays (chüan 20(28)-(30)) are also of a somewhat general nature; one on the use of the character yüeh (月) to introduce quotations, one on introductory statements in historical writings and one on the division of topics within a single writing.

In chüan 21, devoted to a consideration of poetry, Ku's areas of concern may be considered under three headings; the purpose of poetry, the technicalities of poetry and the

analysis of the verse of individuals. Clearly, the first of these is accorded the greatest importance and here Ku's views are quite unequivocal and explicit. For him it is imperative that verse be essentially didactic, in the social and moral sense, that content be paramount and that the verse of a particular era should embody the spirit of that era.

In the first essay, appropriately entitled "The Purpose of Poetry", he sees this purpose as being a documentation of the affairs and customs of the people, a purpose from which poetry progressively deviated during the course of history. As above, in Ku's opinion, poetry must have a didactic purpose. In concluding the first essay he quotes Ko Hung as follows:

"In ancient times poetry criticised failings and therefore, being of benefit was esteemed accordingly. Nowadays poetry is nothing more than empty words (of praise) and so is flawed and worthless." (ch 21, p482)

Of primary importance, therefore, is the content of verse, other considerations such as form, rhyme and title being relegated to a secondary position. Thus, rhyme should be used as the ancients used it, to enhance the meaning and purpose of the verse and not, as with later writers, be given primacy contorting the meaning to facilitate the rhyme. On this question he writes:

"In verse meaning is paramount; sound is a secondary consideration. Certainly if one rhyme is exhausted there being no other character which may be used then another rhyme is introduced. If it is not possible to find another then it is preferable to do without a rhyme. If the meaning is particularly apt and it is not possible to change to another character there is no harm in doing without rhyme." (ch 21, p484)

He supports this view with a number of examples from the *Odes* and other verse. Similarly, with titles he espouses the view that these are secondary and should be taken from the substance of the poem as was done in the *Odes*, comparing such a practice favourably with the later practice of taking a title or topic and writing a poem thereon. Thus he writes:

"In the poetry of the ancients there was the poem and subsequently the title. In modern poetry there is, by contrast, a title and subsequently a poem. When there is a poem and afterwards a title the poem is concerned with emotion. When there is a title and afterwards a poem then the poem is concerned with things." (ch 21, p483)

Thus, rhyme and title, indeed all else, should be subservient to the matter of the verse and this matter should have a socially relevant, didactic purpose. Not surprisingly, Ku is opposed to what might be called the social composition of verse, the exchange of verses on social occasions and such-like. Poetry is a serious business, the province of the true poet and his alone. The content of verse should accord moreover with the spirit of the times and in relation to this he traces what he sees as the development of verse down the ages with the inevitability of this progression:

"The three hundred verses of the *Odes* could not do otherwise than evolve into the *Ch'u Tz'u*. The *Ch'u Tz'u* (in turn) could not do otherwise than evolve into the verse of the Han and Wei periods, that of the Han and Wei periods into the Six Dynasties and that of the Six Dynasties into the verse of the T'ang period. This is a necessary consequence of the passage of time." (ch21, p494)

For Ku, what characterises great poetry is that it conforms to the evolved style of the period while at the same time transcending this style in an individualistic way:

"That which allows the verse of Li and Tu, alone of T'ang poetry, to scale the heights is that it never fails to conform yet never conforms. Only those who understand this may discuss poetry." (ch21, p494)

There is also, in this section, a group of essays dealing with technicalities of verse. Thus he considers such topics as verse forms (eg the seven character lines), the use of duplicated characters and methods of rhyming. Through all this however his fundamental view on the primacy of content is apparent. The imposition of a particular form or too great a degree of attention to other technical facets may lead to a distortion of meaning or the use of superfluous characters and is therefore seen as likely to deflect the poet from a clear presentation of his meaning.

Of the remaining essays in this chüan a number concern textual research and are concerned with historical inaccuracies and other errors in the published writings of a number of poets. There are also several essays of a more general nature about specific works, two essays on characters and a final miscellany on draft writing, simplified characters, illustrations and ancient implements.

The majority of essays in chüan 22 concern place names and, in some cases, the officials appointed in relation to the places described. The first two essays deal with two important broad descriptive terms 'the four seas' and 'the nine regions' with the intention of bringing clarity to their application. Thus Ku considers the term 'the four seas' as being taken predominantly to describe the boundaries of the empire. He begins by saying:

"The *Cheng-i* commentary on the *History* states that the circumstances of heaven and earth are that there is water on four sides. Tsou Yen, in his writings, said that beyond the nine divisions there are great oceans and seas encircling, so that the nine divisions dwell within water and hence are named chou. Nevertheless, in the Five Classics, there is no mention of a northern or western sea and the term 'four seas' is also used as a general term referring to the ten thousand kingdoms."

and concludes as follows:

"This being so, what the *Odes* and *History* referred to as 'the four seas' were in reality what encircled barbarian tribes in all four directions and were not fabulous." (ch 22, p508)

The following essay offers a similar treatment of the term 'the nine regions' as exemplified below:

"Yü first defined the boundaries of the nine regions whilst Shun subsequently established the twelve regions. 'To establish' may have equivalence with 'to begin'. Formerly there were only nine regions and then there were twelve, this beginning with Shun. This being so then to say the nine regions of Yü Kung are entirely what was included in the boundaries of Yü Hsia is careless talk. After the Hsia and Shang dynasties the names of the nine regions were continued from earlier generations each therefore completing the delineation of its boundaries for purposes of division so that in each dynasty there were small differences. In the *Rites of Chou* the 'surveyor' controlled the means whereby the kingdom was divided into nine regions. In saying 'divided' it may be known that the arrangement did not comply with the old arrangement." (ch 22, p509)

There are two essays on particular points of historical interest; one on the lack of family continuity in the state of Yen during the Spring and Autumn period (ch 22(3)) and one on the question of whether Ch'in Shih Huang destroyed the two kingdoms of Wei and Yüeh (ch 22(5)).

There then follows a series of essays considering various specific administrative subdivisions, marquises, capitals, townships, villages etc and the appointment of officials and others in relation to these subdivisions. Predominantly these matters are discussed with reference to ancient writings. The section concludes with two essays on burial, specifically on the whereabouts respectively of the tombs of the earlier emperors and Yao's burial mound at Ling-t'ai, two essays about tablets and shrines established for living persons and finally, two essays devoted to the clarification of confusion concerning the names of particular individuals.

Chüan 23 comprises 41 essays most of which are relatively short and are devoted to the topic of names. The first three are broad in scope dealing respectively with surnames, clan names and errors in the handing down of family names. In the first Ku provides a general discussion of the origin of surnames (hsing- 姓) which he traces back to the period of the Five emperors. After some further general comments on the origin of names, he concludes by saying:

"From the Warring States period onward people took the surname from the clan name and so the surnames of the period of the Five Emperors were lost." (ch 23, p526)

In the second essay there is a similar discussion with reference to the clan or family name (shih - 氏) and again consideration of the relationship between shih and hsing. The third general essay is basically a long list of specific examples of errors in the transmission of the clan or family names.

The next group of essays (ch 23(4)-(8)) is more specific, with discussion of particular names. Thus, in the essay entitled "Chung Shih" after an analysis of the Chung clan incorporating a criticism of the existing theories, he sums up as follows:

"This (being so) the Chung clan of the Spring and Autumn period was not one and Chung Shan-fu was never enfeoffed with Ch'i. It is improbable that (Chung) Shan-fu was the ancestor of the Han family and improbable also that the ancestor of the present descendants was Tzu Lu." (ch 23, p532)

There then follows a somewhat miscellaneous group of essays (ch 23(9)-(16)) ranging across topics from the decline of the great northern families to the variable use of style or rank in naming people. There are then six essays on taboos in naming (ch 23(17)-(22)) with an additional later essay (ch 23(26)) on this topic. The majority of the remaining essays are brief considerations of various aspects of naming with attention being directed to three main issues;

the origin of the particular practice described, the comparison of ancient and modern applications of the practice and clarification of textual matters in relation to names.

Chüan 24 comprises 49 essays and deals with terms and titles applied to family members and various official positions. The first ten essays provide examination of a series of individual terms applied to various family members and relationships, with the predominant concern being usage and a lesser concern, origin with reference particularly to the classics and other early writings. There are then four essays dealing with some specific aspects of writing, for example words interchangeably used and words used repetitively. There then follows a long series of essays (ch 24(15)-(42)), for the most part short, on titles of rulers, officials and others. These writings are specifically concerned with the origin and usage of these terms as exemplified in the classics and other early writings in the dynastic histories. One essay in this sequence, that on the Han-lin Academy (ch 24(26)), is somewhat more broad in scope, being an historical review of the functions of this institution and the different roles of the academicians at different periods in history. Whilst most of the titles considered in this series of essays are listed in Hucker some are not and in these cases, particularly, the essay in question is likely to be found in part illustrating the analysis of the meaning of the term given in the *Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien*. The final seven essays comprise a group of writings which focus on the terms used in intercourse between officials, both among themselves and between subject and ruler.

Chüan 25 is, in general terms, devoted to clarification of various literary and historical matters. Five essays (ch 25(1)-(4) & ch 25(6)) concern mythical or semi-mythical personages such as Chung Li and Ho Po (the River Earl). The matters here touched on are clearly subjects of continuing debate for which Ku endeavours to effect a resolution. For example, with regard to Hsiang Chün, he concludes by writing:

"It is possible by examining this (matter) in the *Li Chi* to say that Shun was buried at Ts'ang Wu. His two wives did not follow (him) so it is clear that they followed him neither in death nor in the place of burial. Moreover, in life, they were exalted nobles while in death they were honoured spirits." (ch 25, p579)

In this essay Ku, in fact, broadens the argument to consider female spirits in a more general way, particularly as associated with T'ai-shan, writing:

"If the sea can have a daughter then the mountain can also have daughter. How is that particularly strange?" (ch 25, p579)

Several essays also focus on historical events or personages. Thus there is an historical discussion of events surrounding Li Wang's flight to Chih and the subsequent joint administration of the Dukes of Chou and Shao, termed 'harmonious joint rule' (ch 25(5)). Here, as elsewhere, Ku takes issue with the traditional account and examines the evidence to be gleaned from ancient writings. Four essays focus on actual historical personages with particular attention directed to one noteworthy aspect of their lives. The individuals concerned are Ch'i Liang's wife, Chuang An, Li Kuang and Mao Yen-shou. There are three essays devoted to clarification of terms, the first dealing with the phrase ch'ih-yü (fish in a pond) (池魚), the second with ta (大) and hsiao shan (小山) and the third with wai-jen (外人) as part of a name.

The final four essays deal with more general literary matters which Ku identifies as requiring criticism or clarification. In brief, these concern instances where, of two people involved in a single event, only one gains renown and conversely those instances where, from a single event, two people gain renown, one undeservedly. There are instances also of wrong identification of people involved in a particular event where one person is incorrectly implicated instead of the correct person, who is someone of the same class and, finally, one essay is devoted to a series of instances where the date or time ascribed to a particular event is found to be erroneous.

Of the thirty essays in chüan 26 devoted to historical writings, seventeen are concerned with specific works, sixteen to the dynastic histories and the *T'ung-chien* (*Comprehensive Mirror*). In the main these essays consist of an examination of textual matters seeking correction and clarification, in particular with reference to documentation of events in other works. This area of interest may be exemplified by the following quotation:

"In the biography of the Marquis of Huai-yin it (the *Shih Chi*) first states that K'uai T'ung was a rhetorician from Fan-yang whereas subsequently it speaks of the man of Ch'i, Kuai T'ung, so, within one biography, there is a discrepancy." (ch 26, p591)

Among the remaining thirteen essays some more general topics come under scrutiny, although, throughout, the primary concern would appear to be textual clarification. An example of such a general topic can be found in the essay entitled "In the Sequence of Topics in the *Shih Chi* there is Discussion of Time" dealing with a methodological issue. Here Ku writes:

"Among the historians of ancient times there were those who did not rely on discussion but in the ordering of their material were able to make clear their meaning. T'ai-shih Kung had this ability."

After providing examples to buttress this contention he goes on to say:

"All these are examples of the method of the historian allowing discussion to lodge in the ordering of material. There were few among the men of later times who were conversant with this technique." (ch 26, p590)

Several of the remaining essays are concerned with comparisons between different historical works (eg. the *Shih Chi* and *Han Shu* - ch 26(6)) especially where the same event is recorded in more than one work. Others are to do with the existence of superfluous characters, again a matter of textual clarification and with the confusion in naming caused by writers of later historical works perpetuating errors in earlier writings. The final essay is a brief observation on the fact that the *T'ung-chien* does not chronicle the lives and exploits of literary men since its avowed purpose was to function as an aid to administration.

Chüan 27 comprises a series of essays concerned essentially with the areas of contention in a number of well-known literary works, ancient classics, dynastic histories or more modern works, as well as the *Comprehensive Mirror*. In broad terms, Ku's observations take one of two forms. First there are his own comments on particular passages in the work and secondly there are those passages in relation to which he takes issue with the existing notes or endeavours to bring clarification to passages which the existing notes acknowledge to be obscure. This latter is well exemplified by the essay on the *Hsün Tzu* included in the translations which is entirely devoted to a particular phrase that has occasioned much difficulty among commentators. Apart from the essays on specific literary works there are three essays of a more general nature relating to issues of annotation. In the first of these he gives a long series of examples of notes on the various classics by Han scholars. The second concerns errors in quotations from other works to be found in the notes to a number of works, whilst the third is to do with the specific problem of errors in surnames and clan names seen in various annotations.

In broad terms, chüan 28 comprises essays which may be grouped around the general theme of ritual and ceremonial practice with discussion of the particular practice and consideration of its relevance. The later essays are, however, rather varied in topic. The first four essays examine the practice of bowing. The first, which affords a detailed description of

the practice of bowing to the ground and deals with its historical development and ritual significance, is prefaced by the following broad comment on ancient practices:

"The ancients sat on a mat on the ground, stretched themselves on rising, then prostrated themselves bringing the head to the hands, this being pai-shou. To bring the hands to the ground was tun-shou and to bring the head to the ground was chi-shou, all being degrees of propriety. In venerating the prince or the father, then certainly there should be the use of tun-shou, pai and afterwards chi-shou this being a measure of propriety. Certainly to end by means of chi-shou (bowing to the ground) is the completion of li (ie. conforms to propriety). Nowadays the *Ta-ming hui-tien* states that one bow in the form of kow-tow (kou-tou) is all that is necessary to conform to li, thus preserving the intention of the ancients." (ch 28, p654)

As with most topics in these several essays Ku draws a favourable comparison between ancient practices and their later developments. There are, then, two essays on sitting, the first focussing on the significance of sitting with the face to the east as below:

"The ancients would sit facing the east as a mark of respect therefore, in the sacrifice at the ancestral temple, the oldest ancestor (of the clan) was established facing east. So also, in the rites of social intercourse, the guest would face east whilst the host would face west." (ch 28, p658)

There follows a single essay on the custom, in northern regions, of constructing a hollow earthen bed under which a fire could be lit for warmth and then several essays (ch 28(8)-(12)) on garments, mainly examined from an historical standpoint. Essays chüan 28(13)-(15) fall somewhat outside the general theme, one being on the term used for the music bureau (yüeh-fu) and possible confusion with the title of a collection of verse and two with the meaning of specific characters (ssu and sheng - 寺, 省). The remaining essays (ch 28(16)-(25)) are quite varied. Several are to do with aspects of official life; the beating of officials who transgress, the incurring of debts by officials in the capital (two essays) and matters pertaining to resignation. There is one essay about the practice of signing documents, one about the *Capital Gazette*, essays about gambling for money and the prohibition of liquor and finally two essays about the giving of daughters in marriage.

Chüan 29 comprises a miscellaneous group of essays none of which are included in the translations. A range of unrelated topics is covered. The first three essays deal with specific

characters all to do with beasts of burden but basically concerned with questions of derivation and usage. There are several essays (ch 29(4),(5) & (8)-(11)) which may be loosely described as bearing on military matters, one being a brief discussion of the range and rapidity of troop movements whilst another is directed at an analysis of a phrase in the *Shih Chi* describing a specific incident of an army crossing a waterway. Essay ch 29(8) discusses the term shao-huang, which appears to involve responsibility for border matters whilst essays ch 29(9)-(11) deal with particular ad hoc collections of soldiers, the soldier-monks of Shao-lin, the Mao-hu-lu army and several examples of an individual's private army. Essays ch 29(6)&(7) pertain to water transport, the former being essentially a listing of waterways requiring navigators in ancient times and the latter a discussion of sea transport. Essays ch 29(12)&(13) are devoted to questions of language, the first being a long discussion of local dialects and the second a consideration of what is meant by the term kuo-yü (國語). The remaining eight essays (ch 29(14)-(21)) are devoted to non-Chinese people and here also the range of topics within this general categorisation is broad. Thus issues of customs, particular aptitudes, geography and history are addressed, as well, as is customary with Ku, questions of terminology.

Chüan 30 also comprises a somewhat miscellaneous collection of essays concerned primarily with matters astronomical and prognostic. The initial eight essays are indeed entirely devoted to astronomical matters, the first in particular being broad in scope. In this essay Ku examines the general development of astronomy and makes the point that in ancient times the subject was much more a part of the general body of knowledge whereas subsequently, as greater specialisation ensued, so a far greater number of people were ignorant of the topic:

"Before the Three Dynasties all understood the pattern of heaven. 'In the 7th month the five stars passed the meridian', these are the words of the farmer. 'And three stars appeared in the sky', these are the words of the women. 'The moon also is in the Hyades'; this relates to the work of the frontier soldiers. 'Wei of the dragon lies hid in the conjunction of the sun and moon'; this is the song of the child. In later generations, among literati and scholars, there are some who, if questioned, are ignorant (of these matters). (Yet) when it comes to the calculation of stars and times the ancients did not reach to the precision of the present time." (ch 30, p695)

In the following two essays there is consideration of some of the technical aspects of solar and lunar eclipses which were clearly well understood by the writer. He makes the interesting observation that such knowledge of mechanisms antedated the arrival of Western astronomical ideas. The remaining essays in this subsection are predominantly concerned with

prognostic aspects, the influence and relationship which celestial phenonema may have on man's affairs and conversely the possibility that human affairs may exert a reciprocal influence on celestial events.

In interpreting prognostic writings and examining their relationship to philosophy Ku is eclectic in his approach concluding essay ch 30(5) with the following observation:

"Thus it is not possible to have a bigoted belief in the prognostications of a single school." (ch 30, p699)

The following group of essays (ch 30(9)-(15)) continues the prognostic theme in relation to events other than celestial although one of these does examine the interpretation of celestial events by non-Chinese people. There then follow seven essays directed at a series of terms applied to intervals of time aimed primarily at achieving clarification in the understanding and usage of these terms. There are three essays which deal with places of worship, ancestral halls, Buddhist temples and T'ai-shan, with the final essay entitled "The Vulgar Belief of Barbarians in the Spirits" which gives examples of occasions where a particular act, perpetrated by non-Chinese barbarians, was followed by natural calamities and the barbarians attempted expiation.

There are fifty-two essays in chüan 31 of which the majority are devoted to the names of places, cities, districts, kingdoms etc. Several different aspects are given attention in these essays. Broadly, these may be categorised as follows; the origin of the place name, the whereabouts of the place, the different applications of a particular name during different periods of history and, finally, clarification of confusion about a particular place name in early writings. The first category is exemplified by ch 31(2) in which there is an historical discussion of the origin of the name Shensi and its relationship to other place names. Essay ch 31(16) illustrates the consideration of the whereabouts of a particular place, in this instance Hsia-ch'ien marsh, with reference to the *Chin Shu* and the *Water Classic*. In essay ch 31(19) the different applications of the term Liu-cheng, which variously denoted a city, a district and a chün are examined with reference to historical writings, whilst essays ch 31(7) & ch 31(11) illustrate Ku's attention to inaccuracies with regard to place names in historical writings, in these instances the *Shih Chi* and the *Water Classic* respectively. Whereas, as indicated above, cities, districts, kingdoms etc are primarily under consideration in this chüan a small number of essays are devoted to other points of geographical interest such as mountains, waterways, tombs, palaces and, in the final essay, the Great Wall. In addition there are three non-geographical essays

included in this section, one on tides and two on official positions, their establishment and purpose.

Finally, chüan 32 comprises a total of forty-three essays about characters, either single or in combination, essentially devoted to clarification of meaning and usage as well as, at times, with reference to origin. Such aspects are illustrated predominantly in relation to the canon of ancient literature, although more modern texts are also cited in certain instances. It is of interest that fifteen of these essays are referred to in the definition of the relevant character or character combination in the *Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien*. Two representative examples are given in the text. The first concerns the origin and also the phonetics of the combination nai-ho (奈 何) with reference to a number of ancient texts including the *Odes*, the *Tso Chuan* and the *History* (ch 32, p753). In the second, the meaning of the combination pu-tiao (不 吊) is considered based on its usage in the *Tso Chuan* and the *Odes*. (ch 32, p756)

6. Section 4: Miscellaneous Essays from the SWC

Although the purport of the present thesis is, primarily, to consider the contents of Ku Yen-wu's *Jih-chih lu* there are a number of essays within the *Shih-wen chi* which were deemed worthy of inclusion either on the grounds of their importance in making clear the author's views on a particular topic of interest, or, in the case of the more personal writings, in providing a portrait in writing of the man himself.

Clearly within the former category is the series of essays on the prefectural system. The fundamental tenet of these essays is that some of the principles of feudalism should be grafted onto the existing prefectural system as a means of effecting a significant degree of devolution. At the outset Ku makes explicit his recognition of the inevitability of progression from a feudal to a prefectural system but sees no obstacle to a reintroduction of some aspects of the earlier system. For him the major evil is an excess of centralised bureaucratic control with the attendant paralysis of effective local administration and the probability of a burgeoning role for minor officials motivated by less than altruistic impulses. The key to bringing about decentralisation, as proposed in these essays, is to appoint district magistrates, men of proven integrity and scholastic worth as revealed by an appropriate selection system, who, by permanency of position, develop a substantial commitment to the area and community which they serve. Given an effective local administration based on the central role of men of quality as district magistrates, the need for an oppressive structure of overseeing officials would be obviated and the minor officials would not be likely to step outside their prescribed functions.

The several objections to this administrative framework are given consideration in the fourth essay. Ku acknowledges three major areas of difficulty. First, without a suitable body of overseeing officials, the power of the district magistrates may become too great. Second, the hereditary succession of titles which he proposes to achieve continuity of office and hence commitment may result in too great a concentration of power in the hands of one family and third, the appointment of men to their own district, which Ku also advocates, may lead to preferential treatment of relatives and friends. Ku's counter argument is essentially that all these objections fail if the men selected are of sufficient standard which brings him back to the methods of selection in which he, as is customary, favours the ancient over the modern.

Thus, Ku envisages a series of semi-autonomous local regions, under the control of a district magistrate, appointed from the area and to remain in the area, whose interests will thereby coincide with those of the community he serves. As far as possible each region should

be responsible for its own destiny in matters of provisions, taxation etc. Ku's concept of the re-introduction of some elements of feudalism, as outlined above, is well-stated in the following excerpt.

"This being so then to venerate the status of the district magistrates conferring on him authority over financial and administrative matters, to do away with the office of overseer, to set up the rewards of hereditary office and permit the practice of local officials selecting their own subordinates may be termed lodging the concepts of feudalism within the framework of the prefectural system. This may permit the deterioration of two thousand years to be reversed." (SWC 1, p12)

In the two-part essay on taxation Ku's central thesis is that the tax levy should be paid in a commodity readily available to the payer, i.e. the people should be taxed on what they produce. On this score particularly is he opposed to the use of silver as a medium of taxation. He writes:

"Hsü Chih-kao of Wu followed the words of Sung Ch'i-ch'iu who considered that money was not what was obtained from agriculture and sericulture so that to cause the people to pay tax in money was to teach them to cast aside the root and follow the branch. As a consequence the various taxes were all collected in grain and silk. This then is what the ancients discussed with regard to what should be taken from the people and, moreover, since money was difficult to obtain, for the people to seek money deflected their attention away from what was basic. How much more is this so in the matter of silver!" (SWC 1, p17)

Ku goes on to recommend that the tax levied from various regions should be in the commodity or substance appropriate to that region and, if this is not feasible, then in cash. In addition he was specifically opposed to excesses in taxation especially where these involved manipulation of tax levies for personal gain by officials. Nevertheless, in such instances he did not hold the officials to be intrinsically at fault but saw them rather as themselves victims of the system. At different periods of history officials were no more or less venal, merely likely to succumb to the human tendency to avail themselves of whatever advantage a particular system might offer.

The three-part essay on government students (*sheng-yüan*) is a trenchant criticism of this category of student, both as regards concept and means of selection. As a consequence of the

establishment of such a category there was, in Ku's opinion, an extraordinary proliferation of officials lacking a secure educational foundation, men, moreover, who were primarily concerned with furthering their own and their family's interests without due consideration to the state and who were not averse to adopting illicit means to achieve their objectives. Much of the first part is devoted to possible alternatives whilst the second provides an extended consideration of the evils attendant upon the use of this system, in particular faction or clique formation. Ku again strongly advocates the discarding of the category of sheng-yüan and stresses also (a point much re-iterated) how vital it is, in his view, that all examinations be devoted to the true concepts of the original classics and dynastic histories rather than analyses prepared purely for examination purposes. The third and final part of the essay provides a detailed discussion of possible methods of selection with some concluding remarks as to the benefits which might accrue from the application of the appropriate methods.

The "Preface to the *I Li chang-chu chü-tou*" is included for two reasons. A preface to his contemporary, Chang Erh-chi's notes on the *I Li* it affords Ku an opportunity first to re-state his view of the importance of this work and the desirability of its inclusion in the official curriculum and, second, it provides another occasion for criticism of the more abstruse developments of Neo-Confucianism. In passing also he makes a statement on the value of the stone carvings of the classics as a means of checking for textual inaccuracies.

In contrast to his comments and criticisms of Neo-Confucianism the essay entitled "Letter Discussing Scholarship with a Friend" allows Ku to expound what he regards as the central pillars of true Confucianism which might sustain the edifice of ancient learning against the degradations of later and misguided interpreters.

"What is it (he asks) that I speak of as the way of the Sage? I say 'widely study in literature'; I say 'have shame in one's actions'. From the individual life right up to the empire and kingdom are all matters (concerns) of scholarship. From son, subject, younger brother and friend right up to going out and entering, coming and going, rejecting and accepting and taking and giving, all are matters in which there may be (a sense of) shame. Shame, in relation to man, is a very great matter." (SWC 3, p40)

In his letter discussing the *Changes* Ku stresses the fundamental importance of this work in the Confucian canon. It is not, for him, an obscure work of prognostic speculation but a basic statement of Confucian philosophy. He concludes this essay as follows:

"I, previously, in my encouraging of men to study the *Changes* suggested that this be preceded by a study of the *Odes* and the *History* and by attention to the *Li Chi* with the *Changes* being used to preserve what is central. This being so then subsequently there may be examination of its diagrams and contemplation of its judgements. Then there will not be vacuous action and the path of the Sage may be followed. I wonder if you would consider this to be so or not?" (SWC 3, p41)

The essay entitled "A Letter to Yen-ho Sheng" provides an additional brief, but firm, criticism of the examination system, in particular the use of the eight-legged essay and its utterly derivative nature. Turn instead, Ku exhorts, to a broad study of the original classics:

"Put aside matters arising out of the non-annotated sections of the Four Books and one by one make notes on the Five Classics, the works of the philosophers and the dynastic histories, in the way Li Shan made notes on the *Wen Hsüan*. This would be entirely suitable. Thus would it be possible to rectify the faults related to baseless fabrications associated with the examinations of the present day." (SWC 3, p58)

The "Letter to Shih Yü-shan" is included because it contains a clear statement of Ku's equation of li-hsüeh and ching-hsüeh, an important component of his philosophical position, and also because it provides a further statement of his opposition to Sung Neo-Confucianism. Thus he writes:

"Nevertheless I still consider the term li-hsüeh to be something that had its origins with the men of Sung. What the ancients called li-hsüeh was ching-hsüeh and could not be understood without several tens of years (of study). Thus it could be said that with regard to the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, the princely man can take a whole lifetime to understand it. What is called li-hsüeh nowadays is chan-hsüeh (Buddhism). The Five Classics are not taken, only the *Yü-lu* and these, in comparison with the writings of the t'ieh-kua, are particularly easy. It is also said that the *Lun Yü* (*Analects*) are the *Yü-lu* of the Sage. To do away with the discourses of the Sage and devote oneself to (the works of) later Confucians may be called not knowing the basics. Do you consider this to be so?" (SWC 3, p59)

The series of letters to friends (SWC 4, pp90-99) will not here be considered in detail but are included because they provide, in many instances, personal and somewhat pithy statements of a number of Ku's major theses; the importance of diligent application to learning

and the need to make one's studies broadly based, the importance of certain classical texts, here the *Changes*, *Odes* and the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, the need for literature to be created with a view to practical application, some ethical, didactic and social purpose, the need to be cognisant of the old in planning the new and, finally, the importance of the rectification of the mind and the use of self-criticism as a means of improving the customs of the people.

The next group of essays comprises four of Ku's more substantial early writings on matters of administrative importance. Indeed, as Peterson has written, "... it is apparent (from their content) that they were written prior to the fall of Nanking and may have been intended originally as bases for memorials to be presented to the Ming court."³⁰ In the first, on military matters, Ku contrasts primarily (and favourably) the system introduced by the first Han emperor with that introduced by his Ming counterpart (the wei-so system) and further contrasts the early and later developments of the latter. He is opposed to the separation of agricultural and military components and is also opposed to the subdivision of functions within the military itself. Much of the essay is devoted to specific consideration of further organisational developments during the Ming period, culminating in a final critical paragraph:

"If this arrangement (i.e. the full development of the wei-so system) is complied with then these ten million people usurp the name of soldier and waste the military provisions yet are unable to draw a bow or loosen arrows, so being of not the slightest use to the country. The kingdom thus completely puts these ten million men aside and their fields are not restored to them. Then, in terms of strength, how will deterioration be avoided and, in terms of military administration, how will weakness be eradicated? Also how may hostilities be seen and planned for and the merit of victory be achieved?" (SWC 6, p122)

The next essay falls within what might be termed the category of historical geography with the primary purpose of identifying places of strategic importance in military terms and exemplifying the nature of their importance. The recognition of each place is generally prefaced by a consideration of its role in earlier conflicts. The foundation of the essay may be summarised in the sentence:

"This is, in the conduct of military operations, to obtain first the geographically important positions." (SWC 6, p123)

The next essay, on agriculture, is a broad statement of the fundamental importance of this activity and the need therefore to devise a suitable scheme for its effective function. In particular, consideration is given to the linking of agricultural and military matters, especially in the border regions, where an appropriate arrangement, establishing a resident military force and the means to provide for them, is seen as essential. The final essay in this group begins with an historical consideration of different monetary systems as a basis for vigorous criticism of the then current system. In Ku's opinion there should be more equitable and rational collection of taxes and more appropriate re-distribution of the wealth acquired by taxation. He writes:

"For money to pass from above down and from below up circulating freely without obstruction is the desired method of monetary organisation."

and further

"Nowadays the money which is below does not go above and this is the reason why counterfeit money daily circulates and the money officially designated for circulation is obstructed (i.e. prevented from circulating - see Peterson's comments on the non-acceptance of coins as taxation³¹)." (SWC 6, p126)

In general Ku is very critical of the current dynasty's usage of money.

The final essay, the "Preface to the *T'ien-hsia chün-kuo li-ping shu*" is intended as a short statement of Ku's own approach to study and its application influenced, as it was, by his series of examination failures.

".... and returned home to study (my) books. I gave thought to the many calamities within the empire and felt shame at the fewness of the means at the disposal of scholars (to serve the kingdom). Thereupon I read, in order, the twenty-one dynastic histories as well as the gazetteers of the empire. (I read also) the collected writings and memorials to the throne of the famous men of the whole era and such writings, noting down what I learned therefrom." (SWC 6, p131)

IV TRANSLATIONS

1. Section 1 (ch 1-7): The Classics

1/1/1 (p1)

The Three Changes¹

Did the Sage not say that Pao Hsi Shih was the first to draw the eight diagrams but that he did not compose the *Changes*?² He said: "Did the *Changes* not arise in middle antiquity?"³ Further, he said: "Did it not arise during the declining years of Yin and the rising virtue of Chou, during the troubles between King Wen and Chou?"⁴ This indicates that it was the words King Wen wrote that were first given the name *Changes*.⁵ Moreover the Chou official, the 'Grand Diviner', had charge of the rules for the *Three Changes*,⁶ the first was called *Lien-shan*, the second *Kuei-ts'ang* and the third *Chou I*.⁷ The *Lien-shan* and the *Kuei-ts'ang* were not (truly part of) the *Changes*, yet they are spoken of as the *Three Changes*. Men of later times, to accord with the name of the *Changes* itself, named these (other works) the *Changes*. It is like Mo Tzu's writings where he refers to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* of Chou, Yen, Sung and Ch'i.⁸ It is not that the histories of these states are all *Spring and Autumn Annals* yet they are named so to accord with the name of the Lu history.⁹

In the *Tso Chuan*, for the 15th year of Duke Hsi (644BC), (it is written): "A battle was fought in Han. The diviner, Tu Fu, made a divination by plant stalks¹⁰ and foretold good fortune. The diagram you will find is ku¹¹ of which it is said that the thousand chariots are thrice put to flight. What then remains you seize; the brave fox."¹² For the 16th year of Duke Ch'eng (574BC), (it is written): "A battle was fought at Yen-ling.¹³ The duke consulted the milfoil and the diviner said that good fortune was prognosticated, the diagram found being fu¹⁴ which indicates that the southern state¹⁵ is reduced to extremity; its great king is shot and is hit in the eye."¹⁶

These are both examples where the *Chou I* was not utilised but words are quoted from other sources. This is what is referred to as the method of the *Three Changes*. Moreover the *Tso Chuan* does not speak of the *Chou I*.

1/1/3 (p2)

Chu Hsi's *Chou I Pen-I*¹

With reference to the *Chou I* and Fu Hsi's drawing of the trigrams² the *T'uan Tzu* (*Definitions*) written by King Wen³, and the *Yao Tzu* (*Explanation of the Lines*), written by the Duke of Chou⁴ were spoken of as ching (classics). These classics were divided into two parts.

The ten wings, written by Confucius, were spoken of as chuan (commentaries).⁵ These chuan were divided into ten sections as follows; the *T'uan chuan* (parts 1 & 2), the *Hsiang chuan* (parts 1 & 2), the *Hsi-tz'u* (parts 1 & 2), the *Wen-yen*, the *Shuo-kua chuan*, the *Hsu-kua chuan* and the *Tsa-kua chuan*. From Han times onward the situation was confused by Fei Chih,⁶ Cheng Hsüan⁷ and Wang Pi⁸ who took the words of Confucius and piecemeal appended them to the trigrams and lines. Ch'eng Cheng-shu (Ch'eng I), in his *I-chuan*, followed this (arrangement).⁹ It was not until Chu Hsi's *Chou I pen-i*¹⁰ that there was first reliance on the ancient writing. Thus, under his heading of *Chou I shang-ching*, he said: "Within the *Changes* there is, to some extent, that which was confused by these scholars (ie those listed above). In the present time, Ch'ao Shih¹¹ was the first to correct these errors yet was not able completely to reconcile this with the ancient text. Lü Shih¹² also made changes and arranged it into the two chüan of the classic and the ten chüan of chuan (commentaries) and had returned to the old words of Confucius."¹³

At the beginning of the Hung-wu reign period (AD 1368-1399) there was the promulgation of the Five Classics among the scholars of the empire. In the case of the *Chou I* there was the combined use of (the writings of) Ch'eng and Chu. These two gentlemen each wrote a work on the *Changes*. During the Yung-lo reign period (AD1403-1425), in the compilation of the *Ta ch'üan*, the various chüan of Chu Hsi's work were divided up and appended to (the appropriate sections) of Ch'eng's commentary.¹⁴ In this way the ancient writings, established by Chu Hsi, were returned to confusion. "The *T'uan* were King Wen's words of explanation.¹⁵ The chuan were what Confucius used to explicate the classic. Subsequently whoever spoke of the chuan followed this."¹⁶ This was an elucidation which followed the *T'uan, shang-chuan*. Nowadays the three characters, *t'uan shang-chuan*, have been deleted and the statement included following "Vast is the great and originating power indicated by chien."¹⁷ The *Treatise on the Symbolism (of the I)*¹⁸ with reference to the two symbols of the diagram, upper and lower, and the six lines of the two images was an explanation for which the Duke of Chou was responsible.¹⁹ This was an explanation following the *Hsiang, shang-chuan* section. Nowadays the three characters, *hsiang shang-chuan*, are deleted and the statement appended to follow "Heaven in its motion (gives the idea) of strength."²⁰ This section casts light on the meaning of the *Treatise on the T'uan* and the *Treatise on the Symbols* as a means of making clear the profundity of the two diagrams, chien and k'un,²¹ while the explanation of the remaining diagrams may be inferred from this. This was the interpretation following the *Wen-yen* section²² but now the two characters wen yen have been omitted and the statement added to follow "What is called (under chien) the great and originating is (in man) the first and chief quality of goodness."²³ This '*T'uan* says', '*Hsiang* says' and '*Wen-yen* says' were all not in Chu Hsi's original work. These were added on the basis of the Ch'eng commentary. Later scholars

who disliked the Ch'eng commentary were numerous, casting it aside without perusal and using only the *Pen-i*. Moreover the *Ta ch'üan* edition was promulgated by the court,²⁴ people not daring to make frequent alterations. Subsequently, with respect to the National University edition of the commentaries and explanations, there was the excision of Ch'eng's commentary although his sequence was used as Chu Hsi's sequence.²⁵ This arrangement was handed down for nigh on two hundred years. It is indeed unfortunate that Chu Hsi's writings, establishing and correcting (the *Changes*), were ultimately not able to be seen in the world. How can this be construed as other than a misfortune with respect to this classic?

Chu Hsi, in his *Chi Sung-shan Ch'ao Shih kua yao t'uan hsiang shou*, says that the ancient classic was first changed by Fei Shih and finally brought to a state of great confusion by Wang Pi.²⁶ This relies on what K'ung Shih, in his *Cheng-i*, said: "That which the Sage wrote as an explanation of the images originally followed *The Explanation of the Six Line Classic* and that was a consequence of his modesty as he did not wish to disturb the words of former sages on the correction of the classic. Wang Fu-ssu's meaning was that he considered that the images clarified the text of the classic so it was appropriate to bring them into close proximity that the meaning might be more easily understood. Therefore, he divided up the *Explanation of the Images* and added each subdivision to follow the appropriate line. This was like Tu Yüan-k'ai, in his first notes on the *Tso Chuan*, dividing the classic into years and appending the commentary to each year. Thus, to say that the combining of a classic with its commentary first began with (Wang) Fu-ssu is to fail to recognise that its true origin lay with K'ang-ch'eng.

(In the *Wei Chih*, Kao-kuei Hsiang-kung²⁷ made an imperial progress to the National Academy where he questioned the scholar of wide learning (erudite), Ch'un-yü Chün saying: "Confucius prepared the *T'uan* and *Hsiang* while Cheng Hsüan wrote the annotations. (Although the latter was not the equal of the Sage in worthiness), nevertheless his explanations of the classic have the same purpose. Nowadays the *T'uan* and *Hsiang* are not connected with the text of the classic so why are the annotations connected?" Chün replied, "Cheng Hsüan's combining the *T'uan* and *Hsiang* with the classic was motivated by the wish to give scholars, in their investigation and examination (of the classic), ease of understanding." The emperor then said: "If he joined them to (the classic) to make it truly convenient then why did Confucius not join it to give scholars like ease of understanding?" To this Chün replied: "Confucius feared he might be confused with King Wen and for this reason did not join (his writings) to the text of the classic. His not doing so is a manifestation of his humility." The emperor said: "If the Sage, in not joining (his commentary to the text) showed his humility is it not the case then that Cheng Hsüan alone is not humble?" Chün responded: "The ancient meaning was vast and deep

and the Sage's concepts mysterious and far-reaching. It is not something I can clearly comprehend."²⁸ So K'ang-ch'eng's writings saw the first linking (of text and commentary) and this did not begin with (Wang) Fu-ssu.

In the *Ju-lin chuan* of the *Han Shu* it states that Fei Chih studied the *Changes* without notes, using only the *T'uan*, *Hsiang*, *Hsi-tzu* and *Wen-yen* to explain the two parts of the classic.²⁹ From this it may be concluded that the addition of the chuan (ten wings) to the text of the classic did not have its origin with K'ang-ch'eng. Chu Hsi, in his *Chi Ch'ao Shih shuo*, said: "When confusion was first brought to the ancient regulation this was like what presently pertains to the chien diagram."³⁰ From kun onward all complied with this and people of later times also dispersed it to follow each writing, preserving only the one diagram, chien, in which to see the pattern of the inter-relationship of text and commentary in its original form. I have concluded from this view that, in the present arrangement of the chien diagram, t'uan yüeh and hsiang yüeh constitutes one section and I doubt that this was something which Fei Chih added to the original text. In the kun diagram the hsiao-hsiang is split up and added to follow each line with hsiang yüeh occurring eight times while with the remaining diagrams hsiang yüeh occurs seven times. This is something for which Cheng Hsüan was responsible and is the edition which Kao-kuai Hsiang-kung saw.³¹

Although Ch'eng, in his commentary, used Fu-ssu's edition he also acknowledged that this was not the ancient *Changes*. (For the diagram) hsien, nine in the third place, the *Hsiang* says: "He moves his thighs - he still does not want to rest in his place."³² In the commentary it is said, speaking of this *i* (𠄎), that *Hsiang Tzu* was originally not juxtaposed with the text of the *I Ching* but was found in another place and, as a consequence, the meaning of the *Hsiang Tzu* for the various lines was in continuity. This use of *i* (𠄎) followed the explanation of the previous line.

Ch'in, through the burning of the books,³³ lost the Five Classics while our own dynasty, through the selection of scholars, also lost the Five Classics. Nowadays, those scholars who are engaged in preparation for the official examinations are all thoroughly conversant with the words of the examination essays but are unable to comprehend the essential meaning. With respect to the *I* and the *Ch'un-ch'iu* this reaches particular levels of absurdity. Through the *T'uan chuan* being joined with the *Ta hsiang*, the *Ta hsiang* with the *Yao* and the *Yao* with the *Hsiao hsiang* the second line is certainly the minister and the fifth line certainly the prince; the yin diagrams certainly speak of the petty man and the yang diagrams certainly speak of the princely man. As a consequence this one classic became a work that could not be understood (ie like gathering

up spilt water) and so the *I* was lost.

(With respect to the *Ch'un-ch'iu*) one or two sentences were taken from Hu Shih's commentary³⁴ as being important and these were related to similar events recounted in the classic and made a topic.³⁵ (In this way) the commentary was the 'host' (major part) and the classic the 'guest' (minor part). Thus there was the use of 'that classic' to confirm the topic of 'this classic' and also the use of 'that classic' to conceal the topic of 'this classic'. Thereupon this classic became a work for use in she-fu (literary and wine games)³⁶ and so the *Ch'un-ch'iu* was lost. Recovering the writings of Ch'eng and Chu was the means whereby the *I* was preserved. Likewise the completion of the writings of Tan, Chao³⁷ and others was the means whereby the *Ch'un-ch'iu* was preserved. Certainly, however, these developments had to await the later rise of men of cultivation.

1/1/4 (p4) Beyond the Diagrams and Lines there are no Other Images

The sages established the diagrams, looked at the images and appended an explanation; men such as King Wen and the Duke of Chou did this. Confucius prepared a commentary within which there were no additional images.¹ In what he spoke of as the basic images of the diagrams outside such as heaven, earth, sun, wind, water, fire, mountain and marsh² only "there is something between the corners of the mouth" is based on the name of the diagram.³ "The image has the form of a flying bird" is based on the name of the diagram.⁴ Yet the Master never added or established one additional image. Men such as Hsün Shuang and Yü Fan, by force and unnatural argument, created images outside (the existing) images.⁵ Thus from "things that accord in tone vibrate together" came 'chen' and 'sun'; from "things that have affinity in their inmost natures seek one another" came 'ken' and 'tui'; from "water flows to what is wet, fire turns to what is dry" came 'k'an' and 'li'. From "clouds follow the dragon" it was then said chien was the dragon and from "wind follows the tide" it was then said 'k'an' was the tiger.⁶ Within the ten wings there was no statement about not seeking the image and the main purpose of the *I* (*Ching*) was lost. How can it be known that the sages, in establishing their words and taking examples (i.e. those originators), and also the writers who followed them had an idea of style yet did not display great care with the images?

Wang Pi's commentary, although it related to what was abstruse and empty, nevertheless had already cleared away obstruction in the path of studies of the *I* and opened up a great road.⁷ Yet if it were not for Ch'eng Tzu how could the great meaning have been made clear?⁸ The

'mutual embodiment' ('common substance') and 'changes of diagrams'⁹, the *Odes* rhyme schemes and the arrangement of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* into months and days are what theories on the classics have become confused about with much fragmentation due to vulgar confusions. The *Wen-chung tzu* states: "The 'Nine Teachers' arose and the way of the *Changes* declined; the commentaries were made and the *Ch'un-ch'iu* was lost."¹⁰

1/1/41 (p15)

What is Below Form is Called Instrument.¹

What is above form is called 'tao' (the way), what is below form is called 'chi'(instrument).² If there were no 'chi' there would be nothing in which 'tao' might lodge. The explanation lies in Confucius' study of the lute under the tutelage of Master Hsiang.³ If one practises its art then, subsequently, one may reach its purpose. If one studies its purpose then, subsequently, one may attain to being a man.⁴ Thus, although Confucius was endowed by heaven⁵, he never ceased to seek the inherent nature of things. Therefore he himself said: "In studying what is below one may achieve an understanding of what is above."⁶

1/1/51 (p18)

Confucius' Discussion of the *Changes*.

Confucius' discussion of the *Changes* may be seen in two paragraphs of the *Lun-yü* and that is all. (In the first) he says: "If some years were added to my life I would give fifty to the study of the *Changes* and then I might come to be without great faults."¹ The second is as follows; "The Master said, 'The people of the south have a saying that a man without constancy cannot be either a wizard or a doctor. Good! Inconstant in his virtue he will be visited with disgrace.' The Master said, 'This is not just a matter of attending to the prognostications'.² This, then, constitutes the Sage's study of the *Changes*. It consists simply of ordinary words and ordinary actions,³ not of mysterious diagrams and representations.⁴ Men of today who give a far-fetched and improbable interpretation of the diagrams consider themselves able to do this yet they are overstepping the mark.

Those who recorded the Master's observations on the study of the *Changes* go on to say: "The Master's frequent themes of discourse were the *Odes*, the *History* and the maintenance of the rules of propriety. On all these he frequently discoursed."⁵ From this it can be realised that the Master ordinarily did not speak of the *Changes* but, in speaking of the *Odes*, the *History*, and the maintenance of the rules of propriety he was, in all cases, speaking of the *Changes*. Thus,

if men comply with the principles of the *Odes*, the *History* and the rules of propriety and do not go to excess they cannot fail to benefit from the good fortune which stems from heaven's grace. Therefore in his writing the *Great Treatise* the purport of 'remorse and regret' and 'no blame' is particularly instructive.⁶ Moreover, that which the *Hsiang* speaks of, ie whatever one has learned through one's own practice and put into action in administration, there is nothing which does not utilise the subject matter of the *Changes*.⁷ This being so the foundation of the commentary lies in the diagrams. Thus, "the gentleman's practice should be to look at the diagrams and examine the commentary."⁸ Those who look (at the diagrams) are shallow; those who examine (the commentary) are deep. Moreover, that in which he "...shares his misfortune with the people"⁹ should certainly be recorded in the commentary. Therefore it is said: "The Sage's feelings are recorded in the commentary."¹⁰

(Statements) like "Heaven is one, earth is two"¹¹ and "in the *Changes* there is the Great Ultimate"¹² are both sentences which discuss the origin of numbers. They also praise that in the *Changes* which it is not possible to neglect so that it is in no way the case that only through diagrams and numbers may men be taught. For this reason it is written "...coming out and entering is according to rule" and "Although one has neither teacher nor guardian draw near as if it were your parents."¹³ This is the *Changes* of King Wen, the Duke of Chou and Confucius. The diagrams of Hsi I and the writings of K'ang Chieh; this is the *Changes* of the Taoists.¹⁴ With the rise of the studies of these two, hollow and careless people, strange and eccentric scholars, all found the substance of their thoughts within the *Changes*. Thus the *Changes* became a tool of magic and divination - a far cry from the Sage's studies directed at 'making few one's faults' and 'examining the self'.¹⁵

(The Master said): "In the *Odes* there are three hundred pieces but the design of them all may be embraced in one sentence: Having no depraved thoughts."¹⁶ The *Changes* has sixty-four diagrams and three hundred and eighty-four lines but these, likewise, may be embraced in one sentence: "Inconstant in his virtue he will be visited with disgrace."¹⁷ This is what the Master had in mind when he said: "Could I see a man possessed of constancy."¹⁸ If there is constancy then subsequently it may be possible to be without great faults.

In ancient times the *Canon of Yao*² and the *Canon of Shun* were combined in one book.³ Therefore, after "on the first day of the first month Shun went to (the temple of) Wen Tsu"⁴ and

the reports of the 'Chief of the Four Mountains'⁵ there is necessarily the use of "Shun said" by which there may be differentiation from the 'emperor'⁶ of the preceding text. When it came to his command to Yü, he (Shun) was first styled emperor.⁷ The words of the dialogues certainly make this clear so there can be no doubt.

1/2/5 (p24)

**Actively to Exchange what is Possessed for what is
not Possessed and to Dispose of Accumulated Stores.¹**

(In the phrase) "actively to exchange what is possessed for what is not possessed and to dispose of accumulated stores" the character hua (化) meaning exchange or dispose of is the same as the character huo (貨) meaning goods.² To transport and not to store things may be spoken of as hua or exchange. To retain and not to distribute things may be spoken of as huo or goods. At the time of T'ang and Yü³ only the word exchange or hua was used. When it came to the Yin⁴, men first used the term goods, or hua. In the *Chung Hui* there are the words "He did not seek to accumulate goods and profit."⁵ The *Three Fashions* warns against being greedy for goods and beauty.⁶ In the *Announcement of P'an Keng* it is said: "Do not employ those who love goods."⁷ Thereupon the character hua (化) underwent a change to become the hua of hua sheng (化 生) and hua ch'eng (化 成).⁸ Moreover, those rulers who levy heavy tax imposts and give primacy to the accumulation of goods particularly do not exchange things.

1/2/12 (p31)

The Chief of the West's Conquest of Li¹

The one who wants to annex the empire through Kuan-chung must certainly first secure Hotung² Ch'in seized the three Chin and subsequently destroyed Yen and Ch'i.³ Fu Shih took Chin-yang and subsequently destroyed Yen.⁴ Yü-wen Shih took Chin-yang and subsequently destroyed Ch'i.⁵ Thus the people of Yin feared when the Chief of the West conquered Li.⁶

1/2/14 (p31)

The Reason for Yin Chou's¹ Downfall

From the time of the ancient kingdoms, when there has been a long period of peace, if the laws and statutes are neglected and treated lightly and if the orders of those above cannot be put into effect by those below, then destruction is unavoidable. It is common knowledge that

Chou, through not being benevolent, lost the empire. I would say this is not entirely so. Chou was a ruler who gave himself to wine and presumed upon his power, at times going so far as to commit atrocities on pregnant women and to hack off people's legs.² In these atrocities he may be compared to Wen Hsüan of Ch'i.³

The decline of Shang⁴ was a long time ago. In one change⁵ there came the writings of P'an Keng.⁶ Then nobles and high officials did not comply with the prince's commands. There was a further change to the writings of Wei Tzu.⁷ Then the common people were not in awe of the nation's laws. When it came to "...the pilfering of the sacrificial victims intended for the spirits of heaven and earth this conduct was permitted, so they could proceed to eat the victims without retribution."⁸ Thus it may be said that the people made light of their ruler and strict laws were not established. If, when guarded by a mediocre ruler, it still cannot be preserved then how much less so by Chou, given as he was to weakness, drunkenness, debauchery and oppression which, despite Tsu I's⁹ hastening to report, still could not be constrained. Wen Hsüan's evil was not necessarily less than that of Chou, yet Ch'i grew strong thereby. Kao Wei's¹⁰ malfeasance was not necessarily greater than that of Wen Hsüan yet it was instrumental in Ch'i's destruction since, when Wen Hsüan received Shen Wu's¹¹ inheritance, laws and statutes were forcibly established and also, he had men of the ilk of Yang Yin¹² to assist him. Thus, although the ruler was foolish, yet beneath him government was pure. When it came to Kao Wei the nation's laws were destroyed so that Yü-wen¹³ could seize the kingdom. Consequently, when discussing Chou's demise and the rise of Wu, to speak of it as someone of extreme benevolence attacking someone with an extreme lack thereof is to take too narrow a view. This does not go to the root of the matter.

1/2/29 (p37) **I Hope that you are Cautious when Considering the Offerings of the Feudal Lords¹**

(When) the emperor sits in the ming-t'ang² and faces the 'nine pastors'³ not only must he enquire into the feelings of the people, whether they support or oppose (him), but also it is appropriate that he know of the loyalty or treachery of the four kingdoms. Thus the 'excellent grain' has the same ears of grain⁴ and praises the displayed customs of the hou-fu.⁵ When they sent their hounds⁶ as a tribute this was a warning to the wise king to be cautious about his virtue. This is what is referred to as "cautiously remembering the offerings of the hundred princes". Formerly T'ang Ming Huang⁷, in his administration, received Minister Chang's 'mirror of a thousand autumns' and Mr Yüan's song of Yü-wei⁸ and he was also able to consider straight

talking (outspoken advice) to be a precious treasure and benevolence and worthiness to be also very valuable. When however the mind of the emperor underwent a change then flattery and sycophancy daily became more valued. There was the opening of the Kuang-yün pool⁹ and the receiving of goods from Chiang-nan. There were the copper implements from Kuang-ling, silk dresses and beautiful brocade from Ching-k'ou and ivory masts. Extending for several li there were finely dressed and ornamented women and several hundred followers. It was not long after, that the Chi-men rebellion¹¹ arose. It was then that Wei Chien and Wang Hung, with their followers¹², exploited the people to make offerings to the prince. In all these cases they "did not exert their will in the presentation of offerings."¹³ In the *Changes* it is written: "The prince may make offerings to the Son of Heaven; the petty man cannot do this."¹⁴ As in the case of Ming Huang how is it not so that "in offerings there are many observances" and the people say "we need not (be troubled about) the offerings."¹⁵

1/2/39 (p43)

The *Ku-wen Shang-shu*

The *Shang-shu* of Han times had two versions, the New Text and the Old Text, the latter having also itself two versions. In the *Han Shu, I-wen chih*, it states: "The *Shang-shu, Ku-wen ching* had forty-six chüan (rolls and chapters), in fifty-seven sections." Shih-ku said that K'ung An-kuo, in his preface to the *History*, stated: "Altogether there are fifty-nine sections making up forty-six chüan. I received an order to prepare a commentary with a preface at the head of each section defining fifty-eight sections."¹ Cheng Hsüan, in his *Hsü-tsan*, wrote: "Subsequently one section was lost therefore there were fifty-seven."² It is also written in the *Han Shu*: "The classic as recognised by the greater and lesser Hsia Hou had twenty-nine chüan and by Ou-yang, thirty-two chüan."³ Shih-ku said: "This work in twenty-nine chüan was what Fu Sheng handed down."⁴ Thus the New Text and Old Text versions were two (distinct) works. (In the *Han Shu*) it is also said: "The *Ku-wen* (Old Text) *Shang-shu* came from the walls of Confucius' house. At the end of Wu Ti's reign, King Kung of Lu was about to destroy Confucius' house wishing to enlarge his own palace. He came across the *Ku-wen Shang-shu*, as well as the *Li Chi*, *Lun Yü* and *Hsiao Ching*, several tens of sections in toto, all in the ancient script. When King Kung entered the house he heard the sounds of the drum, the lute, the bell and the musical stone, whereupon he was afraid, so he stopped and did not destroy (the house). K'ung An-kuo was a descendant of Confucius and he acquired all his books. He verified the existence of the twenty-nine sections and obtained a further sixteen sections. An-kuo presented them but, because of the courts involvement with (magic and sorcery)⁵, they were not classified by the educational officials. Liu Hsiang used the Old Text (version) in the imperial library as a comparison with the text of the

three scholars, the greater and lesser Hsia Hou and Ou-yang. He found the *Announcement about Drunkenness* to be lacking one tablet and the *Announcement of Shao* to be lacking two tablets. If the tablet had twenty-five characters then there were twenty-five characters lacking and if it had twenty-two characters then there were twenty-two characters lacking. There were also more than seven hundred places where there were different characters and several tens of places where (individual) characters were lacking.⁶

In the *Ju-lin chuan* (of the *Han Shu*) it is stated: "The K'ung family had the *Ku-wen Shang-shu* and K'ung An-kuo studied it by means of the New Text version. As a result of the *I-shu* (lost books)⁷ which came out of the walls of his house he obtained ten or so sections, thus increasing the *Shang-shu* still further. Because of his involvement with witchcraft and sorcery they were never classified by the educational officials. An-kuo held the position of Grand Master of Remonstrance.⁸ He passed the work on to Tu-wei Chao who in turn passed it on to Mr Yung of Chiao-tung. Mr Yung passed it on to Hu Ch'ang of Ch'ing-ho, also known as Shao Tzu and also transmitted the *Tso Chuan*. Ch'ang passed it on to Hsü Ao of K'uo and also transmitted the *Mao Shih*. It was then transmitted to Wang Huang and T'u Yün of P'ing-lin, who was styled Tzu-chen. The latter then handed it on to Shang Ch'in of Ho-nan styled Chün-chang. At the time of Wang Mang all these scholars were established. Liu Hsin was Preceptor of State while Huang, Yün and the others were all held in high esteem."⁹

It is also stated (in the *Han Shu*): "What was transmitted as the *Pai-liang p'ien* came from Chang Pa of Tung-lai who, by dividing and combining the twenty-nine sections, created several tens of sections. He also gathered the *Tso Shih chuan* and *Shu-hsü* from the beginning and the end, there to be, in all, one hundred and two sections. Some of these sections were on several strips of bamboo and in content were meagre and superficial. At the time of Ch'eng Ti (32-6BC), of those who sought the Old Text works, Pa considered he was able to verify his one hundred and two sections but when these were collated with the writings in the imperial storehouse it was clear that this was not so."¹⁰ This indicates that Mr K'ung's Old Text and the work of Chang Pa were two distinct entities.

The *Hou Han Shu, Ju-lin chuan* states: "K'ung Hsi was from the kingdom of Lu. From (K'ung) An-kuo onwards the *Ku-wen Shang-shu* was transmitted for several generations."¹¹ It is also stated: "Tu Lin of Fu-feng transmitted the *Ku-wen Shang-shu*. Chia K'uei, from the same prefecture, wrote his *Instructions* for it, Ma Jung his *Commentary* and Cheng Hsüan his *Notes and Explanations*. For this reason the *Ku-wen Shang-shu* became distinguished in the world."¹² Further it is stated: "In the Chien-ch'u reign period (AD76-83) there was a proclamation that

those of high talent receive the *Ku-wen Shang-shu*, the *Mao Shih*, *Ku-liang* and the *Tso Shih Ch'un-ch'iu* and that although such men were not established among the educational officials nevertheless all would be promoted as able scholars to be 'court gentlemen for lecturing' in close association with the emperor.¹³ This being so then that which K'ung Hsi received from (K'ung) An-kuo was finally not transmitted (handed down) so that Tu Lin, Ch'ia K'uei, Ma Jung and Cheng Hsüan did not see An-kuo's commentary but themselves wrote their *Instructions*, *Commentary* and *Notes and Explanations*. As a consequence that the scholarship of K'ung and Cheng may appropriately be seen as two (separate) lines may be deduced (but cannot be verified).

In the *Liu T'ao chuan* (of the *Hou Han Shu*) it is stated: "T'ao understood the *Shang-shu* and the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and made commentaries thereon. He held in esteem the *Shang-shu* of the three scholars (the greater and the lesser Hsiao Hou and Ou-yang) and the Old Text (version). He made over three hundred corrections to the text and called his work the *Chung-wen Shang-shu*."¹⁴ In the confusion at the end of the Han era it was not handed down. (Works) like Ma Jung's notes on the *Ku-wen Shang-shu* in ten chüan and Cheng Hsüan's notes on the same work in ten chüan may be seen (listed) in the *I-wen chih* of the *Chiu T'ang Shu*¹⁵. In the K'ai-yüan reign period (AD713-741) these works were still extant and had not yet been lost. According to Lu Shih's *Shih-wen*¹⁶ it is said that the twenty-nine sections on which Ma and Cheng made notes were merely the twenty-eight sections of Fu Sheng and the *Great Declaration* separately found among the people and joined with the other twenty-eight. The latter was not however the current (modern-day) *Great Declaration*. What were referred to earlier as the further sixteen sections obtained were not included in this total.

In the *Ching-chi chih* of the *Sui Shu* it is stated that what Ma Jung and Cheng Hsüan handed down consisted of twenty-nine sections and there was some admixture with the New Text; it was not Confucius' old writings. The remainder was absolutely not discussed. In the Chin period, amongst what was preserved in the secret repository (palace storehouse), there was the classic writing of the *Ku-wen Shang-shu* which today has not been handed down. During the confusion of the Yung-chia reign period (AD307-312) the Ou-yang and greater and lesser Hsia Hou *Shang Shu* were all lost. During the Eastern Chin the Yü-chang administrator, Mei Che, first obtained An-kuo's commentary and presented it.¹⁷ He added a further twenty-five sections combining these with the twenty-eight sections of Fu Sheng and did away with the false *Great Declaration*. He also divided off the *Shun-tien*, the *I-chi*, *P'an-keng* (chung and hsia) and *K'ang Wang-chih kao*, making each a separate section. It is this which constitutes the present-day arrangement of the fifty-eight sections.¹⁸ As for the lost *Shun-tien*, taking Wang Su as the basis,

he made this continue on from (the words) 'shen hui'. In the 4th year of the Chien-wu reign period (AD497) of Ch'i Ming Ti, Yao Fang-hsing is said to have found, in a large boat, a text with the twenty-eight characters following the words; "examining into antiquity the Emperor Shun ...", and he presented them.¹⁹ The court discussed the matter and all considered it to be wrong. By the time of the Chiang-ling lawlessness the writings had entered the central plain and scholars were surprised at them. Liu Hsüan subsequently put in order the various sections.²⁰

This being so then the present day *Shang-shu* has both Old Text and New Text components. Thirty-three sections were originally a mixture of the writings of Fu Sheng and (K'ung) An-kuo. Twenty-five sections came from Mei Che, while, with respect to the *Shun-tien*, the twenty-eight characters that came from Yao Fang-hsing were joined to it to make one book. Mencius said: "It would be better to be without the *History* than to give complete credence to it."²¹ These are words that in the present times it might be advantageous to consider.

I doubt that in ancient times there was the *Canon of Yao (Yao-tien)* without the *Canon of Shun (Shun-tien)* and that there were the books of Hsia and not the books of Yü or indeed that the *Canon of Yao* was (one of the) books of Hsia. Mencius quotes (the words) "after twenty-eight years the highly meritorious one (the emperor) died" and speaks of these as being from the *Canon of Yao* so then the preface's separating (the text) to make (the *Canon of Shun*) is wrong.²²

The *Tso Chuan*, in the 8th year of Duke Chuang, quotes "Kao Yao vigorously sowed abroad his virtue"; in the 24th year of Duke Hsi "the earth is reduced to order and the influences of Heaven operate with effect"; in the 27th year (of Duke Hsi) "they were appointed by their speech"; for the 7th year of Duke Wen "caution them with gentle words"; for the 5th year of Duke Hsiang "when one's good faith is established he can accomplish his undertakings"; for the 21st and 23rd years "think whether this thing can be laid on this man" (or when you think of anything be found yourself in that thing); for the 26th year "rather than put to death an innocent person you run the risk of irregularity"; for the 6th year of Duke Ai "where sincerity proceeds from, therein is the result" and for the 18th year "the officer of divination when the mind is made up on a subject".²³ In the *Kuo-yü* for Chou after "nei-shih kuo" there is the quote "If the multitude were without the sovereign whom should they serve? If the sovereign had not the multitude there would be none with whom to guard the country."²⁴ All of these quotes are from the *Hsia Shu* (in the *History*). Those who regarded them as Yü writings in later times were very numerous.²⁵ Why was this so? Those who recorded these sections certainly came from the historians and officials of Hsia and although they were transmitted from T'ang, their adornment

and composition certainly awaited men of later times. Thus, at the head of the section, there are the words saying: "examining into antiquity".²⁶ The use of the word antiquity makes it clear that this was not a contemporary record (not recorded at the time).

The world still had three sages and affairs were together in one house. If only through the officials of Hsia there was a retrospective recording of the affairs of the two emperors how can it not be said to be Hsia writings? If the affairs of the two emperors were retrospectively recorded by the Hsia officials then, in speaking of Yao, Shun may be seen. It is not like historians of later times establishing a separate record for each emperor and this later being a whole section.

"The emperor said: Come Yü, you must also have admirable words to bring before me." These words are a continuation of the statement of Kao Yao made at that time.²⁷ "The king came forth and stood in the space within the fourth gate of the palace" is a continuation from the "princes all went out from the temple gate and waited" and these are matters occurring at one time.²⁸ That the preface should divide them into two sections is absurd.

1/2/41 (p47)

Feng Hsi's False *Shang Shu*¹

Within the Five Classics² obtained from what was left after the Ch'in burning (of books)³ there must certainly be errors. For scholars unfortunate enough to have been born two thousand or more years later, to believe the ancients and put aside doubt was in fact their duty. The greatest fault of those who, at the present time, explain the classics is the love of what is different (heterodox). Because their theories are different from other men yet are not enough to inspire confidence they put aside the original commentaries on the classics and seek among the writings of the 'philosophers of the hundred schools'. As this is still not sufficient they put aside what is recent and look at what is most ancient. As this is also insufficient they cast aside Chinese writings and carry their search beyond the four seas. In this respect Feng Hsi's *Shang-shu cheng-pen* is particularly blameworthy. He said that Chi Tzu's Korean edition arose when Chi Tzu was enfeoffed in Korea and he transmitted the Old Text *Shang Shu* from the *Canons of the Emperors* to the *Viscount of Wei* and later appended the single section (entitled) *The Great Plan*.⁴ With reference to Hsü Shih's Japanese edition Hsü Shih was a Ch'in scholar who, because of Li Ssu's burying alive of the Confucian scholars, commissioned a sea expedition to seek the land of the immortals. He loaded up the ancient books in their entirety and reached an island in the sea where he established the kingdom of Wo which is, today, Japan.⁵ The

explanations of the *History* from the two kingdoms (i.e. Korea and Japan) had formerly been recorded and obtained by Feng Hsi's great grandfather, the Honan provincial administration commissioner, Feng Ch'ing⁶ and concealed in his house.

According to the Sung (scholar), Ou-yang Yung-shu's, *Jih-pen tao-ko* : "At the time of Hsü Fu's travels the books had not been burned and the *I-Shu*⁷ in one hundred books is nowadays still preserved."⁸ Thus, in former times, there was already such a theory yet Yeh Shao-yün⁹ definitely doubted this. Nevertheless, how can poets, relying on hsing¹⁰ words, gain a true understanding of such matters? The Japanese tribute to T'ang was of long standing. From T'ang to Sung, through successive generations, there were proclamations ordering a seeking of the books but they could not be obtained, yet after two thousand years Ch'ing was still able to obtain them. Furthermore, having obtained them he did not present them to the court but concealed them in his dwelling. How could this be so? When it comes to saying that Chi Tzu transmitted the Old Text version of the *History* from the *Canons of the Emperors* to the *Viscount of Wei* then it is impossible that there was not even one section of the *I-shu* (lost text) found therein; instead they were all identifiable with what Fu Sheng and K'ung An-kuo transmitted.¹¹ As for his saying that he (Chi Tzu) made a subsequent addition of the single book, *The Great Plan* then it was only because of the three quotations from the *Great Plan* which appear in the *Tso Chuan* which all indicate that it is a Shang work.¹² Moreover this is not to know that wang is a Chou appellation which is used on thirteen occasions in the Chou History but does not appear in Shang writings. In the *Tribute of Yü*, to take the surveying and description of the mountains and waters and place (move) this before the description of the 'Nine Provinces' is not to know that the ancients had the practice of placing the classic first and the excursus to follow.¹³ In the *Songs of the Five Sons* there are the words: "The ruler of men - how can he be but reverent." Because of a lack of rhyme there was a change in the text.¹⁴ This is based on the *Hung-tu shih-ching*.¹⁵ According to the *Cheng-i* it is said that Ts'ai Yung's *Shih-ching shang-shu* was only the thirty-four sections of the new text and did not include the *Songs of the Five Sons*.¹⁶ How is it that Hsi did not examine this matter and could so carelessly speak about it. Thus "I have heard that when the officers of the Son of Heaven are not properly arranged we may learn from the wild tribes all around."¹⁷

If, certainly, there are damaged sections and broken fragments of tablets which may benefit the classics and aid the way of the sages then this is undoubtedly what the princely man will seek, his only fear being that he will not obtain them. If, however, there is no benefit to the classics then it is only a matter of being different as a way of deluding the people, which, in terms of scholarship, may be spoken of as a heterodox principle and that is all. I sigh, therefore,

at the princely men of former times and their compliance with the classical writings although, with respect to the sequence of paragraphs and sentences, they still do not dare to make any changes. Thus Yüan Hsing-chung, in presenting Ming Huang's decree, made use of Wei Cheng's annotations to the works of li (lei-li) which he compiled as the *i-shu*. On completion of the work he presented it to the emperor and it is this which Chang Yüeh criticised saying: "The paragraphs and sentences were cut off differently from the old edition" so finally the text he introduced was not established in the official teachings.¹⁸ The *Li Chi* was a work recorded by the two Tais and not that which was edited by Confucius.¹⁹ Moreover in the ordering of the sequence of sections and contents, they (ie the two Tais) had no particular idea and that which Wei Cheng annotated was then also based on Sun Yen's work.²⁰

From this we can see that even the work of successive generations of famous Confucians, strengthened by imperial rescripts, was unable to alter the tradition preserved by scholars of the classics. The T'ang people, with respect to the transmission of the classics, were strict in this way. Thus Tan Chu, in relation to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, surpassed the 'san-chia', there being much that was original in his work. Nevertheless, historians still ridiculed him for not basing himself on men of former times and obstinately clinging to the methods of the logicians saying that the sophistry of later scholars took its guidance from Chu.²¹ Now people of the present time, in their readings of the classics crudely and rashly alter the ancient texts but are themselves far inferior to the ancients. Furthermore, not relying on former Confucian scholars as a basis, in an opinionated way they compose improper writings. Indeed, as if revising the commentaries and notes were not enough they go further and criticise the classics of the sages and as if changing the paragraphs and sentences were not enough they go further and modify the text (characters). This is what Lu Yu²² sighed over with regret in relation to the men of Sung. Nowadays, moreover, this is more completely so.

Hsü Fang had these words to say: "Nowadays (scholars), not relying on the sentences and paragraphs, presumptuously give rise to strained interpretations. They consider following the preceptor (teacher) to be contrary to reason. They make assumptions about what is right and just and they treat with disdain the doctrines of the sages and these things gradually become established custom."²³ Ah alas! This is what it is appropriate that scholars be warned about most deeply. Men of the ilk of Feng Hsi are not worthy of discussion.

Chang Pa, from Tung-lai in Han times, falsely created a *Shang Shu* in one hundred and two books which, if compared with the text in the imperial storehouse, is clearly not right. (Chang) Pa made the excuse that he received (the work from) his father. His father had a

disciple, one Fan Ping from Wei-shih, to whom an edict was proclaimed to preserve his book. Subsequently Fan Ping rebelled against the state and the book was abandoned.²⁴ Moreover, in the false *I-shu*²⁵, in the *Chia-ko* chapter, it states that the Duke of Chou offered the millet-liquor standing on the eastern steps. He delayed long in ascending the throne saying the words "a false king begins to exercise the duty of office". Wang Mang (subsequently) relied on this when he styled himself regent.²⁶ This is to know that to delude the world and deceive the masses is gradually to bring about opposition to the ruler and the creation of disorder. That the teachings of the *Great Learning* emphasise the prevention before it has happened is certainly a matter of the first importance.²⁷

1/3/1 (p49)

**In the *Odes* there is Distinction
between Verses with Musical Accompaniment and Verses without.**

In the *Ku Chung* verse there is the line: "They sing the *ya* and *nan*."¹ The Master said: "The *Odes* (*ya*) and the *hymns* (*sung*) each have their proper place."² The two *nan*,³ the *Seventh Month* from the *Odes* of Pin,⁴ the sixteen orthodox verses from the *hsiao ya* (*elegantiae*),⁵ the eighteen orthodox verses from the *ta ya* (*odes*),⁶ and the *sung* (*hymns*)⁷ are those verses set to music.⁸ The verses from the twelve kingdoms from Pei onward which were added to the two *nan* and called *feng*,⁹ the six verses added to the Pin *Odes* from *Chi Hsiao* on and also called Pin *Odes*,¹⁰ the fifty-eight verses from the *Sixth Month*¹¹ onward and added to the *hsiao ya* and the thirteen verses from *Min Lao*¹² on and added to the *ta ya*, which are referred to as *pien ya*,¹³ are verses within the *Odes* for which there is no musical accompaniment.

In the *Yüeh Chi*¹⁴ Tzu Hsia,¹⁵ replying to Marquis Wen of Wei,¹⁶ said: "In the Cheng music there is a fondness for excess and licentiousness, in the Sung music there is devotion to slothful indulgence and women, in the Wei music there is an urging to haste and disturbance while in the Ch'i music there is a tendency to pride and arrogance. In all four there is an excess of lewdness which is harmful to virtue. For this reason they should not be used in the sacrifices."¹⁷

Chu Hsi¹⁸ said: "The two *nan*¹⁹ are the orthodox *feng* and are songs of dwellings and villages. The two *ya* are the orthodox *ya* and are the songs of the court."²⁰ The *sung* (*hymns*) of Shang and Chou represent the music of the ancestral temples.²¹ When it comes to the *pien ya*²² these are the works of high officials during the Chou decline and are used to speak of the vicissitudes of government. From the Pei and Yung²³ onward the verses are those arranged by

the Music Master to look at the people's customs and are not of use in the feasts and offerings. Still, according to Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang's argument, the two *nan* refer to the south, and separately to establish them as the chief of the orthodox *feng* is wrong.

1/3/2 (p50)

The Four Verse Forms.

The Chou *nan* and the Chao *nan* are both *nan* and not *feng*.¹ The Pin (verses) were spoken of as *shih* and also as *ya* and *sung* but are not *feng*.² *Nan*³, *pin*⁴, *ya*⁵ and *sung*⁶ represent four verse forms to which the *feng*⁷ of various kingdoms were added. This is the basic order of the *Odes*.⁸

1/3/3 (p51)

Confucius' Editing of the *Odes*.¹

Confucius' editing of the *Odes* is the means whereby the *feng* (*airs*)² of the various kingdoms have been preserved. Whether of quality or otherwise he collected and preserved them just as of old the Music Master³ arranged the *Odes* in order to examine the people's customs and as Chi Cha⁴, by listening to them, knew of the rise and decline of kingdoms. As the good and bad ones were being kept and preserved so also were they arranged that they might be read and listened to. If the age had not been that of the two emperors⁵ and the time not remote antiquity then it would certainly not be the case that the *feng* were entirely pure, without licentiousness, nor entirely orderly, without elements of chaos.

