THE CHINESE CLASSICS.

VOL. III.

THE SHOO KING,

OR

THE BOOK OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.
THE

CHINESE CLASSICS:

WITH

A TRANSLATION, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL NOTES, PROLEGOMENA, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

BY

JAMES LEGGE, D.D.,

OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. III.—PART I.

CONTAINING

THE FIRST PARTS OF THE SHOO-KING.
OR THE BOOKS OF T'ANG; THE BOOKS OF YU; THE BOOKS OF HEA; THE BOOKS OF SHANG; AND THE PROLEGOMENA.

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PRINTING OFFICE.
PREFACE.

The Author is sorry that so long a time has elapsed between the publication of the Works of Mencius and the appearance of this third volume of his undertaking. He felt it necessary, in 1862, to rest in a great measure from his labours on the Chinese Classics, both to recruit his strength, and to devote himself closely to his directly missionary duties; while certain other tasks were pressed on him by friends, which he could not well decline. In the month of March, 1863, he commenced printing his translation of the Shoo and the accompanying notes; but fresh and unexpected engagements, in connection with his position in Hongkong, interposed many hindrances to the progress of the work; and during the last year he was often laid aside from it by repeated attacks of illness. New views of the text, moreover, and of the various questions considered in the Prolegomena, presented themselves as he proceeded, and in many cases prolonged research and reflection were required before he could make up his mind upon them. He can only hope, now that this portion of his task is done, that the extent and execution of it will be deemed some apology for the delay which has occurred in giving it to the public. He does not anticipate so much delay in the appearance of the volumes that remain. The next will be the _She King_, or the Book of Poety.

Two translations of the Shoo were already in existence. The older is in French, and was the Work of Father Gaubil, one of the ablest of the many able Jesuit Missionaries of the early part of last century. It was published at Paris in 1,770, under the editorship of M. De Guignes, who interspersed not a few notes of his own among those of the author, besides making other additions to the Work. Gaubil's
own manuscript was lost; but the editor had the use of two copies which had been taken of it. He found it necessary, however, he tells us, to review and correct the version by having recourse to the Chinese text; and this is to be deplored. Gaubil may have often paraphrased his original, as M. De Guignes says; but I have no doubt the translation, as written by him, was more correct than as it now appears. The second translation was the work of the late Rev. Dr. Medhurst, and was published by him at Shanghai in 1846. He assigned as his reasons for giving it to the world, that 'Gaubil's translation was too free, and in many respects faulty, and had never been commonly known in England.' It may be doubted, however, whether his version be any improvement on the other. Dr. Medhurst's attainments in Chinese were prodigious. But his work on the Shoo was done hastily. He seems to have consulted no native commentary but that of Ts'ae Ch'in; and his notes are very inferior to those of Gaubil.

The Author ventures to hope that the translation now offered represents the Chinese original much more faithfully than either of those previous ones. When he first wrote it, many years ago, having less confidence in himself than he now has, he made free use both of Gaubil and Medhurst. He wrote it all out again in 1862, seldom, if ever, looking at them; and found it necessary to make many changes in every page. Not a little of it was written out a third time, while the work was going through the press.

The Author has often heard Sinologues speak of the difficulty of understanding the Shoo, and hazard the opinion, that, if we had not the native commentaries, we should not be able to make out the meaning of it at all. He would be far from denying that the book is difficult. His own labour on it has been too toilsome to allow his doing so. At the same time, it is by no means unintelligible. Here and there a passage occurs, which yields no satisfactory result after the most persistent study; but in general, if we had not the native commentaries, we should simply have to study the text as intensely and continuously as the native commentators did. They differ, indeed, very frequently among themselves; but this no more entitles us to say that the meaning of the Shoo cannot be determined than similar discrepancies in the views of interpreters on many texts would justify us in saying that the Bible is unintelligible. In a few
The Author is grateful for the kind reception which his two previous volumes have met with from Sinologues both in China and in other countries. One, who of all others has the best right to counsel in such a case, will pardon him for introducing here a suggestion which he offered, and giving his reasons for not attending to it. 'I should have desired,' wrote he, 'that, during the publication of the Four Books, you could have been assisted phrase by phrase, or, so to speak, word by word, by a Chinese scholar perfectly versed in Mandchou. I present this view, that you should not in your following publications deprive yourself of this excellent succour, without which one cannot arrive at an interpretation in conformity with the official (not to say sacramental) sense adopted by the most eminent men of the empire.' Now, before the Author commenced publishing in 1860, the plan thus suggested was considered by him, and he concluded that the advantage to be derived from it would not compensate for the expense and trouble which it would occasion. In the first place, the Manchoos are as dependent as ourselves on the Chinese interpreters. In the second place, the official sense is now very different from what it was before the Sung era; and even in the present dynasty, many of the most distinguished scholars and highest officers do not hesitate to propound and maintain interpretations which are at variance with it. In the third place, the Author hopes, in the course of his labours, to explode not a few of the views about the Classics, which may be pronounced official; believing that, by doing so, he will render the greatest service to the Chinese nation, and facilitate the way for the reception of Christianity by its scholars and people.

Students who read the present volume carefully will find in the annotations little trace of the doubt about the historical genuineness of the first Parts of the Book, and some other points, to which decided expression is given in the Prolegomena. The fact is, that when the earlier notes were written, the doubts in question had not assumed consistency in the Author's mind; and he subsequently thought it the best course to continue his interpretation and criticism of the
text on the assumption that the whole was genuine. This would have at least the advantage of enabling the student to understand more readily whatever he might find in native writers.

A great desideratum in the study of the Classics of China is a really good dictionary. The Author is not thinking of the translations or compilations by Morrison, Gonçalves, Medhurst, and others; but the Chinese themselves have no dictionary which gives a satisfactory historical analysis of the characters of the language and traces from the primary meaning of each term its various subsequent applications. When a dictionary shall have been made on true principles, by some one who understands the origin of the characters, and has pursued the history of every one through the various forms which it has assumed, the interpretation of the Classics will be greatly simplified.

The Author's obligations to the Rev. Mr. Chalmers, for the Indexes of Subjects and Proper Names, the Essay on Ancient Chinese Astronomy, printed in the Prolegomena, and for various suggestions and assistance in the progress of the Work, have been great. Nor must he fail to acknowledge gratefully the services rendered to him by Wang T'aou, a graduate of Soo-chow. This scholar, far excelling in classical lore any of his countrymen whom the Author had previously known, came to Hongkong in the end of 1863, and placed at his disposal all the treasures of a large and well-selected library. At the same time, entering with spirit into his labours, now explaining, now arguing, as the case might be, he has not only helped but enlivened many a day of toil.

Mr Frederick Stewart, Head Master of the Government Schools in Hongkong, and Mr. G. M. Bain, of the "China Mail" Office, have very kindly aided in the correction for the press. Few typographical mistakes have escaped their notice. Some errors in Chinese names should have been detected by the Author, but escaped his notice through the pre-occupation of his mind with other matters.

Hongkong, 12th July, 1865.
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<td>&quot; Ta &quot; Tae.</td>
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<td>&quot; our &quot; one.</td>
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<td>&quot; prunarily &quot; primarily.</td>
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PROLEGOMENA.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE SHOO KING.

SECTION I.

DOWN TO THE BURNING OF THE BOOKS IN B.C. 212.—
THE NAME OF THE SHOO; ITS COMPILATION AND NUMBER OF
BOOKS; ITS SOURCES.

1. I have translated the name Shoo King by 'The Book (or
Classic) of Historical Documents.' The term shoo shows us by its
composition\(^1\) that it denotes 'the pencil speaking;' and hence it is
often used as a general designation for the written
characters of the language. In the preface to the
Shwô Wăn, the oldest extant dictionary of the Chinese, we are told
that 'when Ts'ang Kêê first made characters (shoo), they were, ac-

\(^1\) 名稱 the Shoo,

\(\text{and its significance.}\)

\(\text{cording to their classes, resemblances of the objects, and therefore}
\)
\(\text{called wûn (delineations); that afterwards, when the forms and}
\)
\(\text{their sounds (or names) were mutually increased, they were called}
\)
\(\text{tsze (begetters); and that, as set forth on bamboo or silk, they were}
\)
\(\text{called shoo (writings).}\)\(^2\) From this use of the term the transition
\(\text{was easy to the employment of it in the sense of writings or books,}
\)
\(\text{applicable to any consecutive compositions; and before the time}
\)

\(\text{1 書 - 肄日. 肄 means 'an instrument for writing or describing characters,' and 日}
\)
\(\text{means 'to speak.'}
\)

\(\text{2 蒼頰之初作書, 蓋依類象形, 故謂之文,}
\)
\(\text{其後形聲相益, 即謂之字, 字者, 擊乳而寢多也. 著于}
\)
\(\text{竹帛, 謂之書, 書者, 如也. The Shwô Wăn (說文) was completed A.D.}
\)
\(\text{100, in the 12th year of the 4th emperor of the Eastern Han dynasty (漢和帝永元}
\)
\(\text{十二年). The author's name was Hou Shin (許慎). He is often referred to also by}
\)
\(\text{his designation of Shuh-chung (叔重).}
\)
of Confucius we find it further specially applied to designate the historical remains of antiquity, in distinction from the poems, the accounts of rites, and other monuments of former times. Not that those other documents might not also be called by the general name of shoo. The peculiar significance of the term, however, was well established, and is retained to the present day. The Shoo, in the lips of Confucius, denoted documents concerning the history of his country from the most ancient times to his own; as spoken of since the Han dynasty, it has denoted a compilation of such documents, believed (whether correctly or not, we shall presently inquire) to have been made by the sage. In the prolegomena to my first volume, p. 1, I have called it ‘The Book of History,’ and Medhurst styles it ‘The Historical Classic, the most authentic record of the Annals of the Chinese Empire;’ but both these designations are calculated to mislead the reader. The Book, even as it is said to have come from the hand of Confucius, never professed to contain a history of China; and much less are we to look in it for the annals of that history. Its several portions furnish important materials to the historian, but he must grope his way through hundreds of years without any assistance from the Shoo. It is simply a collection of historical memorials, extending over a space of about 1,700 years, but on no connected method, and with great gaps between them. This is the character of the Work, and nothing more is indicated by the name Shoo King.

2. As to the name ‘Shang Shoo,’ by which the Classic is very frequently both spoken and written of, it is generally said by scholars that it originated subsequently to the burning of the Books.

The name Shang Shoo. Thus Maou K’e-ling tells us that ‘the Shoo was anciently named simply the Shoo, but that, after the portions of it preserved by Fuh-shang appeared, as they were the Books of highest antiquity, it was named the Shang Shoo.’ Maou’s statement is

3 See the fourth paragraph. 4 An instance quite in point may be referred to in the third and only existing part of Milh-tez’s treatise on Manes (明鬼篇). On the 6th page, he has two quotations from the Shoo King, and one from the Shie. The latter is introduced by 周書大雅有之. We read in the Ta Ya, one of the Books of Choo.

1 尚書. 2 書舊，天名書自伏書出後，以其為上古之書，故名尚，見孔氏正義. See the 古文尚書覈詞, Bk. L, p. 10. In explanation of the term 尚, Maou adds—若春秋說題辭尚者上也，上世帝王之遺書也，劉熙釋名（The 释名 still remains. Lew He belonged to the closing times of the Han dynasty） 尚者上也，以文字為上始而書其時事也. A difficulty occurs in receiving this view from the 28th and 30th of the Books of
based on the authority of K‘ung Ying-tä, of the T’ang dynasty. It is so far correct,—in saying that the oldest name of the Book was simply the Shoo; but the epithet of Shang was in use before the time of Fuh-shang. We find it in the treatise of Mih-tsze referred to above.3 We may acquiesce in the meaning which is assigned to it. Shang may be descriptive of the documents with reference either to their antiquity or to the value set upon them.

3. In the Analects, Confucius and Tsze-chang quote from the Shoo by the simple formula—‘The Shoo says.’1 In the Great Learning, four different Books, all in the classic as we have it now, are mentioned by name.2 Mencius sometimes uses the same formula as Confucius,3 and at other times designates particular Books.4 It is most natural for us to suppose that Confucius, when he spoke of ‘The Shoo,’ had in his mind’s eye a collection of Historical Documents bearing that title,—the same which we still possess in a mutilated condition. But it may not have been so. His language—‘The Shoo says’—may convey nothing more than that in one of the ancient documents, come down from former times, well known to many, and open to general research, so and so was to be found written. Such even Chinese critics must allow to have been his meaning, if he used the phrase before he himself made the compilation of the documents which they universally ascribe to him. I propose now to inquire on what authority the sage is believed to have made such a compilation; and, as a specimen of the current tradition on the subject, I may commence by quoting the account in the ‘Records of the Suy dynasty’ (A.D. 589–617).—‘Historical Documents began immediately with the invention of written characters. Confucius inspected the documents in the library of Chow; and having found the records of the four dynasties of Yu, Hea, Shang, and Chow, he preserved the best among them, and rejected the others. Beginning with Yu and

Chow, which belong to the period of what is called the Ch‘un-ta‘ew; and Maou concludes by saying that as the Books of the Shoo were recovered in the Han dynasty, they then characterised all documents prior to the times of Ts‘in as of high antiquity (書出漢代其視奏以前皆上古耳). This conclusion of Maou is overthrown by the use of the term by Mih-tsze. 5 See the 明鬼篇下, p. 7,—故尚書夏書其次商周之書語數鬼神之有也.

1 書云. Ana. II. xxi; XIV. xliii. 2 The Great Learning, Comm. I. 1, 2, 3; ii. 2; ix. 2 x. 11, 14. 3 書日. I. Pt. II. iii. 7; xi. 2; III. Pt. I. i. 4; Pt. II. ix. 6; VI. Pt. II. v. 4. 4 I. Pt. I. ii. 4; II. Pt. I. iv. 6; III. Pt. II. v. 8; IV. Pt. I. viii. 5; V. Pt. I. v. 8; VII. Pt. II. iii.
coming down to Chow, he compiled altogether a hundred Books, and made a preface to them.15

The earliest authority for these statements is that of K‘ung Gan-kwô, about B.C. 90. When it is said that Confucius compiled the Book of Poetry, substantially as it exists at present, his own language may be adduced in corroboration. He tells us how he reformed the music, and gave the pieces in the Imperial songs and Praise songs all their proper places. He tells us also, in round numbers very nearly approaching the exact calculation, how many the pieces of poetry were.7 But nowhere does he speak of having laboured in a similar way upon the Shoo, or of the number of documents comprehended in the collection. He spoke of them often with his disciples, as he did of the poems; but neither in the Analects nor in Mencius have we a hint of his having selected a hundred pieces from the mass of early historical memoirs, and composed a preface for them.