King Wen⁶ exerted a cultivating influence on the Southern Kingdom⁷ but was not able to transform the sounds of slaughter in Northern Pi.⁸ If, then, the *Odes* were still to be preserved to enter the Master's compilation he would certainly have preserved the southern sounds to incorporate into King Wen's *feng*, and preserved the northern sounds to incorporate into the *feng* of Chou and not allowed them to merge. Therefore both the *Sang chung*⁹ and the *Chen wei*¹⁰ were not omitted by the Master although considered to be lewd verses. The *Shu yü t'ien*¹¹ is in praise of the words of Tuan¹² while the *Yang chih shui*¹³ and the *Chiao liao*¹⁴ follow the words of Wo.¹⁵ The Master did not exclude them, so displaying the basis of disorder. As for poems on elopement, he included them all without exception hence the importance of his recording of the *feng*. If the people of one state were for the most part lewd, yet amongst them there were those who would not change (ie held fast to rectitude) commonly he recorded them. In the *Chiang chung tzu* (there is) 'fearing the people's words'.¹⁶ In the *Nü yüeh chi ming* there

is an admonition to live a life of diligence.¹⁷ In the *Ch'u ch'i tung men*¹⁸ there is no admiration of sensuality while in the *Heng men*¹⁹ there is no desire of leaving home. In selecting these verses and comparing the music he has set aside that which is noisy and excessive. This is what the Master meant by compiling. Men of later times who adhered to Confucianism yet did not attain this excellence, nevertheless said that poems on elopement were not appropriate for inclusion in the Sage's classic. How is this different from T'ang T'ai Tzu, Hung saying that the murder of the prince (of Ch'u by his son, the crown prince elect) Shang-ch'en sovereign by high officials is not appropriate for inclusion in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*?²⁰

Chen Hsi-yüan, in his *Wen chang cheng tsung*²¹, by way of his selection of poems sweeps away at a stroke the vulgarity of the ancients and returns to orthodox goodness. Nevertheless, its fault lies in the use of li as a teaching and so it fails to attract the attention of poets. Moreover, like the *Nineteen Old Poems*²², although they are not the work of one man, the *feng* of the Han period are still in this body of work. Nowadays, if one studies these poems in the compilations of Hsi-yüan, there are the lines:

"Is it not better to drink good wine,
And to wear fine white silk?"²³

How does this differ from the *Shan yu ch'u* in the T'ang *Odes*?²⁴ Further the lines:

"My husband thought of our former joys,
He kindly came in his carriage and gave me the forestrap."²⁵

have the same significance as "The male pheasant flies away" from the *Hsiung chih* in the Pei *Odes*.²⁶ The idea of the herd boy and the weaving girl occurs in *The Great East*²⁷ whilst, with regard to the dodder and the ivy, the meaning is the same as in the *Carriage Axle Ends*.²⁸ In the *Nineteen Old Poems* there is not much variation in quality. If, certainly, with the principle of guarding against licentiousness and making strict censorship the mistake of Chao-ming²⁹ could be remedied, I fear we would lose the meaning of the *feng* of the kingdoms. The insubstantial nature of the Six Dynasties³⁰ should be discarded but if Hsü and Yü³¹ are not classed as men (ie become unknown) and the Ch'en and Sui are not recognised as dynasties would it not be too much? Is this not the error of holding fast to li (principle)?

1/3/5 (p53)

Pei, Yung and Wei.

Pei, Yung and Wei were originally the lands of three rulers.¹ Not long after the

enfeoffment of K'ang Shu² they were all combined as Wei. The collector of the *Odes* still preserved the old names and so speaks of Pei, Yung and Wei.³ Pei, Yung and Wei were general names so it was not appropriate to divide off a certain section as being Pei, a certain section as Yung and a certain section as Wei. The division into three such sections was an error perpetrated by Han scholars. It was because the bamboo strips recording the *Odes* were numerous that they were subdivided under these headings. This was not the Master's original intention.⁴

If one examines the *Tso Chuan* for the 29th year of Duke Hsiang and Chi Cha's consideration of the music of Lu (it is written): "There are the *odes* of Pei, Yung and Wei. Beautiful, indeed and how deep! They are sorrowful and yet not distressing. I hear that the virtue of K'ang Shu and Wu Kung was like this. These are the *odes* (*feng*) of Wei are they not?"⁵ Further, for the 31st year of Duke Hsiang, Pei Kuan Wen-tzu's words introducing the Wei odes were:

"My dignified manner is tempered by ease,
There is nothing exceptionable in it."⁶

This poem is now the first in the section headed Pei.⁷ Now, not to say Pei but to say Wei is to recognise that those who would use multiple words say Pei, Yung and Wei, while those who would use a single word say Wei. It is all the same thing. It is simply like saying Yin, Shang or Ching Ch'u.⁸ My view is that in the Western Chou period therefore, there were Pei and Yung verses but when it came to the death of King Yu⁹ and they were scattered, the Grand Music Master¹⁰ put them in order yet did not dare do away with the names. Thus, although the names were old the words, in this case, were new.¹¹

The demise of Pei and Yung was long past, therefore the Grand Music Master had only their names. Thus it was that the airs of the three kingdoms were the same and were all written by men of Wei. The destruction of Kuei was not long in the past so its odes were still preserved.¹² They were, therefore, differentiated from Cheng¹³ with each having its own odes. Moreover, did the *Fei feng* not come from the days when Western Chou was still in existence?¹⁴ Pei, Yung and Wei were three kingdoms and not three principalities. In Yin times the imperial domain was one thousand li but in Chou times was divided into three. Nowadays the distances apart are only one hundred li or so as is stated in the *Ti li chih*. To establish within one hundred li three principalities¹⁵ and to combine them with Wu-keng¹⁶ to be one principality are both wrong. Ch'en Fu-liang of the Sung period¹⁷ considered that the land south of Ching¹⁸ was overseen by Ts'ai Shu, that Kuan Shu oversaw Honan and Huo Shu, Hopei. Ts'ai was therefore

Ts'ai kingdom, Kuan then Kuan city and Huo what was called Huo T'ai shan.¹⁹ The territories of the *Songs* had been enlarged and therefore could not be regarded just as Yung and Wei.

1/3/16 (p57)

The Boars of One Year are for Themselves

"May it rain first on our public fields,
And then come to our private!"¹

This is to put first the public and make the private subsidiary.

"The boars of one year are for themselves;
Those of three years are for the prince."²

This is to make the private first and the public subsidiary. Since the time of the empire being the province of one family each treats its relatives as relatives and nurtures its sons. The people have that which is private and this is something which, human nature being what it is, cannot be avoided. Thus, it was not something which the former kings prohibited. Indeed, not only was it not prohibited but it was accepted and supported. In establishing the kingdom, in enfeoffing the nobles, in the conferring of lands and the granting of clan names³, in delineating the well-field system and demarcating the fields there is the joining of what is private in the empire for the completion of what is public. This is why it may be considered to be a kingly administration. When it comes to the instruction (admonition) to officials then it is said 'to exterminate the private through the public'. Nonetheless to give emolument sufficient to substitute that which might be obtained from the land and to give land sufficient to allow provision for sacrifices will permit them (i.e. the officials) to be free of the worry of not 'nourishing the mother' and free also of the reproaches of their families;⁴ this is why there should be support for the private. For a long time this principle has not been clear. The princely men of the times certainly say that there is the public and not the private. These are the fine words of later generations and not the extreme teaching of former kings.

1/4/1 (p68)

The *Spring and Autumn Annals* of Lu.¹

The Spring and Autumn period did not begin with Duke Yin.² When Han Hsüan-tzu of Chin³ made a ceremonial visit to Lu he examined the writings in the keeping of the 'grand

historiographer'.⁴ He looked at the diagrams of the *Changes* and at the *Spring and Autumn Annals* of Lu and said that "...the rites of Chou are entirely in Lu. Now, indeed, may I know the virtue of the Duke of Chou⁵ and the means whereby the (house of) Chou attained the kingship."⁶ So, certainly, it must arise from the time of Pao Ch'in's⁷ enfeoffment and continue to the middle period. Moreover, at the time of Chou's flourishing, audiences with the emperor, joint actions and military campaigns were matters that were all recorded in it. Therefore it is called the *Rites of Chou*⁸ while those who completed it were styled the fine historians of antiquity. From Duke Yin onward the way of the world declined, the Way itself was diminished and historians lost their offices whereupon Confucius, becoming fearful, rectified it. Prior to Duke Hui⁹ there was nothing to change in the writings so they were said to have been "narrated and not created."¹⁰ After Duke Yin, Confucius restored it according to his own intuition; this is what is meant by writing the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. This being so then the Spring and Autumn period prior to Duke Yin was certainly something that the Master skilfully followed. How unfortunate that these writings are not preserved!

1/4/2 (p70)

**Omissions and Doubts in the
Spring and Autumn Annals.**

The Master said; "Even in my time I have seen a scribe leave a blank in his text."¹ What the scribe omitted the Sage did not dare to add. Thus, in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, for the 17th year of Duke Huan, (it is written): "In winter, in the 10th month, on the first day of the moon the sun was eclipsed."² In the *Tso Chuan* (it is written): "The day of the cycle is not written (because) the officials had lost it."³ In the 15th year of Duke Hsi (it is written): "In summer, during the 5th month, there was an eclipse of the sun."⁴ In the *Tso Chuan* (it is written): "There was no writing of the 1st day of the month, or the day, because the officials had lost it."⁵ Given the Sage's intelligence and the fact that "one can calculate the soltices of a thousand years without stirring from one's seat"⁶ how is it difficult, if the calendar is examined, to determine how to repair these omissions? Nevertheless, the Master did not dare to do so. How much more so then would he not undertake to correct errors in historical writings? How much more, also, should the affairs of the various kingdoms which are learned of by hearsay not be recorded in historical writings?

The completion of the writings of the *Tso Chuan* was not the work of one man, nor was the record itself of one time, and although it may be said to be rich in content yet it is not necessarily the case that the Master saw it at that time.⁷ If there is that which is not recorded in the historical chronicles then even a sage might not know of it. Moreover, the *Spring and*

Autumn Annals is the history of Lu so given that the Sage had made visits to a number of states and would naturally have heard some of their affairs can we say for sure that he would then be able to incorporate the valuable records of the one hundred and twenty states into his own record?⁸ If such matters as the removal and burial of Duke Hui⁹ are not recorded then the old histories have deficiencies. That Ts'ao Tai-fu¹⁰, Sung Tai-fu¹¹, Ssu-ma and Ssu-ch'eng¹² are not named shows that there was also a deficiency in the old records. That the Earl of Cheng, K'un Wan¹³, Chün, Viscount of Ch'u¹⁴, and the Marquis of Ch'i, Yang¹⁵ were, in reality, murdered yet the writings state that they died is an example of hearsay not being superior to the memorandum tablets which, in these cases, follow the old historical writings.

Tso Shih, continuing on from the capture of the lin, collected an extensive array of material which, in reality, the Master did not see.¹⁶ Nevertheless, later scholars continued to say that there was already this writing which the Master relied on and revised. Accordingly, in Tso Shih's commentary on the classic, in that which does not tally there are many erroneous explanations. Further, in the discussions of scholars, they subsequently considered that which the Sage did not know should be avoided. Hence new theories became increasingly numerous and the rights and wrongs of a matter were not established. Therefore the words of present day scholars who study the *Spring and Autumn Annals* are so much empty moralising and trivial argumentation¹⁷ and this is something on which the Master could not adjudicate. Did the Sage not say: "Hear much and put aside what is dubious, speak cautiously about what remains."¹⁸ Why particularly did he tell Tzu Chang¹⁹ this? (It is because) the means of rectification are nothing more than this.

The *Spring and Autumn Annals* is rectified in accord with the Lu history; The *Tso Chuan* is written as a collection of the histories of all the kingdoms. Therefore that which is written of the affairs of Chin, from the time of Duke Wen's being President of Covenants²⁰ and the communications which criss-crossed within the Middle Kingdom, is recorded in the histories of the various states and all followed the first month of the Chou-cheng.²¹ Before Duke Hui²² the historical chronicles adopted the Hsia-cheng occasionally.²³ This did not emerge from the intelligence of one man. The statements (in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) that the funeral presents of Chung Tzu arrived prior to her death²⁴; that the death of King P'ing was announced on keng-hsü²⁵ and that the death of Pao, the Marquis of Ch'en was announced twice²⁶ are all matters of speculation (and therefore cannot be relied on).

The *Spring and Autumn Annals*, with reference to Ch'u and Wu, grudgingly sought not to refer to them by name. Ch'u is first seen in the classic in the 10th year of Duke Chuang where it is termed Ching (莒) and that is all.¹ For the 23rd year (of Chuang) in relation to its 'coming with friendly enquiries' the word people is added.² For the 28th year (Ch'u) is again called Ching without the addition of the term for people (jen).³ In the 1st year of Duke Hsi 'men of Ch'u' is written for the first time. For the 4th year, in relation to the covenant at Shao-ling, there is the first use of the term great officer and for the 21st year, in relation to the meeting at Yü, Viscount of Ch'u⁴ is written for the first time. The ruler of Ch'u who sent I-shen was not called a prince, instead the title of viscount was used.⁵ The one who fought the battle of Ch'eng-p'u was Tzu Yü; the one who relieved Wei was Tzu Yü; the one who made war on Ching-pu was Tzu Yü; the word commander is not used.⁶ The Sage's intention here is to cause it (Ch'u) not to attain too sudden an equality with China proper (the central kingdom).

Wu's first being seen in the classic occurs in the 7th year of Duke Cheng where there is written Wu and that is all.⁷ For the 5th year of Duke Hsiang, with reference to their coming to ask to be on good terms with the feudal lords, the word for men (people) is added.⁸ For the 10th and 14th years (of Duke Hsiang) and for the particular nature of these meetings there is not added the term for people. For the 25th year, with reference to his death in an attack on one of the gates of Ch'ao, there is the first mention of the Viscount of Wu.¹⁰ For the 29th year it is written (the Viscount of Wu) sent Cha (to Lu) on a friendly mission.¹¹ This is the first use of the term great officer. Thus, for the following; to wipe out Chou-lai, to wage war on Chang-an, to defeat Chi-fu, to destroy Ch'ao, to destroy Hsü, to attack Yüeh, to enter Ying, to defeat Tsui-li, to attack Ch'en, to meet at Cha, to meet at Tseng, to attack us, to attack Ch'i, to relieve Ch'en, to wage war on Ai-ling and to meet at T'o-kao, there is, in all cases, the word Wu without adding the term for men.¹² With respect to the meeting at Huang-ch'ih it is written: The Marquis of Chin and the Viscount of Wu thus differentiated these meetings.¹³ Through the whole writings of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* there is no use of the term for commander (i.e. in relation to these states) which has the effect, finally, of not according them equality with Chung-hsia. From this it may be known that where the *Ch'un-ch'iu* had no alternative but to write prince and great officer was with respect to the administrative interchange with the central kingdom. To speak of this in terms of the affairs of later times people such as Liu (Yüan) and Shih (Le)¹⁴ is to give a brief account and that is all. When it came to Wei, Ch'i and Chou these necessarily had to be acknowledged as kingdoms and arranged in the histories accordingly; Liao and Chin were likewise. This is the way in which the Master made record of Ch'u and Wu. Nevertheless, in

the completed work, there is contained his intention of demeaning them (i.e. Ch'u and Wu). From this act, the Sage's way of thinking may be seen (i.e. the Sage's mind was at no time not concerned with the central kingdom).

1/4/52 (p95)

The Walling of Cheng-chou¹

For the 32nd year of Duke Chao (510BC) the *Tso Chuan* (records as follows): "In the 11th month, during winter, Wei Shu² and Han Pu-hsin³ of Chin went to the capital and there assembled the great officers in Ti-ch'üan.⁴ They renewed the covenant and gave orders for the walling of Ch'eng-chou. Viscount Wei faced south causing Wei Piao Hsi⁵ to remark that he would certainly meet with great misfortune. To seek such a position, and to give orders on such a great matter was not appropriate for someone in his position. In the *Odes* it is written:

"Revere the anger of heaven,
And presume not to be mocking and self-complacent.
Revere the changing moods of heaven,
And presume not to be gadding about."⁶

How much less should one seek such a position and assume responsibility for such great undertakings.⁷

For the 1st year of Duke Ting (509BC) the *Tso Chuan* (records as follows): "In the king's 1st month, during spring, on hsin-ssu, Wei Shu of Chin gathered the great officers of the states in Ti-ch'üan with a view to the walling of Ch'eng-chou. Viscount Wei took upon himself the duties of office causing Piao Hsi of Wei to observe that it was not appropriate for him to take a position not rightfully his when they were proceeding to strengthen the residence of the 'Son of Heaven'. To offend against righteousness in such a major matter is sure to be followed by great misfortune. If Chin does not lose the feudal lords Viscount Wei himself will meet an early death."⁸ This is one matter which the *Tso Chuan* records in two places and fails to collate.

The 1st month of Chou was equivalent to the 11th month of Chin. The continuation of the text is as follows: "On ssu-ch'ou, Shih Mi-mou⁹ surveyed Ch'eng-chou, calculating the height and thickness of the wall, measuring the depths of the moats and ditches, determining the situation of the ground, estimating the distance of the parts (from one another), reckoning the time for the work and the number of workmen required, making allowance for the materials and

writing down what provisions were required in order to assign the feudal lords the appropriate services.¹⁰ Subsequently it is recorded that on keng-yin (511BC) the building was erected (but that) Chung Chi of Sung declined to do his part of the work.¹¹ Keng-yin was the day following ssu-ch'ou yet the *Tso Chuan* separates them into two years. How is it that there can be a delay of two months in the commencement of the building and Chung Chi of Sung still decline his part of the work? Moreover, the construction should not have exceeded thirty days for its completions.

1/4/56 (p97)

The Way of Heaven is Distant.

In the Spring and Autumn period Pi Tsao¹ of Cheng and Tzu Shen² of Lu were particularly skilled in astronomy. In the 18th year of Duke Chao, during summer, in the 5th month the calamity of fire occurred in (the capitals of) Sung, Wei, Ch'en and Cheng.³ Pi Tsao said: "If you do not heed my words Cheng will again suffer fire."⁴ Tzu Ch'an did not follow this but there was no return of the fire.⁵ During summer, in the 5th month of the 24th year (of Duke Chao), on i-wei, the first day of the moon, there was an eclipse of the sun.⁶ Tzu Shen said there would be floods. Shu-sun Chao-tzu said there would be drought.⁷ During autumn, in the 8th month, there was a great sacrifice for rain⁸ indicating that, although the two men were well-versed (in their art) there were times when they failed (in their predictions).⁹ Therefore Chang Heng, in his *Ssu-hsüan fu* wrote: "Shen and Tsao sought to display heaven with their words yet in predicting water and fire they made false announcements."¹⁰

1/4/58 (p98) *The Spring and Autumn Annals Speaks of the Study of Heaven.*

When the theories of astronomy and of the five elements¹ are increasingly vague then often they hit the mark; when they are increasingly close then more often they fail to hit the mark. At the time of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* those who spoke of heaven merely based this on the distinguishing of the stars, correlating this with the five elements and verifying this through solar eclipses and the movements of the comets; that is all. Among the five 'wefts'² they spoke only of the year star,³ the remaining four stars not being considered adequate for prognostication. How simple this was!⁴

That which was examined in detail was commonly the speech, actions and demeanour of princes and high officials as well as order and confusion, reverence and insolence in human

affairs. Thus, the theories are easy to comprehend and their verification can be achieved. In Yang Tzu's *Fa-yen* it is said: "The histories use heaven to prognosticate regarding man, the sages use man to prognosticate regarding heaven."⁵

1/4/59 (p98)

Tso Shih is not Entirely to be Believed.

What the ancients spoke of as the reasons for prosperity and decline, good and bad fortune, is not necessarily entirely verified and what Tso Shih has recorded as his beliefs, and has evidence for, is also not entirely to be believed. (There are the following examples.) First, that the three worthies were buried alive from which the princely man might know that Ch'in would not again campaign in the east.¹ As for Duke Hsiao, the emperor had conferred on him the title of hegemon and the nobles came to pay their respects.² Subsequently, (Ch'in) Shih Huang united the empire. Chi Cha³ listened to the airs (*feng*) of Ch'i and considered that it was not possible to estimate when the kingdom would come to an end.⁴ Still, within a short time, there was the usurpation by Ch'en Shih.⁵ He heard the Cheng arise and considered this kingdom would be the first to be lost.⁶ Despite this Cheng did not first meet destruction by Han until after the 'three families' had divided Chin.⁷ Hun Han⁸ said: "Of the Chi⁹ among the various states Ts'ai¹⁰ with Ts'ao¹¹ and T'eng¹² will be the first to perish,¹³ yet T'eng was destroyed by the King of Sung, Yen, being the very last of the Chi. For the 31st year of Hsi (it is written) that Ti surrounded Wei¹⁴ and Wei removed (its capital) to Ti-ch'iu.¹⁵ The prognostication (forecast this would be so) for three hundred years.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Wei was not abolished until the first year of the second Ch'in emperor¹⁷, a continuous existence of four hundred and twenty-one years. These are also cases where the writings of the *Tso Chuan* cannot be entirely trusted.

1/4/64 (p100)

That which is Seen has Different Words¹

Confucius was living during the time of Chao, Ting and Ai. The reigns of Wen, Hsüan, Ch'eng and Hsiang were what he heard of whilst those of Yin, Huan, Chuang, Min and Hsi were what he heard of more remotely.² In the histories of the kingdoms recorded on bamboo tablets³ there are parts that are incomplete. If Confucius could obtain verification through what he himself saw then he would make good these deficiencies. When it came to what he heard then this was remote whilst what he heard by tradition was even more remote. Although he might obtain information through what he heard yet unquestionably it was appropriate to collate evidence as a way of seeking the truth. If it were true then he would write it; if in doubt he

would discard it. This is what may be considered as different words. In relation to the death of Kung-tzu I-shih in the Lu history no day is written.⁴ This is a remote event and has no means of verification. As for this method of explaining classics how is it otherwise than very easy and truly correct? Ho Hsiu saw the commentary on the meeting at Chi in the 2nd year of Duke Huan where, in the depth or shallowness of favour, there was the difference between concealed (taboo) words and explicit (seen) words while in the writing of the day and not writing of the day there was the difference between detail and brevity.⁵ Taking together these (two) examples then it is very difficult and truly wrong. I doubt that 'that which is seen has different words, that which is heard has different words and that which is heard more remotely has different words'⁶, these three statements, necessarily have that which is a basis and that the Confucian scholars of Ch'i and Lu transmitted them. Nevertheless, the causes are three in number. First, there are textual deficiencies; second, there are concealed (taboo) words and third, there is the employment of tact in writing. If one follows the first of the explanations given above what is remote is sketchy and what is near is detailed. If one follows the second of the explanations what is recent is concealed and what is remote is clear. Those who study the *Ch'un-ch'iu* may comprehend this. In the *Han Shu* it states: "In Confucius's composition of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* there was that which he praised, concealed, criticised and was sarcastic about but which could not be written openly. This was transmitted by word of mouth to his disciples who then retired and used different words in continuing the verbal transmission. Therefore there are the studies of Kung-yang, Ku-liang, Tsou and Chia."⁷ Further "that the officer in such a case should wish to become poor quickly (just as) we should wish to decay away quickly when we have died"⁸ were words that Tseng Tzu heard but did not comprehend. If it were not for Tu Yü's putting forward examples and thus verifying them how could they have been understood or made clear? Therefore it is said that the *Ch'un Ch'iu* has the defect of confusion.

1/4/75 (p104)

Of Falling Stones on Sung there were Five.¹

The two commentaries, *Kung-yang* and *Ku-liang*, by tradition were received from Tzu Hsia² their main purpose being to obtain, in their several tens of sections, the deep meaning of the Sage. Nevertheless, between Ch'i and Lu, men thought themselves experts, and in remote villages there were many strange people and incorrect learning had many cunning words. Their (i.e. Kung & Ku) far-fetched interpretations which brought harm to men of later times were also not few in number. Thus, for example, "five stones fell from the sky on Sung; six fish-hawks flew backwards over the Sung capital" is a case where, at the time of writing, there was no alternative (but to put it thus). It was not the case that the history wrote 'five stones' and the Master

changed it to 'stones five' or the history wrote 'birds six' and the Master changed this to 'six birds'. The *Ku-liang chuan* states that "the stones falling on Sung were five is a case of the numbers being subsequent and this indicates separation (i.e. separate events) whilst the six fish-hawks flew backwards over the Sung Capital is a case of the number being first indicating conjunction."³ "The duties of universal obligation are five and the virtues wherewith they are practised are three"⁴; is this a case of words indicating separation? "All who have the government of the kingdom with its states and families have nine rules to follow"⁵; is this a case of words indicating conjunction? In 'nine at the beginning means hidden dragon' the nine is subsequent whereas in 'nine in the second place means dragon appearing in the field' the nine is antecedent.⁶ The world never yet had an explanation for this. "Stones are insensate things therefore they are given a day."⁷ If this was so then why is not "Liang mountain fell down"⁸ given a day? "Fish-hawks are to some degree sensate therefore they are given a month."⁹ If this were so then how is it that "Grackles came to Lu and built nests in trees"¹⁰ does not have a month? Whether there is a day or a month or not the writing is still historical. Thus Liu Ch'ang¹¹ said: "In saying this month Sung did not announce the day; I fear that this was not the same day as the five stones and thus month is written to differentiate (the two events)."

1/5/1 (p105)

Doorkeepers and Chief Stewards.¹

If eunuchs are under the control of the minister of state² then the inner court will not have men who confuse the business of government. If the nine concubines³ and the hereditary consorts⁴ fall within the province of the minister of state then the rear palace (seraglio) is without problems of intrigue due to jealousy. The minister of state ought not only to be of assistance to the king in the governing of the nation, but also guide him in the conduct of family matters. From Han times on, only Chu-ko K'ung-ming⁵ was conversant with this principle. Therefore he memorialised Hou Chu⁶ saying that matters within the palace and the government were as one and that in all the affairs of the palace, no matter whether great or small, there should be consultation with Yu Chih⁷, Wei⁸ and Yün⁹. Thereupon, Hou Chu wished to distinguish and select concubines to fill the rear palace but ultimately they (Yu, Wei and Yün) would not consent. Huang Hao¹⁰, to the end of Yün's lifetime, had only the position of assistant to the imperial gatekeeper.¹¹ Still it is possible to regard his actions as being in accord with the *Chou Li*.

Subsequently, rulers considered such matters to be their own family matters and those who were high officials also regarded them as the family matters of the emperor. As a

consequence, they did not dare to attend to, or question them. Yet if the (imperial) family were not in order then how could the nation itself be regulated? When Yang Fu of Wei¹² was shao-fu¹³ he submitted a memorial proposing reduction in the number of people within the palace and summoned the yü-fu li¹⁴ to question him on the numbers in the seraglio. The latter replied that this was a confidential matter which he was not permitted to divulge. (Yang) Fu, in his anger, ordered one hundred strokes of the whip for the official and reprimanded him saying that the nation did not allow the nine nobles to be secretive so how could a minor official be allowed to be so?¹⁵ From this it is known why later eunuchs and concubines were attached to the Board of Civil Office. The Duke of Chou's plans for later generations were thus extremely far-sighted.

Han continued the Ch'in administration with the following eight offices under the shao-fu; chung-shu, yeh-che, huang-men, kou-tun, shang-fang, yu-fu, yung-hsiang, nei-che and huan-che. Ling-cheng (various p'u-yeh she) shu-chang and the chung huang-men were all included in this.¹⁶ Thus the officials who were eunuchs were all under the control of the outer court.

1/5/7 (p108)

Physicians

In ancient times incompetent physicians¹ killed people, whereas in modern times, although such charlatans do not kill people they also do not cause them to live, but rather to exist in some intermediate place between life and death, their sickness daily becoming more severe until finally they do indeed die. Now, among medicines, there are princes and officials and, among people, there are the strong and the weak.² As there is this division of medicine so may one use much, or little, and as there are strong or weak people so the dose may be halved or doubled. If much is used then it is used alone and if used alone it is rapidly effective. If a double dose is used then it is substantial, and if substantial its strength (potency) is profound. Nowadays those who use medicines are for the most part confused and careless and do not prescribe an accurate dose. Since they are not able to see matters clearly and, moreover, lack courage in their attempts to bring about a cure, then the illness cannot be remedied. Further, since the world still regards not killing people as a measure of the physician's worth, surely this betokens a lack of awareness that the superior physicians of ancient times could not avoid failure.

In the chapter on physicians in the *Chou Li* (it is written): "At the year's end one would look into a physicians medical affairs and in this way regulate his livelihood. Those (physicians)

who, out of ten patients, lost none, were ranked highest; those who lost one out of ten were next; those who lost two out of ten were next; those who lost three out of ten were next and those who lost four out of ten were lowest.³ Even those who lost three or four out of ten were still employed by the ancients. Shun-yü I, in replying to Hsiao Wen, still said: "From time to time I fail and cannot have complete success."⁴ In the *Changes* it is written: "Tolerating what has been spoiled by the father: in continuing one sees humiliation."⁵ Why only take this "setting right what is decayed"? It is to consider that someone, although dead, is not so because of oneself. Ah alas! This is why Chang Yü lost the Han⁶ and Li Lin-fu lost the T'ang.⁷

In the *T'ang Shu*, Hsü Yün-tsung⁸ said: "The leading physicians of ancient times only distinguished the pulse. Once the pulse was precisely analysed it was subsequently possible to recognise the disease. Then the medicine prescribed for the illness could be correct and appropriate. It was only necessary to use one agent to overcome that disease. Since the strength of the medicine lay in its purity, the disease was completely cured. In modern times men are not able to distinguish the pulse, so cannot identify the origin of the disease and have necessarily recourse to guesswork, often being content to try one medicine after another. It may be compared with (likened to) hunting. Not knowing the hare's whereabouts many horses and men set out. The empty land is surrounded with the expectation that one person will find the animal. This is a far cry from being an exercise of skill. If one medicine is prescribed which, by chance, is appropriate for the disease, but other concoctions oppose (this action) then the spiritual strength is not put to rights and that which is difficult or erroneous may be considered to arise from this."

In the *Hou Han Shu* (it is said that) Hua T'o was skilled (well-versed) in prescribing medicines and his healing potions were few in number (did not exceed several kinds).⁹ (For the diagram) shih, sixth in the fifth place and an official, nine in the second place mean (there is) good fortune; (for the diagram) this may be compared with the third and fourth places which mean misfortune.¹⁰ For this reason, if officials are numerous there is confusion. Likewise if generals are numerous there is inevitable defeat. The affairs of the empire are also like this.

1/5/8 (p108)

The Punishment for Spreading Rumours¹

Shun², in his edict to Lung³, said: "I detest and abhor slanderous statements (those who speak slanders) and act in a damaging way, alarming and agitating my people."⁴ Therefore, in the countryside, the minister of education⁵ used the 'eight punishments' to investigate the ten

thousand people.⁶ The punishment for slanderous statements (spreading rumours) was ranked next to that for non-filial and non-fraternal behaviour. Further, the keeper of the peace⁷ was responsible for punishing those of the common people who made statements which could not be trusted. The failure to punish the spreading of false stories⁸ was ultimately the cause of the downfall of the revered Chou.

1/5/28 (p116)

Three Years of Mourning

For men of the present day, in the three years of mourning there are three matters which exceed the ancients.¹ The *Li Chi*, in the *San-nien wen*, states: "The three years of mourning came to an end with the twenty-fifth month."² In the *T'an-kung* it is stated: "After the service at the end of the twenty-fourth month the white silk may be worn. In that month the service for the conclusion of mourning is carried out. In the following month music may be resumed."³ Wang Su⁴ said: "The month for the final sacrifice for deceased parents is t'an and the month after this, music may be indulged in." The *T'an-kung* also said: "There are people of Lu who sacrifice in the morning and have song in the evening. Tzu-lu smiled at this and the Master said: 'Yu, your demands on others finally have no end. The three year mourning period is already long enough.' Tzu-lu went out. The Master said: 'Would it have been long. Another month and it might have been well'."⁵

The *Sang-fu hsiao-chi* states: "The mourning which lasted for two complete years was held to be for three years."⁶ In the *Spring and Autumn Annals* for the 2nd year of Duke Min the *Kung-yang* commentary states that the three year mourning period was, in reality, twenty-five months.⁷ In K'ung An-kuo's commentary to the *History*, in the *T'ai Chia* chapter, it is stated that T'ang died in the 11th month of the 1st year (of T'ai Chia) and twenty-six months after this the three year mourning period was brought to an end.⁸ Cheng Hsüan⁹ states: "Twenty-four months is the two year mourning period. The remaining days of the month are not counted making it the twenty-fifth month. In the middle of the month there is the final sacrifice, so the rest of the month is the twenty-sixth month. If, in the next month, there is the sacrifice, then it will be the twenty-seventh month." This differs from Wang Su's account.¹⁰

According to the *San-nien wen* it is said: "When it comes to the nearest relative there is a break (in mourning) at the end of the year. How is this so? (It may be) said (then) heaven and earth have already been through their changes as have the four seasons. Of things which lie within heaven and earth there is nothing which will not begin anew and the process of mourning resembles this. If this is so, then why is the mourning period three years? To make

it more glorious the time is doubled making it a round two years.¹¹ Now, following Cheng Hsüan's theories, the three year period is twenty-seven months. This is the first aspect in which the ancients are surpassed. The *Sang-fu pien* in the *I Li* states: "The coarse-edged upper and lower (mourning garments), the cap of white hemp from the male plant, the cloth throat band, the wooden staff, the girdle of coarse cloth and the coarsely woven hempen shoes (were all part of) the one year mourning."¹² (Subsequently it states): "(This is) mourning for the mother when the father is alive." The commentary says: "Why is it one year? (Because of) the inferior position. If the most venerated is alive, one dare not extend the full period of mourning to one privately mourned."¹³ In the second part of the *Tsa-chih* chapter of the *Li Chi* it states: "During the one year's mourning, in the eleventh month, they put on the dress of silk which was called *lien*; in the thirteenth month they offered the *hsiang* sacrifice and, in the fifteenth month, that called *t'an* which concluded the mourning." The note says "this refers to mourning for the mother while the father is alive."¹⁴ In the *Sang ta-chi* it states: "At the end of the year's mourning they did not eat meat or drink wine. (This was) mourning for the mother or wife with the father alive."¹⁵ It is also stated: "At the one year's mourning he occupied the hut; and, when it was completed, the occasions on which he did not seek the nuptial chamber were when the father was alive and he was wearing the hemmed sack cloth for his mother or his wife."¹⁶ The *Sang-fu ssu-chih* states: "The service due to the father is employed in serving the mother and the love is the same for both. (But) in the sky there are not two suns nor in a land two kings nor in the state two rulers nor in a family two equally honourable: one (principle) regulates (all) these conditions. Hence, while the father is alive the sack-cloth with even edges is worn for a mother, then (and only) for a year, showing that there are not (in the family) two equally honourable."^{17,18}

The commentary to the *Sang-fu* says "that the birds and beasts know their mother, but not their father. The rustic says, how could one reckon any difference in honour between the father and the mother? Scholars of the capital and cities know and venerate the deceased father."¹⁹ Nowadays, following (in accordance with) the regulations of Wu Hou²⁰ there is also wearing of mourning for three years (for the mother). This is the second aspect in which the ancients are surpassed.

In the *Sang-fu* chapter (of the *I Li*) it is also written: "The one who does not have a staff but has hempen sandles is the wife mourning the husband's parents." The commentary asks: "How is this a year? Through affinity and external relationship."²¹ The *T'an kung* (*shang*) chapter (of the *Li Chi*) states: "Nan-kung Tao's²² wife was mourning her mother-in-law. The Master instructed her in the matter of tying up her hair saying: 'Do not make it particularly high

or particularly broad. Let the hairpin be of hazelwood and the hair knots hang down a distance of eight inches'.²³ According to (K'ung Ying-ta's) *Cheng-i* this is considered to be the one year period of mourning, so it is less than the heaviest form of mourning with the coarsest unhemmed sack-cloth. The *Sang-fu hsiao-chi* states: "The wife, when mourning for a husband or eldest son, bows her head to the ground, but (in mourning) for others does not do so."²⁴ Nowadays, the system of the later T'ang is followed and the wife's mourning period for the husband's parents is also three years. This is the third aspect in which the ancients are surpassed. It is a matter which all later scholars did not dare to discuss. This was not only in compliance with the national regulations, but also through fear of (the Master's) ridicule of Tsai E's (short periods of mourning)²⁵. Even if the days and months (of mourning) are more numerous, when the emotions of grief and loneliness do not reach to it this is far removed from the way of the ancients.

The ancients brought their mourning to a close with the *hsiang* (felicitous) sacrifice and, on the month after, held the *t'an* sacrifice (sacrifice of repose)²⁶ which was after the garments had been discarded. Therefore, in the *Sang-fu ssu-chih* chapter (of the *Li Chi*) it is said: "On the day for the (*hsiang*) sacrifice at the end of the second year there was playing on a plain unvarnished lute: all these things showed people had come to the termination of the several rites ..."²⁷ In the *T'an kung (shang)* chapter (of the *Li Chi*) it states: "Confucius, five days after the *hsiang* sacrifice, handled his lute, but did not achieve sounds. After ten days he indulged in music and singing. Yu Tzu, after the *hsiang* sacrifice, wore silken shoes and an ornamental cap string."²⁸ It is also said: "After the *hsiang* sacrifice they did not wail outside and after the *t'an* sacrifice they did not wail inside for music had been played."²⁹ (Further it is written): "There was a man from Lu who, having carried out the *hsiang* sacrifice in the morning, in the evening sang. Tzu Lu laughed at him (but) Confucius said another month and it might have been well."³⁰ And (further): "(Meng) Hsien-tzu at the *t'an* sacrifice, hung up his musical instruments and did not play. Confucius said Hsien-tzu is one rank above other men."³¹ Whereupon, from the *t'an* sacrifice and subsequently is spoken of as the end of mourning.

Wang Su based his opinion on the following two quotes: "In the *San-nien wen* (it is written) that after twenty five months there was an end to the period of mourning."³² And in the *T'an kung*: "After the service on the conclusion of the twenty-fourth month of mourning the plain white cap is assumed. In that month the service on leaving off mourning is performed and after another month (the mourners) may take to their music."³³ He stated that (the mourning period) was twenty-five months. Cheng Hsüan, basing his opinion on the writing in *Fu wen* stated that: "After a month there is the *t'an* sacrifice"³⁴ and considered the mourning period to

be twenty-seven months.³⁵ Each of the two theories has some basis. The ancients conducted their sacrifices on a day identified as appropriate by divination, the hsiao-hsiang sacrifice being on a day in the thirteenth month and the ta-hsiang in the twenty-fifth month. The t'an sacrifice was then either during the month of the ta-hsiang sacrifice (i.e. the twenty-fifth month) or was moved to the second month after the ta-hsiang (i.e. the twenty-seventh month). From the time of the recording of the rites there had already emerged differences in these practices.

In the *Hsiao Ching*, *Yüan shen-ch'i*³⁶, it is written that the mourning period does not exceed three years, i.e. the one year period has double this time added to it; five times five, that is twenty-five months, is the mourning period demonstrating an end of the mourning. Therefore the Han people's system of mourning garments speaks of it (i.e. the mourning period) as five times five. The memorial tablet of Fei Feng,³⁷ magistrate of T'ang-i,³⁸ stated that coarse food³⁹ for twenty-five months and the coarse sack-cloth and staff are never done away with (i.e. there is no remission from coarse food, sack-cloth and staff for a twenty-five month period). The memorial tablet of Fan Min, prefect of Pa Chün⁴⁰, in his mourning for his mother ended the mourning period at five times five i.e. twenty-five months.

For the father there is the first degree of mourning for three years and for the mother the second degree of mourning for three years. The son regulates it. In the mourning for the mother when the father is alive there is the second degree of mourning and the staff for a one year period and in this situation the husband regulates it. In the household there cannot be two superiors (ie two persons to venerate) and the son cannot act on his own responsibility; this is what is referred to as a husband being superior to the wife and the father to the son. From an examination of this it is possible to resolve the doubts of scholars and put an end to the confusion of the various theories.

In mourning for the mother while the father is alive, although the mourning period is reduced to one year, yet the mourning of the heart is, in reality, never less than three years. The commentary says that if the father dies, he must be mourned for three years before the son may take a wife or look to realising his ambitions.⁴¹ If he takes a wife within the three year period how will such a son manifest his mourning, how will he regulate his feelings? According to principle this cannot be done. Furthermore, when the son's mourning period is finished, while there is stress on the principle that he cannot marry for three years, this is the means by which the sages made adjustments for one hundred generations and cannot be changed.

In the *T'an-kung (shang)* it is written: "When Po Yü's⁴² mother died he continued his

weeping beyond the one year mourning period. The Master heard and inquired for whom he was weeping. The disciples told him it was Li⁴³ whereupon the Master said Ah! this is excessive. Po Yü, on hearing this, forthwith desisted.⁴⁴ From this the regulations pertaining to the situation where the mother dies while the father is alive were so. The claim in the notes (to the *Li Chi*) that the mother was divorced, is incorrect.⁴⁵ In the *Sang-fu hsiao-chi* it is written that a son of a concubine, living in the same house with his father, did not carry out the t'an sacrifice (at the end of mourning) for his mother.⁴⁶ Lu Shih of Shan-yin wrote that if there were those in the father's house who were not married then the t'an sacrifice was not offered.⁴⁷

In the T'ang period the two empresses, Wu⁴⁸ and Wei⁴⁹, both of whom rose through being wives, desired to do away with the 'three bonds'⁵⁰ and change the 'five divisions of mourning'⁵¹ in order to extend the veneration of the mother. Thus, in the 12th month of the 1st year of the Shang-yüan reign period of the Emperor Kao Tsung, i.e. jen-yin (AD674), the Empress Wu issued a memorial requesting that the mourning for the mother while the father was alive should consist of the second degree of mourning for a three year period. In the 5th month of the 1st year of the Shen-lung period of Chung Tsung's reign, i.e. ping-shen (AD705), Empress Wei memorialised requesting that scholars and common people of the empire observe a three year mourning period for a divorced mother. Their intentions were thus the same. Does this not indicate that these two (empresses) considered themselves as sages equal to the emperor in assisting at the nan-chiao by making the secondary offering and in general belittling the (existing) mourning regulations.⁵²

Hsüan Tsung, in the 8th month of the 7th year of the K'ai-yüan reign period, i.e. kuei-chou (AD719) promulgated the Duke of Chou's regulation of the rites which successive generations had not erased, which Tzu Hsia⁵³ had perpetuated and which the Confucian disciples had received. (Now) within the (existing) regulations (set up by Empress Wei) there was a three year period of the second degree of mourning for the mother if the father were alive⁵⁴ and this practice originated from some motive. It did not embody the idea of respected and lower. It would be better to follow the old regulations than to make alterations. From now on all mourning garments and observations should be restored to what is stated in the original text of the *Sang-fu*.⁵⁵ This order was indeed simple yet apposite. What remedy can there be if what is sincerely said is not given due attention and the edicts of the morning are changed in the evening? In the 24th year (of the K'ai-yüan reign period) there was compliance with the words of Wei Tao⁵⁶ to extend mourning to the mother's brother's wife and to the wife's sister's husband. Further, in the 6th year of the T'ien-pao reign period (AD747), there was an edict requiring three years of mourning on the death of a divorced mother. Again in the T'ai-ho and

K'ai-ch'eng periods⁵⁷ (Wen Tsung) subsequently caused the imperial son-in-law to mourn the princess for three years with the first degree of mourning. The destruction of the teachings of propriety has its origins here!

From ancient times villainous men have wished to defraud⁵⁸ the rules of propriety of the former kings, doing as they wished and certainly this had gradually come about. T'ien Hou⁵⁹, in making her request that the mourning for the mother while the father was still living should consist of the second degree of mourning for three years, had the intention of herself acting in the affairs of state. As a consequence Chung Tsung, in the 2nd month of the 2nd year of the Ching-lung reign period (AD708), i.e. the year keng-yin, issued a decree throughout the empire that wives and mothers of those within and without the court above the rank of five pin should each be raised to i-hao⁶⁰ (one rank). Those without wives should have this conferred on their daughters. Nevertheless, An-lo Kung-chu⁶¹, in her attempts to establish herself as crown princess (heir-apparent), went ahead and administered poison to Chung Tsung.⁶²

In the 2nd month of the 8th year of the Ta-ting reign period (AD1168) of the Chin Emperor, Shih Tsung on chia-wu issued an imperial regulation to the effect that a son should mourn his remarried mother for a three year period. In the 7th year of the Hung-wu reign period (AD1374) there were still established the regulations requiring the three year period of the heaviest mourning for the mother but at the funeral of Hsiao-tz'u (Kao) Huang-hou⁶³, in the 2nd year on New Year's day, the heir apparent, the hereditary princes of the first rank and the emperor's son-in-law all wore light coloured apparel and ordinary dress then the propriety (li) of respectful sacrifice was still followed. Moreover, within the twenty-seventh month period, there was no listening to music nor was there marrying, taking up of an official position, or wearing official dress. This is what may be called mourning of the heart and is something which a hundred generations cannot change.

The *Sang-fu hsiao chi* states: "When the grandfather was dead and afterwards (the grandson) had to go into mourning for his grandmother, he, being the representative of the family (through the death of his father), did so for three years."⁶⁴ Cheng Shih states: "If the grandfather is alive then the attire is like that used in mourning the mother while the father is alive."⁶⁵ This means that the grandmother's funeral is less important than that of the grandfather. A wife serves her husband's parents as she would her own parents; that is to say mourning ends after one year and this is not to wear the unhemmed sackcloth twice. Nevertheless the mourning of the heart is never less than three years. Therefore, it is said that still three years of mourning has not been done away with.

Wu Yu-ch'ing⁶⁶, in the preface to his *Fu-chih kao-hsiang*⁶⁷, states that whatever the garments appropriate to the system of funeral rites, whether these be chan, tzu, kung or ssu⁶⁸, they were but the outward trappings. Not to drink wine, not to eat meat nor dwell in the inner apartments; these were the substance (of mourning). To have within the true mourning and to have the outward shows as adornment, this is to have both the feeling and the display of mourning.⁶⁹ Merely to have the outward manifestations without the inner emotions is tantamount to not mourning at all. To have the inner emotions yet to be without the external manifestations may be called mourning of the heart. The true substance of the mourning of the heart has that which is exalted and not that which is reduced. In the observance of the forms of mourning there is that which is of lesser importance and also that which is exalted; this was the way of the ancients. I have always said, with respect to mourning regulations, that the propriety of the Duke of Chou be considered orthodox. The additions and revisions of later generations all serve only to increase the embellishments and obscure the true substance, revealing a lack of insight into the system of propriety of the ancients (or show ultimately a failure of understanding of the aims and intentions of the ancient system of propriety). To wear the second degree of mourning for three years for the mother, yet, if the father were alive, to have only one year of mourning, cannot be otherwise than demeaning to the mother. Moreover, when the husband sets aside the mourning garments for his wife, the son should do likewise with respect to the mourning of his mother; a household cannot have two masters! Although the son's mourning is brought to an end yet, for three years, he dwells in the substance of mourning as before so that what is brought to an end is the outward show of mourning; that is all. The reality is certainly never diminished. "While a daughter is still at home (i.e. remains unmarried) her mourning for her father is by chan."⁷⁰ After she is married her mourning for her husband is chan while that for her father and mother is reduced to one year. It is said that that which a child (offspring) regards as heaven is the father and that which the wife regards as heaven is her husband. A woman once married must change what she regards as heaven to her husband, thereby reducing in importance her father. A wife may not have two mourning periods of chan; she may not have two heavens. When the mourning for her own parents is downgraded to one year, that for her husband's parents is also one year. After the expiry of the year the husband does not do away with mourning yet the wife must already do so. Nevertheless, she may dwell in the reality of mourning like her husband. Thus, mourning for her husband's parents is one year, although the substance of mourning continues for three years. Why must it follow the husband's observance of chan and subsequently become three years? In mourning there is that which is through grace, that which is through righteousness (propriety) and that which is through name. Mourning through grace is exemplified by that of a child for his or her parents; that through righteousness by the mourning of a wife for her husband's parents and that through

name is exemplified by the mourning of one for the wives of his father's cousins or for the wives of the sons of his mother's sisters. In the first case it is because the wife of an uncle may be regarded as belonging to the same group as one's mother through name and in the second case, the wives of the sons of one's mother's sisters may be regarded as belonging to the same group as one's wife through name hence the mourning is established. The wives of the older and younger brothers cannot be regarded as of the same group as one's wife through name so that they do not mourn, putting the matter at a distance from themselves. However, where older or younger brothers are mourning their wives, one's own wife has the mourning appropriate to an older or younger sister, so that in a family where old and young are all in mourning, for oneself, although not in mourning, there is a necessity to avoid indulgence in ostentatious beauty in one's attire and to do without banquetting and music in the home like those who have no mourning.

Those who dine together (must all) have the coarse cotton mourning attire⁷¹; friends must still add some hemp. In neighbourhood and district funerals there are not the sounds of pounding of clothes or singing in the lanes (all the sounds etc, are stilled). How then can the funeral for an elder or younger brother's wife be treated indifferently, as if by a stranger? In the ancient's mourning system there was certainly the concept of 'being alive'; this is immutable and cannot be easily understood through superficial considerations. That the essence of mourning does not have that which is not exalted is the perfection of benevolence; that the outward trappings have that which may be diminished is the essence of righteousness; the intent of the ancient's mourning system is just this. With regard to the practice of later generations, the intent in making the mourning for the mother while the father was alive three years and likewise the mourning of the wife for the husband's parents three years and there being mourning for the wives of older and younger brothers reflected the desire to add to the substance of the mourning of the ancients, but this is to disregard the fact, that among the ancients, the child's mourning for the mother, the wife's mourning for the husband's parents and the husband's younger brother's mourning for the elder brother's wife were not in any way insubstantial.

I would, therefore, say that this is all a matter of being immersed in the outward shows and obscuring the substance and not of examining the intents of the ancient system of mourning. That in which the ancients exerted themselves was in the substance of mourning and they gave themselves completely to this. That which later generations added was the outward trappings of mourning and making these manifest to men. What is there in this to separate sincerity and falseness?⁷²

If one studies the two sections of the *T'an-kung* as well as the *Tseng Tzu wen*¹ then one may know that, for the ancients, the detailed explanations and clear differentiations of ceremonial dress were like this. The *Han Shu* states that Hsia-hou Sheng was skilled in his descriptions of ceremonial dress.² Hsiao Wang-chih followed Hsia-hou Sheng and asked him about the *Lun Yü* and the *Li Fu*.³ In the K'ai-yüan reign period of the T'ang (AD713-741) the contents of the *Ssu-pu shu* listed twenty-three works of chuan, i and shu for the *Sang-fu*.⁴ Among the great scholars of former times there were those who became celebrated solely on the topic of mourning dress. Such men were not far removed from Tsou and Lu (Mencius and Confucius). Thus Hsiao Wang-chih became assistant grand tutor by instructing the heir-apparent on the *Lun Yü* and *Li Fu*. In the later part of the Yüan-chia reign period of the (Nanch'ao) Sung (AD424-453) the retired scholar, Lei Tz'u-tsung was summoned to, and arrived at, the capital. He built his house beneath the western cliff of Chung-shan and was involved in the exposition of the *Sang-fu* classic to the heir-apparent and various princes.⁵ At the beginning of Ch'i, Ho T'ung-chih was an assistant teacher at the National Academy responsible for explaining the *Sang-fu* to the various princes.⁶ Ch'en Hou-chu, at the Eastern Palace, induced Wang Yüan-kuei to become an instructor and personally received from him instruction in the *Li Chi*, *Tso Chuan*, *Sang-fu* and other works.⁷ Hsiao Wen Ti of Wei himself gave expositions on the *Sang-fu* to the multitude of officials at the Ch'ing-hui hall.⁸

The *Liang Shu* states that the King of Shih-hsing, Tan, died. Chao-ming T'ai-tzu ordered the various officials all to deliberate on, and follow, the words of Ming Shan-pin and Chu I that statements of condolence are appropriate in the final month of mourning.⁹ Now it may be thought that even when the emperor is in office he should not cast aside the consideration of (enquiry into) the funeral rites. This is different from the words of Li I-fu not to prepare for matters of mourning and to do away with national sympathy.¹⁰

In the Sung period, on the death of Hsiao Tsung, Kuang Tsung was not able to manage the funeral so Ning Tsung carried out the mourning. Having already mourned for a one year period (from the time of) the funeral he wished, on completion of the ta-hsiang, to mourn for a further two months. The investigating censor, Hu Hung, said: "Grandsons, in mourning for their ancestors, already exceed the period of one year yet those who criticise this wish to add a further two months prior to the t'an sacrifice. I do not know on what authority this might be done. If it is said that the grandson of the legal wife (i.e. Ning Tsung) inherits the important

matter then the T'ai-shang (i.e. Kuang Tsung), when the emperor died and was already in repose, returned and within the palace himself carried out the deepest mourning for twenty-seven months and the grandson did likewise. This is a situation of two (performing the part of) the orphan son in the funeral rites.¹¹ There was a proclamation that the assistant censors and supervising secretaries meet and discuss (the matter). At the time, Chu Hsi sent up a criticism considering whether Hung's words might be wrong but did not have the means whereby to decide this.

Later when he (Chu Hsi) read the *Cheng-i* for the passage 'wei tsu hou che' in the *Sang-fu hsiao-chi* chapter of the *Li Chi* since he himself had dealt with this in the last part of the pen-i, he was able to say, in summary, say that it is in accordance with the length of the five grades of mourning that the deepest mourning (coarse hempen garments) is three years. When the grandson of the legal wife mourns the grandfather the method and intent are particularly clear yet the classics on the rites do not record it. The commentary says that when the father is dead those descendants who mourn the grandfather employ the highest grade of mourning yet although this is so it is not seen in the original classic. It is, therefore, not clear upon what this is based. Nevertheless, the *Sang-fu hsiao-chi* states: "When the grandfather was dead and afterwards (the grandson) had to go into mourning for his grandmother he, being the representative of the family (through the death of his father), did so for three years."¹² It is possible to depend on this document.

As for the note following the section on the descendants mourning for the grandparents there is a quotation from Cheng (Hsüan)¹³ in which the question is posed as to whether, when the father of one of the feudal lords is ill and unable to participate in the nation's administration, he is not able to undertake the matters to do with mourning. Cheng's reply was to the effect that he considered, with respect to the emperor and the feudal lords, that mourning should, in all instances, take the form of the heaviest mourning. Thus, when it is seen that the father is alive yet (the grandson) inherits the kingdom and assumes the mourning for the grandfather, before the time when this memorial was sent up there were no texts which could be quoted, nor any friends who might be asked, therefore it was appropriate to speak of it in terms of the rites. Also there were those who doubted that, if the father were alive, it was appropriate for the grandson to take on the role of chief mourner. At that time the matter was not completely elucidated yet through the rites and laws and through human emotions the main problem could be resolved. Often (however) the heart is not at peace. After returning and examining the matter this explanation may be seen for the first time and grasped without doubt. Then it may be known that to study it without explanation is the source of such harms as this.

Moreover the classics on propriety certainly have lacunae and cannot do otherwise than await the clarification of later men. If, in the beginning, there had been no Cheng K'ang-ch'eng this matter would not, finally, have been resolved. It is not possible to say directly that the ancient classics are fixed and immutable and that it is not permissible to add or subtract a single character.

Ah alas! Men such as Tseng Tzu and Tzu Yu¹⁴ personally received their teaching from the Sage and in changing certain items were most careful in making distinctions. Scholars of the present day have been born into uncivilised times when the rites have decayed and music fallen into ruin. In relation to the writings handed down by the ancients they are thus altogether unable to penetrate the meaning. In speaking of propriety they say: "I know it is a matter of reverence and that is all" and in speaking of the funeral rites: "I know it is a matter of grieving and that is all". To discuss the regulations by means of empty scholarship and to intervene in the administration by means of pure talk is still to be insufficient to look into the laneways of the Han scholars. How, then, may it be enough to ascend to the hall of Confucius?

In the *Lun Yü* the character *ssu* (其) occurs seventeen times but there is no use of *tz'u* (此). In the words of the *T'an-kung* the character *ssu* occurs fifty three times yet the character *tz'u* occurs once only. The *Ta-hsüeh* was completed by Tseng Shih¹⁵ and his disciples and here, within one *chüan*, the character *tz'u* appears nineteen times. The importance of variations in words and dialects and their differences in different times may be known from this.

1/6/14 (p138)

King Wen as an Eldest Son¹

"King Wen, as the eldest son of a prince, visited (his father) Wang Chi² thrice daily. With the first crowing of the cock he dressed and went to wait outside the main door of the inner apartments.³ This was not only a measure of King Wen's filial behaviour but also an indication of Wang Chi's diligence. If the father dresses before it is light the son will rise at cockcrow. If (the father) were indolent and self indulgent would it not be strange if the son were not likewise and thus remiss in his attention to his parents? In this way the *Hsiao-yüan* verse certainly says: "Rising early and going to sleep late"⁴ while Kuan Ning⁵, as a consequence of three days of idleness, was moved to self-reproach. The ancients who through their actions followed the Way, were like this.

In the *Chi-i*² (it is written): "In this way to serve heaven and earth, the hills and streams, the gods of soil and grain and their forefathers."³ Forefathers are ancestors.⁴ The *Odes* states:

"To imitate and hand down

To hand down (the observances of) our ancestors."⁵

It also says 'our ancestors (forefathers)'. This also refers to ancestors.⁶ For those near in time hsien (先) is used; for those distant in time, ku (古) is used. Therefore the Chou people spoke of Hsien Kung⁷ and of Ku Kung⁸.

"To extend knowledge to the limit is to know where to rest."¹ What is knowing wherein to rest? As a ruler he rested in benevolence, as a minister he rested in reverence, as a son he rested in filial piety and as a father he rested in compassion. In the interchange between the people of the state he rested in sincerity (integrity).² This may be called 'to rest'. Only when one knows where to rest can knowledge be considered to be extended. From the intercourse between ruler and minister, father and son, and the state and its subjects, up to the "three hundred rules of ceremony and the three thousand rules of demeanour"³ all may be termed 'things'. The *Odes* says:

"Heaven gave origin to the multitude of people;

There were things and there were laws."⁴

Mencius said: "Shun clearly understood the myriad things and closely observed man's relationships."⁵

In former times King Wu's enquiring⁶, Chi Tzu's arranging⁷, Tseng Tzu's and Tzu Yu's questioning and K'ung Tzu's replying⁸ were all such things. Therefore it was said, "ten thousand things are all complete in me."⁹ Only the prince is able to be in sympathy with (think on behalf of) the things of the empire. Therefore in the (*Changes*) it is said: "The prince, in his words, encompasses things (affairs) and in his actions displays constancy."¹⁰ In the *Li Chi* it is said: "The benevolent man does not go beyond things; the filial son does not go beyond things."¹¹ The investigation of things may be considered to be more than (merely) widening the acquaintance

with the (correct) names of the birds and beasts, plants and trees.¹² "Those who know must truly know but they may bend their attention to what is most pressing."¹³ The hearing of litigation¹⁴ is one of the things for the conduct of relationships with the people of the state.

1/6/39 (p146)

"He Contemplated and Considered the Lucid Decrees of Heaven."¹

Although "the decrees of heaven in their profundity know no limitations"², yet in the human world they are used daily without being understood. There is no such thing that it is not a decree. Therefore the *Odes* and *History* in their instructions (admonitions) have the following statements:

"He contemplated and considered the lucid decrees of heaven."

"Always to speak of being in accord with the will of heaven (heaven's decree) and oneself seeking much good fortune."³

"Like the birth of the son, all depends on his early years when he, himself, may gain (be given) wisdom as decreed."⁴

"They are conversant with (competent in) the virtue of heaven and themselves carry out the original decree being in accord with and enjoying below."⁵

Also there are the words of Duke K'ang of Liu⁶ which state: "Men receive the correct principles of heaven and earth at birth and this is what is called the decree (appointed nature). This decree (nature) is then established by the rules of action, propriety, righteousness and demeanour."⁷ (Further, in the *Odes* it is written): "That man is the master of right in his country."⁸ He may be considered to be 'steadfast in the face of death and not to change.'⁹ Moreover 'this person has her heart set on marriage' and also was regarded as not 'understanding the will of heaven'.¹⁰ As it is so, a son's filial behaviour, a minister's loyalty, a man's being firm and unbending and a woman's sincerity are all decrees of heaven and are received by men as their nature. Therefore it may be said that heaven's decree is what is called nature. If one looks for heaven's decree beyond heaven it becomes separated and becomes two. "I am endeavouring to prolong your lease of life (decree) from heaven"¹¹ concerns the affairs of man. Where principle is of the highest order, so matter is also of the highest order. "If one's brilliant qualities are concealed and what is correct is kept central (the good issue) descends (as) from heaven."¹² If one's actions are not correct then the decree of heaven will not be one's salvation.

In the *Li Chi* it is said: "In propriety the timing is all. Obedience (compliance) is next in importance, then form, then appropriateness and finally, being suitable. Yao transmitted his rule to Shun and Shun to Yü. T'ang drove out Chieh (while) King Wu cut down Chou. In each case the time was right (propitious). The sacrifices to heaven and earth and the affairs of the ancestral temples, the way of father and son and the right conduct between prince and minister are human relationships. In the affairs of the gods of soil and grain and of mountains and rivers and in the sacrifices to spiritual beings there is form. In the usage of the funeral sacrifices and in the intercourse between guest and host there is what is appropriate. In the sacrifices of lambs and sucking pigs the hundred officials are all sufficient. In the usage of the sacrificial animals it is not necessary that there be any remaining. This is what is called being suitable."²

Among the sages of ancient times what was within was venerated, what was without gave pleasure, what was small was prized and what was great was considered beautiful. For this reason the former kings, in establishing the rites, considered the ruler could not be much or little, only what was suitable. This is what is meant by saying the superior man is one who strikes the mean in his timing (i.e. acts according to what is appropriate). Therefore in the *Changes* it is said: "The two small bowls are in accord with the time. There is a time for decreasing the firm and for increasing the yielding."³

The greatness of the kingly way begins at the doors of the inner apartments.¹ Happy union with one's wife, harmony with older and younger brothers, to be in accord with one's parents is a way both near at hand and simple.² There are sacrifices and the heavenly spirits are provided for. There are temples and the spirits of men are provided for.³ This is a way both distant and lofty. The former kings served their fathers with filial piety, therefore they served heaven clearly. They served their mothers with filial piety, therefore they served the earth conscientiously. It is cultivated in the exercise of constancy, it is manifest in the exercise of government. It is based on heaven but brought to fulfilment on earth; it is given order by the spirits and penetrates funeral sacrifices, archery, charioteering and the capping ceremony, marriage, formal visits and invitations. Thus the kingdoms of the empire may acquire it and so attain order. It resembles what Shun, King Wu and the Duke of Chou called 'the practice of ordinary virtue'⁴ and 'the apogee of human relationships'.⁵ Therefore it is said that the way of

the superior man takes its origin in the relationship between husband and wife and achieves its perfection in the enquiry into heaven and earth.⁶ As a man has a father and mother, at cockcrow, he must enquire how they spent the night⁷ and 'in every possible way wait on and nourish, them being without tied to definite rules.'⁸ How simple a principle this is. When it comes to their death and they cannot again be seen or heard, while some seek it in the yin and some in the yang, subsequently their likenesses may certainly be seen in the sacred tablet.⁹ Afterwards there is reliance on the able priest and that it be conveyed to the filial descendant.¹⁰ Alive they are father and mother, dead they are spiritual beings. The Master said: "An ancestral temple is built as a means of sacrificing to the spirits."¹¹ This is what he said. "Then, like overflowing water, it is as if they are above us and around us (to the right and left of the worshippers)."¹² This brings about (the principle) of compliance with parents and enlarges it.

In the *Li Chi* (it is written): "When King Wen was the heir apparent he would visit Wang Chi thrice daily. At the first crowing of the cock he would dress and present himself outside the inner apartments. There, through the medium of a young servant, he would ask if today the king was at peace. Should the young servant obtain an affirmative response King Wen was pleased. In the middle of the day, he again presented himself and made a similar enquiry as he did also in the evening. Should things not be at peace, the young servant would inform King Wen accordingly. King Wen would then assume a melancholy appearance and in his walking would be unable to follow a straight path. When Wang Chi took his food again then he (King Wen) would be as at first (i.e. regain his composure). Before the meal he was necessarily present to inspect to what degree it was hot or cold. After the meal he enquired as to what was eaten and ordered the shan-tsai (food steward) saying that none (of the dishes) should be served again and on receiving the stewards assurance (on this point) he retired."¹³ It also states of King Wen that in sacrificing he served the dead as if he were serving the living. He thought of the dead as if he did not wish to live (any longer himself). On those days to be avoided his heart was heavy. In calling his father by the name elsewhere forbidden he looked as if he saw him. So sincere was he in sacrificing that he looked as if he saw the things which his father loved and the pleased expression on his face; such was King Wen. In the *Odes* it is written: "Dawn breaks, I do not sleep. There are in my heart two people." This is King Wen's poem.¹⁴

It is only King Wen who, when his parents were alive, served them with this degree of filiality and when they were dead sacrificed to them so loyally, as if he were actually seeing his parents. If, when one's parents are alive, there is not a sincere attempt to carry out their desire then when they are dead, one will certainly not be influenced by, and comprehend, the principles of response. Therefore, it is said that only a filial son is able to care for his parents. So the

Master informed Tzu Lu saying: "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve the spirits?"¹⁵ Thus in 'the practice of ordinary virtue'¹⁶ is not compliance with parental wishes of paramount importance? It is this, moreover, which brings about the ceremonial of the sacrificial altars and the principles of the ancestral sacrifices. If there is clarity on this point then the empire and the kingdoms may be secured and governed. The ones among those of higher standing who are able to comply with their parent's wishes may subsequently serve heaven and sacrifice to the emperor, while the ones among those of a lower station who are able to do likewise may subsequently gain the confidence of the ruler and govern the people.¹⁷

Ch'eng Tzu said: "Spiritual beings are the product of heaven; they are the traces (footprints) of creation and change." Chang Tzu said: "Spiritual beings are natural manifestations of the two material forces."¹⁸ Those who easily comprehend such beings may encompass the mystery of the ten thousand things and express this in a single statement which will be apposite. As the two masters have said what we 'look for but cannot see, what we listen to but cannot hear', these are spiritual beings.¹⁹ What may be seen and heard are also spiritual beings. Nowadays, what the Master said are not seen and heard may be known as spiritual beings to which sacrifices are directed. To 'call the spirits to witness and not to doubt'²⁰ is like that which is said in the commentary (wen-yen) (on the hexagram) ch'ien (乾) in the *I Ching*; ie (the princely man) is in accord with spiritual beings in harmonising good and evil fortune.²¹

1/7/8 (p153)

The Master's Words on Nature and the Way of Heaven

That which the Master taught men concerned literature, conduct, loyalty and sincerity.¹ Nature and the way of heaven lay within this. Therefore it is said that (his discourse on this) could not be heard.² The Master said: "Do you think, my disciples, that I conceal anything from you? I conceal nothing from you. There is nothing I do which I do not share with you, my disciples. This is my way."³ It is said that the Master's words on nature and the way of heaven could not be heard thus casting doubt on the claim that he concealed nothing. This is to fail to realise that the Master's 'culture and outward manifestations of virtue'⁴ are nothing other than his statements on nature and the way of heaven. This is why he was able to say: "There is nothing I do which I do not share with you, my disciples; this is my way."

Tzu Kung's idea was that 'culture and outward manifestations of virtue' and 'nature and the way of heaven' were two different matters. Thus, he could say: "If you, Master, do not speak

what shall we, your disciples, record?" The Master replied: "Does heaven speak? The four seasons follow their courses, the hundred things come into being, yet does heaven speak?"⁵ For this reason it is possible to take up office or to retire, it is possible to continue for a long time or to withdraw quickly.⁶

There is nothing which is not heaven's way. 'Simple and unassuming', 'cautious and precise', 'direct and to the point', 'reserved and formal';⁷ all are heaven's way. "When all movements of the countenance and actions of the body are in accord with propriety, this is the highest point of resplendent virtue."⁸ In Mencius' consideration of the nature of Yao and Shun⁹ and in the Master's 'culture and outward manifestations of virtue',¹⁰ nothing is greater than the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The meaning of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* is that 'to venerate the king of heaven', 'to punish the barbarians'¹¹ and 'to put to death rebellious ministers and villainous sons'¹² are all aspects of nature, aspects of the way of heaven. Therefore, did not Hu Shih¹³ consider the *Spring and Autumn Annals* to be literature stemming from the Sage's heavenly endowment (nature) and (Tzu Kung say): "If you, Master, do not speak what shall we, your disciples, record?"¹⁴ At the present time men still consider the *Hsi Tz'u*¹⁵ to be the Master's discourses on man's nature and the way of heaven and I, previously, thrice read this work. (There are) words such as 'the crane calling in the shade'¹⁶ for seven lines; '(therefore) he is blessed by heaven'¹⁷ for one line and 'wavering and irresolute'¹⁸ for eleven lines. 'The foundation of walking in the path of virtue'¹⁹ is that whereby the nine diagrams teaches man to study the *Changes* and lies in nothing other than the interaction between words and deeds. Therefore, it is said: "First follow its words and consider its method. Then there are constant principles, but if you are not the right man the meaning will not manifest itself to you."²⁰

"Fan Ch'ih asked about benevolence. The Master said: 'In one's dwelling to be reverent, in the conduct of affairs respectful and, in relationships with men, loyal'.²¹ "Ssu-ma Niu asked about benevolence. The Master said: 'The benevolent man is deliberate (slow and cautious) in his speech'.²² From this there develops "if a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety."²³ Is this different from the way? At the present time the studies of princely men do not reach the level of Fan Ch'ih and Ssu-ma Niu yet they wish their theories to be more exalted than the two disciples, Yen and Tseng.²⁴ For this reason the whole day they discourse on man's nature and the way of heaven without realising that they, themselves, have fallen to the level of 'ch'an-hsüeh' (Ch'an Buddhism).

Chu Hsi said: "What the sage teaches men is merely filial piety and fraternal submission, loyalty and sincerity, with careful observation and scrupulous practice of these. This is the basis

of studying things at the lower level.²⁵ Present day scholars regard this as the business of dull spirits incapable of understanding something which is not worthy of their consideration. (Yet) these, and the matters which such latter-day scholars ordinarily discourse on, are nothing other than that which Tzu Kung spoke of as something which could not be heard.²⁶ Furthermore, he (Chu Hsi) said that the malaise of modern scholars lies in their reaching for what is beyond their comprehension. Thus, with reference to the *Lun Yü* they do not speak of 'studying and constantly practising' but only of 'the one thread'.²⁷ Similarly, with regard to Mencius, they do not speak of 'King Hui of Liang asking about profit' but only of 'exerting the mind to the utmost'.²⁸ In the *Changes* they do not look at the sixty-four diagrams but simply study the *Hsi Tz'u*. This is the defect of skipping over the basic steps. He also said that sages and worthies expound their ideas based on commonplace things whereas, nowadays (scholars) promote what is exalted and attempt to penetrate what is abstruse.²⁹

The *Huang-shih jih-ch'ao*³⁰ states that the Master set out the Six Classics whereas those who followed devoted themselves to explanations of the texts, nor was this harmful. 'Lien' and 'Lo'³¹ spoke of the study of principle while their successors both spoke of contemplation and this was profoundly harmful. The disciples of Confucius had only four branches of study whereas, from the Sung onward, there were, for scholars, five divisions of study of which the fifth was called the branch of 'recorded utterances'.³²

The confusion brought to China by the Five Barbarians³³ basically arose out of the prevalent calamities of pure talk;³⁴ everyone is aware of this, Who knows but that the pure talk of the present day is not worse than that of former times? The pure talk of former times concerned Lao and Chuang while that of the present day concerns Confucius and Mencius.³⁵ Not having attained the finer points (essence) they go ahead and transmit a rough outline; not having enquired into the principles they go ahead and speak of the secondary aspects (non-essentials). They have not studied the writings of the Six Classics³⁶ nor have they examined the documents of the 'hundred kings'. They do not give due attention to the affairs of their own times and all of the great principles of the Master's discussions of scholarship and government have not been listened to, yet they speak of 'the one thread'³⁷ and of 'no words'.³⁸

To substitute the empty words of pure mind and original nature for the practical learning of cultivating the self and administering men means that the arms and legs grow weak and the ten thousand things are neglected, the talons and teeth are lost and the four kingdoms fall into confusion. The nation itself is unsettled and agitated and the ancestral temples fall into ruin. Formerly Wang Yen,³⁹ well versed in profound and abstruse doctrines, compared himself to Tzu

Kung.⁴⁰ When he was at the point of death at the hands of Shih Lo⁴¹ he turned and said these words: "Ah alas! Although we are not like the ancients, yet if formerly we had not given undue attention to what is empty and insubstantial but had laboured together to restore the empire then it remains possible that affairs would not have reached their present pass."⁴² Who, among gentleman of today, could help but feel shame on hearing these words?

1/7/10 (p154)

The Broad Study of Wen

The superior man engages in the extensive study of wen¹ and this extends from himself to family, kingdom and empire. What governs it is number and measure,² what manifests it is sound and appearance,³ there being nothing which is not wen. "The observances to regulate all this are what are called the rules of propriety."⁴ Confucius said: "For grand-aunts the mourning with edges even is worn, but the feet in leaping are not lifted from the ground. For aunts and sisters the mourning for nine months is worn, but the feet in leaping are lifted from the ground. If a man understands these things will he not (always) follow the right forms of ceremonies?"⁵ In the *(Li) Chi* (it is said): "Thus it is that in the mourning of three years the highest forms that vary and adorn the ways of men are displayed"⁶ and also "This rule for ceremonies leads to the forward exhibition of them and therein their beauty resides; that for music leads to the retrospective consideration of it and therein its beauty resides."⁷

The commentary (on the *Changes*) says: "Having form clear and still: this is the form of men. If the forms of men are contemplated one can shape the world."⁸ Therefore it is said: "When King Wen died did not wen lie in this?"⁹ In the *Shih-fa*¹⁰ the warp and woof and heaven and earth are spoken of as the study of wen. For the disciples the study of the wen in the *Odes*, the *History* and the other classics is very different from the study of wen here referred to.

1/7/19 (p158)

I Seek an All-Pervading Unity¹

"To love what is ancient and diligently seek" and "to see much and keep it in the memory"² was how the Master spoke of himself. Nevertheless there is more than this. The principle of the six lines of the diagrams is extremely recondite. Moreover it is said that "the man of knowledge contemplates the judgement on the decision and thus can think out for himself the greater part."³ The three hundred poems (of the *Odes*) are extremely wide-ranging yet it is said: "One sentence may epitomise them all and that is, in thinking to be without

depravity."⁴ Three thousand and three hundred ceremonies are extremely numerous yet it is said: "In ceremonies it is better to be sparing than extravagant."⁵ The affairs of ten generations are of very long duration yet it is said: "The Yin dynasty followed the ceremonies of Hsia and Chou followed the ceremonies of Yin so although there may be one hundred generations (these ceremonies) may (still) be known."⁶ The methods of administration of one hundred kings are very different yet it may be said: "There are but two ways - to manifest benevolence and not to have benevolence and that is all."⁷ This is what is meant by "I seek an all-pervading unity".

In (the Master's) teaching of his disciples then certainly first he must "set forth the two extremities" and cause them to respond with "the three corners".⁸ Therefore Yen Tzu's then "hearing one and knowing ten"⁹ and Tzu Kung's words on "cutting and filing"¹⁰ and Tzu Hsia's question about ceremonies being subsequent¹¹ (show that) all were well able to discuss the *Odes* with him (the Master).¹² How can it not be that the principle of all that is beneath heaven has different roads to the same destination and that the studies of great officials bring forward the root to include the branches? Those (scholars who study) the paragraphs and sentences are not adequate to gain a comprehensive view, whilst there are intelligent and enlightened princely men who speak of honouring the moral nature yet neglect the question of the path of inquiry and study.¹³ In so doing both entirely lose the main purport of the Sage's (writings).

1/7/21 (p159)

In their Nature Men are Nearly Alike¹

The word nature (hsing) may first be seen (first appears) in the *History* where it is said: "The supreme being confers a moral sense (even) on inferior men and, in compliance with this, there is a constant nature." The word constant here has the meaning of nearly alike.² Nearly alike is near in respect of goodness; far apart is far in respect of goodness. Thus the Master said: "Man's very life is honesty in that, without it, he will be lucky indeed if he escapes with his life."³ There are also men born who are without goodness such as the son Yüeh Chiao, the offspring of Tzu Liang. Tzu Wen knew he would certainly destroy the Jo-ao family.⁴ Nevertheless, this is one case in a million. Therefore, when Kung-tu Tzu put forward his three theories (with regard to man's nature), Mencius did not upbraid him for his error but simply said: "For the feelings proper to it, it is constituted for the practice of what is good. This is what I mean in saying that nature is good."⁵ For the mass of men there is that which is largely identical; no need to discuss the abnormal. Thus Chou, in his use of the p'ao-lao punishment, and Tao Chih's daily killing of innocent people and eating of men's flesh, are examples of people born with a different nature.⁶ It is like with respect to the five sense organs and the hundred bones, all men are the same yet there are also those who are born without these. How is it

possible to make a generalisation from a particular example? Thus, finally, it may be said that the nature of man is good.

Mencius, in his deliberations on man's nature, spoke of it particularly in terms of its manifestations. Moreover, one may see those who on witnessing a young child fall into a well, feel no pity or those who, when offered food in an insulting tone or being kicked towards them, smile and accept it.⁷ These are examples of an abnormal nature. I know of no-one who would take such a contrary view as to praise such people.

Wei Sung of Ch'ü-wu⁸ said: " Confucius, in saying nearly alike, was speaking in terms of the goodness of nature. If there are natures which are good and those which are bad how can one use the words 'nearly alike'? It is like Yao and Shun being of a particular nature and T'ang and Wu returning to it."⁹ If T'ang and Wu, in their natures, are not good then how can they return to it (i.e. their original nature) and so reach the level of Yao and Shun? That T'ang and Wu can return to it presupposes a theory of the goodness of human nature. That T'ang and Wu are not Yao and Shun (in respect to their natures) but must necessarily await their returning to it is a theory about the close similarities of men's natures. In this matter Confucius and Mencius speak as one.