Gan-kwô’s testimony is in the preface to his commentary on the Shoo King, enlarged by the additional Books which had been recovered from the wall of Confucius’ house,—of which I will speak at length in the next chapter. Recounting the labours of his ‘ancestor, Confucius,’ on the Music, Rites, Poems, and other remains of ancient literature, he says that ‘he examined and arranged the grand monuments and records, deciding to commence with Yaou and Shun, and to come down to the times of Chow. When there was perplexity and confusion, he mowed them. Expressions frothy and unallowable he cut away. What embraced great principles he retained and developed. What were more minute and yet of importance he carefully selected. Of those deserving to be handed down to other ages and to supply permanent lessons, he made in all one hundred Books, consisting of Canons, Counsels, Instructions, Announcements, Speeches, and Charges.’8

5 隋書志第二十七經籍一書之所及疫與文字俱起孔子觀書於室得虞夏商周四代之典删其善者 上自虞下至周為百篇編而序之。 6 Ana., IX., xiv. 7 Ana., II., ii. 8 See the 塬書序 in ‘The Thirteen King.’—先君孔子 ———— 討論 塬典 斷自唐虞以下詁子周及夷煩理剪截浮辭舉其宏綱 擬其機要足以垂世立教典 誠諭誓言命之文 凡百篇。 In an earlier part of the preface Gan-kwô has described the 塬 as ‘the Books of Fuh-he, Shin-nung, and Hwang-te,’ and the 典 as ‘the Books of Shaou-haou, Chuen-heuh, Kaou-sin, Yaou, and Shun.’ Of these I shall speak farther on; but we must take 塉典 in this paragraph more generally, or its parts will be very inconsequent. Ying-tâ expands 討論 塤典 into 討整論理此三塤五典 井三代之書也.
Of Confucius having written a preface to the hundred Books which he thus compiled, Gan-kwŏ does not speak distinctly. His language implies that among the remains which came into his charge there was a preface to the Books, which he broke up into its several parts, prefixing to each Book the portion belonging to it; but he does not say that Confucius was the author of it.\(^9\)

Confucius died B.C. 478, and thus nearly 400 years pass by before we find the compilation of the Shoo ascribed to him. I know that the genuineness of Gan-kwŏ's preface—commonly named 'The Great Preface,'\(^10\)—is called in question, though, as I think, on insufficient grounds; but we find the same testimony which has been adduced from it given about the same time by Sze-ma Ts'e'en, who was acquainted with Gan-kwŏ, and consulted him specially on the subject of the Shoo.\(^11\) Ts'e'en's 'Historical Records'\(^12\) must have been completed between B.C. 103 and 97, and became current in the reign of the emperor Seuen, B.C. 82—48. In them, in the Life of Confucius, we read that the sage, on his return to Loo in his old age, B.C. 483, 'made a preface to the Records of the Shoo, and compiled and arranged them from the times of Yaou and Shun down to duke Muh of Ts'in.'\(^13\) Ts'e'en speaks more definitely than Gan-kwŏ on the point of the Preface. The fact of the compilation is equally asserted by both. But they cannot be regarded as independent witnesses. Ts'e'en's information came to him from Gan-kwŏ; and to them are to be traced all the statements on the subject which we find in the chronicles of the Han and subsequent dynasties. It is possible—it is not improbable—that Confucius did compile a hundred ancient documents, which he wished to be regarded as the Shoo par eminence. His doing so would have been in harmony with the character which he gave of himself as 'A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients;'\(^14\) and with his labours on the Classic of poetry and on the Ch'un-ts'ew. The Shoo's beginning with

\(^9\) See the 'Ana. VII. i.'
the Canons of Yaou and Shun is also what might have been expected from him of whom it is said in the Doctrine of the Mean that 'He handed down the doctrines of Yaou and Shun as if they had been his ancestors.' But however reasonable in itself may be the belief that he compiled the Shoo as it existed at the time when the ambitious emperor of Ts'ìn issued his edict that the ancient books should be consigned to the flames, I have thought it right to show that the evidence which we have for it is by no means conclusive. What Gan-kwô is supposed to say, and Ts'een says explicitly, about his writing a preface to the compilation, is, it will be presently seen, still more questionable.

4. Whether Confucius determined that so many of the ancient historical documents of his country were worthy of being preserved, and stamped them with his own authority, so fixing the Canon of the Shoo, or not, the evidence is satisfactory enough that after his time there was current under this name an acknowledged and authoritative collection of such documents.

It has been pointed out how he used in his quotations the vague formula—"The Shoo says," which may mean 'An ancient document says,' or 'One of the Books in the Canon of the Shoo says;' and that Mencius often does the same. The language of the latter philosopher, however, in one place loses much of its force, if we do not understand him to be referring to a definite collection. 'It would be better,' he said, 'to be without the Shoo than to give entire credit to it;' and immediately after, he specifies one of the Books of Chow.—"In the "Completion of the War," I select two or three passages only which I believe.' The natural interpretation of the character Shoo as here employed is certainly that which I propose. In my comment upon it, vol. II., p. 355, I have spoken of two or three methods which have been thought of to give it a different meaning. They are all strained, and designed to escape from what we should call doctrinal difficulties. Mencius speaks with little reverence for the Shoo, and with little reverence for Confucius, if he believed that the Master had compiled it in the way which K'ung Gan-kwô describes. He may have been wrong in doing so,

15 中庸, xxx, 1.
1 Men. VII. Pt. II.—盡信書則不如無書。吾於武成取—三策而已矣.
or he may have been right; — what he did say remains in the record of his Works.

The quotation of particular documents by their names in The Great Learning and in Mencius, which has likewise been pointed out, directs us to the same conclusion. The same thing is often found in the Record of Rites.

In the Commentary of Tso-k'ew Ming on the Ch'un-ts'ew, in Mih-tsze, Seun-tsze, and other writers of the two last centuries of the Chow dynasty, a different style of quotation prevails, which is still more decisive on the point in hand. They not only quote the Shoo as Confucius and Mencius do, but they specify the different parts or divisions of it,—the Books of Yu, of Hea, of Shang, of Chow. I need refer the reader only to the quotation from Mih-tsze given in the third note to par. 2 above.

Whether the Collection of Historical Documents, which was thus current in the closing period of the Chow dynasty, consisted of a hundred different Books, no more and no fewer, is a question on which I find it difficult to give a definite opinion. It was so believed after the Preface to the Shoo was found in the wall of Confucius' house in the reign of the emperor Woo (B.C. 139—86), or earlier. That preface, such as it is, will be seen in this volume, pp. 1—14.

Gan-kwō assumed that it was complete, and based on it his statement that the Shoo contained the hundred Books mentioned in it. Copies of it were current among the scholars of the Han dynasty, differing a little from that published subsequently as Gan-kwō's in the relative order of some of the Books; but we have their testimony as to the entire number in the collection being a hundred.

There are some things, however, which make me hesitate to receive these statements without question. For instance, Sze-ma Ts'een in his Records of the Yin dynasty, when telling us that Woo Heen made the Heen E, which is mentioned in the Preface, Not. 22, adds

2 I think it more probable that this event took place in the reign of the emperor King (景帝), B.C. 155—140. It is generally said to have happened in the end of Woo's reign. But King Kung of Loo, to enable whom to enlarge his palace the old house of the sage was being pulled down, died, it is said, B.C. 127, more than 40 years before Woo's reign ended. See Yen Jō-keu, as quoted in the 備書後案辨附, p. 29. The different statements which we find on the subject arise from confusing the date of the discovery of the old tables with that of the completion of Gan-kwō's commentary. 3 Thus Ch'ing Heuen or Ch'ing K'ang-shing tells us that the Books of Yu and Hea (or the Yu-hea Books) were 20; those of Shang, 40; and those of Chow, 40— a hundred in all. See K'ang-shing's brief account of the Shoo, given in the 後案 卷十三, p. 58.
that he also made the *T'ae-mow*, which has no place in it. In the Commentary of Tso-k'ew, under the 4th year of duke Ting (B.C. 505), mention is made of the Announcement to the prince of K'ang, which is now the 9th of the Books of Chow, and in the same paragraph of a Charge or Announcement to Pih-k'in, on which the Preface is silent. In the 21st of the Books of the first dynasty of Han, there is a quotation from ‘the *Yuè Ts'ae*, one of the Books of the Ancient Text,’ and on the same page a Book called *Fung Hing* is spoken of, of neither of which do we read elsewhere.

Further, several writers of the Han dynasty speak of 102, and of 120 Books. It is difficult to explain their language; but it appears inconsistent with the tradition which has since prevailed, that the Canon of the Shoo contained, before the time of Ts'in, only one hundred documents.

Maou K'ê-ling endeavours quite unsuccessfully to prove that the phrase, ‘A hundred Books,’ was older than Gan-kwô, and his discovery of the Preface. He refers first to a passage in Mih-tsze, where it is said that ‘the duke of Chow read in the morning 100 Books.’ This can have nothing to do with the subject. Several of the Books of the Shoo were composed after the time of the duke of Chow. Mih simply means to commend his industry, as is evident from the sentence which follows, that ‘in the evening the duke gave audience to 70 officers.’ He refers also to a sentence in the writings of Yang Heung, that ‘those who in former times spoke of the Shoo, arranged (or prefaced) it in 100 Books’; but Yang died A.D. 18, being posterior to Gan-kwô by nearly a century; and the sequel of the passage shows that he had in mind critics subsequent to that.

4 See the 般記, p. 3.—巫咸治王家底成, 作咸艾作大戊。 5 See the 左傳, 定公四年, 命以伯禽而封於少皞之虛......命以康誼, 而封於殷虛。 6 See the 律曆志, 第一, 下—古文月令篇曰, 云云, 毛言盈刑曰......王命作策豐刑。 7 See the 古文尚書纂詞卷二, p 7, and the 經義考, 卷七十三, 書二, p. 1. Maou gives two ways of explaining these expressions. The first is—Add to the acknowledged 100 Books one for the Preface, and one for a different edition of The Great Speech, which somehow was current; thus we have 102. The second refers to the 120.—He adduces a work called 向書, 睽猥, where it is said that Confucius found 120 Books; that out of 102 he made the Shang Shoo, and out of 18 the Chung How; and these were the 120 (百兩篇). I do not know how to interpret Chung How (中侯). The explanations do not enlighten the darkness of the subject. 8 See Mih-tsze, 卷之十二, 貴義, p. 3, 昔者 周公旦朝讀百篇, 夕見漸 (＝七)十士。 9 See 楊子法言, 卷四, 貢神篇, p 4—昔之說書者序以百。
scholar.—On the one hand, allowing that Gan-kwò found the Preface, as it is still current, with the other tablets (which there is no reason to doubt), we cannot be certain that the Canon of the Shoo did not at the end of the Chow dynasty contain more than a hundred Books; nor, on the other hand, can we be certain that the hundred Books mentioned in it were all then existing. Not a few of them may have been lost or cast out before that time. I believe myself that it was so, and will give my reasons for doing so in the next section.

That the Preface, whether it be complete or not, was not written by Confucius, is now the prevailing opinion of scholars throughout the empire. I have shown that Gan-kwò himself did not ascribe it to the sage. Sze-ma Ts‘e’en did, and was followed by Lew Hin, Pan Koo, Ch‘ing Heuen, and other scholars of the Han dynasty. Their doing so proves that they had little of the critical faculty,—unless we are prepared to allow that Confucius was a man of very little discrimination and comprehension of mind. It will be sufficient for me to give here the judgment in the matter of Ts‘ae Ch‘in, the disciple of Choo He, and whose commentary is now the standard of orthodoxy in the interpretation of the Shoo.—After quoting the opinions of Lew Hin and Pan Koo, he says:—‘When we examine the text of the Preface, as it is still preserved, though it is based on the contents of the several Books, the knowledge which it shows is shallow, and the views which it gives are narrow. It sheds light on nothing; and there are things in it at variance with the text of the Classic. On the Books that are lost it is specially servile and brief, affording us not the slightest help. That it is not the work of Confucius is exceedingly plain.’

5. The questions which have thus far been discussed can hardly be regarded as of prime importance. It seemed necessary to give attention to them in a critical introduction to the Shoo; but it matters little to the student that he cannot discern the imprimatur of Confucius on the collected Canon;—he has the sage’s authority for some Books in it, and he has evidence that after his time there was a Compilation of ancient historical documents acknowledged by the scholars of the empire. And it matters little to him what was the exact number of documents in that Collection;—many of them have been irretrievably lost, and we have to do only with those which are now current as having fortunately escaped the flames of Ts‘in. There remains, however, at this part of our in-

10 See the 集傳.書序.
queries, a question really curious and of great interest.—What were the sources of the Shoo? What proofs have we of the composition in ancient times of such documents as it contains, and of their preservation, so that some of them might be collected in a sort of historical Canon?

To begin with the dynasty of Chow.—We have the Work commonly called 'The Rites of Chow.'¹ It is also and more correctly called 'The Officers of Chow.'² Under the several departments into which the administration of the government was divided, it gives the titles of the officers belonging to them, and a description of their duties. I will not vouch for the tradition which ascribes the composition of it to the duke of Chow; but it no doubt contains the institutions and arrangements made by him in completing the establishment of the dynasty.

Under the department of the minister of Religion we find the various officers styled Sze,³ a term which has been translated 'Recorders,'⁴ 'Annalists,'⁵ 'Historiographers,' and simply 'Clerks.'⁶ There are the Grand Recorder, the Assistant Recorder, the Recorder of the Interior, the Recorder of the Exterior, and the Recorder in attendance on the emperor. Arranged under the department of the minister of Religion, they were advisers also of the prime minister of the government, and of Heads of Departments generally, on all subjects which required reference to history and precedent. Among the duties of the Recorder of the Interior were the following:—'In case of any Charge given by the emperor to the prince of a State, to an assistant Grand counsellor, to a minister, or to a great officer, he writes the Charge on tablets;' 'In case of any Memorials on business coming in from the different quarters of the empire, he reads them to the emperor;' 'It is his business to write all Charges of the emperor, and to do so in duplicate.'⁷ Of the duties of the Re-

¹ 周禮. Biot names it—'Le Tcheou Li, ou Rites de Tcheou.'
² 周官. This is the name in the grand edition ordered by the emperor K'ēn-lung of the present dynasty.—
³ 欽定周官義疏 3 史. 4 This is the definition given in the Shwô Wan,—記事者, 'one who records events.' Morrison, Dict., is voc., observes that the character is formed from 'a hand seizing the middle,' and defines it as 'an impartial narrator of events.' The seizing of the pencil, and describes things without swerving to the right or left.
⁵ Thus Biot renders the term. 6 See my translation of the Analects, VI. xvi.
⁶ 大史.小史.內史.外史.御史. 8 See the 周官, Ch. xxvi. P. 35, 凡命諸侯及孤卿大夫,則篆命之; p. 36, 凡四方之事書.內史讀之; p. 38, 內史掌書王命,逢戌之.
DOWN TO THE BURNING OF THE BOOKS.

[PROLEGOMENA.

corder of the Exterior it is said: —‘He writes all Commands for the exterior domains;’ ‘He has charge of the Histories of the States in all parts of the empire;’ ‘He has charge of the Books of the three great sovereigns and the five rulers;’ ‘It is his business to publish in all parts of the empire the Books and the characters in them.’

These passages show clearly that under the Chow dynasty, from its commencement in the 11th century before our Christian era, there was provision made for the compilation and preservation of imperial charges and ordinances, of records of the operations of the general government, and of histories of the different States; and, moreover, for the preservation and interpretation of documents come down from more ancient times.

The Recorders mentioned in the ‘Officers of Chow’ belonged of course to the imperial court; but there were similar officers, though not so numerous, at the courts of the various feudal princes. It was of such that Confucius spoke when he said that in his early days a historiographer would leave a blank in his text rather than enter anything of which he had not sufficient evidence. They also were the writers of the Books which Mencius mentions,—‘the Shing of Tsin, the Taou-wuh of Ts‘oo, and the Ch‘un-ts‘ew of Loo.’

When we ascend from the Chow dynasty to those of Shang and Hea which preceded it, we do not have the same amount of evidence for the existence under them of the class of officers styled Recorders. Chinese critics, indeed, say that it did then exist, and even earlier; my own opinion is, that the institution was in active operation during the dynasties just named: —but the proofs are not adequate. For instance, Ma Twan-lin says, ‘The pencil of the recording officers was busy from the time of Hwang-te. Its subsequent operation is clearly seen from what we know of Chung Koo, the Grand Recorder.

9 Pp. 89-92. 外史掌書外令: 掌四方之志; 掌三皇五帝之書; 掌達書名於四方. Biot translates this last par, 掌達書名於四方 by ‘ils sont chargés de propager les noms écrits, ou les signes de l'écriture, dans les quatre parties de l'empire.’ This was the view of Wang Gan-shih of the Sung dynasty, who says—書名者字也. 书名 and 名 are thus taken in apposition, or, at best, as Biot renders, —‘written names,’ —characters; which seems to me an unnatural construction. K‘ang-shing took 名 as meaning simply ‘the names of the Books,’ as ‘The Canon of Yaou,’ ‘The Tribute of Yu;’ which names the Recorder of the Exterior made known throughout the empire. So far as the characters 名 are concerned, this interpretation is the likeliest; but it makes the whole passage so weak and frivolous that it cannot be admitted. K‘ang-shing mentions, however, that some took 名 in the sense of 字, ‘characters;’ and made 名 = ‘the characters in the various Books.’ This is nearer to the view which I have taken. 10 Ana. XV. xxv. 11 Men. IV. Pt. II. xxi.
of Hea, and Kaou She, the Grand Recorder of Shang.' But all that we know of the names mentioned is from the Bamboo Books and from the Ch'un-ts'ew of Leu,—both comparatively recent and insufficient authorities. I attach more force to what we find in the 10th of the Books of Chow, par. 13, where Fung is told to warn his 'friends, the Grand Recorder and the Recorder of the Interior,' of the dangers of drunkenness. By the 'Recorder of the Interior' there, it is argued that we must understand the officer who had exercised that function at the imperial court of Shang, and was now living in retirement in the State of Wei after the overthrow of his dynasty.

Independently of the Institution of Recorders, if we may admit the testimony of the Shoo itself, both emperors and ministers were in the habit of committing their ordinances and memorials to writing during the rule of the House of Shang. Woo-ting, b.c. 1321, is described as making a writing to communicate the dream which he had to his ministers; and, more than 400 years earlier, we have E Yin addressing his remonstrances to the young emperor T'ae-kēă in a written form. Going back to the dynasty of Hea, we find that the prince of Yin, during the reign of Chung-k'ang, generally believed to have begun b.c. 2158, in addressing his troops, quotes 'The Statutes of Government,' in a manner which makes us conceive of him as referring to some well-known compilation. The grandsons of the great Yu, likewise, make mention, in 'The Songs of the Five Sons,' of his 'Lessons,' doing so in language which suggests to us the formula which Mencius was wont to employ when he was referring to the documents acknowledged to be of authority in his day. There can be no doubt that about 2000 years before our era the art of writing was known in China, and that it was exer-

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12 See the 文獻通考, 卷五十一, Art. 史官-史官筆自黃帝有之, 自後顯著夏太史終古, 高太史商勢. [While this sheet is going through the press, my attention has been called to a Soo-chow edition of Ma Twan-lu's Work, where this passage is read—史官筆自黃帝有之自後顯著.云云. This reading is, no doubt, preferable to that in the copy in my own possession.]

13 See the 竹書紀年, 注箋, 卷之四, p. 12, and 卷之六, p. 28. What Leu says is found, in his Ch'üan-ts'ew, 卷第十六, 先識覲第四. The 太平御覽, 卷二百三十五, p. 4, gives the following abstract of his statements:—夏太史令終古, 見夏桀惑亂, 載其圖法而泣. 乃出奔商, 商亦有之, 在於周之先, 以書 facilitates, in Men. L. Pt. II. ii. 1, et al.
cised in the composition of Documents of the nature of those which we read in the Shoo King. Whether an institution like that of the Recorders of Chow existed at so early a date does not appear. We can well believe that, as time went on, all written memorials were produced more numerously and frequently. We can well believe also that, in the revolutions and periods of confusion which occurred, many memorials were lost. Mencius complained that in his time the feudal princes destroyed many of the records of antiquity, that they might the better perpetrate their own usurpations and innovations. The same thing would go on during the dynasties of Shang and Hea. Time is at once a producer and a devourer. Many records of Yu and T'ang and their successors had perished before the Canon of the Shoo was compiled, but sufficient must have remained to supply the materials for a larger collection than was made.

Confucius once expressed himself in a manner which throws light on the point which I am now considering.—'I am able,' said he, 'to describe the ceremonies of the Hea dynasty, but K'e cannot sufficiently attest my words. I am able to describe the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty; but Sung cannot sufficiently attest my words. They cannot do so because of the insufficiency of their records and wise men.' The State of K'e was ruled by the descendants of the great Yu, and that of Sung by those of T'ang. The various institutions of Hea and Shang ought to have been preserved in them, and their scholars should have been careful to watch over the literary monuments that could be appealed to in support of their traditions and ordinances. But the scholars had failed in their duty; the monuments were too mutilated and fragmentary to answer their purpose. The Master would not expose himself to the risk of relating or teaching what he could not substantiate by abundant evidence. Where had he got his own knowledge of the ancient times? Some critics tell us that he was born with it;—an affirmation which no foreigner will admit. He must have obtained it by his diligent research, and his reasoning, satisfactory at least to himself, on what facts he was able to ascertain. His words show us that, while in his time there were still existing documents of a high antiquity, they were not very numerous or complete.

6. Before we pass on to the next chapter, it will be well to say something on the Books of the three great sovereigns, and the five

18 V. Pt. II. ii. 2. 19 Ana. III. ix.
rulers,' which 'The Officers of Chow,' as quoted on page 11, mentions as being under the charge of the Recorder of the Exterior. Nothing certain or satisfactory, indeed, has ever been ascertained about them; but the amount of discussion to which they have given rise renders it desirable that I should not leave the passage unnoticed.

What were those Books? Gan-kwō says in his preface, referred to above on page 4, that 'the Books of Fuh-he, Shin-nung, and Hwang-te were called the Three Fun, as containing great doctrines; and those of Shaou-haou, Chuen-heuh, Kaou-sin, Yaou, and Shun were called the five Teen, as containing standard doctrines.' He was led to this explanation by a passage in the Tso Chuen, the most valued commentary on the Ch'un-Ts'ew. It is there said, under the 12th year of duke Ch'ao (B.C. 530), that E-Seang, a Recorder of the State of Ts'oo, 'could read the three Fun, the five Teen, the eight Sih, and the nine K'ew.' It would appear from this, that in the time of Confucius there were some books current having the names which are given; but what they were, and whether a portion of them were the same with those mentioned in 'The Officers of Chow,' we cannot tell. Woo Sze-taou, a scholar of the Yuen dynasty, observes:—'The Recorder of the Exterior had charge of the "Books of the three Hwang;" nothing is said of the "three Fun." E-seang could read the "three Fun;" nothing is said in connection with him of the "three Hwang." K'ung Gan-kwō thought that the Books of the three Hwang and the three Fun were identical; but there is no good reason to adopt his conclusion.' Too Yu of the Tsin dynasty, the glossarist of the Tso Chuen, contented himself with saying that Fun, Teen, Sih, and K'ew were all 'the names of ancient Books.' Whatever those Books were, we may safely conclude that they were of little worth. According to Gan-kwō's own account, Confucius rejected the three Fun, and three out of the five Teen, when he was compiling the Shoo; and by whomsoever the Shoo was compiled, we are well assured that it never contained any document older than the Canon of Yaou. We should be glad if we could have light thrown on the passage in 'The Officers

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1 伏犧神農黃帝之書謂之三塋 言大道也。少昊顓頊 高辛唐虞之書謂之五典 言常道也。 2 佐史倚相 其能讀三塋 五典 八索 九丘。 3 吳師道。 He is quoted in the 經義考、書一.
of Chow; but we must be content, as is so often the case in historical inquiries, to remain in ignorance, and have our curiosity ungratified.\footnote{I have not thought it worth while to mention in the text a forgery of 'the three Fun,' which was attempted A.D. 1064, when a certain Maau TsEin (毛漬) pretended to have discovered the ancient Books. The imposition was soon exploded.}

SECTION II.


THE RECOVERY OF A PORTION OF THE SHOO BY FUH-SANG, CALLED THE MODERN TEXT; AND OF A SECOND PORTION BY K'UNG GAN-KWO, CALLED THE ANCIENT TEXT. THE GENERAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF GAN-KWO'S BOOKS.

1. In the \textit{prolegomena} to vol. I., pp. 6–9, I have given an account of the burning of the books, and of the slaughter of many of the literati, by the first emperor of the Ts'in dynasty. The measures were barbarous and wanton, but the author of them and his advisers adopted them as necessary to the success of the policy which the new dynasty was initiating. The old feudal system of the empire had been abolished; a new order of administration was being introduced; the China of the future, to be ruled for ever by the House of Ts'in, must be disestablished entirely from the China of the past. In order to this the history of former times, it was thought, should be blotted out, and the names which had been held in reverence for hundreds and thousands of years be made to perish from the memory of men. The course taken was like that ascribed to our Edward I., when in A.D. 1284 he assembled all the bards of Wales, and caused them to be put to death. When the premier Le Sze advised that the books should be burned, he made an exception, according to the account of his speech given us by Sze-ma Ts'een, in favour of the copies in keeping of the Board of Great Scholars; but those must have shared the common fate. If they had not done so, the Shoo would not have been far to seek, when the rule of Ts'in came in so short a time to an end.

The founder of that dynasty, which he fondly thought would last for myriads of years, died in B.C. 209. His second son, who succeeded him, was murdered in 204, and the House of Ts'in passed away.
The dynasty of Han dates from B.C. 201, and in the 4th year of its second emperor, B.C. 190, the edict of Ts'in, making it a capital crime to have the ancient books in one's possession, was repealed. Thus, the Shoo and the other classics (with the exception of the Yih-king) were under the ban for less than a quarter of a century.

2. Among the ‘Great Scholars’ of Ts'in, there had been one named Fuh Shing, but commonly referred to as ‘Fuh-säng,’ which is equivalent to Mr. Fuh, or the scholar Fuh. He belonged to Tse-nan in Shan-tung; and when the order for the burning of the Shoo went forth, he hid the tablets of the copy which he had in a wall. During the struggle which ensued, after the extinction of the Ts'in dynasty, for the possession of the empire, Fuh-säng was a fugitive in various parts; but when the rule of Han was established, he went to look for his hid treasure. Alas! many of the tablets were perished or gone. He recovered only 29 Books (as he thought) of the Classic. Forthwith he commenced teaching, making those Books the basis of his instructions, and from all parts of Shan-tung scholars resorted to him, and sat at his feet.

In all this time, no copy of the Shoo had reached the court. The emperor Wän (B.C. 178–156), after ineffectual attempts to find some scholar who could reproduce it, heard at last of Fuh-säng, and sent to call him. Fuh was then more than 90 years old, and could not travel; and an officer, called Ch'aoou Ts'ö, belonging to the same department as the Recorders mentioned in the last section, was sent to Tse-nan to receive from him what he had of the Shoo. Whether Ts'ö got the very tablets which Fuh had hidden and afterwards found again, or whether he only took a copy of them, we are not told. It is most likely that, being an imperial messenger, he would carry away the originals. However this be, those originals were, and his copy, if he made one, would be, in the new form of the characters introduced under Ts'in,—what was then ‘the modern text;’ and by this name the portion of the Shoo recovered by Fuh-säng is designated to the present day.

The above account is taken from Sze-ma Ts'een. Gan-kwō gives a relation of the circumstances materially different. According to him, ‘Fuh-säng of Tse-nan, being more than 90 years of age (when the emperor Wän was seeking for copies), had lost his originals of the text, and was delivering by

1 伏勝  2 伏生  3 See the 史記, 一百二十一, 儒林, 列傳 第六十. 16]
word of mouth more than twenty Books to disciples.'  
4. From another passage we gather that he estimated Fuh-säng's Books, with which he was well acquainted, at 28; but he says nothing of the visit to Fuh of Ch'aoou Ts'sō. Wei Hwang, of the first century of our era, says that when Ch'aoou Ts'sō went to him, Fuh-säng, being over 90, was unable to speak plainly, and made use of a (? grand-) daughter to repeat what he said; and that her dialect being different from Ts'sō's, he lost 2 or 3 in every ten of her words, supplying them as he best could according to his conception of the meaning.  
5. This last account, as being more marvellous, has become the accepted history of the manner in which so many Books of the Shoo were recovered through Fuh-säng. Even Regis follows it, as if he had not been aware of the more trustworthy narrative of Sze-ma Ts'een.  
6. The statement of Sze-ma Ts'een, that Fuh-säng found again the tablets containing 29 'p'éen,'—Books, or parts of Books,—of the Shoo, is repeated by Lew Hin in his list of the Books in the imperial library under his charge, of which I have given some account in the proleg. to vol. I. pp. 3–5. It is there expressly said, moreover, that there were, in the classical department of the library, '29 portions of the text of the Shang Shoo.'  

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It was discovered subsequently, that 'The Canon of Shun' was incorporated by Fuh-säng with that of Yaou; the 'Yih and Tseih' with 'The Counsel of Kaou-yaou;' 'The Charge of king K'ang'  

4 See Gan-kwo's Preface, p. 13.  
5 See the 古文尚書覺詞 卷一, p. 6.  

1 經二十九卷
with 'The Testamentary Charge;' and that the 'Pwan-kâng,' given by him as one Book, was in reality three Books. Hence it is often said that Fuh-sâng's Books amounted to 34,—as was really the case.

But there is a statement very generally accepted,—that Fuh-sâng's Books amounted only to 28, which requires some discussion. 'The Great Speech,' as it is now current, forms three Books. In 'the modern text' it formed only one; and it came to be denied, in the time of the Han dynasty, that even that one proceeded from Fuh-sâng. Lew Heang says:—'In the end of the reign of the emperor Woo (B.C. 139–86), some one among the people found "The Great Speech" in a wall, and presented it. When it was submitted to the Board of Great Scholars, they were pleased with it, and in a few months all began to teach it.'2 Ma Yung, Wang Suh, and Ch'ing Heuen, all affirm that 'The Great Speech' was a more recent discovery than the other Books. Wang Ch'ung,3 towards the end of our first century, wrote:—'In the time of the emperor Seuen (B.C. 72–48), a girl, north of the Ho, among the ruins of an old house, discovered three Books,—one of the Shoo; one of the Le; and one of the Yih. She presented them to the court. The emperor sent them down to the Great Scholars; and from this time the number of the recovered Books of the Shang Shoo came to be fixed at 29.'

All these accounts, attributing 'The Great Speech' a later origin than to the rest of Fuh-sâng's Books, must be set aside. Sze-ma Ts'een's testimony is express as to the number of 29; and, what ought to settle the matter, Fuh-sâng himself, in the Introduction which he made to the Shoo, used the language of the Book, as the scholars of the eastern Han read it in the text, the preservation of which they ascribed to 'a girl, north of the Ho.'4 That text was substantially what I have given in this volume in an appendix (pp. 297–299). We cannot wonder that it should have troubled the scholars. Such a piece of wild extravagance, and having in it nothing of the passages of 'The Great Speech,' quoted by Mencius and others!—this to be going abroad as part of the Shoo of Confucius! They would have done right to cast it out of the classic. They were wrong in denying that it was brought to light, after the fires of Ts'in, by Fuh-sâng. We are therefore in this position in regard to him. Among his tablets were some containing that farrago,

2 劉向 別錄, quoted in the 古文尚書冤詞 卷一, p. 7. 3 王充. Quoted by Se-ho as above. 4 See as above, pp. 8, 9.
FROM THE BURNING OF THE BOOKS TO CHOO HEE. [PROLEGOMENA,]

and he must have erred in classing them with the others, which were portions of the true Shoo. I have not been able to think of any other explanation which will unravel, so satisfactorily, the perplexities of the case. Fuh-sang gave to the world 29 Books as of the Shoo, but in regard to one of them he was mistaken. The stories of its being a subsequent discovery, due to a girl, were devised to save his reputation.

4. According to what I quoted above, p. 16, from Sze-ma Ts'een, many Scholars resorted to Fuh-sang, and learned from him what he had to teach about the Shoo. His two principal disciples were a Gow-yang Ho-pih, commonly designated Gow-yang-sang, and a Chang-sang, to whom he delivered his comments on the Shoo in 41 Books, of which some fragments still remain. Each of these became the founder of a school, the professors and writings of which are distinctly traced by the critics down into the dynasty of Tsin. Ho-pih's successor was a distinguished scholar and officer, called E Hwan. His great-grandson, Gow-yang Kaou, published 'The Shang Shoo in paragraphs and sentences, in 31 Books.' From the same school flowed at least two other Works; 'The meaning of the Shang Shoo explained,' in two Books, and 'Decisions on the Shang Shoo,' by Gow-yang Te-yu and others, in 42 Books. The reputation of 'The School of Gow-yang,' was pre-eminent during the dynasty of the eastern Han.

1 歐陽生字和伯. 2 張生. 3 傳四十一篇. 4 By the time of the Suy dynasty, this work had dwindled away to three p' een. 5 兇陽. 6 尚書章句三十一卷. See the 前漢藝文志, upon the Shoo. 7 尚書儀說二篇. 8 歐陽氏地餘等 尚書議奏. 9 歐陽學. 10 最盛. See the introductory Chapter to Yung-ching's Shoo, 續論, pp. 2, 3. The Continuation of Ma T'wan-lin's Work (proleg. vol. I, p. 184) gives the following table of the School of Gow-yang.

生 伏書尚
伯和陽歐
寬倪
子之陽歐
某
The school founded by Chang-săng, and which by and by diverged into two branches was not less prolific in Works upon the Shoo: Chang delivered his learning to Hea-how Too-wei a scholar of Loo, from whom it descended to a Hea-how Shing. This Shing was a man of more than ordinary ability and research; and in obedience to an imperial order, he compiled a Work, which appears in Lew Hin's catalogue as 'The Shang Shoo, in paragraphs and sentences, in 29 chapters;' and formed the basis of 'The Greater school of Hea-how.' A nephew of Shing, called Hea-how Këen, published a sequel to Shing's Work, which he called, 'An Explanation of Ancient Views on the Shang Shoo, in 29 Books,' which was also in the imperial library in Lew Hin's time. Këen was looked up to as the founder of 'The Lesser school of Hea-how.' From those two schools proceeded many Works upon the Shoo, the names and authors of which are duly chronicled by Chow E-tsun, in his 'Examination of the meaning of the King.' But the names are all that remain. Not one of the writings survived, in a complete form, the troubles which prevailed during the reign of Hwae, the third emperor of the dynasty of the Western Ts'in.