1/7/27 (p162)

The Untroubled Mind¹

In general, whether a man has an untroubled mind or not certainly lies in his being granted the opportunity of having conferred upon him high office, or of putting into practice the Way. "To serve men in a crooked way"² and "with heterodox learning to flatter the age"³ both take their origin from this. "I, being at forty someone who had attained an untroubled mind"⁴ meant having a mind so unperturbed that "if to obtain the empire it was necessary to commit one unrighteous act, or kill one innocent person, I would not do it".⁵

1/7/41 (p167)

In Action there is our Respect therefore it is Said to be Internal.¹

The implements wherewith the former kings governed the empire were the Books of the Five Emperors, the Five Ceremonies, the Five Degrees of Mourning and the Five Punishments² and what came from the self and was brought to bear on the people was, in all cases, founded on the mind which was taken to be the basis of judgement and decision. The distinctions of love

of one's kinsfolk and the degrees of respect for worthy men arose out of li (propriety). Therefore Mencius, in replying to Kung-tu Tzu on the question of i (righteousness), put forward the two matters of 'pouring wine for a villager' and 'according respect to the one personating the dead'³ as both exemplifying the application of li and being matters to which this application was appropriate. Since the principle was not clear then the empty and insubstantial teachings of the 'erh-shih'⁴ reached a point of casting aside benevolence and righteousness and from this, in turn, the elimination of the rites and music arose. From the Sung period onward there were one or two men of worth and wisdom who lamented the scholarship of the critical interpretation of the ancient text by men of Han taking this to be rough and superficial. They devoted their efforts to rectifying this by means of returning to what was within but the three important matters, the universal way, the universal virtue⁵ and the Nine Classics were simply brushed aside. This is what is spoken of as 'Kao Tzu never understood righteousness.'⁶ The possibility that such men would not go on to heterodox principles and bring harm to the Way was very slight.

Tung Tzu said: "That which is right and lies within me may subsequently be termed righteousness, therefore, in speaking of righteousness, there is a combining of I and what is right to become as one. To grasp what is meant by speaking thus is to speak of righteousness as I."⁷ These words and those of Mencius are mutually clarifying.

1/7/44 (p167)

To Seek for the Lost Mind¹

"The way of scholarship is nothing other than to seek for the lost mind; that is all."² If this is so is it yet possible to seek for the lost mind without resorting to scholarship? In the words of Confucius: "I have passed the whole day without eating and the whole night without sleeping for the purpose of thinking. It was of no use; better to study."³ Is this not the same concept? On another occasion Mencius said: "The princely man preserves his mind through benevolence, preserves his mind through propriety"⁴ yet that which he preserves is not the empty mind. With regard to benevolence and righteousness, if there is learning (study) then enquiry will bring clarity. What Mencius is endeavouring to say in the above is that one is able to seek the lost mind and afterwards pursue learning. Thus, "Suppose Chess Ch'iu is instructing two men in the art of chess. One gives the matter the sole attention of his mind and will, listening only to Chess Chiu, while the other, although he listens, has part of his mind on an approaching goose thinking to bend his bow, adjust the string and shoot it. Although the second is studying along with the first he will not be like him."⁵ He is a man with a lost mind who does not know

to seek it. Certainly, only to know to seek the lost mind and never to investigate the disposition of chess pieces on a board or know the arrangement of wild geese in flight is like not being able to devote oneself entirely to chess!

1/7/46 (p168)

To Examine Oneself and Not Be Complacent¹

A man, as a scholar, may not belittle himself nor may he indulge in self-aggrandisement. "If he were to obtain lands of one hundred li and be sovereign over them this is altogether sufficient to cause the feudal princes to come to court and possess the empire"² and he would not dare to belittle himself. "If the families of Han and Wei were to be added to his own yet he looked upon himself without complacency then he would surpass other men to a considerable degree"³ and he would not dare to indulge in self-aggrandisement. "I shall make the people aware through this way. He thought that among the people of the empire, ordinary men and women, there were those who did not have such benefits as Yao and Shun conferred and this was as if he himself had pushed them into a ditch."⁴ This, then, may be said to be not belittling oneself. "From the time when he ploughed the fields and sowed the grain, worked the potter's wheel and was a fisherman to the time when he became emperor there was nothing which he did not acquire (ie learn) from others."⁵ This may be said to be not indulging in self-aggrandisement. Therefore to belittle oneself is petty just as self-aggrandisement is petty. Scholars nowadays, if they are not belittling themselves, are indulging in self-aggrandisement. In my view this is nothing more than reverting to the class of petty men.

1/7/47 (p168)

How Should a Scholar Serve?¹

Scholars, farmers, artisans and merchants are spoken of as the four classes of people, this concept originating with Kuan Tzu.² In the Three Dynasties period³ those of excellence among the people were gathered in provincial schools⁴ and then elevated by the minister of education⁵ to be spoken of as scholars. Certainly, within a thousand li it may not be possible to find one such person. "The chief minister, through the nine occupations, serves the people..."⁶ (and) "The fifth is the hundred crafts, involving diligent labour in the transformation of the eight materials."⁷ It may be reckoned that there are not many men of this sort.

King Wu, in composing his *Announcement about Drunkenness*, stated: "Ye people of Mei, if you can employ your limbs cultivating your millet and hastening about in the service of your

fathers and elders...⁸, this is what is called farming. "If, with your carts and oxen, you traffic to a distance that you may thereby minister to your parents...⁹, this is what is called commerce. It is also said: "Hearken to my instructions all ye high officers, ye assistants, and all ye noble chiefs."¹⁰ Then it may be said that scholars are, for the most part, all who bear some responsibility. How is there that which may be termed the four classes assembling and dwelling together in one place with each being the model for the countryside? After the Spring and Autumn period wandering scholars grew daily more numerous. In the *Chi-yü* it is said that Duke Huan had eighty such wandering scholars, attracting men by offers of carts, horses, clothing and fur apparel so that much of his wealth he despatched to the four corners (of the kingdom) as a way of summoning the worthy scholars of the empire.¹¹ Thus the princes of the Warring States period¹² came to accept the importance of scholars. Men of refinement became (Confucian) scholars, men of boldness, knights-errant. Ah alas! With the rise of the wandering scholars there was a decline of the model of the former kings. Still, do the words of P'eng Keng¹³ and the questioning of Tien¹⁴, the king's son, come near to the ancient ideal?

1/7/55 (p173)

The Nine Classics

T'ang and Sung, in the selection of scholars, both used the Nine Classics whereas the present dynasty established the Five Classics with the *Chou Li*, the *I Li*, the *Kung-yang chuan* and the *Ku-liang chuan* not being included in the official curriculum. Tu Shih, in his *T'ung-tien*¹ wrote that at the time of Yüan Ti of the Eastern Chin (AD317-322) the chamberlain for ceremonials, Ho Hsün² memorialised saying: "By imperial edict there has been established one po-shih for each classic. Further because it was a period of much unrest the Confucian way was neglected and scholars who were able to understand clearly the meaning of the classics were few. Moreover the three commentaries on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* all emanated from the Sage's writings yet their meanings and purposes were dissimilar so that from former times there were not those Confucian scholars who could comprehend their merits and demerits and thus jointly study them. Nowadays, it is appropriate that there be established for the two classics, the *Chou Li* and the *I Li*, two po-shih, for the three commentaries on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* three po-shih and, for the remainder (i.e. the *History*, *Odes* and *Changes*), one each to give a total of eight."

The chamberlain of ceremonials³, Hsün Sung⁴, memorialised saying: "Scholars in the old office were nineteen in all (whereas) now, for the Five Classics, there are, in all, nine men so comparing the new with the old (taking the old as the yardstick for evaluating the new) there

is still less than half (the number). For the *Chou I* there are Cheng Shih's notes, the writings of which probe the depths (of the classic) and truly may be considered to be of great worth. With reference to the one classic, the *I Li*, on what might be termed the propriety of the minutiae of etiquette, Cheng Hsüan was particularly clear, in all instances with documentary proof. Formerly, during the decline of the Chou, Confucius wrote the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and from him Tso Chiu-ming and Tzu Hsia received personal transmission. On Confucius' death Chiu-ming collected together what he had heard and made it into a commentary, comprehensive, subtle and profound in its purport, which could not be otherwise but carefully studied. Kung-yang Kao received personal transmission from Tzu Hsia completing his work in the Han period, a work containing much that was of use. Ku-liang Ch'ih was an example of master to pupil transmission and his work contained many new insights. In some instances these were matters that Tso Shih and Kung-yang did not record and in others there were matters which were corrected and clarified. I consider that although these three commentaries are all named with reference to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* yet, in their purport and objectives, they are quite different so it is (entirely) appropriate that each should have a scholar responsible for the transmission of its study." If this had been so the disturbance (ie rebellion) of Wang Tun would not have arisen.⁵

In T'ang times, in the 5th month of the 9th year of the Chen-kuan reign period (AD635), there was an imperial proclamation that from that time thereafter all those candidates for the ming-ching⁶ who studied both the *Chou Li* and the *I Li* could, from their prescription of study, consider cutting out one (other) work. In the 7th month of the 8th year of the K'ai-yüan reign period (AD720) the director of studies of the National University, Li Yüan-tsui,⁷ memorialised saying: "The three *Li*, the three commentaries (*Tso Chuan*, *Kung-yang* and *Ku-liang*) as well as the *Mao Odes*, the *History* and the *Chou I* and so on all embody the profound intent of sages and worthies and are works of instruction for the people. Nowadays what is studied by the ming-ching (candidates) is concerned with the pursuit of office and, as all consider the writings of the *Li Chi* to be brief, all contend to study it. The *Chou Li* is the standard for the administration of the kingdom. The *I Li* is the model for gravity and reverence. The *Kung-yang* and *Ku-liang* have, for successive generations, been esteemed objects of study. Nowadays, in the two chien, the regions and districts, because men study alone and without friends these four classics have almost disappeared so the application of teaching and instruction to the conduct of affairs cannot be followed. It is my hope that students might stop (the practice of) each estimating a particular topic and that men presenting as prepared for the examinations would study the *Chou Li*, the *I Li*, the *Kung-yang* and the *Ku-liang*. Moreover, I would ask that an understanding of five out of ten topics set would allow men to pass the examination thus

affording them encouragement. I would hope also that in the study of all in the empire the Nine Classics would be complete." This was followed.

In the *T'ang Shu*, for the 12th month of the 16th year of the K'ai-yüan reign period (AD728), Yang Yang⁸, who was chancellor of the directorate of education, memorialised saying: "Nowadays, those candidates for the ming-ching who study the *Tso Chuan* number less than two or three in ten. Further, the *Chou Li*, *I Li*, *Kung-yang* and *Ku-liang* have almost completely been done away with. I request that consideration be given to adding encouragement and reward (for studying these works)." (In the *Chiu T'ang Shu* it is subsequently written): "Thereupon a decree was handed down that those candidates successful in the ming-ching who studied the *Tso Chuan* as well as the *Chou Li* and the others of the four classics referred to above and who entered government service should avoid appointment to a sinecure and subsequently this was written into the statutes." The ancients who were of a mind to preserve the transmitted classics and supported the obscure (recondite) learning like this considered it pressing but now, on the contrary, it has all gone by the board. Probably it was the case that teachers of the time experienced difficulty in the study of the Four Classics and those officials responsible for educational policy complied with their wishes so that, subsequently, the classic works handed down through successive generations were cast aside and not studied.

From Han times onward how could one not know that there were the Five Classics and they were all accorded the same significance it not being permitted to take one classic alone. Therefore the study of the San-chia (*Tso Chuan*, *Kung-yang* and *Ku-liang*) was included with the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. When it came to the three *Li* each was considered to be a separate work whereas nowadays the classic (itself) is put aside and the commentary studied which is especially contrary to reason. Perfunctorily for one's own convenience to use privately this (study) to seek emolument has nothing which exceeds it in leading the people of the empire to defraud (deceive) the prince and betray (fail in their obligation to) the kingdom. That the study of the classics daily declined and that men of talent daily diminished in number has this as its basis has it not?

(In the *Sung Shih* (it is written) that Shen Tsung utilised (Wang) An-shih's theories that each student should specialise in one classic - the *Changes*, the *Odes*, the *History*, the *Chou Li* and the *Li Chi* - while at the same time (studying) the *Lun Yü* and *Mencius*.⁹ Chu Hsi, in his *Ch'i hsiu san-li cha-tzu*¹⁰ wrote: "In suffering the calamity of the Ch'in destruction of books, the *Li* and *Yüeh* were first destroyed and what was slightly (to some degree) preserved were the *San Li* and that is all. The one work, *Chou Kuan* (*Chou Li*) was certainly the guiding principle of

li whereas, when it came to the minutiae (details) of ceremonial methods, the *I Li* was the basic classic while the *Chiao Te-sheng*, the *Kuan-i* and other chapters of the *Li Chi* provided the explanations of these principles. Before this there were still the several courses (for examination); the *San Li*, the *Tung Li* and the *Hsüeh-chia* so that although li was not put into practice scholars were still able, through reading and study, to comprehend the theory. From the Hsi-ning reign period (AD1068-1077) on, Wang An-shih changed the old system doing away with the *I Li* and only preserving the *Li Chi* as a subject thus discarding the classic and relying on the commentary this being tantamount to neglecting what was fundamental and believing in what was incidental. This was especially misguided." Thus, the doing away with the *I Li* started with (Wang) An-shih. When it came to Ming times this study was stopped.

Chu Hsi also wrote a preface for Hsieh Chien-yüeh's *Wen-chi*¹¹ (in which) he said: "Hsieh Ch'o-chung was from Cheng-ho Chien-chou. When my deceased father was military governor of Cheng-ho he was walking between the fields and heard the sound of somebody reading aloud. When he went to investigate (he found the book was) the *I Li*. At that time there was specialisation only in Mr Wang's programme of learning so there was only this man like this and he was surprised. He walked home with him and encouraged him to continue to study those parts of the work not yet mastered. Subsequently he (Hsieh), in the 3rd year of the Shao-hsing reign period (AD1133), was ranked as a chin-shih." In Sung times (such a person) was already like 'the sound of footsteps in an empty valley'. At the present time the footsteps cannot be heard at all!

2. Section 2(i) (ch 8-12): Administration and Economics

2(i)/8/5 (p181)

The Governing of Villages and Hamlets

In the *List of Officials* chapter of the *Han Shu*¹ (there is the following): Hsien-ling² and chang³ were both Ch'in officials responsible for the administration of the district.⁴ For (districts of) ten thousand families and upwards there was a ling, ranked from one thousand down to six hundred piculs and for (districts of) less than ten thousand families there was a chang ranked from five hundred down to three hundred piculs. Both had aides (assistants)⁵ and military officials⁶ ranked from four hundred down to two hundred piculs.⁷ These were major officials. Ranked at one hundred piculs and below there were the tou-shih⁸ and the tso-shih⁹ and these were minor officials.¹⁰ In general, every ten li there was a t'ing¹¹ and each t'ing had a chang.¹² Ten t'ing constituted a hsiang¹³ with each hsiang having a san-lao¹⁴ who had rank status, a se-fu¹⁵ and a yu-chiao.¹⁶ The san-lao was responsible for the control of education, the se-fu for the hearing of law suits and the collection of taxes, and the yu-chiao for the patrolling of boundaries to prevent crime or theft. A hsien was, in general, one hundred li square. If the population was dense then it was less, if sparse then more extensive. The hsiang and t'ing were also like this and all were part of the Ch'in (administrative) system.

In the *Kao Ti chi* for the 2nd month of the 2nd year there was the following (order)¹⁷: "Those among the people who are over fifty years of age and who are able to cultivate morality and lead the people to goodness, should be appointed san-lao, there being one (such elder) for each hsiang. From among the village elders there should be one selected as san-lao for the hsien who, with the district magistrate, his aides and military officials, should consult one another about affairs and not again be sent for labour or frontier duty." This system did not originate in the Ch'in and Han periods but began at the time of the annexations of the feudal princes. The principles whereby Kuan Chung,¹⁸ Wei Ao¹⁹ and Tzu Chan²⁰ ruled their kingdoms were in no wise different from this. According to the *Ti Kuan* chapter of the *Chou Li*, below the rank of the chou-chang there were, in order, the tang-cheng and the tsu-shih, the lü-hsü and pi-chang. Below the rank of the hsien-cheng were the pi-shih, the tsuan-chang, the li-tsai and the lin-chang.²¹

Thus, under the rule of the wise kings of the Three Dynasties,²² there was nothing which exceeded this (principle). Accordingly if, within the confines of one hsiang, the officials were to put things in order and to apply the laws with meticulous care then, subsequently in the governance of the empire the situation would be like the main rope in a net and there would

be order, not chaos. Yet, when it comes to the present day all this is wasted away and not preserved. Moreover, if prefects and magistrates were not sufficiently responsible in the conduct of their duties then numerous overseers²³ needed to be appointed. Likewise, if the overseers were deficient in responsibility then it was important to establish regional inspectors.²⁴ If there is an accumulation of honour and a piling-up of importance through the occupancy of higher positions, among those beneath them there are none who can share their duties. So, although there may be obtained just, incorrupt, diligent and skilful officials, still it is not possible to conduct good government with them and, moreover, it is not possible to obtain good people. In the T'ai-ho period of the later Wei (AD477-499) the supervising secretary, Li Ch'ung²⁵ memorialised saying: "It was appropriate to follow the ancient times, for five families to establish a neighbourhood chief and for five neighbourhoods to establish a village chief and for five villages to establish a ward chief,²⁶ these chiefs being selected from among the strong and diligent men of the township. The neighbourhood chief would be permitted to have one man exempted from corvee and military duties, the village chief two, and the ward chief three, and those exempted would not go on frontier duty but would remain as normal citizens. If there were a three year period without transgressions then there would be a promotion in employment and this promotion would be of one rank."²⁷ Hsiao Wen²⁸ agreed to this (these measures). He issued a proclamation saying: "The system of neighbourhood, village, ward and township took its origin in antiquity. I wish the influence of teaching to be thoroughly pervasive reaching every family and to be in daily practice so that the great can oversee the small and the near the distant just as the body controls the hands making their function orderly. Then tax levies will be equitable, righteousness will prevail and litigation cease." The history states that with the initial establishment of these laws many complained that they were unsatisfactory yet, when it came to putting them into practice, the expenses saved were more than ten times and, as a result, all within the Four Seas was peaceful.

In the later Chou period, when Su Ch'o wrote the Six Articles,²⁹ there was an imperial mandate saying that not only must the regional and prefectural officials be worthy, but also, when it comes to the overseeing of the headmen of townships and villages, all should be examined with great care and one selected for each township so bringing about effective local government.³⁰ Sui Wen Ti, according to his own opinion, changed the ancient (practices) and in the 15th year of the K'ai-huang reign period (AD596), for the first time did away with officials in the district commanderies and townships.³¹ Moreover, in the words of Liu Tsung-yūan³² of the T'ang period: "There were village assistants and then there were district leaders. There were district leaders and then there were feudal lords. There were feudal lords and then there were regional earls and provincial surveillance commissioners. There were regional earls

and provincial surveillance commissioners and then there was the Son of Heaven." According to this argument the ordering of the empire starts with the village assistant and ends with the Son of Heaven - this is very obvious. For this reason, from ancient to modern times, when the small officials are numerous the age flourishes and when the great officials are numerous the age declines into decay. The path of prosperity and decline is nothing other than this.

In Han times lowly officials such as se-fu could still, by their own efforts, fulfill their duties. Thus, when Yüan Yen³⁴ was a minor official in the Wai-huang hsiang, goodness and culture were greatly practised and the people knew of him, a se-fu, and did not know the head of the prefecture or district.³⁵ Also when Chu I,³⁶ himself a minor official in Tung-hsiang in Shu who reached the rank of ta ssu-nung,³⁷ was ill and approaching death he instructed his sons saying: "I was previously a Tung-hsiang official and the people loved me, therefore you must bury me in Tung-hsiang. Later descendants who offer the autumnal sacrifices will not be equal to the Tung-hsiang people." Then he died and his sons buried him in the western outskirts of Tung-hsiang. The people erected a great sacrificial temple and, through the yearly festival period right up to the present, the sacrifices have continued without interruption.³⁸ These two gentlemen were both people of the district. Why then is it necessary for officials to be away from their places of origin to effect good administration?

In the present dynasty, before the district gates³⁹ mostly there are tablets saying that for false accusation three degrees be added to the punishment and for improper appeals to higher courts there be given fifty lashes of the bamboo. This was an old regulation of former dynasties and was traditionally conducted at the official entrance to the county court. Nowadays, the people do not go through the district court officials but appeal to higher authorities (such as) those controlling the prefecture, this being "appealing to a higher authority in an irregular manner" and this is wrong. In the *Veritable Records of T'ai Tsu* for the 27th year of Hung-wu (AD1394), on jen-wu in the 4th month it is written: "The civil authorities received an order to select from among the people an old man of advanced years who would be able, in a just and equitable fashion, to fulfil his duties in the management of legal matters of the district. If there were disputes regarding matrimonial matters, fields and dwellings, or acts of assault then the old man should consult the li-hsu and resolve them. If the matter was complex and weighty it was first presented to the district officials."⁴⁰ If the matter was not presented for resolution to the local elder but directly to the district officials this was termed appealing to a higher court in an irregular fashion. Only if great and small mutually support each other and the finer points are all attended to can, subsequently, those above not be unduly troubled and those below not be (unnecessarily) disturbed.

In T'ang times, from the Ta-li reign period (AD766-779) onward, military problems arose and taxes became (particularly) troublesome. Thus Liu Chang-ch'ing in his *Ti-cha chi-li ming fu*, wrote:

"Up to the setting of the sun no court cases?
The green hills are at the district gate!"⁴¹

If the duties of the district magistrate do not encroach on those below then the small man may be able to find peace in his occupation. In this way it was possible to extend the kingdom's decree for more than a hundred years right up to the calamities of Hsi and Chao.⁴² Afterwards there was the great defeat, so then, whether by the singing lute (i.e. government by non-action) or by carrying the stars (i.e. government by hard work)⁴³ the emperor and the officials should have a proper way to manage it.

In the first year of the Hung-hsi reign period (AD1425), in the 7th month on ping-shen, the regional inspector of the censorate for Ssu-ch'uan, Ho Wen-yüan⁴⁴ memorialised thus: "Tai Tsu, Kao Huang Ti⁴⁵ ordered that in all the chou and hsien in the empire there should be established old men, selected on the basis of age and virtue, in whom the people had trust and who would be able to direct the people towards goodness. Also, in districts and villages, they would be responsible for the regulation and judgement of litigation. Thus, to the people below them they were of benefit in affairs and to the officials above they were of assistance in legal matters. In recent years many who were used (in this role) were not such men, some even coming from the ranks of orderlies who took the position to avoid service. Moreover, the district officials did not examine the age and virtue (of the appointees) but ordered the immediate filling of positions causing (an undue) reliance on the administrative body and leading to the reckless wielding of power and oppression of villages and hamlets. When high officials came to make an inspection they just indulged in slanderous remarks, stirring up disorder, not distinguishing right from wrong, holding officials under duress and associating with those who transgressed. This should be carefully examined according to the law. I am concerned for the regions and districts of the empire and would ask that situations such as outlined above be made the subject of prohibitory regulations." The emperor ordered that the former system of Hung-wu be reinforced so, if there were excessive appointments of evil people, even the officials of the regions and districts should be punished according to the law. Out of this it arose that the selection of village elders was made on trivial grounds and their authority devalued.

In the Han era the elders (*san lao*)⁴⁶ were appointed having a rank and being given an official emolument. Wen Ti's proclamation caused each according to his principle to provide leadership for the people. At that time there were numbered among the *san-lao* many who were sincere and experienced scholars. Superiors treated these men particularly well so the people knew a natural goodness. Thus, men of talent and ability frequently came from among them. The Hsin-cheng elder, Tung Kung⁴⁷ intercepted and advised the King of Han informing him that he must escort the funeral of I Ti to the grave and consequently he would receive the empire. The Hu-kuan elder, Mao⁴⁸ presented a memorial to clear an injustice to Li T'ai-tzu⁴⁹ and this was recorded clearly in the historical records. This is something which the ten thousand ages speak of. The elders of our time comply with the terms of their office and will do anything beyond these terms. As a result those who have a sense of honour are not willing to serve while those who do so are for the most part all followers of villainous and treacherous practices who wish to rely on their administrative authority to oppress the ordinary people. This is, of course, quite contrary to Ming T'ai Tsu's purpose in establishing the role of the elders.

At the start of the Ming dynasty (there was the practice of) appointing from one of the influential families a tax captain⁵⁰ who was responsible for the collection of taxes from his district. These were substantial, at times up to one hundred thousand piculs, and in transportation of the grain to the capital he might obtain an audience with the emperor. In the Hung-wu reign period (AD1368-1399) official status was conferred on some by virtue of their ability. In the 5th year of the Hsüan-te reign period (AD1431), in the intercalated 12th month, the investigating censor⁵¹ of Nanking, Li An⁵² and the elders of the two districts, Lu-ling⁵³ and Chi-shui in Kiangsi and also, in the 4th month of the 6th year (AD1432), the investigating censor Chang Cheng⁵³ both spoke of the evils of the tax captain, his doubling the collection of tax grain, his authorising the bartering of sons and daughters in lieu of tax, his indulgence in pettifoggery, his conduct of law-suits and his undue influence over government officials. This was repeatedly prohibited and consequently the evil decreased slightly although the position was not, because of this, done away with. In the position of elder the name only was preserved but the reality was lost.

The position of police chief⁵⁴ was like the ancient position of patroller.⁵⁵ In the Hung-wu reign period (AD1368-1399) this was (a position) of particular importance and especially bestowed by imperial order. There was also established the method of periodically examining the services of officials. In this regard, the Marquis of Chiang-hsia, Chou Te-hsing made a tour of inspection in Fukien and increased the establishment of the police office by forty-five.⁵⁶ From the Hung-chih reign period (AD1488-1505) onward there was considerable impetus to reduce

and do away with these positions until what remained did not amount to half of what was in existence in former times. As the number of police chiefs was reduced so the real number of governors-general was increased. How was this so? As the police office could stop evil when it started, the control of the governor-general came when there was already disorder.

2(i)/8/9 (p187)

Petty Officials¹

The one hundred officials² were those on whom the emperor relied for the peaceful rule³ of the kingdom. Therefore it is said: "The great officials are his arms and legs, his eyes and ears."⁴ It is also said: "The work is Heaven's, it is man's lot to do it."⁵ Nowadays to deprive the one hundred officials of their authority and to give (the control of) all matters to the petty officials may be described as making the one hundred officials an empty name so that those who manage the kingdom are the petty officials and nothing more. Kuo Wei went to inform King Chao of Yen saying: "He who would lose his kingdom will dwell among servants."⁶ Alas, this is something to be feared. Ch'in gave responsibility to clerks and scribes and thereby lost the kingdom; a matter already clearly established.

When Cheng Yü-ch'ing⁷ of the T'ang period was prime minister there was the scribe Hua Huan who, for a long time, was in charge of the documents and records of the secretariat and who, with the man in charge of the inner palace secretariat, Liu Kuang-ch'i was involved in evil practices. Every time the prime minister discussed affairs whoever took a different view from Kuang-ch'i would ask Huan to go forward and ask that it would necessarily be approved. From all quarters letters, presents, riches and goods were piled up at his door. His younger brother, Yung, obtained official positions up to that of regional chief. When Yü-ch'ing again entered the secretariat and met with his fellow officials to discuss affairs it was Huan who put forward what was right or wrong in the discussion and Yü-ch'ing angrily abused him. After a short while Yü-ch'ing was dismissed and became a retainer to the Heir Apparent. In the 8th month of that year (i.e. AD806), Huan was dismissed for receiving bribes and was permitted to commit suicide. When Hsien Tsung heard of the matter of Yü-ch'ing abusing Huan and because he had, for long, admired Yü-ch'ing he again invited him to be vice-director of the Department of State Affairs.⁸ When Wei Ch'u-hou⁹ was prime minister there was a certain T'ang Shu who was a minor official in the secretariat and was responsible for the management of what was termed k'ung-mu fang.¹⁰ During the prime minister's absence on leave, if there was a palace document put out then a summons was issued to Shu to proceed to the palace gate to take it and he was to hand it on to the deputy of the prime minister. As a result of this, his hidden influence gradually waxed and from far and wide he received bribes. Ch'u-hou was particularly angry and

spoke saying: "This is very like Hua Huan" and because of this he (Shu) was dismissed from office.¹¹ Now when one is minister and there is 'the anxiety of a comfortable approach' (and) 'the danger of a halted retreat'¹² then in the present day there are many gentleman who would be shamed by the T'ang worthies.

Hsieh Chao-che¹³ said that formerly the strictness of the laws relating to officials was not as it is in the present times. From the prime minister above, down to the minor officials in courier posts and making circuits of the granaries, there are none who do not use empty phrases in their social intercourse. Moreover, if the officials in the capital were not too bad like this, those from the provinces were even more so. For the most part the (higher) officials did not devote their attention to administrative matters but altogether delegated such things to minor officials (scribes and assistants) and those minor officials who carried out their duties concerned themselves only with old documents from the past and the established practices of previous years, not daring to go beyond this to the slightest degree. Thus those above, in this way, placed the responsibility on those below who, in turn, could not do otherwise than respond by carrying out their duties in a perfunctory manner. If it happened that they did not, then those of higher rank among the lowly officials found some loophole within the law by which they might restrain them. Therefore, the officials of the prefectures and districts were, day and night, very busy only the time was not sufficient. The reason why the official administration could not be sustained lay in this. He also said that the laws established by the present dynasty were particularly strict. For example, in the Board of Revenue it was not permitted to employ people from Soochow, Sung-chiang and Chekiang for, as their lands would provide substantial tax revenues, it was feared that cheating would rapidly arise and they would become villainous.

This being so corruption and widespread evil practices all stemmed from these petty officials and, as the central officials were constantly transferred, how could they know this to be so. Nowadays, in the thirteen offices of the Board of Revenue, the petty officials are all natives of Shao-hsing so it may be said to be like looking at the autumn down and not seeing the eyelashes.

2(i)/8/10 (p189)

Laws and Regulations

Laws and prohibitory regulations are what a king cannot set aside yet they are not what makes for good order. This lies in making the hearts of men correct, in making (substantial) their customs and that is all. Therefore it is said: "To dwell in reverence and act with simplicity is the means whereby one may come near to the people."¹ Moreover the Duke of Chou, in

writing *The Establishment of Government in the History* said: "King Wen did not involve himself in the various government orders and notifications, legal processes and precautionary measures", and again: "With regard to the legal processes and precautionary measures, King Wen would not presume to know of these."² His intention to give repeated injunctions to men of later times may be said to be extreme. In the rule of Ch'in Shih Huang, "the matters of the empire, whether great or small, were all decided by the emperor, the stage being reached where the emperor weighed out one hundred and twenty catties of writings which was the measure for a day and a night and, unless he fulfilled the measure, he did not rest."³ In this way Ch'in subsequently perished.

T'ai Shih Kung (Ssu-ma Ch'ien) said: "Formerly the emperor's laws were especially strict and, as a result, deceit and falsity arose. In the end there was mutual deceit between those above and those below so that the situation could not be relieved."⁴ Thus a multiplicity of laws and regulations may be considered a means for hastening collapse yet a foolish and befuddled prince would still consider he had not reached perfection. Tu Tzu-mei in one of his verses wrote:

"Shun made use of the sixteen assistants,
Yet he himself was honoured and the Way exalted.
In Ch'in times responsibility was given to Shang Yang,
Laws and regulations were like the hairs of an ox."⁵

He also wrote:

"You watch the lamp and candle-light spread,
Which makes the flying moths dense."⁶

How appropriate are these words to the affairs of the present dynasty!

Han Wen Ti proclaimed the establishment of the san-lao elders⁷; filial and fraternal, agriculturally industrious, permanent officials each of whom he ordered to teach the people according to their own concepts. Thus, to have the elders, humble officials and to have them follow their own bent was the method of rule of Wen and Ching⁸ and the reason why they were able to change the people's ways and modify their customs. The people being honest and pure may then be compared to the glory of Ch'eng and K'ang.⁹ Chu-ko K'ung-ming had a sincere heart and established a just way so, in the exchanges between superiors and inferiors, no one complained. Even a small and insignificant state such as Shu could become comparatively prosperous.¹⁰ Ts'ao in Wei and Ch'üan in Wu¹¹ relied on Legalist methods to control their

officials yet disorder and rebellion continued to arise with almost never a year of peace. In the affairs of the empire it is certainly not laws which can act as protection. Shu Hsiang, in his letter to Tzu Chan,¹² wrote "When the kingdom is about to collapse then certainly regulations are numerous. If the laws and regulations are numerous then artful and cunning people would consider the law like the market place and although there are worthy men, they are not able to find employment for themselves. For this reason the affairs of such a state daily decline. How apt are the words of Tu Yüan-k'ai who, in his explanation of the *Tso Chuan*, writes: "If the laws are effective people follow the laws. If the laws fail then the laws follow the people."¹³

When men of former times first established laws they were not able to examine carefully the trends of affairs so as to make provision for change. Men of later times inherited what was already corrupt and were restrained by old regulations which they were unable to change or do away with and so sought, by further legislation, to remedy the situation. As a result laws became increasingly numerous and corrupt practices increased *pari passu*. Indeed, the affairs of the empire daily grew more vexatious. Finally, there was confusion and ineffectual action. In the intercourse between superior and inferior officials there was deception, consideration being given only to not losing the regulations of the ancestors. At no time was this more so than in the Ming period, as exemplified in the two matters of the management of military affairs and the practice of using paper currency where laws were established to save laws already in place yet ultimately were ineffectual.

Yeh Shih of the Sung period¹⁴ wrote: As a consequence of the malpractices of the T'ang and Five Dynasties periods, the powers of the military commissioners were completely re-appropriated by the emperor so that even the registration of one soldier, the origin of one aspect of wealth, or the guarding of one piece of land were all matters undertaken by the ruler himself. In the desire to derive the greatest benefits yet not suffer the major misfortunes there was, subsequently, the use of laws rather than people, the use of subofficial functionaries rather than officials. That prohibitions and bans were trivial and vexatious was especially different from ancient times when the authority and its implementation was, in particular, not divided. Nonetheless, how could this be so? As a result men's abilities declined, the outer provinces were reduced and the central government weak. Moreover, despite the magnitude of the empire the government was overawed by foreign invaders; all this was brought about by the legal system of one generation." He also wrote: "In recent times, in the court and in the provinces, both among those above and those below, no matter how small the matter or how trifling the crime, all first had some law to deal with them. Ultimately all the people of this period had their thoughts entirely circumscribed so that if a clever means was obtained, they thought it very

unusual and a law would be established to make a provision for it. Thus the laws became complex and all-encompassing so that men's abilities could not reach the highest level of expression and men's will did not have full scope. In their confusion the people bowed their heads and complied with the laws so the conduct of affairs was daily disrupted while customs grew daily more vicious. The poor people became increasingly destitute and helpless while artful villains increasingly achieved their purposes. This is what caused concern to the empire and why I, your humble servant, do not dare to make a false accusation." He furthermore said: "For a distance of ten thousand li, if a brow is wrinkled, a groan emitted or a breath indrawn, all is know to the emperor. Even so, when nothing is entrusted to officials, then the empire will float aimlessly, no more no less. The sorrows of a hundred years, or the misfortunes of a moment were all the emperor's sole responsibility, the multitude of officials playing no part. If, for a distance of ten thousand li, all is under the control of the emperor then the emperor himself certainly benefits. If the sorrows of a hundred years or the misfortunes of a moment are all the sole responsibility of the emperor, then what are the harmful effects of this? This is the reason why barbarians were able to usurp power and could not be resisted, why shame at the hands of enemies became extreme and could not be required."

Ch'en Liang,¹⁵ in his memorial to Hsiao-tsung,¹⁶ wrote: "In the Five Dynasties period the authority over military and financial matters had reverted to those in lower positions. I-tsu Huang-ti¹⁷ gathered control into the hands of the emperor and in this way brought settlement to calamity and disorder. Later generations did not, however, understand his original intention so continued the process without limitation. As a consequence prefectures and districts were empty names, root and branch both were weak."

In the 6th year of Hung-wu (AD1373), in the 9th month, on ting-wei, there was an order to officials responsible for general business that the monthly announcements be changed to quarterly and, if this was thought to be too frequent, then, in general, they could become annual announcements. In all the prefectures, regions and districts the legal cases and prisoners, whether in relation to trivial matters or weighty, relied upon legal processes for resolution with no need to transfer them to a higher authority. If there was some perversion of the course of justice then such misdeeds were exposed and rectified by the censors of the surveillance commission. The promulgation of this edict brought general benefit to the empire.¹⁸

At the time of Kuang Wu's restoration¹ it was possible to estimate the number of people within the four seas. In every ten (people) there was a reduction of two or three, frontier defences had fallen into disrepair and the beacon towers were completely destroyed. Perhaps in vain, prefects and district magistrates² had been established and a call to return issued to vagrants and wanderers. The emperor smiled saying: "Nowadays the frontiers are without people so to set up senior officials³ to administer them is like the uncrowned king of the Spring and Autumn period."⁴ Thus, the reduction of both prefectures and kingdoms, and of the number of officials is frequently seen throughout history and may be summed up by saying that "military matters are stopped, the affairs of the empire are made few, the official documents, taxes and personal services which must be attended to are made few and simplified, until a situation is reached where only one part in ten remains."⁵ From this it may be realised that the reason for the reduction of officials is to be found in the reduction of affairs. Nowadays, official documents daily grow more troublesome, litigation daily more common so those who are responsible must assume control, effecting a reduction. This being so the business of the empire will certainly become increasingly vexatious and unable to be borne. When this situation reaches an extreme there is an increase in the number of officials and things cannot be accomplished.

Hsün Hsü of the Chin period,⁶ in discussing this, said that he did not consider the reduction of officials to be equal to the reduction of affairs or the reduction of affairs, in turn, to be equal to the purification of the heart. Formerly Hsiao and Ts'ao,⁷ when ministers of Han, "fostered a spirit of tranquillity and the people were peaceful and unified."⁸ This is what he called purifying the mind. If there is repression of frivolous speech, a simplification of official documents, an eschewing of what is petty and trifling, a leniency towards minor infractions, and if those who like to change what is constant to pursue what is profitable are restrained by effective punishments this is what may be called a reduction of affairs.⁹ There should be careful attention to these words so that those responsible for administration are well acquainted with them. Then there may be avoidance of confusion allowing a balance to be struck between an excess and an insufficiency of officials.

At the time of Han Hsüan Ti (73-48BC) crime and violence arose. Chang Ch'ang² was appointed to act as minister of Chiao-tung.³ He requested that the officials appointed for the pursuit and apprehension (of these criminals) be men of merit, if possible all being even more

worthy than the three guardians.⁴ The emperor promised that this would be so. He issued a command to the high officials to effect transfer of district magistrates to the number of several tens of men. These district magistrates in Han times included many men of surpassing ability, selected from prefectural officials who would be able to conduct their affairs without the least anxiety about possible incompetence. Nowadays, among all those scholars upon whom the official robes are conferred for the first time, those who are fully conversant with official matters scarcely amount to one or two in every ten, while those who are vacillating and incompetent account for eight or nine out of every ten. Also men are not selected by virtue of their talent but by the drawing of lots. In this way the authority over the kingdom of one hundred li⁵ is conferred upon those who are mean and worthless. Thus, men without qualities first harm the people and ultimately harm themselves. As a consequence, regions of particular administrative difficulty become pitfalls for officials. Further, year by year malpractices become more deeply entrenched so that it is not possible to effect a remedy. Nevertheless, in Han times, officials were for the most part men accomplished in the classics so that Chang Ch'ang was able to achieve promotion and Hsüan Ti was able to employ him. Nowadays, within the empire, scholars are scholars no more, nor are officials officials so that, in endeavouring to employ them, we do not know what path to follow.

In the *Pi-chu* of Yü Shen-hsing⁶ it is stated that the great steward⁷ His Excellency, Sun P'ei-yang of Fu-ping,⁸ was concerned about members of the palace (possibly eunuchs) asking for favours which were difficult both to comply with, or disregard. There was established, for the selection of outside officials, the method of drawing lots. For a period everyone within the court considered this to be an equitable method. Down to the humble people of the villages and lanes the method met with general commendation yet they did not realise it was without substance. The ancients, in looking at such rules for the appointment of officials, would set them aside and not consider them, regarding one official as adequate (to do it). How, in making judgements, could they put themselves in the position of one official and accept without evidence. This is not right. When it comes to the good and bad aspects of a man's ability then it is that each has that for which he is appropriate. In terms of qualifications each has that which may be of benefit. In terms of the simplicity or complexity of a place each has that which is suitable. In the matter of distance, far and near each has that which is satisfactory yet for all to be given (a post) by the drawing of lots is like covering a mirror to see a vision or breaking the balance then making an estimate. From ancient times to now I have not heard of such a method.

Southern people were selected for the south and northern people for the north; this was the arrangement in former times. In the 6th year of the Cheng-ho reign period of the Sung

dynasty (AD1116) an imperial edict was issued to the effect that in the selection of district magistrates, although they may be sent a considerable distance (still) this should not exceed thirty i.⁹ Thirty i represents a distance of nine hundred li. Nowadays, in the selection of men, they frequently must move several thousand li finding themselves in places where both customs and language are unfamiliar. Moreover, the expenditure involved in taking up a position and settling the family cannot be estimated. "This would keep all the people running about on the roads."¹⁰ If there is the wish to do away with malpractices in the selection of officials must it necessarily be thus (i.e. the drawing of lots) to subsequently become equitable? If, indeed, the ruler is able to maintain his sincerity and spread justice then, from the great offices down, right to the metropolitan and court officials, there will be no-one who cannot be trusted. Moreover, the place of selection does not need to be the capital.

In the T'ang period, in the 1st year of Chen-kuang (AD627), when the price of grain in the capital was very high¹¹ there was, for the first time, division of the people from Loyang for the purposes of selection. In the 1st year of K'ai-yao (AD681), because the region beyond the passes was very distant and the cities of Ho and Lo¹² were the centre of the empire, there was the first proclamation of the two boards for east and west and that the two capitals should have separate appointments. After the selection was made they all travelled to the capital. What was termed the eastern selection was the selection managed in the eastern capital. In Kweichow, Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Fukien, officials were not appointed under the aegis of the Board of Civil Office but the military governor was deputed to select local people to fill vacant positions. In the 3rd year of Shang-yüan (AD676), on jen-yin in the 8th month, there was an imperial decree that henceforth those astute, honest and upright officials above the rank of wu-p'in were to be sent to become southern selection envoys.¹³ It was further ordered that investigating officials (censors) accompany them in an assessing capacity. In the 14th year of Ta-li (AD779), on i-hai in the 12th month, there was an imperial decree to the effect that full trust would be placed in the southern selection envoys and there would be an end to the dispatch of censorial officials. From this, Kweichow, Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Fukien officials each individually managed their own selection.¹⁴

In the biography of Li Hsien it states: "When Tai Tsung ascended the throne, he established Hsien as military commissioner for Ching-chou (Ching-nan), administrator for Chiang-ling, and in charge of the filling of vacant positions in Chiang-huai." It also says that when he (Hsien) ceased to be prime minister he became minister in charge of the Bureau of Personnel, controlling selection and recommendation in Chiang-huai and arranging the selection (of officials) in Hung-chou.¹⁵ In Liu Tzu's biography it states: "In the first year of the Hsing-

yüan reign period (AD784), he was transferred to be the vice-director of the Ministry of Personnel and was charged (in his duties) to manage matters of selection in Hung-chou. At that time, in the wake of robbery and plunder in the capital and drought and plague in the empire, the price of corn rose sharply so that those men so selected were not able to travel (to the capital) for transfer. Tzu was thus ordered to conduct the selection in Chiang-nan for the convenience of the Chiang-ling people.¹⁶ As a result Chiang-nan also assumed responsibility for its own selection processes.

Sung Shen Tsung (AD1068-1085) proclaimed that "for the officials of the eight circuits of Szechwan, Shensi, Fukien and Kwangnan, upon fulfilment of terms, the transfer, the welcoming and the sending off were arduous and difficult and, moreover, he ordered the fiscal commission to establish a standard and use it to avoid the travelling for selection."¹⁷ This also represented usage of the T'ang method. Those who nowadays criticise this certainly say that, in this way, there are many who pass through the gate of seeking preferment through self-interest and start along the road of bribery and graft. How is it that the men of T'ang times were altogether pure and incorrupt whilst men of the present time are avaricious and corrupt? The Master, in speaking to Chung Kung, said: "Raise to office those whom you know."¹⁸ Nowadays, in the selection of scholars, the Board of Rites uses the method of concealing the name in making selection which is to raise to office those whom one does not know. The Ministry of Personnel utilises the method of drawing lots and this is to employ those whom one does not know. This brings about a situation in which officials are unskilled in knowing men but artful in the avoidance of (their) duties. In the period after an official takes up his position, if the man and the place are not compatible, then the administration breaks down. If the administration breaks down then the common people rebel and if the common people rebel conflict arises (weapons of war come forth). As a consequence, appointments of officials will be made by the army (generals) but even these methods cannot be followed. Why not be just and equitable and allow the people to recommend those whom they know, to examine clearly their merit and to demand the efficacy of their actions as officials? T'ang T'ai Tsung spoke to his attendant officials saying that he himself would be responsible for the selection of regional chiefs whilst, in the selection of district magistrates, he proclaimed that those above the fifth rank (wu p'in) should each select one man.

In our own time (dynasty), on i-mao in 11th month of 1st year of Cheng-t'ung (AD1436), by imperial decree, those officials in the capital above the third rank (san-p'in) would each recommend one man as censor who was pure and incorrupt, just and equitable, who had a thorough grasp of affairs and was worthy of his appointment. Those officials of the fourth rank

(ssu-p'in) in the capital as well as the officials of the Imperial Academy and the Hanlin Academy, the head of each department and his assistant, the supervising censor responsible for scrutiny in the six offices of scrutiny and the investigating censors for each circuit, would all recommend one man who was incorruptible and cautious, quick-witted and generous, who loved the people and was worthy of his appointment, to be a district magistrate. The Ministry of Personnel should again examine them in detail with a view to employing them.¹⁹ Certainly, if those who were desirous of rectifying the malpractices of the present time were to act like this then, subsequently, worth and talent would be obtained and rational administration arise.

From the time when men from the south were selected for office in the north and vice versa, those taking up their positions frequently travelled several thousand li. They were compelled as a result to go into debt to assume their official positions. Moreover, they were unfamiliar with local customs and had difficulty in understanding the language, so that, in many instances, administrative power was entrusted to unscrupulous clerks. Formerly, in the last years of the T'ang, this was put into effect once in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. In the 11th month of the 5th year of the K'ai-ch'eng period of Wen Tsung's reign (AD840) the Ling-nan military commissioner, Lu Chün,²⁰ memorialised saying: "I humbly consider that the selection of officials for the high rocky coast (i.e. Ling-nan) be on a different basis from those of Chiang-huai. Unless one is familiar with local customs it is difficult to seek out the people's sufferings. Moreover within Ling-nan, in bygone days, corruption lay in the selection from the south whereas the basis of current malpractice lies in the taking of talent from the north. I, then, was in charge of twenty-two prefectures but only in the two prefectures of Shao and Kuang²¹ were the officials each year selected by the Board of Civil Office. Because of this then underlings, poor and weak, will give orders to officials as they are of the sort who come from distant places and are without ability. By the time they become officials all have accumulated considerable debt and there is not one in ten who is willing to become acquainted with honesty. When I had been in office for four years and was completely conversant with conditions I hoped, with regard to the officials of Chao-chou,²² that there be particular compliance with former practices and precedence and that (the emperor) did not order the Board of Civil Office to employ the selection method of chu-ni²³ and, moreover, that he commission the seeking of talent within the local region. If those officials to whom authority is delegated are incorrupt, cautious and reputable, reliance on former practices will permit a surveillance commissioner²⁴ to present a memorial. If matters are satisfactory and plans long lasting then laws may be put into effect." (Moreover) imperial decree approved this memorial. Certainly those ordinances which men of former times considered unsuitable were changed (reformed). Could those deciding upon high officials possibly not use men of learning.

Before the introduction of the method of drawing lots it was still possible, in the selection of officials, for individuals to fill particular vacancies on the register. Although, in many instances, the place of appointment was selected to suit the appointee it was also still possible for the appointee to be selected to suit the place. From the introduction of the new method the outcome could not be known. In regions which were difficult and complicated of administration there was a succession of appointments with not one being worthy and they were continually being deprived of their posts and dismissed. The way of the princely man lies in perfect justice (fairness). In preserving a heart which avoids suspicion subsequently the governors (officials) were to be appointed on trial.

Formerly T'ang Chiao²⁵ was appointed as vice-president of the Board of Civil Office and was to be registered. Someone said his family home was in Shu so he was sent to Wu. Others said also that, since his parents were old, he should first take up office in Chiang-nan so he was sent to Lung-yu. The annals consider this to be ridiculous. If men are employed thus how is it possible to aim at the realisation of the principles of peace. The *Veritable Records* states: "In 1st month of 4th year of Hung-wu (AD1371), on yen-ch'en, the prefect of Honan, Hsü Lin requested permission to retire from office to care for his mother who was old and lived in Kuang-ch'i in Ch'i. There was then an imperial decree transferring Lin to become prefect of Ch'i-chou thus allowing him to care for his aged mother."²⁶ When a sage ruler arises who is upright and sincere in his treatment of people the consequent encouragement to all officials is extreme.

In the later part of the Wan-li period (AD1573-1619), Ku Ta-shao of Chang-shu wrote the *Chu-ch'ien ch'uan*.²⁷ In his style of composition he imitated the *Mao Yung*.²⁸ This essay, on a bamboo slip sent to the emperor, says that above there was the selection of (Hanlin) bachelors, supervising secretaries and censors while below the provincial and metropolitan triennial examination selected scholars. Both should be decided by me so I may display my talents. These are misanthropic as well as sarcastic words. However to use such remarks to explain to others is a good way. Were "Ch'u Wang's standing on top of the knot" and "P'en Tzu's taking the tally out of the bag"²⁹ not what the ancients used in the establishment of emperors and kings but what nowadays are used only in the selection of scholars?

Of those whom the T'ang people termed selected, some were retained and some were released. In the 2nd year of Tsung-chang (AD669) the junior executive attendant of the Bureau of Appointments, P'ei Hsing-chien, first established the long name list.³⁰ Sung Po³¹ said that the long name list (clearly) established those who were retained and those who were released.

Those retained entered for selection while those released did not attain entry. Those who were already established on the register then passed before the examination director and supervising secretary of the Chancellery. Those who were not able were dismissed. Therefore those released were many, while those retained were few. In the Ching-yün period (AD710-711) Sung Ching was appointed to be the minister of personnel.³² Li I³³ and Lu Ts'ung-yüan³⁴ were vice ministers and none feared the strong or oppressive, so the path for private interview or request for help was blocked. The number registered was in excess of ten thousand yet those retained after the three selections did not exceed two thousand. People complied with the fairness of this. In Sung times these methods were still preserved. In the 5th month of the 1st year of Ch'ien-tao (AD1165) in Hsiao Tsung's reign, on i-hai, there was a proclamation to the effect that those examinees not selected were not eligible for departmental appointments.³⁵ It was not like the present time where, after one graduation, (the scholar) receives a stipend as if maintaining a contract.

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Men's Ability

Yeh Shih of the Sung period wrote saying that laws and regulations daily became more troublesome, the essential instruments for ruling the nation daily more arcane and prohibitions and restrictions more binding, until it was so that one could not move. In this way men's wisdom and foresight were unable to escape the enmeshing network of bonds and constraints and their ability could not find an effective outlet.¹ Nowadays, in discussions among men, topics outside the laws are barely considered; men abruptly wave their hands and do not dare (to dwell on such matters). By virtue of Han's being able to utilise exhaustively men's ability, Ch'en T'ang² was still constrained by petty scholars. But what of the present times? It is little wonder that brave and outstanding scholars no longer see themselves as determined and impetuous but fall back on being commonplace and weak. If Mei Sheng or Hsiang-ju³ had studied the modern interpretations of the classics it is certain they would have been unable to produce their literary works. If Kuan Chung or Sun Wu⁴ studied modern laws then it is certain they would not be able to put to use their strategy. Therefore the laws bring harm to the expression of men's ability. Those who are effective in their guarding against lewdness number perhaps three out of ten while those who are effective in their hindrance of brave and eminent scholars number, as a rule, seven out of ten.

During the time preceding the Wan-li reign period (AD1573-1619) the laws were complicated but were supported by civilising influences. Their administrative efficacy created something akin to a peaceful era under the rule of an ancient king. After the Wan-li period the

laws were still preserved but the civilising influences were lost so that opportunism daily increased while talent and ability daily diminished. The gentlemen of these times worked at the 'cutting of cap strings'⁵ but were not able to obtain the heads of their enemies. Moreover the small men became skilled in the theft of horses and were unwilling to save the prince's suffering.

Really it is as Mo Tzu said: "When entrusted with the government of the palace then they rob and plunder. When entrusted with defence of cities then they raise a rebellion. When judging criminal cases then they are not just and in the distribution of wealth then they are inequitable."⁶ As is written in the *Lü Shih ch'un-ch'iu*: "While in office there is (among officials) disorder and confusion; while handling wealth (of the nation) they are close at hand (ie to the emperor) they remonstrate with him. (Further) if as soldiers they are sent off to lead an army they often retreat because of cowardiness and fear."⁷ It is also as Liu Fen said: "Planning is not sufficient to eradicate villainy and violence, but deception is sufficient to manipulate the conferring of favours or the displaying of terrors. Bravery is not sufficient to guard and protect the nation yet violence is sufficient to disrupt and bring harm to the rural areas."⁸ Ah alas! I have realised that the law alone (i.e. without civilising influence) is of no use.

The *Shih-lu* states that, in the 5th year of Hsüan-te (AD1430), on ping-hsü in the 8th month, the emperor brought the morning audience to a close and travelled to the Wen-hua palace.⁹ Of the scholars such as Yang P'u¹⁰ and others who waited on him, he asked: "In the selection of the various officials which method may be used in order to completely obtain the right men?" Yang P'u replied: "If there is strictness in (the matter of) recommendations and purity (in the conduct of) the periodical examinations of the services of officials will you be troubled by not getting the right men?" The emperor said: "In recent times there are deficiencies in the method of recommendation for, with one word of recommendation there is the desire to make secure a whole lifetime. Does this not also present difficulties? I consider that if the Way is followed in education and upbringing then men's abilities will emerge." Tung Chung-shu of the Han period said: "(As a rule) not nurturing scholars and desiring to seek the worthy is like not polishing gems yet seeking the beauty of adornment." This is a matter of knowing the essentials. If there is merely compliance with the form of the triennial examination of the service of officials but the code of teaching of the Three Matters¹¹ is not practised then, although the emperor be a Yao or Shun, he would still, as a consequence, be unable to effect complete regulation in government.¹²

Han Wu Ti despatched regional inspectors "to tour the prefectures and kingdoms, to scrutinize the administration, to decide dismissals and promotions and to achieve a resolution in situations of grievance or litigation. They enquired into affairs on the basis of the six aspects. The first was whether the great families exceeded their rule in their fields and dwellings, using their power to oppose the weak and their numbers to tyrannise those who were few. The second was to see whether the two-thousand bushel officials² did not comply with the imperial commands, but opposed the common good and directed their attention to private interests and further, to see whether they aligned themselves with flatterers or acted in mercenary fashion, encroaching on the rights of the ordinary people, collecting and amassing property for themselves and being evil. On the third point they examined whether the two-thousand bushel officials were unsympathetic in cases of doubtful litigation, encouraging the cruel custom of putting people to death, meting out punishment or reward according to their mood, and, if annoyed, acting in a harsh and oppressive manner, fleecing the masses, so that they were detested by the common people, causing landslides and the splitting of rocks, unnatural omens and false stories. On the fourth point they determined whether the two-thousand bushel officials were unfair in their selection of people for public office, whether they were partial to flattery and kept the virtuous from becoming known and whether they were prejudiced in the distribution of their favours. The fifth point was to evaluate whether the sons and younger brothers of the two-thousand bushel officials were availing themselves of their position and power, to make requests with regard to what they wished to control. The sixth point was to find out whether the two-thousand bushel officials were associating with inferiors against the common good, behaving in a sycophantic manner to those who were powerful, everywhere accepting bribes and doing injury to the official orders."³ There was also an order, at the year's end, to travel by rapid coach and obtain the annals and records for presentation to the emperor. To be humble in rank yet make the appointment honoured, to be lowly in station yet hold great power, this was the meaning of 'the great and the small mutually restraining' and the 'internal and external mutually supporting'. Originally, from Ch'in times, a censor was despatched to oversee the prefectures. In the *Shih Chi* it is written that Ch'in Shih Huang "divided the empire into thirty-six prefectures and within these prefectures there were established prefects and military officials to oversee matters,"⁴ this being the first time that the feudal lords were done away with and prefects appointed, thus establishing the system.

At the close of Ch'eng Ti's reign, Chai Fang-chin and Ho Wu⁵ (both memorialised on this method). In Ho Wu's memorial it was said: "The practice according to the *Spring and*

Autumn Annals was to use the honourable to control the humble and not the humble to oversee the honourable. The position of regional inspector holds a rank of junior great officer yet they oversee those of a two-thousand bushel rank. Thus the light and heavy are not mutually regulated.... I would ask therefore that regional inspectors be abolished and chief magistrates be re-established.⁶ However Chu Po⁷ thought that the practice of the Han house to establish regional inspectors whose position was humble but whose rewards were substantial would mean that they were all stimulated to gain merit and show willingness to advance. (He wrote that) Fang-chin had memorialised to the effect that regional governors⁸ rank truly as two-thousand bushel officials and their position is next to the nine ministers⁹ and that if among the nine ministers, there exists a vacancy this is filled by someone of high merit. If however from among these, there are those with talent who attend to their own interests and no more, he (Chu) feared that their efficiency would deteriorate and that villainy would not be constrained by the law. He asked, therefore, that the position of regional governor be abolished and regional inspectors be re-established.¹⁰ Liu Chao, in discussing this, said: "(At the end of Hsiao Wu's reign, when there was the initial establishment of regional inspectors), the investigation of illegal activities consisted merely of the six aspects. Despatch carriages roamed on tour and there was no established headquarters. The rank was set at six hundred (shih) and this did not give rise to disputation. Ch'eng Ti changed them to be regional governors and the defect became, for the first time, important."¹¹

If the words of these several men are examined then (it would appear) that, in the setting up of regional governors, men of mediocre ability are scarcely able, through orderly promotion, to protect their interests while the strong, in their drive to seize power, disrupt the land. So it may be known that the six aspects of the regional inspectors provided an equitable law unchanging for a hundred generations. Moreover, the present day investigating censor examines places on circuit, so complying with the concepts (intentions) of the ancients. Further, the best part was that they were replaced annually, whereas the office of prefect could not be otherwise but longer. Those with the office of examiner could not hold their positions for long. If they do so then there is the favouring of relatives (nepotism) and malpractices arise, expectations are insubstantial and the laws are trifled with. Thus, the system of annual replacement differed from the law of the Han period. Further, the efficacy of 'examining the officials and pacifying the people' may already be seen within a two to three hundred year period. If a man relies on his authority to intimidate and receives bribes outside the law then this, particularly, is a case of a man not fulfilling his duties. We don't, because of the avarice and cruelty of the prefects and district magistrates, destroy the prefectures and districts so how can we, because of the corruption and confusion of the circuit patrols, put an end to censors?

When it comes to ranking there is a ceiling at the seventh grade which is similar to six hundred piculs in the Han system.

In the *Wang-chih* (it is written): "The emperor despatched his high officials to be the three supervisors who oversaw the kingdoms of the regional earls, there being three supervisors for each kingdom."¹² Mr Ying of Chin-hua¹³ said that the regional earls are those whom the emperor has appointed to manage the outlying regions and there are appointed overseers to control them. Where the regional earl is authoritative then he may easily assume his responsibility and, when the great official is a humble man, he does not dare to act in an excessive manner. This exemplifies the subtle meaning of the great and the small mutually supporting one another and the internal and external mutually controlling one another. What harm will ensue if the light and heavy are not mutually adjusted? If there is not an understanding of the intent of the regulations of the ancients and there is frivolous discussion of change, then we shall never be without those who incite confusion and create a disturbance. I, in regard to the period between Ch'eng and Ai, saw the Han regulations as having lapsed, losing their solid foundation.

T'ang, from the 20th year of Chen-kuan in T'ai Tsung's reign (AD638), sent the chamberlain for law enforcement, Sun Fu-chia¹⁴ and the vice-director of the Chancellery, Chu Sui-liang¹⁵ and others, to a total of twenty-two men, to make a circuit investigation of the four regions in the light of the six aspects and to demote or promote officials. The emperor himself supervised them and, from the mu-shou¹⁶ down, selected and advanced those of worth and ability to a total of twenty people and also put to death guilty officials to a total of seven people. From those who were banished for life down to those who were dismissed there were several hundred men. Subsequently, of those who were constantly being despatched as envoys, some were called surveillance commissioners and some were called grand coordinators.¹⁷ In Hsüan Tsung's reign, in the 1st month of the 5th year of the T'ien-pao reign period (AD746), a command was given to the high officials of the Board of Rites, Hsi Yü and others¹⁸ to go by different routes to 'patrol and examine' the customs of the empire as well as demoting and promoting officials. This, then, was how the term patrol and examine first arose.

In the 2nd month of the 22nd year of the K'ai-yüan reign period (AD725), on hsin-hai, there were re-established, for the ten circuits, investigating and supervising commissioners.¹⁹ There was an imperial decree (to the effect that), in thinking of the common people, the mind must extend everywhere throughout the empire (there must be a good heart caring for people throughout the empire). From ancient times there have been good pastors (i.e. governors or

prefects) the effects of whose good works have brought benefit to the capital. That which is required in the selection of the various cities, one by one seeking a surveillance commissioner,²⁰ is not only that they ferret out information (spy) but also that they be entrusted with the task of effecting peace. The grand master for closing court, the acting censor's assistant, the classification commissioner for within the passes and the supreme pillar of the state, Lu Hsüan²¹ and others were appointed and given great trust. (These were men who) in both reputation and real worth were great and who understood the principles of government. They were men who, in addition, were pure and unwavering in their devotion to the public weal. In some, despite age, there is not decay, in some the white jade is without flaws, so that it may be that their areas of administration (chün and kuo) are exemplary and they bring help to the ordinary people. In recent years several sub-prefectures have suffered a loss of harvest creating a pre-disposition to vagrancy, to which one cannot fail to be sympathetic. Still there are among officials those who do not fear being without benevolence and are not content if they do not flatter, so that, in reality, it is imperative to remedy these faults and this necessarily lies in the appointment of worthy men. It may also be said that eradicating the causes of hardship and suffering is through conformity with the meaning of great goodness. If this order is brought into effect in one circuit the benefit will extend to ten thousand people so that in the appointment of officials, one must await men of worth.

In Yü Wen-ting's *Pi Chu*²² it states that in Yüan times the system of custom and law was such that if, among all the internal officials, there were those who did not comply with the laws the investigating censor would impeach them and if there were those among the external officials who did not comply with the laws the censor from the rotary censorate of state affairs would impeach them. It is the same as the present system in which within there are the chiefs of the circuits whilst without there is the regional censorate. The so-called censors of the rotary censorate belong eventually to that censorate (ie not to the central government). Each year on the eighth month, they go on circuit, then return in the fourth month for administrative purposes. Moreover, the sending of officials on commission is not done by means of a court decree. They are of relatively little importance. In our own dynasty the censors were all under the auspices of the Censorate and received an imperial commission to go out for purposes of scrutiny. After one year they were changed, this being the same method as the Han employed in commissioning regional inspectors. Since the T'ang and Sung periods it has not been equalled.

In Tsung Hsiung's biography in the *Chin Shih* (it is written): "From the time of Hsi Tsung on (AD1135), envoys were despatched to investigate and enquire into the positive and

negative aspects of the administration. From the time of Shih Tsung's accession (AD1161), every several years, (such men) were sent out for the purpose of demoting and promoting officials. Therefore, within the Ta-ting reign period (AD1161-1189), the officials of the prefectures and districts all upheld the law, the common people prospered and the time was described as a peaceful era." (It is also written): "When Chang Tsung came to the throne he established provincial judges for the nine routes."²³

2(i)/9/6 (p209) Matters Outside the 'Six Aspects'¹ Were Not Examined

The brief of the regional inspectors in Han times was merely to scrutinise, in terms of the 'Six Aspects', the various prefectures and kingdoms and nothing more.² It was not appropriate to be concerned with the affairs of prefects and district magistrates. Thus, when Chu Po was regional inspector of Chi-chou, there was an imperial proclamation informing the officials and the people that, with regard to those who wished to make a complaint against the district vice-magistrate or the district defender, the regional inspector would not examine the 'yellow sash' but that each would himself go to the prefecture.³ When Pao Hsüan was regional governor of Yü-chou he conducted law-suits in which he examined that which exceeded the clauses of the imperial mandate and he was impeached.⁴ Further, Hsüeh Hsüan memorialised the emperor saying: "When officials were numerous there was harsh government and official exhortations were numerous and vexatious, the blame for this resting for the most part with the regional inspectors. Some would not comply with administrative regulations effecting promotion and demotion according to their own wishes, thus often meddling with prefectural and district matters."⁵ In the biography of Chai Fang-chin it states: "When he was moved to Shuo-fang as regional inspector, he was not, as an officer, troublesome and if what he examined conformed to regulations it was put into effect."⁶ From the time when the administrative activities of the regional inspectors encroached on those below, governors and district prefects were unable to do anything.⁷ The affairs of the empire were like the 'tangling of unravelled silk'.

In the *Veritable Records of T'ai Tsu*, for the 4th month of the 21st year of Hung-wu (AD1388), there was a proclamation informing the people that the investigating censors of Kiangsi, Hua-lun and others had been judged and punished according to law and that, henceforth, officials who coveted bribes and transgressed the laws would be regarded with the utmost gravity and would be followed up and questioned through legal processes and be denied the excuse that it was a trifling matter.⁸

The one spoken of as the Son of Heaven is the one who wields the great power of the empire. How does he wield this power? The power over the empire may be delegated to the various officials yet is still lodged in the emperor. From the dukes, nobles and high officials down through the heads of the hundred villages² to the least important officials,³ all share in the power assigned by the emperor so that, if each undertakes the management of his own area of administration, the authority of the emperor is increasingly honoured. In later generations those inept in administration appeared, and while the entire power of the empire was gathered into the hands of the Son of Heaven, yet the vastness of the myriad hidden causes of action⁴ remained something which could not possibly be managed by one man. Thus, the power was transferred to the law, as a result of which there were many laws to act as prohibitions and restraints. Although great villains had thereby that which they could not transgress it was also the case that the worthy and wise officials were not able to render even the slightest service (to the empire) which was beyond the confines of the law so altogether they were cautious, conscientious and law-abiding, seeking only not to be at fault and that is all. Then the power of the Son of Heaven was delegated not to his ministers and high officials but to petty officials and sub-official functionaries.⁵ As a consequence, what was of particular importance in the empire was that the prefects and district magistrates should be officials who were close to the hearts of the people, yet those who, today, are particularly devoid of power are these very officials (are none other than these prefects and district magistrates). If the prefects and district magistrates are without authority the hardships and sufferings of the people do not come to the ears of the emperor so how can it be hoped that a secure peace will be achieved or that there will be a prolongation of the imperial mandate.

In the *History* it is written: "When the head is vexatious the members are idle and all affairs will go to ruin."⁶ When the prefects and district magistrates grow daily less important and the petty and mean officials daily more important, then the power of the emperor is already lost and the kingdom is no longer his kingdom. How, then, can government decrees be promulgated? The troublesome surveillance of officials should be done away with and attention directed to the efficacious activities of those long-established in office, whilst power should certainly devolve on to men of quality so that the prefects and district magistrates are worthy and the affairs of the people well-ordered. This is of particular importance at the present time.

Wu Yüan-ying of the Yüan period, in his colophon (post-face) to Ou-yang Shih's *Explanation of the Chi-chiu chang*,⁷ wrote that in the present age, every three years, the prefects

and district magistrates complete their terms of office. Before sufficient time has elapsed for them to become the ears and eyes of a new prefecture or district they are gone. Moreover, in their employment of people, they are not able to make their own selections and, in confronting local problems, are not able to come to their own conclusions. In financial matters they are altogether constrained by (other) officials and are unable to achieve independent utilisation of funds, whilst military personnel are not recruited from among the (local) people so they do not have particular knowledge of them. Those who, in ancient times, administered the prefectures were able to select their own deputies and within the commanders of outlying provinces of the T'ang empire there was, in many instances, personal selection of subsidiary officials. For this reason the prefect, in the management of the affairs of the prefecture, delegated to some the management of financial matters and to others punishments and litigation so that the prefect was not unduly burdened yet administration proceeded as if automatically. Although the (district) magistrate's responsibility was for one district he had also deputy magistrates to whom he delegated matters pertaining to agriculture and irrigation, secretaries to attend to the keeping of records and police for the repression of robbers and criminals so that the magistrate too was not especially burdened (administratively) it merely falling to him to decide whether a particular administrative course was feasible or not. Nowadays (officials) from (the rank of) one ming (ie the lowest grade) up all emanate from the Ministry of Personnel and, when they meet some matter to be brought to resolution in the public hall (headquarters), one may take one position and one another which is seized upon by the minor functionaries as an opportunity for malfeasance so that they change the written documents, make good (fill in) gaps and omissions, alter the month and year and change the names of the sender and the recipient. Through these activities they are increasingly unable to understand fully the circumstances of the people.

In the T'ang period there were, as taxes, the shang-kung, the sung-shih and the liu-chou, each with its own fixed amount.⁸ With regard to the military, each prefecture had its (own) examination in martial arts and this was something which only the prefect could assign. At the time of the flowering of the Sung, each year there was a constant tax levy and where the seat of administration was, there was a surplus after expenditure, passing guests came and went, and government stipends were rich and substantial so that scholars all were happy in their employment and anxious to achieve merit. Although the levels of military strength did not reach those of T'ang times, groups of civilian volunteers were collected together in tens and fives, were provided with clothing and weapons (bows and crossbows), and (practised) sitting and rising, piercing and stabbing (i.e. trained in swordsmanship), each (group) protecting a township or village. If enemies came they could be mobilized and the prefectures and districts could then combine their resources. Nowadays, officials regard revenues from taxation as important in that

if they do not retain any surplus then their regular salary does not provide for their needs. Therefore, many (officials) are susceptible to bribery.

Soldiers, moreover, came from near at hand to garrison distant regions and these became visiting armies with their own registers and tallies, each having a leader (general). Still it is known that they consume in idleness the tax resources of the prefectures and districts yet do not again involve themselves in the business of the prefects and district magistrates. The appointment of officials, the conduct of administration, the regulation of finances and the management of military matters are the four areas of authority of the prefectures and districts yet nowadays, in all cases, they do not have these powers. For this reason, although the forms of intercourse between superiors and inferiors seem to be maintained, there is no unanimity in the orders given. Although the lawful orders seem to be preserved there is no uniformity in the discussion. When the prefects and district magistrates are unsuitable for their positions those who would discuss the meaning beyond the laws must certainly examine and practice the ancient ways, being, in their actions, above suspicion and without obstruction, yet there are none who are equal to these requirements. Moreover, there is no return to the ease of the ancient method of devoting three seasons to agricultural matters and one season to the practice of military methods and, as a result, there is an increasing division between agricultural and military matters. If a particularly poor year is encountered then the tax revenues of the prefectures and districts, in all cases, do not reach their quotas. The soldiery is without food and there is a taking from the east and from the west. The public granaries are empty and the prefectures and districts again do not have a surplus to await use. At times flood and drought follow without interruption so that the countryside is desolate and the farmers cadaverous yet the prefectures and districts are unable to afford relief. As a result people are compelled to leave their native places. Therefore, one may speak of the management of affairs but the power for this does not lie with the prefectures and districts; one may speak of promoting what is beneficial yet the power for doing this does not lie in the prefectures and districts; (likewise) one may speak of the administration of military matters yet the power for doing this does not lie with the prefectures and districts. How then is it possible to again discuss the way of enriching the kingdom and making the people prosperous? Certain it is that the authority in these four matters must, in all cases, again return to the prefectures and districts, then the prefects and district magistrates will assuredly fill their posts with credit. Then the kingdom may be enriched and the people made prosperous; then the soldiers and farmers may each attain their livelihood.

In the 8th year of the Ch'un-yu reign period of Sung Li Tsung (AD1248) the supervising censor (who was concurrently the heir-apparent's palace expositor), Ch'en Ch'iu-lu memorialised

saying:⁹ "At the present time the method for relieving corruption has four major aspects (important points). There ought to be the adoption of Hsia-hou T'ai-chu's argument for the consideration of the merging of districts and prefectures enabling district magistrates to have direct access to the court.¹⁰ (There ought to be) use of the regulation, taking the existing population as a fixed number, of the 6th year of the Sung Yüan-chia reign period (AD429) to enable the district magistrates to exert themselves to the utmost in their nourishing and tending (of the people).¹¹ There ought to be imitation of I Tzu's¹² method of sending out high officials to be magistrates so augmenting their authority. There ought to be compliance with Kuang Wu's intention in the promotion of Cho Mao to be (one of the) san-kung so raising the morale.¹³ Subsequently this would bring it about that there would be correction to the demarcation of boundaries, a clarification of the registers of population, a restraint of unregulated expenditure and a reduction of exorbitant tax demands. It would also be possible to take these several statements (proposals) and put them into effect in the present times.

According to the biography of Wu Ch'ung-yün¹⁴ in the *Chiu T'ang Shu*, for the 13th year of Yüan-ho (AD818), when he was military commissioner of Heng-hai,¹⁵ he sent up a memorial saying: "I consider that the reason why the lands north of the Yellow River have been able to resist the orders of the court over the last sixty years may, in broad outline, be identified. It is because the provincial governors have lost (been deprived of) their administrative role which, on the contrary, has devolved onto defence command generals, who control military matters. If the provincial governors were in each case to resume their erstwhile duties, which would include control of the military, then how would the military commissioners, even if possessed of the wickedness of (An) Lu-shan or (Shih) Ssu-ming,¹⁶ be able to occupy a single region in rebellion? The reason whereby there are those in the lands north of the Yellow River who have been able to resist the court's edicts (central authority) is simply that they have usurped the functions of the provincial governors and district magistrates and themselves tyrannically abused their own power. I, in my administration of the three districts, Te-chou, Ti-chou and Ching-chou, already used official papers in each case to return to the provincial governors their administrative functions in toto. Particularly is it appropriate that, at regional level, the control of military matters revert to the provincial governor."¹⁷ This was followed. As a consequence the laws and regulations were restored and each returned to his designated duties. After this, although the three regions of Yu, Chen and Wei, according to the old tradition north of the Ho-pei, autonomously conferred hereditary titles, in the one administrative region of Ts'ang-chou¹⁸ there was only compliance with the received edicts and agreement to hand over to a successor due to the implementation of Ch'ung-yün's proposals.

At the time of Tsu Tsung,¹⁹ whenever there was the appointment of a prefect to a large prefecture, there was the bestowal of an imperial order, yet this was not a regular practice. In the 7th month of the 4th year of Cheng-hua (AD1468) the prefect of Lien-chou prefecture, the Hsing Cheng, was about to take up his appointment. Because Lien-chou was close to Chu-ch'ih and strategic for Chiao-chih (Annam) and the bandits from nearby Kwangsi were attacking and plundering the cities and townships causing great suffering among the people, there was a special request for an imperial order. This was followed. (Likewise) when the prefect-elect of Chi-an prefecture, the general Hsü, was about to go to his post, because Chi-an had many powerful families of a violent and overbearing nature and was bedeviled by much troublesome litigation there was also a request for an imperial order to enable these problems to be expeditiously resolved. This (also) was followed.²⁰

2(i)/9/16 (p220)

Frontier Defence Commands¹

The calamities of the present dynasty are, in general, the same as those of the Sung. Yüeh Fei advised Chang So thus: "The capital, Pien depends on Hopei being made secure. If there is reliance on strategic thoroughfares and a proliferation of strategic defence posts, with whole cities being surrounded by defence constructions, then although, of all cities, some will harass the enemy and some will come to the rescue, the Chin people will not dare pry into Honan and the land on which the capital is based will be secure."² Wen T'ien-hsiang observed that his (i.e. the Sung) dynasty, taking a warning from the disorders of the later Five Dynasties period, made a cutback in frontier defence commands. Although this may have been sufficient to reform the malpractice of a tail that is too large, nevertheless the country as a result grew increasingly weak. Thus, when an enemy came to one particular region, the region was destroyed or to one district then the district was laid waste. He thought that at the time it was appropriate to divide the empire into four garrisons so making the areas large and their forces numerous in a manner sufficient to resist the enemy. Thus, on the appointed day, they would in unison exert themselves and there would be an advance and no retreat. Their points of defence would be many and their strength fragmented; they would weary of chasing around on service so that those of our people who were heroic souls would wait for a time to rise in their midst, thus it would not be hard to cause the enemy to withdraw.³ Ah, alas! The world says that T'ang declined because of frontier defence commands but, from the middle of that age onward, the fact that they did not become annexed to the Uighurs and Tibet,⁴ or destroyed by the depredations of Huang Chao,⁵ was due to nothing other than the strength of the frontier defence commands. When Sung, in the Ching-k'ang reign period (AD1126), first established the

four circuits and when Chin, in the Hsing-yüan,⁶ first created the 'nine dukes' was this not already late?