The Hea-how schools are thus exhibited. The reign of the Emperor Hwae (懷) is known by the name of Yang-këa (永嘉). Maou Se-ho says:—及永嘉之亂, 夏休息, 大小休息, 尚書並亡。—The Hea-how Schools are thus represented:—
The ‘modern text,’ therefore, and the views of the scholars who taught it, are now as a whole lost to literature. Under the reign of the emperor Ling, the last but one of the eastern Han, in A.D. 161, Tsæ Yung, one of the chief scholars and officers of the time, had ‘the modern text’ of the Shoo, and the current text of several of the other classics, engraved on stone tablets, and set up with imperial sanction in one of the colleges in Lō. Of the tablets of the Shoo there remain only some shattered fragments, containing in all 547 characters. But for the happier fate of the Books discovered about a century after Fuh-săng, of which we have now to speak, there would have remained but a tantalizing record of him, and some sporadic passages of his text gathered from the writings of various scholars. The Shoo had nearly been lost a second time, without any fires of Ts’in, through the natural process of decay, and the convulsions continually occurring in a distracted empire.

5. When the wrath of Ts’in was raging against the Shoo and all who dared to keep it in their possession, there were no doubt several who acted as Fuh-săng did, and hid away their tablets where they hoped to be able to find them and bring them forth at a future time. A descendant of Confucius had done so with the tablets containing the Shoo, the Le, the Classic of Filial Piety, and the Analects, concealing them in a wall of the house where the sage had lived, and which continued to be the home of the K‘ung family. But he never reclaimed them. They remained unknown, till towards the latter part of the reign of the emperor Woo. Then, as I have related in the proleg.
to vol. I., pp. 12, 13, the king of Loo, a son of the emperor King, known to posterity by the honorary title of Kung, or 'The Respectful,' was pulling down the house of the K'ung, to enlarge a palace of his own which was adjacent to it. In the wall were found the tablets, or what remained of the tablets, which have just been mentioned; and when the prince went into the hall or principal apartment of the building, he was saluted with strains of music from invisible instruments, which made him give up his purpose of demolition and appropriation. The chronicling of this marvellous circumstance might lead us to look suspiciously on the whole narrative; but the recovery of the tablets, and the delivery of them by the prince to the K'ung family, are things sufficiently attested.  

The chief of the family at that time was K'ung Gan-kwô, one of the 'Great Scholars,' and otherwise an officer of distinction. The K'ung Gan-kwô tablets were committed to his care. He found they were written or engraved in the old form of the characters, which he calls 'tadpole,' and which had long gone into disuse. By the help of Fuh-sâng's Books, which were in the modern or current characters of the day, and other resources, he managed, however, to make them out, and found he had got a treasure indeed.—From the tablets of the Shoo he deciphered all the already recovered Books, with the exception of 'The Great Speech,' and of it there was the true copy. In addition he made out other five and twenty Books; and he found a preface containing the names of one hundred Books in all. The additional Books were:—'The Counsels of the great Yu;' 'The Songs of the Five Sons;' 'The Punitive Expedition of Yin;' 'The Announcement of Chung Hwuy;' 'The Announcement of T'ang;' 'The Instructions of E;' 'The T'ae Kêx, in 3 Books;' 'Both possessed Pure Virtue;' 'The Charge to Yuè, in 3 Books;' 'The Great Speech, in 3 Books;' 'The Completion of the War;' 'The Hounds of Leu;' 'The Charge to the viscount of Wei;' 'The Charge to Chung of Ts'æ;' 'The Officers of Chow;' 'Keun-ch'in;' 'The Charge to the duke of Peih;' 'Keun-ya;' and 'the Charge to Keung.' Adding to these the 29 Books of Fuh-sâng, and the Books which he had wrongly incorporated with others, and not counting Fuh's 'Great Speech,' we have 58 Books of the Shoo, which were now recovered.

2 聖王共景帝子,共 (= 恭) 其諡也. 3 See 漢藝文志, upon the Shoo; Gan-kwô's Preface; and a hundred references in the Books of Han and subsequent dynasties. 4 科斗字.
Gan-kwô himself reckoned the Preface one Book, and made out the number to be 59. Being all on the tablets in the old ‘tadpole’ characters, Gan-kwô’s Books were described, in distinction from Fuh-sâng’s, as ‘the ancient text.’

6. When he had made out to read the tablets in the way which I have described, Gan-kwô presented them to the emperor, in B.C. 96, with a transcript in the current characters of the time, keeping a second transcript of them for himself; and he received an order to make a commentary upon the whole. He addressed himself to this work, and accomplished it, and was about to lay before the emperor the result of his studies, when troubles occurred at court, which prevented for a time any attention being paid to literary matters. In B.C. 91, some high officers became victims to a charge of practising magical arts. Next year the emperor fell sick, and a charlatan, named Keang Ch’ung, high in his confidence, and who had a feud with the heir-apparent, declared that the sickness was owing to magical attempts of the prince to compass his father’s death. In preparation for this charge, he had contrived to hide a wooden image of the emperor in the prince’s palace. An investigation was made. The image was found, and considered by the weak monarch to be proof positive of his son’s guilt. The prince, indignant, procured the murder of his accuser, and liberated the felons and others in prison to make head against a force which was sent by the prime minister against him. Being defeated, he fled to the lake region in the south, and there killed himself. The reader will be led by this account to think of the accounts which we have of diablerie and witchcraft in Europe at a later period, and will not wonder that Gan-kwô’s commentary was neglected amid such scenes, and that the enlarged text which he had deciphered was not officially put in charge of the ‘Great Scholars,’ to

5 Gan-kwô arranged the 58 Books in 46 Keun (卷) or sections, with reference to the notices of them in the preface, where two or more Books are sometimes comprehended under one notice. They are mentioned also in Lew Hin’s catalogue as ‘the ancient text of the Shang Shoo, in 46 chapters’ (尚書古文經四十六卷). They are also subsequently designated as 57 P’ien, the ‘Canon of Shun’ having been supposed to be lost. Other enumerations are adduced and explained in the 1st chapter of Maou Se-ho’s ‘Wrongs of the Ancient Text.’

1 He tells us in his Preface that ‘he wrote them moreover on bamboo tablets.’ But he must have made two copies in the current character. If only the ‘tadpole’ tablets had been deposited in the imperial library, Lew Huang could not have compared them, as we shall find immediately that he did, with Fuh-sâng’s Books.

2 承詔詮五十五篇作傳.

3 江充。4 See K’ung Ying-tâ’s notes on Gan-kwô’s Preface, towards the conclusion; 通鑑統目, on the 1st and 2d of the years 47 and 48; and Maou’s ‘Wrongs of the Shoo,’ Ch. 11, pp. 5, 6.
whom had been given in the 5th year of Woo (B.C. 135) the care of the five King. Soon after, moreover, Gan-kwò himself died, and it was long before his commentary obtained the imperial recognition and sanction.

7. Happily, Gan-kwò’s commentary, though it was not publicly recognised, was not lost. The critics have clearly traced its transmission through the hands of various scholars. The recipient of it from Gan-kwò was a Too-wei Chaou,1 from whom it passed to Yung T’an of Kèaou-tung.2 A Hòo Chang of Ts’ing-ho3 obtained it from Yung T’an, and passed it on to Seu Gaou of K’wò,4 who delivered it to two disciples,—Wang Hwang,5 and T’oo Yun.6 From the latter of these it was received by Shing (or Shwang) K’in of Ho-nan.7

The editors of Yung-ching’s Shoo, having arrived step by step at Shing K’in, then state that, in the close of the western Han, during the usurpation of Mang (A.D. 9–22), the school of ‘the ancient text’ was established along with that of Fuh-sáng, and that Wang Hwang and T’oo Yun were held in great honour.8 From this they make a great leap over the dynasties of the Eastern Han, the after Han, and the Western Tsin, to the first reign of the Eastern Tsin (A.D. 317–322), when Mei Tsih of Yu-chang presented to the emperor Yuen a Memorial along with a copy of Gan-kwò’s commentary. If it really were so, that we could discover no traces of the commentary during those 300 years, there would be ground both for surprise and suspicion on its unexpected re-appearance. But the case does not stand so.

Before taking up the transmission of the commentary on through the later dynasties of Han, and that of Tsin, I must say something more on the testimony which we have from Lew Hin as to the existence of the ‘ancient text’ in the imperial library, and also call attention to the confirmation which he gives of both text and commentary’s being current among scholars outside the official Boards. Not only does he give ‘the ancient text of the Shang Shoo, in

5 This neglect of the ancient text is commonly expressed by—未立于学官. The Books peculiar to it are also called in consequence—逸書, and sometimes 外書.

1 都尉朝. 2 廖東庸譚. Yung is commonly referred to as Yung-sáng.
3 清河胡常. Chang was styled 少子. He was a ‘Great Scholar,’ and rose to higher office.
4 瞿徐敖. Gaou was also an officer of distinction (右扶風掾).
5 王璜, a native of 琅邪. 6 遭懲, a native of 平陵, and styled 子真.
7 乘 (nl. 求). 慕欽, styled 君長. 8 See their 綱領, pp. 4, 5.
46 sections,' at the very top of the list of Books upon the Shoo in his catalogue; but he adds in a note, that his father Heang had compared this with the text of the classic taught by the schools of Gow-yang and of the greater and less Hea-how; that he had found one tablet or slip of the 'Announcement about Drunkenness' wanting, and two of the 'Announcement of Shaoou;' that more than 700 characters were different from those in Fuh-saeng's Books, and that individual characters were missing here and there to the amount of several tens. Further, in the reign of the emperor Gae (b.c. 5–a.d.), Hin proposed that the ancient text of the Shoo, Tso-k'eiw's Ch'un Tse'ew, the She of Maou, and certain unrecognized portions of the Le, should all be publicly acknowledged, and taught and studied in the imperial college. The emperor referred the matter to the classical Board, which opposed Hin's wishes. Indignant, he addressed a letter to the members, which may still be read. It is too long for translation here as a whole; but it contains the following assertions important to my purpose;—that the ancient text of the Shoo, Maou's She and the Tso-chuen, were all in the library; that of the three the Shoo was the most important; that Yung Tan of Keoun-tung had taught among the people a text corresponding to that in the library; and that they, the appointed conservators and guardians of the monuments of antiquity, were acting very unworthily in not aiding him to place the texts in the position which was due to them. Hin's remonstrances were bitterly resented, and he would have come to serious damage but for the interference of the emperor in his favour.\footnote{See the Memoir of Lew Hin in the 前漢書楚元王傳第六.} He was obliged to drop his project; but we may conclude that his efforts were not without effect. It was probably owing to him, that, in the succeeding reign and the usurpation of Mang, with which the Former or Western Han terminated, the claims of the ancient text were acknowledged for a short time.\footnote{See Maou's Wrongs of the Shoo, III., p. 9.}

Having thus strengthened the first links in the chain of evidence for the transmission of Gan-kwo's commentary, I go on to the times of the Eastern Han, which are a blank in the account given by the editors of Yung Ching's Shoo.

There was a scholar and officer, named Yin Min,\footnote{尹敏. See the account of him in the 後漢書儒林列傳第六十九.} whose life extended over the first two reigns of the dynasty (a.d. 25–74). We
read that in his youth he was a follower of the school of Gow-yang, but afterwards obtained and preferred the ancient texts of the Shang Shoo, the She of Maou, and Tso-k'ew’s Ch'un-ts'ew.

About the same time lived Chow Fang, who obtained a copy of the ancient text, and composed ‘Miscellaneous Records of the Shang Shoo, in 32 Books.’

In the next reign, and extending on to A.D. 124, we meet with a K'ung He, the then chief of the K'ung family, in which, it is said, the ancient text had been handed down from Gan-kwō, from father to son, without break.

Contemporary with He, and carrying the line on to nearly A.D. 150, was Yang Lun, who at first, like Yin Min, was a learner in the Gow-yang School, but afterwards addicted himself to the ancient text, established himself somewhere in an island on a ‘great marsh,’ and gathered around him more than a thousand disciples.

For more than half a century, the Records seem to be silent on the subject of Gan-kwō’s ancient text and commentary. We come to the period of the ‘After Han,’ or, as it is often designated, the period of the ‘Three Kingdoms.’ In the kingdom of Wei, its first scholar was Wang Suh, whose active life extended from A.D. 221 to 256. He wrote ‘Discussions on the Shang Shoo,’ and ‘a Commentary on the Shang Shoo of the Ancient Text,’ portions of both of which were in the imperial library under the dynasty of Suy. Suh is often claimed as having belonged to the school of Gan-kwō. The evidence for this is not conclusive. Another ‘ancient text,’ as we shall see presently, had become public. But the evidence is quite sufficient to show that Suh must have seen Gan-kwō’s commentary, and had his views moulded by it.

Connecting the ‘After Han’ and the dynasty of Tsin, we have the name of Hwang-p’oo Meih, whose researches into antiquity remain in the ‘Chronicle of Emperors and Kings,’ which everywhere quotes the 58 Books of Gan-kwō’s ancient text. Meih, we are told, was guided in his studies by a cousin of the name of Leang Lew.

12 周防. The account of him follows that of Yin Min.—受古文尚書. 撰尚書陸記三十二篇. 13 孔傳. See the same chapter of the 東漢 Records. —自安國以下, 世世傳古文不絕. 14 楊倫. His biography follows that of K’ung He. —師事司徒丁鴻, 習古文尚書, 講學大澤中, 弟子至千餘. 15 魏王肅. 16 尚書駁議; 謝志五卷. 古文尚書注: 謝志十一篇. 17 皇甫謐. 18 帝王世紀. 19 See the account of Meih, in the Books of Tsin. —譜從姑子外弟梁柳.
and this Lew, we know from another source, possessed Gan-kwō's text and commentary. The Records of Tsin are now mutilated. They contain no chapter on Books and Literature like those of Han and other dynasties, and are otherwise defective. It was not always so, however. K'ung Ying-ta quotes a passage, which distinctly traces the ancient text from the time of Wei down to Mei Tsih. 20 'Ch'ing Ch'ung,' 21 it is said, 'Grand-guardian of Tsin, delivered the Shang Shoo in the ancient text to Soo Yu of Foo-fung; 22 Soo Yu delivered it to Leang Lew of Teen-shwuy [this was the cousin of Hwang-p'oo Meih]; Leang Lew, who was styled Hung-ke, 23 delivered it to Tsang Ts'ao of Ching-yang, styled Yen-ch'ê; 24 Ts'ao delivered it to Mei Tsih of Joo-nan, styled Chung-chin, the chief magistrate of Yu-chang; 25 Tsih presented it to the emperor, and an order was given that it should be made public. 26

The records of Suy confirm this account of the coming to light of Gan-kwō's text, and the authoritative recognition both of it and his commentary. They tell us that the old tablets (or the copy of them) 'had been preserved in the imperial library of Tsin, but that there was no commentary on them' that 'in the time of the Eastern Tsin, Mei Tsih, having obtained the commentary of Gan-kwō, presented it;' and that 'thereupon the text and commentary had their place assigned them in the national college.' 26

Having brought down thus far the history of Gan-kwō's commentary, I must leave it for a short space, to speak of another ancient text, which made its appearance in the time of the Eastern Han, and gave origin to a school which flourished for several centuries.

8. A scholar and officer, named Too Lin, 1 had been a fugitive, having many wonderful escapes, during the usurpation of Mang. While wandering in Se-ehow, he discovered a portion of the Shoo

20 See Ying-ta's long annotation on the title of the Canon of Yao, on the last page. 21 鄭冲. He attained the dignity of Grand-guardian in a.d. 254. 22 扶風蘇倫. He was styled Heu-yu (休倫), and had high rank in the period Heen-he (咸熙), a.d. 264, 265.
23 梁柳. 子之. 洪季. 24 城陽臧. 曹, 字. 彦始. 25 汝南 梅嶸. 字仲真. 真. 偏. 內史. 遂. 子. 前. 舊. 當. 奏. 其. 書. 而 施. 行. 之. 我. 有. 不. 五. 翻. 內. 史. 的. 名. Tsih's. office. I. apprehended. that. court. he. was. a. Recorder. of. the. Interior. and. was. sent. to. Yu-chang, the. present Koang-se, of. which. his. father. appears to have been governor. See the. 晉. 職. 官. 志. 26 See. 晉志. 第. 二. 十. 七. 經. 籍. 一. - 晉. 世. 禮. 禮. 所. 存. 有. 古. 文. 載. 書. 經. 文. 今. 無. 有. 當. 者; ... 至. 東. 晉. 載. 內. 史. 梅嶸. 始. 得. 安. 國. 之. 傳. 奏. 之; ... 於. 時. 始. 列. 國. 学.
27. See. the. account. of. him. in. the. 後. 漢. 書. 列. 傳. 第. 十. 七. 卷.
on lacquered tablets in the ancient text, which he so much prized, that he guarded it as his richest treasure, and amid all his dangers always kept it near his person. Afterwards, when the empire was again settled by the first emperor of the Eastern Han, Lin became acquainted with Wei Wang and other scholars. Showing them his discovery, he said, 'In my wanderings and perils I have been afraid that this text would be lost, but now it will be cared for and transmitted by you, and its lessons will not fall to the ground. The ancient text is not, indeed, at present authorised, but I hope you will not repent of what you learn from me.' Wei Wang, we are told, set great store by the Books he was thus made acquainted with, and he composed his ‘Explanations of the Meaning of the Shang Shoo,’ which were based on them.