Yin Yüan, in his *T'ang Shuo*,⁷ wrote "It had often been said that the reason whereby the T'ang perished was through the strength of the feudal lords but that was not the most important reason. The feudal lords weakened the T'ang but the T'ang was already weak and the reason why it had not collapsed over a long period was that the feudal lords held it together. That the chiefs of Yen, Chao and Wei brought disorder to the T'ang system, taking sole possession of (their lands) and ruling them like the ancients setting up states, attests to the strength of the feudal lords. Nevertheless, all depended on the importance of the T'ang. How is this so? When those false kings decreed that there be joint rule then this could easily be followed, and, even though the T'ang hated it, they could not do away with it. When Hopei complied with, and followed, the decrees then those who would bring chaos to the empire were not able to follow their disorderly course whereas, if Hopei did not comply but rebelled, then able scoundrels would increasingly arise.

At the time of Te Tsung (AD780-804), Chu Tz'u and Li Hsi-lieh first followed their path of usurpation but were finally defeated and destroyed.⁸ T'ien Yüeh's rebellion preceded this, (Wang) Wu-chün's compliance followed it.⁹ Hsien Tsung (AD806-820) wiped out Shu and brought peace to Hsia, punished Ts'ai but pacified Yün, and had soldiers linking the four regions so that disorder did not arise, thus finally completing the achievement of the restoration.¹⁰ T'ien Shih received his command and Wang Ch'eng-tsung returned to his kingdom.¹¹ When Wu Tsung (AD841-846) was about to put down the rebellion of Liu Chen he first rectified three garrisons and cut short the plan of forming an alliance so the emperor's punishments were complete.¹² In such a two hundred year period, even if there were traitorous ministers or rebellious offspring who wanted to usurp the nation's mandate, or to kill generals and ministers, nevertheless they would not dare to cast their eyes on the kingdom. It is not that their strength was insufficient, but that there was fear of the strength of the feudal lords. Moreover, after the Kuang-ming reign period (AD880) Kwangtung did not return to the possession of the T'ang. Those military rulers who attacked and invaded one another still took the name of the royal house.

When the Liang founder arose in Honan, Liu Jen-kung was careless in battle and was defeated. Lo Shih pledged allegiance and Wang Jung sought an alliance whereupon Hopei was completely lost.¹³ Once the Liang people arose, replacing the T'ang, and obtained the realm, the feudal lords were unable to contend with it, such was the situation. In the past it was because Hsi and Chao¹⁴ were weak that advantage was taken of the disorders of Ch'ao

and Ts'ai¹⁵ yet when T'ien Ch'eng-ssu¹⁶ held Wei and Wang Wu-chün and Chu T'ao occupied Yen and Chao¹⁷ they had equal strengths in adjoining lands, so if, in their situation, it was right that they did not dare to make the first move, how much the less so was it not right to arise? This being so, although the Liang founder was cruel, he merely seized power in one place so how would he be able to compel the T'ang to relinquish the empire? Thus the weakness of T'ang was a result of the strength of Hopei and the collapse of T'ang the result of the weakness of Hopei. If someone were to say: 'If the feudal lords are strong they will divide the emperor's power, why should you criticise this too much.' I would reply 'in the Ch'in and Sui periods there was no division of power among the feudal lords yet the collapse of these dynasties was more rapid than that of the T'ang.' Was this not so?¹⁸ Indeed, not only was it so but the fact that the Khitan Tartars entered Ta Liang but were not able to take possession of it was also a consequence of the considerable strength of the frontier defence commands. Wang Ying-lin said: "If the prefectures and districts are fragmented then the calamities visited upon us by the barbarians will be violent."¹⁹

The *Sung History* says that Liu P'ing was the assistant commander-in-chief of the Fu and Yen circuits.²⁰ He sent up a memorial saying: "At the end of the Five Dynasties period China had many problems and only the control of the western frontier tribes could overcome this. China never sent one horseman or one infantryman to the distant camps on the frontiers but appointed local ruffians who could control the populus and who were enfeoffed with districts and cities. The income from taxation was sufficient to supply the military and nourish the officials. On account of this there was no anxiety about the region near the frontiers. T'ai Tsu, in establishing the empire, took warning from the pre-eminence of the frontier defence commands at the end of the T'ang period, so cut back their military power, collected their levies and, from the military governor downward, assigned official salaries. If there were prior notification of some border problem a general was dispatched to exact punishment and, when the matter was brought to completion, the soldiers returned to act as palace guards and the general returned to his original headquarters. The creation of hereditary titles in those border regions should be different from this. Yet, mistakenly, Li I-hsing of Shuo-fang and Feng Chi-yeh of Ling-wu²¹ were both also sent to the interior of the country. From this, Ling and Hsia relied on the Middle Kingdom to guard the frontiers and grain and provisions had to be transported one thousand li, so soldiers and people both suffered."

In the affairs of the early Sung, She Shih received an hereditary title and Fu-chou was preserved, whereas Chi-p'eng held office within the court and Hsia-chou was lost.²² That one was preserved and one was lost is a matter of sufficient importance for later generations to

ponder upon. Chia Ch'ang-chao²³ was the palace aide to the censor-in-chief and requested that the officials responsible for guarding the various border routes in Shensi all be given the title of 'concurrent pacification officer for tribal relations' and that whoever of the clan was particularly diligent be established as the chief, as exemplified by She Shih of Hotung, so that the border regions could be considered as having been made secure.

In the *Feng-chien hou* chapter of the *Lu Shih*²⁴ it is written: "The wrongs of the empire are not sufficient to harm principle and the wrongs incurred in righting wrongs are frequently profound. (Likewise) the evil practices of the empire are not sufficient to harm affairs yet the evil practices in relieving evil practices are often great. In the 2nd year of the Chih-ho reign period (AD1055) Fan , Duke of Shu, was appointed to the Remonstrance Bureau²⁵ and made a statement (to the effect that): 'In En-chou, from the autumn of the 5th year of Huang-yu (AD1053) to the winter of last year (i.e. from the time of writing), there were, in all, seven changes of prefect. The various districts of Hopei were in general like this. If one wished to be well-trained how could this be achieved? Humbly I see that Ma Huai-te of Hsiung-chou, Liu Huan of En-chou and Wang Te-k'ung of Chi-chou²⁶ are all talented, brave, wise and prudent and capable of shouldering the responsibility of managing administrative matters so that I beg for an order giving them long appointments.' Nevertheless the course of events is not as previously and nowadays, if we do not care for the majority, but only select two or three regions to be like this, it is like using a basket to stop a flood of the Chiang and Ho (i.e. Yangtze and Yellow Rivers); it is useless. Allow me to discuss the matter in terms of the doings of men of former times; She of Hotung, Li of Ling-wu, Feng Hui and Yang Ch'ung-hsün.²⁷ Feng Hui was military commissioner of Ling-wu and Chung-hsün, for generations, held Hsin-ch'in, forming a protective screen in the north-west. Later Hui died whereupon T'ai Tsu transferred his son Feng I²⁸ giving the nearby commandery to Chung-hsün. Thereupon, these two regions were ruled at the expense of the government. The two families, She and Li had, from the Five Dynasties, for generations possessed these lands. The two barbarians feared them. T'ai Tsu thereupon created them feudal lords (gave them hereditary rank) since everyone said that when (there was talk of) barbarians, and bandits entered (the kingdom), if they were not given hereditary titles they would not be willing to act as guards. If they were given hereditary rank then their descendants would, for a long time, consider it a family matter and devote themselves to saving the situation, acting as guards above and beyond their normal commitment. In the event that rebellion were to become widespread still they would be naturally able to manage and suppress it and, although there might be retaliatory action, for Yüan in Shensi one army would be adequate to withstand it. Furthermore, if the court's graciousness and good faith did not fail, why would they want to leave to go somewhere else? This, then, was the profound plan of the sage and the most

developed plan of the kingdom and certainly not something those shallow people obsessed with current customs could comprehend. Later officials, in discussions, hurriedly considered that hereditary titles were not appropriate. The She family, by virtue of its meritorious activity in Hotung, meanwhile received the imperial imprimatur for successive generations. Further, the Li family subsequently was transferred to Shensi and, because of this, Ling and Hsia were then lost. A kingdom and a prefecture were certainly quite different. Those who discussed this matter considered that T'ai Tsu took warning from the Five Dynasties while those who analysed the power of the various generals considered that there could not be a return to feudalism. Unworthy as I am, I consider this not to be so.

Now T'ai Tsu did not grant fiefs and he especially did not exalt the name of feudalism, yet certainly he surreptitiously utilised its precepts. Li Han-ch'ao guarded Ch'i province and was overseer of soldiers and horses for Kuan-nan. Altogether over a seventeen year period, the barbarians did not even dare to spy into the kingdom. Kuo Chin, by means of Ming-chou's defences, guarded Hsi-shan as military inspector for a total of twenty years. Ho Wei-chung guarded I, Li Ch'ien-p'u governed Hsi and Yao Nei-pin administered Ch'ing, in all cases for more than a decade. Han Ling-k'un guarded Chang-shan, Ma Jen-yü guarded Ying, Wang Yen-sheng dwelt in Yüan, Ch'ao Tsan dwelt in Yen, Tung Tsun-hui established a camp in Huan, Wu Shou-ch'i guarded Chin and Ho Chi-yün tended to Ti.²⁹ Like Chang Mei, in his guarding of Ts'ang and Ch'ing, all these men had their appointments extended and the profits from managing bridge tolls and the power of trading were conferred on them.³⁰ He also allowed them to conscript brave worthies to be his teeth and claws. (Further), in the internal administration of the army, all without authority devoted themselves to their duties. For this reason, within a period of twenty years, there were no problems in the north-west. He cunningly implemented his secret plans causing people to follow them without being aware of doing so. How could it be that those who discussed (the matter) could not discern his motives and subsequently consider the soldiers to be the emperor's soldiers and not to be under the control of the prefectures. Therefore, from Pao-yüan (AD1038-1039) and K'ang-ting (AD1040), despite the strength of the Middle Kingdom, it was unable to oppose the Yüan Hao³¹ of a single region. In the Ching-k'ang reign period (AD1126) the bandit rebels made a long march of over one hundred she (culminating) in a direct attack on the troops in Pienliang (the capital) effecting a comprehensive defeat. Soldiers were scattered east and west with no-one to direct them. This is why, at the present time, in speaking of this (it is said): 'This is as cold as water applied to the teeth in winter'. Ah alas! Those princes who desire to rule do not often come forth and the great officials fault was the ignorance of basic duties which is why I often blame Cheng and P'u and consider the T'ang house and our own dynasty not to be feudal in nature and both the

Duke of Cheng and the Prince of Han³² failed to educate and urge their rulers to practise the way of emperors and kings, as a consequence of which their rules were undistinguished and lacked foresight.³³

In the *Huang-shih jih-ch'ao*³⁴ it is stated that T'ai Tsu in his time not only used men of the ilk of Li Han-chao³⁵ but caused him to act as protector so the warnings of the border beacon towers were not received in the temple court. From the Three Dynasties on, in the successful treating of the barbarians, there has never been anyone like T'ai Tsu of our own dynasty. If one does not allow those who guard the borders for a long time to receive hereditary appointments but desires himself to bring order for ten thousand li it is like being between the eyes and the eye-lashes (i.e. closely involved). There is no such principle in the world.

When the military commanderies (frontier defence posts) were done away with the appointments to the prefectures and districts (chou and hsien) were not managed correctly. In the 3rd year of the Hsien-p'ing reign period of Chen Tsung (AD1000), in P'u-chou, robbers entered the city by night, and seized the prefect, Wang Shou-hsin and the army supervisor, Wang Chao-tu.³⁶ Thereupon, the prefect of Huang-chou, Wang Yü-ch'eng³⁷ memorialised saying: "In the *Changes* it is written: 'Kings and princes set up defences to guard their kingdoms'.³⁸ From the confusion and disorder of the Five Dynasties³⁹ with each dynasty occupying its own city, the kingdom was divided up like a melon for more than seventeen years. T'ai Tsu and T'ai Tsung (the first two Sung emperors) did away with the usurpers so that the empire became one entity. Those who discussed it at that time told how all the prefectures of Chiang and Huai underwent destruction of their cities and moats, gathered in soldiers and weapons, recalled troops, made preparations and appointed scholars to direct the regions, there being twenty for a large prefecture and fifteen for a small prefecture, while to fill the posts of ch'ang-ts'ung there were those named chang-li which, in reality, were the same as the lü-jen⁴⁰ being named according to the prefecture. What was known as a city was, in reality, like a plain. Although to honour the capital and restrain the prefectures and regions can be said to be a plan to make the trunk strong and the branches weak, nevertheless it is not right. T'ai Tsu's reducing the power of the feudal lords to ride roughshod over legal rights and T'ai Tsung's curbing of the heart which aspired to usurpation could not have been otherwise. It was as if they established laws to save the dynasty but, after a long time, evil practices arose. The path of remedying malpractices lies in following what is right. The action taken must be as quick as turning a compass and must not be stuck. Today, in all the districts of Chiang and Huai, there are three great calamities. The first is that the city moats are destroyed; the second is that military installations are not complete; the third is that the army is not well-trained. It is to be hoped that the emperor

himself will change the imperial decree and allow all the various prefectures of Chiang and Huai to select from the families, numerous and few, and the cities, great and small, so establishing, for guarding and apprehending, soldiers in number merely five hundred men (who may) review and practice with bow and double-edged sword and afterwards gradually repair the city walls and mend completely the armour. Then the prefectures and kingdom will have the preparation necessary to resist insult and the senior subalterns will avoid the mishap of being robbed with violence.⁴¹ Ah alas! Men merely see I Tsu⁴² as putting an end to the military commissions and thought it was for the profit of one hundred years of Sung, not realising that the seizure of the soldiers and resources of the regions and districts was an evil, the effects of which extended for several hundred years and (indeed) have still not ended. That which Lu Shih-heng called "When one man goes recklessly (on a collision course) the city moats are automatically levelled"⁴³ is a matter (of importance) for the later years of Chung-chen (AD1628-1644) is it not?

2(i)/9/19 (p224)

Eunuchs

In Han times Ho-hsi Teng Hou issued a proclamation that the eunuch members of the imperial coterie should, in the Tung-kuan, receive instruction in the classics and commentaries as a means of teaching the palace women.¹ Fu Chien of Ch'in selected eunuchs and female slaves of intelligence and established scholars to instruct them in the classics.² As for Hsiang Po he was able to write verse which was included among (the poems of) the *Hsiao Ya*³ and Shih Yu's *Chi Chiu* was included in the *I-wen*.⁴ The ancients certainly had examples such as these, examples not limited to these men. In our own times T'ai Tsu (AD1368-1398) profoundly took warning from the shortcomings of eunuchs and former generations and prohibited those within the inner palace from studying.⁵ From the Yung-lo reign period (AD1403-1424) this order was not put into practice, while during the Hsüan-te period (AD1426-1435) there was, in fact, the establishment of the Eunuch School.⁶ Ts'ai Yün-kung was formerly, in Sui times, the imperial diarist. The emperor sent him to teach the palace women but Yün-kung was ashamed of this and, on several occasions, feigned illness.⁷ Chia Ch'ang-chao of the Sung period was an expositor-in-waiting who had the title of editor of the book collection in the school of the heir apparent whereas he was, in truth, a teacher of the eunuchs.⁸ The imperial censor, Wu Yü, memorialised and put a stop to this.⁹

Because the Emperor Hsüan Miao¹⁰ was able to accept admonitions and asked for plain speaking and because among the court officials there were none who could fulfil this role, then gradually those eunuchs with literary abilities were able to achieve a respect comparable to (members of) the grand secretariat.¹¹ Thus the great power devolved into other hands and could

not again be restored (to the emperor). Was the school for eunuchs not the cause of this disaster? (Examining) the *Chou Li*, in the chapter entitled *Ssu-jen* (eunuchs),¹² the king had only five such men in the inner palace, this number being doubled by *ssu-jen* of junior status.¹³ At that time those who were attendant censors were all scholars and officials (*shih*) and the power of the (palace) women (imperial concubines) and eunuchs was in decline. T'ang T'ai Tsung issued a proclamation that the (members of) the eunuch service (Department of the Inner Palace) should not be established as being of the third rank and that the leader of the eunuchs should be ranked in the fourth rank. They held no responsibility for affairs, only guarding the doors to the emperor, sweeping out the inner court and serving food at the table - that is all. In the time of Wu Hou there was a gradual increase in the numbers (of eunuchs).¹⁴ In the time of Chung Tsung (AD705-709) the *huang-i* (eunuchs) numbered two thousand while, during Hsüan Tsung's reign, the imperial consorts and concubines numbered around forty thousand and the eunuchs and *huang-i* (eunuchs) were in excess of three thousand. From this it may be known that the marked rise in the number of eunuchs was a result of the great number of consorts and concubines so that, if the emperor wished to keep away from eunuchs, it was basically necessary that he kept away from the seduction of beauty.¹⁵

Sung Lien, in his *Ta-ming ti-li* preface, said that the empresses and concubines living together in the palace should not play any part in government affairs (administration) while maternal relatives should also comply with reason and fear the law. They should not dare to presume upon the imperial favour to bring harm to the people. Those such as eunuchs should only serve in a menial capacity and their household regulations should be strict.¹⁶ Wang Yüan-mei in his *Pi-chi*¹⁷ wrote that, at the time of Kao Ti, eunuchs were not able to participate in outside affairs and, if they saw a noble or high official, then they were to bow their heads and show respect. At the beginning of the Yung-lo reign period (AD1403-1424) Kou Erh¹⁸ along with various other eunuchs had gradually acquired merit in military achievements. Later when the emperor became tired of state affairs he entrusted them with the task of making written remarks on documents for him. After a long time he then became a trusted subordinate. The palace eunuch, Cheng Ho¹⁹ and others received a command to lead a naval force to go to foreign places so that, among the eunuchs, there were those who were envoys abroad. Among the north-western border generals there were many who had seen service with the Hung-wu emperor and these (the Yung-lo emperor) could not, in his heart, trust. He thought to have those who were his trusted agents participate in these matters so that there were those eunuchs who undertook the control of garrisons. At the time of Wang Chen,²⁰ when the emperor was young he did not receive the great officials daily so, among the eunuchs, there were those who attached a slip of paper as an imperial order and directly acted.

It is recorded in the national history that in the 6th month of the 5th year of Yung-lo (AD1407) the eunuch Li Chin²¹ went to Shansi to gather t'ien-hua, falsely promulgating an imperial edict, acting on his own authority to make use of the army and the people, so abusing power for his personal benefit. When Jen Tsung assumed the throne (AD1425), whenever a eunuch was sent out (on a matter of duty) a limit of ten days was imposed within which he had to finish his business and return to the capital. It may be seen in the imperial edicts that there were (expeditions to) gather precious stones, gold, pearls, spices, perfumes and tieh-li timber. Nevertheless, in the *Veritable Records* of T'ai Tsung, these matters are often avoided and not written about. In the 6th month of the 1st year of the Hung-hsi reign period (AD1425) Hsüan Tsung was established on the throne and the investigating censor Yin Ch'ung-kao, making a tour of Chekiang, memorialised saying: "The court recently despatched eunuchs to purchase various things (commodities) and for every commodity an office was established so that there were disturbances due to the gathering (of such commodities) and disruption occasioned by their supply. What in fact the court needed was (however) small whereas the loss (cost) to the people was particularly great. What ought to happen is that (these people) should all be recalled and that only the director of the particular authority should buy or receive."²² There was an edict to comply with this.

Still there were such instances as that which is recorded for i-wei in the 12th month of the 6th year of Hsüan-te (AD1431) when the official, Yüan Ch'i falsely took the title of acting in the interests of the public and on his own authority despatched eunuchs (on ostensibly official business) who maltreated (brought harm to) local officials, the army and the people compelling them to collect gold, silver and other things. As a consequence he was put to death as were ten or so of his henchman.²³ Ah alas - even if the laws are made very strict there will still be those who turn to corruption. By the time of the middle years of the Wan-li reign period (AD1573-1619), in the collection of mining taxes, there was a coming and going in all directions for which the precedent established by ancestors was used as a pretext.²⁴ Then those officials of the outer court joined to struggle against it but were unable to do anything about it. It is for this reason that King Wu did not slight the near.²⁵

The situation of eunuchs having control of the army had its beginning in the Yung-lo period. The *Veritable Records* of Jen-Tsung state that the commander-in-chief of all the forces in Kansu, Fei Huan²⁶ was unable to take sole responsibility for military administration but entirely complied with the directions of the eunuchs. The emperor held him responsible for being meek and submissive in that he allowed himself to be controlled by other people. In the *Veritable Records* of Hsüan Tsung it is said that the administrative vice-commissioner of the left

Feng Kuei²⁷ was skilful in his use of men and formerly acquired a local militia of five hundred men, brave and well versed in the art of war. Kuei treated them particularly well and each time he lead them (in campaigns to) exterminate rebels, whoever they faced they were successful. This force was later taken over by Ma Ch'i²⁸ while Kuei, in his campaigns against rebels, was unsuccessful and was subsequently killed.

In the first year of Hsüan-te (AD1426), in the 3rd month on i-hai, there was an imperial statement²⁹ blaming the eunuch Shan Shou which said that, with respect to the rebel Li Li, this was basically a situation in which one poor person drew together small bandit groups. If early there had been a diligent attempt to capture them it would have been like stretching out the hand to seize small birds. Shan Shou (it stated), on the other hand, presumptuously stuck to his opinion, repeatedly informing in memorials and being only engaged in offering amnesty so, in this way, nurturing disaster and leaving behind calamity. When Fang Cheng³⁰ and others advanced to attack (the enemy) he held in service officials and soldiers in excess of one thousand men yet he sat living peacefully and did not come out in relief, simply watching them go to their defeat. (The responsibility for) the loss at Chiao-chih may truly be laid at the feet of the eunuchs.³¹ Further the two emperors, Jen (Tsong) and Hsüan (Tsong) also only added to the blame and that is all. Wang Chen's gathering power to himself and the debacle at T'u-mu - were they not the extreme outcome of this?³²

The matter of Chiao-chih³³ and the evils of the eunuchs were not completely documented in the *Veritable Records*. In the 4th year of Ching-t'ai (AD1453) the supervising secretary of the office of scrutiny for personnel, Lu Hsiang³⁴ said: "I think that in the Yung-lo years Chiao-chih was subdued and pacified. There was the establishment of prefectures and districts while barbarians were forced into compliance. Subsequently, on account of the covetousness and cruelty of the eunuchs of the garrisons, the support of the people was lost and finally the land itself was lost. Still the empire, up to the present, does not stop criticising." From these several words it is possible to formulate a viewpoint. (In the *Changes* it is written): "(For the hexagram) shih six at the top says that small men should not be employed or certainly the country will be brought to confusion."³⁵ How could these words not be believed! Ch'eng Tsu's³⁶ power and majesty spread far and wide, there being no thought not to obey him. Not long after his death (however) Chiao-chih was lost. When Duke Huan of Ch'i was chief hegemon, Tiao of Ch'i, chief of the eunuchs, for the first time let out the (contemplated) expedition (of Duke Huan) in To-yü. The *Ch'un-ch'iu* has already recorded this.³⁷ Therefore (in the *Changes*), in the hexagram for kou, for six at the beginning when one yin first arose the Duke of Chou warned against it.³⁸

In the 1st month of the 9th year of Cheng-t'ung (AD1443), on hsin-wei, there was an order to the Duke of Ch'ang-kuo, Chu Yung, the Earl of Hsing-an, Hsü Heng, the Commissioner-in-Chief Ma Liang, Chen Huai and others to gather a military force to go to the frontier regions and launch an attack on the three garrisons of Wu-liang-ha. Yung, together with the palace eunuch Seng Pao went to Hsi-fen k'ou. Heng, together with the palace eunuch Ts'ao Chi-hsing, went to Chieh-ling k'ou. Liang, together with the palace eunuch Liu Yung-ch'eng, went to Liu-chia k'ou. Huai, together with the palace eunuch Tan Hsin, went to Ku-pei k'ou.³⁹ At the time of Wang Chen's⁴⁰ assumption of authority there were such despatches (of people). Later this was taken as a precedent (example). In the 14th year of Cheng-t'ung (AD1448) at the battle at Yang-ho k'ou the palace eunuch, Kuo Ching was in charge of the army and various guards were all controlled by him. The army was without discipline and Sung Ch'ien's and Chu Mien's whole army was entirely routed.⁴¹

In the 1st year of Ching-t'ai (AD1450), on i-mao in the first intercalary month, the Ministry of Works apprentice official, Hsü Chen said: "It is not fitting for those who have been punished (i.e. eunuchs) to be in attendance on the ruler. T'ai Tsu, Kao Huang Ti took warning from the malpractices of Han and T'ang and did not permit them (i.e. the eunuchs) to interfere in government nor to take military command, but allowed them only to guard the gates and carry messages - that is all. Recently, the evil eunuch Wang Chen had seized the opportunity to monopolise power and, taking advantage of this power, had ridden roughshod over others, so that the royal ranks and heavenly constitution all issued from his mouth. The granting or depriving of life or death was based on his likes and dislikes. Further, many of the same ilk were proposed for office, like Kuo Ching and others who were considered trustworthy and were sent to oversee border matters. When an emperor first ascends the throne he should request that there be an examination of former failings and that those eunuchs who have become involved in politics and who are army supervisors and guard commanders should all be ordered to return to the palace and that each maintain his original position. If this were so, then the eunuchs would not be the cause of disputes and the nation's prosperity would go on for ever."⁴² These matters were set aside and not put into practice.

In the 6th month, on i-yu, the provincial graduate from Lan-hsien in Shensi, Tuan Chien criticised the failings of (using) eunuchs as military supervisors. On keng-tzu the Department of Ceremonial Guard supplementary security guard, Liao Jang requested that there be a prohibition (repression) of eunuchs. In the 9th month of the 3rd year (AD1452), on hsin-mao, the Nanking imperial bodyguard, prison supplementary security guard, Hsiao Min stated that

the inner court officials (i.e. eunuchs) brought suffering and harm to the army and the people in the ten ways.⁴³

In the 11th month of the 8th year of T'ien-shun (AD1464), on ping-yin, among the executive assistants of the 'six offices of scrutiny' in the two capitals, Wang Hui⁴⁴ and others stated: "In the 14th year of Cheng-t'ung (AD1449), when Wang Chen gained a monopoly of power, he caused the previous emperor (ie Ying Tsung) to be banished, thus placing the ancestral temples and altars in great danger. During the T'ien-shun reign period (AD1457-1464), when Ts'ao Chi-hsiang gained a monopoly of power, he raised an army to destroy the imperial palace wishing to endanger the nation.⁴⁵ At the present time Niu Yü has a monopoly of power and plots to dismiss the empress with high-handed treatment of the emperor himself.⁴⁶ All these things have made us a laughing stock within the four quarters. Further, this will all be subject to criticism by ten thousand generations. We wish to make the following requests; firstly (from now on) eunuchs are not to be permitted to participate in the nation's administration; second, officials of the inner and outer court are not to be permitted to collaborate for private gain and third, the brothers, cousins and nephews of eunuchs are not to be permitted to have control over outside affairs or to acquire personal wealth and property. From ancient times those among eunuchs who have been worthy and virtuous have not numbered one in ten thousand. In times of no troubles they seem to be careful and obedient but once they are involved in government they will perpetrate evil deeds. Thus, when they learn that the emperor is about to use a certain person they will secretly inform him as a means of manifesting their own merit and when they learn that the emperor is about to carry out a particular act (policy) they will leak the news as a means of expanding their influence. Men will daily turn to them and their authority will daily flourish so the misfortune of eunuchs will arise. This is the reason why I, and my fellows, exhort you, the emperor, not to permit the eunuchs to participate in government affairs. The eunuchs attend the emperor, morning and night they are by his side. Of great officials, both civil and military, there are many who, knowing no shame, consort with the eunuchs, presenting them with gold, jewels, pearls and jade. Moreover, those who are thus subservient may be considered by the eunuchs to be worthy so that morning and night, before the emperor, they are styled praiseworthy. Those who are honest and upright, not given to fawning flattery and who do not seek out private audiences are thought by the eunuchs to be unworthy so that morning and night, before the emperor they are reviled. That the emperor is abundantly endowed with wisdom by heaven certainly may not be doubted, still the daily accretion of such information must necessarily engender misgivings. Those who are styled worthy may find themselves suddenly promoted to high position while those who are reviled may, over a long period of time, find themselves wronged by a low position. Their resentment

is then anger directed at the court and their goodwill directed to the eunuchs so again the misfortune of the eunuchs will arise. This is why I and my colleagues exhort you, the emperor, not to permit the officials of the inner and outer courts to have intercourse each with the other.

If the various relatives of the eunuchs are awarded official positions and are given responsibility for affairs they will take advantage of their positions to perpetrate outrages. There will be a coalescence of evil, a fostering of wickedness. They (i.e. the eunuchs) will have servants numbered in hundreds; their money and goods will be to the value of ten thousand or more; their fields will extend continuously for one thousand ch'ing and the number of horses tied up also one thousand. It is because the eunuchs have this sort of family wealth that they manifest avarice without satiation and their corruption and malpractices have many aspects. Although the body is within, the heart is truly without (i.e. the eunuchs, though living in the court, have interests outside). If there is mutual interchange between inside and outside this will cause calamity and confusion to arise. It is for this reason that I and my associates exhort Your Majesty not to permit the inner court officials to have control over outside affairs and to acquire personal wealth and property. If Your Majesty is truly able to take warning from these three men from the past and put into practice these three recommendations in the present then calamity and confusion will naturally not occur, disaster and harm naturally not arise. If this is not so then internal misfortune will arise; there will be unexpected events close at hand and the calamities of another day will not be able to be spoken about. This being so, what I and my associates now speak of is altogether something which the court must avoid. Although we are foolish fellows still we know how to avoid misfortune yet, having received a favour of the court beyond our capacity to repay, we, as officials responsible for admonishing the emperor, cannot be tolerant and resigned to circumstances. If the emperor is able to act without reservation (on these matters) then I and the others, although we might be put to death in the process, will have no regrets (feel no remorse).⁴⁷ The emperor blamed these honest fellows as speaking falsely in the pursuit of influence and ordered the Ministry of Personnel to downgrade them all to assistant departmental magistrates.

At the time of the change of capital,⁴⁸ with respect to the eunuchs, the first steps were taken on the road to ruin. Not one year had passed before army inspecting censors⁴⁹ had been despatched to all quarters because, among the outer court officials, the lack of the right men was extreme.⁵⁰ In the campaign at P'ing-yin, Su-sha Wei intended to bring up the rear. Chih Ch'o said: "For you to bring up the rear of the army would be a disgrace to Ch'i."⁵¹ The emperor, through his use of eunuchs, brought shame to the officials and the empire but the officials did

not acknowledge this and collectively attacked them (i.e. the eunuchs). The discussion within the court became very agitated but the emperor, in his heart, did not believe (the accusations). He agreed, temporarily, to dismiss the eunuchs but the officials, as expected, proved inadequate to be employed for this. His again appointing the eunuchs to different positions as a consequence of this meant that the nations affairs already could not be otherwise managed. In former times, on T'ang Te Tsung's ascending the throne, he cast aside the eunuchs and personally appointed the court officials.⁵² Thus Chang She, by virtue of his Confucian scholarship, came to office and Hsieh Yung, because of his literary abilities, likewise.⁵³ Yet, later, both took bribes. For this reason both eunuchs and military leaders were able to use this as a pretext, claiming that the officials in government office took bribes at every turn to the number of many tens of thousands (of cash), yet they say that we bring confusion into the empire. Is this not deceptive in the extreme? From this, doubt first arose in the emperor's mind and he did not know on whom to rely.

Ah alas! I do not know if those who, at the present time, attack the eunuchs are any better than the eunuchs themselves. If those of the inner court (i.e. the eunuchs) cannot be used and the outside court is devoid of men of worth to whom may the nation's affairs be entrusted? Chao Wang emitted a sigh thinking of the good general already lost and Wu Ti also sighed considering that officials of good repute were very few.⁵⁴ The fields were burning with no-one to extinguish the flames while across the water (there was), at the end, calamity so it was possible to be bitterly crying. Therefore, the availability of men of talent is not something which can be achieved in a single generation. The sage kings of old who, in times of great difficulty, desired the assistance of worthy officials, had, because of their early attention to the fostering of talent, an extensive reservoir on which to call. In the *Tso Chuan* it is said: "His counsels reached on to his descendants to give happiness and strength to his posterity."⁵⁵ If an emperor is going to give further thought to his descendants then certainly this must lie with men of talent.

In the biography of Wan-yen O-k'o in the *Chin Shih*, Liu Ch'i said: "After the southern crossing of the Chin people the power of the court attendants⁵⁶ grew particularly strong. Further, Hsüan Tsung liked to use such people considering them his 'eyes and ears' to spy on the various officials, therefore chief stewards feng-yü and suchlike were (sent to) investigate among the people who were called acting circuit censors.⁵⁷ There were those who would obtain information on one or two matters and report accordingly to the throne. The emperor would then hold responsible the officials of the Censorate for omissions (in their duties) and they would bear the blame. Also, although the authority for a particular region was entrusted to a

military leader, chief stewards were sent out amongst the military and these were called chien-chan (overseers of war). Every time the military leaders responded to some contingency they were, to a great degree, interfered with by the eunuchs. On meeting an enemy there would be rapid recourse to flight as a first measure so the leaders suffered many reversals. Ai Tsung followed this line without alteration until finally the kingdom was lost. In the discussion (it is written): 'To use these attendant censors in the control of the army represented a definite hindrance and moreover, to believe their slander as a basis for putting people to death represented a failing in both administration and punishment.' The demise of T'ang occurred because court attendants (eunuchs) were used to spy on the army. Chin followed the same path to disaster.⁵⁸

In the 12th month of the 14th year of Ch'ung-chen (AD1641), on wu-wu, the emperor issued an edict to the Ministry of Personnel and the other government offices within the inner court, chien, chü⁵⁹ etc that, with respect to official rules and regulations, a division be made between inner and outer. To make a decision outside one's domain - how can it be appropriate to exceed one's authority? Our great ancestor, Kao Haung Ti⁶⁰ examined both old and new (ancient and modern) and alone was particularly strict in being on guard against (the power) of eunuchs, ordering that the officials of the inner palace not participate in outside affairs. For a period of time the court administration was lucid and enlightened, laws and discipline were well regulated and appropriate thus raising the foundation and purifying the source. Then the intention was particularly profound and far-sighted. I (too) took warning from the past to remedy the future and very respectfully held fast to our ancestor's instructions. From now on, of the various palaces, the chien (supervisors) and all the ssu chü, ku and other government offices, some will be responsible for rites and maintaining military equipment, some for the gathering of artisans and some for keys and locks, some will manage the imperial cuisine and wardrobe and some handle official documents, all manifesting diligent and cautious attention to detail. Each will attend to his own particular area of responsibility and will not be permitted to act counter to the system of our ancestor (i.e. the first Ming emperor) or to participate in the outside administration. Those who transgress so bringing disorder to the administration, having been impeached and seized, will be put to death by decapitation. There will be moreover, a careful examination of the old regulations and the drawing up of a list of the particular duties of everyone.⁶¹

The vice-minister to the right of the Ministry of Personnel, Chiang Te-ching⁶² memorialised thus: "According to the *Chou Li* those occupying inner posts did not reach one hundred men and responsibility for discipline in the palace fell to the hsiao-tsai.⁶³ The laws

handed down by the sage kings of old may act as a warning to those their inheritors and make them cautious. The T'ai Tsu, Kao Huang Ti truly examined carefully the preceding dynasties and selected therefrom what was moderate. He established the inner palace officials, chien, ssu, chū and ku, each having a fixed quota of staff with a rank not exceeding four p'in and a salary not exceeding one shih. Further, for impeaching palace officials there were laws for communication and there were warnings (admonitions), whilst for participation in government and control of military matters there were prohibitions. In addition there was strict prevention of intercourse between inner and outer and an end was put to the beginning of cheating and stealing. As for the emperor's discussion of the former matters of Han and T'ang he repeatedly gave warnings. How profound are the heavenly admonitions; from past to present they are unchanging. In the 25th year of his reign he sent the palace eunuch, Nieh Ch'ing-tung⁶⁴ to inform the western barbarians of Shensi, Ho-chou and other military stations of the order to send good horses for which, in return, they were given tea. However, although he was despatched thus to the barbarians, he had no interchange with the military or the people, was not given (any) power and went only for a short time and then returned. (Moreover) at the end of the Hung-wu reign period (AD1368-1398) there were no other such (sendings) and it was through this that a lucid and just, strong and orderly administration was achieved and was the foundation for the beginning of a great peace for ten thousand generations. As for the subsequent succession of Ming emperors, both within the palace and without, the major precautions (against appointment of eunuchs) did not change, yet there were occasionally, in the affairs of life, special circumstances so that both within and without the palace one did, from time to time, hear of such an appointment. In the Yung-lo reign period (AD1403-1424) there was the first despatch of eunuchs to outer minorities, these people being sent to Kansu on a tour of inspection. In the Hung-hsi reign period (AD1425) there were the first of the grand commandants in Nanking.⁶⁵ In the Cheng-t'ung reign period (AD1436-1449) there was the first appointment of military leaders suppressing rebellion and making distant expeditions with, then, each province having a grand defender.⁶⁶ At the start of the Ching-te reign period⁶⁷ there was the first allotment of guarding into ten ying, some of which were termed chien-chiang.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, all still came under the control of such people as the shang-shu, Yü Ch'ien.⁶⁹ In the Cheng-te reign period (AD1506-1521) there was the first use of eunuchs in strategic border positions whilst eunuchs were sent to supervise the military drill of the palace-guards within and to allot brave officers to form four guards, this being an increasing divergence from the old ways of Tsu Tsung.⁷⁰ In other situations, such as the sending (of eunuchs) to oversee or inspect public works, to be jointly concerned with the interrogation of prisoners, to superintend the imperial silk manufacturing at Soochow and Hangchow, to levy taxes and to open up mines there was little benefit and much harm. Furthermore, things were no sooner established than they were

stopped, with control being concentrated in the emperor's hands, and, at any one time, there would be a temporary reliance on expedient measures with matters being allowed to undergo successive change with often a change of emperor effecting a correction. Only Shih Tsung, Su Huang Ti,⁷¹ with firm resolve, transformed this situation, being judged worthy in relation to former kings. Your Majesty has wiped out traitorous eunuch and may be compared favourably to later kings. In short, to take heed of the admonitions (instructions) of Kao Huang Ti there are two statements: inner officials (i.e. eunuchs) should not participate in administrative matters and outer officials should not be in communication with them (i.e. with the inner officials). These sentences are sufficient to embody the causes of order and upheaval throughout the ages. I and others have respectfully read these precious instructions and have pondered deeply on the bequeathed stratagems (recognising) that if there is no allowing of eunuchs to render service there will naturally not be the calamity (of them) usurping power. Always they should be made to fear the law which would, indeed, put an end to their methods of bringing disorder to government. To thus place trust in such henchman is to dissipate authority and good fortune; to rely on such eyes and ears (i.e. spies) is to allow false accusations to spring up. If there is observance of decrees and regulations then official duties will naturally be conducted with prudence, while if there is strict observance of (the distinction between) inner and outer (courts) then (the problem of) the exceeding of authority will not arise. Thus, in truth, if lessons are learned from ancient times and attention is paid to current events, it will be possible, in this way, to be without malpractices and respected ancestors and descendants may find in it a single principle. Further, if there is a respectful examination of these revered teachings and a thoroughgoing scrutiny of old ordinances and also, if each inspection agency's control is written down (documented) as a law or regulation, it will be possible to have verification and enumerate these (regulations) for presentation to the emperor. We eventually await Your Majesty's consideration and decision on these matters and so obtain the purport of your commands." An imperial edict came down eventually reprimanding him (ie Chiang Te-ching). Eunuchs having ancestral temples originated with Ying Tsung's bestowal of such on Wang Chen.⁷² When it came to Wei Chung-hsien⁷³ these temples were bestowed while he was still living and they were everywhere throughout the empire. The Sage warned against making graven images.⁷⁴

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To Draw Money in Advance

In the 3rd year of the T'ien-pao reign period of T'ang Hsüan Tsung (AD744) what was in practice was that personal service to the state and household taxes be levied in the 8th month.¹ If the agricultural work had not been completed there was the fear that it might be difficult to complete the transaction. From that time on (collection) was deferred, with the 12th

day of the 9th month being set as the limit. By the time of keng-tzu, in the 7th month of the 2nd year of the Huang-te period of T'ai Tsung's reign (AD764), the cultivated land throughout the empire was taxed 'green sprouts money'² as a means of providing salaries for the hundred officials. This 'green sprouts money' arose as a term when the nation's needs, being pressing, (the government) was unable to wait until autumn, levying taxes as soon as the fields showed green sprouts and therefore it was so termed. Those responsible (for collection) were termed 'green sprouts officials'. This was the origin of the term 'drawing money in advance' (used in later times.

Lu Hsüan-kung³ wrote that when sericulture flourished there was introduced a silk tax; when agricultural work was incomplete there was hurriedly demanded a grain tax. If the demands of high officials were heavy then the harshness and cruelty of lesser officials became increasingly manifest. Those that had possessions sold hastily, reducing their prices by half, while those that did not were compelled to borrow and repay at double rates. In the 2nd month of the 6th year of the Yüan-ho period of Hsien Tsung (AD811) there was a regulation to the effect that because the old and new grains had not been well produced and the management of military encampments was particularly difficult, where these were in use a surveillance commissioner⁴ be put in charge of the contributions to military expenses. Should any money be drawn the surveillance commissioner was permitted to borrow some justifiably from the military fund and not levy the people by measure. Therefore Han Wen-kung (Han Yü), in his poem *Wandering South of the City*, wrote:

"Long robes of white calico and the purple neck scarf,
Before taxes fall due, this is a time of leisure.
Young growing wheat, full mulberry trees, ripe-grain and new-borne fruit,
Together we go to the field head, to entertain the god of soil."⁵

This refers to the time between the 3rd and 4th months when the ch'ai-k'o⁶ has not yet been levied.

In the 4th year of the T'ung-kuang period, during Chuang Tsung's reign in the Later Tang (AD926), on wu-chen in the 3rd month, because army provisions were insufficient there was an imperial order to the overseers in Honan to obtain money in advance for the summer and autumn taxes.⁷ At this time there was rebellion within and without and in less than a month the country was lost and the ruler destroyed.⁸ When Ming Tsung was established on the throne it was clear that he loved the people and this may be seen by what is recorded in the *Wen-hsien*

t'ung-k'ao.⁹ In the 4th year of Chang-hsing (AD933) the earliest period of collection of tax levies was on the 15th day of the 5th month and, by the 1st day of the 8th month, sufficient was received. It was then altered and made later, the latest being on the 10th day of the 6th month, so that by the 9th month the full amount had to be paid. In the 3rd year of the Hsien-te reign period of Chou Shih Tsung (AD956), on ping-tzu in the 10th month, the emperor spoke to his attendant officials saying that in recent times, in the collection of taxes, either of grain or silk, many did not await the completion of the harvest or the reeling of the silk. Further, he proclaimed to the three departments (bureaux) that the collection of summer taxes should begin in the 6th month and that of the autumn taxes in the 10th month.¹⁰ Thus, although Chuang Tsung issued an edict for the drawing of taxation monies in the third month this was, in reality, never put into practice. In later generations, there were times when the kingdom's strength was in danger although never so extreme as in the T'ung-kuang period. Yet when, in spring, there were the first placards (announcing) the commencement of the tax levies the suffering was greater than Chuang Tsung's people.

In the *Odes* it is written: "Large rats, large rats. Do not eat our springing grain."¹¹ Hsieh Chün-chih¹² said that if the springing grain is eaten when still in flower this is avarice in the extreme. Nowadays, the government which draws money in advance is one which eats the springing grain. Does this not drive the people away and cause them 'to go to the happy land'.¹³ Yü Ch'ien,¹⁴ in the later years of the Hung-wu reign period (AD1368-1399), was the prefect of Hang-chou prefecture and had put forward his views on the corruption of the Buddhist and Taoist (priesthood) (pointing out that), in what is now Chiang-nan, the fields associated with temples were extensive, perhaps several hundred ching, yet forced labour on government service never fell on them. The poor people without fields were frequently pressed into such service and considered it a hardship. He requested that there be a regulation to the effect that, among the Buddhists and Taoists, the fields of one person should not exceed ten mou and that the remaining land be distributed equitably among the people. At first this was approved but later was said not to be an old regulation and was abandoned.

2(i)/11/16 (p277)

Counterfeit Silver

Nowadays, whether high or low, all use silver and this has led to a great upsurge of clever swindling among the people. Not only do they cheat merchants but some even cheat senior officials. The people of Chi-nan¹ particularly indulge in this form of deception so that hundreds, indeed thousands, use it. Those who may be said to be robbers are not only those who grasp spears and bows. According to the law, whoever makes counterfeit silver or gold is given one

hundred lashes and is banished for three years. Those who aid and abet them, if they are cognisant of the circumstances surrounding the transaction, are reduced in rank by one grade. As the law is relatively lenient and is not invariably applied people commonly transgress. This variability in the imposition of penalties depends on the nature of the abuse of the legal process.

In the Han period (yellow) gold was used and in the 12th month of the 6th year of the middle period of Hsiao-ching's (Ching Ti's) reign (144BC), a law was promulgated to the effect that the casting of coins using counterfeit gold would result in public execution and that those who manufactured false gold and privately cast coinage would also be publicly executed.² In the 5th year of Yüan-ting period of Han Wu Ti's reign (112BC) the privy treasurer examined the gold presented for the yin-chou levy and the number of nobles who lost their marquisate for their failure to provide for this levy exceeded one hundred. Ju Shun wrote that, in the *Han I-chu*, it is stated that if the gold is deficient in weight, or poor in colour (i.e. debased), the king cut down the size of the land enfeoffed and the feudal lords lost their fiefs.³

In the 7th month of the 4th year of the K'ai-pao period of Sung T'ai Tsu's reign (AD971), on chi-ssu, there was also a proclamation to the effect that those falsely making gold should be publicly executed.⁴ Moreover, in the 6th month of the 3rd year of the T'ai-ho period of T'ang Wen Tsung's reign (AD829), according to a memorial from the secretariat-chancellery, those who debased money with lead and tin, if it exceeded ten kuan, were to be immediately executed in the place where they were (ie where the offence occurred).⁵ Nowadays, the crime of counterfeiting silver is not as serious as that of counterfeiting gold but is a more weighty matter (i.e. of greater import) than the interchange of lead and silver in currency, so it is appropriate that a severe penalty, comparable to that of former times, should be established. In this way villainy may be done away with and there may be a return to what is straightforward.

When, in Han times, money was taken as a commodity, the copper was not of uniform quality therefore the commandant of the imperial gardens⁶ included within his office an assistant for distinguishing copper, this being a continuation of the traditional Chou office for the management of gold.⁷

2(i)/12/2 (p284)

Officials Who Speak of Profit

Mencius said "Without the conduct of government business the utilisation of wealth will be unsatisfactory."⁸ In former times rulers never avoided discussions of wealth. That which was abhorred was the glorification of profit because it would necessarily bring harm to the people.

Formerly, the first Ming emperor² dismissed those censors who spoke of profit saying to his officials in attendance that the princely man, in attaining his position, is desirous of acting in accordance with the Way while the petty man, in attaining his position, is bent on pursuing his own ends. Those who desire to follow the Way have hearts which are concerned for the empire and the kingdom while those motivated by self-interest have hearts which are concerned with things which bring harm to the people. This, then is T'ang T'ai Tsung's holding Ch'üan Wan-chi responsible for the tradition.³ Further, the minor official (subofficial functionary) of Kuang-ping fu, Wang Yün-tao, in speaking of the production of iron in the Lin-shui commandery of Tz'u-chou asked permission to establish a smeltery. The emperor said: "I hear that to bring order to the world the empire should not neglect worthy men. I do not hear that the empire should not neglect profit."⁴ Moreover profit lies not with the officials but with the people and if the people obtain profit then the source of wealth is universal and there is benefit also to the officials. If the officials alone secure profit then the source of profit dries up and this must necessarily bring harm to the people. Nowadays the various smelting furnaces are numerous, military resources not exhausted and the livelihood of the people is already defined. If, again, this is to be established then certainly there will be disturbing factors; punishment by beating and exile. The sage ancestors did not consider as worthy fondness for money and this may be said to be particularly profound and apposite. From the middle of the Wan-li period (AD1573-1619) mining taxes arose and the objective of seeking profit was disordered for a further several decades so the people became increasingly impoverished and political life increasingly troubled. This being so the distinction between order and disorder, gain and loss may be known. Can those who are in high position simply seek profit and not consider (the welfare of) the people to be important? In the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, in the eulogistic remarks to the biographies of Yü-wen, Wei, Yang and Wang,⁵ it is stated that "in the K'ai-yüan reign period (AD713-741) Yü-wen Jung by first speaking of profit, secured the imperial favour at that time and the emperor, seeing that all within the seas was settled, had a mind to drive out the four barbarians. Jung, in devising for the emperor a means of arranging military provisioning, discussed the seizure of the remaining fields of unregistered households to pander to the emperor's wishes. Once this theory of profit was founded the emperor regretted that he had come upon it so late. Ten years had not passed before Jung was selected as prime minister. Although he was subsequently found guilty of crimes and punished and reviled, still the emperor regretted that his talent had not been exhausted. From the T'ien-pao reign period (AD742-755), armed risings occurred without while within there was the poisonous effect of beautiful concubines to the degree that the waste and excess could not, in material terms, be determined. Thereupon Wei Chien, Yang Shen-ch'in, Wang Hung and Yang Kuo-chung each was responsible for the introduction of oppressive taxes. This harmed those below while benefiting those above. For the yearly offering there was an

excessive demand for cash to fill the private coffers of the emperor so that although he might make numerous unreasonable bestowals, the expenditure of the empire was still managed comfortably. The emperor took into account ability so that there were layers upon layers of officials and honour and splendour piled up. This being so, those who desert the empire daily become more numerous than before and there are officials who, in filling their posts, do not attend to affairs. Thus, that which Chien and the others desired is fulfilled and there is a return to the abuse of power, flattery and internecine strife. The four households were all destroyed and the empire regarded it as a joke. Therefore can that which Mencius said, to wit 'superiors and inferiors will try to snatch their profit the one from the other and the kingdom will be lost' not readily be believed?"⁶ Ah alas! Jui Liang-fu, in his criticism of Li Wang, observed that what is resented is very numerous and there is no provision for great disasters.⁷ The princes of the Three Dynasties were all thus.⁸ When the cart in front overturns and this is not seen as a warning to the cart behind the ministers and officials destroy themselves and the ruler loses the kingdom. How sad this is!

To study the writings of Confucius and Mencius but (actually) to become conversant with the arts of Kuan and Shang⁹ is something which, for the past forty years, the gentry and officials have not been willing to do. But now there is ferment everywhere throughout the empire. If there were a man here who was eligible to speak but refused to do so he would be esteemed by the multitude and be considered as a scholar who had shame. If those above act in a particular way then those below will follow. Thus the responsibility for the collection of taxes and the levying of bridge and ferry tolls, which is something men formerly avoided and did not put into practice is something which now they are prepared to bare their arms and fight over. Propriety and righteousness are in tatters while thieves and robbers contend, for "if righteousness is put second and profit given primacy, the people will not be satisfied until they have snatched all."¹⁰ If kings who will, in future, arise regard as important the establishment of order and the transformation of those within the empire who are avaricious and heterodox, they must not give precedence to profit.

2(i)/12/9 (p291)

The Gathering of the People

T'ai-shih Kung wrote: "At the time of Han Wen Ti the people lived and worked in peace and contentment, carrying on in accordance with their needs and being able to avoid confusion so that the hundred surnames (the people) dwelt in tranquility. Even men of sixty or seventy years might never had been to the city."¹ When Liu Ch'ung was prefect of Kuei-chi dogs did not bark in the night and the people did not see officials. Old men with shaggy eyebrows and hoary

heads did not even know where the prefectural office was.² From what is said in the Histories it is possible to infer what customs have been handed down. In the T'ang period, from the days of the great flourishing during the K'ai-yüan reign period (AD713-741) when Yao and Sung were chief ministers there was a great peace within the nation.³

Yüan Chen, in a verse, wrote:

"The smoke of garrisons through the whole life is not seen,
Simple and unsophisticated elders retain their purity."⁴

This is the reason why T'ang flourished. From the Ta-li reign period (AD765-779) onward there was much confusion in the four directions while taxes and corvee became increasingly burdensome. The common people were busy running to the local authorities and were fully occupied every day. Yüan Chieh, in writing his essay entitled *Shih-hua*,⁵ said that "the people were harmed by local government while the chou (prefectures) and li (communities) changed to become sources of calamity." This was the means whereby T'ang declined.

In my early life I saw that there were those of advanced years among the people of the mountains and fields who had not seen an official, who were at peace in their fields and irrigation ditches and who never travelled to the city. When it came to the last days of the dynasty corvee was troublesome and litigation common whilst of the whole year's labour, the government appropriated half. The common people had a saying that if a family had fields of two ching they rested their heads to sleep at the yamen gate. After this the mountains had those with the corners at the backs (ie turned at bay) and the forests had many secreted thickets.⁶ Subsequently people did away with their fields and orchards and flocked to the cities. There was also one change⁷ and those scholars seeking fame, as well as those claiming to have been treated unjustly, all went to the capital. The roads from suburbs and distant districts were easily travelled by the wheels of carriages. It was as if all were struggling on the point of an awl. After fifty years the customs had come to this. Nowadays, if the hearts of the people are to be made content and their conduct changed it is necessary to determine what means of support the people should have to provide them with good food and fine clothing. Thereafter it may be possible to bring culture to them and make good their customs.

If the people are gathered in the countryside there is order; if they are gathered in the cities there is confusion. If they are gathered in the countryside then the land is opened up and uncultivated fields brought to order such that, even if there were the desire to make the hearts of the people inconstant, it could not be done whereas, if they are gathered in the cities, the

burden of corvee is widespread and lawsuits are numerous so that, even if there were the desire to make the hearts of the people content, it could not be done.

Formerly, in the time of Shen Tsung,⁸ the emperor followed that path of non-action and, in the kingdom, troubles were few. Of the people from the prefectures and districts those who came to the capital were, for the most part, officials who had their names registered at the palace gate and whose servants who did not exceed three or four in number. Apart from this there were a few 'tribute students' and those escorting the tribute rice and that is all. Thus was approached what the ancients referred to as few travelling the roads and grass growing in places of assembly. At the time were there not recluses and those without employment importuning higher officials. Each had a particular skill and these did not amount to many men, so the requirements for clothing and food could easily be satisfied.

From the rise of the 'eastern matter' (ie the war in Korea) there was widespread recruiting of mediocre scholars who opened their mouths to talk of military matters. Within the 'nine gates' (i.e. the capital) the k'uei was full and the lanes overflowing. It came to a situation where people sent sealed reports recommending themselves (to the emperor) and there were thrown into boxes (documents) informing against others. Things even went as far as those within the court befriending eunuchs and studying whether their superiors frowned or smiled.

In the *Odes* it is written:

"In the early part of my life
Time still passed without commotion.
In the subsequent part of it
We are meeting with all these evils."⁹

If one wishes to clear the roads travelled by the emperor, there must be a beginning by causing the people all to congregate within their areas of the countryside.

3. Section 2(ii) (ch 13-15): Ethics and Social Relations

2(ii)/13/1 (p304)

Customs of the Late Chou

The Spring and Autumn Annals end in the 39th year of the reign of King Ching,¹ i.e. the year Keng-shen (481 BC) (with the words): "The hunters in the west captured a lin."² Fourteen years on, being the 1st year of the reign of King Chen Ting³ i.e. the year Kuei-yu (468 BC), Duke Ai of Lu fled⁴ and two years (later) died at the hands of You Shan Shih.⁵ The *Tso Chuan* ends with this.⁶ Then, sixty five years later, in the 23rd year of the reign of King Wei-lieh⁷ i.e. the year Wu-yin (403 BC) the Chin high officials, Wei Ssu, Chao Chi and Han Ch'ien⁸ were first proclaimed feudal lords. Seventeen years after that, in the 16th year of the reign of King An⁹ i.e. the year I-wei (386 BC), the Ch'i high official, T'ien Ho¹⁰ was first proclaimed a feudal lord. Fifty-two years further on, in the 35th year of the reign of King Hsien¹¹ i.e. the year Ting-hai (334 BC) the six states¹² became, in succession, kingdoms and Su Ch'in¹³ assumed leadership of the vertical alliance.¹⁴ From this time onward affairs were recorded.

From the end of the *Tso Chuan* to this time (i.e. 334 BC), spanned a total of one hundred and thirty three years.¹⁵ The historical writings (for this period) were deficient and scattered so that those studying the ancients were subject to confusion. In the Spring and Autumn period¹⁶ there was still reverence for propriety (li) and importance attached to sincerity, yet in the Seven States period¹⁷ nothing was said of propriety and sincerity. In the Spring and Autumn period the Chou king was still revered yet in the Seven States period there was no mention of the Chou king.¹⁸ Further, in the Spring and Autumn period, there was strict observance of the sacrifices and due weight given to presentations and offerings yet in the Seven States period there is nothing of these matters. Again, in the Spring and Autumn period there is discussion of family and clan yet in the Seven States period there is not one word of this. In the Spring and Autumn period there was still the giving of banquets and the reciting of verse yet, in the Seven States period, nothing is heard of this. In the Spring and Autumn period announcements of celebration and mourning were still made yet there were none in the Seven States period. States were without established (diplomatic) relationships and scholars were without established masters, all changes which occurred within this period of one hundred and thirty three years. Yet despite the lacunae in historical writings there were those in later times who considered that they were able to infer what had transpired. It was not necessary to await Ch'in Shih Huang's assumption of the rule of the empire¹⁹ for the way of Wen and Wu²⁰ to be exhausted. When the Western Han was reached still these customs had not changed. Thus Liu Hsiang could say: "The sequel to a thousand years of Chou decline was the excess of evil of the

tyrannical Ch'in ... (there being) rapacious greed, deceit and wrong-doing without preservation of righteousness or principle."²¹

It may be seen that what history records is without doubt (the deeds) of men of achievement, fame, power and profit and the various classes of scribes and interpreters. Few only have a true perception of Tung Sheng's words on the establishment of righteousness and clarification of the Way.²² Still, from the Spring and Autumn period to the time of the Eastern Han, there was to some extent a return to the ancient way. From this I conclude that Kuang Wu, Ming and Chang certainly effected a change from the merits of Ch'i to those of Lu,²³ yet it is unfortunate is it not that they did not purify the way! In later times the Sung period between Ch'ing-li and Yüan-yu²⁴ was one of excellence. Alas, to discuss the world without examining its customs precludes a clarification of the merits of rulers. That for which I reprove the late Chou and commend the Eastern Capital is also the purport of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

2(ii)/13/2 (p305) The Kuei-chi Mountain Stone Carvings of the Ch'in Annals¹

The stone carvings of Ch'in Shih Huang² numbered in all six, in each case making much of the conquest of the six kings and his unification of the empire. They spoke also of the customs of the common people so that at T'ai Shan it was then written: "Men and women should act in accordance with the rites; they should be cautious and honourable in the conduct of affairs; they should clearly differentiate without (men) from within (women) and do nothing not conducive to peace and tranquillity."³

At Chieh-shih men it was then written: "Men find pleasure in the land, women cultivate their business."⁴ The writings are like this and that is all. Only at Kuei-chi there is one carving, the words of which read: "To gloss over faults proclaiming oneself just, to have a son and remarry is to behave with particular impropriety and be impure. He (Shih Huang) took the precaution of separating male and female and prohibited lewdness and licentiousness to keep relationships between men and women pure. If a husband pays court to someone else's wife then he may be killed without it being a crime, thus inciting men to conduct themselves in an upright manner. If a wife deserts her husband to re-marry, leaving her children devoid of a mother this is altogether a transformation of goodness and purity."⁵

How is it that there are these many (statements) and they are not reduced? The matter may be examined in the *Kuo-yü*. From the time the King of Yüeh, Kou Chien⁶ lived at Kuei-chi

his main fear was that the population of the kingdom would be insufficient. Therefore he ordered that able bodied men should not take an old wife, nor should an old man marry a vigorous young woman. If a daughter reached the age of seventeen unmarried this was considered a crime on the part of the parents as indeed was the case of a young man reaching the age of twenty (unmarried). If a male child was born (the parents were given) two flasks of wine and a dog while if a female child was born the gift was two flasks of wine and a sucking pig. If three children were born a wet nurse was provided while if two children were born there was a gift of grain.⁷ In the *Nei-chuan* (*Tzu-hsü*) it also states: "Yüeh took ten years to increase its population."⁸

In the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yüeh* it is said that Kou Chien dispatched those widows who had transgressed in the matter of licentious behaviour to a mountain top. Scholars who were beset by melancholy thoughts were ordered to wander on the mountain in order to alleviate their melancholy. At that time there was a desire for the population to increase so there was no return to the prohibition of licentious behaviour. This was handed down (tradition was maintained) until the end of the Six Kingdoms and as the custom was still in existence so (Ch'in) Shih Huang strictly prohibited it and made a particular point of incorporating it into the text of the stone carvings. This, as well as the destruction of the six kingdoms and the unification of the empire, were matters which were raised and discussed. They were, moreover, matters which were not carved in stone at Yen and Ch'i but only at Yüeh.⁹ This being so, although the punishments put into practice by the Ch'in were misguided, they were nevertheless framed with the intent of protecting the people and correcting their customs, so they were not initially different from (those of) the three kings.¹⁰ When the Han arose they inherited and utilised the Ch'in laws. Indeed, many have been preserved to the present time. Scholars of this time, in speaking of the Ch'in, clearly consider their laws to be those of a 'lost' kingdom. In this they do not examine them deeply.

2(ii)13/3 (p305)

The Customs of the Two Hans.

In Han times, from Hsiao Wu's¹ proclamation commending the Six Classics,² although the study of Confucianism flourished its central meaning remained obscure. Therefore when Hsin Mang assumed the regency those who would eulogise his virtues and offer auspicious omens in relation to his appointment were everywhere throughout the empire.³ As a consequence Kuang Wu⁴ held integrity in great respect, urging a correspondence between name and substance, while those whom he employed in official positions were never other than men who understood the classics and cultivated morality, so that customs underwent a complete

change. When it came to the last years of the Eastern Han, the court and administration were disordered and corrupt. The nation's affairs daily declined yet those of the proscribed party⁵ and those given to independent action, following the path of benevolence and righteousness continued to risk their lives. In the *Odes* it is written:

"Wind and rain, all looks dark
Yet the cock crows without ceasing."⁶

After the Three Dynasties period⁷ the fineness of the customs still did not reach that of the Eastern Han. Therefore Fan Yeh,⁸ in discussing this matter, wrote that he "considered the period between Huan and Ling was one during which the way of the princely man declined and the structure of government daily grew worse. Troubles within the kingdom were constantly arising so that even those with less than middling wisdom could not fail to recognise this deterioration. Still powerful officials ceased their plans to seize the ultimate power; indeed, those in power yielded to the criticisms of scholars from remote parts."⁹ (Further) (he questioned) whether "the reason why (the empire) would lean but not fall, burst its confines but not catastrophically, was through the beneficent offices of men of benevolence, princely men."¹⁰ It may be said that his words embodied wisdom. If rulers of later times were to abide by these precepts and not change them then would not the continuation of (such) customs to the present time be possible? Yet Meng-te, when he held control of Chi-chou,¹¹ rewarded and encouraged unconventional and unrestrained officials, as one sees in his edicts repeatedly, even to the point of seeking those with a most tarnished reputation, whose actions might be sneered at - men without benevolence or filiality yet who had the art of administering the kingdom or organising the army. Thus those who practised trickery or deception were repeatedly promoted and evil actions flowered. Tung Chao, in his memorial during the T'ai-ho reign period (AD227-232),¹² had already said that the young men of the time did not turn to scholarship as the foundation, but looked rather at the forging of friendships as the matter of importance. The foremost scholars of the nation did not give filial and fraternal behaviour, purity and self-cultivation, primacy but hastened rather to curry favour with those in power and seek profit for themselves.

During the Cheng-shih reign period (AD240-248) there were some, unruly in speech and behaviour, who were given to displays of their wisdom and ability. These men disdained the writings of Chou (Kung) and Confucius while studying the teachings of Lao (Tzu) and Chuang (Tzu).¹³ Thus customs (again) underwent a complete change. It may be seen that Kuang Wu, Ming and Chang's¹⁴ pursuance of a policy of administration through the classics and the protection of chastity and purity for several generations was not enough since one man, in the

shape of Meng-te, was able to (effect) the destruction and breakdown of customs. Rulers of later times, if they will establish a (suitable) moral climate and lay down laws and ethical standards utilising good customs to influence men, cannot do otherwise than examine this.

Kuang Wu, through his personal industry and frugal living, influenced his officials and subordinates expounding and discussing the classics, righteousness and principle, often up to midnight. On one occasion a meritorious official, such as Teng Yü¹⁵ (was), had thirteen sons and caused each to master one of the arts (accomplishments). If there is order within the inner apartments then one can be a model for the age. Further, relatives of the emperor, like Fan Chung,¹⁶ maintained the integrity of the family keeping its property undivided through three generations, with sons and grandsons devoting themselves unremittingly to propriety and reverence. They were constantly like a noble family. For this reason, although in the Eastern Han the talents of men were unrestrained they were inferior to those of the western capital (i.e. Western Han). Nevertheless, the style of scholars and the domestic regulations did seem to exceed those of the former time.

At the close of the Eastern Han there was a decline in morality with a rise of elegance and sophistication which began with Ts'ai Yung.¹⁷ His appointment by Tung Cho¹⁸ was without integrity and his expression of surprise and regret on (learning) of (Tung) Cho's death was ill-advised. If one examines his collective works there is an excess of funeral inscriptions and eulogies from which it may be inferred how he conducted himself in his daily affairs. Because his literary talents were rich and his friends numerous, so the people of later times gave him a most complimentary biography. Ah alas, scholars and gentleman who live in the final stages (declining years) of a dynasty must bear the reputation of the times. Those who would effect a change in the moral climate of the empire should examine Po-chieh's¹⁹ conduct and be warned by it.

2(ii)/13/4 (p306)

Cheng-shih

At the death of Wei Ming Ti, Shao Ti ascended the throne and the title of the reign period was changed to Cheng-shih which continued for nine years in all.¹ In the tenth year the grand tutor, Ssu-ma I, killed the general-in-chief, Ts'ao Shuang, and the great power of Wei was transferred.² The tripartite balance of power between the Three Kingdoms,³ had, up to that point, been in existence for thirty years. At that time unconventional scholars of high repute filled Loyang.⁴ They set aside the classics and esteemed especially the works of Lao and Chuang. They despised the rites and ceremonies and respected only unrestrained freedom. If

they were to see their ruler in difficulty they acted like indifferent observers and all worthy men took their lead from this. From this time onward they were vying with one another to imitate such practices.

In the *Chin Shu* it is written: "Wang Tun, on seeing Wei Chieh, addressed the aide Hsieh Kun saying, I never thought, at the end of Yung-chia, to hear again the sounds of Cheng-shih!"⁵ The monk Chih Tun became famous at that time through his pure talk. Everyone respected him and considered that he had achieved some merit - sufficient to be compared to those of the Cheng-shih period.⁶ In the *Sung Shu* it is written that Yang Yüan-pao had two sons on whom T'ai Tsu conferred names calling one Hsien and one Ts'an. To Yüan-pao he said: "I wish to order your two sons to have the style remaining from the bamboo grove of the Cheng-shih (reign period)."⁷ Wang Wei, writing to Ho Yen, said: "When you were young you were fond of hsüan-feng⁸ and you are a man of deep refinement and clarity. You are (like) a man of the Cheng-shih period."⁹

In the *Nan Ch'i Shu* it is written that Yüan Ts'an spoke to the emperor saying: "I see that Chang Hsü has the customs handed down from the Cheng-shih period."¹⁰ In the *Nan Shih* it is written: "Ho Shang-chih said to Wang Ch'iu that the customs of the Cheng-shih period are still preserved."¹¹ Thus, men of later times were respected for being like this. However, in the *Chin Shu*, in the preface to the *Ju-lin chuan*, it states: "To set aside the established classics of Ch'ueh-li¹² and to practice the unorthodox theories of the Cheng-shih period pointing out that ritual and etiquette were an offence against good taste and enables one to see that unrestrained indulgence and boastful talk were taken to be pure and lofty."¹³ Although, at that time, scholars often had empty reputations nevertheless, there were those who did not lose sight of true scholarship. Thus, through the clear explanations of the Six Classics,¹⁴ Cheng and Wang¹⁵ epitomised the late Han period, while in the discourses on Lao and Chuang,¹⁶ Wang and Ho¹⁷ were identified with the start of the Chin period. If we consider the collapse of the nation, the ruination of teaching below, the inroads made by barbarians and the constant changing of princes and officials, if this is not the fault of those worthies who sit beneath the trees then whose fault is it?

There is loss of the kingdom and loss of the moral basis of the world.¹⁸ How may these be distinguished? It is said that a change in the family name of the emperor and in the reign period constitutes loss of the kingdom. "When benevolence and righteousness are entirely obstructed then it comes to a situation where beasts are led on to devour men and men to devour one another;"¹⁹ this constitutes loss of the moral basis of the world. How can the pure

talk of the Wei and Chin (periods) be considered responsible for the loss of the empire? This is what Mencius referred to as the words of Yang (Chu) and Mo (Ti) reaching a point where they caused the empire "not to acknowledge ruler or father" and to enter the state of "birds and beasts".²⁰

Formerly Chi Shao's²¹ father, (Chi) K'ang,²² was put to death by King Wen of Chin.²³ When it came to the time of Wu Ti's²⁴ change of the mandate, Shan T'ao²⁵ recommended him (Chi Shao) for an official position. Shao, at that time, lived privately and in isolation and wished to refuse and not go. T'ao addressed him saying: "For your sake I have been contemplating the matter for some time. There are peaks and troughs (fortunes and misfortunes) through heaven and earth and the four seasons. How much more so is this the case in the affairs of man."²⁶ At that time these were famous words and were on everyone's lips. This was a failure to recognise that it was harming righteousness and damaging the teaching to bring about a situation like leading beasts to devour men and not acknowledging the father. Now it is the case that the ruler of Chin was not Shao's proper ruler so that he not only forgot his father but served an improper ruler. So, within the thirty years preceding his death, he had been a man without a father for a considerable period. How can his death at Tang-yin atone for his crime.²⁷ When he first took up his official position how could he have had foreknowledge of the affair of the imperial carriage? Yet it was possible through this, to establish his reputation until later times.

From the Cheng-shih period on, the great righteousness was everywhere obscured throughout the empire. People like Shan T'ao were proponents of heterodox theories, subsequently causing the cleverness of Chi Shao to oppose the opinion of the people in the empire without regard for consequences. Heterodox and orthodox doctrines may not both (simultaneously) be permitted to be established (to co-exist) so that if it is said that Shao was loyal then certainly it must be said that Wang P'ou²⁸ was not loyal and this would be possible. Little wonder that people of this sort led one another to serve as officials under Liu Ts'ung and Shih Le²⁹ and, when they might see their former ruler (reduced to) blue garments and serving wine, their hearts were unmoved by this. For this reason it is necessary to know how to protect all under heaven before it is possible to know how to protect the kingdom. The protection of the kingdom is something that is planned by the ruler, the ministers and high officials. The protection of all under heaven is the responsibility of every man, even the meanest.

In the *Sung Shih* it is written: "The (spirit of) loyalty and virtue among the official class¹ had, by the time of the Five Dynasties,² become almost exhausted. When the Sung first arose, Fan Chih³ and Wang P'u⁴ still had a residuum of dissatisfaction. I-tsu⁵ first admired Han T'ung⁶ and subsequently (also praised) Wei Jung,⁷ these incidents being sufficient to show his general intention. In the time of Chen and Jen,⁸ T'ien Hsi, Wang Yü-ch'eng, Fan Chung-yen, Ou-yang Hsiu and T'ang Chieh,⁹ all worthy men, by means of their plainly spoken counsels all gave direction to the court. Thereupon, both inside and outside (the court), when the red girdles¹⁰ were recommended, it was known that fame and integrity should be the main qualifications and that a sense of shame should be valued, this being a complete discarding of the vileness (venality) of the Five Dynasties period. Therefore during the transformation wrought in the Ching-k'ang reign period (AD1126),¹¹ there were many resolute officials who flicked their sleeves (in anger) and rose up to serve the king, refusing to submit to the difficulties confronting them. Thus, at the fall of the Sung, loyalty and integrity were still very much expected."¹² Ah alas! If you consider that Ai and P'ing could be subject to change to form the Eastern Capital¹³ and the Five Dynasties could change to become the Sung then you will realise that, within the empire, there are no customs which cannot be changed.

(In the *Changes*, for the hexagram) po, "nine at the top means there is a large fruit (still uneaten)." Thus, when yang is exhausted above it is restored and recreated below.¹⁴ Of the various matters which the ruler is called upon to manage, none are greater than the restraint of excess and the curbing of quarrels. In the Sung period, from the accession of Jen Tsung, forty odd years elapsed¹⁵ and while those whom he employed were not (always) good men yet the customs show purity of mind and there was love for, and esteem of, correctness. The scholars who discussed these matters might say that the way of the superior man was waxing.¹⁶

When it came to the court of Shen Tsung (AD1068-1085) Ching-kung¹⁷ gained political power and there was suddenly encouragement to those given to fawning and flattering and widespread eradication of those with opposing views. Teng Wan, Li Ting, Shu Tan, Chien Hsü-ch'ên and Wang Tzu-shao, all villains, were at that time selected for service and for officials there were ten ways to achieve their ambitions.¹⁸ Those seeking political advancement took the opportunity of causing trouble. Gradually, up to the Shao-sheng reign period (AD1094-1097) and the Chung-ning reign period (AD1102-1106), there was a substantial development of political intrigue and the affairs of the nation daily declined. This malady of the vitals was beyond cure. Men of later times said simply that his (ie Wang An-shih's) agricultural and

irrigation schemes, his green sprouts method and his protection tithes method were all injurious to the people.¹⁹ What they did not realise was that, in the matter of influencing people's minds and changing scholar's practices, they were also harmful to the court. In terms of bringing harm to the people the effect could in one morning be changed whereas, in terms of harm to the court, the effects were excessive and continuous over many years, assuming a direction which could not be reversed. Li Ying-chung has said: "From the time of Wang An-shih's assumption of the control of affairs there has been a deleterious affect on men's minds which, up to the present, cannot be fully appreciated. People scurry after profit and do not understand righteousness, so that the ruler daily becomes more isolated."²⁰ These are wise words. (Further in the *Odes* (it is written):

"Do not teach a monkey to climb trees,
(You act) like adding mud to one in the mire."²¹

If, as a result, the customs of the scholars of the Ching-li reign period (AD1041-1048) underwent a change to become those of the Chung-ning reign period (AD1102-1106) surely this was Ching-kung's teaching of monkeys!

(According to) Su Shih's²² biography, for the first year of Hsi-ning (AD1068), (Wang) An-shih began to establish new laws. (Su) Shih sent up a memorial saying: "That which is responsible for the preservation or destruction of a nation lies in the shallowness or depth of its morality, not in its strength or weakness. (Likewise) that which is responsible for length or brevity of duration of a dynasty lies in the worthiness or otherwise of its customs, not in its wealth or poverty. I wish the emperor to regard as fundamental, and to venerate, morality, to make substantial (the people's) customs and not anxiously to pursue merit and be covetous of wealth and strength. Jen Tsu's²³ method of administration was particularly liberal and he used people according to precedence. He devoted special attention to concealing faults and errors and did not lightly change old regulations. If one examines his achievement then it may be said not to have been very great. With reference to his conduct of military matters, for every ten campaigns nine resulted in defeat. In his management of finances there was just enough with nothing in reserve. It was only that he showed virtue and kindness to men and, in his customs, knowledge and righteousness that, at the time of his death, throughout the empire there was respect for Jen Tsu. Those who discuss the matter can see that in his later years officials for the most part followed the old routines and affairs were not dealt with vigorously and energetically. Consequently, there was a desire to rectify things by strictness, to encourage matters by the application of wisdom and ability, and to summon to court newly promoted men,

bold and zealous, through whom it was hoped matters could be brought to completion swiftly and efficaciously. While the benefits have still not been achieved, rash and perfidious customs have already come about. There were many who found themselves suddenly advanced and were caused to have unexpected attainments. Anyone could reach the position of high official in one step and this allowed those men frequently moved all to harbour inordinate ambitions. Thus, how can one expect substantial customs to be achieved? In recent times sincere and hard-working men have dwindled in numbers, while there are ever more ingenious scholars. I wish you would save the situation.²⁴ At that time there were many men who discussed the new laws but none before this with such intensity. The fundamental meaning of his words is something which it would be fitting for the ruler to confine his attention to and thrice repeat.²⁵

(According to) the *Record of the Eastern Pavilion*²⁶ when Wang Ching-kung took power he reformed the basis of the empire. At that time his ideas were not in harmony with those of backward-looking members of the old guard. Ching-kung subsequently selected for use newly advanced men without attention to ordinary promotion. Thus then, in political affairs, within a short time all these men gained advancement. In the two palaces and in the towers and pavilions, both within and without, those who sought power were not otherwise than neophyte scholars. When he went out as prefect of Chiang-ning fu, Lü Hui-ching²⁷ suddenly obtained political power and his intentions were those of the archer I.²⁸ When the scholars of the time observed his attainment of power they said it was possible (for him) quickly to assume the position of Ching-kung. Consequently, more party members would adhere to him and thereby much litigation would arise so, in a short time, Ching-kung was again recalled while Teng Wan²⁹ opposed and attacked Hui-ching, who, within himself, knew no peace of mind, yet still set out the failings of Ching-kung and his younger brother in various matters, which he personally presented to the emperor. The emperor then sealed Hui-ching's words to show to Ching-kung. Thus Ching-kung prepared a memorial in which he stated that loyalty was not sufficient to gain sincerity, therefore, in all things, one wished to make ones own intentions clear. Righteousness was not sufficient to overcome villainy therefore everyone must establish his opposition to it. (Lü Hui-ch'ing's critical remarks) were in his mind when he said this. When Hui-ching was sent out as magistrate of Po-chou, Ching-kung was again prime minister. Following this, all his previous associates left and those remaining already could not be trusted while those who could be trusted had insufficient talent to undertake the management of affairs. At that time only with his son, Pang, could he secretly plan and Pang also died. Realising then that the way (path) was difficult to follow he thereupon impulsively sought, again, to resign. Subsequently he was sent as commissioner to guard Chin-ling and in less than a whole year he received a tally. After a time he became commissioner at the Hui-ling Taoist monastery. This revelation of the

circumstances of Wang An-shih's (life) comes to be particularly apposite.³⁰

The Master said: "The princely man is easy to serve but difficult to please."³¹ Further, the *Ta tai li-chi*³² states: "There are men who, in demeanour and manner of speaking, in approaching others are particularly pleasing, who on entering or retiring walk circuitously and in their interchange with others are especially skilful, who are very swift in coming to the support of people, yet very easily come to betray them."³³ If one traces those whom Ching-kung trusted and employed in former days it may be seen that they not only changed the practices of scholars and caused the decay of the people's livelihood but also did not enjoy the profits of all this. In *The History* (it is written): "..... but afterwards when their successors could not attain to such a consummation neither did ministers."³⁴ Is it possible for those who are great ministers not to regard men's minds and customs as important?

The *Record of the Eastern Pavilion* also states: "When Wang Ching-kung served in the secretariat he prepared a new interpretation of the classics for the students in the National University. These students numbered in all close on three thousand. He also ordered the supervisors and lecturers to grade all the students in their studies (in such a way) that they were housed in three colleges upper, middle and lower and there was a rumour that they considered that in the examinations those who were in the upper college would subsequently, by the court, be promoted without observing their ranking. As a consequence, frivolous or trivial scholars with pretentious words indeed, sought to establish what was an empty reputation and they hastened to the gates of the nobles as if to the market place."³⁵

Su Tzu-chan (Su Shih), in his commentary on the *Changes (I Chuan)*, wrote under the explanation of the diagram tui: "Six in the third place and six at the top, both refer to inferior men connected with tui and all consider ingratiating themselves to be their business. Six in the third place means actions are not appropriate to the position being situated between two yang lines. Thus to seek to please is called tui which is therefore said to bring pleasure. It may be said that for the first and second places (pleasure) is not called for, but comes of itself. Such a man's heart is easy to know and his capacity for causing harm is slight therefore the two yang indicated good fortune while six in the third place indicated misfortune. Six at the top means transcending in the outside world and no connection with things and this is the small man's entrusting himself to not seeking as a means to attain the position of being able to please. Therefore it is said that he forcibly brings happiness. It is said that nine in the fifth place leads it and subsequently it is reached. His heart is difficult to know and his capacity for causing harm great; therefore nine in the fifth place is to trust in one who would injure him.

Nevertheless, his heart may not be known and he may be considered worthy. Moreover, it wasn't that he was loved because he was a petty man. If, in truth, he were known to be a petty man he would be cast off. Therefore there is strictness and not misfortune. This being so why is six at the top not good? It is said difficulty of advancement is the affair of the princely man. If six at the top place leads and there is not pleasure then his virtue is resplendent.³⁶ This discussion arose out of Su Shih's view of Emperor Shen Tsung's promotion of Wang An-shih.

Mencius said: "A man who loves fame may be able to decline a state of one thousand chariots but if he is not really the man to do such a thing the matter of a dish of rice or a bowl of soup will appear in his countenance."³⁷ Ching-kung, at that time, when he held a minor official position, forcefully resigned when he did not need to resign then, when in a high position, did not resign when it was appropriate for him to do so. This was an affectation and selfish seeking after personal fame and certainly there were those who recognised it as such. The Master, in discussing how he should view men, said: "Examine in what thing he rests"³⁸ and also "(as to the man of notoriety) he assumes the appearance of virtue but his actions are opposed to it and he rests in his nature without any doubts. Such a man will be heard of in the country, he will be heard of in the clan."³⁹ These are men who would defraud the world to achieve fame and, in this, ancient and modern times are as one. Can the ruler do otherwise than examine the matter?

Lu Yu⁴⁰ in his verse *Feelings at the Year's End* wrote:

"In the past, in the time of our ancestors,
Customs were pure and beautiful in the extreme.
There were talented men both north and south
Who in discussion forgot about that and this.
Who commands each political party
When one falls the other rises.
Into this again the barbarians bring calamity
And these customs are still not finished.
How may be established the basis of great peace?
I ask that each begin by making himself good."⁴¹

Ssu-ma Ch'ien, writing in the *Huo-chih chuan* of the *Shih Chi* stated: "From corridor and temple, courtyard and court, islet and cave there was no scholar who did not seek to be rich

and influential." A little further on he wrote: "There were officials and scholars who drew up or tampered with documents for illegal purposes, who carved false seals and falsified writings and who were unable to avoid punishment by cutting and maiming, being driven by bribes and gifts."¹

Chung Ch'ang-ao,² in his *Close Examination of Nature*, wrote that: "Of the three hundred naked animals (i.e. those without fur, feathers and scales) men are the most vile. Claws, teeth, skin and fur are insufficient to protect them. Consequently they rely on falsehood and deception repeatedly snapping and biting at each other." Going on from this one comes to the low-class officers and young servants who are only able to rob and plunder. If one looks at the present time when there is no official who does not accept bribes men all will want to be officials. If there is no governor who does not rob and plunder then men all will want to be young servants. From the time a bound-haired scholar begins his studies those things whereby he is encouraged are merely what may be spoken of as 'the thousand measures of grain', 'the house of gold' and as soon as one obtains official status one immediately goes on to pursue one's greatest desires. Princes and ministers, both high and low, cherish the concept of profit in their intercourse so that this becomes a pervasive influence which cannot subsequently be controlled. What principle should those who rule later adhere to?

I say that only 'ming' (etiquette, correct relationships) may overcome it. Whenever 'ming' exists and whenever those above the people use it then loyalty, sincerity, honesty and purity are manifest in the world. Whenever 'ming' is done away with the offenders will be rejected by those above and the extravagant and avaricious will be struck off the official register. Even if there are only one or two false and dissembling men, still this is better than the widespread and wanton pursuit of profit. In the *Nan Shih* it is also said: "In Han times scholars deemed cultivation of the self as fundamental (devoted their attention to it) therefore loyalty and filial behaviour became established practices and the only means of those who wished to ascend the carriage and wear the ceremonial cap so that conduct deviating from this did not occur. However from Chin and Sung times onward customs declined and righteousness was wanting."³ If, therefore, one uses the words of the ancients and speaks of the teaching of 'ming' moral integrity, honour and rank then, while one may not be able to bring the people of the empire to consider righteousness as profitable, still it may be possible to cause them to consider 'ming' as profitable. Although it is not the way of a great king one can still use it to save the world from evil customs.

In the *Chiu T'ang Shu* Hsüeh Ch'ien-kuang, being rectifier of omissions to the left, sent

up a memorial as follows⁴: "I humbly venture to observe that the ancients in their selection of scholars, were truly different from (men of the) present time. First, they looked at the origins of a candidate's correspondence of name and action and then examined his standing in township and district. His respect for propriety and complaisance were used to discipline himself and his manifestations of purity and righteousness were used to show sincerity. Honesty and simplicity were accorded greatest importance whilst ability in minor matters was regarded as being of secondary importance. Therefore, there was esteem for a spirit of encouragement and yielding while scholars eschewed actions which were insubstantial and trivial. Those aspiring to official positions had, of necessity, to cultivate rectitude and an unchanging maintenance of personal integrity, practising the custom of 'difficult to advance, easy to retire'. Where public evaluation had already established their merits or demerits it was then difficult for the head of a prefecture to falsify the rights and wrongs. In assessing the wisdom or foolishness of a candidate, honour or shame might fall to the head of the prefecture while a disclosure of improper behaviour would also reflect a lack of shame in the men of a township. In this way Li Ling's submission to allegiance brought disgrace to Lung-hsi⁵ whereas Kan-mu's grief brought glory to Hsi-ho.⁶ Thus, if 'ming' has the ascendancy over profit the way of the petty man is annulled yet, if the converse is true, an atmosphere of avarice and cruelty prevails.

From the end of the Seven Kingdoms⁷ period, even though there was a miscellany of political theories and the Han period sought men of talent, still there was an examination of a wide variety of conduct. As a consequence, scholars given to propriety and integrity who, with diligence and virtue cultivated themselves, were, by their local areas, promoted highly and subsequently assumed government positions. Nowadays, in the selection of men, there is a perversion of what is right. In the countryside decisions are made on the basis of the writings of petty men and the cultivation of behaviour is not discussed among the elders. For examination ranks, there is noisy contention in district and prefecture and prostration without limit while begging for favour. Immediately upon hearing an edict has just come out seeking capable candidates hurriedly they go around looking for every means to offer service. In sending up statements and presenting poetry they hope only for the benefits of fine phrases. 'Rubbing smooth the whole body from crown to heel'⁸ they hope to receive the kindness of guidance and support. Therefore those commonly styled *chü-jen* (recommendees)⁹ could all be styled 'seeking recommendation' and by seeking, it meant that they sought the post for themselves. When the pursuit of self interest is paramount then the public interest will be obstructed. When the coveting of government office manifests itself then the spirit of honesty and purity is diminished. From this it may be known that the prefectural decrees, although worthy, were not like Shu-tu's¹⁰ (diligence and) earnest complaisance and that the palace office, (although) particularly superior,

did not match Ch'in-chia's¹¹ resignation. Although they were not able to suppress the self and promote the worthy they were also not willing to await the 'san ming'.¹² Therefore, in the selection of officials to fill vacancies, there was a clamour at the doors of the Board of Rites. The tribute from the chou (prefectures) (i.e. the candidates) when paying their respects, struggled and contended on the steps and within. Slanderous talk and disordered alliances gradually became established practice. Those who contend for honour must needs have a heart to profit. Those who are humble and compliant are not concerned with the accumulation of wealth. If one is not a sage how can one avoid being influenced. If one dwells among ordinary people then one is forced to follow their way. If weight is given to diligent and substantial scholars then those who seek public office must venerate virtue in cultivating their reputation. If the door is open to mutual contention then those seeking office will do so through flattery and party affiliations and, in the forming of such affiliations, the common people will suffer whereas, if there is a purification of the self, the ordinary people will benefit therefrom. The gradual change of customs, can it come otherwise than by this means?¹³ Ah indeed! May these words not be considered particularly apposite in the light of the malpractices of the present day.

The Han people established government by reputation (ming) therefore men of talent flourished. At the present time order is imposed through laws and, as a consequence, men of talent decline. During Sung times Fan Wen-cheng, in a letter to Yen Yüan-hsieh, wrote: "If the teaching of the sages is not esteemed then those who are rulers may say that Yao and Shun are inadequate as exemplars, while Chieh and Chou are not sufficient to fear (be in awe of). Further, for those who are officials, the 'Eight Good Ones' are not worthy of veneration while the 'Four Wicked Ones' are not worthy as objects of shame. Within the empire how will there again be men of virtue? If men no longer hold precious reputation (ming), the authority of the sages will be dissipated."¹⁴

At the present time, of that whereby hearts and minds are influenced, i.e. that which reforms and purifies evil customs, nothing is more pressing than the two matters of the encouragement of learning and exalting the people to be pure. If, among the scholars of the empire, there are those who are able to respect sincerity and love scholarship and even up to old age not weary they will eminently be able to advance morality and the possession of the way. Moreover, if officials will be ranked by the Hanlin Academy but allowed to take up office or remain unemployed, the people will then all know that there is an inclination to study and no contention with regard to state examinations. Then all the officials will be able and honest, loving, cherishing the people and resigning from office through old age according to propriety. Families which do not have savings will have bestowed on them land to the extent of five or ten

ching. Further sons and grandsons may have an occupation and be exempt from the burden of taxation and compulsory service. Then people would all know self control and not be covetous of bribes.

How can one await him despatched from Tzu-ch'uan for the second time and then receive a scholar who tends pigs¹⁵ or until Yu-meng's words were heard then the child of a former minister who carried firewood was rewarded?¹⁶ Moreover Fu-feng's son especially had conferred on him yellow gold while Chou-chün's worthiness (was such that) he often bestowed a gift of sheep or wine.¹⁷ As a result those scholars of high reputation living in retirement made manifest (displayed) their virtue to all officials. At that time those who revered the glory of seeking out the ancient ways, when they died looked up to the benefit of this purity of abnegation. Is this not better than exhorting others to aim for examination success, rank and emolument causing them to become seekers after position and greedy for profit? If order is to be achieved by reputation then a start must be made along this path.

In the Yüan-shih reign period of Han P'ing Ti (AD 1-5), there was an imperial proclamation as follows: " From the rise of the Han and the establishment of ministers and assistants, in the frugality of personal conduct, the disregarding of wealth and the attention to righteousness there was no-one to equal Kung-sun Hung. When he occupied the position of prime minister and feudal lord he used coarse cloth as clothing and ate imperfectly-hulled rice as food. He donated his official salary to old friends and guests leaving nothing remaining. This (sort of behaviour) may be said to show inferiors sincere customs. Then, too, there will be a distinction between those who, within, are rich and influential and without are falsely adorned, seeking empty praise There was bestowed on Hung's later descendants, sons and grandsons, who were legitimate heirs, the title of kuan-nei hou and a fiefdom of three hundred households."¹⁸

In the *Wei Chih*, for the 6th year of Chia-p'ing (AD254) the court, reflecting on pure and virtuous scholars, proclaimed the bestowal on the families of the former minister of works, Hsü Miao, the general for subjugating the east, Hu Chih and the military governor, T'ien Yü, two thousand hu of grain and thirty bolts of silk, making this known throughout the empire.¹⁹ In the 4th year of Yen-chang, during the reign of Hsüan-wu Ti of the Northern Wei (AD516), there was a proclamation as follows: "The former (late) retired scholar Li Mi, who constantly refused to be summoned to court and steadfastly guarded his compliance and simplicity and the principle of scholarship and retirement could especially be considered praiseworthy. He could be distantly compared to Hui and K'ang and near at hand to Yüan Yen and was posthumously titled Chen-

ching Chu-shih. Further an insignia was attached to his dwelling proclaiming his great purity.²⁰ In the *T'ang Liu-tien*²¹ (it is said) that for one's nurturing morality among hills and gardens, one's substantial reputation and manifest intelligence, despite not being a member of the official class, one was posthumously granted the title of master. In my view, during the Chung-chen reign period (AD1628-1644) the words of the provincial censor, Ch'i Piao-chia were used to confer on the recommendees, Kuei Tzu-mo and Chu Pi-hsuan the post of Hanlin Academy editorial assistant.²²

In the *T'ang History* (it states): "Niu Seng-ju was a descendant of the Sui vice-director, Ch'i-chang-kung (Niu) Hung. When he was young he was an orphan and in Hsia-tu, Fan-hsiang had bestowed upon him fields to the extent of several ching and he relied on this for a living."²³ From this it may be known that the bequest of land extended from Sui times for over two hundred years into the T'ang period and was still preserved by descendants. Gifts of gold and silk or the conferring of official salaries would rapidly change into dust. During the present dynasty, in the Cheng-tung reign period (AD1436-1449) lands in Wu-chin were bestowed on the secretary of the Board of Rites, Hu Ying which his sons and grandsons have preserved to the present time.²⁴ It is my humble view that nothing exceeds the bestowing of lands as a reward for purity.

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Incorruptibility and Shame

In the *Feng Tao chuan-lun*, in the *Hsin Wu Tai Shih*,¹ it is said: "Propriety, righteousness, incorruptibility and shame are the four social bonds of the kingdom. If the four bonds are not made manifest then the kingdom is doomed to destruction.² How skilful is Kuan Sheng in his ability in speech. Propriety and righteousness are the great rules for the governance of men; modesty and shame are the great standards for establishing men. If there is not incorruptibility then there is nothing men will not take; if there is lack of shame then there is nothing men will not do. If people are thus then misfortune, failure, confusion and loss know no bounds. Moreover, if those who are great officials have nothing they will not take, no act they will not commit, then can the empire be without confusion, the kingdom without loss?"³ This being so, within these four bonds shame has particular importance. Thus the Master, in discussing scholars, said: "In conducting himself there is shame."⁴ Mencius said: "A man may not be without shame. When one is ashamed of having been without shame, he will afterwards not have occasion to be ashamed"⁵ and again; "Shame in relation to men is great. Those who manifest skill in opportunism do not do so by the use of shame."⁶ The reason why this is so is that if a man is not incorruptible and goes as far as rebelling against propriety and opposing

righteousness the origin of such behaviour may, in all cases, be traced to the absence of shame. If the official classes⁷ are without shame this may be spoken of as the country's shame. If I look (at the kingdom) from the Three Dynasties⁸ onward, the decline of society and the trivialisation of the Way, the abandonment of propriety and righteousness and the rejection of incorruptibility and shame are not the work of one night and one day. Still "the leaves of pine and cypress are the last to fall in the winter of the year" and "the crowing of the cock is not stilled by wind and rain." Moreover, in these days of darkness certainly there never was "a man who was not alone sober".⁹

Recently I have studied the *Yen-shih chia-hsün*¹⁰ which also says: "There was a scholar at the Ch'i court who once said to me: 'I have had a son, seventeen years old, who knows something about writing letters and memorials. I taught him the language of the Hsien-pi¹¹ and to play the lute. This was with the hope that he might gain proficiency in both and, with these accomplishments, that he may serve the dukes and nobles and may attain their favour. Everyone delighted in him'. I, at the time, bowed down and did not reply. Strange is it not this man's teaching of his son. Even if, as a consequence of this, he were to reach the level of a minister still I would not wish you to be so."¹² Ah alas, Chih-tui had no alternative but to serve in a disordered world; still there is the meaning of the poet of the *Hsiao-yüan*.¹³ By "the eunuch-like flattering their generation"¹⁴ are they not able to be ashamed.

Lo Chung-su¹⁵ said: "The instilling of culture is the court's first responsibility. Incorruptibility and shame are the purest virtues of the scholar. Customs and habits are the empire's great business. If, in the court, there is the instilling of culture, then scholars will possess incorruptibility and shame. If the scholars have these qualities then the empire will have satisfactory customs." In the way the ancients managed military matters there was nothing which was not based on incorruptibility and shame. In the *Wu Tzu* it is said: "Whoever, in regulating the kingdom, manages the army must certainly teach it through propriety and encourage it through righteousness so that there will be a sense of shame. If the men have shame then, at the most, this is sufficient for offensive war and, at the least, it is sufficient for defence."¹⁶ *The Wei Liao Tzu*¹⁷ states: "In a kingdom there must be a spirit of compassion, filial piety, modesty and incorruptibility, then may there be a transformation from death to life." Moreover T'ai-kung, responding to King Wu, said that of generals there are three sorts that may overcome; the first does so through propriety, the second through strength, the third through a suppression of desires. Therefore propriety is the means whereby one rules the kingdom and administers the army.¹⁸ The martial men in the *Rabbit Net* are all based on the civilising influence of King Wen and his empress and consort.¹⁹ How can there be the leading astray of

fuel-gatherers, the stealing of oxen and horses and the oppression of the people.

In the *Hou Han Shu* (it is stated) that Chang Huan was the defender for pacifying the dependent states. The Ch'iang general was moved by Huan's kindness and made him a gift of twenty horses. The Hsien-ling chieftain also made him a gift of eight golden drumsticks. Huan received them all and ordered a scribe, before the assembled Ch'iang, to anoint the ground with wine saying "I shall consider the horses to be like sheep and not put them in a stable, the gold to be like corn and not to enter my pocket" whereupon he returned all the gold and horses. The Ch'iang were, by nature, covetous but prized purity in officials. Previously there were eight defenders who, in the main, loved wealth and goods and this was what brought calamity and suffering. When it came to Huan, by his self-rectification and purification, he effected a most impressive change.²⁰ Ah alas! From ancient times, in the failures of border affairs, is there any aspect which does not take its origin from covetousness and greed? There is that in the affairs of Liao-tung²¹ which moves me.

In one of Tu Tzu-mei's poems there are the lines:

How can it be that General Lien P'o
(Makes) the three armies sleep peacefully together?²²

In one edition there is Lien-ch'ih general. The poet's meaning does not necessarily extend to this. Nevertheless, I note the words of the (*Chiu T'ang Shu* which read: "Wang Pi was military commissioner for Wu-ling. Prior to this, the Tu-fan (Tibetans) decided to complete the Wu-lan bridge. Every time they came to the river bank they first stored up materials and timber and all was carried away by the people sent by the military commissioner and thrown into the flowing current so finally, they were not able to complete the work. The Fan people knew that Pi was avaricious and without a scheme so they first made him a handsome present. Afterwards, they doubled the number of workmen to complete the bridge and also built a wall to protect it. From this time there was no respite from the northern-based rebels."²³ Right up to the present this has been a problem and it stems from Pi's (corruption). Thus, if someone who is avaricious is leader then the area beyond the Great Wall is vulnerable. Those who understand this meaning, as in the case of Ying's writing to Yen,²⁴ perhaps may be a guide to bring order to the kingdom.

When there is extravagance in a nation he shows frugality;¹ this is the conduct of the princely man and the affair of the prime minister. Hsü Shao of Ju-nan, in the Han period, was a prefectural kung-ts'ao. Yüan Shao, from the same prefecture, was a knight-errant of noble lineage who left the post of magistrate of Pu-yang and returned home. His carriage and attendants were especially magnificent. On entering the precincts of the prefecture he acknowledged his fault saying: "With respect to my carriage and clothing how shall I allow Hsü Tzu-chang to see them." Subsequently he returned home in a single carriage.² Ts'ai Ch'ung of the Chin period was a man who loved learning and was of particular elegance, venerable and imposing in aspect. He was, moreover, feared by others. Liu Cheng of Kao-p'ing had a carriage and garments of extravagant beauty. He formerly said: "My garments are always of fine silk, but on meeting Ts'ai Tzu-ni at a sitting I was for the whole day out of sorts (not content with myself)."³ Li Te-lin of the Northern Ch'i, when his father died in the depths of winter, alone, barefoot and in mourning garments accompanied the carriage which bore the coffin back to P'ing. Ts'ui Shen who was on leave returned home to attend the mourning. He was initially accompanied by several tens of cavalry but he gradually reduced the numbers so that when he arrived at Te-lin's gate there were only five remaining. He said: "I cannot let Mr Li blame the extravagance of others."⁴ Li Seng-chia was meticulous and honest in his duties but did not respond to the imperial summons to take up an official position. When the minister, Yüan Shu-te, came to attend him he first reduced the number of his retainers and then entered the gate. He said: "When I see this worthy gentleman I am ashamed of the carriage and ceremonial cap." Indeed, it is only the princely man who is able to change customs through his own conduct. If he occupies an official position he can transform a state; if he is at court he can transform the empire.⁵

At the time of Wei Wu Ti, Mao Chieh held the position of eastern section clerk and took charge of selection. By virtue of his frugality he was an example to men such that scholars throughout the empire could not help but be themselves encouraged to exercise frugality. Even honourable and esteemed officials did not presume, in their accoutrements, to go to excess.⁶ Towards the end of the Ta-li reign period of the T'ang dynasty (AD766-779) Yüan Tsai⁷ was put to death and Yang Wan⁸ became prime minister. Wan was, by nature, virtuous and frugal and in his carriage and attire was not in any way extravagant. He had not held position in the court more than a short period before men underwent a spontaneous change of heart. The vice censor-in-chief, Ts'ui Kuan, was the younger brother of the military commissioner of Chien-nan in Hsi-Chuan, Ts'ui Ning.⁹ The family wealth lay in property and they had a villa to the south

of the imperial city, the pools and terraces of which were among the leading examples of the time. Immediately Kuan secretly sent to demolish it. The Secretariat's director, Kuo Tzu-i¹⁰ set up camp at Pin-chou.¹¹ When he heard that Wan had become minister he reduced the number of musical gatherings by four out of every five. The governor of the capital, Li Kan¹² was accompanied in all his comings and goings by a mounted escort in excess of one hundred men. He also, immediately, did away with them leaving only ten horses and that is all. Li Shih-ku¹³ was recalcitrant and greatly feared Tu Huang-shang¹⁴ becoming a minister. He sent a capable and experienced official with several thousand strings of cash and a carriage with a felt covering. The messenger reached the gate but did not dare to offer these things and waited in attendance for many days. When a poor carriage emerged from the gate two female attendants whose dark garments were shabby informed him that this was the great minister's wife. The messenger hurriedly returned to inform Shih-ku, who thereupon broke off his plots and through the rest of his days did not dare to alter his allegiance. If this is so how would one need three years to curb the extravagance of Cheng¹⁵ and thirty years to change the extravagances of Lo-i.¹⁶ Indeed, if one cultivates frugality within one's own person, conducts oneself according to it within one's family, and manifests it within the village community can the Way, in truth, be far off?

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Great Ministers

In the *Li Chi* it is said: "When the great ministers are observant of the laws, the smaller ministers pure, officers and their duties kept in their regular relations and the ruler and his ministers are correctly helpful to one another the state is in good condition."¹ Therefore, if it is desirable to rectify the prince and impose order on the hundred officials, this must start with the great ministers. This being so, in the discussion of Wang Yang's 'yellow gold', the people of the time blamed his extravagance² and, in reference to Kung-sun's cotton quilt, upright scholars later ridiculed its deceitfulness.³ So, in the examination of a man's life and establishment of his mode of conduct, only the end is looked at to achieve such an assessment.

"At the time of Chi Wen-tzu's death the high officials prepared his body for the coffin. While he still held his position the steward made ready various household utensils to be buried with him. There were no richly dressed concubines, no well-fed horses. There were no hidden treasures of gold and jade, no valuable articles accumulated. A princely man might thus know of Chi Wen-tzu's loyalty to the royal house. He had served as minister to three rulers yet had no private accumulation of wealth. How can he not be considered loyal?"⁴

Chu-ko Liang, in his memorial to Emperor Hou-chu wrote: "In Ch'eng-tu I have eight hundred mulberry trees and fifteen ching of poor fields. For clothing and fine food my sons and grandsons all rely on the family so they have an abundance. When I was serving outside no other arrangements were necessary. In the personal requirements of clothing and food I have depended entirely on the office and have no other property. On the day I die there will not be an abundance of silk within or an excess of wealth without; I would thereby be ungrateful to your majesty."⁵ When he died it was as he had said. Now purity is merely one aspect of a minister and what Tso Shih termed loyal and what K'ung-ming⁶ considered to be not ungrateful was certainly that an official's deception of the ruler and obstruction of the affairs of state stem from his coveting of goods and wealth. To occupy a venerable position and to adorn their houses and their persons is the common nature of men. How could they know that heaven does not bring them good fortune and that the people will grumble and revile them until they, in conjunction with their land, sink into failure. Certainly it is clear that the extravagance or frugality of the great official families is related to the rise and fall of civilized intercourse in the country or parsimoniousness in the government. Thus, if the method of selecting ministers is carefully examined it may be possible to achieve the way of bringing prosperity to the people.

Tu Huang-shang,⁷ a famous minister in the Yüan-ho reign period (AD806-820), through his being rich and influential, met with criticism while Lu Huai-shen⁸ of the K'ai-yüan reign period (AD713-741) a common official, through his being poor but untarnished was commended. For this reason, when one is poor one examines what one does not do. This is the way to select ministers.

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On Doing Away with Corruption

In Han times those impeached for corruption either died in prison or were told to commit suicide on the road. In T'ang times corrupt officials were often sentenced to death by the court. Those who were especially pardoned were banished to Ling-nan.¹ In the 1st year of the T'ai-chi reign period of the Emperor Jui Tsung (AD712), in the 4th month, a law was issued for officials² that those who transgressed the law, receiving bribes in excess of one pi, were all first sentenced to one hundred (lashes) but when there were proclamations of pardon on the occasion of a change in reign-title or when the emperor was offering sacrifices to heaven at the southern suburb these all said: "For any crime of less than a capital nature, whether already revealed or not, already come to judgement or not, whether with imprisonment or banishment, whether the crime be trivial or serious, all would be pardoned and the charges set aside. Those who transgressed the official edict with bribery were not included in these limits."³ Still there

were those who were dismissed and sent to distant places; disgraced officials sent to the frontiers. Lu Huai-shen⁴ made an emphatic statement saying that not to follow the law and to show kindness to those wrongdoers was to fail to effect a thoroughgoing reform. From this it may be known that ministers share (with the ruler) the offices of the state and that the King of Shang made his great punishments.⁵ To be covetous destroys an official and the *Hsia Shu* warns that this must be punished by death.⁶ Among the kings of the Three Dynasties⁷ there were none who did not follow this road.

At the beginning of Sung the sub-official functionaries of the prefectures and districts inherited the practices of the Five Dynasties,⁸ taking 'soiled goods' and oppressing the people, therefore there was particular strictness in the matter of crimes related to covetousness. In the 3rd year of the K'ai-pao reign period (AD970), Tung Yüan-chi⁹ was governing Ying-chou¹⁰ and received bribes to the extent of seven hundred thousand or more (cash). The emperor, when Ling-piao¹¹ was first pacified, wished to warn those officials exacting money and made a special proclamation of a public execution. In the great pardon during sacrifices offered at the southern suburb, of the ten evils¹² therefore, those of robbery and murder as well as functionaries accepting bribes were not pardoned. The (dynastic) History states that the Sung law had three means of obtaining upright officials and, of these, not to give pardon to those transgressing in the matter of bribery was one.¹³ After the Tien-sheng reign period (AD1023-1031) the official classes all knew which sacrificial vessels were in disorder (ie which ministers were corrupt) and which worked industriously to develop their morality so the emperor had the means whereby to encourage them.

Yü Wen-ting¹⁴ said that in our own dynasty administration was very lenient in comparison with the Sung in that it was possible for unsuccessful generals to avoid death and that the very many venal minor officials, even if the amount involved was tens of thousands, were merely dismissed, whereas, on the contrary, in relation to the very lowly (sub-official functionaries) the laws had the density of congealed fat.¹⁵ So there was failure both in terms of too much and too little (lightness and heaviness). Then, from the Yung-lo reign period (AD1403-1424), venal officials were dismissed from office and dispatched for frontier duties. From the Hsüan-te reign period (AD1426-1435) the system was changed so that such officials were delegated to the transport of bricks and the provision of grain to atone for their crimes. They thus immersed themselves in leniency and did not return to an examination of the laws of former dynasties. Ah alas! If laws are not established and punishments not certain then it is not possible to find officials who desire to be such, without covetousness. If the emperor relinquishes his grasp of the handle of the great sword¹⁶ then those who are called his great

ministers will all be concerned with the drawing up of minor indictments and the boxes of documents¹⁷ and the bringing up of many irrelevant and petty matters will be considered to be discharging the responsibility to the empire. How, under these circumstances, can the administration of minor functionaries be (made) good?

In the *Pei-meng so-yen*¹⁸ (it is written) that, in the Posterior T'ang, the Emperor Ming Tsung (AD926-933) particularly disliked covetous officials. The Teng-chou capital liason representative, T'ao Ch'i was, by the magistrate of Nei-hsiang, Cheng Kuei-jen, criticised for the collection of extra taxes and was sent away to be adjutant of Lan-chou. The chief secretary, Wang Wei-chi, seized the patents conferring titles on offices successively appointed and was banished to Sui-chou. The Prefect of Po-chou, Li Yeh, committed suicide as a consequence of his base receiving of bribes. The Pien-chou granary officials transgressed in the matter of bribes and among these was Shih Yen-hsün, son of a former guard and also a relative of the imperial son-in-law Shih Ching-t'ang. Wang Chien-li memorialised on this matter in the hope of avoiding death. The emperor said: "The king's laws are not a private matter. How may they be made to accord with a relative's wishes?" The court official, Ting Yen-hui was cunning in affairs and an influential official. While inspecting granaries he transgressed by taking bribes. The commissioner of imperial guards, Chang Ts'ung-pin, went immediately to try to save him. The emperor said: "He feeds off my substantial salary yet he robs my various granaries. Even if Su Ch'in were to be born again he could not dissuade me from this course." Thereupon he killed him. It is through instances like this that the Posterior T'ang, among the Five Dynasties, alone acquired the name of being a hsiao-kang epoch.¹⁹

The *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei*²⁰ records as follows: "In the 12th month of 4th year of the T'ien-cheng reign period (AD929) the magistrate of Hsi-p'ing in Ts'ai-chou, Li Shang, was reported by the common people as being unjust. The court of judicial review decided he only had to atone for his crime (i.e. pay a fine) with copper cash. There was an imperial order to Li Shang to confess his transgressions and that these all have been recorded. When the grand judge decides a case he quotes in full the items of law concerning that case. However, there are matters in which there is something not set out and the judgement is not complete. When the ancients established laws they had the intention of being sympathetic to men. Moreover, since this was handed down from the sages there was universal peace. Men all knew what was prohibited and punishments subsequently were light. Since destruction and confusion set in those who are incorruptible and have a feeling of shame are few. Since I first ruled the empire there have been four revolutions of the heavens (i.e. four years have elapsed). Often have I proclaimed that there should not be discrimination and every time have removed former corrupt

practices. I only hope that (punishments) will not be excessive and that every step will be taken with unselfishness in mind. Li Shang did not regard as fundamental the nourishing of the people and only planned to enrich himself. When I first heard of his unjust conduct I decided that he was wrong. Also where there were complaints of village fields which had owners the farm was seized and the owner flogged. When the kingdom gives to the regions and districts the seals they are only for documents yet he used them to issue to the town people and goods were taken from the people. If affairs are conducted thus how can one be an appropriate official? He should be stripped of his official position and executed!"²¹ In reading this imperial document, Ming Tsung could be said to have grasped the importance of the matter.

In the *Chin Shih*, in the 12th year of Ta-ting (AD1172), the governor of Hsien-ping, Shih-mo A-mo-la,²² through corruption, died in prison. The emperor said that his corpse was not displayed in the market places, so in this way he was let off lightly. If someone poor and impoverished becomes a robber and bandit (it might be said) he could not help it. If an administrative official of the third rank comes to his death through corruption then this is foolish in the extreme. His sons may all be disenrolled (have their names taken off the register). Certainly being a corrupt official and not being able to be an official extends to the sons and this it seems is not the principle of 'hating evil stops at oneself'. However if a covetous man ruins the good then his sons are certainly not going to be pure and incorruptible. The pronouncement of Shih Tsung would not seem to be excessive.

In the *Han Shu* it states that Li Ku and Tu Ch'iao, being of like mind and common purpose, gave their assistance to the rule of Wen (Ti) and Hsüan (Ti).²³ Moreover, in Hsiao Huan's pronouncement on assuming the throne there were the words, "the sons and grandsons of corrupt officials must not be selected and promoted."²⁴ Surely the Han people had already attended to this matter?

In the *Yüan Shih* (it is written): "For the 19th year of Chih-yüan (AD1278), in the 9th month of jen-hsu, there was an imperial proclamation with respect to officials within and without the court, who were guilty of corruption. Where the offence was slight they were beaten and where the transgression was more serious they were put to death."²⁵ There are mediocre officials who are avaricious and there are talented officials who are avaricious. In the *T'ang History*, in the biography of Niu Seng-ju²⁶ (it is written) that at the beginning of the reign of Mu Tsung he was vice censor-in-chief. The prefect of Su-chou, Li Chih-chen, was tried for taking bribes and was sentenced to death. Nobles in the court came to his defence. The emperor said: "Chih-chen is a man of ability. I wish to pardon him and put him to use." Seng-ju said: "Those

without talent simply take their salary and try to maintain their position. The son of heaven creates laws to curb and restrain men of talent. An Lu-shan and Chu Tz'u²⁷ were men of exceptional talent who (nevertheless) brought confusion to the empire. The emperor considered these words right and revoked the pardon.²⁸ Those nowadays who are avaricious and indulge themselves are, for the most part, talented officials. If people could be brought to a state of alertness with respect to the law and put their ability to a legitimate use then, certainly, there must be a period of peace and prosperity with very able officials.

In the *Hou Han Shu* it is said that Yüan An, who was governor of Honan, gave orders which were regarded as strict and just, yet he never interrogated anyone in relation to the crime of bribery.²⁹ Those who, in recent times, assume a position of great leniency take this as support for their view. In my opinion, for the last several decades there has been a policy of considerable tolerance up to a point where the bonds are untied and handles slackened! All such words bequeath (to later generations) their disadvantages. Ah alas! Fan Wen-cheng³⁰ had this to say: "What is the suffering of one family compared to that of the whole district?"

Chu Tzu³¹ said that the ordinary people of recent times were misled by the discussion of unpublicised good works and so most of them believed releasing those who committed crimes to be a manifestation of benevolence. This is like considering that if the ruler grants a pardon then he is manifesting benevolence. When Sun-shu Ao³² smote the two-headed serpent he was appointed to the position of prime minister of Ch'u. How can this be considered otherwise than as a reward for his unheralded act of virtue. Liu Shih of T'ang³³ in his *Chia-fu* said that an official does not send up a memorial about auspicious signs, does not offer gifts of money to Buddhism and Taoism and does not pardon corrupt officials. This is the present-day way of members of the official classes. Pao Cheng of Sung³⁴ admonished his sons and grandsons (descendants) saying that those who were involved in bribery might not return to their native homes and not obtain burial in the family vaults. This should be the method used in the present day whereby those of the official classes teach their descendants.

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Honour and Incorruptibility

In the time of Han Yüan Ti (48-331BC), Kung Yü¹ sent up a memorial saying: "In the days of Hsiao-wen Huang Ti honour and incorruptibility were venerated, meanness and avarice were condemned. From traders and sons-in-law living with their wives' families and officials who were impeached for bribery, all were prohibited from obtaining positions of government service. The good were rewarded and the bad punished and families were not given special

consideration. In situations where the crime was clear the perpetrator was put to death; where there was doubt they were demoted to civilian rank. There was no method of atoning financially for a crime. Therefore orders were put into effect and prohibitions were stopped and within the empire there was great change. Throughout the empire criminal cases for decision numbered four hundred and the punishment for wrong-doing was uniform.

When Wu Ti first came to the control of the empire (140BC) he venerated worthiness and employed scholars; he opened up land and extended the frontiers for a distance of several thousand li. He himself was seen as being of great merit and imposing manner yet, subsequently, gave indulgence to his desires. If funds for expenditure were insufficient then he effected wholesale change causing those who transgressed the law to atone financially for their crimes and those who gave grain to fill vacant minor positions.² As a consequence, in the empire extravagance was widespread, officials were thrown into a state of confusion and the people impoverished. Robbers and thieves arose in numbers and those who fled their native places were numerous. In the prefectures and kingdoms³ there was fear of submitting to punishment so then there were selected quick-witted officials and those practised in the keeping of ledgers who were able to deceive the prefectural office and who were promoted. If villainy was not overcome then there was the selection of resolute and fearless men able to deal harshly with the common people and who, by their cruel oppression, overawed those below them. It is these men who were caused to assume high-ranking positions. Therefore those who showed loss of righteousness but had wealth were perpetuated throughout society. Those who deceived and were corrupt yet were skilful in writing were venerated at the court. Those who were refractory yet resolute were honoured by the officials. Thus there was a saying: 'Why does one need filiality? Great wealth only brings honour along. Why does one need propriety and righteousness? By the writing of documents one obtains official position. Why does one need caution and care? By being ruthless and fierce one becomes an official'. Therefore those who had been branded as criminals and had their noses excised, who had been made bald and placed in a collar, still continued to raise their arms and be involved in the administration of society. Although, in behaviour, they may be like dogs or swine still, if their families have sufficient wealth or power, they may, by look or direction, give their orders in a haughty manner and this is considered to be a manifestation of worthiness. Therefore it is said that those who occupy official positions and establish wealth are brave and heroic; those who dwell in villainy and obtain profit are said to be good fellows. Older brothers influence younger brothers, fathers urge on their sons, so the customs become degraded and corrupt and then it comes to this. If an examination is made of how this came about it is all through the fact that those who transgress the law can achieve financial atonement for their crimes. When one tries to find

scholars one does not find the truly worthy whilst chancellors of vassal kings and commandery administrators all honour wealth and profit. If punishment is not carried out then this is what transpires. Nowadays if there is the desire to achieve greatness in government and to reach a great peace it is appropriate to eschew the method of financial atonement for crime. If the chief minister's and magistrates' recommendations are not based on real value and those who take bribes immediately have their punishment carried out and are not merely dismissed from office they will then struggle with all their might to be good. They will honour fraternal and filial piety. They will despise merchants, they will advance the truly worthy and promote the honest and incorruptible so that the empire will then be in good order.⁴

Ah indeed - in the changes of the present day it is even worse than this. From the period of Shen-tsung's rule (AD1573-1619) onward the practice of ransoming and bribery increased day to day. The cardinal virtues of the kingdom were not extended and the hearts of the people were greatly harmed. For several tens of years it has been thus. In *The History* it is written: "I shall not employ those who are fond of wealth yet those who are rigorously yet reverently labouring for the lives and increase of the people, nourishing them and planning for their enduring settlement, I shall use and respect."⁵ Certainly, if this were so it would subsequently be possible to establish the basis of a great peace.

Yü also desired to order the members of the imperial coterie from the various palace attendants⁶ upward, not to undertake private trading nor to contend with the people for profit. Those who contravened this were immediately dismissed from office and stripped of rank and were not able to obtain official positions. It is also possible to apply this discussion to the present time. From the Wan-li reign period (AD1573-1619) onward, throughout the empire, water conservancy, places of milling and grinding, ferries and market places were all, without exception, under the control of the local rascals and oppressive gentry. This was handed down as being part of ordinary affairs.

2(ii)/13/28 (p328)

What Scholars Study in Their Later Years

In their later years the officials and literati from the southern regions greatly love to study Buddhism, whereas those from the northern regions lean predominantly to Taoism. Someone who has been an official throughout his life, when he becomes old and achieves leisure, truly he ought, then, to develop his virtue and cultivate scholarship and, in so doing, fill in the gaps left by his earlier existence. However, if wisdom cannot be attained there may be recourse to heterodox doctrines. Those people who were interested primarily in the furtherance

of their own material circumstances, although their conduct was different, nevertheless diligently strove to achieve profit and in this were the same.

In Lü Ta-lin's biography in the *Sung Shih*¹ it is written that Fu Pi² resigned from office and retired to his home for the purpose of studying Buddhism. Ta-lin wrote to him saying: "Among the ancients, the *san kung*³ did not have specific duties, yet only those of the highest virtue could hold this office. Within the central administration they discussed the principles of government while without they took charge of the teaching in the countryside. Those of the ancients who discharged the duties of this office necessarily had to take these principles and instruct the people in them⁴ and complete themselves by completing other men.⁵ How can one, by taking up or retiring from office, or by the flourishing or declining of the years, change this? Nowadays, the great Way is no longer clear and men tend towards unusual studies. Those who do not embrace Chuang Tzu lean to Buddhism. They suspect that the sages did not achieve complete goodness and they make light of propriety and righteousness as being matters not worthy of their attention. Personal relations are cloudy and muddled and the people are grieving and distressed. In times of sincere and experienced men, those of compassion and good intentions may assume their own responsibilities according to the Way and show their vigour against decadent customs. As for reversing the sperm and transforming the vital spirit and devoting attention to seeking a long life, these are matters which scholars who have retired to seclusion, paying attention only to their own moral cultivation, especially love. How can the world then hope for something from you?" Pi apologised to him.⁶ That a man of high office and great virtue should receive such a rebuke from a young man is truly something which is rarely seen.

In the 6th year of the K'ai-yüan reign period of T'ang Hsüan Tsung (AD 718) the Honan administrator, Cheng Hsien, and the aide from Chu-yang district in Kuo-chou, Kuo Hsin-chou put in a box their offered verse. The emperor responded thus: "I have seen the contents of your writing which pays its respects to the methods of Taoism. When it comes to the matter of utility for these times there is no correspondence with the nation's circumstances. Permission is hereby given to you to follow your desire." Both were dismissed from office and certificates were issued for them to become Taoist priests.⁷

2(ii)/14/10 (p338)

Abdication

In the *Tso Chuan* (it is written) that Ching Kung of Chin became ill and established the heir apparent, Chou P'u as ruler. He gathered the feudal lords and attacked Cheng.¹ In the

Shih Chi, Prince Wu-ling of Chao transmitted the country to his son, Prince Hui-wen and styled himself Chu-fu,² this being the first instance of abdication. In the *Chu-shu chi-nien*, the Hsia emperor, Pu-chiang, in the 59th year, abdicated in favour of his younger brother Ti-chiung. In the 10th year of the Emperor Chiung, the Emperor Pu-chiang ascended (to heaven - i.e. died).³ Whether this is so or not cannot be ascertained.

2(ii)/14/12 (p339) The Conferring of Feudal Rights (Enfeoffment)¹

From T'ang and Sung times on, the term 'conferring of feudal rights' was devoid of meaning since there was no land (to go along with the title). In the present dynasty this is also the case. However, there is the need for caution in the use of terms. Chao-fu had the Prince of Chiang-ning, Tai-fu had the Prince of Li-yang, Liao-fu had the Prince of Chü-yung, Han-fu had the Prince of Kao-shun.² Yang Hung was enfeoffed as earl of Ch'ang-p'ing, Shi Heng and Li Wei were enfeoffed as Earls of Wu-ch'ing, Chang Ni was enfeoffed as Earl of Wen-an, Ts'ao I was enfeoffed as Earl of Feng-jun, Shi Chü was enfeoffed as Earl of Huai-jou, Chin Shun and Lo Ping-chung was enfeoffed as earls of Shun-i, Ku Ta-liang was enfeoffed as Earl of Yung-ch'ing and Chiang Lun was enfeoffed as Earl of Yü-tien.³ All these examples involve names of districts within the royal domain so how might they be regarded as enfeoffments of those from princes and ministers down?

In the *Nan Ch'i Shu* it is said that Wen-hui T'ai-tzu's son, Chao Hsiu was enfeoffed as Prince of Lin-hai chün.⁴ The T'ung-chih ch'ang-shih,⁵ Yü T'an-lung memorialised saying: "Chou established Loyang and the son of heaven established the people within the royal domain. The Han capital was Hsien-yang and the san-fu⁶ became guardians of the altars of soil and grain. After Chin's move south the conduct of affairs changed and authority was done away with. Those prefectures and well-known pang (kingdoms) near at hand (i.e. to the capital) mostly became feudal states. When Sung Wu established the dynasty (AD420) he relied on the ancient statutes so that the region within Shen-chou was not again divided into fiefs. In his later years Hsiao Wu Ti (AD454-464) separately established his favourite son, carelessly displaying his partiality and so deviating from the instructions and regulations. At the beginning of the Lung-ch'ang reign period (AD494) there was, particularly, a start of venerating the youngest son of the same mother which I consider not to be an ancient practice. When the Sage Emperor ruled, in the matter of rites, the old was placed foremost and, in the royal domains, boundaries were demarcated, it being appropriate to respect the ancient system. When there is the ceremonial bestowal of the clod of earth it should always come from a distant region."⁷ Subsequently there was a change to enfeoff Chao Hsiu as Prince of Pa-ling.⁸ At that time it was because Lin-hai

prefecture was included in the royal domain of Yang-chou.⁹

In Sung times, in the granting of fiefs, for the giving of names to both great and small there was an established method. Lu Wu-kuan said that Ts'eng Tzu-kai was enfeoffed as the District Viscount of Ch'ü-fu while Hsieh Jen-po was enfeoffed as District Earl of Yang-hsia.¹⁰ Ch'ü-fu is the present day county of Hsien-yüan, while Yang-hsia corresponds to the present day county of Ch'eng-fu. At the time of allotment of these fiefs, these two counties were already no longer in existence so this may be considered an example of negligence of the officer in charge of enfeoffments. Our own dynasty is, then, extremely careless in establishing order (in such matters) since, in giving names to commandery princes, there are some done by way of fu, some by way of chou, some by way of hsien and some by way of ancient hsien. There are some also who simply assume a fine name without first establishing its rank. In the incorrectness of names there is nothing to compare with the present dynasty.

2(ii)/14/20 (p347)

The Ten Sages¹

In *Mencius* it is written: "On another occasion Tzu-hsia, Tzu-chang and Tzu-yu, thinking that Yu Jo² resembled the Sage, wished to render to him the same observances which they had rendered to Confucius. They tried to force the disciple Tseng-tzu to join them but he said this may not be done. What has been washed in the waters of the Chiang and the Han and bleached in the autumn sun - how glistening it is! Nothing can be added to it!"³ Huang Shih of Tz'u-chi⁴ said: "The disciples considered Yu Jo's words, actions and demeanour to be like those of Confucius and desired to serve him, utilising the rites used to serve the Sage. What was Yu Jo's learning? Tseng-tzu considered that from the very start of time Confucius had no equal so this was not something Yu Jo could adopt and continue. He, therefore, stopped the practice. This was not, however, intended to disparage Yu Jo. Although Yu Jo was in no way comparable to Confucius still it may be known from this that in what the Master's disciples considered worthy of esteem at that time no-one came up to the level reached by Yu Jo."⁵

In the 3rd year of the Hsien-ch'un reign period (AD1267) there was promotion of those to whom accessory sacrifices are made as a means of giving them the same position as the ten sages and (in this), public opinion was certainly favourable to Yu Jo. (However) the libationer⁶ wrote in strong disparagement of Yu Jo claiming that it was not appropriate to advance him and that Tzu-chang⁷ should be advanced. This is to display an ignorance of the fact that in the *Lun Yü* Confucius never deeply approved of Tzu-chang.⁸ According to this writing of *Mencius* as quoted, Tzu-chang was someone who wished to serve Yu Jo. Lu Hsiang-shan, whose natural

endowments were high and bright, directly pointed the mind towards sudden revelation and did not wish men to follow events as topics for study.⁹ Therefore, he always criticised Yu Tzu's theory of filial and fraternal piety as trivial and jumbled. What a pity about those who practise these theories without examining them and attack them a thousand years after him. The discussions of the time in question were like this.

In my humble opinion the first book of the *Lun Yü* records thrice the words of Yu Tzu and that he, along with Tseng Tzu, is given the title philosopher (tzu).¹⁰ The disciples truly desired, by means of these two philosophers, to perpetuate the teaching of the Master. The records note that on Confucius' death Ai Kung presented the eulogy¹¹ and at Yu Jo's funeral Tao Kung mourned.¹² That he was considered important by the men of Lu may be known from this. The sacrifices to the ten worthies may then undergo suitable reform.

2(ii)/15/3 (p357)

Lavish Funerals

In the *So Lin chuan* of the *Chün Shu*¹ it is written that, in the middle of the Chien-hsing reign period (AD313-316), "robbers opened the two Han tombs at Pa and Tu,² seizing much of the precious material within. The emperor asked him (Lin) saying: 'Why was there so much within the Han tombs' to which Lin replied: 'When the Han emperors had been on the throne for one year they built a tomb. The tax revenue of the empire was (then) divided into three parts of which one went to the ancestral temples, one went to foreign embassies and one to the emperor's graves. Han Wu Ti enjoyed a long reign. When he died the Mao-ling³ could not accommodate any more things and the trees (at the tomb) were already of the thickness to be encircled with the hands. The Red Eyebrows,⁴ who seized things from within the tomb, were not able to reduce the amount by half and now, still, decaying silk is piled up and the pearl and jade is not exhausted. These two tombs (i.e. Pa and Tu) were frugal and might also serve as a warning to a hundred generations'.⁵

According to the *Hsiao Wen Chi* chapter of the *Shi Chih* it was said that the building of Pa-ling was entirely with earthenware material and that it was not decorated (adorned) with gold, silver, copper or tin.⁶ Moreover Liu Hsiang, in a memorial on the Chang-ling, exhorted the emperor to consider Hsiao Wen's simple funeral and that this was enough to act as a principle for later generations.⁷ Nevertheless, if one examines Chang T'ang's biography, then (it may be seen that) at Wu Ti's time there had already been robbers who had taken away the buried wealth of Hsiao Wen's yüan (ling).⁸ Indeed, from the various kingdoms of the Spring and Autumn period onward, with regard to the matter of lavish funerals, despite Hsiao Wen's clear

example of frugality, this was a custom which could not be entirely done away with. Thus, what is written in the historical chronicles is not necessarily always a true record.

In the *Tso Chuan*, for the 8th month of the 2nd year of Duke Ch'eng, (the following is recorded): "Duke Wen of Sung died. He was the first (duke of Sung) to whom they gave an extravagant interment, using mortar made of (burnt) frogs for the walls of the grave, with more than the usual number of (earthen) carriages and (straw) horses. For the first time men were interred with the corpse. The number of articles prepared for such an occasion was augmented. The outer coffin was made with four pillars and the inner one was ornamented above. The superior man will say: 'Hua Yüan and Yüeh Chü did not act on this occasion as ministers ought to do. It is the part of ministers to control the restless movements and remove the errors of their ruler striving to do so even at the risk of their own lives. These two officers, while their ruler was alive, allowed him to take the way of error; when he was dead they acted as if they were increasing his extravagance. They abandoned their ruler to wickedness, having nothing about them of the proper character of ministers.'⁹

In the *Chieh-sang pien* of the *Lu Shih ch'un-ch'ü*¹⁰ it is stated: "Clearly to know life is the essence of the sage; clearly to know death is the ultimate point of the sage. Those who know life do not, in this way, harm it but may be said to nourish life. (Likewise) those who know death do not in this way bring harm to death but may be said to make it tranquil. These two matters are such that only a sage may resolve them. Whatever has its birth between heaven and earth certainly dies; this cannot be avoided. A filial son's reverence for his parents and compassionate parents' love for their son are both feelings of the greatest depth - this is nature. That someone venerated or someone loved thus should die and be left in a ditch is something that the heart of man could not endure. This is the purpose of burial of the dead. Those who perform the burial conceal; this is what loving parents and filial sons devote their attention to. Those who give such attention use the heart of the living to give consideration to the dead. In using (calling on) the heart of the living to give consideration to the dead in this way there is nothing (of equal importance) to not moving them about and not exposing them. To effect this circumstance of no exposure and no movement there is nothing so important as not having that from which profit may be obtained. This is what is termed giving importance to keeping enclosed.¹¹

The ancients who used concealment in regions of wilderness and remote mountains, there effecting peacefulness, did not speak of pearl or jade or the nation's treasures. In burial there must be concealment; if it (i.e. the grave) is too shallow the foxes will dig up (the corpse),

if too deep then water will reach it. Thus, in all burials, it is necessary to use a high mound as a means of avoiding harm due to foxes and the dampening effect of streams of water. This is what is good. Nevertheless, to forget about evil people, robbers and military upheaval is to be confused. This may be compared to the blind musician who avoids a pillar only to run into a stake. Evil people, bandits and robbers and military upheavals and the harms thereof - these are great stakes. Those compassionate parents and filial sons who avoid them are those who grasp the true objectives of burial. The making of a good inner and outer coffin is done for the sake of avoiding ants and moles. In the great disorders which characterise the present times rulers are increasingly extravagant in the burials but this is not thereby a manifestation of a heart that has concern for the dead. It is a case of the living making a display to each other. Those who are extravagant take this to represent glory and consider those who are frugal to be mean. They do not have the intention of bringing benefit to the dead, taking only the praise and censure of the living to be the important considerations. This is not, indeed, the heart of the compassionate parent or the filial son. The people, in their pursuit of profit, will risk the flight of arrows, will pass through naked blades and face death and destruction, yet still seek it. There those men, rustic and unheard of, who are hard-hearted enough to seek profit from their parents, their older and younger brothers and their close friends. Nowadays there are not these dangers, there are not these areas of disgrace. If one's profit is very substantial then rich carriages, fine food and beneficence extend to one's sons and grandsons. Even a sage could not prevent this state of affairs, so how much less so could a nation in disorder. The greater the kingdom and the richer the family, the more lavish the funeral. The mouth is filled with a pearl, the body covered with jade-like fish-scales, there is an excess of items collected, money, valuables, musical instruments, ting and vases. Carriages, horses, clothes, quilts, daggers and swords are too numerous to count. No implement which is of use in life does not follow them. The walls of the outer coffin come together at the apex and in the inner and outer coffins there are several layers.¹² Moreover, there is a piling-up of stones and charcoal to encircle the outside. If evil people hear of this they transmit the information to one another. Although the emperor may be stern and imposing and prohibit this as a felony, still it cannot be stopped. Moreover, the dead are so for a long time and become increasingly distant from the living. As the living become increasingly distant so their guarding becomes increasingly lax. As this happens, the implements buried are as of old and the circumstances (of the dead) necessarily become less peaceful (secure).¹³

In the *An-ssu pien*¹⁴ it is stated: "The custom in creating graves is to make them as tall as a mountain and surrounded by trees like a forest. Then there is made a type of imperial palace and mansion with a building of steps for guests, as if it were a city or town. If one looks

at the time in the light of these edifices then it is possible to show that they were rich. It is not, however, possible, for this to be so in death. Moreover, for those who are dead, ten thousand years is like an instant. The life of man at its highest does not exceed one hundred while the average life is merely sixty years. To take 'one hundred' and 'sixty' and consider them to be without limit is to have feelings which are certainly not appropriate. (On the other hand) to give consideration to death as being without limit is appropriate. Now there are men in this who make stone inscriptions and place them on tombs, inscriptions which say that the things within include pearls, jade, things especially collected, valuable things and precious instruments to a great number, so that it is not possible not to dig them up. This digging up certainly provides great wealth so that, for generations, there are rich chariots and fine food. Men together inevitably laugh at this and consider it to be greatly confusing. The world's having extravagant funerals has in it something of this.

From ancient to modern times there has never been a kingdom which did not perish. (Further), in the kingdoms which inevitably perished, invariably the graves were dug up. From what the ears have heard and the eyes have seen Ch'i, Ching and Yen were formerly destroyed. Sung and Chung-shan were already destroyed. Chao, Wei and Han were all destroyed. These were all old kingdoms. From before this time, the number of lost kingdoms is beyond computation. For this reason, there are no great graves that have not been dug up. How is it not lamentable that the world, in its entirety, contends about this? That princes have a recalcitrant populace (non-compliant people), that fathers have non-filial sons and that older brothers have non-fraternal younger brothers are all components of localities and are to be driven out getting back their boilers and earthenware pans. There is fear of the labour of ploughing fields and gathering firewood, an unwillingness to attend to the affairs of men and a striving after the pleasures of beautiful garments and fine food. Thus, when their wisdom and skill are entirely expended and they are come to their wits end then great crowds of fellows take lofty mountains, wide marshes, forests and overgrown lakes, rushing at them and striking and robbing them and also look at the lavishness of great graves and tombs on famous hills, seeking to dwell there and secretly dig them up. Day and night they do not rest but must obtain what is profitable and distribute it amongst themselves. So there is that which is loved, that which is revered and yet crafty and evil men, bandits and robbers and those who cause disorder, ultimately and necessarily bring disgrace to this, something which constitutes a great calamity to filial sons, loyal ministers, loving parents and dear friends.

Yao was interred (buried) at Kulin and here trees were planted. Shun was interred at Chi and in the market there was no change in the regulations. Yü was interred at Kuei-chi and

there was no disturbance to the people. It was for this reason that former kings were frugal in their burial of the dead. It was not that they grudged the expense, nor that they were averse to the labour involved but, simply, that they were showing consideration to the dead. What was anathema to former kings was only that on death there should be disgrace. If the graves were opened this certainly meant disgrace whereas, if the graves were simple (frugal, without ostentation), they were not opened. Therefore the graves of the ancient sage kings were necessarily simple, were necessarily in accord, were necessarily in harmony. What is the meaning of being in accord, being in harmony? It is that if there is burial in the mountains and forests (the tomb) should be in accord with the mountains and forests. If there is burial on the mountain-side the tomb should be in harmony with the mountain-side. This is (also) what is called loving the people. Nevertheless, while those who love the people are many, those who know how to love the people are few and it is for this reason that, although Sung was not yet destroyed, Tung-ch'ung¹⁵ was dug up. (Also) Ch'i was not yet destroyed yet Chuang Kung's burial mound was opened. If a nation be at peace and yet still such things happen how much more so will this be likely after one hundred generations with the kingdom already lost! Therefore filial sons, loyal ministers, compassionate parents and dear friends cannot do otherwise than look into this. To love something and yet, perversely, to endanger it - what may be said of this?"¹⁷

Chi Sun of Lu had a funeral to which Confucius went to offer his condolences. Confucius entered the door and went to the left, taking up the position appropriate to the guest. The master of the funeral encoffined (Chi Sun) with precious jade. Confucius, who was widely separated (from the encoffining), hastened forward and step by step came up to it. He said: "To encoffin him with this precious jade is tantamount to leaving him exposed on the open plain." Being widely separated and step by step are not in accord with li (propriety), nevertheless they were a means of remedying the fault.¹⁸

4. Section 2(iii) (ch 16-19): Examinations and Essays

2(iii)/16/1 (p376)

Ming-ching (Senior Graduates)¹

Nowadays people simply consider kung-sheng (senior licentiates)² to be (equivalent to) ming-ching (graduates) but this is not so. Under the T'ang system there were six classes (categories); the first hsiu-ts'ai,³ the second ming-ching, the third chin-shih,⁴ the fourth ming-fa,⁵ the fifth shu⁶ and the sixth suan.^{7,8} At that time those selected by means of the shih and fu were termed chin-shih⁹ and those selected by means of their interpretation of the classics were termed ming-ching.¹⁰ Now there has been an end to the (use of) shih and fu; the interpretation of the classics is used so that the chin-shih at the present time are equivalent to the ming-ching of the T'ang period.

In T'ang times, among those entering (public) service, the ming-ching graduates were particularly numerous. The examination method was to order all to complete passages of commentary on a classic and this was called t'ieh-kua.¹¹ Those who criticised the faults of this method claimed that (it did not represent) an ability to understand the classic. However, according to Ch'üan Wen-kung,¹² notes and commentaries may be considered to be a verification of the substance (of the work). If it were not so, suppose those in office followed their emotions distorting facts to suit their private ends then (not only) would they lose the non-essentials but they also would not grasp the essentials so (all) would be wasted. Contemporary scholars do not even look at the commentaries almost to the point of completely losing (both) essentials and non essentials. This being so then the chin-shih of the present day may in no way be compared to the ming-ching of T'ang times.

2(iii)/16/2 (p376)

Hsiu-ts'ai¹

In the biography of Tu Cheng-lun in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (it is written that): "In the Jen-shou reign period (AD601-604) of the Sui dynasty Cheng-lun and his older brothers Cheng-yüan and Cheng-ts'ang, all graduated as hsiu-ts'ai. In the T'ang period² those presented as hsiu-ts'ai numbered only ten or so yet in Cheng-lun's family there were three hsiu-ts'ai, this being particularly meritorious at that time."³ In the *T'ang Teng-ke chi*⁴ from the Wu-te reign period to the Yung-hui reign period (AD618-655) each year there were twenty or more chin-shih but only one or two hsiu-ts'ai. Tu Shih, in his *T'ung-tien*,⁵ wrote that initially the ranking of the hsiu-ts'ai degree was extremely high⁶ and the candidates were examined on policy in five parts.⁷ There were, in all, four rankings; shang-shang, shang-chung, shang-hsia and chung-shang. During

the Chen-kuan period (AD627-649) if men were presented (for this examination) but failed, the township heads (chou-chang) were punished. As a consequence the examination was abolished.⁸ Scholars were then only urged and encouraged towards the ming-ching and chin-shih (examinations) and that is all.

At the beginning of the Hsien-ch'ing reign period (AD656-660) the vice-director of the chancellery,⁹ Liu Hsiang-tao¹⁰ memorialised the throne to the effect that while the kingdom had complete possession of the four seas still, from among the common people and the officials over a period of forty years, there had not been one hsiu-ts'ai recommended. It could not be that the men of the present time were not equal to those of old, or that the way of recommending worthy scholars was not yet perfect; surely if one names many scholars then one should not miss these men. He asked that when it came to those of the 6th rank and lower, down to the people of the mountains and valleys, it should be particularly set out that a repeated search be made (for worthy scholars). This will give an idea of the importance the T'ang people attached to the hsiu-ts'ai.

Hsüan Tsung,¹¹ in his compilation of the *Liu-tien*,¹² said that whoever was sent to the capital as a recommended scholar and who had broad knowledge and high talent, who diligently studied to answer questions and achieved superiority, became a hsiu-ts'ai. Those who were conversant with two or more classics became ming-ching. Those who were clearly trained in the affairs of the time and who were thoroughly conversant with one classic became chin-shih. In Chang Ch'ang-ling's biography it is written that his native region wished to put him forward as a hsiu-ts'ai but Ch'ang-ling who, because of the times had already declined to take the examination over a long period, resolutely refused. Finally, however, he sat the chin-shih degree and passed.¹³ This then indicates that the name of hsiu-ts'ai was something which those recommended as chin-shih did not dare to take. In the *Wen-yüan ying-hua (pan-mu)*¹⁴ it is said that the hsiang chin-shih¹⁵ go to the capital to attempt the hsiu-ts'ai examination. If they are unsuccessful in this then they simply (continue to attempt) the examination without ceasing. Chao Chieh (in his) p'an (wrote): "A small measure of skill in literature and the arts is what constitutes the chin-shih's capacity. To seek and discourse without rest is what constitutes the hsiu-ts'ai's objective."¹⁶ There is also the case of the chin-shih attempting the examination for the hsiu-ts'ai without success. Nowadays the name is falsely used by the sheng-yüan.¹⁷ How is this so?

At the beginning of the Ming period the practice was to recommend hsiu-ts'ai. Thus, according to the *T'ai-tsu shih-lu (Veritable Records of T'ai-tsu)*,¹⁸ in the 4th month of the 4th year

of Hung-wu (AD1371) on hsin-ch'ou, the hsiu ts'ai, Ting Shih-mei was made prefect of Suchou fu and T'ung Ch'üan was made prefect of Yang-chou fu both receiving the cap and sash. In the 2nd month of the 10th year (AD1377), on ping-chen, Hsü Tsun-sheng was made a provisioner of the Hanlin Academy and in the 8th month of the 15th year of Hung-wu (AD1382), on ting-yu, the hsiu-ts'ai, Tseng T'ai became a minister in the Ministry of Revenue. These are examples of this. Also in the past there was the promotion of provincial graduates (hsiao-lien). That on chi-chou in the 2nd month of the 20th year of Hung-wu (AD1387) the provincial graduate, Li Te became governor of Ying-t'ien was an example of this. The terms p'i (summon) and chü (recommend) were not names bestowed on the scholars who undertook the examinations. Nowadays it is customary to speak of sheng-yüan as hsiu-ts'ai and chü-jen as hsiao-lien but this is not right.

2(iii)/16/3 (p377)

Chü-jen¹

Chü-jen were those who had been recommended (for examination). In the biography of Hsien-yü Shih-yung, in the *Pei Ch'i Shu*, (it is stated that he was ordered) to take up the titular office of supervisor on the right of the Department of State Affairs and, with the minister of the Personnel Ministry, Yüan Yü-hsiu, at the Department of State Affairs to examine the recommended scholars.² In the *Kao Tsung chi* of the *Chiu T'ang Shu*, for the 4th year of Hsien-ch'ing (AD659), in the 2nd month on i-hai, the emperor personally conducted the examination of the chü-jen, there being, in all, nine hundred men.³ For the 12th month of the 1st year of T'iao-lu (AD679), on chia-yin, it is written that the emperor himself examined the chü-jen from the mountains and provinces.⁴

Those who passed the examination were appointed as officials and were not again spoken of as chü-jen. If someone were not ranked it was necessary that he be presented again. This is unlike the present time when the term chü-jen has become an established designation. The chin-shih⁵ are one class of all those presented for selection but, by tradition, there were those who were spoken of as chü-chin-shih (presented for the chin shih) and those who were spoken of as chü-chin-shih pu-ti (ie presented for the chin-shih but not ranked).⁶ If only the term chü-chin-shih is used then whether a scholar is ranked or not cannot be known from these words. This does not equal the present time when (only) those who have already passed the examination are subsequently known as chin-shih.⁷ (Formerly) from the point of view of the local people they were referred to as chü-chin-shih whereas, from the point of view of the court, they were spoken of as chü-jen.⁸ This equating of chin-shih with chü-jen is (again) not like the present times when, on the provincial placard, they are called chü-jen (i.e. those who passed the

provincial examination) but, on the metropolitan examination placard, they are called chin-shih (i.e. those who passed the metropolitan examination).

In the 6th month of the 6th year of the Yung-lo reign period (AD1408) the Hanlin Academy graduate, Chen Sheng,⁹ memorialised saying: "In recent years all the provincial governors and provincial judges do not implement the court policy of seeking worthy men, only desiring empty reputation (so that) there are those with meagre capacities in literary matters and who are not versed in important duties yet who receive the title of hsiang-chien (provincial graduate) and falsely style themselves kung-shih.¹⁰ When it comes to those who fail to be ranked in the metropolitan examinations there are those among them who with some slight excellence in literary pursuits, obtain appointments as teaching officials. There are, moreover, those below them who also obtain promotion to the imperial academy so it comes to pass that the scholars of the empire wrangle (among themselves) harbouring desires of good fortune and not devoting their attention to true scholarship."¹¹

In the 11th month of the 1st year of the Hung-hsi reign period (AD1425) the district magistrate of the Shuang-liu district in Ssu-ch'uan province, K'ung Yu-liang,¹² memorialised saying: "I request that a general estimate be made of those recommended scholars who, prior to this, had failed to be ranked and that the regulations be established to clarify the principles involved." This is because, when the nation first instituted the practice of having chü-jen, corrupt methods were already in existence. Thus those recommended scholars who failed to be ranked were then ordered to enter the academy and pursue their studies for three years, being permitted to visit their parents but not to mingle with the general populace.

In the 14th year of the Cheng-t'ung reign period (AD1449) there was an overall review of those (scholars) gathered in the capital and a beginning was made to dismissing them so that they might return to their native registers. Those who were disorderly and without shame and who travelled around for political purposes, paying visits to seek personal advantage, would stop at nothing. This is confirmed by a report from the Board of Rites in the 14th year of the Ch'eng-hua reign period (AD1478). By the time of the last years (of the Ming period) there was oppression of officials and matters were being settled arbitrarily. Thus, during the Ch'ung-chen reign period (AD1628-1644), there was an order to the regional inspectors¹³ to look into those who made up the numbers of chü-jen and dismiss some. The evil customs were, however, already too deeply entrenched and could not be reversed.

The chin-shih may be regarded as one class of chū-jen.² (Of the latter) those who are examined by the Ministry of Rites³ all may be called chin-shih. On completion of the examination (when the names) were placed on the examination placard those who had attained the required standard had conferred on them (the title of) chin-shih chi-ti.⁴ Subsequently the description was broadened to include the designations of chin-shih ch'u-shen and tung chin-shih ch'u-shen.⁵ These were then spoken of as graduates. That which differentiated those scholars who had undertaken the same examination lay in the conferring of chi-ti and ch'u-shen and not in the appellation chin-shih.

In the 3rd year of the Cheng-ho reign period of the Sung dynasty (AD1113), on i-yu in the 5th month, the government officials made a petition to the emperor requesting that he put an end to the chin-shih and the establishment of the method of san-she.⁶ At that time there was conferred on the ch'eng-i lang, Hsü Yen⁷ the title chin-shih ch'u-shen in such a way that name and reality did not correspond. Consequently a request was made to change this to associate shang-she ch'u-shen.⁸ This was followed.

The Classification of Scholars¹

(Under) T'ang regulations the classification of scholars included (the following categories): hsiu-ts'ai, ming-ching, chin-shih, chün-shih, ming-fa, ming-tzu, ming-suan, i-shih, san-shih, kai-yüan li, tao-chü and t'ung-tzu.² The ming-ching were differentiated into (the following subcategories): wu-ching, san-ching, erh-ching, hsüeh-chiu i-ching, san-li, san-chuan, shih-k'o.³ This was the ordinary selection of the annual (i.e. each years) recommendation. That which the emperor himself proclaimed was called chih-chü.⁴

Such categories as Yao Ch'ung's 'fluent and quick writing'⁵ and Chang Chiu-ling's 'way like I and Lü'⁶ that are seen in the histories number, in toto, more than fifty classifications. Therefore it is called the classification of scholars. At the present time there is only one class - chin-shih, so there is a class but no list. To continue to speak of a classification list is therefore wrong. Wang Wei-chen⁷ wished to go beyond the regular recruitment⁸ and to follow the Han and T'ang systems of establishing several classes as a means of gathering the empire's extraordinary scholars. What he did not realise was that the particular evils of the chin-shih system were the accumulation of two or three hundred years and not the sudden destruction of

an established method. Thus, although there may be other scholars with other talents, there is no means whereby they may be advanced and utilised.

2(iii)/16/6 (p379)

Chih-k'o (Special Examinations)¹

Under T'ang regulations the (examination) which the emperor himself decreed was called the *chih-chü*² and was the means whereby men of exceptional talent were identified. The *T'ang (hsüan-chü) chih* states: "That which is spoken of as *chih-chü* came from ancient times. From Han times onwards the emperor frequently made a proclamation, personally framing those questions which he desired to ask. When the T'ang arose the world venerated Confucian scholars and although, in this period, there may have been variation among rulers being not equal in wisdom and goodness yet, in the intention to take pleasure in goodness and to seek worthiness, they had never been even slightly remiss. Therefore, from the capital outward to the provinces and districts, the officials always recommended scholars according to the needs of the times. Moreover the emperor himself made a proclamation to the four corners of the empire (calling for) virtuous, talented and literate scholars. Those men living far off in seclusion who were unable to make themselves known, down to those conversant with military matters, those with exceptional strength and those with particular skill in the arts were all equally selected. The list of titles followed that which the ruler particularly desired at the time and these were arranged in established categories such as those who were 'worthy and good', 'upright in character', who were 'plain speaking and very ready to admonish',³ who could 'penetrate thoroughly the most ancient records' and were 'conversant with culture', whose military strategies were far-reaching and who were suitable for military leadership, who had a clear and detailed understanding of administrative methods and were able to manage men; it is these titles whose reputation stood highest. The emperor, in conducting the imperial progress and circuit, would make his sacrifices on T'ai Shan and Liang Fu⁴ then commonly meet with them in his place of temporary residence. The propriety wherewith he treated (received) them was particularly noteworthy. Men of great talent, fine speakers or otherwise extraordinary would also at times appear and would not fail to be accepted."⁵

The Sung inherited the system in existence during the Hsien-te reign period (AD960) of the (Posterior) Chou, establishing three categories which no matter whether they were former officials or at present in office or whether they wore yellow clothing⁶ or dwelt in the country were also permitted to respond to the emperor's behest. In the Ching-te reign period (AD1004-1007) there was an increase to six categories but after the Hsi-ning, (AD1068-1077) this was frequently discontinued and frequently restored. The Sung people called it the *ta-k'o*.⁷

Nowadays the palace examination chin-shih⁸ is also erroneously called the special examination (i.e. chih-k'o).

Hsü Tu of the Sung period, in his "*Notes Compiled in Seclusion*",⁹ wrote: "This dynasty's special examinations (chih-k'o) followed the T'ang system. There was that to identify those who were 'wise and upright' and who were 'able to speak frankly and issue reprimands'. There was that to identify those whose 'classical learning was deep and profound' and who could be used as models and there was that to identify those who 'understood official and administrative matters' and were 'able to comprehend culture'. There were, in all, three classes corresponding to the metropolitan and provincial functioning officials who could be employed whether they were officials or presently in service, whether they wore yellow garments or dwelt in the countryside. Further it was permissible for the various chou (regions) and local officials to send men to the Board of Civil Office (to attempt) the emperor's examination question which was limited (to essays) in excess of three thousand words. In the Hsien-ping reign period (AD998-1003) there was also a proclamation to the effect that the civil officials, both internal and external (i.e. metropolitan and provincial), those officials (responsible) for management of the regions and districts and those who dwelt in the countryside could each promote one man who was 'worthy and virtuous and had sound principles.'