Subsequently to Wei Wang, three most eminent scholars published their labours upon Lin's Books. At the close of the Literary Chronicle of the Eastern Han, Pt. I., it is said, 'Kea K'wei produced his “Explanations” of Lin's Books; Ma Yung, his “Commentary;” and Ch'ing Heuen his “Comments and Explanations.” From this time the ancient text of the Shang Shoo became distinguished in the world.'

K'wei's work was soon lost. It was in three sections, was undertaken by order of the emperor Chang (A.D. 76–88), and was designed to show wherein Lin's Books agreed with or differed from those of Fuh-sang. Ma Yung's work was existing—a portion of it at least—in the Suy dynasty, in 11 Keuen. Heuen published more than one work on the Shoo. The library of Suy contained 'nine Keuen of the Shang Shoo,' and three Keuen of a 'Great Commentary on the Shang Shoo.' They must have been existing later, for nearly all that we know of them is through quotations made by K'ung Ying-ta and Luh Tih-ming of the T'ang dynasty;—we find them indeed in the Catalogues of T'ang. They are now lost, and have gone, with scores of other works on the Shoo, whose names

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2 西州得漆書古文尙書—卷 This is a difficulty in my mind about Lin's Books being all in one Keuen. How are we to understand that term? 3 尚書

4 訓言 The memoir of Wang, in the 後漢書, says expressly—從林受古文尙書，為作訓解。鄭注注解，由是古文遂顯於世。 5 肅宗孝章皇帝

6 Its full title was—尙書古文同異。 7 尙書大傳三卷.
might be picked out in the Han and other chronicles, into the gulf of devouring time.


I have put in italics the Books of Too Lin which were different from those of Gan-kwō, amounting to thirteen. An equal number of Gan-kwō's were wanting,—'The Announcement,' namely, 'of Chung Hwuy;' 'The T'ae Kēa, in 3 Books;' 'The Charge to Yuē, in 3 Books;' 'The Charge to the Viscount of Wei;' 'The Charge to Chung of Ts'āe;' 'The Officers of Chow;' 'The Keun-ch'īn;' 'The Charge to Peih;' and 'The Keun-ya.'

Such were the Books of Too Lin, according to Ying Tā; and on them Kea K'wei, Ma Yung and Ch'ing Heuen commented, according to the Records of Han. The authors of the Records of Suy repeat the latter statement, and immediately add:—'But the Books which they commented on, and handed down, were only 29. They mixed up with them, moreover, the modern text. They did not agree

8 See his notes at the commencement of the Shoo, in his explanation of the title 虞書.
with the ancient copy of K'ung Gan-kwō.'

There is a perplexity here, which I do not know how to disentangle. We hardly have a comment remaining from this Too-lin School on any Books but those of Fuh-sāng! It professed to follow an 'ancient text,' and yet with that it mixed up 'the modern text!' Moreover, Ying-tā has preserved a portion of Ch'ing Heuen's preface to his Shoo, in which he professes himself to be a follower of Gan-kwō,' and yet his text and Books were different from Gan-kwō's! I confess that the 'lacquered' Books of Too Lin are a mystery to me, and as the writings of Kea, Ma, and Ch'ing upon the Shoo have all perished, we can never arrive at satisfactory conclusions about them. I will venture one speculation.—Gan-kwō tells us in his Preface, that after he had deciphered his 58 Books, there still remained some fragments of tablets, from which he could make out nothing worth preservation. Others may have attempted to do so, however. We know that a Chang Pa' pretended to have made out 100 Books. Now in Lew Hin's Catalogue, the last but one entry on the Shoo is—'Books of Chow, 71 pēn.' If we add to Gan-kwō's 58 Books, the 13 Too Lin, to which I have called attention above, we obtain the exact number of 71. Is it not a 'concatenation accordingly,' that the lacquered Books were a compilation from this collection? Whatever may be thought of this suggestion, it is plain to me that all which we read about Ch'ing Heuen and others does not affect the validity of the argument for the text and commentary first made public through Mei Tsih as the ancient text deciphered by Gan-kwō and the commentary upon it composed by him.

9. I resume the history of Gan-kwō's text and commentary, which, it has been seen, were at length publicly acknowledged in the reign of


9然其-賈逵,馬融,鄭玄-所傳,唯二十九篇,又雜以為今文,非孔舊本

10 The passage is not easy of interpretation.—I先師

棘下生子安國, 亦好此學。自世祖與後漢, 晉, 馬, 二
三君子之業, 則雅才好博, 既宜之矣。歐陽氏失其本

義今疾此蔽冒, 猶疑惑未悛也。 The student will see that Ch'ing disowns the schools of the modern text, and claims connection for himself, through Wei Wang, K'wei, and Ma Yang, with Gan-kwō. But all these commented on Too Lin's Books. Wang Ming-shing would get out of this difficulty by referring to the account of Kea K'wei in the Records of the Eastern Han, where it is said that 'his father received the ancient text of the Shoo from Too Yun,' and that 'K'wei continued to transmit his father's learning.' Thus there is record against record; or it may be that K'wei, like Wei Wang, abandoned his former studies of the Shoo, and addicted himself to Too Lin's Books.

11 張霸. See Maou's 'Wrongs of the Shoo,' Ch. II, p. 7.
FROM THE BURNING OF THE BOOKS TO CHOO HE.

the first emperor of the Eastern Tsin (A.D. 317–322). The schools of the modern text had perished during the troubles of the period A.D. 307–312; there were now in the field only those of Ch'ing Heuen and Gan-kwô, and for some time they had nearly an equal course. The line of Tsin terminated in A.D. 420, and during 200 years which followed, the supremacy of the empire was swayed by six different Houses. We learn from the Records of Suy, that under the dynasty of Ts'e (A.D. 480–502), the followers of Ch'ing greatly predominated; \(^1\) that under those of Leang (A.D. 503–557) and Ch'in, (A.D. 558–588) 'Kung and Ch'ing walked together,\(^2\) and that the same continued under Suy (A.D. 589–617), the school of Ch'ing waxing smaller and smaller.\(^3\)

An interregnum of a few years ensued, till the authority of T'ang was acknowledged in A.D. 624, and the empire was united as it had not been since the times of Han. The second emperor of T'ang gave orders for a grand edition of the Shoo, under the superintendence of K'ung Ying-tä, assisted by the principal scholars and officers of the time. They adopted the commentary of Gan-kwô, and enriched it with profuse annotations. Their work was ordered to be printed in the 5th year of the third emperor, A.D. 654, and appeared with the title of 'The Correct Meaning of the Shang Shoo, by K'ung Ying-tä and others.'\(^4\) It remains, happily, to the present day. Choo E-tsun gives the titles of about seventy commentaries and other writings upon the Shoo published from the time of Fuh-sâng to the T'ang dynasty, of which not one now exists but the commentary of Gan-kwô, and it might have disappeared like the rest, if it had not been embodied in the work of Ying-tä. I have indicated my doubts in the former section whether Confucius compiled the Books of the Shoo;—it is certainly to two of his descendants that we are indebted for the recovery and preservation of those of them which are still in our possession.

An important measure with regard to the form of the characters in the text was taken in A.D. 744, by the 6th of the T'ang emperors. Up to that time the text had appeared in the style of the public courts of Han, in which Gan-kwô had represented the ancient 'tadpole' characters. The emperor Heauou Ming ordered a Board of Scholars, under the presidency of a Wei Paou,\(^1\) to substitute for

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1 齊代唯傳鄭義 2 梁陳所講有孔鄭二家 3 至隋孔鄭並行而鄭氏甚微 4 孔氏穎達等尚書正義

1 衛包
this the form which was current in his day, and there appeared ‘The Shang Shoo in the Modern Text,’ in 13 *keuen.* The designation of this edition as ‘the modern text’ is unfortunate, as the student may be led to confound it with the Books of Fuh-săng. But from this time the distinction between the ancient and the modern texts virtually ceased. Fuh-săng’s Books, with the exception of his ‘Great Speech,’ were all comprehended among the 58 Books of Gan-kwô, which had now got the field entirely to themselves. All through the T’ang, and on through the period of the ‘Five Dynasties’ (A.D. 908–974), no scholar doubted but that he had, through the work of Ying-tâ, the Books which had been found more than a thousand years before in the wall of Confucius’ house.

The sovereignty of the dynasty of Sung dates from A.D. 975, and it lasted for 305 years. It was a period of great mental activity, a protracted Augustan age of Chinese literature. The writers of Sung quoted by the editors of Yung-ching’s Shoo amount to 110. The greatest name among them is that of Choo He, who was born in A.D. 1,130. And he is remarkable in connection with the Shoo, for having doubted the authenticity of the Books and commentary ascribed to Gan-kwô. In the next section, I shall consider the grounds of his doubts. Up to his time, the authority both of Books and commentary was unchallenged. If some suspicions were entertained, it can hardly be said that they found articulate expression.

While many of the writings on the Shoo in the first half of this period have perished, there still remain sufficient to prove abundantly the learning and ability which were brought to the illustration of the classic. There are the Works of Soo Shih, of Lin Che-k’e, and

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2 Ma Twan-lin clearly explains the change which was thus made—

3 See last note in the 2.

4 T‘ao-ch’ien (呂才老) anterior to Choo He, was the first to point out the difference between the style of Gan-kwô’s Books and the others.

5 蘇軾 styled Tung-po (東坡), al. Tsze-chên (子瞻), al. Mei-shan (眉山). He published 書傳十三卷. Lin 之奇, styled Shau-yîng (少穎), and San-san (三山). His ‘Collected Explanations of the Shang-shoo’ (尚書集解) was in 58 *keuen.* I can speak of its thoroughness, having read and re-read it.
of Ch'ing Tseaou,\textsuperscript{7} of Hea Seen,\textsuperscript{8} of Leu Tsoo-heen,\textsuperscript{9} and of others not a few.

10. We found above that, taking together the Books of Gan-kwō, and 13 others which were in the catalogue of those of Too Lin, we had in all 71 Books of the Shoo, which were recovered nominally (to say the least) after the fires of Ts'in. There remain 29 Books of the hundred mentioned in the Preface spoken of in the last section. I there suggested (p. 9) that portions might have been cast out or lost from the Collection of Historical Writings before the time of Ts'in. The titles of those 29 were:—‘The Kaou Yu; ‘The Le Kuh; ‘The Le Yuh; ‘The Punitive Expeditions of T'ang; ‘The Joo Kew; ‘The Joo Fang; ‘The Hea Shay; ‘The E Che; ‘The Chin Hoo; ‘The Ming Keu; ‘The Tsoo How; ‘The Yuh-ting; ‘The Heen E, in 4 Books; ‘The E Chih; ‘The Chung-ting; ‘The Ho Tan-keā; ‘The Tsoo-yih; ‘The Instructions of Kaou-tsung; ‘The Fun K'e; ‘The Ch'aoou Ming; ‘The Kwei Ho; ‘The Kea Ho; ‘The Government of King Ching; ‘The Tsēang Poo-koo; ‘The Charge to Suh-shin, with Presents; and ‘The Pō-koo.'

In regard to these titles, it is to be observed, that, where they are not simply names of emperors or ministers, the information given about them in the notices of the preface is so scanty, that there are several of them which we cannot venture to translate. Ts'ae Ch'in, as quoted on p. 9, has called attention to this, saying that on the Books which are lost the Preface is so servile and brief that it does not afford us the slightest assistance. He thence draws the conclusion that the Preface could not be the work of Confucius. Granted; but I draw a further inference, that whenever and by whomsoever the Preface was made, the author could not have had those Books entire before him. If he had, it is inexplicable that he should not have told us as much about them as he has done generally of the others which still remain. The statement of Gan-kwō, that the tablets of the Preface were found with the others in the wall of Confucius' house, is not to be called in question. It was made therefore before the burning of the Books,—and when it was made, there

\textsuperscript{7} 鄭樵, styled Yu-chung (漁仲), and Kēa-tae (夾漈).
\textsuperscript{8} 夏僎, styled Yuen-suh (元肅), and Ko-shan (柯山). He produced 'Explanations of the Shang Shoo (尚書解),' in 16 kuan.
\textsuperscript{9} 呂祖謙, styled Pih-kung (伯恭) and Tung-tae (東萊). His 'Talkings on the Shoo' (書說) was in 35 chapters.
were existing of many of the p‘een no more than what now exists—merely the names.

Further, some (seven at least) of the missing Books,—the Heen E, the Kwei Ho, and the Kea Ho—had reference to freaks or prodigies of nature,—‘extraordinary things,’ of which Confucius did not talk.¹ We may assume that he would not have introduced such Books into a Canon of Historical Documents; and I argue besides, that they had fallen into deserved neglect before the time of Ts‘in. The good sense of scholars had seen their incongruity with the other documents of the Shoo, and they had been imperceptibly consigned to oblivion. Add to these considerations, that we have hardly a single sentence in Mencius, the Le, Seun-tsze, or any other writings claiming to be as old as the Chow dynasty, taken from the missing Books, and my conclusion is greatly strengthened, that we have not lost by the fires of Ts‘in so much of the Shoo as is commonly supposed.

It is by no means certain that the Canon did not at one time contain more than the hundred Books mentioned in the Preface. It is to me more than probable that it did not contain the whole even of them, when the edict of the Ts‘in emperor went forth against it. Of all that appeared for a time to be lost in consequence of the edict much the larger portion was ultimately recovered.

¹ Ann. VII. xx.

SECTION III.

FROM CHOO HE TO THE PRESENT DAY.—

DOUBTS THROWN ON THE BOOKS PECULIAR TO GAN-KWO’S TEXT AND ON HIS COMMENTARY; WHICH, HOWEVER, ARE TO BE RECEIVED.

1. The editors of Yung-ching’s Shoo give the names of 115 scholars of the Yuen (A.D. 1,280–1,367) and Ming (A.D. 1,368–1,644) dynasties, of whose labours they make use in their annotations; and Choo E-tsun, bringing his researches into the last century, enumerates the titles of more than 350 Works upon the classic, from Choo He downwards.
All these Writings have the whole of the Shoo, or as much as their authors acknowledged to be genuine, for their subject. On particular Books, especially the two Canons, the Tribute of Yu, and the Great Plan, about 200 works have been published during the same time. All this shows how the Shoo continues to hold its place in the minds of the Chinese. Its very difficulties seem to fascinate the scholars, who for the most part repeat one another sadly; but now and then, we find a commentator who endeavours to shake off the trammels of Choo He, and to look on the ancient document with his own eyes.

2. Choo He did not himself publish a complete commentary on the Shoo. He edited, indeed, a copy of the classic, containing the 58 Books of Gan-kwō, and the Preface as a separate p'ên. We have also his 'Remarks upon the Shoo,' collected and published by some of his disciples; but they are mostly confined to the Canons, the Counsels of Yu, the Announcement of Shaou, the Announcement about Lō, and the Metal-bound Coffer. He had come to entertain very serious doubts as to the authenticity of Gan-kwō's commentary, and of the Books additional to Fuh-săng's; and he was painfully impressed with the difficulties of the text even in Fuh-săng's Books,—its errors, transpositions, and deficiencies. He shrank, therefore, from the task of attempting for the Shoo what he had done for the other classics, and in a.d. 1,199, the year before his death, devoted it on Ts'ae Ch'in, one of his favourite disciples, to make 'A Collection of Comments on the Shoo,' instructing him to revive the distinction of 'modern text' and 'ancient text,' and to indicate by those names the relation of each Book to Fuh-săng or to Gan-kwō.

Ts'ae Ch'in undertook the labour, and completed it in ten years. His commentary appeared in 1,210, and at once attracted general admiration. After K'ung Ying-tā's 'Correct Meaning,' it was certainly the most important work which had been produced upon the Shoo. Nor has it been superseded. It remains to the present day the standard of orthodoxy, and is universally studied throughout the empire. To give only one eulogium of it.—Ho K'eaou-sin, of the Ming dynasty, says:—'From the Han downwards, the works upon the Shoo had been many.