In the Ching-te reign period (AD1004-1007) there was a proclamation to the effect that there be established six (different) classes to identify the following groups; those who were 'upright and virtuous and had sound principles'; those who were 'able to speak frankly and issue reprimands'; those who could 'penetrate the most ancient records and reach an understanding of culture'; those 'capable in administration and vigorously clear in both theory and practice'; those whose 'valour was sufficient to pacify the border regions and who had a clear concept of military strategy'; those who could 'prepare schemes for decisive victory'; those with 'far-reaching plans who could be sent to the border regions' and finally those who brought scrupulousness and perspicacity to the conduct of government and were successful in the administration of affairs.

In the 7th year of the T'ien-sheng reign period (AD1029) there was again an imperial command to the effect that, in relation to the internal and external officials of the court, among the officials in the capital those who did not involve themselves in the official business of the Department of State Affairs and in the academies and institutions, who were never condemned for bribery or minor private offences were permitted to be recommended by officials not lower than a vice-minister or a superintendent. There were some (also) who proffered their

biographies and begged to be presented before the six categories. Those who were, as before, first presented were examined on questions and themes to the extent of ten essays, (each) essay comprising five tao. They then waited until they were sent down to the two departments to be examined. Thus, if expression and reasoning were of a high standard and if they were able to respond in this special examination, then their names would be raised and reported in memorials.

Further, for officials sent on special business, there were examinations under the six headings and if they passed, then they took the emperor's examination. There were also established the following three classes; those who 'dwelt in seclusion in hills and gardens'; those who 'dwelt lost in the country' and those with 'fine and varied talents of above average ability'.¹⁰ The recruitment was of men dwelling in the country and of recommended men who were not in the miscellaneous group of artisans and merchants and should be permitted to be recommended by functionaries such as those of the fiscal commission¹¹ and the district and township heads¹² or put forward an application to ask for registration in their native places. The regions and districts investigate those whose behaviour is unorthodox but who do not transgress (i.e. without blemish or transgression). These are given questions and themes in which they practise to the extent of ten chuan each chuan consisting of five tao. If there is a man of some excellence in words and principles then a senior official of the fiscal commission (is deputed) to investigate his reputation in village and countryside. His conduct is carefully examined by a literary officer and when it is found that there is something commendable, his scripts and documents will be forwarded to the Board of Rites and a senior secretary deputed to examine them carefully. Those of excellence in expression and principle were all named and heard of in memorials. The remainder, like hsien-liang fang-cheng¹³ and others of the six classes were, during the Hsi-ning reign period (AD1068-1077), entirely brought to an end. Further, there was an order that the chin-shih in the formal palace examination would cease (to be examined in) the three topics but would have examination questions in one essay. In the Chien-yen reign period (AD1127-1130) there was a proclamation that the one category, hsien-liang fang-cheng, be restored although there was no applicant."¹⁴

Kao Tsung established the class of po-hsüeh hung-ju¹⁵ with altogether twelve topics: chih (regulations), kao (granting of titles), chao (imperial proclamations), piao (addresses to the emperor), lu-pu (manifestos), hsi (summonses to war), chen (remonstrances), ming (inscriptions), chih (edicts), tsan (eulogies), sung (commendations) and hsü (prefaces), from among which were chosen six topics divided into three examinations (chang). Every examination (chang) embodied a system one part ancient and one part new. After the southern crossing the

right sort of men rose to prominence and many indeed reached the level of cabinet minister or Hanlin graduate. Nowadays, in the second examination, one topic is chosen from the three subjects but it is so simple and awkward that even people who know nothing about allusions or tones (poetry) can pass. This is the fault of putting too much emphasis on the first examination.

2(iii)/18/1 (p420)

Imperial Archives and National Histories

In Han times it was ordered that all books stored by the emperor be perused by his officials. Thus Liu Hsin¹ said: Without (the court) there were the stores of the T'ai-ch'ang, T'ai-shih and Po-shih² and within (the court) there were the Yen-ko and Kuang-nei storehouse collections.³ Further, when Ssu-ma Ch'ien was t'ai-shih ling⁴ he investigated the books in the stone room and metal caskets while Liu Hsiang⁵ and Yang Hsiung⁶ collated books for the T'ien-lu pavilion.⁷ Pan Yu came forward and read aloud from various books.⁸ The emperor admired his ability and conferred on him an assistantship in the palace library. Then, at the time of the Eastern Capital (Lo-yang), Pan Ku⁹ and Fu I¹⁰ became clerks in the Lan-t'ai (orchard pavilion)¹¹ and concurrently collators of books. Ts'ao Pao,¹² in the Tung-kuan¹³ selected and arranged matters to do with li (propriety) and in the Yung-ch'u reign period of An-ti's reign (AD107-113) there was a summons to the yeh-che,¹⁴ Liu Chen,¹⁵ as well as erudites, court gentleman and clerks for the four storehouses to the number of fifty or more men. These men went to the Tung-kuan where they collated and verified the Five Classics, the philosophies and the records. Tou Chang¹⁶ being given an introduction and Huang Hsiang¹⁷ receiving a summons were also for this purpose.

From the Chin and Sung periods onwards these traditions were not done away with. Such people as Tso Ssu,¹⁸ Wang Chien¹⁹ and Chang Tsuan²⁰ all studied the imperial archives and recorded historical chronicles.²¹ Liu Shih-lung²² was even permitted to borrow two thousand scrolls. In T'ang times Wei Cheng,²³ Yü Shih-nan,²⁴ Ts'en Wen-pen,²⁵ Ch'u Sui-liang²⁶ and Yen Shih-ku²⁷ were all directors of the imperial archives.²⁸ Those skilled in writing who were descendants of officials above the 5th rank were selected to copy out, in their own hand, works which were then stored in the palace storehouses.²⁹ (Subsequently) Hsüan Tsung ordered the Hung-wen kuan³⁰ scholar, Yüan Hsing-chung³¹ to collect and compile a catalogue of works ancient and modern which was given the title of *Ch'ün-shu ssu-lu*.

Yang Ch'eng,³² by virtue of his love of study, went so far as to seek a place as a functionary in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies thereby obtaining material for study. In the Sung period there was the Historiography Institute and the Institute for the Glorification of

Literature as well as the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. These were spoken of as the 'Three Academies'.³³ T'ai Tsung, in addition, built the Institute for the Veneration of Literature and within this was the Imperial Library³⁴ in which were stored the true and original works of the 'Three Academies' to the number of more than ten thousand scrolls, and established auxiliary officials to the academy to collate and arrange these works. Jen Tsung again ordered that the copying out and collating be under the control of one person, the 'Participant in Determining Government Matters'.³⁵ When the writings were completed they were stored in the T'ai-ch'ing lou.³⁶ Fan Chung-yen³⁷ and others were previously supervisors. Moreover, with respect to the proclamation seeking books there was no generation when this was not sent down. Therefore the books held by the people were obtained and sent up to the emperor and the emperor's books were commonly handed on to the great officers. From the first year of the Hung-wu reign period (AD1368) that which was received included many old editions since the time of the Southern Sung (AD1127-1280) which had been stored in imperial storehouses and so were handed down for three hundred years with no one being able to see them. Further, in the selection of scholars, the examinations in one history or three histories used in former times were altogether stopped and done away with.

As a consequence of all this the scholars of the empire were commonly not conversant with ancient works. Only works such as Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih Chi*, Pan Ku's *Han Shu*, Kan Pao's *Chin Shu*, Liu Fang's *T'ang Li*, Wu Ching's *T'ang ch'un-ch'iu* and Li Tao's *Sung ch'ang-pien*³⁸ were all circulated at the time they were compiled. When it came to such works as the *Collected Statutes (Hui-yao)* and the *Daily Records (Jih-li)*³⁹ from the time of the crossing to the south onward many scholars also had them. There was never any proscription of these works. Nowadays the entries in the *Veritable Records* include such events as the burning of the drafts at T'ai-yeh pool and storing the originals in the Imperial Historical Archives.⁴⁰ Those officials at the court who were not involved in correction and compilation of these records were, in all cases, unable to see them. Moreover, the family records in the private (unofficial) histories were subsequently obtained as a matter of individual enterprise.

The scholars of the empire do not therefore know the present situation. Even if a sage such as the Master were to arise at the present time he would have no way to study the rites of Hsia and Yin. He would also have no way to study the *Chou Li*. How much more so then does this apply to someone of lower status. Was it not that the government was strict about prohibiting histories but lax in educating the people and good at keeping books but stupid in education? Subsequently, if it had come about that the curtains and bags were all equally destroyed, then one would merely hear the name of the *Seven Epitomes of Literature*⁴¹ and if the

walls of the houses had been broken down then the characters of the Six Classics⁴² would not be visible. Ah alas, how this grieves me.

2(iii)/18/2 (p421)

Commentaries on the Thirteen Classics¹

From the Han period onward Confucian scholars transmitted their learning, speaking only of the Five Classics.² In T'ang times there were established educational officials (hsüeh-kuan) who then spoke of the Nine Classics.³ Both the *Li (Rites)* and the commentaries on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* were divided into three for the purposes of study, hence the term Nine Classics. When they were carved on stone at the National Academy they were then spoken of as the Nine Classics as well as the *Classic of Filial Piety*, *Lun Yü* and *Erh Ya*. The Sung period gave rise to the great Confucian scholars, the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi,⁴ who were the first to extract from the *Li Chi* the *Great Learning* and the *Doctrine of the Mean* as well as advancing *Mencius* along with the *Lun Yü*. These were then termed the Four Books.⁵ The present dynasty followed this and the term Thirteen Classics was first established.

Of the first explanatory writings on the classics by the early Confucian scholars some were called ch'uan (interpretations), some were called chien (notes), some were called chieh (explanations) and some were called hsüeh (studies). Nowadays they are all lumped together as chu (explanatory notes, commentaries). For the *History* there was K'ung An-kuo's ch'uan,⁶ for the *Odes* there was Mao Chang's ch'uan⁷ and Cheng Hsüan's chien.⁸ For the *Chou Li*, the *I Li* and the *Li Chi* (there was) Cheng Hsüan's chu⁹; for the *Kung-yang* there was Ho Hsiu's hsüeh¹⁰ and for the *Mencius* Chao Ch'i's chu.¹¹ These were all Han men. For the *I (Ching)* there was Wang Pi's chu.¹² He was a Wei man. The *Hsi-tz'u* had Han K'ang-po's chu, he being a Chin person.¹³ For the *Lun Yü* there was Ho Yen's chi-chieh he being a Wei person.¹⁴ For the *Tso Shih* there was Tu Yü's chu,¹⁵ for the *Erh Ya*, Kuo P'u's chu,¹⁶ for the *Ku-liang*, Fan Ning's chi-chieh,¹⁷ all these being Chin people. For the *Hsiao-ching* there was T'ang Ming Huang's imperial notes (yü-chu).¹⁸ After this all Confucian writings concerned with discussion and explanation of the classics were called 'orthodox interpretations of the classics' and nowadays these are called shu.

In the *Chiu T'ang Shu*, in the chapter on Confucianists (*Ju-hsüeh chuan*), T'ai Tsung considered the classics to be very far removed from the Sage (in time) and, as a result, there were many textual errors. He therefore commissioned the former attendant gentleman of the secretariat, Yen Shih-ku, to undertake a recension of the Five Classics, to be promulgated throughout the empire. He was also of the view that the Confucianists had many sects and that

their writings were difficult and complex. He ordered the chancellor of the National University, K'ung Ying-ta, as well as other Confucian scholars, to edit and compile an interpretative commentary on the Five Classics which ran to one hundred and seventy chüan and was entitled the *Wu-ching cheng-i*. (Further) he ordered that this be disseminated and studied throughout the empire.¹⁹ In the records of Kao Tsung, for the 1st day of the 3rd month of the 4th year of Yung-hui (14 April 652), jen-tzu, the *Wu-ching cheng-i* of K'ung Ying-ta was made known throughout the empire. Each year, by imperial decree, the ming-ching examination was based on this.²⁰ At that time only the *Changes*, the *History*, the *Odes*, the *Li Chi* and Tso Shih's (commentary on) the *Spring and Autumn Annals* were included in the Five Classics. During the Yung-hui reign period (AD650-655) Chia Kung-yen²¹ first compiled the *Chou Li* and *I Li shu*.

In Li Chih's biography in the *Sung Shih* (it is written that) the supervisor of the directorate of education stated: "The books of the Five Classics have already been printed yet the two *Chuan*, the two *Li*, the *Hsiao-ching*, the *Lun Yü* and the *Erh-Ya* have not had commentaries prepared. I hope there will be a directive that by direct writing Ts'ui I-cheng, Sun Shih, Ts'ui Wu-chuan and others will compare the various editions and make ready the blocks for printing. This was complied with."²² Men of the present time only know the *Wu-ching cheng-i* to be the work of K'ung Ying-ta, failing to realise that it is not the work of one man.

The *Hsin T'ang Shu*, in Ying-ta's biography, states: "At first Ying-ta as well as Yen Shih-ku, Ssu-ma Tsai-chang, Wang Kung and Wang Yen, received the imperial command to compile a work on the interpretation of, and instruction in, the Five Classics. This consisted of over one hundred sections but within it they were unable to exclude scattered errors. The scholar, Ma Chia-yün criticised its errors and made an appeal that there be a further order to regulate and establish the texts. This was not followed. In the 2nd year of Yung-hui (AD651) there was a proclamation to the effect that "the erudites of the secretariat, chancellor and the three national institutes, as well as the students at the Institute for the Advancement of Literature should examine and rectify this. Thereupon the vice director to the left of the department of state affairs, Yü Chih-ning, and that to the right, Chang Hsing-ch'eng, as well as the palace attendant Kao Chi-fu revised it again and then the work was first published."²³

In the *Ju-lin chuan* of the *Hou Han Shu* (it is written): "The prophetic writings were not written by the Sage for within them there were many chin-pi and pieh-tzu."²² These chin-pi tzu are like the common expressions in current usage and pieh-tzu are those where there should be

such and such occurring but instead there is, mistakenly, another occurring. At the present time men call this pai-tzu but actually it is the wrong pronunciation for pieh.³

The Shan-tung person⁴ published the *Chin-shih lu*⁵ with Li I-an's⁶ post-face dated in the 2nd year of the Shao-hsing reign period (AD1132). Originally (it was said to have been) the 1st day of the 8th month of I-sui. This is not to know (the term) *chuang-yüeh* (for the 8th month) came from the *Erh Ya* and was subsequently changed to become *mou-tan*. Whatever writings were printed from the Wan-li reign period onwards many were of this *mou-tan* sort.

2(iii)/18/9 (p426)

The Recording of Notes

In ancient times a ruler employed a left scribe to record events and a right scribe to record words.¹ This was a means whereby they might guard against faults and errors and also inform later kings. The activity of recording had a long history. T'ang T'ai Tsung was perfectly acquainted with ancient documents and gave particular weight to ancient matters. Su Mien² wrote that in the Chen-kuan reign period (AD627-649), every day after retiring from the court, T'ai Tsung, along with his prime minister and officials, would advise and give council on administrative matters and order that there be one *ch'i-chü lang* responsible for the recording of notes. As a consequence, the administrative records for the Chen-kuan period have been described as complete and perfect. When it came to Kao Tsung's morning audience the officials displayed a serious mien but did not speak. There was recording of only two events; giving audience and retiring. Later Hsü Ching-tung and Li I-fu used their power to prepare many unreasonable memorials.³ Fearing that historians would write in direct terms of their shortcomings they subsequently memorialised ordering that they follow officials out and not take part in listening to administrative matters. From that time it became a precedent.

In the biography of Yao Shou in the *Chiu T'ang Shu*, for the 2nd year of Chang-shou (AD 693), (it is written)⁴: "He (Yao) was moved to be the assistant to the left for culture and propriety and concurrently the manager of affairs for the secretariat and chancellery.⁵ From the Yung-hui reign period (AD650-655) onward the left and right scribes only attained the level of the duty attendant for the protection of the insignia carried before the emperor. After the staff was put down they did not participate in the discussion. Shou considered that the plans of councils of the emperors must be recorded since, if a proclamation did not come from the prime minister, then the historians would not subsequently have a written record. He then sent a memorial requesting that what was discussed in relation to military or government matters should be taken in charge by the prime minister alone for the purpose of recording and that this

record be called the *Shih-cheng chi*.⁶ Every month this was sealed and sent to the Historiography Institute. The prime minister's compilation of the *Shih-cheng chi* started with Shou."

2(iii)/18/13 (p429)

The Learning of Mind and Heart¹

The *Huang-shih jih-ch'ao*² in its explanation of the section in the *History* which reads: "The mind of man is restless and prone to err; the mind of the way is subtle. Be discriminating, be undivided that you may sincerely hold fast to the mean",³ makes the following observations: this section was originally the words of Yao in his decree to Shun who extended this through his decree to Yü with the addition of further detail. Yao, in his decree to Shun, said: "Sincerely hold fast to the mean." Now Shun added the words 'insecure, subtle, discriminating and undivided' to precede 'sincerely hold fast to the mean' these being words which caused him to examine carefully and be able to grasp the mean. These words of counsel all mainly developed from Yao's words 'hold fast to the mean' so he set them out. Now Yao, in his decree to Shun, said: "If there be distress or want within the four seas the heavenly revenue will come to a perpetual end."⁴ Then Shun added: "Do not listen to unsubstantiated words⁵ right up to 'respectfully cultivate any virtues which are to be desired in you',⁶ this to precede the "heavenly virtue comes to perpetual end" these being the words by which he gave a warning not to reach to 'poverty and distress' and 'make perpetual end'. These words of warning were mainly developed from Yao's expression 'perpetual end', so he set it out.

The counsel to hold fast to the mean was one of positive words; the warnings of a perpetual end were of negative words. Moreover the advice and warning Shun formerly obtained from Yao, was indeed something he constantly exerted himself to achieve and passed on in his decree to Yü so he would know how to hold fast to the mean and not come to a perpetual end. How could it have been established to speak of the mind? Within the present generation there is a delight in talking of the study of the mind (but this is) to set aside the basic meaning of the entire text and to discuss only the mind of man and mind of the way.⁷ The extreme position is to take up only the two characters, tao and hsin, and equate the mind directly with the way. Those who are immersed in the study of Ch'an (Buddism) do not themselves know that they are departing far from the original purpose of Yao, Shun and Yü's giving and receiving of the empire.

Ts'ai Chiu-feng, in his writing of the commentary on the *History*, quotes Chu Tzu's words saying: "When the sages of ancient times transmitted the empire to their successors they never

failed to hand on with it the methods of governance.⁸ It may be said that this shows a profound understanding of the basic intent of the passage quoted. Although Chiu-feng also made clear the mind of emperors and kings (for him) the mind was the basis of governance of the kingdom and pacification of the empire. His works certainly established an orthodox principle. Those who subsequently presented his commentary on the *History* to the court took it to embody the theory of the three sages⁹ transmission of mind and the scholars of the world subsequently pointed to these sixteen characters from the *History* as being the essence of the transmission of mind. Moreover, students of Ch'an (Buddhism) availed themselves (of these words) to be proof (of their own theories). I cannot help but think that the mind does not wait upon any such transmission. What is prevalent in heaven and earth and is the thread linking ancient and modern and is everywhere the same is principle. Principle is altogether encompassed in our minds and is verified in affairs and in things. The mind is that which effects a synthesis of this principle and distinguishes clearly between right and wrong, whether a man is worthy or not, whether affairs are successful or otherwise and whether order or disorder prevails in the empire. All are determined by this. This is why the sages looked to and examined 'insecure', 'barely subtle', 'refinement', 'singleness of mind', and transmitted the way of 'holding fast to the mean', so that there was not one thing which did not accord with principle and there was no tendency towards either 'exceeding' or 'falling short'.

Buddhist studies had their origins in the works of Chuang and Lieh,¹⁰ comical and playful words, words which were said to be shunned. They feared (the concept) of the four (manifestations) of principle as being abnormal and erroneous, so whatever writings of the sages and worthies in the classics and commentaries spoke of li (principle) were all seen as bringing harm to the self.¹¹ Therefore, in Ch'an studies, li (principle) is considered as a veil and students thereof only point to the mind and say the mind cannot be established in writings but can only be transmitted by the manifestation of its imprint. Therefore they do not care to speak of li, considering it to be a misleading word which has been passed on without sufficient analysis.¹² The studies of sages and worthies extend from one mind to the practical application of mind throughout the empire and kingdoms which must be seen as nothing but the prevalence of li, which was intelligent and understandable and shared by all. This is something which has continued for a thousand years without interruption. How can one speak of its transmission? The layman's words were so prevalent and wild that even sages and worthies could not help but imitate them. Therefore, unworthy as I am, I offer my opinion on this. (Chu Hsi in his) commentary on the *Doctrine of the Mean* quotes Ch'eng I as saying that "... this chapter is on the principle of mind as transmitted by Confucius' disciples."¹³ This also borrows the words of the Buddhists and can be discussed.

Throughout the *Lun Yü* there is discussion of mind (heart) on three occasions. (In the first it is written): "At seventy I could follow what my heart (mind) desired without transgressing what was right."¹⁴ (In the second it is said): "Such was (Yen) Hui that for three months there would be nothing in his heart contrary to perfect virtue."¹⁵ (In the third instance there are the words): "Hard it is to deal with him who will stuff himself with food the whole day not doing that which employs the mind."¹⁶ These are similar to the admonition: "Hold it fast and it remains with you. Let it go and you lose it."¹⁷ The disciples did not, however, record this, so it is only seen in Mencius. Thus, not to study the Sage's 'grasping of the mind' and yet recklessly speak of following the mind is what may be called 'stuffing oneself with food all day and not doing that which employs the mind' and 'it is fettered and destroyed by that which takes place during the day'.¹⁸

T'ang Jen-ch'ing,¹⁹ in his reply to a friend's letter, wrote that since the rise of the new learning and the celebrated scholars who wrote about it, those who falsely pretended to be part of this were not few in number. Nevertheless when they spoke of scholarship their concern was with mind and that was all. He had heard of the ancients studying the way (Tao) but not of them studying mind. Among the ancients there was a love of learning but one did not hear of a love of mind. The two words *hsin hsüeh* (心 學) are not spoken of in the Six Classics, nor in Confucius or Mencius. Nowadays those who speak of learning say that mind is the equivalent of the way (i.e. they equate *hsin* (心) with *tao* (道). I do not understand this. How is it so? The purport of 'insecure' and 'subtle' lies in this.²⁰ It is something which even those who are great sages would not dare speak of. Nowadays, there are many who would castigate me for speaking of learning and neglecting mind. That today there are many who blame me for speaking of learning and neglecting mind or heart is like you blaming me for being without learning; this is easy to comprehend. I, also in this, have no answer to you. The Master said: "Is there one who is able for one day to use his strength for benevolence?"²¹ He also said: "That if a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety"²² and again: "respectfully attentive for a whole day"²³ in conducting affairs. I have not been able to do this.

Even if the disciples of the Master were to attain it every day and every month still he would not admit their love of learning. Moreover, with respect to others who are not able to attain it every day, it may be said that they are without learning.²⁴ I do not however know when you speak of learning whether you refer to benevolence, propriety or affairs or, in fact, mind. To cast aside benevolence, propriety and affairs²⁵ and speak of mind even if you know of it is not possible. Your purpose is certainly to say that benevolence, propriety and affairs are all subsumed under mind so that to use one's strength for benevolence is to use one's strength for

mind; to recover propriety is to recover mind;²⁶ and to conduct affairs is to make manifest mind. This I do not understand, as I said before, and so may be said to be without learning. Also you say 'addresses himself earnestly to the practice of virtue' is mind; is not 'addresses himself earnestly to the pursuit of gain' also certainly mind.²⁷ An insecure and precarious mind indeed!

To distinguish between right and wrong, to discriminate between man and beast, although the great Sage must still maintain his guard, can he do so and dare speak of the study of mind? The study of mind takes mind to be learning. To do this is to take mind to be nature. The mind may be able to make complete nature but it is not able to be nature. Therefore to seek 'the lost mind'²⁸ is right but to seek the mind is wrong. If to seek the mind is wrong then to seek in the mind is right. What I consider to be a defect in this study of mind is precisely this seeking of the mind. If the mind, as a result, awaits seeking this is certainly not what I consider to be mind. The mind undoubtedly may be studied, so that to speak of controlling the mind through propriety or preserving the mind through benevolence is still an obstacle to the mind is it not?

In the *Lun Yü* it is said that "the virtuous rest in virtue."²⁹ Hsieh Shih, in his *Collected Annotations*,³⁰ says that the mind of benevolence does not differentiate between internal and external, near and far, coarse and fine. It is not the case that what is preserved is naturally not lost; it is not the case that what is organised is naturally not disordered. These are all the words of Chuang and Lieh and are not what I take to be Confucian studies. In the *T'ai Chia* it is written: "He contemplated and studied the lucid decrees of heaven."³¹ The Master said: "Hui in being a man selects the Mean. (If he) obtains one virtue then it is diligently and proudly displayed and is not lost."³² Therefore hold to it then it will be preserved, let it go and it will be lost - what sort of man is this?

2(iii)/19/3 (p447)

The Difficulties of Authorship

In the writings of the philosophers apart from Mencius and Hsün Tzu, that is, such as Lao, Chuang, Kuan, Shang, Shen and Han¹ all established their own schools. When it came to Lü Shih's *Ch'un-ch'iu*² and the *Huai-nan Tzu*³ then the authors were not able to establish their own schools so took the works of various scholars, arranged them, and fashioned them into a book. This represented one change in the writings of the philosophers. In the writings of men nowadays, when it comes to what in each case emanates from their own hand, there is not much and in general they are in the category of Lü Shih and Huai-nan. Certainly these were what the

ancients did not achieve but what later generations could not do without and so subsequently created. Could it be the reason they were handed down?

The writings of Sung scholars such as Ssu-ma Wen-kung's *Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government* ⁴ and Ma Kuei-yü's *General Investigation on Important Writing* ⁵ were all completed by diligent exertion throughout a lifetime. Subsequently these were works essential to later generations. Within them, errors and omissions were few still they could not entirely be avoided. As the writings of later men became increasingly numerous errors and omissions became increasingly prevalent and as they became increasingly hasty they were increasingly not transmitted. The reason why it is so is that they see the compilation of writings to be particularly easy and so, through this, hastily seek fame.

I-ch'uan, in his later years, wrote his commentary on the *Changes* ⁶ and his disciples asked permission to transmit it. I-ch'uan said: "Better to wait until my scholarship has advanced."⁷ Did the Master not say: "Forgetting my age and not knowing whether the number of years will be insufficient, making an effort each day with diligence and then dying - that is all."⁸

2(iii)/19/4 (p447)

Admonitions (Plain Words)

Chang Tzu said: "The people and I spring from the same womb (have the same mother)."¹ The relationship with the people of today is something I share with those who have succeeded and occupy a high position. To serve the people by the conduct of affairs is the responsibility of those who have succeeded and occupy a high position. To serve the people by means of words is also the responsibility of those who have not succeeded and occupy a lowly position. (The Master said:) "When the way prevails in the kingdom there will be no discussion among the common people."² This being so then if, in administration, teaching and customs, there is not the utmost goodness there will be permitted discussion among the people. In the *Announcement of Pan Kang* it is stated: "None of you dare to suppress the remonstrances of the poorer people."³ If, in the country, there is great doubt then divination may be sought with people. Tzu Chan did not destroy the village schools⁴ while Han Wen Ti stopped the imperial carriage to receive words (i.e. accept admonition). All are examples of this.

In the mid-T'ang period this intention was still preserved. The magistrate of Lushan, Yüan Te-hsiu⁵ sent out several musicians to sing together at Wei.⁶ Hsüan Tsung⁷ was very moved by this. Po Chü-i⁸ was military governor of Chou-chih⁹ (and while there) composed over

one hundred yüeh-fu (songs and poems) ridiculing the affairs of the time and these spread to the palace. Hsien Tsung¹⁰ ordered that he enter the Hanlin Academy and also that he approach the task of arranging the airs of the kingdom and listening to the songs which the multitude sang to themselves.¹¹

Although the *Odes*, being didactic in purpose, places first importance on being gentle and compliant, honest and sincere, yet also there were occasions when people were upbraided in a straightforward manner without concealment. Thus, for example:

"Awe-inspiring are you O master Yin
But how is it that you are so unjust?"¹²

or:

"But the majestic honoured capital of Chou
Is being destroyed by Ssu of Pao."¹³

or:

"Huang Fu is the president
Fan is the minister of instruction
Chia Pe is the chief administrator
Chung Yun is the chief cook
Tsou Tzu is recorder of the interior
Chueh is the master of the horse
Yu is the captain of the guard
And the beautiful wife blazes now in possession of her place."¹⁴

or, finally:

"Of whom is he a follower
I venture to say - of Pao."¹⁵

These, then, are all examples of straightforward criticisms of the official clans which the ancients (clearly) did not regard as shameful.

In the *Ch'u Tz'u*, *Li Sao* (it is written):

"I took 'Orchid' to be someone who may be relied upon
Yet he is not sincere and accommodates his superiors."¹⁶

Wang I¹⁷ in his *Chang-chu* wrote: "This refers to Huai Wang's younger brother, Ssu-ma Tzu-lan."¹⁸ "Pepper' was clever and flattering as well as being a braggart and boastful."¹⁹ Again,

from the *Chang-chu* (of Wang I) this is the Ch'u high official, Tzu Chiao.²⁰ Hung Hsing-tsu,²¹ in his additional notes, says in a *List of Ancient and Modern Men* (in the *Han Shu*) there is ling-yin Tzu Chiao. Similar also is Tu Fu who, in his poem *Li-jen hsing*, writes:

"There was bestowed the title Ta Kuo on Kuo and Ch'in ...
Take care not to approach the Prime Minister's anger."²²

These examples come near to the intent of the writer of the *Shih-yüeh chih chiao*.²³ K'ung Chih-kuei, in his essay *Pei-shan i-wen*, clearly upbraids Chou Yung.²⁴ Liu Hsiao-piao, in his *Kuang-chueh chiao-lun*, secretly ridicules Tao Kai.²⁵ Tsung Ch'u-k'o criticised Wei Yüan-chung as having, in his writing, ten faults.²⁶ Han Tui-chih, (Han Yü) ridiculing Yang Ch'eng, wrote his *Cheng-chen lun*.²⁷ These all exemplify the worth of the customs of the ancients.

2(iii)/19/6 (p450)

The Proliferation of Literati

Since T'ang and Sung times how numerous the literati have become! Certainly there are those who are not conversant with the classics and who do not comprehend the ancient and modern yet who style themselves literary men. Han Wen-kung in his *Fu tu-shu ch'eng-nan* wrote:

"Why do you think literature is honoured?
It's a field sown with the learning of the classics.
There is no source for muddy trickles in the street;
At dawn they are full, by evening already gone.
If a man cannot span past and present
He is just a horse or ox wearing clothes.
In their actions they still fall into unrighteousness,
Even less can they hope for much praise."¹

Liu Chih,² of the Sung period, in his instructions to his descendants always said: "Scholars ought to consider versatility and personality to be paramount; once they acclaim themselves as literary men they are not worthy to be so regarded."³ As this is so being renowned in the world as a literary man is of sufficient importance. This is what Yang Tzu-yün⁴ meant by saying: "One who collects my beautiful (writings) but does not accept the substance."⁵ (Further) Huang Lu-chih⁶ said: "For several decades teachers and princely men have used only essays to raise up and exhort young men. There is, therefore, splendour without substance."⁷

In our own time, from the Chia-ching reign period (AD1522-1566) onward, there has also been this custom. Moreover Lu Wen-yü⁸ recorded the words of Liu Wen-ching's *Announcement to Auspicious Scholars*⁹ which Kung-t'ung¹⁰ greatly considered to be unfair. (Finally), in the *Sung Shih*, it is written: "Ou-yang Yung-shu,¹¹ in speaking with his students, never touched on the subject of literature but discussed only politics, saying that literature stopped at being beneficial to the self while, through a consideration of affairs, it is possible to reach to things."¹²

2(iii) 19/7 (p450)

Artful Words

In the *Odes* it is written:

"Their artful words like organ tongues
Show how unblushing are their faces."¹

And Confucius said: "Fine words and an insinuating appearance have little to do with benevolence."² He also said: "Specious words confound virtue."³ (The term) artful words does not apply only to the spoken word. Whenever men of the present day write shih or fu poetry, epitaphs or letters, writing sufficient to bring pleasure to men, then all these are forms of artful words. Those who are not able (to write artful words) cannot be considered men of understanding. Only those who are able to do so but do not may be considered men of great courage in the empire. Therefore the Master considered firm resolve and unbending honesty would bring one close to benevolence. That to which scholars devote their strength should lie in this and not elsewhere.

There are, in the world, two sorts of people who are without benevolence. One is the man who "likes to oppose his superiors and stir up confusion"⁴ while the other is one with "fine words and an insinuating appearance."⁵ From those who, in their early years, are not obedient and fraternal right up to those who are guilty of parricide and regicide, all are included among those who "like to oppose their superiors and stir up confusion." From those "who shrug their shoulders and laugh in a flattering way"⁶ and who "talk with people with whom they have no community of interest"⁷ right up to those who "if they are afraid of losing it will stop at nothing"⁸ all may be included among those with fine words and an insinuating appearance. Although this is so, still these two sorts of men often find themselves relying on one another to establish themselves in positions in the world.

As there was Wang Mang's usurpation and killing of the king so, certainly, there was Yang Hsiung's praising of the Hsin.⁹ As there was Ts'ao Ts'ao's succession to the throne so, certainly, there was P'an Hsi's 'nine hsi'.¹⁰ This, therefore, is what gives rise to confusion. Opposition to one's superiors may be termed the major, and artful words the minor, cause. Therefore the great Yü spoke of it as "artful words, insinuating appearance and great cleverness" and in regard to this, Huan Tou and the Prince of Miao may be considered of the same category and are greatly to be feared.¹¹ If this is so then how should a scholar act? Certainly first by means of filial and fraternal behaviour he must quell his refractory and cruel heart. He must continue through loyalty and sincerity to cast aside speciousness and insinuating looks. He must make every word and action come forth from his fundamental mind and not cause that which is contrary to benevolence to attach to himself. In this way it may be possible (for him) to cultivate the self and govern the nation.

It is commonly said that, at first, Wei Chung-hsien did not know how to write. In framing edicts whose words held power over life and death he had several literate men who would act as his substitutes.¹² In the *Hou Han Shu* it is stated that Liang Chi was only able to write accounts (strategies). At the time of his false accusation (slandorous memorial) concerning the defender in chief, Li Ku, the guardian, Ma Jung wrote the draft on his behalf.¹³ In the T'ang history it is stated that Li Lin-fu was himself without scholarship and was scarcely able to hold a brush. Kuo Shen-wei and Yüan Hsien were worthless scholars who wrote documents for him.¹⁴ It is also stated that Kao P'ien sent up a memorial which, in tone, was reckless, perverse and intimidating in the hope of regaining power.¹⁵ Further, Ku Yün of Wu, through his writing, benefitted his villiany.¹⁶

In the Sung history it is stated that when Chang Tun monopolised power he said that at the beginning of the Yüan-yu reign period (AD1086-1093) Ssu-ma Kuang, on being made prime minister, used Su Shih to prepare orders so that he would be able to incite to action the four regions. He then caused Lin Hsi to draft regulations bringing malice and harm to all the officials of the Yüan-yu period.¹⁷ Ah, alas, what age is without such scholars? The emperor cannot do otherwise than give deep thought to the distinction between ornament and reality.

2(iii)/19/10 (p453) **The Defect of Imitation among Literary Men**

The faults of present day literature lie entirely in imitation. Even if writers feel compelled to imitate the ancients, still they do not reach their levels. Do they not, moreover, neglect the spirit and principle (of ancient literature) and achieve only the superficialities?

Further, in the composition of literature the ancients were at times sharp and witty and at other times obtuse and dull-witted. Liang Chien Wen-ti,¹ in a letter to the Prince of Hsiang Tung,² said: "Among the writers of our time there are those who imitate Hsieh K'ang-le and P'ei Hung-lu. In imitating Hsieh they do not achieve what is essential and splendid but only what is tedious and lengthy. In imitating P'ei they neglect his good points and achieve only what are his shortcomings."³ Su Tzu-chan⁴ of the Sung period said: "Nowadays men imitate the verse of Tu Fu but they achieve only that which is coarse and vulgar." The Chin (writer), Yüan Yü-chih, in a verse wrote:

"Shao-ling (Tu Fu) himself had a priceless jade,
What help is there that Wei-chih appreciated stones?"⁵

Still, the matter of writing was to Confucian scholars of secondary consideration yet there was a wish (to be) as Lu Shih-heng described:

"The fading morning flowers are already consumed,
The rising evening flowers have not yet stirred."⁶

Nowadays, moreover, one does not see such men and advancing to this to inspect the 'forest of writings' is increasingly difficult.

The imitations of the *Ch'u Tz'u* are certainly not like the *Ch'u Tz'u* itself: likewise the imitations of the *Ch'i Fa* are not like the original.⁷ The central issue here is that first there is one man who sets the standard and there is the fear of losing it - that his penmanship will not again be followed. It is like the thinking behind the Shou-ling youth studying the Han-tan walk.⁸ Hung Shih, in his *Jung-chai sui-pi*,⁹ wrote: "Mei Ch'eng, in writing the *Ch'i Fa*, gave rise to original thought and was a creator with fine phrases and substantial principles approaching 'suo hsieh'. Therefore it was something in which pleasure could be found. There were afterwards those who continued this. The following are examples: Fu I's *Ch'i chi*, Chang Heng's *Ch'i pien*, Ts'ui Yin's *Ch'i-i*, Ma Yung's *Ch'i kuang*, Ts'ao Chih's *Ch'i ch'i*, Wang Ts'an's *Ch'i-shih* and Chang Hsieh's *Ch'i-ming*.¹⁰ Such works are customarily thought of as entirely imitative and entirely without novel ideas. Fu Hsüan¹¹ also collected these (works) under the heading *Ch'i-lin* causing men to be unable to finish reading such pieces before throwing them on the table. Liu Tzu-hou,¹² in his *Chin-wen*, still employed this style yet he transcended it and so separately established the construction of his work. His swelling tones were pure and strong and, as a consequence, the evil practices of the various literary men of the Han and Chin were thereby

completely washed away. Tung Fang-shuo's *Ta-k'e nan* stands out among these literary works and Yang Hsiung's *Chieh-chao* resembles it (being a work) on which he expended great effort to achieve subtlety. When it comes to Ts'ui Yin's *Ta chih*, Pan Ku's *Pin hsi* and Chang Heng's *Ying-hsien* these are all derivative works with the same defects as those of the *Ch'i-lin*.¹³ When Han Tui-chih's *Chin-hsüeh chieh*¹⁴ appeared these were also completely washed away."

How apposite are Hung's words! Nevertheless, they discuss the skill or clumsiness of the writing itself. As for the ideas, then finally these cannot come from beyond the ancient circle. Yang Hsiung imitated the *Changes* in writing his *T'ai-hsüan*¹⁵ while Wang Mang relied on the *Chou Shu* in preparing his *Ta-kaio*.¹⁶ Both worked very diligently, yet daily their writing became more clumsy. As the *Ch'ü Li* admonishes: "Do not plagiarise, do not re-echo."¹⁷ This is the foundation of the ancients' teachings.

2(iii)/19/11 (p453)

Simplicity and Complexity in Writing

Han Wen-kung¹ in Fan Tsung-shih's² tomb record (epitaph) said: "In antiquity all words certainly came from the men themselves and in coming down (to us) the unskilled plundered them. Subsequently all pointed to former worthies and plagiarised each other and, from Han down to the present, there has been used one style."³ This strikes at the heart of the problem of men of the present time. Thus Tsung-shih, in his writings, may serve as a warning to the failings of men of this time, (ie those of his own age) but also himself fails. In writing (literature) it is essential to have notes. Thus, for the time before Ch'in and Han it is possible (not to have notes) but, as for the writings of the present day, these cannot be understood without notes. This is (in fact) to seek simplicity but to obtain complexity and is doubly a failure. The Master said: "In language it is simply required that it convey the meaning."⁴ The prime importance of writing lies in its being comprehensible no matter whether it is simple or complex. When discussion of what is simple and what is complex arises then the literature itself is forgotten. The difficult places in the *Shih Chi* are superior to the simple passages in the *Han Shu*. The *Hsin T'ang Shu* is simple but this is not in relation to affairs but in relation to the writing. This is where its deficiencies lie.

"Shih Tzu used Ch'en Tzu to convey his message to Meng Tzu. Ch'en Tzu utilised the words of Shih Tzu to convey his message to Meng Tzu."⁵ Here there is no need for repetition for the meaning is already clear. (Elsewhere Mencius writes): "A man of Ch'i lived with his wife and concubine. When the husband went out he would sate himself with wine and food and then return. His wife asked him with whom he had wined and dined whereupon (he replied) that

they were all wealthy and honourable men. The wife informed the concubine saying: "When our husband goes out he sates himself with wine and food and then returns. When I asked him with whom he dined (I was told) they were all wealthy and honourable men. Still no men of distinction ever come here. I shall watch closely and see where he goes."⁶ And again, "Formerly someone presented a live fish to Tzu-ch'an of Cheng. Tzu-ch'an instructed his pond-keeper to keep it in the pond. The keeper, however, cooked the fish and returned to Tzu-ch'an saying: 'When I first let it go it appeared embarrassed but after a little while it appeared more at ease and then swam away joyfully'. Tzu-ch'an said: 'It is in its element. It is in its element.' The pond-keeper then went out and said: 'Who says Tzu-ch'an is wise? I cooked and ate the fish yet he said, 'It is in its element. It is in its element.'"⁷ Here, (in this case), the repetition is important to define the circumstances completely.

This is the subtlety of Mencius's writings. If this were contained in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* then, in the case of the man of Ch'i it would certainly say; "His wife doubted and watched closely" and in the case of the Tzu-ch'an, "the pond-keeper went out and laughed at him." There would be these two sentences and that is all. For this reason (it may be said) the prime importance of writing lies in its being comprehensible; it is not important that it be simple. Liu Ch'i-chih⁸ said: "The *Hsin T'ang Shu* prized simplicity and brevity in its words, therefore (its descriptions) of events were very condensed and not at all clear." In writing history this is a defect. Moreover, in writing, how is there complexity and simplicity? Men of former times, in discussing this, said: "The wind blows and the water rises naturally completing the pattern." If it does not emerge naturally and there is an intentional simplicity then this is a failing. From the present time the *Chin (Hsin) T'ang shu-piao* states: "Its subject matter is greater than previously yet the writings are less than of old."¹⁰ That in which the *Hsin T'ang Shu* falls short of the ancients, indeed its defects, truly may be identified by these two phrases.

In Huang Shih's *Daily Record*¹¹ it is written: "Su Tzu-yu, in his *Ku-shih*,¹² corrected (what he conceived as) the many errors in the *Shih Chi*. For example, in the *Shu Li-tzu chuan*, the *Shih Chi* has '(his) mother was Han's daughter. Shu Li-tzu was loquacious and knew much'.¹³ The *Ku-shih* has '(his) mother was Han's daughter and loquacious and knew much'.¹⁴ This is as if the mother were loquacious. This being so then how can the three characters Shu Li-tzu be omitted? (Again) in the *Kan Mao chuan*, the *Shih Chi* has 'Kan Mao was from Hsia-ts'ai. He served the Shih-chü hsien-sheng of Hsia-ts'ai and studied the works of the hundred schools'.¹⁵ In the *Ku-shih* it is written: "Hsia-ts'ai Shih-chü studied the works of the hundred schools."¹⁶ This is as if the Shih-chü himself studied the works of the hundred schools. If this is so then how can the one character shih be omitted? From these examples one may infer that

it is not possible to achieve merit in literature by removing characters. If it were possible to reduce the number of characters T'ai-shih Kung (Ssu-ma Ch'ien) would have done so long ago.

2(iii)/19/12 (p454) The Defect of Writers seeking the Ancients

In the *Liu Ch'iu chuan* of the *Hou Chou Shu* it is written: "Contemporaries were discussing the differences between ancient and modern literary styles. Ch'iu considered that it was not the writing that was ancient or modern but the time itself."¹ This comment is particularly apposite. Nowadays people cannot write (in the style of) *The Two Hans*² just as *The Two Hans* could not be written in the style of the *Shang Shu* or the *Tso Chuan*. Still, to plagiarise and take the grammar of the *Shih (Chi)* and the *Han (Shu)* and consider it to be ancient, and in particular, linking up one or two sentences for use as quotations is, in writing, especially not to be commended. Just as the regions at the present time are not the ancient regions, yet may borrow the ancient name, or officials of the present time are not ancient officials but may borrow the ancient names, so those who, in writing, set aside characters in regular use and borrow ancient characters for use in their place, all do so as a means of concealing their own vulgarity and superficiality.

In the *Hsin T'ang Shu* (it is written): "Cheng Yü-ch'ing, in his memorials, used ancient words like 'to depend on the district officials' and 'ten thousand horses' so that officials were not clear as to what sort of words these were and considered them not to be suitable for the time."³ Lu Wu-kuan of the Sung, in his colophon to the *Ch'ien Han T'ung-yung*,⁴ said: "The ancients studied many books. Therefore, when it came to their own writings they would, by chance, use several ancient characters. At first this was not considered skilful and, moreover, they themselves did not know which were ancient and which were modern. At the present time there are still those who copy out and arrange in order characters from the *Shih Chi* and the *Han Shu* and introduce them into their phraseology, themselves saying this to be something excellent and not realising that there are those who laugh at them. If, perchance, one sees such writing it may elicit deep sighs and the writing be taken as a warning to later generations." T'ao Tsung-i of the Yüan period, in his *Cho-keng lu*,⁵ wrote: "Whenever writing the full title of an official, in all cases there should be conformity with reality. Thus, in the case of titles such as *lien-fang shih* (investigative commissioner) and *tsung-kuan* (supervisor-in-chief), if these are changed to *chien-ssu* (provisional intendment) and *t'ai-shou* (prefect), this would create confusion in the system of officials and at a later time would not be able to be examined."

Ho Meng-ch'un, in his *Yü-tung hsü-lu*,⁶ wrote: "Men at the present time, in referring to people's names, certainly use them according to district names while in naming officials they certainly use the official ranks of former times. In naming fu (prefectures), chou (sub-prefectures) and hsien (districts) they certainly use the names of former times applied to chün (prefectures) and i (districts). (They do so through) a desire to be different. This is not to know what benefit such terms in their writings brings to skill. This is not only unreasonable but there is, in addition, hindrance to affairs. Those with the surname Li are styled 'Lung-hsi Kung', those called Tu 'Ching-chao'; those called Wang 'Lang-hsieh' and those called Cheng 'Ying-yang'. Is it possible, through the aspirations related to one's surname, to embrace such a crowd of people? This failing took its origin from such men as Sun Kuang-hsien at the end of T'ang and the Five Dynasties period. In the *Pei-meng so-yen* Feng Chüan was called Chang-le Kung while in the *Leng-chai yeh-hua* the appellation of Wu-liu Kung was attached to T'ao Ku.⁷ In general, the taking of the styles of ancients and using them to embrace all people of the same surname is something which may be considered as a particularly undesirable practice. Further, in the setting up of official posts and of prefectures and districts there is repeatedly a process of changing usage. If there is the use of titles of former times in nomenclature how will it be possible to achieve subsequent verification. This is what is spoken of as not being in accord with a correct principle and also in affairs there being a hindrance."

Yü Shen-hsing, in his *Pi-chu*,⁸ said that the beauty of the writing in the *Shih (Chi)* and the *Han (Shu)* basically lies elsewhere and has nothing to do with the antiquity of official titles and place names. Nowadays those seeking an elegance in their writings frequently make use of official and place names (from these works) and extend this to the present. This is something which would bring amusement to the ancients. If, in the writings of the *Shih (Chi)* and the *Han (Shu)*, there had been a similar desire to return to ancient (names) why did they not take the official titles from the Three Dynasties and extend them to their own time while still recording matters accurately? Elegance or vulgarity in literature certainly does not lie in this. What is mixed-up and inaccurate and has no means of indicating what is far-ranging should not be practised by the people.

I, formerly, was unskilled in literature but did not (resort) to imitation. When it came to the establishment of the rightness of names I did not dare to be careless. Ordinarily it was a small task or there was some compromise but literature which is strong and enduring certainly does not dare, in the matter of official and place names, to change the modern and utilise the ancient. Of the celebrated people in former generations many also knew this.

5. Section 3 (ch 20-32): Literature, History and Philology

3/20/23 (p480)

Transmitting the Words of the Ancients

Whenever there is transmission of the words of the ancients it is certainly appropriate to quote the one who established the words.¹ If one of the ancients transmitted the words of another of the ancients then both should be quoted. It is not permissible to plagiarise and consider them (i.e. the words) to be one's own theories. In the *Odes* it is written:

"From of old, before our time,
The former men set us the example."²

Ch'eng Cheng-shu's commentary to the *Changes* states that in the wei-ch'i diagram of the *Changes*³ the three yang lines have all lost their position and that this meaning was what he heard from a hermit of Ch'eng-tu. This, then, is a case of someone not daring not to give due recognition to the words of a contemporary. This, then, is the humility (modesty) of a princely man, a pre-requisite for making progress in scholarship.

3/21/1 (p482)

The Purpose of Poetry

Shun said: "Poetry is an expression of the will."¹ This is the basis (fundamental aspect) of poetry. In the (*Li Chi*) *Royal Regulations* it is written: "An order was given to the grand preceptor² to arrange the *Odes* as a means of examining the ways (customs) of the people."³ This is the use of poetry. Hsün Tzu, in discussing the *Hsiao Ya*, said "There was criticism of the government of the day thereby to recall that of the past. The words have elegance in them, the sounds have melancholy in them."⁴ This is the emotion of poetry. Therefore the *Odes* were the 'traces of kings.'⁵ From the Chien-an period (AD 196-219) onward, down to the Ch'i (AD479-501) and Liang (AD502-556) periods, in their fu, poets sought beauty to excess, failing by a long way to fulfil the purpose of poetry.

The T'ang (poet), Po Chü-i, in his letter to Yüan Wei-chih⁶ wrote: "As the years pass and experience grows, each time I speak with people, I deliberate a lot on current matters. Each time I read the *Histories* I seek li (理) and tao (道). I, then, first realised that in the composition of literature there should be concordance with the times and the creation of verse and song in concordance with affairs."⁷ Also he himself arranged his poems and termed those which praised the good and ridiculed the bad, satirical poems comparing himself to Liang Hung

and his composition of the *Wu-i ko*.⁸ He said: "Of those who like my poetry, Teng Fang and T'ang Ch'ü have both died; I and you are both in distress."⁹ "Could it be that heaven wishes to destroy the six forms of verse of the first songs in the four sections of the *Book of Songs*. Also can one acknowledge Heaven's intention not to make the sufferings of the humble known to the emperor."¹⁰ Ah alas, he (Po Chü-i) may be said to be one who knew the purpose of establishing his words.

Ko Hung of the Chin period (in his *Pao-p'u tzu* said: "In ancient times poetry criticised failings and therefore, being of benefit, was esteemed accordingly. Nowadays poetry is nothing more than empty words (of praise) and so is flawed and worthless."¹¹

3/21/3 (p483)

The Titles of Poetry

In the "Three Hundred Poems"¹¹ the writers, for the most part, took from the poem when completed one, two, three or four characters to use as a title. Therefore, in the (airs) of the fifteen kingdoms, there is certainly not one title as such. Among the *ya* and *sung* there is one intermittently. Examples include *Chang wu*² which glorifies King Hsüan, as well as *Shou*,³ *Lai*⁴ and *Pan*,⁵ all of which were temple songs. Those of later times used this method to select a title in one piece calling it *Hsiang po*⁶ but apart from this instance the method was not used. The five word poem which arose first in the Han and Wei periods and the *Nineteen Old Poems*⁷ certainly did not have titles. The *Chiao-ssu* song⁸ and the *Jao* ballads⁹ all took their titles from the first characters in the verse. Then, also, Wang¹⁰ and Ts'ao¹¹ both wrote *Seven Sorrows*¹² yet were not necessarily the same in the emotions and the 'Six Masters' all wrote "Miscellaneous Verses", yet were not necessarily the same in their meanings.¹³ They are like the *Nineteen Old Poems*. Men of the T'ang period used the composition of verse to select scholars and were the first to employ the method of setting topics and imposing rhymes. It was from this that the practice of verse declined.

In Tu Tzu-mei's¹⁴ poems many take a character from within the verse to use as a title. Thus the poem *Pu chien li sheng chiu* takes the *Pu-chien* as the title; *Chin wen ch'uan jung yüan tun t'ao* takes *Chin wen* as the title; *Wang tsai hsi ching shih* takes *Wang tsai* as the title; *Li li kai yüan shi* takes *Li li* as the title; *Tzu p'ing kung chung lu t'ai i* takes *Tzu p'ing* as the title, whilst *K'o t'sung nan ming lai* takes *K'o ts'ung* as the title. All these poems take the first two characters of the verse as the title. These titles are completely without meaning, but rather they take the style of the ancients.

In the poetry of the ancients there was the poem and subsequently the title. In modern poetry there is, by contrast, a title and then, subsequently a poem. When there is a poem and afterwards a title, the poem is concerned with emotion. When there is a title and afterwards a poem then the poem is concerned with things.

3/21/5 (p484)

Verse without Rhyming Lines

In verse the meaning is paramount; sound is a secondary consideration. Certainly if one rhyme is exhausted there being no other character which may be used, then another rhyme is introduced although, if it is not possible to find another, then it is preferable to do without a rhyme. If the meaning is particularly apt and it is not possible to change to another character there is no harm in doing without a rhyme. Before Han times this was frequently so. Tu Fu in his poem *Shih-hao li*, wrote:

"Evening falls on shih-hao village,
There are officials who seize men by night."

In this, the two rhyme words are very appropriate and may not be changed. In subsequent lines he wrote:

"The old man flees across the wall,
The old woman goes out the door to look."¹

These lines are without rhyme but this is also appropriate and may not be changed. In the ancient rhyming song, *Tzu liu ma*, there are two lines:

"Pounded grain used to make food,
Plucked mallows used to make broth."²

These are without rhyme. In Li T'ai-po's poem, *T'ien-ma ko*, there are the lines:

"The white cloud is in the blue heaven,
There are mounds and distant rocky summits."³

which are without rhyme. In his poem, *Yeh-t'ien huang-ch'iao hsing*, there are the two lines:

"Wandering they do not follow the brilliant islet kingfisher
Perching they do not approach the Wu palace swallows."⁴

which are without rhyme. In the *Hsing-hsing ch'ieh yu lieh p'ien* there are the two lines:

"At the frontier city young boys,
Did not study one word of writing."⁵

which are also without rhyme.

3/21/17 (p494)

The Evolution of Poetic Style

The three hundred verses of the *Odes* could not do otherwise then evolve into the *Ch'u Tz'u*. The *Ch'u Tz'u* (in turn) could not do otherwise than evolve into the verse of the Han and Wei periods, that of the Han and Wei into that of the Six Dynasties and that of the Six Dynasties into the verse of the T'ang period. This is determined by the circumstances (i.e. this is a necessary consequence of the passage of time). If one uses the style of a particular period then certainly one will conform to the literature of the period, so establishing a standard.

Poetry and prose styles evolve with time because they cannot do otherwise. If the literary style of one period were to continue for a long time it would be inadmissible for everyone to use the (same) expressions (i.e. people would be saying the same things all the time). Now, moreover, after the passage of many years there is still the usage of the old-fashioned words which are imitated one after the other, this being considered to be poetry. Is it possible? Therefore, if there is not conformity there is loss of that which is considered poetry and if it does conform there is loss of individuality. That which allows the verse of Li and Tu,¹ alone of T'ang poetry, to scale the heights is that it never fails to conform yet never conforms. Only those who understand this may discuss poetry.

3/22/1 (p508)

The Four Seas¹

The *Cheng-i* commentary on the *History* states that the circumstances of heaven and earth are that there is water on four sides.² Tsou Yen, in his writings, said that beyond the nine divisions there are great oceans and seas encircling so that the nine divisions dwell within water and hence were named chou.³ Nevertheless, in the Five Classics, there is no mention of a northern or western sea and the term four seas is also used as a general term referring to the

ten thousands kingdoms.⁴ In the *Erh Ya* the nine I (Eastern Barbarians), the eight Man (Southern Barbarians), the six Jung (Western Barbarians) and the five Ti (Northern Barbarians) are spoken of as the four seas.⁵ In the *Chou Li*, (with reference to) the Chiao-jen, (it is written) that "whenever there was offering of sacrifices in the four seas, the mountains and streams"⁶ According to the note the four seas were like the four directions (regions). Thus the word sea does not (in this context) indicate real water. In the *Changes* the diagram tui is taken to indicate marsh, there being no mention of a sea.⁷ In the *Hsiang-yin chiu-i* chapter of the *Li Chi* (it is written): "In reverential acknowledgment that on the left (east) of heaven and earth there is the sea."⁸ From this it may be seen that on the right (west) there is no sea. In the *Yü-shu (Books of Yü)* Yü says: "I opened up the nine streams and conducted them to the sea."⁹ According to the *Tribute to Yü* there was only one sea and the name Nan-hai was, in fact, just like the name Hsi-ho which means only the (Yellow) River.¹⁰ So, in the words of the *Tribute to Yü*, there were two seas. "On the east, reaching to the sea" truly speaks of a sea and "his fame and influence filled all within, the four seas",¹¹ uses the term sea more broadly.

Hung Mai, of the Sung period,¹² says there is one sea and that is all. In physical features (topography) the north and west were high, the south and east low. Those which were called the eastern, northern and southern seas were, in reality one. In the north, where the land stretches to Ch'ing(-chou) and Ts'ang(-chou), there is said to be the northern sea. In the south, reaching to Chiao and Kuang, there is the southern sea. In the east, reaching to Wu and Yüeh, there is what is termed the eastern sea. There is no reason to have that which is called the western sea. In the *Odes*, the *History* and the *Book of Rites* the term sea is used in the same way. When Chuang Tzu says, "in the barren north there is a deep sea"¹³ and Ch'ü Yüan says, "the western sea was our meeting place"¹⁴ this, in both cases, is metaphorical.

Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang said that in the west of T'iao-chih there was a sea which the Former Han envoys had certainly seen and recorded in their chronicles.¹⁵ In the Later Han period, Pan Ch'ao also sent Kan Ying and others to this land.¹⁶ Moreover, to the east of the western sea there were also barbarians of the Roman Empire and there was frequent sea-going commercial interchange. Ho Ch'ü-ping sacrificed on Mt Lang Chü-hsü mountain which was, in reality, near Han-hai.¹⁷ Su Wu and Kuo Chi were both imprisoned by the Hsiung-nu and were despatched to the shore of the northern sea.¹⁸ In the T'ang history it states that of the Turkish tribes (situated) north of the northern sea, there was the Ku-li-kan kingdom on the sea's northern bank.¹⁹ This being so, what the *Odes* and *History* refer to as the four seas were in reality what encircled the Han-Chinese descendants in all four directions and were not fabulous. So,

nowadays, Kan-chou has Chü-yen-hai, Hsi-ning has Ch'ing-hai and Yun-nan has T'ien-hai.²⁰ How do we know that what the men of Han and T'ang (saw) as seas were not of this sort?

3/22/2 (p509)

The Nine Chou (Regions)¹

The term 'nine regions' was first seen in the *Tribute to Yü*.² In the *Chou Li*, in the commentary on the *Overseer of Feudatories*, it states: "Prior to Shen Nung there were the nine great provinces, Chu-chou, Ying-Chou, Shen-chou and the others, but, when it came to the Yellow Emperor and subsequently, virtue did not extend far but was limited to (the region) within Shen-chou, which was itself divided into nine provinces."³ When the empire consisted of the (original) nine regions, the emperors of ancient time ruled them all. When, in later generations, virtue was diminished the rule was limited to Shen-chou this being one province in the south-east.⁴ This somewhat confused explanation is certainly not worth collecting (selecting). However, in the greatness of China, the boundaries have never been exhausted. Yin Keng, in his *Liang-chen chih*, quotes the *Ti-li chih* section of the *Han Shu* which says that: "The Yellow Emperor held sway over ten thousand li but delimited the uncultivated land and divided the chou getting ten thousand states of one hundred li"⁵ but doubted whether this was complete within the confines of Yü's nine regions. Moreover, he says, looked at from the viewpoint of the present time the Yellow Emperor established the capital, Cho-lu,⁶ in the extreme corner of the north-east. Fu-shan,⁷ a small mountain on the northern frontiers, was taken by the Yellow Emperor as a place for examining tallies so that, at the time, the north-western boundary of the kingdom could be established. From the Ch'in and Han periods onward the Hsiung-nu and other groups such as the Erh-chu and the Yü-wen⁸ commonly considered Huang Ti as an ancestor and referred to themselves as descendants of Ch'ang-i,⁹ this also being one piece of evidence.

Later, when Ch'ang-i fell from grace and the Emperor Chih abdicated and when it came to the calamity of the great flood,¹⁰ the empire was further divided, there being those feudal lords who did not visit the court (i.e. were independent). If the matter is examined in the *History* (it may be seen that) Yü separated the nine regions and Shun established twelve chou dividing off Yu, Ping and Ying which were all in the north-east of Chi.¹¹ Certainly these were places which were first closed and later open to communication, which first resisted and later submitted. Moreover, what was beyond these three regions Shun was unable to gain possession of. During succeeding generations the area of the country was limited to that within Yü's nine regions. The vital ch'i moved from the north-west to the south-east and some land became devastated while other places opened up, something which is still the case. Thus, although the

words of Tsou Tzu¹² are not entirely apposite, how is it possible to claim that the situation did not start from this?

The three regions of Yu, Ping and Ying¹³ were outside the nine regions of the Yü Kung. Former scholars say that (to create them) the land of Chi and Ch'ing was extended and (then) divided but this is not so. Yu corresponds to the area north of the present divisions of Cho (chou) and I, extending to the land beyond the frontiers. Ping corresponds to the area north of the present regions of Hsin and Tai, extending (also) to the land beyond the frontiers. Ying corresponds to the lands of present day Liao-tung and Ta-ning, the mountains and rivers of which were altogether not recorded in the *Tribute to Yü* so the matter cannot be examined in detail. In the *I and Chi* chapter of the *History* (it is stated): "Thus I assisted in completing the five tenures extending over five thousand li."¹⁴ Thus the region north of Chi does not correspond exactly to several hundred li. In the *Ti-li chih* of the *Liao History* (it is written): "Yu-chou lies between Po and Chieh, Ping-chou has Tai and Shuo to the north, while Ying-Chou to the east extends to Liao-hai."¹⁵ In the *Ying-wei chih* it is said: "To the south of Chi-chou, after passing through the changes wrought by the great flood, Hsia-hou established the cities and districts in which people were long-term residents whereas, to the north of Ying and Ping, there were strong winds and much cold so that people moved following the sun, never staying a whole year in the waste land of ten thousand li."¹⁶ Perhaps this statement (theory) is soundly based. In Liu San-wu's *Shu-chuan* it states that K'ung Ying-ta considered Liao-tung to be included in Ch'ing-chou, and to be separated by a great distance from the ocean. (It was not) the idea that high mountains and great rivers were considered the limit, so that the three chou of Yu, Ping and Ying were all subdivisions of the land of Chi-chou.¹⁷ This is not something which can be investigated at the present time.

Yü first defined the boundaries of the nine regions, whilst Shun subsequently established the twelve regions. 'To establish' is equivalent to 'to begin'. Formerly, there were only nine regions and now there are twelve, this beginning with Shun. This being so then to say that the nine regions of the Yü Kung are entirely what was included in the boundaries of Yü and Hsia is careless talk.¹⁸ After the Hsia and Shang dynasties the names of the nine regions were continued from earlier generations each making divisions following their own boundaries so that in each dynasty there were small differences. In the *Chou Li*, the surveyor overseeing the laws of founding kingdoms used the nine regions as the divisions.¹⁹ In saying 'divide' it may be known that the arrangement did not comply with the old arrangement.

There were two applications of this term *chou*; the *Canon of Shun* established twelve regions;²⁰ the *Tribute to Yü* established nine regions.²¹ This was the major application. In the *Chou Li*, in the chapter entitled the *Ta ssu-t'u*, it is said that five *tang* (wards) constituted a region²² and there were heads of *chou*. The commentary says that two thousand five hundred families constituted a region.²³ In the *Tso Chuan*, for the 15th year of Duke Hsi, (it is written): "Chin, in every district (region), prepared weapons."²⁴ For the 11th year of Duke Hsüan: "The Viscount of Ch'u entered Ch'en and ... from each village he took a man and he carried them with him (to Ch'u) where he settled them in a place which he called Hsia-chou."²⁵ For the 22nd year of Duke Chao (it states): "Chieh Tan and Hsün Li of Chin led the forces of the nine *chou* (regions)."²⁶ For the 4th year of Duke Ai (it states): "Shih Wei then called together the military of the nine *chou* (regions)"²⁷ and for the 17th year: "Duke Wei had ascended the city (wall) for a view and observed the nine *chou* (regions, divisions)."²⁸ In the *Kuo Yü* (there is): "What are the nine divisions of western Hsieh?"²⁹ Certainly these are all examples of the lesser name. Ch'en Hsiang-tao, in his *Li Shu*, (states that) two hundred and fifteen kingdoms are called a *chou* and that five *tang* (wards) are also called a *chou*. Twelve thousand five hundred families are called a *sui* (district) whilst the area of one *fu* is also called a *sui*. The royal domain is called a *hsien* (township), as are five *pi* (wards).³⁰

3/23/4 (p532)

The Three Clans: K'ung, Yen and Meng¹

The Yen clan of the present day are all said to be descendants of the (ancient) kingdom of Yen.² If one examines the *Chung-ni ti-tzu lieh-chuan* there are Yen Hsing, Yen Kao, Yen Tsu, Yen Chih-p'u, Yen K'uai and Yen Ho.³ Moreover, when K'ung Tzu was in Wei he lodged with Yen Ch'ou-yu.⁴ Could it be that these six people and Ch'ou-yu are all without descendants? The K'ung clan of the present day are all said to be descendants of the Sage. In the Spring and Autumn period, in Ch'i there was K'ung Hui, in Wei there was K'ung Ta, in Ch'en there was K'ung Ning, and in Cheng there was K'ung Shu and K'ung Chang. Could these five families all be without descendants? Moreover the Sage, coming out of Sung, had the surname Tzu, Cheng the surname Chi, Ch'en the surname Kuei, and Wei the surname Chi. Is it possible to unify these in a single name (i.e. K'ung)?⁵

Yen Lu-kung, in writing the tablet for his family temple, said that his origin was from Chuan-hsü's grandson, Chu Yung, while Yung's grandson was given the surname Ts'ao and his descendant, Duke Wu of Chu, given the additional name of I-fu and the style Yen.⁶ Tzu Yu was separately enfeoffed as a noble and became Hsiao Chu-tzu,⁷ subsequently taking the clan name Yen and served in Lu as a high official. According to the *Tso Chuan*, for the 19th year of Duke

Hsiang, the Marquis of Ch'i took his wife from Lu. (It) says Yen I-chi and her niece was Tsung Sheng-chi.⁸ According to the note, Yen and Tsung both had the style Chi which was the mother's surname.⁹ Thus Yen having the surname Chi and being part of the Lu clan can be verified. The theory that it arose from Chu originated with Ch'üan Cheng and Ko Hung but only in the *Kung-yang* (*chuan*) is the name Yen Kung seen in relation to Chu;¹⁰ it cannot be found thus in the *Tso Chuan*. How could Duke Li Pi of Chü certainly be established to be Li Mi's ancestor?¹¹

In the Spring and Autumn period those who had the style Meng were very numerous. Nowadays those of the Meng clan all have as their ancestor Tzu-yü¹² but, in former times, this was also not so. In the *Wei Shu* there is a Meng Piao from She-ch'ui in Chi-pei who himself said he was from Pei-ti and gave himself the designation So-li along with Meng.¹³ In the biography of K'ung Ssu-hui, in the *Yüan shih* it is written: "In the Five Dynasties (AD 907-960) period, the descendants of the K'ung family were numerous and intended to use falsehood to destroy truth and to bring extreme harm to the descendants of Hsüan-sheng.¹⁴ Moreover, his descendants again wished to falsely claim they were descendants of Hsüan-sheng. Ssu-hui considered that if it were not early differentiated, then truth and falsehood after a long time would become increasingly unclear. How can they and we who do not live under the same sky be included within the same clan and pay our respects in temple and hall. Subsequently the gathered members of the clan blamed him and again engraved the clan register on stone."¹⁵ This being so then those of the present day who use the K'ung surname and excessively look into genealogies may thus be warned!

3/23/10 (p538)

Clans (Families) Of The Northern Region

Tu Shih, in his *T'ung-tien*,¹ stated that at the time of the Northern Ch'i the Lius of Ying and Chi, the Changs and Sung of Ch'ing-ho, the Wang family of Ping-chou and the Hou clan of Pu-yang, and all of this sort, approached a (total of) ten thousand families. In the *Pei shih*, under Hsieh Yin's biography, (it is written) that when he was prefect of Hopei the two surnames Han and Ma each had over one thousand families.² Nowadays, in the central plain, although designated the great families of the northern region they do not have one reaching to one thousand individuals. The population is scanty and the clans and families have declined, this being very different from the situation in Chiang-nan. If a family had one graduate then this gave it a pre-eminent position in the one region for all those on the same genealogical register and some members even became servants in the household. This custom also declined from the

Chin and Yüan periods onward so that the deterioration up to the present is not the work of a single day.

3/24/26 (p565)

Hanlin¹

In the *Chih-kuan chih* of the (*Chiu*) *T'ang Shu*² it is said that the duty of the Hanlin academician was originally, through writing and speech, to prepare responses to the emperor and to be in personal attendance during his coming out and going in, so that he might be able to participate in policy discussions and to give reproof and warning. Moreover the Hanlin (Imperial Academy) was the place where imperial edicts were awaited.³ Under the T'ang system, wherever the emperor was, then certainly there were scholars of phraseology and diction. Those of lower rank down to people such as diviners, physicians and technical personnel were all on duty in another institution (courtyard), when the emperor was at leisure. Official despatches and imperial edicts fell within the province of the secretariat drafter.⁴ At the time of T'ai Tsung (AD 627-649) well-known Confucian scholars were frequently appointed to draft imperial edicts but still (at that time) did not have an official designation. After the Ch'ien-feng reign period (AD 666-667) they were, for the first time, called Scholars of the Northern Gate.⁵

During the time of Hsüan Tsung (AD 713-755) Chang Yüeh, Lu Chien, Chang Chiu-ling, Hsü An-chen, Chang Chi and others⁶ were summoned to the forbidden quarters (inner palace), called academicians awaiting orders⁷ and made responsible, both within the palace and without, for reports to the emperor, written instructions, verses in reply and essays. Subsequently, through the preparation of edicts and proclamations, all of which were the responsibility of the secretariat, there was a considerable backlog, with delay leading to the first selection of court officials with skills in literature and learning to enter the Hanlin (Academy) to serve the throne (i.e. to be academicians-in-attendance). Nevertheless, such men also still did not have an established title or system. In the 26th year of the K'ai-yüan reign period (AD738) there was, for the first time, the change of Hanlin academicians to Hanlin academicians-in-attendance and they were situated in an academy. These men were responsible in particular for edicts relating to the inner court. After the Chih-te reign period (AD756-757), when the empire was taken up with warfare,⁸ there were many matters of national and military importance (necessitating) arcane plans and secret edicts all of which emanated from the emperor. Six scholars were established and, from within this group, one man of advanced years and profound virtue was chosen to be recipient of edicts,⁹ and this man alone took responsibility for the secret edicts. Te Tsung (AD 780-804) loved literature and made very many selections. After the Chen-yüan reign period (AD 785-804) many of those scholars who were recipients of edicts went on to

become prime ministers.¹⁰ That such an office was not seen in the *T'ang liu-tien*¹¹ was because this work was completed by Chang Chiu-ling and at that time this office was still not in existence.

The *Chiu T'ang Shu* speaks of the Hanlin Academy as being a place wherein were gathered and trained Buddhist and Taoist (monks), those involved in divination and invocation and those practising the arts, calligraphy and chess, with each (group) being funded from a separate academy.¹² (Moreover, although) Lu Chih¹³ and Wu T'ung-hsüan¹⁴ were in discord, Lu said: "In a time of peace students of the technical arts, calligraphy and painting are expectant officials of the Hanlin, they are not academicians" and he asked that their official positions be terminated.¹⁵ Further, it may be learned from the histories that the Taoist scholar, Wu Yün, from Sung-shan, at the beginning of the T'ien-pao reign period (AD 742-755),¹⁶ the star-diviners, Han Ying and Liu Hsüan from the middle of the Ch'ien-yüan reign period (AD 758-759),¹⁷ the chess-master, Wang Shu-wen and the court calligrapher, Wang P'i from the later part of the Chen-yüan reign period (AD785-804),¹⁸ the necromancer, Liu Mi and the Buddhist monk, Ta T'ung from the later part of the Yüan-ho reign period (AD806-820),¹⁹ the chess expert, Wang I and the Taoist priest, Sun Chun from the Hsing-t'ang monastery at the beginning of the Pao-li reign period (AD825-826)²⁰ were all expectant officials of the Hanlin Academy. Another example is Li Kan who, although reaching the level of metropolitan governor, started out as an expectant official in star-divining at the Hanlin Academy.²¹ Moreover, in the 2nd month of the 21st year of Chen-yüan (AD805), on nei-wu, there were dismissed from the Academy, medical technicians, fortune-tellers, star-diviners and those versed in she-fu, redundant officials to the number of forty-two men.²² In the 2nd year of Pao-li (AD 826), in the 2nd month, on kang-shen, there was a reduction in the number of redundant officials, music officials from the Chiao-fang, expectant officials in the various skills from the Hanlin Academy as well as various kinds of supervising officials in charge of internal (inner court) matters, to the number of one thousand, two hundred and seventy men in all.²³ From this it may be known that not all the scholars of the Hanlin were concerned with literary matters. Chao Lin, in his *Yin-hua lu*, states that Wen Tsung (AD827-840) bestowed on the Hanlin scholars ceremonial dress. (When) later there was an expectant official who wished to be honoured first and a responsible official put his name forward, the emperor in response said: "The princely man and the petty man could not have (such) a bestowal on the same day so that it is necessary to await another occasion."²⁴

In the 3rd year of the Cheng-hua reign period (AD1467), in preparation for the lantern festival on the 15th day of the 1st lunar month of the following year, there was an imperial command to the poetry (wordsmith) officials of the Hanlin to write shih and tz'u whereupon the

compilers, Chang Mao and Huang Chung-chao as well as the examining editor, Chuang Ch'ang sent up a memorial stating: "Members of the Hanlin Academy consider that to discuss and deliberate and writing documents for the emperor is their duty and although they might be said to assist in literary matters, nevertheless, how can they offer rustic and uncomprehending words to the emperor. Certainly it would not be possible to indirectly quote the words of felicitation Sung Ch'i and Su Shih sent from the music school and to take upon themselves the fault of being rude and disrespectful. We have respectfully studied Hsüan Tsung's imperial exhortation to the Hanlin which says: 'May the words which inform and enrich us be of benevolence and righteousness, the way of Yao and Shun, which were explained by Mencius of Tsou.' At present we fear that the conduct of the lantern festival is not the way of Yao and Shun and the writing of verse at the royal behest we fear does not involve words of benevolence and righteousness. We know the mind of your Majesty is cherishing the same ideas as were your ancestors. As a consequence we do not dare to bring these foolish statements before the emperor. We humbly desire you to adopt these, the words of grass and reed cutters, and that these matters may altogether be prohibited." The emperor was angry and ordered (them) to be beaten. Mao was demoted to the position of magistrate of Lin-wu, Chung-chao to the position of magistrate of Hsiang-tan and Ch'ang to the position of administrative assistant to Kuei-yang chou, each being transferred to a distant post. Subsequently, the imperial censors interceded on behalf of the three memorialists and their positions were changed, Mao and Chung-chao becoming judges at the court of judicial review and Ch'ang the vice-director of the messenger office at Nanking. From this one may see the importance of the Hanlin officials.²⁵

3/25/1 (p577)

Chung Li¹

In the Tso Chuan (it is written) that Ts'ai Mo, in reply to Wei Hsien-tzu, said: "Shao Hao Shih had four uncles; one called Chung, one called Kai, one called Hsiu and one called Hsi. Chung was made kou-mang, Kai was made ju-shou while Hsiu and Hsi were made hsüan-ming."² Chuan Hsü Shih had a son called Li who became Chu-yung.³ The two forms of the character li are written differently. Thus Chung and Li are two (different) people, one Shao Hao and one Chuan Hsü. Moreover, in the *Shih Chi*, for the hereditary house of Ch'u, it is then said: "The Emperor Chuan Hsü was Kao Yang. He was the grandson of Huang Ti and the son of Chang I. Kao Yang gave birth to Cheng, Cheng gave birth to Chüan Chang and Chüan Chang gave birth to Chung Li.⁴ The Grand Historian's own preface then says: "The descendants of Chung Li Shih brought order to heaven and earth and, during the Chou, Cheng-po Hsiu-fu was his descendant."⁵

In the *Record of Emperor Hsüan* in the *Chin Shu* (it is stated): "His ancestors came from the son of the Emperor Kao Yang, Chung Li and he became the Chu-yung under the Hsia."⁶ In the *Sung Shu* it is recorded that the Chin director of the Department of State Affairs, Wei Kuan, the vice-director for the left, Shan T'ao, the vice-director for the right, Wei Shu, the minister Liu Shih, the minister for works, Chang Hua and others,⁷ all memorialised maintaining that the virtue of the great Chin first stemmed from Chung Li who truly assisted Chuan Hsü. When it came to the Hsia and the Shang their descendants brought order to heaven and earth. Moreover, in the Chou period, the line was not lost. It seems they considered Chung Li to be one person for it is not permissible that in one generation there were two ancestors; it was an error handed down by men of former times.⁸

3/25/5 (p582)

Harmonious Joint Rule (Kung-ho)¹

In the *Shih Chi*, *Chou pen-chi* (it is stated) that King Li fled to Chih. His heir-apparent, Ching concealed himself in the Duke of Shao's house. The Dukes of Chou and Shao conducted the administration jointly and this was called 'harmonious joint rule'. In the 14th year of Kung-ho (828 BC), King Li died in Chih at which time the two ministers then jointly established the heir-apparent, Ching as king.² To consider this joint ministry to be 'harmonious joint rule' is erroneous.

In the *Chi-chung chi-nien* (it is written) that King Li, in the 12th year, fled to Chih and in the 13th year Ho, Earl of Kung acted in his stead in matters of the empire (administered the imperial duties). This is termed the period of kung-ho. In the 26th year, King (Li) died in Chih, whereupon Duke Ting of Chou and Duke Mu of Shao established the heir-apparent, Ching as king and Ho, Earl of Kung returned to his (own) kingdom.³ This is what Tso Shih (records) the king's son Chao as saying; i.e. "(Two of the) princes gave up their own positions that they might attend to the king's government."⁴ But his words that the Earl of Kung returned to his kingdom are not in accord with this. In ancient times, in periods when there was no emperor, for visits to the court or the pursuit of litigation there was necessarily a place to turn to. In the *Lü Shih ch'un-ch'iu* it is stated: "Earl Ho of Kung cultivated his behaviour and loved worthiness and benevolence. When Chou Li was in difficulties there was no-one to occupy the position of emperor so the people of the empire all came to request (that he, Earl Ho assume responsibility)."⁵ According to this, then, it was the people of the empire who paid a visit to the Earl of Kung, not that the Earl of Kung came to Chou and conducted the business of the empire in the emperor's place. The Earl of Kung never had the intention of possessing the empire nor did the Dukes of Chou and Shao ever serve the Chou altars of soil and grain (i.e. the kingdom)

by entrusting them to another. Therefore the people of Chou did not have the shame of a change of the (ruling) family's name and the Earl of Kung did not have any plan to assume the name of king. Chuang Tzu said: "Therefore Hsü Yu enjoyed himself on the sunny side of the Ying River and Kung Po found what he wanted on top of a hill."⁶ Thus he grasped the Way to the end of his life and mastered the art of keeping intact the spirit and nourishing his original nature.

In the *Tso Chuan* it is stated that T'ai-shu of Cheng fled to Kung. According to the notes the kingdom of Kung was in what is now Kung district of Chi prefecture.⁷ In the *Shih Chi*, *Ch'un-shen chün chuan* (it is written): "Put Shang-tang in Han in communication with Kung and Ning and make a road through An-ch'eng, imposing taxes at exits and entrances."⁸ (Again) in the *T'ien Ching-chung Wan shih-chia* it says the King Chien submitted to Ch'in. Ch'in sent him to Kung where he died of hunger. The people of Ch'i had a song about this which went; "Ah pine, ah cypress, the one who established Ch'ien in Kung was a guest."⁹ In the *Han Shu*, *Kung chen p'ao* (there is an entry for) Kung Chuang Hou, Lu Pa Shih.¹⁰ In the *T'ang Shu*, *Ti-li chih* (it is written that) Kung-Ch'eng district in Wei-chou was established in the 1st year of Wu-te (AD 618). Kung-chou corresponds to the what is now Hui district in Wei-hui fu.¹¹ At the present time Hui district has in it Kung-chiang terrace from which the men of later times have drawn a wrong conclusion.

3/26/2 (p590)

**In the *Shih Chi* Discussion May Lodge in the
Sequence of Matters**

Among the historians of ancient times there were those who did not rely on discussion but, in the ordering of their material, were able to make clear their meaning. T'ai-shih Kung¹ had this ability. At the end of the *P'ing-chun shu* are recorded the words of Pu Shih.² At the end of the *Wang Chien chuan* are recorded the words of the guest.³ At the end of the *Ching K'o chuan* are recorded the words of Kou Chien of Lu.⁴ At the end of *Ch'ao Ts'o chuan* are recorded the words of Teng Kung and Ching Ti.⁵ At the end of the chronicle of Duke T'ien Fen of Wu are recorded the words of Wu Ti.⁶ All these are examples of the method of the historian allowing discussion to lodge in the ordering of material. There were few among the men of later times who were conversant with this technique. Pan Meng-chien⁷ was one who had this occasionally. Thus, in the *Huo Kuang chuan*, where there is recorded the discussion between Jen Hsüan and Huo Yü,⁸ it may be seen that Kuang often behaved oppressively and so created 'the terrors of majesty and the fortunes of empire'.⁹ (Also) in the *Huang Pa chuan*, in the memorial of Chang Ch'ang,¹⁰ it may be seen that many of the good omens did not come to

In the *Hsün Tzu* (there are the words): ". will be gored and broken like a drooping deer, dripping and wet, and will retreat." The commentary states that the meaning of these words is not clear but that they indicate the appearance of something broken down and scattered.¹ Nowadays, if one examines Tou Kuei's biography in the *Chiu T'ang Shu*, there is the following: "Kao Tsu spoke to Kuei saying, On your entering Shu those cavalry-men and attendants nearly twenty, had been slain by you. My broken and scattered carriages are not adequate to give to you."² In Li Mu's biography in the *Pei Shih* there is the following: "In the battle at Mang-shan, Chou Wen Ti's horse was struck by a flying arrow which startled it, causing it to bolt and throw him to the ground. Mu dismounted, struck Chou Wen on the back with his whip and reviled him saying: "You defeated soldier! Where is your officer? Do you dare to stop here?"³ In Chou and Sui times men still used these words.

In Juan Ssu-tung's *Yung huai shih* there are the lines:

"I roamed in the west within Hsien-yang,
And passed Chao and Li on the way."

Yen Yen-nien, in his notes, says: "Chao was Han Ch'eng Ti's consort, Chao Fei-yen and Li was (the concubine) of Wu Ti, Li Fu-jen."¹ If one looks at Ch'eng Ti's time (it may be seen) there were (both) Chao and Li. In the *Ku-yung chuan* of the *Han Shu* it is said: "Chao and Li came from humble beginnings to find sole favour."² In the *Wai-chi chuan* (it is written): "Pan Chieh-yü presented an attendant, Li P'ing. P'ing obtained the imperial favour and was also made a concubine."³ (In the) *Hsü chuan* (it is written): "Pan Chieh-yü attended the empress dowager in the eastern palace. Her attendant, Li P'ing became an imperial concubine and Chao Fei-yen became the empress. After the death of the general-in-chief, Fu-p'ing and Ting-ling Hou, Chang Fang and Chun-yü Chang, along with others, first gained imperial favour. On going out they went by a secret path and in travelling used the same carriages and took the reins, entering places where attendants were prohibited (ie the inner palaces). They would set up banquets and together with Chao and Li, as well as all the attendants, would drink their fill to the sounds of talk and laughter."⁴ The historical biographies are quite clear on this point so why should (Li P'ing) be confused with Wu Ti's, Li Fu-jen?

According to the *Hsi-chi ts'ung-yü*,¹ Tao Yüan-ming's verse has the lines:

"I have heard that T'ien Tzu-ch'un lived there,
Who in integrity was a hero among men."²

In the *Han Shu*, *Yen-wang Liu-che chuan*, it is written that at the time of Kao Hou there was a man of Ch'i, T'ien Sheng who, in his wanderings, had exhausted his wealth and conceived of a plan to seek out Che. Che was greatly delighted with him and used two catties of gold to provide for T'ien Sheng's old age. T'ien Sheng proceeded to Ch'ang-an and sought service with one whom the Empress Lu had favoured, the supervisor of receptions, Chang Ch'ing. He persuaded Kao Hou to establish Che as Prince of Lang-yeh.³ Chin Cho, in his notes says that according to the *Ch'u Han ch'un-ch'iu*, T'ien Sheng's style was Tzu-ch'un.⁴ This is not so. Earlier in the same poem there are the lines:

"Taking leave of my family I set off early,
I am making a journey as far as Wu-chung."

and, further on, the lines:

"Living, he had a high repute in his old age,
Since he died, the report of him has not failed."⁵

From this it may be known that he was T'ien Ch'ou. In the *San Kuo Chih* (it states) that T'ien Ch'ou was styled Tzu-t'ai and was from Wu-chung in Yu-pei p'ing.⁶ T'ai, in one edition has Ch'un. If T'ien Sheng, in his travels, was said to have been a man who accepted gold, then how could he have obtained a high reputation in his time and been someone whom Ching-chieh might respect? (Elsewhere there are the lines):

"Then I fulfilled my lonely destiny
In the end dying, returning to fields and village."⁸

This uses the phraseology of Fang Wang's letter of declining (farewell) to Wei Hsiao: "Although I cherish the principles of honesty and frankness, I desire to keep pure the destiny of retirement and advancement."⁹ (There are also the lines)

"Pay my deep respects to Ch'i and Lu
How is it with their spirits now?"¹⁰

Here 'pay my deep respects' is not something which one word is able to exhaust and men of the present times also have this phrase. In the *Han Shu* (it is written that) Chao Kuang-han became metropolitan governor and had made a written proclamation to the neighbourhood head of Hu region that his domain was to be extended west to Chieh-shang (the border regions). The Chieh-shang neighbourhood head playfully asked: "On my behalf, with deep respect ask Chao Chün."¹¹ According to the note the phrase 'with deep respect ask' indicates diligent attentiveness as in the modern usage 'may I respectfully enquire'.

3/28/1 (p654)

To Do Obeisance and Bow to the Ground

The ancients sat on a mat on the ground,¹ stretched themselves on rising, then prostrated themselves, bringing the head to the hands, this being pai-shou. To bring the hands to the ground was pai-tun-shou and to bring the head to the ground was chi-shou, all being degrees of propriety. In venerating the prince or the father then certainly there should be the use of tun-shou, pai and afterwards chi-shou, this being a measure of propriety.² Certainly to end by means of chi-shou (bowing to the ground) is the completion of li (i.e. conforms on propriety). Nowadays, the *Ta ming hui-tien*³ states that one bow in the form of kowtou (kou tow) is all that is necessary to conform to li, thus preserving the intention of the ancients.

The ancients used chi-shou (bowing to the ground) to display an extreme degree of respect. In the *T'ai-chu* section of the *Chou Li* nine forms of obeisance are differentiated, of which the first is chi-shou (bowing to the ground). In the annotation (it states) chi-shou is the most important as it is that which the minister shows to the prince.⁴ In the *Li Chi*, *Chiao t'e sheng* (it is written): "The minister of a great officer did not bow his face to the ground before him, not from any honour paid to the minister, but that the officer might avoid receiving the homage which he had himself paid to the ruler."⁵ In the *Tso Chuan*, for the 23rd year of Duke Hsi, (it is said that) the Earl of Ch'in received Prince Chung-erh of Chin. The earl sang the ode, *Liu yüeh*. The prince descended the steps and bowed with his head to the ground whereupon the earl then descended one step and declined such an honour.⁶ In the 3rd year of Duke Hsiang (the *Tso Chuan* states): "At the covenant in Chang-shu the Duke bowed with his head to the ground. Chih Wu-tzu said; the Son of Heaven is alive and for your ruler to bow his head to the ground before him makes my ruler afraid."⁷ For the 24th year (of Duke Hsiang) (it is written): "The Earl of Cheng arrived at Chin. He bowed with his head to the ground (and

when) Hsüan Tzu wished to decline, Tzu Hsi, who was in attendance, said; 'Through its reliance on the great state (of Ch'u) Ch'en inflicts an insolent oppression on our poor state. On this account our ruler asks leave to call it to account for the offence - how dare he do otherwise than bow his head to the earth'.⁸ For the 17th year of Duke Ai (the *Tso Chuan* states): '(The Duke met with the Marquis of Ch'i) and a covenant was made at Meng. (Meng Wu-pai was with the Duke as director of ceremonies). The Marquis bowed with his head to the ground but the Duke only bowed, on which the people of Ch'i were (very) angry (but) Meng Wu-pai said: 'Only to the Son of Heaven does our ruler bow with his head to the ground'.⁹

In the *Kuo-yü* (it is stated that) King Hsiang sent the Duke of Shao, Kuo and the Nei-shih, Kuo to present gifts to Duke Hui of Chin. The Duke of Chin held the jade low and made obeisance but did not bow to the ground. The Nei-shih, Kuo returned and informed the king saying: 'He held the jade low and received and set aside his offering. He made obeisance but did not bow to the ground, thus insulting his superior. If the gift is set aside this indicates no land, if the prince is insulted this indicates no people.'¹⁰ From this it may be seen that bowing to the ground was a matter of considerable importance. Among equals all followed the practice of (tun-shou), that is what Li Ling in his letter of reply to Su Wu termed tun-shou (simple bowing).¹¹

Ch'en Shih, in his *Li Shu*, states that bowing to the ground was the form of propriety to be observed by a feudal lord to the emperor or by a great officer to his prince. Nevertheless, between the prince and the minister there was also bowing to the ground.¹² In the *History* there are the examples of T'ai Chia bowing to the ground to I Yin¹³ and King Ch'eng bowing to the ground to the Duke of Chou.¹⁴ A great officer could also bow to the ground to one who was not his prince. In the *I Li* it is written that the duke made a bestowal on the guest. The guest then bowed twice with his head to the ground to Chieh who responded in like manner.¹⁵ A princely man, in acting with propriety to someone he respects, must use the highest form of respect so that a prince, in bowing to the ground to a minister, is manifesting his regard for the minister's virtue. A great officer who bows his head to the ground to someone who is not his prince is displaying his respect for this ruler.

In the Spring and Autumn period, Mu-ying of Chin embraced T'ai Tzu and bowed before Hsüan Tzu of Chao¹⁶ and Chi P'ing-tzu of Lu bowed to Shu Sun which indicates that (simple) bowing was applied to someone whose position was not venerated. Hsün Tzu writes that to bow to the level position is called pai while to bow below the level position is called chi-shou. To bow to the ground is called chi-sang.¹⁷ It seems that this is not so. The ancient funeral rites

were the first occasion for the use of chi-sang with the head striking the ground. This and chi-shou are for the deepest grief in which expression is (as if) hidden.

3/28/13 (p661)

The Music Bureau¹

The Music Bureau was the name of a government office. Its officials included a director, a supervisor of tones and a patroller.² In the biography of Chang Fang, in the *Han Shu*, (it is written) that he sent a senior slave, Chün, and others, forty odd men, with the whole group fully armed and by daylight they entered the Music Bureau and attacked the official building.³ In the biography of Huo Kuang, his memorial said: "While the emperor's coffin was lying in state in the front hall the Prince of Ch'ang-i brought instruments from the Music Bureau."⁴ In the *Lu-li chih* of the *Hou Han Shu* (it is written) that at the time of Yüan Ti (48-33 BC) the gentleman of the interior, Ching Fang was conversant with the sounds of the five tones and the discrimination between the sixty semitones. The emperor sent the grand mentor of the heir-apparent, (Wei) Hsüan-cheng as well as the grand master of remonstrance, (Wang) Chang who plied him with various questions at the Music Bureau.⁵ These are examples of the use of the term. Men of later times persisted erroneously in calling the poems collected by the Music Bureau, yüeh-fu. To speak of ancient yüeh-fu is particularly an error.⁶

3/29/12 (p686)

Local Dialects

Although the dialects of the five regions¹ differ each from the other, nevertheless, if there is to be amity between the scholars of the empire yet each retain his own dialect this is not something which the princely man would choose to be so. Thus Chung-yu's coarseness brought distress to the Master² and the shrike-tongued man was upbraided by Mencius.³ Moreover, in the *Sung Shu*, it is said that in Kao Tsu, although his family had, for several generations, dwelt in Chiang-nan, the Ch'u dialect remained unaltered and that elegant and unconventional scholars would not count him in their number. Again (it is stated that) the Prince of Ch'ang-sha, Tao-lien was, in general, without ability and his speech was markedly Ch'u in accent. Further his deportment and behaviour were for the most part rustic and clumsy.⁴ In the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* it is said that after Liu Chen-chang had come out from seeing the prime minister, Wang, someone asked him what he was like. Liu replied: "Nothing special - only I heard him use the speech of Wu."⁵ It is also written that Ta Chiang-chün when young had the reputation of being a country bumpkin and also spoke with the dialect of Ch'u.⁶ Elsewhere it is written that when Chih Tao-ling left for the east he saw Wang Tzu-yu and his younger

brothers. On his return someone questioned him as to what these Wangs were like. He replied: "I saw a flock of white-necked crows and heard the sound of the cawing crows."⁷

In the *Pei Shih* it is written that the Prince of Tan-yang, Liu Ch'ang was berating his servants. The sound was a mixture of barbarian and Chinese. Although this was a public occasion the various princes all ridiculed him.⁸ Thus, even a founding prince or a prime minister, during a period of restoration, may not avoid the criticism of his contemporaries. How much less so then may the ordinary scholar? Yang Yin of the Northern Ch'i praised P'ei Yen-chih saying: "The scholarly families of Hotung provide a substantial number of metropolitan officials and only the older and younger brothers of this family are entirely without regional accents." Thus it may be known what was looked down upon. When it comes to the writing of literature there is particular avoidance of what is unrefined and vulgar. Nevertheless Kung-yang, in his commentary on the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, used much of the Ch'i vocabulary and Huai Nan Tzu much from Ch'u.⁹ In works such as the *I-chuan* and *Lun yü* was it that there was never such a character? As for the explications of the classics, more importance was attached to the literary form. Thus Sun Hsiang and Chiang Hsien formerly studied the *Chou Kuan* yet their speech was a mixture of Ch'u and Hsia so they were able to attract very few students.¹⁰

Li Yeh-hsing's scholarship was profound yet he did not change the old sounds, consequently he was a laughing-stock of the people of Liang.¹¹ The scholars of Yeh-hsia, in their tones and diction, were rough and crude and had a demeanour which was rustic and clumsy so that Yen Chih-t'ui did not wish to have them as tutors to his sons.¹² This being so, if the princely man has the ambition to succeed in the empire then certainly he must begin with speech. In the *Kuo-yü chieh* preface in the *Chin Shih* it is said that in the New Text *Shang Shu* the words were, in many cases, strange and harsh - a reflection of the local dialects of the time.¹³ Hsün Tzu always wrote 'an'¹⁴ and the *Ch'u Tzu* always 'ch'iang',¹⁵ in both cases examples of local dialect. In Liu Hsieh's *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* it is written that Chang Hua, in discussing rhyme, said that Shih-heng used much that was from Ch'u so he may be said to have continued Ling-yün's (Ch'ü Yüan's) tradition but to have lost the true sounds of Huang-chung.¹⁶

3/30/1 (p695)

The Wen (Pattern) of Heaven (Astronomy)

Before the Three Dynasties¹ all understood the pattern of heaven. "In the 7th month the five stars passed the meridian."² These are the words of the farmer. "And the three stars appear in the sky."³ These are the words of the women. "The moon also is in the Hyades."⁴ This relates to the work of the frontier soldiers. "The tail of the dragon lies hid in the

conjunction of the sun and moon.⁵ This is the song of the child. In later generations, among literati and scholars, there were some who, if questioned, were ignorant (of these matters). Nevertheless, in the matter of calculations of stars and times, the ancients did not reach to the precision of the present time.

Fan Shen, in his *Ho-chien fu chih*,⁶ said: "I, initially, studied the *Lü-shu*⁷ and saw that there was prohibition of the private practice of astronomy. Subsequently I studied the imperial orders and noted that Jen Miao, in speaking to Yang Shih-chi⁸ and others, said: 'This law is naturally established for the people. How is it that the nobles and others should be prohibited?' Subsequently the parallel-prose *T'ien-yüan yü-li hsiang-i fu*⁹ was given to many courtiers as a gift. If one looks at it from the viewpoint of the words of the *Lü-shu* then one may know that what the Sage grieves over is deep. If one looks at it from the viewpoint of the imperial orders then one may know that what the Sage sees is great."

3/30/15 (p706)

Confucius' *Pi-fang Chi*¹

From Han times onwards, whenever there has been transmitted (handed down) discussion of emperors and kings changing the dynastic name and receiving the mandate, there is always some reference to Confucius. Thus, the destruction at Sha-ch'iu and the rise of Mao Chin² were both said to be matters regarding which the Master had prior knowledge and prepared a prognostication. Nevertheless, in his writings, there is not one mention of this. Wei Kao Tsu, in the 9th year of the T'ai-ho reign period (AD 485), issued a proclamation to the effect that from that time all the mystic writings and secret appendices, under the name of Confucius' *Pi-fang chi*, should be destroyed. Possession of any remaining would be punished with death.³

In Wang Shih-ch'ung's biography in the *Chiu T'ang Shu*, when Shih-ch'ung was about the usurp the throne, (it is stated): "There was a Taoist monk, one Huan Fa-ssu, who himself spoke in explanation of the writings of mystical revelation and presented Confucius' *Pi-fang chi* with a drawing of a man grasping a staff to drive sheep. The meaning is; Yang is the Sui surname; to oppose one is Wang. With Wang remaining behind the sheep it is clear that a chief minister would replace Sui and become emperor. Shih-ch'ung was greatly delighted."⁴ If one examines this carefully it is like that which present day people speak of as the *Tui-pei tu* which now must be attributed to Li Ch'un-feng⁵ and not to Confucius.

The custom of the Barbarians is to believe in spirits. "The Hsiung-nu wished to kill Erh Shih. Erh Shih reviled them saying: 'If I die then certainly there will be destruction of the Hsiung-nu'. Subsequently they killed Erh Shih in a sacrifice. Within a short time there was continuous rain and snow for several months. Domestic animals perished, the people were afflicted with epidemic illness, the grain did not ripen and the barbarian chieftain was afraid. He therefore established an ancestral temple for Erh Shih."¹ Mu-jung Chün beheaded Jan Min at Lung-ch'eng so laying waste Ching-shan. For seven li, on either side of the mountain, the grass and trees all withered and a plague of locusts arose. People said that Min was an evil spirit. Chün despatched a messenger to make a sacrifice and gave him (Min) the posthumous title of Tao-wu T'ien Wang. On this day there was a great snow.² Wei T'ai Tsu slew Ho Pa and slaughtered his family. Subsequently Shih Tsu made a tour of the west to Wu-yüan. On his return progress, at Chai Shan, he was hunting when suddenly he met a fierce wind with cloud and mist from all quarters. Shih Tsu thought it was strange and asked about it. The courtiers said that Pa's ancestral home was on this land and a sacrificial mound was still preserved there so he was, perhaps, able to bring about this change. The emperor sent the Duke of Chien-hsing, Ku Pi three sacrificial animals whereupon the mist dispersed. Subsequently, whenever Shih Tsu spent a day hunting, he always first made a sacrifice to him (i.e. Pa).³ Po-yu turned out to be an evil spirit. This could in principle be true.⁴ The fear which barbarians have for spirits is not therefore something which can be discussed by way of a common principle.

Hotung and Shansi are the one place.¹ The T'ang capital was in Kuan-chung and had the river to its east, therefore it was called Hotung.² The Yüan capital was in Chi-men and had the mountains to its west therefore it was called Shansi.³ Each, therefore, took the name from what was near the royal domain. What the ancients called Shansi is the equivalent of the modern Kuan-chung.⁴ In the *Shih Chi*, in the *T'ai shih kung tzu hsü*, (it is written): "Hsiao Ho pacified Shansi."⁵ (In the) *Fang-yen* (it is said): "From the mountains east there were the boundaries of the five kingdoms." Kuo P'u, in his commentary, states that of the six kingdoms only Ch'in was west of the mountains.⁶ Wang Po-hou, in his *Ti-li tung-shih*, stated that during the Ch'in and Han periods what was referred to as Shan-pei, Shan-nan, Shan-tung and Shansi were all so named with reference to the T'ai-hang⁸ which was taken to be the centre of the kingdom and the geographical areas are indicated in reference to this mountain. That the *Cheng-i* should consider (Shansi) to be west of Hua-shan is (clearly) wrong.⁹

In the Spring and Autumn period Tai was still not in communication with the Middle Kingdom. Chao Hsiang-tzu then said: "As the top of Chang-shan overlooks Tai so Tai could be taken." According to the *Cheng-i*, the *Ti tao chi* states that Heng-shan is one hundred and forty li north-east of Shang chü-yang district. If you travel north four hundred and fifty li you will reach the peak of Heng-shan, designated Fei-hu kou, and to the north of this there is Tai-chün.² The *Shui Ching* commentary quotes the memorial of Mei-fu as saying that the Tai valley had Heng-shan to its south and Pei (northern) pass to its north. Within the region of the valley the Shang-ku was to the east and Tai-chün to the west.³ This is what is now Wei-chou but was still then the ancient kingdom of Tai. Hsiang Yü moved the King of Chao, Hsieh to be King of Tai while Hsieh then established Chen Yü as King of Tai.⁴ Han Kao Ti established his elder brother, Liu Chung as King of Tai; this all refers to this land. In the 10th year of Han Kao Ti (197 BC) Chen Hsi rebelled. In the 11th year there was destruction of Hsi and the establishment of Kao Ti's son Heng as King of Tai and the capital was Chin-yang.⁵ This, then, was what is now Tai-yüan district. The *Hsiao-wen chi* then states that the capital was Chung-tu.⁶ It goes on to record that Wen Ti passed through Tai-yüan and remitted two years of taxes to the people of Chin-yang and Chung-tu.⁷ He also established his son, Wu as King of Tai with the capital at Chung-tu⁸ which corresponds to P'ing-yao district of the present day. Also, if one examines Wei Wan's (biography, it can be seen that) he was a man of Ta-ling in Tai.⁹ Ta-ling is at present in the north of Wen-shui district which is included in Tai. Therefore it can be seen that the Tai capital was Chung-tu. Although Tai moved, in all, three times it never corresponded to what is now Tai-chou.¹⁰ The name of the present Tai-chou dates from the Sui period.

The two characters nai ho (奈何) were first used in the *Songs of the Five Sons*. "The ruler of men - How can he be but reverent (in his duty)."² In the *Tso Chuan* (it is written): "What will you do when your belly is pained with fish from the river."³ In the *Ch'ü Li* (it is written): "When the prince of the kingdom was on the point of leaving his domain those who would stop him asked: 'How can you leave the altars of the spirits of the land and grain?' The great officers said: 'How can you leave the ancestral temple?' The scholars said: 'How can you leave the graves (of your ancestors)?"⁴ In the *Ch'u Tz'u*, *Nine Songs* in the *Ta ssu-ming*, (there is the line): "(The sadder I grow); but what does sadness help?"⁵ while in the *Nine Discussions*

there is the line: "The prince did not know so what could I do?"⁶ These were the origins of the two characters nai (奈) and ho (何).

In the *Tso Chuan*, in the *Song of Hua Yüan*, (it is written): "Oxen still have skins; rhinoceroses and wild bulls still are many. The throwing away of the buff-skins - what about this."⁷ In direct speech na (𠄎)⁸ is used whereas in the more ornate style nai ho (奈何) is used, yet they are the same. Also in the *History* (there is the phrase): "As to the five instruments."⁹ Cheng K'ang-ch'eng reads ju (𠄎) as no (乃), the opposite to ko (箇).¹⁰ In the *Lun Yü* there is the line: "I can really do nothing with him."¹¹ The sound here is also the same as nai (奈).¹² In the Six Dynasties period¹³ men oftentimes wrote na (𠄎) for nai (奈). Thus, in the *San Kuo Chih* commentary, Wen Ch'in, in a letter to Kuo Huai, wrote: "With respect to that which has been completely overcome what can be done if afterwards there is no continuation?"¹⁴ (Also) in Liu Ching-hsüan's biography in the *Sung Shu* (it is written) that Lao Chih said "After the pacification of Hsüan what shall I be ordered to do with the cavalry?"¹⁵ In the verse of the T'ang period there was much use of wu nai (無奈) for wu nai (無那).

3/32/10 (p756)

Pu Tiao¹

When the ancients spoke of someone as being without pity (pu-tiao) it was like saying they were without benevolence (pu-jen). Thus, in the *Tso Chuan*, for the 13th year of Duke Ch'eng, (it is written): "Mu sent no message of pity."² For the 13th year of Duke Hsiang (it is written): "The superior man will say Wu was unpitying."³ Again, for the 14th year (of Duke Hsiang): "Your ruler showed no sympathy."⁴ For the 7th year of Duke Chao (it is written): "If when our brethren are not harmonious they are without pity."⁵ (Again) for the 26th year (of Duke Chao it is written): "They thus led on their merciless partisans and threw the royal house into disorder."⁶ All these are examples of the meaning 'without benevolence'.

In the *Tso Chuan*, for the 23rd year of Duke Hsiang, (it is written): "I venture to tell you of my want of pity"⁷ and in the *Odes*, "O unpitying heaven"⁸ and also: "You are regardless of the evil omens."⁹ In the *History* (it is written): "Great rain came down on Yin from want of pity in compassionate heaven."¹⁰ These may be considered words of pitying and mourning. Tu Shih, in his commentary, (says) that all these may be considered as not conjointly to pity and show sympathy. With regard to the merciless partisans (see above) the tiao means (here) extreme, and in meaning this is not interchangeable.¹¹ (In the *Tso Chuan*), for the 7th year of Duke Ch'eng, (it is written): "The middle states do not array their multitudes (do not have an orderly return of troops) and the wild tribes of the south and east enter and attack them whilst there is none

to pity the sufferers. (Tan) has no comforter."¹² This means that the great kingdom does not pity the neighbouring states.

6. Section 4: Essays from the SWC

4/SWC1/4 (p12)

A Discussion of the Prefectural System

1. If we know why feudalism underwent a change to become the prefectural system we may recognise that this system will, in turn, decline and undergo a further change. Will this subsequent change be a return to feudalism? I regard this as impossible. If a sage appeared who lodged in the prefectural system the concept of feudalism, the empire would be well ordered. People from Han times onward all said that Ch'in declined because of its isolation. What they do not know is that the decline of Ch'in would have occurred no matter whether there was feudalism or not and this decay of feudalism was firmly established as occurring from the decline of the Chou and not from the Ch'in period. The decay of feudalism was not the work of one day. Even if a sage had arisen it would still have changed to become the prefectural system. Now the decline of the prefectural system is already far advanced but no sage has emerged. Still, one and all the ancient practices persist and, as a result, the people grow daily more impoverished and the nation daily more debilitated thus accelerating the headlong rush into chaos. Why is this so? The failings of feudalism lay especially with those below assuming responsibility. The sage (rulers) of antiquity served the people of the empire with public spiritedness and rewarded them with lands¹ so dividing up the country. The rulers of today entirely appropriate all within the 'Four Seas' as their own commanderies and districts and still this is not enough. All men are held in suspicion and all matters carefully controlled. Laws, statutes and records of cases daily grow more numerous. In addition inspectors² and overseers³ are appointed, as are governors, considering that in this way the prefects and district magistrates⁴ will be prevented from harming the people. What is not realised is that those holding office fearfully try to save themselves from error and consider obtaining a transfer as good fortune. As a consequence they are not willing to concern themselves for a single day with the welfare of the people. How can the people do otherwise than become poorer and the country become weaker?

If this course is pursued without change,⁵ although thousands of years may pass, I know it will lead to disorder and trouble⁶ which day to day will become more extreme. This being so then to venerate the status of the district magistrate, conferring on him authority over financial and administrative matters, to do away with the office of overseer, to set up the rewards of hereditary office and to permit the practice of local officials selecting their own subordinates, may be termed lodging the concepts of feudalism within the framework of the prefectural system. This may permit the deterioration of two thousand years to be reversed. If those rulers

who come after wish to improve the livelihood of the people and strengthen the nation's power they would do well to attend to my words.

2. What is suggested is that the position of chih-hsien (district magistrate) should be changed to one of the fifth rank and the name rectified to hsien-ling.⁷ To undertake such duties one must employ men from within an area of one thousand li who are well-versed in local customs. At first such officials may be termed probationary magistrates⁸ and if, over a three year period, they prove competent in the conduct of their duties their positions may be confirmed. After another three years of competent service they should be given the title of parent and, on completion of a further three years of satisfactory service, receive an imperial letter⁹ enquiring about their work. Another three years of satisfactory conduct of their duties should bring advancement in rank, augmentation of salary and appointment for life. Those who, through age or infirmity, must retire may put forward sons or younger brothers to act in their stead but, if this be not feasible, their recommendation of someone else should be considered. When the substitution has been effected the retired official should dwell in his district as a libationer¹⁰ and receive a lifelong emolument. The person recommended as a replacement should again become a probationary magistrate and, after three years of competent service, should be confirmed in his position according to the method outlined above.

Every three or four districts, or perhaps every five or six, should constitute a prefecture and a prefect should be established within the prefecture. After every three years the prefect should be replaced. There should be an imperial order despatching censors to tour the regions, and these censors should be replaced annually. The offices of the provincial officials¹¹ should all be abolished and an assistantship established below the magistrate with the Board of Civil Office responsible for his selection. When an assistant had held office for nine years or more he would be appointed magistrate. Below the magistrate's assistant are established the various subordinate positions: registrar,¹² commandant,¹³ erudite,¹⁴ postal officer,¹⁵ granary master,¹⁶ patroller¹⁷ and functionary¹⁸. Once these positions are established they should not be reduced in number. The selection of these officers should be made by the magistrate himself and the names announced to the Board of Civil Office. For the positions from registrar down the local people should be used.

Should a crime affecting the people be perpetrated by the magistrate there should be punishment by banishment for a small crime and by death for a grave crime. Those who conduct themselves competently in office should make their abode in the place of their appointment and their names be removed from the register of their native place. In this way,

throughout the empire, the district magistrates would not subsequently move and would not retire to their native place and thus would devote the balance of their lives to the place of their adoption and their descendants for generations would dwell there. Those who do not govern effectively should be banished from office while those whose avarice is such as to destroy the integrity of their office should be put to death. Those who remain in office might become leaders of their districts and those who go do so as men banished. Those who are rewarded might be rewarded by being made hereditary officials and those who are punished might be punished by decapitation or strangulation. How would men not thus be impelled to become upright officials?

3. What is it that may be termed the satisfactory execution of official duties? It may be said that if the lands are developed, if fields and uncultivated land are brought to order, if trees are made luxuriant, if drains and ditches are kept in good repair, if city walls and fortifications are made secure, if the granaries are full, if schools flourish, if robbery and theft are done away with, if weapons and utensils are kept in good repair then, most importantly, the people will be content with their lot and that is all.

Caring for people is like rearing the five domestic animals. If one man is allocated to the management of the horses and oxen and one man is responsible for the care of the hay and fodder, yet a servant is sent to oversee their activities and every minor decision is referred to the master, the horses and oxen will grow daily more lean. I do not regard this as right. Better select someone to manage the stables who is diligent and skilful, put him in charge of the horses and cattle, provide him with grazing land and charge him with producing regularly more therefrom than is required for his husbandry. If the animals grow plump reward him, while, if they do not, beat him. If this is done the master must surely be seen as another Wu Shih¹⁹ or Ch'iao Yao²⁰. Thus the calamities of the empire may be managed by a single groom so why should there be many? If, however, trust is not placed in the groom, and inspectors and overseers are employed, and even worse, if the overseers in turn are not trusted, then the eyes and ears of the master will be clogged with confusion. If the heart which loves the horses and oxen may commonly be unable to overcome the concern for the expense of grain and corn the domestic animals will, as a consequence, waste away. So, horses may grow fat under the care of a single groom and, likewise, the people may become content under the control of a single magistrate.

4. Someone said: "Without overseeing officials will the power of the magistrate not grow too great? If the magistrate's sons and younger brothers replace him is this not too great a

concentration of power? If he hails from within the area of one thousand li will he not be partial to his relatives and friends?" Now the reason why an official's concern for his relatives and friends will often disturb him is that they are far away. If they were all to dwell together within the confines of a single city then, although they may wish to trouble him, they would not have the means to do so. Since Han times those who have governed their own districts and prefectures have been numerous. The magistrates of Ch'ü-fu²¹ have seldom shown the failings of avarice and cruelty. It is not that the descendants of Confucius alone are worthy; it is the circumstances. Moreover if, on account of his sons and younger brothers, there were to be anxiety about (the extent) of his power how could a mean and petty district raise an army in rebellion? Above him (the magistrate) there is the prefect. Would he not be able to raise an army from neighbouring districts to suppress him? And, if the prefect himself wished to rebel, would the magistrates of the five or six districts be willing to put aside the possibility of transmitting their official positions to their descendants to follow the path of confusion? Can it not be seen that Yang of Po-chou,²² after eight hundred years of hereditary titles, was executed on account of rebellion? If it is claimed that without overseeing officials it is not possible to establish order, then how is it that the fourteen fu and four chou of the southern imperial domain were directly responsible to the Six Boards.²³ Moreover, in today's sub-prefectures²⁴ and districts, officials do not have prescribed obligations, as a result of which there are frequent calamities due to robbers and thieves and to the frontier tribes of the west and north.²⁵ When they come to one sub-prefecture, the sub-prefecture is overthrown, when they come to one district, the district is destroyed. Not to plan against this but to be anxious about magistrates assuming too great an authority bespeaks a singular ignorance of affairs.

5. The people of the empire all cherish their own families; all are partial to their own offspring. This is a constant feeling. What people feel for the emperor, or what they feel for the common people is certainly not equal to what they feel for themselves. Even before the Three Dynasties this was already so. The sages relied on and utilised this, using the self-interest of the people of the empire to bring to perfection the public concern of one man and so the empire was ruled. Thus, if it is brought about that the district magistrate acquires for his private use one hundred li of land, then the people of the district are all to him as descendants, the land of the district is all to him as his own cultivated land, the cities and suburbs of the district are all to him as that which lies within his own boundary walls, and the public granaries of the district are all to him as his own granaries and cellars. Being seen as his descendants he will, without doubt, love the people and not bring them harm; being seen as his own cultivated fields he will certainly tend them and not cast them aside; being seen as his boundary walls, granaries and cellars he will unquestionably keep them in good repair and not let them fall into ruin.

From the magistrate's point of view it is a question of self-interest but from the emperor's point of view it is that which he seeks to bring order to the empire, no more no less.

If one day there were to be an unexpected rebellion it would not be as severe as the changes wrought by men such as Liu Yüan, Shih Lo, Wang Hsien-chih and Huang Ch'ao²⁶ who moved without constraint, east and west, for thousands of li like entering uninhabited regions. There would be protection to the point of risking death without leaving the region and there would then be resistance based on alliances and close collaboration. This would not be concern for the emperor but concern for oneself. To act for oneself (in such circumstances) is, however, to act for the emperor therefore the self-interest within the empire is the public interest of the emperor. "If there is public concern then the people are happy: if he is trustworthy the people will rely on him."²⁷ In this way the order of the Three Dynasties may almost be achieved. How much more is the glory of Han and T'ang not beyond reach.

6. At the present time, among the hardships of the empire none is greater than poverty. If, however, my prescriptions were to be followed there would be, within five years, some measure of prosperity and, within ten years, great wealth. Let me speak of the matter with reference to horses. Within the empire the transmission of despatches backwards and forwards, the sending of registers from the sub-prefectures and districts to the capital, the presentation of facts to official bodies, the reception of visiting officials, the transfer of (official) documents and the use by the common people on official business will, in any one year, require something of the order of several millions of horses who will travel hundreds of millions of li. If this were to be reduced by sixty or seventy percent then the horses and mules of the north-western region would be more than sufficient.²⁸ Next let us consider the question of stationery. Every single item of business information must be sent to several offices with the prospect that reversals of decisions will necessitate further documents. Add to this notification of visitations, birthday greetings and congratulatory messages and the cost of paper and writing materials to the people in any one year will come to a vast sum. Now if this were to be reduced by seventy or eighty percent then the small bamboo strips from the south-east would be more than sufficient. As for the appropriate use of other things, these are too numerous to mention.

Further, if the magistrate is able to examine the ploughing and the gathering of crops and instruct in the cultivation of trees and the nurture of domestic animals, then what is obtained from the work in the fields, the harvest of fruit from plants, the breeding of the six types of domestic animal and the vigorous growth of timber must double in any five year period. On this basis the profits from the mountains and marshes will also be developed. On the topic

of conscription for service in the mines, from before the Yüan there was a fixed annual quota, yet at the start of the previous dynasty (i.e. the Yüan) the reason why they were closed and did not produce was that this might bring disorder. This may be compared to having a vault of gold. If it is open to all and sundry then the crowds of the market place will contend for it. If it is contained within a hall or house then only the master has access to it so those without are unable to contend. At the present time, if the mines are opened by the district magistrate, it is like issuing gold within the confines of a dwelling. The profits of the mountains and marshes are maximised and are not taken from the people. This may be considered a method of enriching the country.

7. In the decline of the law nothing is more extreme than the taking of provisions from the eastern sub-prefectures and giving them to the soldiers at the western borders or the sending of grain from the southern sub-prefectures to relieve the staging-stations in the northern areas. Nowadays, if all were to be returned to the district of origin, consideration being given to its thriving and more remote areas and a judgement being made as to its complexity or simplicity, then sufficient would be provided for each district's use with something constantly in reserve. Further, the amount reserved for the salaries of district officials should be made to exceed the regular amount and the surplus should be fixed as the amount to be sent subsequently to the capital. Before this (however) it is necessary to grade the quality of the land and so establish an equitable basis for taxation, by taking upper, middle and lower fields and grading them into three or five classes, then deputing the district magistrate to receive all the revenue therefrom. What is sent to the capital should be designated *kung* (tribute) or *fu* (tax). If there were to be exceptional costs and the fixed amount allocated within one district were to be exhausted and there still be insufficient resources then (the funds) could be augmented by the taxes from another district, this being termed *hsieh-ch'i* (helping with money). If this were so could not the emperor's wealth be considered to be a fixed amount. If such practices were to be adopted for a ten year period then certainly there would be no case where one district's revenue would be exhausted and still be insufficient for its needs.

8. How apt are Yeh Cheng-tse's²⁹ words when he says: "At the present time, within the empire, officials are not enfeoffed whereas minor functionaries are." In the decline of sub-prefectures and districts it is these minor functionaries who have wormed their way into a central position, with a father handing on his office to his son and elder brother to younger brother. Those (among them) who are particularly devious and cunning advance to become scribes in government offices and are thereby in a position to interfere with the authority of the sub-prefectures and districts. Those in high positions clearly know this to be detrimental to the

empire yet are unable to do away with it. If it were brought about that officials were all men within a one thousand li area (i.e. appointed within the broad region of their home), were well-versed in the affairs of the people and maintained their positions throughout their lives, then there would be distinction between superiors and inferiors, the will of the people would be established, regulations done away with and official business simplified. If the authority of officials were more than sufficient to control the minor functionaries then these latter would not be able to dominate their offices and act contrary to the laws. What men of former times termed 'nourishing a million tigers and wolves in the midst of the people' will thus, in a trice, be completely done away with. How could the joy in governing the empire exceed this?

9. In the system of selection of scholars, if it be by recommendation then, in general, the ancients' way of recommendation by the district or nomination by the village should be retained in use, whereas, if it be by examination, then, in general, the T'ang method of (the four assessments), appearance, speech, calligraphy and style of composition, should be utilised. Of those worthy and able scholars recommended by the districts, there should be one examination by the ministry every alternate year. Those ranked highest should become court gentlemen,³⁰ for which there should be no fixed quota. The court gentlemen of the highest rank should be able to go out and fill vacancies as magistrates. Those of the second rank should become aides (assistants) and should be found employment near their own prefectures, while those of the next rank should return to their native districts and join the ranks of registrars and military officials. In the setting up of schools, the magistrates and scholars of the districts should be permitted to make their own selections and those selected should be designated teachers and not officials and not have their names registered with the Ministry of Personnel. Further, at the capital, those of ducal or ministerial rank and above should imitate the Han practice of the Three Dukes³¹ summoning (people) to court and utilising (them) in an administrative capacity.

Those scholars of the empire who are of great virtue but do not wish to take office may become teachers of men while those who are erudite and capable and wish to make their way in the world may be recommended by their district magistrate or summoned by the Three Dukes. In this way the talents of such scholars will not be lost. It may be questioned whether, if (only) one person (is selected) in alternate years, the path to honour is too narrow. To transform the scholars of the empire so that they do not contend for honour is the greatness of kingly government. (Remember) Yen Yüan did not take office while Min Tzu resigned his position. Ch'i-tiao was not able while Tseng Hsi chose differently.³² What need is there of (striving for) honour?

Since the time of Yü and T'ang¹ there have inevitably been calamitous years so that the people were impelled by lack of grain to sell their children. Indeed such calamitous years with the selling of wives and children were, in the times of Yü and T'ang, unavoidable. On the other hand, years of abundance in which there was selling of wives and children never occurred even in the declining years of T'ang and Sung. Formerly, when I was in Shantung,² I heard that the people of Teng and Lai³ along the seacoast oftentimes said that the price of grain was low (so) those people dwelling in the mountains and secluded regions could not obtain (sufficient) silver to pay the tax collector. Now, coming to Kuan-chung (Shensi), (I see that) from the west of Hu as far as Ch'i-hsia⁴ the year (harvest) has been particularly abundant and grain particularly plentiful yet the people still follow one another in selling their wives and children. When the day of the tax levy comes then the people of the villages all come forth and there is said to be a human market. I asked the senior official (chang-li)⁵ who said that in one hsien those sold into the military encampments or who request the seal (i.e. to be exempt from tax) come close to one thousand people per year while no-one knows how many flee or commit suicide. Why is this?

It is because there is grain but no silver. That which is obtained is not that which must be paid; that which is sought is not that which is produced. Silver does not fall from the heavens. Miners⁶ have already ceased (their production), ocean-going vessels have already been recalled (from service) and, as a consequence, the amount of silver circulating amongst the people of the kingdom is, day-by-day, becoming diminished and dispersed. Particularly is this so in the mountains and secluded areas where the merchants never set foot. Although (the people) may be under compulsion by beating to seek it where can they obtain it? Thus grain becomes cheaper by the day and the people more impoverished. As the people become more impoverished by the day so the more they are weighed down by the burden of taxation. The flight to avoid debt increases year by year so those on the population register diminish year by year. If the situation continues unchanged who knows where it will end. Moreover whence did this silver arise? For the ancients what constituted wealth were legumes and grains and nothing more. For the conduct of trade there was no alternative to the use of money as a measure. Nevertheless, from the Three Dynasties to the T'ang, that which was taken from the people was grain and cloth; that is all. From the introduction of Yang Yen's two-tax law⁷ there was, for the first time, a change to the levying of money, but never of silver. In the *Han Chih* it states that in the Ch'in period there were two currencies but that silver, tin and such-like were used for

utensils and ornaments and not as currency.⁸ From the Liang period there was the first mention of the use of gold and silver as money in Chiao and Kuang.⁹

In the 2nd year of the Ching-yu reign period of Sung Jen Tsung (AD1035) there was, for the first time, an order to all the circuits that the year's taxes be paid in strings of cash (although) for Fukien, Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi this was changed to silver and for Chiang-tung to silk.¹⁰ The reason why (silver) was taken from Fukien, Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi was that mines and foundries were numerous and the ocean-going (trade) profitable. When it came to Chang Tsung of the Chin dynasty (ruled AD1190-1208) there was, for the first time, casting of silver (coinage). This was termed 'ch'eng-an pao-huo' and was used as money in public and private (dealings) alike. During the Cheng-ta reign period of Chin Ai Tsung (AD1224-1231) the ordinary people still used silver in market transactions and not the cast (coinage). When it comes to the present time all classes of people use it and have forgotten its origins (ie cast coinage). Nevertheless if the *Yüan Shih* is examined (it is apparent) that the amount of annual tax paid in silver was extremely low. Thus, the use of silver for the kingdom's taxes has a history of only two to three hundred years. Nowadays, when people speak of taxes, they will certainly say ch'ien-liang. Now ch'ien is copper cash and liang is grain; what need is there to speak of silver? Moreover, within this world, the amount of silver does not increase yet taxes increase many times and this, necessarily, is an amount that cannot be contributed.

Formerly, during the time of T'ang Mu Tsung (AD821-824), goods were cheap but money was expensive so the concept of the minister of the Finance Ministry, Yang Yü-ling¹¹ was adopted i.e. it was ordered that the various cash payments of the two-tax levy all be converted to cotton and various silk products for the convenience of the people.¹² Hsü Chih-kao of Wu followed the words of Sung Ch'i-ch'iu¹³ who considered that money was not what was obtained from agriculture and sericulture so that to cause the people to pay tax in money was to teach them to cast aside the root and follow the branch. As a consequence the various taxes were all collected as grain and silk. This, then, is what the ancients discussed with regard to what should be taken from the people and moreover, since money was difficult to obtain, for the people to seek money deflected their attention away from what is basic. How much more is this so in the matter of silver!

Former kings, in establishing taxes, certainly took what the land (each locality) could provide. Nowadays if, in the major metropolises and great cities, places where people are gathered for the conduct of commerce, although the taxes are altogether collected in silver, the people do not voice their distress. When it comes to distant, remote and secluded regions, places

inaccessible to boat or cart, if only three parts in ten were to be deemed collectable, still this could not be obtained. Distress the people with demands certainly unattainable and ultimately distress will be visited on the kingdom. Therefore why not estimate what is (most) appropriate for the land (territory), estimate the amount of tax (due for) the year, determine the mode of transport and establish some compromise between (these factors)? All the provinces and districts that do not engage in commerce should be ordered to pay entirely in what is naturally appropriate (for the region) and if this proves impossible they should be taxed in cash at a rate of three parts in ten. If money passes from those below to those above then (the treasury) will overflow with excess, but (among the people) money will become costly. Thus, one act has two benefits. In remitting taxes there will be no losses and there will be the reality of a living for the people. There will be no difficulty in the need to restrain (and the responsibility of overseeing) and gradually there will be payment of all that is owed. Of the plans of the present time none is more suitable than this.

To plant grains but collect taxes in silver is like rearing sheep when seeking horses. To rely on silver to enrich the nation is like depending on wine to appease hunger. If such foolishness prevails, and the evils of such a plan extend to the point of bringing about mutual exhaustion of the nation and its people, then (clearly) it is inferior to those policies emanating from the various officials in the final years of the T'ang and Sung periods.

4/SWC1/5 (p19)

On Taxation - II

Ah alas! From ancient times those who have held power in the land have taken (taxes) from the people - this is already well known. I have not, however, heard that there was discussion of a meltage fee. As for the use of the term meltage fee, did it not arise in the era of tax collection in silver? Is this not what is meant when it is said that the true tax is ten parts and the excess tax three parts? Is this not what is meant by saying that the kingdom was only half full yet corrupt officials enriched themselves? Is this not what the state rigorously guards against yet venal officials and knavish clerks preserve (defend) for generations considering it to be a treasure for their descendants? Is this not the basis for impoverishing the people, the cause of the exhaustion of wealth, the gateway to the beginning of banditry, something which the ordinary and timid people in office can see clearly but cannot remedy? The source of this wastage was through the taxes of the prefectures and districts being numerous and, being obtained from individual households, trifling amounts were received which, since they were fragmented and minute, could not possibly be sent up to the treasury officials leaving no alternative but to rely on melting them down. Once there was resort to melting then necessarily

wastage occurred although what was termed wastage amounted to no more than one or two percent.

There were some base persons who recognised that a levy over and above the official quota could not avoid becoming the subject of official criticism and to take away men's provisions could not be sufficient to satisfy their own avarice. Thereupon they availed themselves of the pretext of the meltage fee, making of this a subtle method of extortion. I do not know in what year this arose yet I do know this method was handed down, becoming more onerous from official to official and greater in amount from age to age, right up to the present time. Thus, if the officials take two or three parts over and above the (stipulated) ten, then the people pay thirteen for the ten required by the kingdom and, if such people as the sub-official functionaries (also) take one or two parts in excess of ten, then the people end up by paying fifteen for the kingdom's required ten.

In the collection only a small part is in the form of liang (taels) the greater part being as chu (1/24 of a tael). Whenever the amount of received levy is in the form of liang this will certainly be from those with large land holdings and influence who are in a position to resist these deficiencies and excesses whereas, when in the form of chu, this will be from the poor, lower-rating families, who, although much is taken from them, will not dare to speak. As a consequence, to the collection in liang is added two or three parts in ten whereas to the collection in chu is added five or six parts in ten. (These excesses then) are less in the regular tax levies and more in the miscellaneous tax levies. The regular levies are what the eyes and ears are directed to first whereas the miscellaneous levies are given secondary attention. Thus, to the regular taxes there may be added two or three parts in excess of ten whilst to the miscellaneous tax levy there may be added up to seven or eight parts in excess of the ten. When sent to the regional office this is termed a surplus; when submitted to the various regional revenue commissions it is termed a regular practice. It is demanded as something to which there is no alternative and it is preserved as a practice which cannot be broken, thus the difficulties of the people have never been greater than at this time.

I have dwelt for a long time in Shantung (and know that) among the people of that province there are none who do not ravel up their brows with care and complain of the oppressive nature of this meltage fee. Only in Te-chou¹ is this not so and when one seeks the reason it is said that the tax for this province is twenty-nine thousand (taels) of which two parts (are collected in) silver and eight parts in copper. To the copper no meltage fee is added so that the resources of the people are less constrained than in other districts. It is not that the

officials are all worthy men or the sub-official functionaries are all men of virtue, it is simply a consequence of circumstances. I have also heard that the village elders say that the avaricious officials of recent times are many times more numerous than in T'ang or Sung times. The reason for this is that copper is heavy and difficult to transport, whereas silver is light and easy to send. With something that is difficult to transport, even if little is taken, it is considered a lot whilst, conversely, with something easy to send, even if a lot is taken, it still seems little. It is not that the officials of the T'ang and Sung were particularly pure or those of the present time particularly venal. It is, again, a consequence of circumstances. This being so, the circulation of silver and the cessation of the use of copper represents riches to the officials and robbery to the people.

From the beginning of the Ming there was a prohibition that the people should not use gold and silver and those who opposed this would be sentenced as being traitorous villains. Why should the use of gold and silver be villainous. In fact such repeated prohibitions will more probably reflect an anticipation that the evils (associated with the use of these metals) would necessarily reach their present level. At that time what was used in the markets was, in all cases, the copper cash of T'ang and Sung times with the occasional casting of official coinage to help out if there were a shortage. Nowadays the old coinage is weakened and harmful metal flourishes; the way of trading is debilitated and false things are made. The nation's currency is seized by those above while below the resources of the people are exhausted. If men of the like of Lu Chih, Po Chü-i and Li Ao were alive today then their sighs and lamentations would certainly surpass those they uttered in the mid-T'ang period.²

Someone might ask: "You consider the meltage fee to be a cause of harm to the people. Should this be changed and taxes collected as grain would there be no artful devices to cunningly take additional grain from the people?" I would reply: "I have never seen a food provisioner leaving office nor a grain measurer resting at home who travelled bearing a load of rice." Certainly they bought silver before they travelled. If there were two carts travelling on the road the one in front with copper cash and the one behind with silver, then that towards which the great robber cast his glance was invariably the one behind. This being so, is it any wonder that nowadays not only are avaricious officials many times more numerous than in the T'ang and Sung periods but those who are called mounted highwaymen north of the Yellow River are also much more numerous?

What was the reason for the state's establishment of government students (licentiates)?

It was to gather together the young men of talent and ability in the empire and nurture their capacities in the schools. This would cause them to perfect their virtue and bring to light their capabilities. Thus also would they comprehend clearly the way of former kings and the affairs of the time, enabling them to go out and become ministers and great officers who could share the councils of, and rule in conjunction with, the emperor. Nowadays this is no longer so. If one adds up the government students within the empire, reckoning on three hundred for every district, (then the total) is not less than five hundred thousand and what they are taught is merely the writing of examination essays.

If, however, you were to seek someone with literary skills then, in several tens of people, you would not find such a person. With regard to someone who understood the classics and knew of ancient and modern (learning) and who could be used by the emperor, in several thousands of people you would not find one such person. As for those who are insincere and quarrelsome,² given to debt and corrupt and who bring harm to the officials, such people abound. Those above them, for these reasons, increasingly dislike them so in their treatment of them daily become more disrespectful, whilst agreements with them daily become more vexatious. Nevertheless the government students who are increasingly disliked, treated disrespectfully and considered to be troublesome and those of lower status, still day and night, rush headlong towards this as if compelled, ceasing only after they have exerted their utmost effort. Why is this so? It is because once they obtain the status (of government students) they may avoid the labour service of the common people and do not suffer the oppression of the village functionaries; they may be registered as officials and received with ceremony by senior officials. They may, moreover, avoid the disgrace of being beaten. Nowadays those who wish to be government students do not do so because they wish for meritorious achievement and fame; they wish for no more than to protect themselves and their families. If it is calculated that seventy percent of the government students are those who simply wish to protect themselves and their families, then there are almost three hundred and fifty thousand such people which is contrary to the original intention of establishing this category and certainly is of no benefit to the nation.

When it comes to men's emotions who is not concerned for himself and his family?

Therefore, among those who day and night seek (the designation government student), there are some who go as far as collusion and some who do not stop at transgressing the law.

Circumstances make it so. Of the present-day government students those who obtain their position through bribery (illicit means) number seven or eight out of ten and, further, there are groups such as the military students³ and the students of sacrifices,⁴ none of whom do otherwise than purchase their positions. Bribery and collusion are things which the court must eradicate, but concern for oneself and one's family is something even the former kings could not prohibit. Therefore, with the laws of the present day, even if Yao or Shun⁵ were to be born again and could banish from the court the four villains,⁶ still they would not be able to stop bribery throughout the empire. What then is to be done about it?

I would request that this system be done away with entirely and a new system instituted. Certainly there should be selection of those who have a clear understanding of the Five Classics who would then become (government students) and also there would be the study of the twenty-one dynastic histories and the affairs of the time, after which there would be promotion. There would still be preserved the division into two classes of hsiu-ts'ai and ming-ching and these could be supported in the schools but the number should not exceed twenty students and if there were insufficient then places should be left vacant. As for those who taught them, they would be selected by decorous inquiry in the sub-prefectures and districts, there being no order to the ministry to do this.⁷ If this were to be done then the country would have men of practical use, the cities would have scholars conversant with the classics and there would certainly be a flourishing of talent in comparison with the present time.

This being so, in every township⁸ there will certainly be ten families of ordinary capabilities who establish themselves and in every district⁹ there will be one hundred such families. If all do not attain the status of government student as a means of protecting their families but remain numbered among the common people and so suffer maltreatment and cruelty at the hands of the village functionaries¹⁰ and beatings from the government officials how can the intention of the king to protect the people be realised? There was the method for conferring noble rank employed in the Ch'in and Han periods. Initially this was a reward for military achievement but subsequently could be bestowed as an act of imperial favour for hard work and as a general or specific reward. There was a proclamation of Kao Ti's¹¹ in which he said: "The matter of noble rank is not something to be treated lightly so I order the officials to be well disposed to those of high rank as this will aid my intention."¹² By the time of Hui Ti¹³ the people were able to purchase noble rank. Now if it is brought about that the importance of noble rank makes it equivalent in terms of respect to an official position and it restores a family to a state of freedom from obligation to affairs then men will hasten to (take it up).

By initiating this alternative (method) it is possible to bring to an end the existing one, since if by bringing grain one receives noble rank in the giving of grain the name is still equitable and it is not comparable to the harm which attends the confusion brought to the schools by the purchase of government student status. Establishing merit and reputation and protecting self and family are two (different) paths; to gather together men of eminence and to treat with compassion the common people are two (different) methods. If these things are conducted in such a way as to remain separate, conflict will be avoided whereas attempts at finding a common path will prove unsatisfactory. Moreover if the emperor essays to rule in collaboration with these five hundred thousand men who lack an understanding of ancient and modern (learning) and, further, if three hundred and fifty thousand of these are concerned merely to protect themselves and their families while avoiding corporal punishment then to desire to seek great officers of high calibre from their midst as a means of establishing the kingdom and ruling the people is like "climbing a tree to seek fish".¹⁴ In government it is certainly to court disaster whilst in military matters it is a prescription for defeat.

4/SWC1/6 (p 22)

Government Students (Sheng-yüan) - II

If, in the empire, the government students were done away with the administration of the government would be pure. If, throughout the empire, the government students were done away with the burden on the common people would be relieved. If, within the empire, the government students were done away with the practice of (factionalisation) would be eradicated. If (finally), in the empire, the government students were done away with then talent of use to the world would emerge. Nowadays those who, by their comings and goings to government offices, disturb the conduct of the administration are these government students; it is they who, presuming on their authority, press arbitrary decisions on the country villages. If there is a connection with sub-official functionaries,¹ particularly if they themselves become sub-official functionaries, then they are government students. It is they who, if the administration opposes them in their intentions, rise up as a clamorous crowd. It is they who have an undue influence on the clandestine affairs of the administration and make trade with its officers. Those in front make a disturbance and those after follow; those in front hasten forward while those behind follow their footsteps. Those men who are above them (in authority over them) wish to bring them to order but cannot do so; they wish to weed them out but cannot do so. Should there be one small offence then they say this is the 'slaughter of scholars' or the 'incarceration of Confucians'.² For the past one hundred years this has been a major problem and even those one or two scholars who grasp the principles of government and are able to speak, themselves emerge from the ranks of the government students and (therefore) do not dare to make

manifest in words the evil practices thereof. As a consequence it is not possible, at a single stroke, to do away with these evils comprehensively. It is for this reason that I say that to do away throughout the empire with the government students is to make the conduct of the administration pure.

Within the empire there are three groups who bring distress to the people. The first is the village gentry (retired officials); the second are the government students and the third the sub-official functionaries. These three groups by law are all restored to their own households and are not designated to undertake miscellaneous labour services, which services, as a consequence, devolve entirely onto the common people. Nowadays large districts, with upwards of one hundred thousand government students, are everywhere. Let us suppose, for example, that one district has one thousand ch'ing of land, of which the government students hold fifty thousand ch'ing. The people then, with only fifty thousand ch'ing of land are responsible for the labour services commensurate with one hundred thousand ch'ing. Likewise, if the county has a hundred thousand ch'ing of which the government students hold ninety thousand then the people, with only ten thousand ch'ing of land, are responsible for labour services commensurate with one hundred thousand ch'ing. As the land held by the ordinary people becomes increasingly less so the practice of falsely claiming poverty as a means of tax avoidance³ becomes increasingly great. As this practice becomes increasingly great so the land held by the ordinary people is increasingly less and the government students become increasingly important. The rich indulge in nefarious practices to become government students while the poor, one after the other, flee or die. Therefore, the government students, in respect of the people of their district,⁴ bring not the slightest speck of benefit, rather they prove a mountainous burden. Nevertheless the financial responsibility for the conduct of the examinations falls entirely on the common people so that one might say those who, above all, bring distress to the people are the government students. I would claim, therefore, that if throughout the empire the government students were done away with the burden on the common people would be (immeasurably) lightened.

Among the calamities of the empire none is greater than the gathering from the five directions of people unacquainted with each other and teaching them to form cliques. Of the government students within the empire those near may be still be separated by several hundreds or thousands of li while those distant may be separated by ten thousand li. There may be differences in language and their names and surnames may be unfamiliar but, as soon as they have entered the ranks of graduates, they have an examining officer whom they call examination mentor and they have an associate examination officer who they call deputy mentor. As

graduates of the same year they are called t'ung-nien while the sons of one's t'ung-nien are spoken of as nien-chih (year nephews). Sons of the examination mentor and the deputy mentor are called shih-hsiung. The examination mentor and deputy mentor will refer to a protege as a disciple while those who are selected by the disciples are spoken of as men-sun. The disciples speak of their master's master as the grand master.⁵ The associations are firm and enduring and their bonds cannot be broken. They write documents and exchange them on the road; they request favouritism from officials. If, occurring in a small way, this is sufficient to bring corruption to the administration and harm to the people, on a larger scale it may go as far as to favour the establishment of cliques and subversive struggles, taking the handle of the ruler's t'ai-ho⁶ and turning it upside down. All such matters stem from one cause. Therefore I say that if the government students of the empire are done away with so also will the practices of factionalisation be abolished.

The reason for the kingdom's selection of government students and their examination in the interpretation of the classics, in essays, in memorials, in policies and in judgements was the desire for them to have a clear comprehension of the purport of the Six Classics as well as an understanding of the affairs of the time. Nowadays, students avail themselves of the interpretations printed by book-sellers, calling them shih-wen,⁷ while they set aside the classic writings of the sages and read neither the commentaries of former Confucians nor the histories of former dynasties, reading only these shih-wen. Moreover the shih-wen appear with small changes at each examination (so that) young boys of five feet who are able to recite from memory several tens of such essays can, by making slight alterations in the text, achieve a rank whereas those who are more obtuse may reach old age without meeting success. Scholars of standing and experience may use up the months and years expending themselves in the examination rooms while those who obtain success at an early age are inclined to view lightly the affairs of the kingdom considering that what constitutes merit throughout one's life is this and no more.

As a consequence, men of talent in the empire are subject to corruption so it comes to a situation where scholars are no longer true scholars, officials no longer true officials, soldiers not true soldiers, nor generals true generals. Subsequently, insurgents and villains are able to gain advantage while enemy countries and foreign aggression have opportunities to prevail. If the application to the shih-wen were to be directed instead to the classics and dynastic histories as well as current affairs then, necessarily, there would arise among scholars those of intelligence and courage conversant with the principles of administration. Therefore I reiterate, if the

government students of the empire were to be done away with then talented men of use to society would emerge.

4/SWC1/6 (p24)

Government Students - III

One might ask if government students of the empire were to be done away with how might scholars be selected? I would reply that when I speak of doing away with the government students I do not mean doing away with the whole concept of government students but only of government students as presently conceived. I would ask that there be use of the method of special imperial appointment¹ over and above the preservation of the system of government and Confucian scholars. Thus, the people of the empire would not need to ask whether someone were a government student or not but promotion to the court would be open to all (scholars) and the range of those who might be received would thereby be broadened. Moreover, those scholars drawing a government stipend would be limited in number and, in general, there would be imitation of the Tang system of ranking relating to prefectures and districts. A small prefecture would be graded as having a quota of ten men and so on up to a large prefecture with a quota of forty men and that would be the limit. A small district would have a quota of three men and so on up to a large district with a quota of twenty men and that would be the limit. There should be an estimate (in relation to the prefectures and districts) of whether the householders are few or numerous and whether the men of talent are of high calibre or not. Then, accordingly, they should be ranked. If there are vacancies let them be filled and let there be an end to the two methods of *sui-kung* and *chü-jen*.²

Of those men who are scholars, selection should be made of the accomplished and outstanding, all of whom would undergo examination at the Board of Rites. Those who become presented scholars would merely be given the responsibilities of recorder or district defender,³ officers in close relation to the people, causing them not to advance rapidly as a means of restraining their covetous and over-hasty ambitions. In establishing teachers there certainly should be engagement of worthy men of the district as their masters and they should not be added to the rolls of government employees. There should be an end to the office of education intendent⁴ with the duties attached to such an office being ordered to be undertaken by the provincial administrative commissioner.⁵ Among all these scholars there will be those presented and recommended who enter official service and those who, by examination, become presented scholars. There will also be some who, through lack of compliance, end up being reprimanded and dismissed, some who unfortunately die and some who through infirmity or illness are unable to pursue their career but wish to retain the scholar's garb to old age. When the number of

vacancies reaches two or three then those categorised as Confucian apprentices⁶ should be gathered together and selection made of those who understand the classics and are able to write well to fill these vacancies.

If this course is followed then those of the empire who are government students will become fewer and, in being so, will be more esteemed. This will, in turn, engender greater self-esteem (among the government students). Moreover, those who are their teachers will not be wearied of teaching and what was formerly referred to as the gathering of scholars into factions who conducted themselves outrageously in the country will, without being (officially) prohibited, come spontaneously to an end. If scholars "renew the old and learn the new"⁷ and if, in their middle years, they are to be examined and compared that they might seek to bring their talents to completion then it is appropriate to deliberate on ancient and modern methods (to bring this about). These are matters that have not been sufficiently discussed (here).

Someone might say: "Men of talent in the empire arise daily and are inexhaustible, so if they are all obstructed on the first rung of scholarship what will then happen?" I would firmly claim that if the men of the empire do not question whether they are government students or not but are all simply recommended and presented to the court then the method of selection would not oblige all scholars to follow one path and one path alone. If the scholars selected to assist the ruler in the management of the kingdom can come only through one channel then there must inevitably be evil practices.

4/SWC 2/9 (p32)

Preface to the *I Li Cheng-chu Chü-tou*¹

The *Li Chi* says: "All complete is its greatness! It embraces the three hundred rules of ceremony and the three thousand rules of demeanour."² Li, based as it is on the sense of propriety in the hearts of men, may be considered to be a tool for the regulation of the self and others. In this way Confucius, himself a sage, still enquired of Lao Tan about li and spoke of it in the questions and answers with his disciples although there was no aspect of the works (on li), however small, with which he was not conversant. In speaking with his son, Po-yü, he said: "If you do not learn about li your character cannot be established."³ The *Hsiang-tang* is entirely concerned with the effects of making movement and appearance as well as the interchange with others accord with li.⁴ Hence, in considering that whereby the Duke of Chou effected his rule and Confucius his teaching, if li were to be put aside what could be used? Duke K'ang of Liu had these words to say: "(I have heard) that men receive at birth the exact and correct principle of heaven and earth and this is what is called their appointed nature. For this reason there are

the rules of action, propriety, righteousness and demeanour to establish this nature."⁵ Of the li of the Three Dynasties that which was preserved for later generations and was without flaws was only the one classic - the *I Li*. Cheng K'ang-ch'eng of the Han period prepared a commentary on it and of scholars from Wei and Chin down through T'ang and Sung who would understand this classic, there was none who did not investigate (this commentary).⁶ From the Hsi-ning reign period (AD1068-1077), Wang An-shih brought change and confusion to the ancient regulations first setting aside the *I Li* and not establishing it in the official curriculum. From this the classic was subsequently done away with representing the first of the evils, done by the new laws to the classics.⁷

After the southern crossing the two Lus arose in Chin-ch'i⁸ and their theories gave pre-eminence to the moral nature. Scholars found advantage in the simplicity and ease (of their teachings) and flocked to them in droves. The determinate measures and their embellishments⁹ were altogether despised as being inconsequential (non-essential). Fortunately there were the upright words and forceful discussion of Chu Hsi as well as his desire to revise the three ancient works on li (*Chou Li, I Li and Li Chi*). Finally, however, he was not able to overcome these studies of emptiness and subtle awakening this representing the second of the evils, that of the new theories, in relation to the classics. Continuing right up to the present there are those who sit on the Master's mat, styling themselves teachers and, with followers numbering several hundred, compare themselves to Lien and Lo¹⁰ although throughout their whole lives they never read a single chapter of this classic (ie the *I Li*). The books of the empire all come from what is promulgated by the Directorate of Education and these are taken to be the definitive editions yet in these classics the textual errors are very numerous even to the point of lost sections and sentences. Had it not been that they were still preserved in the T'ang stone editions in Kuan-chung (Shensi) then later Confucians would not have had any means to attain them.

Chang Erh-ch'i (Chi-jo) from Chi-yang¹¹ was a diligent scholar who loved learning but did not participate in the official examinations. He made a record of Mr Cheng's notes on the *I Li*¹² and selected from the theories of Chia, Ch'en and Wu¹³ judging them to some degree in the light of his own views. This work he titled *I-li Cheng-chu chü-tou*. He also examined the omissions and errors in the official editions totalling in all more than two hundred characters as well as studying the errors in the Stone Classics¹⁴ to the number of fifty or so characters. Thereupon he wrote the *cheng-wu* in two chapters which he appended to (the larger work). This was stored in the family school for, as the time was one of much confusion, he was not able to have it published.¹⁵

If the gentlemen of later times used the linguistic method to discriminate the writing and then used the writing to grasp the meaning and, in turn, the meaning to comprehend the origin of its creation then this is what the Master meant by saying that with one who receives the way of Heaven and regulated the feelings of men one may pursue the splendour of the Three Dynasties and the sighs of Hsin-yu would not emanate from I-ch'uan.¹⁶ As for ones who are like Chi-jo how could they be otherwise than the forerunners of a great peace for later generations? If, according to the Stone Classics, there was the printing of official editions which were again established in the official curriculum for scholars to study and if there were, for the moment, encouragement through official rewards the transmission of this work would not be lost. This also is the emperor's responsibility.

4/SWC3/1 (p40) A Letter Discussing Scholarship with a Friend

Recently I came from Nan-pei and was rather indebted to my friends who held in esteem one only a day or so older than themselves¹ and asked the way of a blind man. I have sighed with regret that those who would be scholars, over the past hundred years or more, have frequently spoken of mind (hsin) and nature (hsing) yet have completely failed to obtain an understanding (of these terms). The decree of heaven and benevolence are what the Master seldom spoke of.² Nature and the way of Heaven (are subjects) of which Tzu Kung never heard.³ The principles of nature (hsing) and the decree of Heaven (ming) are set out in the commentaries to the *Changes* (so he did not) frequently tell people (about these). In his replies to questioning students he said: "In one's conduct there should be a sense of shame"⁴ and with regard to scholarship "love what is ancient and diligently seek it".⁵ In his discussions with his disciples the theory of 'insecure, obscure and discriminating'⁶ that had been handed down by Yao and Shun he had altogether not spoken of. Nevertheless he still said: "Sincerely hold fast to the Mean. If, within the four seas, there be distress and want, the heavenly revenue will come to a perpetual end."⁷ Ah alas! The reason why the Sage is learned - how plain it is and easy to follow!

Thus (the Master) said: "My studies lie low and my penetration rises high."⁸ Yen Tzu (Yen Yüan) was almost a sage yet he could say: "He enlarged my mind with learning."⁹ In his informing Duke Ai (with regard to) the merit of understanding what is good he put first broad learning.¹⁰ From Tseng Tzu onward, in the matter of sincerity, there was no-one like Tzu Hsia who, in speaking of benevolence, said: "One who studies extensively and has a firm and sincere aim; one who enquires with earnestness and reflects with self-application."¹¹ The gentlemen of the present day are not like this. They group retainers and disciples as scholars, several tens

or hundreds of men, so then "disciples may be compared to plants and trees - they have to be separately treated according to their kinds."¹² Nevertheless they speak with them entirely of mind and nature. They set aside 'to learn much and commit to memory' and to seek the method of 'one thread'.¹³ They set aside discussion of the distress and want within the four seas and all the time (the whole day) expound the theory of the oneness of 'insecure, obscure and discriminating', considering that their way certainly was higher than the Master's and their disciples more worthy than Tzu Hsia,¹⁴ and moreover that they surpassed the man of eastern Lu (Confucius) and were as a direct continuation of the transmission of the mind of the two emperors (Yao and Shun). I do not dare to know of this. Mencius, in his work, speaks of mind and nature repeatedly. The questions asked by Wan Chang, Kung-sun Ch'ou, Ch'en, Tai, Ch'en Chen, Chou Hsiao and P'eng Keng¹⁵ and Mencius' answers always concerned (lay within) going out and staying at home, going forth and returning, rejecting and accepting, taking and giving. Because I Yin was a great sage he caused his prince's and his people's great virtue and merit to be like Yao's and Shun's, the basis of this being in 'not looking at a thousand teams of horses' and 'not taking a single straw'.¹⁶ Po I¹⁷ and I Yin were not like Confucius but that in which they were alike was that "... none of them, in order to obtain the empire, would have committed one act not righteous or put to death one innocent person."¹⁸ For this reason nature, the decree of heaven and heaven (itself) were what the Master seldom spoke about, yet are what gentlemen of the present day constantly speak about. The discrimination between going forth and staying at home, returning from and taking up office, rejecting and accepting, taking and giving are what Confucius and Mencius constantly spoke about and what gentlemen of the present time seldom speak about. To speak of loyalty and purity not extending to benevolence yet not to know that to be able to speak of benevolence without loyalty and purity is not possible;¹⁹ to speak of not hating and not coveting as being not sufficient to exhaust the Way yet not to know that to be able to speak of the Way throughout a life of dislike and coveting is not possible (cannot be done).²⁰ I do not dare to presume knowledge of this.