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1 吾書古經. E-ten says he had not seen this work (未見). It was, no doubt, the text adopted by He's disciple, Ts'ae Ch'in.

2 書說. 3 Ts'ae says in his preface:—慶元已未冬先生文公命沈作書集傳. 4 何喬新. See the 經義考書十一, p. 4.
But in the comments of Gan-kwŏ there is often much violence done to the text, which the amplifications of Ying-tā labour to sustain. Choo He had a great esteem for the views of Wang Gan-shih,⁵ Leu Tsoo-heen, Soo Shih, and Lin Che-k'è; but the first of them errs in forced meanings, the second in excessive ingenuity, the third in summariness, and the fourth in tediousness. When the “Collected Comments” of Ts‘ae came forth, distinguishing what Books were peculiar to the modern, and what to the ancient text, and what were common to both, and discussing also the forged prefaces, both the Great one, and the Little, then the grand principles and the grand laws of the two emperors and the three kings were brilliantly displayed to the world.’ The scholars of China would deem me but a lukewarm admirer of their model commentator. I have often thought him deficient both in comprehension and discrimination, and prefer to him Lin Che-k'è, tedious as he is said to be. Ts‘ae’s distinguishing merit is his style, which will often bear comparison, for clearness and grace, with that of Choo He himself.

3. Choo He’s doubts about the authenticity of the Books and commentary ascribed to Gan-kwŏ were plainly enough indicated; but his expression of them was not very decided. The suspicion, once given out by such an authority, went on to grow. Under the Yuen dynasty, about the beginning of the 14th century, Woo Ch‘ing published his ‘Digest of Remarks on the Shang Shoo.’¹ The Work, so far as it goes, is well worthy of study. Ch‘ing was a bold thinker and a daring critic. He handled the text with a freedom which I have not elsewhere seen. But his Work contains none of the Books which were deciphered by Gan-kwŏ. He rejects also the ‘Great Speech’ which Fuh-säng gave, believing that it was not originally among his Books, and confines himself to the other 28, which he believes are all of the Shoo that we now have.

Under the Ming dynasty, many critics followed in the wake of Woo Ch‘ing. Kwei Yew-kwang,² and Shih King,³ may be particularly

⁵ 王安石. He was contemporary with Soo Shih, and, in every respect one of the ablest men of his day. His views were published by his son Wang Fang (王雱). E-tsun gives the work as 王氏安石,子雱,新經尚書義. It was in 13 këun, and is unfortunately lost.

¹ 尚書纂言. Woo Ch‘ing (吳澄) is variously styled,—幼清草廬, and 臨川. ² 歸有光, styled 熙甫, and 震川. ³ 郝敬, styled 仲興, and 京山.
mentioned. The former tells us that from his youth he had doubted 'all the talk about modern text and ancient text,' and that, afterwards, having met with some dissertations of Woo Ch'ing, he was delighted with the agreement of their views, and tried to obtain the Work of Woo mentioned above. Disappointed in this, he published Fuh-săng's Books with his own commentary, and prefixed the dissertations of Woo. The latter published 'Discussions on and Explanations of the Shang Shoo,' in ten keuen. He does not appear to have seen Woo Ch'ing's Writings; but he goes beyond him in his animosity to the ancient text and commentary. In eight of his keuen, he explains Fuh-săng's Books; the remaining two are devoted to an exposure (as he thinks) of the falsehood of the ancient text. So strongly had the views of these and other critics taken possession of the scholars of Ming, that in A.D. 1,643 a memorial was presented to the emperor Chwang-lēē, praying that the Books peculiar to the ancient text might be cast out, and the subjects at the competitive examinations be taken only from Fuh-săng's. The dynasty was in its death-throes. The poor emperor had his hands and head more than full with the invading Manchoos; and while the empire passed from his sway, the ancient text was allowed to keep its place.

Under the present dynasty, the current of opinion seems to run, as in the Ming, against the Books, Commentary, and Preface ascribed to Gan-kwō. The works of Wang Ming-shing and Keang Shing, of which I have made much use in my notes, speak in almost every page, in the most unmeasured terms, of 'the false K‘ung.' The ancient text, however, is not without its defenders. So far as the government is concerned, things remain as they have been since the T‘ang dynasty. The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo do not take up the argument. They give prominence, indeed, in their Introduction, to the opinions of Choo He and his followers, but pass no judgment of their own; and they use equal care in unfolding the meaning of the suspected portions, and of those which all acknowledge.

4. I shall conclude this chapter on the history of the Shoo with an exposition of the grounds on which I cherish for myself a confidence in the authenticity of the ancient text and Gan-kwō's commentary on it, and some discussion of the principal arguments advanced on the other side. Minor arguments, based on the language

4 The title of his Work is 尚書叢錄.  5 尚書辨解.  6 莊烈愍皇帝, A.D. 1628–1643.  7 See Mao's Wrong of the Shoo, Ch. I. p. 1.
of particular passages in the Books, have been noticed in the notes upon them in the body of the Work.

[i.] With regard to the Commentary,—the controversy about it has not to a foreigner the interest or importance which it has to a Chinese. Suppose that it really was not the production of Gan-kwō, yet there it was, actually existing in the beginning of our 4th century. No one can tell who composed it. Mei Tsih presented it to the emperor Yuen, and it received the authoritative acknowledgment. Tsih did not claim it as his own. He said it was the commentary of K'ung Gan-kwō, which had been handed down from one scholar to another for nearly four hundred years. Once made public, it ere long became the standard explanation of the classic; and its authority was unchallenged for more than eight hundred years. We are indebted to the annotations of the T'ang scholars upon it for most of what we know of the views of Ma Yung, Ch'ing Heuen, and other commentators of the Han dynasties. Whether it was written by the true K'ung, or by a false K'ung, it is a work the value of which cannot be over-estimated.

With regard to the Books themselves,—they are supported largely by the quotations from them which occur in the Analects, Mencius, Shih-tsze, Seun-tsze, and other Writings. I have been careful to point out this in the notes upon the several Books. A considerable portion of some of them is in this way guaranteed to us. The Books of the New Testament are not better attested by the citations from them in the works of the early Christian Fathers.

The opponents of the authenticity explain this by asserting that 'the false K'ung' carefully gathered out all the passages of the Shoo which were anywhere quoted, and wove them, along with the other materials of his own devising, so as to form the present Books. But this is only their hypothesis, and a very clumsy and unlikely hypothesis it is. On the one hand, it makes the forger to have been a scholar of very great learning and research; so much so, that we are unwilling to believe that such a man could have stooped to a fraudulent attempt. On the other hand, it makes peculiarities, most natural if we admit the Books, to be silly contrivances to avert the suspicion of forgery. For instance, the text of a passage in the Books and of the same passage as quoted by Mencius has certain verbal differences. An easy explanation presents itself. Mencius was not concerned to be verbally accurate. He was sufficiently so for his purpose. It may even have suited him better to quote according to
the sense than exactly according to the letter. But the hypothesis of which I am speaking requires a different explanation. The 'false K'ung' quoted from Mencius, and purposely altered his text in order to escape detection! This may be said; but it is unlikely in the highest degree. The Books have been subjected to the severest ordeal of unkindly criticism; and to me it is incomparably easier to believe their authenticity than to admit the arguments advanced against them.

[ii.] 'The Books of K'ung first appeared in the time of the Eastern Tsin. No scholars had seen them before that time. This circumstance is a very strong indication of forgery.' So said Choo He; and his assertions are repeated ad nauseam to the present time. But the history of the Books and Commentary which I gave in the last section furnishes a sufficient reply to them.

There were at one time, it is admitted on nearly all hands, both the Books and Commentary;—in the reign of the emperor Woo of the first Han. What is alleged, is that these were not the same as those which were made public by means of Mei Tsih. Well:—as to the Books. When Gan-kwō had deciphered them, he presented them to the emperor, and they were placed in the imperial library. There they were nearly a hundred years after, when Lew Hin made his catalogues. Hin’s father compared their text with that of Fuh-sāng’s Books, and noted the differences between them. Hin himself endeavoured to have them made the subject of study equally with the smaller collection of Fuh-sāng. They continued in the imperial library on to the time of the Eastern Tsin. They were there when Mei Tsih presented both the Books and the Commentary which he had received from Tsang Ts’aou. So the Records of Suy expressly testify. The Books received permanently the authoritative recognition due to them, and were commanded to be studied in the national college, in the time of the Eastern Tsin; but they had been lying on the shelves of the imperial library from the time of Gan-kwō downwards. They were not seen or not studied simply because the Government had not required them to be so. Next:—as to the Commentary. That Gan-kwō did write a commentary on his 58 Books is allowed, and its transmission is traced from scholar to scholar on into the Eastern Han. When did it perish? There is no intimation that it ever did so. On the contrary, I have shown above, pp. 25–27, that its existence rises as a fact, here and there, at no great intervals of time, on the surface of the literary history.
of the empire, till we arrive at Mei Tsih. Tsih received 'The Shang Shoo in the ancient text' from Tsang Ts‘aou. That Shang Shoo comprehended both Gan-kwo's transcript of the text and his commentary. The Records of Sung are decisive on this point.

'But,' the adverse critics persist in alleging,—'but Ch'ing Heuen and Ma Yung, Ch'aou K'e in his comments on Mencius, Wei Ch'aou on the Kwö Joo, and Too Yu on the Tso-chuen, when they have to speak of any of the Books peculiar to the ancient text, call them "Yih Shoo."' And they could not otherwise designate them. They had not seen them themselves. They do not call them "Wang Shoo," which would mean Lost or Perished Books. All that 'Yih Shoo' denotes, is that the Books were lying concealed, and had no place among the studies in the national college.

It is urged again, 'But if Yin Min, K'ung He, and other scholars, were really in possession of Gan-kwo's Books and Commentary, why did they not bring them to the notice of the court, and get them publicly acknowledged before the time of the eastern Tsin?' The argument in this question has been much pressed on me by Wang Taou, of whom I have spoken in the preface. But there is little weight in it. We know that the attempt of Lew Hin to obtain the recognition both of Books and Commentary was defeated, and he himself obliged, in consequence of it, to retire from court. If we knew all the circumstances of K'ung He and other scholars and of their times, we should probably cease to wonder at their being content to keep their treasures in their own possession. For every event there is in providence the time and the man.

[iii.] 'In the catalogue of Lew Hin, we have the entries:—"Of the Shang Shoo 29 p'een," and "Of Old King 16 keuen." Those old King were false Books of the Han times, and were distinguished from the true Books of the Shoo by the carefulness of the Han scholars.' So says Kwei Yew-kwang;—by the strangest misreading of his authority. The words of the catalogue are:—'Of the Shang

1 See the proleg. to vol. II., pp. 4-7. 2 韋昭. Both he and Too Yu were of the Western Tsin. 3 逸書. 4 亡書. 5 See Maou K'uo-ling on the meaning of the phrase 逸書 in his 'Wrongs of the Shoo,' Ch. III. p. 4. 6 Wang Taou writes:—漢書有載孔僖家有古文尚書, 世世相傳, 亦載僖子季彥, 獨治古義不在科第之例。而世人莫識, 則當肅宗時, 何不上進乎? 何以謹藏于家, 使世不知也。 7 藝文志有尚書二十九篇, 古經十六卷。 See Yew-kwang's preface, quoted in the 經義考書十四.
FROM CHOO HE TO THE PRESENT DAY. [PROLEGOMENA.]

Shoo in the ancient text 46 keuen,' and 'Of King 29 keuen.'8 Gan-
kwō's Books and Fuh-săng's are mentioned in the order and manner
exactly the opposite of what the critic asserts. If we were to argue
from this (which it would be absurd to do) after his fashion, we
should say that the Han scholars indicated their confidence in the
Books of the ancient text, and their suspicion of Fuh-săng's.

[i.v.] 'As compared with Fuh-săng's Books, those peculiar to
Gan-kwō are much more easily read. The style is so different,
that even a tyro is conscious of it. This circumstance is sufficient
to awaken suspicions of the latter.' This difference of the texts was
first noticed particularly by Woo Ts'ae-laou, who said:—'In the
additional Books of Gan-kwō, the style flows easily and the charac-
ters have their natural significations. It is otherwise with the
Books of Fuh-săng, which are so involved and rugged, that it is
sometimes not possible to make them out.'9 Choo He dwelt on the
point, and insinuated the conclusion to which it should lead. He
had probably spoken more strongly on the subject than he has
written, for Ts'ae Ch'in expresses his opinion against the authenticity
of Gan-kwō's Books very decidedly. 'Fuh-săng,' says he, 'reciting
the text, and crooning it over as in the dark, yet strangely managed
to give the difficult Books; and Gan-kwō examining and deciding
among his tadpole tablets, all in confusion and mutilated, only made
out those which were easy! This is inexplicable.'10 Woo Ch'ing
and a hundred others follow in a similar strain.

The difference alleged between the texts must be admitted to a
considerable extent. There are differences, however, likewise among
the Books of Fuh-săng. The difficulty of reading and interpreting
the Pwan-kang and the Announcements in the Books of Chow can-
not be exaggerated. They have often been to myself an infandus
dolor. The Canons, on the other hand, are much easier; and some
of the other Books are hardly more difficult than the Books of Gan-
kwō. Nor are his Books really easy. They only appear to be so,
where we come to one of them, after toiling through some of the
more contorted portions common to both texts.

8 9 10
Moreover, the style of the Books differs according to their subjects. The Announcements are the hardest to understand of all. The Charges, Speeches, and Instructions are much simpler; and the Books which we owe to Gan-kwō consist principally of those. Perhaps he did polish somewhat in his transcription of them. In making out his tadpole tablets, he was in the first place obliged to make use of Fuh-säng's Books. But for them, which had been engraved happily in the newer form of the characters at a time when the knowledge of the ancient form was still possessed, the tablets from the wall of Confucius' house might have been of little use. That Gan-kwō did not servilely follow the 'modern text' we conclude from the readings of the schools of Gow-yang and Hea-how, different from his in many passages, which the industry of critics has gathered up; but as he had to learn from it to read the tablets submitted to him, we can understand how he would generally follow it, and take it often on trust, when he could not well tell what his own authority said. When he came, however, to new Books, which were not in Fuh-säng, the case was different. His aids had ceased. He had to make out the text for himself as he best could. I can conceive that, when he had managed to read the greater portion of a paragraph, and yet there were some stubborn characters which defied him, he completed it with characters of his own. That he was faithful and successful in the main is shown by the many passages of his Books that are found in other writings older than his time. But, however we endeavour to account for the smoother style and readier intelligibility of the portions of the Shoo which we owe to him, those characteristics of them are not, to my mind, sufficient to overthrow their claims on other grounds to be regarded as authentic.

[v.] 'The style of Gan-kwō's own preface is not like that in other writings of the Western Han. It resembles more the compositions of the Ts'ın dynasty. The Little Preface, moreover, was unknown to Fuh-säng; and it savours of the style of the After Han.' Choo He thus expresses himself. The authenticity of the Books does not depend on that of either of the Prefaces; but the great critic certainly fell into a glaring error in ascribing the Little Preface to the time of the After Han. Nearly every sentence of it is found in the Records of Sze-ma Ts'e'en, a contemporary of Gan-kwō, and who, no doubt, had got it from him! Fuh-säng, indeed, was not possessed of it. He may never have had it. If he did have it before the edict against the Shoo, the tablets of it were lost in the same way as
those of all the Shoo which he ever had excepting his 29 Books. "It savours of the style of the After Han," and yet we find it in a Work of the First Han, composed fully 300 years before the date which Choo He would assign to it:—this is a striking instance of the little reliance that can be placed on critical judgments, even of the most distinguished scholars, which are based on their taste in the matter of style.

As to the preface of Gan-kwō, we must pay the less attention to Choo He's attributing it, on the ground of its style, to the times of Tsin, after finding him so egregiously mistaken in his decision on the same ground about the other. Lew Hin, moreover, in his remarks on the Shoo, prefixed to his list of the Books of it in the imperial library, repeats the most important statements in the Preface, and nearly in its very words.

[vi.] "Gan-kwō says, in his preface, that, when he had finished his commentary, the troubles connected with the practice of magical arts broke out, and he had no opportunity of getting the imperial sanction to his Work. Now all this must be false. We know from the Han Records, that the troubles referred to broke out in B.C. 91.9 But Sze-ma Ts'e'en tells us that his Histories came no farther down than the period T'ae-ch'oo (B.C. 103–100).10 At the conclusion of his account of the K'ung family, he speaks of Gan-kwō, saying, "He was one of the Great Scholars under the present reign, and died an early death, after being made guardian of Lin-hwae."11 It follows that Gan-kwō was dead before the year B.C. 100. No troubles, therefore, happening ten years later, could affect him or any of his undertakings." I do not know who first constructed this argument against the authenticity of Gan-kwō's preface, and, by implication, of his commentary; but Maou K'e-ling allows correctly that it displays much ingenuity. And yet there must be a flaw in it.

That the troubles spoken of prevented the recognition of Gan-kwō's commentary is asserted repeatedly in the Books of Han. From what source soever it arose, the persuasion that it was so with regard to Gan-kwō and his commentary, as his preface represents, has prevailed from the century in which he died down to the present time. If the matter can be decided on the quod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus

9 漢武帝紀征和元年巫蠱起. 10 See the last words of Sze-ma Ts'e'en's Preface, placed at the end of his histories.—大史公曰:余遇黃帝以來,至太初而終. 11 安國爲今皇帝博士,至臨淮大守早卒.
principle, then we must acknowledge the truth of the account given (professedly) by Gan-kwŏ of himself.

With regard to the statement of Sze-ma Ts‘een, that his histories were not brought down lower than B.C. 100, there it is, standing out (in a strange way) at the end of the last chapter of his Records, which is a sort of epilogue to the rest. A close study of that chapter, however, has convinced me that he was labouring on his Records for years after B.C. 100, and that his terminating sentence must receive a different interpretation from that commonly put upon it.

In one place, Ts‘een tells us that his Records brought the history down from Yaou to the year B.C. 121.¹²

He tells us again, that it was after the defeat sustained by Le Ling at the hands of the Huns, and when he himself endeavoured to appease the anger of the emperor against the unfortunate general, and was therefore put into prison,—that it was then that he addressed himself with redoubled energy to his work of historiography.¹³ This date brings us to B.C. 97, three years later than the period T‘ae-ch‘oo.

Further, in the historical Records, there are various narratives and entries of things posterior to B.C. 100,—even narratives of things growing out of the magical delusions which came to a head in B.C. 91.¹⁴ The statement which I have made, therefore, on p. 5, that Ts‘een completed his Work in B.C. 96, though many of the critics so affirm, cannot be correct.

The various conflicting statements in Ts‘een's Preface, and the later entries in his Records, may be in a measure reconciled in the following way.—At first it was not his intention to bring his history farther down than B.C. 121, in which case he would probably have done little more, in several divisions of the Records, than edit the materials collected by his father. Subsequently, he resolved to bring the history down to the period T‘ae-ch‘oo, which he did in his account of the emperor Woo. So long as he lived, moreover, he kept adding to his different memoirs, and hence we have the narrative of events which took place later than the year B.C. 91, when the troubles commenced, which prevented the imperial recognition of Gan-kwŏ's

¹² 於是卒述陶唐以来，至于麟止。See the 太史公自序, p. 6.
The emperor Woo fancied that he had found a K‘o-lin in B.C. 121, and therefore changed the style of the period from 元朔 to 元狩。¹³ 七年而大史公遭李陵之禍，幽於縛縈，乃喟然而歎曰，云云。See p. 5. ¹⁴ See the Wrongs of the Shoo, pp. 5, 6.
commentary. When he says that Gan-kwō died an early death in the reign of the emperor Woo, it does not follow that that event did not take place after the period of T'ae-ch'oo.15

Whatever may be thought of this suggestion, the statements in the Preface are so directly and repeatedly borne out by the Records of the Han dynasties, that we cannot but admit their verity.

[vii.] 'In the preface to the Shwō Wān, Heu Shin says that his quotations from the Shoo King were taken from K'ung's Books. Yet the passages adduced are all from Fuh-sāng's 28 Books, with only one exception. That one is from the Charge to Yuē, Pt. i., p. 8; and as it is given in Mencius, the probability is that Shin took it from him. How is it that the lexicographer could be using Gan-kwō's Books, and yet we should find in his Work only one doubtful quotation from all the 25 which were recovered by him additional to those of Fuh-sāng? I do not know who was the author of this difficulty; but a difficulty it certainly is. The Books of Gan-kwō were 58. Heu Shin says he used them, and yet he quotes only from the little more than one half of them which were common to the 'modern text.' Was there a copy current in Heu Shin's time of Fuh-sāng's Books according to Gan-kwō's text, i.e., with the different readings which he had preferred from his tablets? This would be one way of solving the difficulty. There is, however, another, which is on the whole to be preferred. Heu Shin undertook his dictionary, after Kea K'wei had declined the task. But in carrying through the work, he made constant reference to that scholar.16 K'wei, we have seen, had adopted the Books of Too Lin. They were in an 'ancient text,' though different from that of Gan-kwō. Shin must have confounded the two, and supposed that, while he was really quoting from Too Lin, he was quoting from Gan-kwō. The Books of Too Lin, though not all the same as Gan-kwō's, were the same in number. How, even with them before him, Shin's quotations are only from the same Books as Fuh-sāng's,—this still leaves the perplexity which I have pointed out above, in connection with the writings of Kea K'wei, Ma Yung, and Ch'ing Heuen.

5. The question of the authenticity of Gan-kwō's Books and commentary has now been sufficiently gone into. It had occurred

15 The year of See-ma Ts'even's death is disputed. It is often said to have taken place in the end of the emperor Woo's reign. Wang Ming-shing refers it, I think successfully, to the beginning of the next reign,—that of the emperor Ch'ou, B.C. 85-71. See the 十七史商編, 卷一, p. 4. 16 See Mao's Wrongs of the Shoo, Ch. VII., p. 7-9.
to myself long ago that a complete copy of the Shoo, as it was before
the time of the Ts'in dynasty, might possibly
be found in Japan. I am pleased to discover
that the same idea has been entertained at different times by Chinese
scholars. Very decided expression was given to it in the 11th
century by Gow-yang Sew,¹ from whom we have a song upon a
'Knife of Japan,' which concludes with:—

‘When Seu Fuh went across the sea,
The books had not been burned;
And there the hundred p'een remain,
As in the waste inurned.

Strict laws forbid the sending them
Back to our Middle Land;
And thus it is that no one here
The old text has in hand.'²

The critics for the most part treat the idea with contempt; and
yet in the year 1697, the 36th of K'ang-he, a petition was presented,
requesting the emperor to appoint a commission to search for the
Shang Shoo, beyond the seas.³ Japan is now partially opened. By
and by, when its language is well known, and access is had to all its
literary stores, this matter will be settled.

¹ 欧陽修, styled 永叔. He died A.D. 1073.  ² All of the song which I have seen
runs:—傳聞其國居大海, 土壤沃饒風俗好, 前朝
貢獻屢往來. 士人往往工詞藻, 徐福行時書未
焚, 逸書百篇今尚存, 令嚴不許傳中國. 舉
世無人識古文. See the 見義考書二, p. 6.  ³ See Wrongs of the
Shoo, Ch. I., pp. 3, 4.

1
CHAPTER II.

ON THE CREDIBILITY OF THE RECORDS IN THE SHOO.

THE FIRST AND SECOND PARTS ARE LESS RELIABLE THAN
THE OTHER THREE, AND HAVE MUCH OF WHAT IS LEGENDARY IN THEM.
OF YAOU, SHUN, AND YU, THE LAST IS TO BE REGARDED AS THE
FOUNDER OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE. HIS GREAT LABOURS IN REGULATING
THE WATERS AND SURVEYING AND DIVIDING THE LAND.

1. The conclusion to which I came in the last Chapter was, that
in the 58 Books which now form the textus receptus of the Shoo, we
have so much of the classic, as it existed in the end of the Chow
dynasty. Through Fuh-săng first, and then through K’ung Gan-
kwŏ, all this portion—a larger proportion of the whole than is
generally supposed—was recovered within little more than a century
of the time when the first emperor of Ts’in ordered that the books
should be consigned to the flames, and about a century before our
Christian era. There were no doubt mutilations and transpositions,
as well as alterations of the ancient text, but they were not so great
as to affect the substantial integrity of the book. In the subsequent
transmission of the Shoo to the present day, the text has undergone
the corruptions which are unavoidable to literary documents in
their passage over so long a space of time; but the errors which have
in this way crept in are not more, nor of more importance, than
those which it is the object of critical inquiry to eliminate from our
most valuable documents in the West.¹ There is really nothing
seriously to shake our confidence in the eight and fifty Books of the
Shoo which we have, as being substantially the same with those
which were known to Seun-tsze, Mencius, Mih-tsze, Confucius him-
self, and others.

¹ Not a few eminent Chinese critics have laboured to construct an accurate text. There is a
large mass of materials in the 古文尚書撰異 of 段玉裁, to which I have made
frequent reference; but it would have added too much to my labour, and not have repaid the time
to gather up the various readings throughout.
We come now to inquire how far the documents of the Shoo can be relied on as genuine narratives of the events which they profess to relate. And it may be said at once, in reference to the greater number of them, that there is no reasonable ground on which to call them in question. Allowance must be made, indeed, for the colouring with which the founders of one dynasty set forth the misdeeds of the closing reigns of that which they were superseding. I have pointed out, moreover, in the notes on 'The Counsels of the Great Yu,' how the failures of a favourite hero may be glossed over, and actual defeat represented as glorious triumph. But the documents of the Shoo are better entitled, I conceive, to credit than the memorials which are published at the present time in the Peking Gazette.

The more recent they are, the more of course are they to be relied on. The Books of Chow were contemporaneous with the events which they describe, and became public property not long after their composition. Provision was made, we have seen, by the statutes of Chow, for the preservation of the monuments of previous dynasties. But those monuments were at no time very numerous, and they could not but be injured, and were not unlikely to be corrupted, in passing from one dynasty to another. From the time of T'ang, the Successful, however, commonly placed in the 18th century before Christ, we seem to be able to tread the field of history with a somewhat confident step.

2. Beyond the time of T'ang we cannot be so sure of our way. Our information is comparatively scanty. It has in itself less of verisimilitude. Legend and narrative are confusedly mixed together. This is more especially apparent in the first and second Parts of the Work.

[i. ] 'The Book of T'ang,' known as 'The Canon of Yaou,' and all but one portion (which, indeed, must be classed with the others), of 'The Books of Yu' are, professedly, the compilations of a later time. They all commence with the words which I have translated—'On examining into antiquity, we find.'— If the construction of the paragraphs, which has been generally preferred since the time of Choo He, be adopted, the point on which I am insisting is equally prominent. We should then have to render.—'When we make a study of the ancient emperor Yaou, the ancient emperor Shun, the ancient Yu, the ancient Kaou-yaou, we find.'— On either version the chronicler separates himself from his subject. He
writes from a modern standpoint. Yaou, Shun, Yu, and Kaou-yaou are in the distant vistas of antiquity.

In my notes on the first paragraph of the Canon of Yaou, I have pointed out the absurdity of the interpretations which the scholars of Han—Gan-kwō, Ma Yung, and Ch'ing Heuen—gave of the words in question. Possibly, they had some idea of avoiding the conclusion to which the natural reading of them would lead, and therefore put upon them the forced meanings which they did. Morrison would infer from the first character, that "a considerable part of the Shoo is merely tradition;" but the character is itself uncertain, and, even if it were not so, no inference from it can be extended beyond the document to which it belongs. The scholars of the Sung and more recent dynasties seem never to have been struck with the uncertainty which either of the admissible interpretations attaches to the whole contents of the first two Parts of the classic. Their critical taste and ability made them reject the strained constructions of earlier times, but it never occurred to them to say to themselves,—"Well; but doing this, and taking the language as it ought to be taken, we cannot claim the authority for the records concerning Yaou, Shun, and Yu, which we are accustomed to do. Who compiled the Canons and the Counsels? When did he or they live? Are we not sapping the foundation of some of the commonly received accounts of the most early period of our national history?" Reflections like these do not appear to have occurred to any of the Chinese critics; but I submit it to my readers, whether they might not have justly done so.

At the same time, it is to be admitted, that the compiler of these Parts was possessed of documents more ancient than his own time,—documents which had probably come down from the age of Yaou and Shun. There are three things which to my mind render this admission necessary. First, there are the titles of the high officers about the courts of the two emperors, which we do not meet at a later age. The principal personage, for instance, was styled 'The Four Mountains;' next to him was 'The General Regulator;' and the minister of Religion was 'The Arranger of the Ancestral Temple.' The peculiarity of these designations indicates that the compiler had received them from tradition or from written records (which is more likely), and that they were not invented by himself. Second, the style of these Parts is distinguished, in several paragraphs, from

1 日若稽古.  2 日, See the preface to his dictionary, p. viii.

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that of the Books of Hea, Shang and Chow. The exclamations, 'Alas!' 'Ah!' and 'Oh!' in particular, are expressed by characters which we do not find elsewhere used in the same way. Third, the directions of Yaou to his astronomers, to determine the equinoxes and solstices by reference to the stars culminating at those seasons, could not be the inventions of a later age. The equinoxes were then in Taurus (Pleiades) and Scorpio, and the solstices in Leo and Aquarius. We shall find in the next chapter how these statements have been employed to ascertain the era of Yaou. No compiler, ignorant of the precession of the equinoxes, which was not known in China till long after the Christian era, could have framed them with such an adjustment to the time of which he was writing.

The two circumstances which I have pointed out in this paragraph may seem to conflict with each other. In the first place, the compilation of the Books of the first and second Parts of the Shoo, at a date long subsequent to that of which they treat, is calculated to lessen our confidence in them; while the admission, again, of ancient documents among their contents may be thought to establish their authority sufficiently. It is my duty, however, to call attention to both the points. They lie equally upon the face of the Books. It may be impossible to separate what is old from what is more recent,—to distinguish what the compilers added of their own from what was universally received before their time. Perhaps no two critics who make the attempt will come to identical conclusions. For my own part, I have no hesitation in adjudging the first two paragraphs in the Canon of Yaou to the compiler, and generally all the narrative portions in the other Books. I think, likewise, that I can trace his hand in various expressions throughout, which make us think of the dominion of the chieftains Yaou and Shun according to our impressions of the empire when it had been consolidated and extended, many hundreds of years subsequent to them.

[ ii. ] The references to Yaou and Shun in the succeeding Parts of the Shoo are so very scanty as to excite our surprise, and induce the idea that it was not till the time of the Chow dynasty that they obtained the prominent place in the early history of the empire which is now assigned to them.

In the Books of Hea, Shun is not mentioned at all, and Yaou is mentioned only once. In the third of the 'Songs of the Five Sons,'

Yaou and Shun do not appear as the sage-heroes of history till the time of the Chow dynasty.

3 Consult 吁, 哉, and 都 in Index III.
he appears as 'the prince of T’aou and T’ang, who possessed the country of K’e.' In that description of him we hear the voice of the most early tradition. Yaou is not yet the emperor ruling over 'ten thousand States,' but a prince or chieftain, having his seat north of the Yellow River, and ruling over the land of K’e. We may doubt whether his authority extended over all the territory subsequently known as K’e-chow; but it had not yet reached south of the Ho, and hardly west of it, where it divides the present provinces of Shen-se and Shan-se.

In the Books of Shang, Yaou and Shun are mentioned once, where the language is magniloquent enough; but it is so vague that we can learn nothing from it as to their original position. In the Charge to Yuē, (Part. iii., par. 10) E Yin is introduced as having said, 'If I cannot make my sovereign like Yaou and Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart as if I were beaten in the market place.' We are then told that Yin, fired with this ambition, so dealt with T’ang the Successful, that he became equal to Great Heaven. By this time Yaou and Shun had become mythical personages, embodying the ideal of a perfect sovereign.

We come to the Books of Chow, and in them we have two references to the ancient heroes. The one is in 'The Officers of Chow,' where Yaou is spoken of under the dynastic name of T’ang, and Shun under that of Yu, and the small number of their officers is contrasted with the multitude of those of Hea and Shang. The second is in 'The Prince of Leu on Punishments,' Ch. II. The passage is very confused; and some critics think that it speaks only of Yaou, while others (with whom I agree) hold that Shun is the subject of it. The traditions of his time (or, it may be, the accounts of them in the Canons) are blended with those of a still earlier date, and we see, as through a mist, the beginnings of the empire, as Shun lays its foundations, now by martial prowess beating down barbarian wickedness, now by humility and benevolence, with the assistance of his chiefs, conciliating the affections of the people.