What is it that I speak of as the way of the Sage? I mean 'widely study in literature'; I mean 'to have shame in one's actions'. From the individual life right up to the empire and the kingdom are all matters (concerns) of scholarship. From son, subject, younger brother and friend right up to going out and entering, coming and going, rejecting and accepting and taking and giving, are all matters in which there may be (a sense of) shame. Shame, in relation to man, is a very great matter. This is not 'to be ashamed of bad clothing and bad food'²¹ but 'to be ashamed of the ordinary man and woman not enjoying the benefits.'²² Therefore it is said: "All things are already complete in us. (There is no greater delight than) to be conscious of sincerity on self examination."²³ Ah alas! Scholars who do not first speak of shame are men without a

basis. Unless one loves the ancients and hears much one acquires empty learning. With a man without a basis to expound empty learning I see as daily to become more remote from the matters of the Sage. Although this is something of which I do not dare speak, nevertheless, with my opinion I would like to stir the thoughts of all like minded scholars.

4/SWC3/2 (p41)

Discussing the *Changes* with a Friend

I received the four essays which you sent; the (Yellow River) Map and the (Lo River) Writing,¹ the Figures and Numbers,² the Prognostications,³ and the Changes of the Diagrams,⁴ and was appreciative thereof. Formerly, I read Liu Hsin's *I t'ai-chang po-shih shu*⁵ in which it is said: "Support the weak, maintain the minute and unite together the great and small meaning" and examined this contemporary's "Protect the injured, guard the defective, like peals of thunder following one after another" considering these the Teacher's theories and never failing to return frequently to his words. Formerly, Han scholars of the Five Classics each taught by means of their own particular school. For the *Changes* there was Shih, Meng, Liang-ch'iu and Ching⁶; for the *History* there was Ou-yang and the great and small Hsia Hou⁷; for the *Odes* there was Ch'i, Lu, Han and Mao⁸; for the *Li Chi* the greater and lesser Tai⁹; for the *Spring and Autumn Annals* there was Yen and Yen.¹⁰ Thus studies were not simply limited to one school.

From the Chin and Sung periods onward, there were still scholars of wide learning who were able to gain a thorough understanding (of the various schools). By the time of the T'ang period official schools for the Nine Classics were established. K'ung Ying-ta¹¹ and Chia Kung-Yen¹² created the orthodox interpretation and this is what has been taken as the commentary up to the present. To reject the common opinion and to repeat the theories of one expert constitutes a very narrow path of interpretation of the classics. Then there were the examination regulations for the 3rd and 17th years of the Hung-wu reign period (AD1370 & AD1384) in which particular importance was accorded to Ch'eng¹³ and Chu¹⁴ for the *Changes*, Ts'ai Shih¹⁵ for the *History* and the collected teachings of Chu Tzu¹⁶ for the *Odes*, all of whom used ancient commentaries. For the *Spring and Autumn Annals* particular importance was accorded to the teachings of Tso Shih, Kung-yang, Ku-liang,¹⁷ Hu Shih¹⁸ and Chang Hsia¹⁹ and for the *Li Chi* particular attention was accorded to the ancient commentaries so there was not a limitation to one school. When it came to the middle of the Yung-lo reign period (AD1403-1424) there was compilation of the *Ta ch'üan*,²⁰ basing its interpretation on the teachings of the Ch'eng brothers,²¹ and setting aside Chang's teaching on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the ancient commentaries on the Four Books. The slight differences between the writings of the small commentaries of the men of former times and the large commentaries were not recorded

and there was the desire for learning to return to an unified interpretation and to cause scholars and students to be instructed by nothing apart from the *Ta ch'üan* so that the path of understanding of the Classics became increasingly narrow. As for the commentaries published during the Wan-li period (AD 1573-1619), although they were issued for use throughout the empire they were kept by the teaching officials and there were no statutes drawn up to encourage people to learn these by heart through repetition. Indeed, let me ask you, in the last hundred years how many people would there be who were able to comprehend the commentaries on the Thirteen Classics? With the study of one school and the limited writings which are commonly possessed by all men still they find it difficult to study. Moreover (the writings) must be sought in the literary collections of the Confucians or the storehouses of books, is this not so? Nevertheless, the Way of the Sage was not brought to a halt thereby. Therefore it is said: "The benevolent see it and call it benevolence, the wise see it and call it wisdom."²² Those who formerly theorised about the *Changes* numbered several thousand or at least several hundred schools while what I, with my limited scholarship, have seen and written about, in the works of schools of the T'ang and Sung periods would amount to ten or so, not including the works of the Ming period. Nevertheless, I have never seen any work which surpasses that transmitted by Ch'eng.²³

Now, for instance, the *Changes* is a work at once profound and entirely perfect. Within one line of a diagram there is contained the greatness of the empire, ancient and modern, so how can the commentaries and explanations hope to be comprehensive? In accordance with your composition this diagram representing the son of heaven, this diagram the feudal lords, this diagram the ministers and this diagram the teachers is based on Ts'ui Ching's²⁴ theory outlined in his explanation of the *Great Treatise*, that the 2nd and 4th and the 3rd and 5th correspond in their function but differ in their position. Nonetheless, this is especially recognised by you and is a reality which all men may utilise. Therefore it is said: "That in which the princely man dwells and finds peace in is the *Preface to the Changes* and that in which he finds pleasure and amusement is the *Explanation of the Diagrams*."²⁵ Therefore, in the Master's transmission of the *Changes*, in 'dragon appearing in the field'²⁶ there is a foundation for the achievement of broadly-based benevolence through scholarship while in 'a crane calling in the shade'²⁷ his intention is that, by means of word and deed, the moving spirit is made manifest. This is what the *Explanation of the Diagrams* has not penetrated to yet the Master speaks of. This being so the 'principle' of the world truly never had that which lay outside this. 'The plain ground of colours' has the meaning that ceremonies follow it.²⁸ 'The high hill and the great road'²⁹ represents the nature of one who loves benevolence. 'The aunt' and 'the elder sister' indicates the order of veneration of the *Changes*.³⁰ The Master's comments (theories) on the *Odes* are

like his transmission of the *Changes*. In the explanations of the *Changes* of later men certainly it was appropriate that individuals dealt with individual points following the precedent of (earlier) commentators so that the idea that a scholar might raise one corner and from it the other three could be recognised³¹ was possible. Moreover, when it is discussed in terms of the diagram 'nine in the 4th place, wavering flight'³² then Shun and Yü's taking employment,³³ I Yin's five revolutions,³⁴ the Duke of Chou's acting as regent³⁵ and Confucius' enquiring in succession all may be considered to exemplify the principle. And T'ang and Wu, particularly with its unified meaning, were not able to join the diagrams of the 4th and 5th for pi³⁶ and make it the matter of one time and say to have 'flying dragons in the heaven'³⁷ prince and certainly not 'T'ang and Wu's political revolution'³⁸ officials.

In the future the desire to broaden it only succeeded in making it more narrow, a shortcoming from the time of chü-yeh³⁹ onward. For this reason all the writings within the empire may be seen as commentaries on the *Changes* while all the commentaries on the *Changes* are not able to exhaust its meaning. This is the reason why the sages established the diagrams, to exhaust their meaning yet the Master wrote the *Ta hsiang*⁴⁰ there being much beyond the words of the lines and diagrams. Apart from these, also, he raised other meanings as a way of showing scholars, causing them to see and comprehend. This was the concept of raising one corner.

The changes in the world are limitless. That which initiates and manages the people of the world is also without limit. Yet, if it were only a matter of explaining the meaning of the phrases, how do the leather-bindings wait on such a talented scholar.⁴¹ The Master's frequent themes of discourse were the *Odes*, the *History* and writings on the maintenance of the rules of propriety⁴² so there is not one which is not included in the *Changes*. Later, when it came to events recorded for the two hundred and forty two year period encompassed by the *Spring and Autumn Annals*,⁴³ as well as Ch'in, Han and later historical writings, in the traces of what was preserved or perished through a hundred generations, is there one change which is not included in the *Changes*? Therefore it is said: "The *Changes* contains the fourfold way of the sages. In speaking we should be guided by its judgements. In action we should be guided by its changes. In making objects we should be guided by its images. In seeking an oracle we should be guided by its pronouncements."⁴⁴

I, previously, in my encouraging of men to study the *Changes*, suggested that this be preceded by a study of the *Odes* and the *History* and by attention to the *Li Chi* with the *Changes* being used to preserve what is central. This being so then, subsequently, there may be an

examination of its diagrams and contemplation of its judgements. Then the Way will not be vacuous action and the path of the Sage may be followed. I wonder if you consider this to be so or not?

4/SWC 3/15 (p58)

A Letter to Yen-ho Sheng¹

Before the Wan-li period (AD1573-1619) the eight-legged essays which could be transmitted (handed down) to (subsequent) generations did not exceed two to three hundred. Within these there was not one character which did not come from another source. By chance, in one paragraph of the explanation of Wu Hua's *Way of Serving an Emperor*, in the text are the two characters chien (𢇛) and ngo or o (訶). In the *Ch'u Tzu, Li Sao* (there are the lines): "How will I know that loyalty brings disaster; Yet I will endure; I cannot give it up."² This is where the character chien comes from. In the *Shih Chi, Shang chün ch'uan* (there are the lines): "The agreement of a thousand people is not like the honest criticism of a single scholar. King Wu, through his honest criticism prospered, whereas Yin and Chou, through silence, were lost (perished)."³ Lu Chi, in his *Pien-wang lun* (wrote): "The counsellor-in-chief to the left, Lu K'ai, through his blunt speaking, gave admonition."⁴ Han Wen-kung, in his *Yen-cheng lien-chü*, (wrote): "Nine (many) times demoted and banished (yet) still speaking bluntly."⁵ Thus the ancients already used it. Now I want you to gather together your good students, to the number of ten or so and entrust to them the task of giving me notes and commentaries on the writings of former worthies, ten or twenty pien, to show (the work) of scholars of the northern regions. Put aside matters arising out of non-annotated sections of the Four Books and one by one make notes on the Five Classics, the works of the philosophers and the dynastic histories, in the way Li Shan made notes on the *Wen Hsüan*.⁶ This would be entirely suitable. Thus would it be possible to rectify the faults related to the baseless fabrications associated with the examinations of the present day.

4/SWC3/16 (p59)

A Letter to Shih Yü-shan¹

Your letter of the nineteenth day of the tenth month was delayed in Wei-nan² and it was not until the eighth day of the second month that I received and read it. The friendship of more than twenty years is like yesterday. Honest simplicity and deep, profound friendship cannot be sought in the official life of today. I hope you are safe and well. Your uncle is an old gentleman now, more than seventy years old; health, peace and a love of virtue being gathered together in one household affords the highest pleasure of a man's life. That which Mencius said was: "To be a ruler of a kingdom is not one of them (i.e. the three things that delight the

princely man).³ If I were to place myself amid the academies and institutions I would lose the renown of a great recluse. I fear my mind would return to the fields and gardens and I would not avoid the regrets of the Hsiao-ming.⁴ Still I know that half a year in the capital (would mean that) dust and dirt would stain the white garments yet certainly this is what heaven would use to realise worthiness and understanding and increase virtue and intelligence.

When it comes to the transmission of li-hsüeh naturally this is a tradition within your family. Nevertheless, I still consider the term li-hsüeh to be something that had its origins with the men of Sung.⁵ What the ancients called li-hsüeh was ching-hsüeh and could not be understood without several tens of years (of study). Thus it is said that, with regard to the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, the princely man can take a whole lifetime to understand it. What is called li-hsüeh nowadays is chan-hsüeh (Buddhism). The Five Classics are not taken, only the *Yü-lu* and these, in comparison with the writings of the t'ieh-kua,⁶ are particularly easy. It is also said that the *Lun Yü* is the *Yü-lu* of the Sage. To do away with the discourses of the Sage and devote oneself to (the works of) later Confucians may be called not knowing the basis. Do you consider this to be so?

Recently I have been attending to some editing work and have not been writing poetry or essays so, although I received your excellent writings, I have not been able to reply. More over the merit of the *Yin-hsüeh wu-shu* lies in the notes it provides to the *Mao Shih* and *Chou I*; nowadays one can only consider the writings of poets to be, if not useless, then at best trivial. Although the revision is not complete I wrote a letter to Li-chen. I shall send the first printing of *Shih-ching* and *Kuang-yün*⁷ as a gift if there happens to be someone to take it. Still, within the *Shih-ching* there are several pages requiring correction so, in the first month, I shall send it, there being a slight delay in its completion. I could also give you the *I-yin* although the other three works, the *Yin-lun*, *T'ang yün-cheng* and *Ku-yin piao*⁸ still require a year for their completion. To exchange letters through Li-chen would be convenient. I shall take out a copy of the *Pei-yu shih*⁹ from an old box and (also) enclose it. I have already moved my abode to Hua-shan so any future correspondence should be sent to the Hua-yin pao-fang.¹⁰ Your manuscript has been received and for this I thank you. How are your son's studies progressing? That is all for now.

1. If a man, on being a scholar, does not make progress each day then he slips back. If he studies alone, without a companion, then he is ignorant and ill-informed¹ and it is difficult for

him to achieve anything. If he dwells for a long time in the one place then he may fall into bad habits without realising this. If he is unfortunate enough to live in a remote region without the use of horse or cart, still he must study widely and question carefully² making use of the teachings of the ancients to seek wherein truth and falsehood lie. (In this way) he may attain success to the extent of almost five or six parts out of ten. If he does not venture abroad and does not study books then he is a man of narrow view³ and, although he may be the equal of Tzu Kao or Yüan Hsien⁴ in worthiness yet finally he brings no benefit to the empire. The Master said: "Certainly in a hamlet of ten families there may be found one as loyal and sincere as I am, but not one with the same diligence in learning (love of learning)."⁵ If a sage such as Confucius must still be diligent in learning how can men of the present time not put forth effort in this way?

2. Of that which the Sage sees and hears there is nothing which is not in the *I (Ching)*. If it is said that one sweeps aside what one sees and hears and devotes one's attention entirely to the *I Ching* this is to put the classic beyond what is seen and heard. The sixty-four diagrams and the three hundred and eighty-four lines are all used to inform men's actions; what is called 'consider and afterwards speak, deliberate and afterwards act.'⁶ As for 'letting body and limbs drop away, casting out mind and intellect'⁷ these are the theories of Chuang Chou and Lieh Yu-k'ou⁸ and have nothing to do with the *Changes*.

3. Confucius, in expunging and elaborating (correcting and annotating) the Six Classics, may be likened in spirit to I Yin and T'ai Kung in saving the people from fire and flood.⁹ The scholars of the present time who write commentaries on insects and fishes and give names to trees and plants (textual research) are not worthy to be spoken of in these terms. Therefore it is said: "The recording of empty words is not comparable to making manifest the springs of action."¹⁰ The writing of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* is a matter of words and that is all, yet it may be spoken of as being to do with actions. It is a work later generations used in the governing of people which makes any wish to speak of it as empty words quite inappropriate. Although I am foolish, still I can perceive this. Therefore, whatever writing is not related in purport to the Six Classics and does not serve the current age I have completely given up. Also, in making clear the way and bringing salvation to the people, it is the common failings of the time not those of one person that I do not dare avoid writing about.

4. The *Odes*, with its three hundred verses, is the catalogue of the rhymes of the ancients. The classic and its rhymes are, in essence, one (i.e. content and rhyme are not two separate matters). The fault of later scholars has been to take the rhyme as a basis for discussing the

classic and, where they could not penetrate the meaning, changing the text to conform to the rhyme. The Way is like a broad highway so why must use be made of these many by-ways? Hsin-wen's¹¹ four tones and Shen Kung's¹² fan-ch'ieh were things the Three Dynasties¹³ did not have. Yen Shih-ku¹⁴ and Chang-huai T'ai-tzu¹⁵ were the first to put forward the concept of giving a sound to a character for the purposes of rhyme so this was also something which did not exist prior to Han times. How can it be that to quote from the new in explication of the old is not like trying to fit a square peg into a round hole? Moreover, in studying the classic from its origin one must examine in turn (the interpretations of) the Han period and the Six Dynasties, the T'ang and the Sung, and only then arrive at the writings of the Confucian scholars of the present time and know wherein the points of similarity and difference, of convergence and divergence, lie. In like manner the study of characters must be based on the *Shuo Wen*.¹⁶ There cannot be a discussion of *Ku-wen* on the basis of the 'li' and 'k'ai' scripts.¹⁷ I have overstepped my authority in completing a work which now I send you - the first printing of the *Yin-lun*.¹⁸

5. The princely man (in) setting down his words¹⁹ for transmission to later generations is quite different from (in) his daily exchanges with others. Confucius, with respect to Yang Huo, treated him with the propriety due to a noble, yet, in writing the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, he spoke of him as a ruffian.²⁰ Further, in his going to Ch'u and meeting with Chao Wang, when they were engaged in dialogue, he certainly addressed him as 'wang' yet, in writing the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, he has 'Chen of Ch'u died'.²¹ He did away with the term king and omitted reference to his funeral. Nevertheless, his following the common practice in addressing people should not be construed as flattery just as his making a point of doing away with these modes of address in writing should not be considered as arrogance. It is this that makes Confucius a sage of the time. Mencius said: "Ordinarily my respect is rendered to my elder brother; for a brief time it is rendered to all men."²² Now if you wish your writings to last forever, in your day-to-day dealings with people you cannot help but become conversant with the principles of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

6. Of the friends one meets through the course of one's life those who, through poverty (unrealised ambition) and age, reach a state of weakness and degeneracy number seven or eight out of ten. Ch'ih Pao²³ was a princely man who dwelt for a long time in Chiang-tung; could he do otherwise than sigh in disappointment? Formerly, when he was in Che-chou, he received my poem and was deeply moved. He replied: "If one is old then one must rest; one cannot avoid weariness." These words were not right. The Master said: "Let me return, let me return."²⁵ He

did not for one day forget the empire. Thus the studies of the princely man cease only with his death.

7. Every time I meet with you and we converse I cannot help but have thoughts and feelings (feel the stirrings of emotion). With the coming of night I dreamed that I wrote you a letter saying: "I passed through P'u and praised Tzu Lu; I reached P'ing-lu and blamed Chu Hsin."²⁵ Ah alas! The mind revealed in a dream is the waking mind; the mind of the ordinary man is the mind of the man of the empire. Now I am about to depart, temporarily, from your place yet I hope I shall be informed by you of what is good and ill among the people. Although I am unimportant and my words are of little weight perhaps, because of you, they may merit some attention.

8. Quoting the old to plan the new (is what) we, the Confucian scholars, use in managing the world, yet I do not wish these matters to come to the knowledge of those presently in power. In the affairs of today to initiate something of benefit is to add something harmful. Thus, for example, to wish to establish water transport on the Ch'in-shui is necessarily to bring disturbance to Honan²⁶ and to open up the transport routes of Chiao and Lai is necessarily to bring confusion to Shantung.²⁷

9. When I myself look at the trends of the times then I know that the key (to whether there is) order or disorder lies within the minds (hearts) and customs of the people. That which effects change in the hearts of the people and rectifies their customs is that which cannot be lacking in the civilising influence of education and the application of the laws. To foster this for one hundred years or a complete generation is still not enough; to neglect (destroy) it for one day and one night is still too much.

10. It has been said that men of the present time who edit (compile) books are like those of the present time who cast coinage. The men of antiquity collected copper in the mountains (while) those of the present buy up old coinage and refer to it as waste copper satisfying, in this way, coinage requirements and that is all. The coinage that is cast is already (thereby) rough and poor in quality. Moreover, the precious things (treasures) which have been handed down from the ancients are broken to pieces and not preserved for later generations. How are these not two failings? (i.e. poor coinage and the loss of treasures). Thank you for your enquiry about the completed sections of the *Jih-chih lu*. I expected it to be waste copper. I have been apart from you for one year and have pursued my reading day and night, repeatedly following

my researches. Still I have only finished ten or so sections (tiao) so it is almost like copper gathered in the mountains.

11. Recently I visited (passed by) your residence and saw that your family was well-off, that your sons were grown and (as a result) I was most comforted. Nevertheless, from now on, Shao-yu's plans are many while Fu-po's will is diminished.²⁸ If you live in a narrow fashion in one city and there are no outstanding scholars with whom you may discuss things then, in this way, you will not be able to give direction to your spirit²⁹ so decay and dullness will ensue. May I presume to offer you my humble opinion. Although my scholarship is mean and worthless and my head is full of rocks and stones (I advise you) absolutely to eschew practices that are eunuch-like and flattering to your generation.³⁰ When the people of your prefecture see that you do this they cannot help but be dumbfounded by surprise.³¹

12. With respect to our learning, there are many in the world who do not understand. Those one or two who have some slight knowledge of literature are then also ashamed that they are not like us. If they do not understand, they doubt and if they are not like us, they are envious. Therefore what I ordinarily write I do not transmit to mankind. Now (however) I am old and have finally compiled and edited a work which I may entrust to those of my friends whom I select.

13. When I read your letter I sighed with emotion. From the time of the Pei-p'ing and Nanch'ang incidents³² onward, one generation's patterning itself on the four characters (meaning) 'the circle of the king's relatives is a fortified wall'³³ is something which is not striven for. When it came to the time of the Ch'ung-ch'en reign period (AD1628-1644) the spirit of the people was already lost. Even if the hereditary princes had control of the military, those who were able were only like Ch'ung, prince of Chen, and those of lower worth like the Chia prince, Ssu-chou, or the Prince of Yen, Chieh-p'i of the T'ang period; that is all.³⁴ If one simply devotes one attention to a congeries of minor matters then certainly one is not able to make a contribution whereas, if unforeseen events occur and difficulties may be expected, who would wish to create the unexpected and put forth the policies of Fang Kuan?³⁵ Although Fu Chien was only a Ti leader and a false lord, yet among his distant relatives there was Fu Teng.³⁶ Truly, if the substance of this discussion is obtained and utilised, then there will be, certainly, two or three prominent scholars who, from this, will stir themselves.

14. Whenever we meet to talk, our discussion invariably centres on the criticism of men. The Master said: "Whenever I walk with two others then certainly there is one among them who

is my teacher. I shall select from him what is good that I may follow it and what is bad that I may avoid it.³⁷ Your meaning lies in this does it not? Nevertheless, with reference to Tzu Kung's criticism of people, the Master said: "Worthy indeed is Tz'u. I myself have no time for this."³⁸ Thus, what the disciples diligently sought does lie only in understanding men. In the twenty chapters of the *Lun Yü* only in the *Kung-yeh chang*³⁹ is there much discussion of men, ancient or modern. Finally there are the words: "It is all over and I have not yet seen one man who is capable of recognising his faults and engaging in self-criticism."⁴⁰ Again: "In a hamlet of ten families there are certainly those who are as loyal and sincere as I am but there are none who love learning as I do."⁴¹ Thus, the criticism of others may be seen to be the basis of self-criticism. Moreover, those whose love of learning is not profound are unable to perceive their own faults so that, although they may desire to change what is not good and move to what is good, there is, finally, no way for them to do this. These two observations occur at the end (of the chapter) which indicates that the meaning is to be found here. I hope that we might pay careful attention to this!

15. In ancient times those who suspected the masses were firm in their hypocrisy. Nowadays those who suspect the masses are weak in their hypocrisy. In times of advantage and disadvantage, gain and loss, they are, moreover, not able to adhere to what is right so how can they attain men's trust? Therefore, in modern times, all those who have a love of reputation are not worthy of concern; this is simply the point of view of an ordinary man.

16. When I first wrote this poem I merely set down one evening's discussion between guest and host. Subsequently writers who, in turn, follow this pattern will, I fear, simply lose the original method of walking of Shou-ling.⁴² Within the empire there is no lack of those scholars who are able to write. How should I be worthy to be a model. Only when meaning comes from within oneself, one may presume to give it to a close friend.

17. The defects of your verse lie in reliance on Tu; the defects of your prose lie in reliance on Han and Ou.⁴³ If you keep this narrow path in your heart and through your whole life you are not able to case off the two characters 'i pang' (rely on) then certainly you will be unable to scale the heights.

18. In the *Sung Shih* it is written that every time Liu Chung-su admonished the members of the younger generation (sons and younger brothers) he would say: "It behoves scholars to put ability and broad experience first. To be known only as a literary man does not make one worthy of attention."⁴⁴ From the time I first read these words I have put an end to the creation

of social literature as a means of cultivating ability and broad experience rather than falling back to being a literary man. I have hung up a sign within my dwelling to ward off those who come to ask (me to write). This everyone can see; do you still not know about it? Perhaps you think I should follow the prevalent custom and do it and that this would not bring harm to ability and broad experience. Chung-fu,⁴⁵ on many occasions, asked me to write a biography of his deceased mother but, in the end, I refused to do so. If it is only a matter concerning one man or one family and has no relationship to the great matters of classical studies and politics then I will not do it. The writings of Han Wen-kung rose from the decay (decline) of the Eight Dynasties. If he had written only the *Yüan-tao*, the *Yüan-hui*, the *Cheng-chen lun*, the *P'ing-huai hsi-pei* and the *Chung Chung-ch'eng ch'uan hou hsi*⁴⁶ and had refused to write all else then, in truth, he would have been the T'ai Shan and the Pei-tou (the Dipper) of the modern world. Nowadays people still do not dare to accept this. These are not my words; already Liu Chai⁴⁷ has criticised this.

19. To play on the pipe and urge the drinking of wine is the work of the singing-girl. Her duty is thus. If you were to ask the daughter of a respectable family to go out and do this she would display anger. How does (your suggestion) differ from this?

20. If a certain scholar should attempt to publish his own writings as a means of seeking fame in the world this is like someone losing his footing and falling into a well. Should someone then add a preface to his works how is this not like casting a stone on top of him? Before he has fallen there is still time to stop him (dissuade him) from this enterprise but if he pays no heed then a well may be considered an appropriate domicile. There is nothing one can do about it!

21. Cheng K'ang-ch'eng, when in his seventy-fourth year, was compelled by Yüan Pen-ch'u to go to Yüan-cheng but died en route.⁴⁸ Ts'ao Meng-te⁴⁹ said: "Cheng K'ang-ch'eng got drunk, whereupon he lay on the ground and died, and that Pen-ch'u might be thought of as the perpetrator of this crime." I hope that those who are retired scholars in later times are not like K'ang-ch'eng and also that those who treat such scholars are not like Pen-ch'u.

22. At the original site of Ch'ung-fu temple, Ching-shu⁵⁰ built a memorial hall as a means of venerating those fourteen people promoted at Ch'ung-fu temple in Sung times and this may be said to be in accord with propriety. (The fourteen were: Han Wei, Lu Hui, Ssu-ma Kuang, Ch'eng I, Ch'eng Hao, Liu An-shih, Fan Ch'un-jen, Yang Shih, Li Kang, Li Ping, Chu Hsi, Ni Ssu, Wang Ch'üan and Ts'ui Yü-chih). At the present time, Chieh-shih⁵¹ has again built a hall in front of the memorial hall and has moved the two Ch'engs and Chu Hsi to a position within

it, giving them a place of pre-eminence in the one courtyard (i.e. containing the two temples). His intention to show respect to (venerate) his teachers and accord importance to learning cannot be considered as anything other than good. Nevertheless, those within this group (of fourteen) such as Han Kung, Lu Kung, Ssu-ma Kung and Liu Kung were all contemporaries of the Ch'eng brothers and, for the most part, were of higher rank. From the viewpoint of Chu Hsi they were all of an earlier generation. Yang Kuei-shan was also the teacher of Chu Hsi's teacher.⁵² To have them together with the same order in the temple shows lack of distinction and to place, majestically, one alone in the front hall would mean that if all these worthies were to be alive at the same time they would certainly not be content with their positions. The feelings of spirits are the same as men's feelings. The Master said: "While you are not yet able to serve men how can you serve the spirits?"⁵³ I think it is appropriate to follow Ching-shu's old method and separately build a memorial hall to honour the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi. This would be suitable.

23. Those who can write are not necessarily (true) literary men; those who can teach are not necessarily (true) teachers. In my view those who are writers and teachers at the present time all have it as their motive to seek fame through writing and teaching. Did the Master not say: "This is notoriety not fame." Did he not say "I have silently made note of what was said."⁵⁴ Although I am of no particular intelligence I would ask you to give thought to these words.

24. Recently a letter arrived from my friend in the east asking why I did not let others recommend me since if, after being recommended, I still did not go, this would only serve to augment my reputation. Ah alas! This is what is called fishing for fame. Nowadays, if a wife loses her husband and she remains faithful to him to the end and after his death commits no evil act⁵⁵ how can it be because, in her heart, she wishes to become known among men? Nevertheless, I Huan's village⁵⁶ is known throughout the kingdom (while) Hua Ching's tower⁵⁷ is known to the emperor, so how could it be said that the effects of their acts are not known? If it is said that certainly one must await a strong recommendation and then firmly refuse to go so that subsequently one's virtue (loyalty) could be known, this is something I have never heard of.

4/SWC 4/19 (p99)

Additional Letter to a Friend¹

From Ting-yu (AD1657) to the present, twenty-five years, I have not received any news from you. Whenever I travel over mountains and by river, or through strategic passes, I regret that we two are not together. Distantly I think of what is between Jao and She;² high

mountains and fast-flowing streams as if at the end of the world. Previously, when you sent me a letter, I was then at Wu-hu³ and recorded it in my notebook. This was however stolen by robbers so, subsequently, I did not know your address and was unable to ask at the ford the way to the Peach-tree source.⁴ This autumn, people came from the capital and I received three letters from you so I know you are well and have not been troubled with illness. Also, knowing that in your travels by the Ho and Fen⁵ you are accompanied by men such as Fang and Tu,⁶ my joy is unbounded. I have unrolled and read what you have written in which you speak at length of past and present and know that you think kindly about your old friend yet fear that in the future my poems and writings will not be transmitted. How solicitous you are! I have however, over twenty years, done something about this. The princely man is a student in order to clarify the Way and save the world. If there is only attention to poetry and prose, what may be called attention to trivial matters, how can this be beneficial? I, since the age of fifty, have diligently devoted myself to the Classics and Histories and have achieved some depth in my understanding of phonology.

Now I consider the *Wu-shu*⁷ as continuing the long-interrupted thread of the three hundred odes. Apart from this I have written *A Record of Daily Knowledge* the first part of which is devoted to the classics, the central part to the way of government and the final part to broad learning (miscellaneous studies), there being thirty-odd sections in all. If, in the future, a sage king should arise he may, by seeing this, be influenced in his conduct and so bring his generation to the surpassing excellence of ancient rule.⁸ I do not, however, dare to speak of this with my contemporaries. Formerly, what was published and circulated was only a small fragment. Now, at the foot of the Hua mountain, I have, for the first time, built an ancestral temple to Chu Hsi⁹ as a way of showing what was at that time, the meaning of my reply to Tzu-ching's letter.¹⁰ Here it is bleak and desolate in the extreme and I again wish once to visit my parents' graves at Kiangsu and build an ancestral temple to my dead mother. I do not know where you are. In my old age I am not likely to go to the capital but our letters must not be stopped. I expect that from time to time you will write to me through my nephew Yen. This would be like speaking to you.

4/SWC6/1 (p122)

A Discussion of Military Systems

If the laws do not change it is not possible to save (the nation) at the present time. To be in a situation of being unable to do otherwise than change yet still to avoid the realities of change, thus temporarily preserving the name of not changing will, most certainly, lead to great harm. May the military system of today not be said to be the military system of Kao Huang Ti?¹

In name it may be so but in reality it has changed. Moreover, if both superiors and subordinates preserve the status quo to an extreme degree and align themselves with a policy of not changing how can this be fulfilling the intention of the system? Kao Huang Ti said: "I have nurtured soldiers to the number of a million yet I have not wasted a grain of the people's rice." To speak of it from the viewpoint of the present day, is there waste or not? Where are the million soldiers? To still consider that the original system was like this may be described as cheating one another. Formerly I studied the ancient writings of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Chou Li* and the concept therein of letting the soldiers lodge among the peasants. In so doing I never failed to emit a heavy sigh considering the division of soldiers and farmers into two (separate) groups. This was a universal failing from the Three Dynasties. To divide the army and the soldiers into two groups is something which began during our own dynasty. There being one people which is divided into those considered as farmers and those considered as soldiers is to have one group of soldiers and one group of farmers. This cannot be borne. To take soldiers as one and divide them into chün and ping,² thus having one group of farmers and two groups of soldiers is even more difficult to bear. To take soldiers as one and divide them to identify guarding troops, militiamen and mercenary recruits³ is to have one group of farmers and three groups of soldiers which is still more difficult to tolerate. If there is not a prompt change there will be no stopping until all the people (civilians) will be driven to be soldiers. To thus drive the people to be soldiers means that the affairs of the nation will, in the future, be something unbearable to discuss.

The system of the Two Ancestors⁴ was as follows: In the capital were established five chief military commissioners and seventy-two guards. In the imperial domain there were established fifty guards. In each province there was established a regional military commissioner (of whom there were therefore twenty-one in all) and also officers left on guard, two in number, guards to the number of one hundred and ninety-one, independent battalions, state farm battalions and herd battalions to the number of two hundred and eleven. In the border regions there were established chief officers for pacification to the number of ninety-five, frontier native military commission guards and battalions to the number of one hundred and seven. Some five thousand six hundred men constituted a guard, one thousand one hundred and twenty a battalion and one hundred and twelve a pai-hu so. The soldiers were given agricultural land and there was the establishment of camps and walled villages so that there was both ploughing and guarding (agricultural and military activities).⁵ Each person received fields to the extent of fifty mou with a grain tax of twenty-four piculs. Half of this was returned to the individuals paying and half used for official salaries while there was an instruction to those guarding the cities to set out at daybreak and arrive at evening. In this manner how could the empire be distressed

by having soldiers, and how could such a system be re-established? Long peace resulted in a relaxation of preparations so that the organisation was destroyed and the military files empty. In the later part of the Cheng-t'ung reign period (AD1436-1449) there was the first order to the prefectures and districts to select militiamen. During the Hung-chih reign period (AD1488-1505) there was a regulation that all the villages having provided two or four or five men who were to be sent on an expedition, the officials would give these men the necessary provisions. In the Cheng-te reign period (AD1506-1521) determining the individual grain production was everywhere the source of military silver and if, among the people, the year's produce was in excess of seven liang then, in all cases, a land tax was imposed on the people. This is what is spoken of as the organisation of militia. Moreover, there was an increase in soldiery and the regulations underwent a change. Also the preparations were long drawn-out and the benefits were dissipated, robbers arose in Yung and Yü⁶ and then spread to several provinces. The militia were insufficient for the purpose so new troops were levied and their salaries doubled, these being considered as an army for long campaigns. Thus the soldiers were again increased and the system again changed. Those who were encampment guards⁷ said: "How do I know about soldiery? My duty is the transport of tax grain; guard duty is not my responsibility." Therefore there was the conscription of militia men and encampment guards were of no use. The militiamen said: "What do I know of soldiery? My duty is the provision of service; the levying of duty is not my responsibility." Therefore those who were newly-recruited militiamen were not of use. I, formerly, calculated the combined wei-so⁸ of the empire and there were soldiers numbering not less than two million. If the kingdom has an army of such numbers then it should be without opposition and yet not a single man can be used. (If there were) two million men's fields then it could not be said that there would not be sufficient supply yet not a single sheng or ko could be used. Therefore it is said that the method of Kao Huang Ti is lost.

So if the wei-so army is abolished and made into a regular army should an official be appointed to lead it? I say it is not possible. Or, on the other hand, if the wei-so army is to be done away with (caused to be disbanded) are the allocated fields then taken away? I say this is not possible. I would submit that in a situation of no change when there is recourse to a regulation effecting change following circumstances which have already changed there is the return to innovative usage. One should enquire into all the military registers⁹ to see whether there are vacancies and how numerous they are? Then fields should be reclaimed and the vacancies filled with new soldiers. There should be a gathering together of all the squads and an examination to determine whether they were successful in military terms. If they were not successful but fled, then their fields should be confiscated and they, themselves, replaced with

new soldiers. Every five years there should be such an examination with a rehabilitation of those in poor condition and a promotion of those who are valiant, not necessarily returning men to the non-military world. If it were to be done like this then not one penny of public money would be wasted. If every garrison were to obtain a certain number of men for use, then as far as the empire was concerned, the two million soldiers could be completely restored. Furthermore, those soldiers who, at the present time, occupy the halting places on the empire's southern circuit and have responsibility for dragging the barges are each year reduced several-fold. Viewed as soldiers their position may be considered to be strong and as farmers they may be considered to be rich yet they do not come up to what is appropriate for the time.

If this arrangement is complied with then these ten million people usurp the name of soldier and waste the military provisions, yet are unable to draw a bow or loose an arrow, so being of not the slightest use to the country. The kingdom thus completely puts aside these ten million men and the fields are not restored to them. Then, in terms of strength, how will deterioration be avoided and, in terms of military administration, how will weakness be eradicated? Also, how may hostilities be foreseen and planned for and the merit of victory be achieved?

4/SWC6/2 (p123)

On Geography

Of those states which, in former times, had a southern capital there were, in all, eight: Wu, Eastern Chin, Sung, Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en, Southern T'ang and Southern Sung.¹ At the time of Wu there was a tripartite balance of power taking in Pa-chiu in the west and Wan-ch'eng and Ju-hsü as boundaries.² When Wu was lost then the strategically important Ch'ang-chiang (Yangtse) first fell under Chin control.³ At the southern crossing, during Yung chia reign period (AD307-312), Ching, Yü, Ch'ing, Yen and half of Hsü fell under the control of Liu and Shih whilst Liang and I fell to Li Hsiung and Ho-pei, Huai-yin, Shou-yang, Ssu-kou and Chiao-cheng became places of strategic importance.⁴ When it came to the upheavals of Fu, Yao and Mu-jung (the chou of) Ch'ing, Yen, Liang and I were first acquired (by Chin) and Sung perpetuated this.⁵ When it came to the northern attack during the Yüan chia reign period (AD424-453) and the loss of the army at Chiao-ao, Pi-li's horses and camping at Kua-pu, were as a consequence of guarding the Chiang.⁶ Toba had complete possession of the central plain while Ch'i and Liang, in succession ruled east of the Chiang and both north and south of the Huai became battlefields.⁷ There was the T'ai-ch'ing internal calamity, the Ch'eng-sheng seeking for soldiers, Ch'i's seizure of Huai-nan, Wei's taking of Shu-Han and Chiang-ling's ruination.⁸ In Ch'en Shih's rise he did not obtain Shu-Han in the west while in the north he lost Huai and Fei and

took Ch'ang-chiang (Yangste) as the boundary as a consequence defending the Chiang. The area of the kingdom daily grew less and its prosperity progressively diminished while the army at Ts'ai-shih and Ching-k'ou at the same time crossed the river and finally was swallowed up by Sui.⁹ When the Southern T'ang lost Huai-nan and also took the Chiang as a boundary the kingdom subsequently was unable to sustain itself.¹⁰

The Sung established a capital at Lin-an and concluded a treaty of alliance with the Chin people establishing as a boundary between them the waters of the Huai and in the west resisting Ta-san-kuan. During the Tuan-p'ing reign period (AD1234-1236) they destroyed the Chin (province of) Ts'ai-chou and threw down the gauntlet to the Mongols. During the Pao-yu reign period (AD1253-1258) they lost Shu and during the Hsien-ch'un reign period (AD1265-1274) they lost Hsiang and Fan. The Yüan forces moved south and the young lord appeared with his hands tied behind his back and a pi in his mouth.¹¹ How is this not a reflection of the general trend of events?

Once one examines the reasons for the rise and fall of the eight dynasties in historical sequence and discusses this with reference to the empire then one would consider Ching-chou and Hsiang-yang to be the throat of the kingdom, Shu to be the neck and Liang-huai and Shantung to be the back. Shu is where the upper reaches of the nation's rivers are.¹² In former times those who established kingdoms in the south could be certain that, if first they lost Shu, danger and destruction would follow. If Shu were an independent kingdom and not combined with the central kingdom then it was still possible for there to be peace. Sun Wu's co-existence with Han and Eastern Chin's co-existence with Li Hsiung were instances of this.¹³ If Shu were joined with the central kingdom and the empire's strengths were thus combined then, relying on the circumstances of (possession of) the upper reaches of the nation's waterways, I would consider our enemy to be in danger. Wang Chün's eastward progress from Pa-chiu and Liu Cheng's plan to take Shu to recover Sung were cases in point.¹⁴ Therefore Shu must first be defended. If there is an assembly of the men of Shu and use is made of its wealth there being a sending out of soldiers through Ch'in, Feng, Ching and Lung then it is not difficult to shake the empire. Therefore Shu must be attacked first.

Chao Ting said: "The control of the central plain starts from Kuan-chung; the control of Kuan-chung starts from Shu; progress to (going to) Shu begins from Ching and Hsiang." Chen Liang said: "Ching and Hsiang occupy the eastern side of the upper waters of the Yangtse. Westward, Pa and Shu adjoin (are near). To the north there could be control of Kuan and Lo. The men of Ch'u used this (i.e. Ching and Hsiang) as a base to cast covetous eyes on Ch'i and

Chin and to fight with Ch'in for the emperorship. From Eastern Chin onward there were established places of strategic importance to guard the central plain." Meng Kung said: "Hsiang and Fan are the foundation of the kingdom. After many battles to recover them it is fitting that they be governed properly." The ideas of the Sung people were like this.¹⁵

When the Yüan seized Sung, as expected, from Hsiang-yang and Fan-cheng they passed through O. Therefore, taking these (two places) to be the nation's strength, they surrounded them for five years. When they crossed the Yangtse, in less than two years they took Lin-an.¹⁶ Thus without Shu it is still possible to establish a kingdom; Eastern Chin is a case in point.¹⁷ Without Ching and Hsiang it is not possible to establish a kingdom; Ch'u leaving Ch'in and moving to Shou-ch'un is a case in point.¹⁸ Not to hold the north-south course of the Huai and to use the Yangtse as a defence will result in its loss. Ch'en's Chen-ming and Nan T'ang's Pao-ta are cases in point.¹⁹ Therefore, to make Ching and Hsiang substantial is of the utmost importance. In ancient times those skilled in guarding put their reliance on places of strategic importance and certainly any surplus in their strength was devoted to the regions beyond such strategic places. Thus, those guarding (defending) the Huai did not do so at the Huai itself but at Hsü and Ssu,²⁰ those that defended the Yangtse did not do so there but at the two Huai.²¹ So then if, for our military operations, there is sufficient space then the circumstances of the kingdom can flourish. Therefore it is critically important to establish opposition at the Huai. Someone said that Kao Huang Ti formerly used the south to take the north so why do you say merely to guard it? I say it is truly so. Those who would take the empire must certainly occupy the area of the upper reaches of the rivers after which they may be able to govern the people. If military heroes have no territory for the deployment of their forces then matters cannot be brought to (a satisfactory) conclusion. Moreover, although people know that Kao Huang Ti established a capital at Chin-ling, they are not cognisant of the means whereby he took the empire. At that time, Chiang-tung being unstable, he first deployed a large force to capture Hsiang and Han, to suppress Huai-an and to subdue Hsü and Ssu. Subsequently he moved north to seize the central plain.²² This is, in the conduct of military operations, to obtain first the geographically important positions.

Further, Ch'u's hegemon was established in Pi,²³ in Han Kao's rise he entered Ch'in from P'ei and from Nan-yang penetrated Li;²⁴ Kuang Wu arose from Nan-yang;²⁵ Sung Wu destroyed Nan Yen, from Huai entered Ssu, destroyed Ch'in and from Pien entered Ho.²⁶ These are all examples from ancient times presenting clear evidence of an attack on the north being launched from the south, and of beginning operations from a good position.

In my view there should be a uniting of the two halves of the empire to make them one and it should be used like the snake of Chang-shan.²⁷ Then, although there were a combination of Fu Ch'ien's myriad forces²⁸ and Wan-yen's thirty two armies,²⁹ they could not look with avarice on our land. Moreover there should be a conservation of strength and a storing up of fighting spirit with strong and valiant troops awaiting the moment of the enemy's relaxation so that then an effective result can be obtained. This, then, is the plan applicable to both attack and defence and an excellent method for the utilisation of military forces.

4/SWC6/3 (p125)

On Agriculture

There are two aspects to the great wealth of the empire; the first may be termed the ploughing of fields and the second the tending of animals. For a kingdom this is also the case. It was through their agricultural work that Ch'in and Yang became pre-eminent.¹ Chiao Yao and Wu Shih, through their nurturing of animals, became feudal lords and in so doing enriched their families.² Ch'i made the grain luxuriant and was enfeoffed with T'ai.³ Fei Tzu increased what was produced and Ch'in conferred (honours) upon him.⁴ These are instances of enrichment of the kingdom. If, in affairs, plans are vague and poorly formulated then it is difficult to put them into effect. Ultimately it may be said that in the unification of the kingdoms of the empire and serving the people thereof there is nothing like the ploughing of fields.

Previously I studied the statements of Wei Liao-weng of Sung⁵ in which he put forward the following consideration: "Men in ancient times guarded the frontiers and kept passes on alert. In this way it was possible to release the people's energies (for use) and make obsolete the collection of military intelligence (i.e. spying). Attention could then be solely devoted to agricultural matters and the accumulation of grain could become the fundamental activity." He also said: "There are military colonies and there are reclaimed lands. After large-scale military activities many of the fields are uncultivated and lie fallow. The people should be encouraged to cultivate the fallow fields which lie in the various provinces and be caused thereby to open up (for cultivation) waste land so it may be possible for them again to have a livelihood. The outcome of farming activities in the land allocated to military colonists would then frequently be substantial. Further, since the border-land has been, for a long period, uncultivated the grain is expensive (costly). If the grain is expensive then the people are dispersed and if the people are dispersed then the military is without strength. Certainly, on the other hand, it is the case that if the land is opened up and cultivation is extensive then grain becomes cheap. The people may then flock together and the military become strong. I ask that no attention be given to the

empty name 'land given to military colonists' and that first there be a calculation of the real profits to be obtained from reclaimed land. If one calls on those of the local gentry who are loyal and righteous, officials will be helped and, as a consequence, it may be possible to open up waste land. It may also be possible to plan what is to be cultivated, to the extent of several thousand ch'ing, so that in the following year, at this time, the profits of the land may be reaped and cheap grain be made available.

Moreover, all the people engaged in land cultivation may be used in a military capacity and if, by any chance, there be prior warning, families may themselves provide guards and the people themselves engage in military activities which is altogether different from over-hasty banishment for crime. If there is not the name of 'land given to military colonists' but this does, in reality, exist there is not the expense of providing for soldiers and also it is possible, unobtrusively to manage arrogant and ruthless military men. Indeed, not only is it possible to manage prisoners but it may also be possible in this way to guard against the comings and goings of other robbers. Within a few short years the borders will be prepared and prosperous. Then, if there is a war, it may be won and if there is a need for guarding it may be secure.⁶

I consider that this would correct the important problems of the present time. In times of peace,⁷ for each field, there was a master. Nowadays the land is overgrown. Truly land-owners must work diligently at ploughing; those who don't work hard should have their land confiscated and given to new owners since we cannot permit our kingdom to have waste land. If this is so, then the people will submit and this will be the first change. If there are times of successive abundance then grain will become cheap. Nowadays warfare is continuous so, for successive years, there is great famine and food is hard to come by for many people. They must, therefore, be encouraged to till the fields. This will be the second change. For the ancients, their border villages were in many instances in barren regions (deserts). Nowadays the land south of the Yellow River is soft and muddy. The low-lying (paddy) fields of Yang-chou and the dry fields of Ying and Shou restore the historical traces of Yang and Tu and return to the old colonies of Shang-yüan.⁸ This is the third change. After a long period of non-cultivation the productive capacity of the land is not released. There must be a double harvest of grain. This is the fourth change.

There remain, however, three difficulties. The Ministry of Agriculture,⁹ being informed of difficulties, put over several hundred thousand pieces of gold seeking profit after a period of three to four years. This is the first difficulty. The court is unable to make long-term appointments yet the people are not willing to labour alone and beg for a man of strength to

shoulder the responsibility for several years. This is the second difficulty. Heaven brings drought and floods and over the years there is abundance and misfortune. Thus, in Ho Ch'eng-ch'u's¹⁰ first year of planting rice the frost was early and the grain did not mature, thus obstructing all the rules. This is the third difficulty.

I ask that there be a contribution of several hundred thousand pieces of gold given to officials to encourage agriculture and that they not be questioned on their earnings and expenditure. Then, after three years, by the profit and loss and by the cheapness or otherwise of the grain in the border regions, their merits may be assessed. If one individual wishes to find a surplus of border grain he must hastily plough, he must trade and he must make secure the repayments. If the people are peaceful and settled, and the border corn abundant, then our resources are rich, the military is sufficient in number, the cities and frontiers are strong and the emperor receives profit without speaking about it.¹¹ The great riches of the empire accumulate thus.

4/SWC6/4 (p126)

A Discussion of Monetary Systems

There is nothing so good as the Ming dynasty monetary system (yet) there is nothing so bad as its utilisation of money. If the matter is examined in the histories, Ching Wang (544-519BC) cast the ta-ch'ien¹ and Chou coinage underwent one change. Han inherited the pan-liang from the Ch'in and subsequently made (the following coinage); chieh-ch'ien, ssu-chu, san-chu, wu-chu, ch'ih-ts'e and san-kuan.² When it came to Ling Ti (AD168-188) and Hsien Ti (AD189-220) there was ssu-chu and (also) hsiao-ch'ien, Han coinage thus having nine changes in all. T'ang cast the k'ai-t'ung³ and afterwards also cast the ta-ch'ien. Subsequently there was kan-feng, kan-yüan and chung-leng, T'ang coinage having, in all, four changes. Sung followed the old style of the k'ai-t'ung. When troubles on the western frontier arose they cast the ta-ch'ien, during the Ch'ung-ning reign period (AD1102-1106) casting the equivalent of ten cash coppers and during the Chia-ting reign period (AD1208-1224) the equivalent of five (cash coppers). This was also combined with the use of iron coinage, chiao-tzu and hui-tzu.⁴ The system then came close to ruin (increasingly decayed). Sung coinage (thus) also underwent three or four changes. With every change, articles of merchandise jumped up in price, there was no constancy in value and the people suffered thereby. Our dynasty, from the Hung-wu reign period (AD1368-1398) to the Cheng-te reign period (AD1506-1521), had ten emperors yet a mere four castings. When it came to the Wan-li reign period (AD1573-1619) the coinage made had become increasingly refined. The coinage style was such that every one hundred coins weighed thirteen ounces (taels). The perimeter (of the coins) was altogether regular and the

characters and figuring particularly clear. (Indeed), they followed after the ancients in their intent not to do shoddy work or use inferior materials. Moreover, for three hundred years there was no change in the edict, market prices had a constancy, the monetary system was not confusing and the people found it convenient to use. This represents an excellent monetary system.

Now, when it comes to the present day, commodities daily become more expensive while money daily diminishes in value. Private coining is burgeoning and the power which the emperor holds by virtue of his control of the weights of the ten thousand things is no longer in existence. Why is this so? The ancients, in their utilisation of money, not only distributed it among those below but also gathered it in to the emperor's coffers. According to the Han law, people paid a personal tax of one hundred and twenty ch'ien and this poll-tax was received in the form of money. In the *Yen ts'e* chapter of the *Kuan Tzu* (it is written): "A kingdom of ten thousand files of soldiers, in monetary terms is worth thirty million."⁵ This is a case of the salt and iron tax being received in the form of money. For resident and travelling merchants, strings of cash to the value of four thousand are taxed at one suan. The light carts of the San-lao⁶ and the mounted scholars of the northern regions are taxed at two suan while boats above a length of five chang are taxed at one suan. These are cases of the income of the frontier passes and markets being received in the form of money. It was ordered that the people be taxed on the selling of wine at a rate of four ch'ien per pint, this being a case of the levying of a toll on liquor sales in the form of money. The Princess of Lung-lu⁷ paid a ransom for the life of her son in money, ten million, this being an instance of a penalty being received in the form of money.

At the time of Chin house's southern crossing,⁸ for all contracts on land, dwellings, male and female slaves, horses and oxen, for every value of ten thousand there was a tax of four hundred. This was an example of a contract tax being received in the form of money. Chang Fang-p'ing⁹ said: "The government tax on houses and the money levied on tea, salt wine and vinegar, and the method of the mu-i and the ching-miao¹⁰ was to collect money throughout the empire and to direct it to the emperor, the money being distributed as official salaries. This method I consider useful. For money to pass from above down and from below up, circulating freely without obstruction, is the desired method of monetary organisation. Nowadays the money which is below does not go above and this is the reason why counterfeit money daily circulates and the money officially designated for circulation is obstructed (i.e. prevented from so circulating). (Indeed), it is always so for this reason. I ask that the ways of the former dynasties be imitated and that whatever of the regions and districts is retained or dispersed should be replaced by money. This could bring it about that, in the empire, officials would not

dare to receive anything other than the standardised money and so the standard currency would be strengthened. If the standard currency is made strong then the empire's power is likewise strengthened."¹¹

Chia Shan¹² also said: "Money in itself is a useless commodity but it may be exchanged for wealth and honour. Wealth and honour are the means whereby the ruler holds power. Let the people grasp it; they will share power with the ruler, but it is a state of affairs which cannot long endure." Therefore the benefits from calculating capital and computing interest are small whereas the benefits to be derived from the return of power to the emperor are substantial. Nowadays, the money from the market place is debased and the standardised currency is also debased. Therefore the money in the markets is worth little and the standardised currency is also worth little. In this way the emperor is devoid of authority which has fallen to those below. What benefit is there to the emperor in this? It is nothing other than if the emperor does not receive money then money is not important. Therefore I, in my foolishness, say there is nothing so bad as the present dynasty's usage of money which is what Chia Sheng¹³ has spoken of as "Doing away with the seven blessings and putting into practice extensive misfortune."

4/SWC 6/8 (p131)

Preface to *T'ien-hsia Chün-kuo Li-Ping Shu*¹

On Ch'ung-chen, chi-mao (AD1639) I was unsuccessful in my attempt at the Ch'iu-wei (triennial examination for the 2nd degree) and returned home to study (my) books.² I gave thought to the many calamities within the empire and felt shame at the fewness of the means at the disposal of scholars (to save the kingdom). Thereupon I read, in order, the twenty-one dynastic histories as well as the gazetters of the empire. (I read also) the collected writings and memorials to the throne of the famous men of the whole era and such writings, noting down what I learned therefrom. In so doing I completed forty-odd note-books. One aspect was a writing of the geographical aspects and one was of the benefits and disadvantages (of places). After the period of confusion (i.e. the Manchu invasion) much was lost but also some was supplemented. For this work there was, originally, no prior establishment of a plan or outline. Moreover, in many cases the words of former dynasties with reference to topography and the people's customs are not in complete accord with the present (circumstances). Further, being old it is easy to forget and I am not able, bit by bit, to make corrections. For the moment I have preserved the rough draft in a box and await the deliberations of a princely man of later times as to what to keep and what to discard.

CONCLUSION

Ku Yen-wu is, by broad agreement, accorded a place of considerable importance in the historical development of Chinese philosophy. His position is somewhat unusual, however, in that he left behind no substantial body of philosophical work. Indeed, it may be said that his major contributions lie in other, more specific areas such as philology and historical geography. His philosophical writings are to be found intermingled with much else, in the two works examined in the present thesis, the *Jih-chih lu* and the *Shih-wen chi*. As these works make clear his interests and concerns were wide-ranging, his approach and methods eclectic. Moreover, on the evidence of philosophical essays contained therein, it is equally clear that he advanced no new philosophical credo, that he neither espoused nor expounded any doctrine beyond the bounds of fundamental Confucianism. In fact, in Fung Yu-lan's *History of Chinese Philosophy* the name Ku Yen-wu is not even mentioned. What then is his significance, his role in China's intellectual history. To address this question I shall first summarise the major points to arise from each of the sections of translation.

In his treatment of the Classics Ku gives specific attention in turn to the *Changes*, the *Odes*, the *History*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and its commentaries, the three works on propriety (*San-li*), the *Lun Yü* and the *Mencius*. Here, as in other areas, the broad range of subject matter reflects the broad range of his interests. First, in relation to all the works, he gives consideration to the origin, authorship and authenticity of the texts unafraid to enter areas of uncertainty and controversy. A central tenet of his thinking is that only through detailed clarification of all matters pertaining to the text can the meaning be made clear. For Ku too ready an acceptance of the text as given, in uncritical fashion is not to be countenanced. His attitude is well-encapsulated in the words of Mencius, apropos of the *History*: "It would be better to be without the *History* than to give undue credence to it."¹ Specifically, for the *Changes* he writes on the no longer extant precursors of the work and the final formulation of the definitive text. For the *History* he gives attention to the old text/new text controversy and for the *Odes* examines Confucius' role in ordering and arranging the verses. In relation to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* he also examines Confucius' role and makes a critical appraisal of the three ancient commentaries.

Secondly, he focuses on the lessons to be learned from these works; ethical, philosophical and political. In this he gives particular attention to the *Changes* as a work of primary philosophical and ethical importance as opposed to an obscure tract on divination and prognostication. He is clearly sympathetic to all the basic concepts of Confucianism and

reaffirms the purpose of learning which must, necessarily, be firmly founded on the ancient Classics, to wit, to cultivate the self in order to govern men. Two issues which are fundamental to Ku's thought also emerge in this section; the importance of the 'broad study of literature (wen)' and 'in one's actions to have shame'. Also permeating his writings on the Classics is his implacable opposition to the development of abstruse and esoteric flights of metaphysical fancy supposedly based on the Classics, such developments as are exemplified earlier by the writings of Hsin Shuang and Yu Fan and later by Chou Tun-i and Shao Yung. Indeed, Ku's essays on the Classics are a vehicle for his express antagonism to the ramifications of Sung Neo-Confucianism in particular and metaphysical speculation on mind and nature in general.

Of central importance to Ku are the issues of textual analysis alluded to, in part, above. It is critical for Ku to bring clarification to the text as a route of access to the underlying concepts. For all the Classics a substantial part of his writings is devoted to these issues; the meanings of characters, the interpretation of areas of controversy, matters of historical or biographical importance. Finally, also, he gives thought to the use of the texts for didactic and examination purposes.

The second section of the *Jih-chih lu* contains the major body of what might be termed his statecraft writings. The essential themes running through these writings are those of decentralisation, devolution and local autonomy. The cornerstone of an effective system of government was, for Ku, a well-structured local administrative apparatus staffed by men of exemplary nature. Indeed, he would see moral cultivation as lying at the base of an effective local officialdom hence the importance which he attaches to the selection of officials. In terms of particular offices it is the prefects and district magistrates who assume central importance. In Ku's view history had seen a progressive decline in the prefectural system which needed therefore to be restructured and revived by major changes which he saw as depending on the introduction of elements of earlier feudalism. The restoration of a satisfactory situation was deemed to require the appointment of prefects and district magistrates, men of quality, with sufficient autonomy to allow them to function effectively, men moreover, motivated purely by the desire to further the well-being of the people and the land under their control.

In this section also, Ku identifies several of the factors inimical to his concept of the ideal administrative structure. First, there is the proliferation of an oppressive overseeing bureaucracy which will shackle even the most able and upright of local administrators.

Secondly, growing within there is the canker of conniving and self-seeking petty functionaries motivated by base considerations of personal gain. Thirdly, there are the defects in the way local officials are selected and deployed including, particularly, the method of drawing lots, the despatch of the men selected to far-flung regions with which they are unfamiliar and the deleterious effects of short terms of office. Fourth, there are the harmful effects of an over-elaborate and enmeshing network of legal restraints by which local officials may be entirely hamstrung. Finally, there are the evils associated with the participation of eunuchs in administrative matters, an issue to which Ku devoted two important essays. Thus, for Ku, the local magistrates must be men of worth, appointed to areas with which they are, preferably, already familiar and which they can come to know better by long acquaintance and who, in their work, will be untrammelled by an oppressive overseeing superstructure and a debilitating gain-seeking infrastructure.

On a number of other administrative issues Ku also makes clear and specific recommendations. Thus, in taxation, the central pillar of his argument is that tax levies must be made in whatever commodity is most convenient to those being taxed, predominantly grain, and that tax imposts must be realistically linked to the capacity of the region concerned. In addition there must be strict avoidance of corrupt misappropriation of tax revenue. Ku was also clearly opposed to schemes of 'taxation in advance', such as those proposed by Wang An-shih. On land distribution Ku hearkens back to the ancient well-field system whilst, on the apportionment of wealth the two aspects seen as fundamental are, first, that there must not be excessive concentration of wealth in the hands of the ruling house and, second, that the individual pursuit of profit must be discouraged. Other matters to which he gives specific attention include the payment of officials, the reporting and control of malfeasance, the restriction of the private ownership of military equipment and the utilisation and maintenance of natural and man-made amenities, as well as the rationalisation and unification of the currency system and the control of commodity and market prices.

Ku's social prescription may, in part, be summarised by the somewhat idyllic picture of a contented peasantry labouring in equitably distributed land untroubled by needlessly meddling officials. A satisfactory distribution of the populace would see the majority occupying this position under the unobtrusive control of a wise, effective paternalistic local administration, thoroughly conversant with, and sympathetic to, the particular needs and capacities of the area under its jurisdiction. There would be, as a corollary, the avoidance of

a concentration of people in the cities with the attendant evils of excessive corvee and litigation.

Much of the substance of Ku's position on ethical matters is contained within the series of essays on different historical periods at the outset of the third section of the *Jih-chih lu*. In these writings he links the flourishing and decline of society to the prevailing moral climate and in so doing establishes himself at once as a proponent of the cyclical view of history and an adherent of the basic Confucian concept of virtue. He also here articulates again his opposition to the Neo-Taoist developments of the Cheng-shih period with particular opprobrium being visited upon the practice of 'pure talk'. There is trenchant criticism also of Wang An-shih for his administrative and educational policies. In subsequent essays he further develops his basic ethical views stressing the fundamental nature of propriety, righteousness, modesty and shame, with particular emphasis on the last, anchoring himself yet more securely in the mainstream of Confucian thought. He stresses, also, in separate essays, frugality and the avoidance of extravagance. Having outlined the fundamentals of morality he goes on to say that the manifestation of these should be the basis for the selection of officials. In his treatment of the laws he here embraces a rather Legalistic position, somewhat at odds with his earlier Confucian leanings in this area. Strict laws strictly enforced with clear delineation and unswerving application he sees as desirable. He also, in this section, gives specific consideration to various aspects of propriety and ritual dealing with practices both in terms of their moral worth and of their historical development.

In the section in which consideration is given to examination issues Ku first deals with terminology, endeavouring to bring clarity to derivation and usage. These several essays preface a discussion of the two paramount evils which he thought had developed within the examination system during the passage of history. First, he identifies the progressive diversion of attention away from the original classics and their commentaries and towards writing directed purely at examination topics. Secondly, he speaks of the progressive intrusion of corrupt practices into the conduct of the examinations. The main consequence of these two evils is necessarily a profound overall decline in scholarship. He states here also what he sees as the importance of historical studies and the desirability of incorporating these into the examination framework. Having outlined what might be termed the broad issues he then directs his attention to more specific matters and some historical deliberations. One of his major statements on examinations and students is to be found in the essay on government students (*sheng-yüan*) in the *Shih-wen chi*.

As with his writings on other matters Ku's essays on literature are wide-ranging. He treats of a variety of issues including storage of literary works and their accessibility, the means of documentation of official business and questions arising within a number of individual works. He does, however, focus especially on two aspects; literature as a social instrument and the technicalities of composition. If one were to attempt to distill the essence of his views it might be said that for Ku writing should be original and not derivative nor imitative and certainly not tainted in the least with plagiarism. It should manifest simplicity, prolixity must be eschewed. Writing should be well-wrought with attention being given to technique but at the same time it should be easy of comprehension. Finally, and most importantly, writing should be an effective social instrument.

The section on essays and examinations also contains two writings of fundamental importance for an understanding of Ku Yen-wu's philosophical position. In the first he outlines the development of Taoism and Buddhism, linking the latter historically to the doctrine of Mo Ti in the pre-Ch'in period. He subscribes to the conventional view of parallel streams in the development of Chinese philosophy, a variable combination of Taoism and Buddhism coursing alongside Confucianism. Not surprisingly, he voices his opposition to the former. In the second of these essays he focuses on the development of Neo-Confucianism, tracing this back to its origins in the classical writings and displaying how, in his view, later interpretations had become increasingly divorced from original meanings and how fundamental Confucianism has been rendered impure by admixture with the alien strains of Taoism and Buddhism.

The final section of the *Jih-chih lu* is a somewhat miscellaneous collection of essays but does include a significant group of writings on both philological issues and on questions of historical geography, two of Ku Yen-wu's abiding interests. Indeed a substantial number of these essays are devoted to clarification of terms and their usage. On the issue of quotations he stresses the importance of accuracy and appropriate attribution. With regard to poetry, he embraces the view that verse, like prose, should be didactic and utilitarian, although not, certainly, at the expense of style, and should moreover, reflect the spirit of the era. Although Ku was much concerned with rhyme and other technicalities of verse these are clearly, for him, secondary to content in importance and he, indeed, warns against the dangers of too great a degree of attention being given to technicalities. In his writings on history and geography substantial sections are devoted to the names of places and people. These are broadly related to questions of textual analysis and aimed at bringing clarity to predominantly ancient texts. He also gives consideration to matters of interest relating to

historical events and personages and deals with various controversial or contentious passages, particularly again, in early writings. A section is devoted to ritual and ceremonial practice with the underlying theme of the superiority of the ancients over the moderns. In a further section some general consideration is given to astronomy, i.e. the development of the science and how, in ancient times, it formed part of the general body of knowledge, rather than, as later became the case, an area of special expertise. Consideration is also given, in this section, to the relationship between celestial and terrestrial affairs. The final two sections are devoted to place names and the usage and origin of certain common characters.

Early Influences

Having surveyed the writings contained in Ku Yen-wu's major and most representative work, the *Jih-chih lu*, some consideration should be given to the milieu, philosophical, personal and social, in which his views developed. Two early personal influences of the utmost importance were his grandfather, Ku Shao-fei, through whom Ku Yen-wu was introduced to a wide range of literature with a particular historical bias and his mother by adoption Wang, whose exemplary character must have had a profound effect on the development of Ku's own virtuous and uncompromising nature. At an early age, also, Ku joined the Fu-she or Society for the Revival of Antiquity formed by the Chang P'u in 1628², a society dedicated to the continuation of the Tung-lin faction in opposition to what Ch'ien has described as the syncretism of the late Ming.³ Turning to the broader scene, Chinese society in the early decades of the 17th century had, of course, witnessed the progressive decline and disintegration of the Ming dynasty and the ascendancy of the alien Manchu regime. From the philosophical viewpoint there had been the progressive development of speculative metaphysics, an unhappy amalgam of traditional Confucianism and imported heterodox doctrines creating a philosophic climate increasingly less conducive to effective social application of the discipline. To this scene of social decay and philosophical irrelevance Ku Yen-wu brought to bear his respect for a wide-range of sources in learning and analyses instilled by his grandfather and the virtuous, unswerving nature instilled by his adoptive mother.

In a simplified way his strenuous intellectual endeavours, born in large part from these sources and enduring throughout his life, may be seen as his attempt to redress the inter-related social and philosophical decline of Chinese society. These endeavours necessarily included the discipline of philosophy to establish the moral foundation of society, statecraft to give practical application to philosophical principles, philology as a means of comprehension of the ancient, seminal texts, history as an encapsulation of the lessons of past, similar endeavours and their failure and geography for the value of its practical

information in the re-ordering of society, all disciplines accorded a significant place in Ku's thought and writings.

The *Jih-chih lu* is listed in the SKCS as a work of philosophy, yet there is no substantial original philosophical doctrine contained therein. For Ku philosophy was central to the restructuring of society, yet it could never be argued that a coherent philosophical doctrine is central to his writings. In the most skeletal summary form it may be claimed that Ku sought to re-state, in the clearest possible way, the fundamental Confucian principles and to identify equally clearly those developments seen as inimical to these principles, in particular the Neo-Taoism of the Cheng-shih period, the later developments of Sung Neo-Confucianism and the anti-Confucianism of Li Chih and T'ai-chou school. The spirit of philosophical reaction pervades his writings yet it is reaction as a source of redirection and re-vivification. As Yü Ying-shih has written, with reference to the early Ch'ing period: "Philological explication of classical texts.... replaced moral metaphysical speculation as the chief method for the attainment of Confucian truth"⁴ and, in this endeavour, Ku Yen-wu was in the forefront. In some respects this may be likened to the early 20th century development of positivist philosophy as a reaction against the preceding abstruse and often incomprehensible speculative metaphysics.

It may be however that finally Ku Yen-wu should be judged on the merits of his contribution to statecraft since, for him, philosophy was arguably no more than a means to the end of restructuring society. Indeed, it has been said that: "the work of the text-critical school which developed in the 17th century under the leadership of Ku Yen-wu was directly stimulated by the desire to turn scholarship to practical ends and strengthen the nation."⁵ Certainly Ku's most important early writings, the four statecraft essays, on agriculture, on military organisation, on monetary systems and on geography, from the *Shih-wen chih* were unashamedly about practical matters devoid entirely of philosophical pretensions. As, however, with his philosophical writings, so also with his statecraft writings it may be said that these contained little that is original although the reforms he advocated were undoubtedly far-reaching. Central to these proposed reforms were the concepts of decentralisation, of devolution and of the establishment of an effective and sufficiently autonomous local administrative structure run by scholar-officials of impeccable ethical credentials. He addressed also, in some detail, questions of fiscal policy, of land distribution, of the conduct of examinations and the selection of officials and of military organisations in addition to other more specific matters. Although due to his own largely self-inflicted political isolation and the adverse circumstances of the time his views were never tested in

practice yet he is seen by many to have had a most significant and profound influence on subsequent statecraft writers of the Ch'ing period. Thus, Cohen writes, apropos of Feng Kuei-fen, whom he characterises as being, in the view of Mary Wright, "... in many respects the very embodiment of restoration Confucianism" that in advocating as he did, radical institutional reform at local level he was "...following the ideas of his philosophical mentor Ku Yen-wu."⁶ Later writers have seen a kinship between his views and those incorporated in the Three Peoples' Principles of the Republican period⁷ while at least one cultural historian of the Communist period, links Ku Yen-wu and Huang Tsung-hsi as outlining a rudimentary and prototypical capitalist democracy with ideas then, at least in part, novel.⁸

4.2.1 Textual Research in Ku Yen-wu

Whatever the merits, or otherwise, of his philosophical and statecraft writings, Ku Yen-wu, without doubt, played a leading role in the development of the concept of textual research as a key component of scholarship. For this his position as a pioneer in the k'ao-cheng movement of the early Ch'ing is rightly acknowledged. In Ku's case the range of interests subsumed under the rubric 'textual research' was broad; philology, phonology, epigraphy, paleography and poetics. Again, as with other disciplines, he travelled for the most part previously trodden paths. Thus, his philological approach to the Confucian classics followed the exegetical tradition of Han scholars whilst his work on rhyme was a continuation of the studies of predecessors such as Wu Yu and Ch'en Ti.⁹ Nevertheless, in the range of his studies and the pursuit thereof he broke new ground and himself established a tradition which was to endure through the Ch'ing period. A clear idea of the range of his textual research interests may be gleaned from an analysis of his writings in the *Jih-chih lu*. He was concerned with the origin and authenticity of ancient texts, in particular the *Changes* and the *History*. He was concerned with the meanings of terms and the application of names. He was concerned with areas of controversy and interpretation. He was concerned with rhyme and other components of the technical apparatus of verse as he was with accuracy of quotation and appropriateness of attribution. He was concerned with the derivation and usage of particular characters and finally, also, with the early recording of ancient texts, particularly on stone carvings. All these concerns may be seen, however, as being linked by a singular and over-riding purpose; that, in the conduct of writing, style and all other considerations must yield primacy to the lucid expression of meaning while in textual research the clear goal must be to gain access to the central truths of the particular work - to find wherein most the meaning lies. This last is particularly so in the textual study of the classics and here Ku's approach may be well summarised by the following statement from one of his intellectual heirs, Tai Chen, which encapsulates comprehensively but

succintly what might be considered the underlying motive which impelled Ku in his textual studies.

"The classics provide the route to the Tao. What illustrates the Tao is their words. How words are formed can be grasped only through (a knowledge of) philology and paleography. From the study of primary and derived characters we can master the language. Through the language we can penetrate the mind and will of the ancient sages and worthies."¹⁰

Thus, while Ku Yen-wu, in his philological studies, may be seen as continuing an established tradition, in his breadth of interest and his focus on what might be termed applied philology his work was to a significant degree both novel and influential.

On history, as on other issues, Ku's position was orthodox. Thus, he subscribed to the cyclical view of history, more or less an article of faith in Chinese thought. On this basis he saw social disorder and dislocation as spawning philosophical and statecraft endeavours designed for practical application to remedy the causes of decline; the doctrines, that is, to make clear the Way and save the world. This basic position is well exemplified by the series of essays on various historical periods at the outset of the section on ethics and social relations alluded to earlier. As Santangelo has recognised there may however be a novelty and a value in Ku Yen-wu's approach to the study of history emphasising as it does the importance of first-hand analysis of sources and materials accompanied by a critical attitude to these. What Ku himself clearly saw as fundamental to historical studies was indeed an appropriate method and an application of results to the rectification, or therapy of contemporary ills. On this score, Santangelo subsequently notes that Ku did not stress court history or *histoire evenementielle* but rather the importance of the social situation combined with the change of customs.¹¹ Indeed, as Chang Hao has observed, the lessons Ku extracted from his historical studies centred on the demonstration of the role of exemplary leadership and the transforming power of morality and customs in relation to social structure.¹² To this end he stressed the importance of inclusion of historical works in the scholar's curriculum, following his own example under the tutelage of his grandfather, Ku Shao-fei. On the matter of geography Ku's work was again wide-ranging, as were his travels in pursuit of information. Indeed, it has been said that his footsteps covered half the empire. Here, also, he placed reliance on extensive use of materials and personal investigation. Although perhaps his geographical studies were mainly directed at gathering information which might facilitate a

Ming restoration they nevertheless brought an awareness of the importance of particular geographic and regional characteristics to historical development in China.

What, then, is the sum of all this? The most negative evaluation would consign Ku Yen-wu to a relatively minor place in Chinese intellectual history, as an eccentric, peripatetic scholar of little lasting importance. Thus it might be said that his philosophical writings were unoriginal and unsystematic and that his statecraft writings were reactionary and impractical. His philological studies might be considered random and superficial lacking the detail and focus for example of those of his contemporary, Yen Jo-chu, whilst his historical and geographical studies were, like his philosophical writings, unsystematic and also somewhat irrelevant, motivated, as they undoubtedly in part were by the increasingly unrealistic aim of Ming restoration. It is towards such an assessment that Ch'ien Mu¹³ tends and to which Fung Yu-lan gives tacit agreement by his signal omission referred to earlier. The most positive evaluation would see him as a man standing at one of the major crossroads of Chinese intellectual history who, with a small band of like-minded contemporaries, men such as Huang Tsung-hsi, Yen Jo-chu and Wang Fu-chih, brought about a major redirection of Chinese thought establishing an influence that persisted throughout the entire Ch'ing period and beyond. He may be seen as a man whose philosophical and classical studies, founded as they were on an effective and practical philology, brought a new level of meaning to the classic texts of Confucianism, whose statecraft views formed a coherent and humanitarian whole lacking only the means of application and whose work on history and geography incorporated a methodological novelty and practical focus that gave direction to several subsequent generations. It is at this end of the spectrum of opinions that Liang Ch'i-ch'ao may be located, identifying Ku, as he does, as a major creative force in the Ch'ing classical movement.¹⁴

It is probable of course that the truth lies between these two extremes. His legacy may however best be seen as a method, an attitude, an approach. Perhaps, ultimately, he should be judged as a man and his *modus operandi*, the latter being comprehensively exemplified by his major work, the *Jih-chih lu*. Whatever significance may be accorded to Ku Yen-wu's philosophical, statecraft, philological and historical concepts per se, the work itself was unquestionably a milestone. Elman, having drawn attention to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's account of the Ku Yen-wu's *Jih-chih lu* as ".....the exemplary work that influenced scholars to record their findings with precision and detail" goes on to make what might be termed a definitive judgement that, "the dignity of the step-by-step empirical approach to knowledge based on wide reading and meticulous observation was an important element that model

works such as the *Jih-chih lu* conveyed to scholars during the 18th century."¹⁵ The final words might best be left to Ku Yen-wu's own characterisation of the work, prefaced only by the comment that although the wait for the hoped-for sage king was in vain, the work stands as a monument to the integrity, breadth of scholarship, humanitarianism and social conscience of its author.

"That which I have written, the *Jih-chih lu* in thirty odd chuan, contains within it the will and purpose of my whole life. I have made a number of copies to give to those of like mind so that it is not cast off by those who might deem themselves to be harmed by it. Moreover, should a king arise who was able, by using his judgement to pluck some ideas from it then he would, in so doing, give realisation to my aspirations (dreams)."¹⁶

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