The above are all the places in the Books of Hea, Shang, and Chow, where Yaou and Shun are referred to. The first of them gives us a simple reminiscence, separated by less than half a century from the year assigned to the death of Shun; and it is very instructive as to the real position which Yaou occupied. From the second we learn nothing valuable; but we find the men growing into larger

4 See Bk. xx., p. 8.—唐虞稽古，建官惟百.
dimensions, as the distance through which they are looked back to lengthens. In the third their original smallness is indicated, though they are said to have secured the repose of the 'ten thousand States.' The fourth is more suggestive, but we know not how to reconcile it with the statements in the Canons of the two first Parts. T'ang is silent about Yaou and Shun, when he is vindicating his overthrow of the Hea dynasty. Woo, in the same way, has nothing to say about them, when he would justify his superseding of the dynasty of Shang. Above all, the duke of Chow, the real establisher of the dynasty of Chow, and the model of Confucius, amid all his appeals to ancient precedents in support of the policy of his House, never mentions them. When we turn to the She King, the book of ancient songs and ballada, no Yaou and Shun are there. It is nearly all, indeed, of the dynasty of Chow, and celebrates the praises of king Wän and his ancestors; but it is impossible not to be surprised that no inspiration ever fell upon the 'makers' from the chiefs of K'ê. They are mentioned once in the Yih King, but it is in the appendix to that Work, which is ascribed to Confucius, and the authenticity of which is much disputed.

Taking all these things into consideration,—the little that is said about Yaou and Shun in the later Parts of the Shoo itself; and the nature of that little; the absolute silence in reference to them of the She; and the one doubtful mention of them in the Yih,—I am brought to the conclusion, that the compilation of the first two Parts was not made till some time after the commencement of the Chow dynasty. Certain it is, that, during this dynasty, Yaou and Shun received a prominence which they did not previously possess. Confucius in particular adopted them as his favourite heroes, and endowed them with all the virtues, which should render them models to sovereigns in all time. Mencius entered into the spirit of his master, and, according to the bolder character of his own mind, pushed the celebration of them farther, and made them models for all mankind. Then, for the first time, under the hands of these two philosophers, they took their place as the greatest of sages. To the compiler, probably, they owed their designation of 'te,'⁵ emperor or vicegerent of God, as well as all those descriptions which aid the natural illusion of the mind, and set them before us as ruling over a territory equal to that of the kings of Chow.

3. The accounts of Yaou and Shun, and especially of the connec-
tion between them, are so evidently legendary that it seems strange how any one can accept them as materials for history. When Yaou has been on the throne for seventy years, finding the cares of government too great for him, he proposes to resign in favour of his principal minister, the ‘Four Mountains.’ That worthy declares his virtue unequal to the office. Yaou then asks him whom he can recommend for it; be the worthiest individual a noble or a poor man, he will appoint him to the dignity. This brings Shun upon the stage. All the officers about the court can recommend him,—‘Shun of Yu,’ an unmarried man among the lower people.’ His father, a blind man, was also obstinately unprincipled: his mother was insincere: his brother was arrogant; and yet Shun had been able by his filial piety to live harmoniously with them, and to bring them to a considerable measure of self-government and good conduct. Yaou was delighted. He had himself heard something of Shun. He resolved to give him a preliminary trial. And a strange trial it was. He gave him his own two daughters in marriage, and declared that he would test his fitness for the throne by seeing his behaviour with his two wives!

We are to suppose that Shun stood this test to which he was subjected. We find him next appointed to be ‘General Regulator,’ the functions of which office he discharged so successfully, that, after three years, Yaou insisted on his consenting to accept the succession to the throne. They then reigned together for about a quarter of a century, till the death of Yaou, who enjoyed the superior dignity, while Shun took all the toils of government.

To the above incidents there are other two to be added from the Shoo. Yaou was not childless. He had at least one son, mentioned as Choo of Tan; but the father did not feel justified in transmitting the empire to him, in consequence of the unworthiness of his character, so much did concern for the public weal transcend Yaou’s regard for the distinction of his own family. In regard to Shun, he appears in one place as a farmer, during the early period of his life, in the neighbourhood of mount Leih, which was not far from Yaou’s capital.

1 虞舜 Bunsen, calling these characters Yu-shin, supposes that the is 禹, the name of Yu the Great, and says that they are ‘simply a mythical combination of Yu (禹) and Shin (舜), in order to connect the great deliverer [that is, Yu the Great] with the two old emperors, Yaou and Shin.’ This is an instance of the errors into which the subtlest reasoners are liable to fall, when they write ‘without book.’ See ‘Egypt’s Place in Universal History,’ vol. III., p. 399.
In Sze-ma Ts‘een and Mencius these scanty notices are largely added to. We have Shun not only as a farmer, but also as a fisherman, and a potter. His ‘insincere’ mother is his step-mother, and his ‘arrogant’ brother but a half-brother. Yaou has nine sons, who are sent with his two daughters, and a host of officers, to serve Shun amid the channeled fields. Even after this, his wicked relatives continue to plot against his life; and on one occasion, when they thought they had accomplished their object, the bad brother, after saying that his parents might have the sheep and oxen, storehouses and granaries, proceeds to Shun’s house to appropriate his shield and spear, his bow and lute, and his two wives to himself, when lo! there is Shun sitting calmly on a couch, and playing on his lute!

There are other incongruities. Shun’s appearing in the Shoo at first merely as a private man was, according to Ts‘een, simply through the reduced circumstances of his family. He proves him to have been of the blood royal, and traces his descent from Hwang-te, or the Yellow emperor. But Yaou was also descended from Hwang-te; and thus Shun is made to marry his own cousins—a heinous crime in Chinese law, and also in the eyes of Chinese moralists. My readers will probably agree with me that we ought not to speak of the history of Yaou and Shun, but of legendary tales which we have about them.

4. Passing on from the connection between Yaou and Shun to that which Yu had with each of them, until he finally succeeded to the latter, we find much that is of the same character. Yaou, in what year of his reign we do not know, appears suddenly startled with the ravages of an inundation. The waters were embracing the mountains, and overtopping the hills, and threatening the heavens with their surging fury. Was there a capable man to whom he could assign the correction of the calamity? All the nobles recommend one K‘wăn, to whom Yaou, against his own better judgment, delegates the difficult task; and for nine years K‘wăn labours, and the work is still unperformed.

For his want of success, and perhaps for other reasons, K‘wăn was put to death; and Yu, who was his son, entered into his labours. 

2 See the 史記, 卷一, pp. 6, 7; and Mencius, V. Pt. i, ch. II., et al.

1 The subject of the connection between K‘wăn and Yu, and between their labours, is invested to me with a good deal of difficulty. It is the universal belief of the Chinese that Yu was the son of K‘wăn. The Shoo does not tell us so. The language of ‘The Great Plan,’ p. 8, does not necessarily imply the fact. Sze-ma Ts‘een, Ch. II., p. 1, however, affirms it (禹傷先人
ON THE CREDIBILITY OF THE RECORDS IN THE SHOO. [PROLEGOMENA.

We have nothing definite in the Shoo about the year, or the manner of Yu's designation to the work. Some time after the death of Yaou, when Yu is superintendent of Works, Shun compliments him on the success with which he had regulated the water and the land, and appoints him to be 'General Regulator' under him, as he himself had formerly been under Yaou. The measures of Yu in remedying the disasters of the inundation are detailed at length in the first of the Books of Hea, which I shall consider in the sequel. His appointment to be 'General Regulator' may be considered as preliminary to his being called to occupy the throne. The Shoo does not tell us that Shun had a son; but Mencius assumes that such was the case, and that the son was weak or worthless like Choo of Tan, so that the example of Yaou had again to be copied. Three and thirty years after the death of that sovereign, Shun tells Yu that the laborious duties of the government wearied him, being now between ninety and a hundred years old, and summons him to take the leadership of the people. Yu declined the dignity again and again, till Shun waxed peremptory. They then reigned together for about fifteen years, when Shun died, and Yu was left in sole possession of the empire.

This tale of Yu's accession to the throne is not so marvellous as the story of Shun. It is sufficiently so, however, to bear out what I have suggested of there being a legendary element in it. We cannot but be struck with the way in which the more salient points of the previous narrative re-appear. The empire to the worthiest; the common weal before private and family advantage:—these are the lessons for the enforcement of which the accounts of Yaou, Shun, and Yu, in their relations to one another, were framed to the fashion in which they have descended to us.

5. Yu the Great was the founder of the dynasty of Hea. The throne descended in his line, for a period of about four centuries and a half. This fact sufficiently distinguishes him from Yaou and Shun, and indicates the point of time when the tribe or tribes of the Chinese people passed

父enance, and the language of the Le Ke, 禮法, par. 1, is also very strong in support of it (夏后氏亦稽黃帝而郊祭祖頒頂而宗). Notwithstanding these testimonies, I still query the point in my own mind. We have no certain data as to when Yu entered on his labours. The statements of Mencius, Bk. III., Pt. 1, iv. 7, ascribe his appointment to Shun, while Yaou was still alive; and the notice in 'The Great Plan,' makes it subsequent to K'wan's death. The language there should, probably, make us take the most emphatic meaning given to the term 烏, applied, in the Canon of Shun, and in Mencius, to Shun's dealing with K'wan.
from the rule of petty chiefs, and began to assume the form of a nation subject to a sovereign sway. In the time of Mencius there were some who found in the fact merely an evidence of the inferiority of Yu in virtue to the more ancient heroes. 'He made the empire,' it was said, 'a family property, instead of transmitting it, as they did, to the worthiest.' Mencius of course had his reply. It was not Yaou who gave the empire to Shun, but Heaven, of whose providence Yaou was only the instrument. So in the case of Shun and Yu. Shun assisted Yaou in the government 28 years, and Yu assisted Shun 17 years. Yih, Yu's prime minister, however, only assisted him 7 years. Then, moreover, the sons of Yaou and Shun were both bad, while K'e, the son of Yu, was a man of talents and virtue. These differences or contrasts in the situations were all equally from Heaven; which thus brought it about that the people would have K'e to reign over them, and not Yih. Mencius winds up his argument with a dictum of Confucius:—'T'ang [Yaou] and Yu [Shun] resigned the throne to their worthy ministers. The sovereign of Hea [Yu] and the sovereigns of Yin and Chow transmitted it to their sons. The principle of righteousness was the same in all the cases.'

Confucius and Mencius were obliged to resort to this reasoning by the scheme which they had adopted of the ancient history of their country; but they explicitly affirm the fact to which I am calling attention,—that the empire, such as it then was, first became hereditary in the family of Yu. This fact constitutes him a historical personage, and requires that we consider him as the first sovereign of the Chinese nation.

6. Bunsen says:—'Yu the Great is as much an historical king as Charlemagne; and the imperial tribute-roll of his reign in the Shu-king is a contemporary and public document just as certainly as are the capitularies of the king of the Franks.' That Yu is an historical king is freely admitted; but that the tribute-roll of his reign which we have in the Shoo-king was made by him, or is to be accepted as a genuine record of his labours, must be as freely denied.

What Bunsen calls the tribute-roll of Yu's reign is always edited as the first of the Books of Hea, which form in this volume the third Part of the Shoo. But all which it details took place, or is imagined to have taken place, before the death of Yaou, not only before Yu

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1 Mencius, V., Pt. I., Chh. v., vi.
occupied the throne, but when there was no prospect of his ever doing so. The Book belongs to the period of Yaou and Shun, and appears out of its chronological order. Its proper position would be in the first Part; and it must share in the general uncertainty which I have shown to belong to the documents of the oldest portions of the classic.

In my notes upon the Book, p. 93, I have said that the name, — 'The Tribute of Yu'—conveys a very inadequate idea of its contents. It describes generally the labours of Yu in remedying the disasters occasioned by the inundation referred to above, in paragraph 4, as startling Yaou, and his subsequent measures in dividing the land which he had rescued from the waters, and determining and apportioning the revenues to be paid by its different provinces.

To enable us to judge of the credibility of Yu's labours, we must first get before our minds some definite idea of the state of the country when he entered upon them. Mencius thus describes it, giving the picture which he drew to himself from the records of the Shoo: — 'In the time of Yaou, when the empire had not yet been reduced to order, the vast waters, flowing out of their channels, made a universal inundation. Vegetation was luxuriant, and birds and beasts swarmed. Grain could not be grown. The birds and beasts pressed upon men. The paths marked by the feet of beasts and prints of birds crossed one another throughout the Middle Kingdom. ..... Yu separated the nine different branches of the Ho, cleared the courses of the Tse and T'ia, and led them to the sea. He opened a vent for the Joo and Han, regulated the course of the Hwae and Sze, and led them all to the Keang. When this was done, it was possible for the people of the Middle Kingdom to get food for themselves.'

This may seem a sufficiently frightful picture; but it is sketched with colours all too light. Such was the overflow of the waters of the Ho, that Yaou spoke of them, from the point of view in his capital, as embracing the mountains, overtopping the hills, and threatening the heavens. As they proceeded on their eastern course, they separated into a multitude of streams, and formed a delta of part of the present provinces of Chih-le and Shan-tung, where the people were shut up on the elevated grounds. The waters of the Keang required regulating nearly as much. All the affluents of these two mighty rivers, and whatever other streams, like the Hwae, lay between them, were in similar disorder. The mountains where the rivers

2 Mencius, Bk. III., Pt. I. iv. 7.
had their rise, and the chains of which directed their courses, were
shaggy with forests, that rose from the marshy jungles which grew
around them. If we suppose that when North America began to
be colonized from Europe, its rivers, from the St. Lawrence south-
wards, had all been wildly and destructively flowing abroad, its rolling
prairies slimy fens, and its forests pathless, we shall have an unexag-
gerated idea of what China was, according to the Shoo, in the days
of Yu.

Into such a scene of desolation Yu went forth. From beyond the
western bounds of the present China proper he is represented as
tracking the great rivers, here burning the woods, hewing the rocks,
and cutting through the mountains which obstructed their progress,
and there deepening their channels, until their waters are brought
to flow peacefully into the eastern sea. He forms lakes, and raises
mighty embankments, until at length 'the grounds along the waters
were everywhere made habitable; the hills were cleared of their
superfluous wood; the sources of the streams were cleared; the
marshes were well banked; and access to the capital was secured for
all within the four seas. A great order was effected in the six maga-
zines of material wealth ; the different parts of the country were
subjected to an exact comparison, so that contribution of revenue
could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. The fields
were all classified with reference to the three characters of the soil;
and the revenues for the Middle Kingdom were established.'

The Shoo does not say what length of time was required to com-
plete so great an achievement; but we can gather from it that it did
not extend over very many years. It was un fait accompli before the
death of Yaou. K'wan had laboured upon the flooded country for
nine years without success; and though it is not expressly said that
Yu's appointment was made by Shun after he became co-emperor
with Yaou, the presumption is that it was so,—a presumption which
might be declared a certainty if we could put confidence in the state-
ments of Mencius. Mencius adds that Yu was eight years away
from his home while going backwards and forwards on the work.3
Sze-ma Ts'e'en allows Yu thirteen years to put his curb upon the
floods; while Ma Yung thought that in three years eight of the
provinces were so rectified, that Yaou considered the whole work as
good as done, and resigned the administration to Shun.4

3 See a portion omitted in the quotation from Mencius above. 4 See the concluding note
on p. 159.
I have been careful to point out in my notes the indications which we have that Yu was not left single-handed in the enterprise. He had Yih with him to help to open up the woods with fire. He had Tsieh to show the people how to cultivate the ground as it was reclaimed from the waters and the jungles. But if we allow that all the resources of the empire (so to speak) were at his disposal, the work which he is said to have accomplished far exceeds all limits of credibility.

I am glad to be sustained in this opinion by the judgment of the late Edward Biot the younger, and will here introduce some sentences from an able article by him in the 'Journal Asiaticque' for August and September, 1842. He says:—'The Yellow river, after its entrance into China, has a further course of 560 leagues; the Kéang, taken only from the great lake of Hoo-kwang visited by Yu, has a course of nearly 250 leagues; the Han, from its source to its junction with the Kéang, is 150 leagues long. These three rivers present a total length of nearly 1,000 leagues; and adding the other rivers [on which Yu laboured], we must extend the, 1,000 to 1,500. ......Chinese antiquity has produced one monument of immense labour,—the great wall, which extends over nearly 300 leagues; but the achievement of this gigantic monument required a great number of years. It was commenced in pieces, in the ancient States of Ts’in, Chaou, and Yen, and was then repaired and lengthened by the first emperor of the Ts’in dynasty. Now such a structure, in masonry, is much easier to make than the embankment of enormous streams along an extent of 1,200 or 1,500 leagues. We know, in effect, how much trouble and time are required to bring such works to perfect solidity. We can judge of it from the repeated overflows of the Rhone, and the lower Rhone is not a fourth of the size of the Ho and the Kéang in the lower part of their course. If we are to believe the commentators, Yu will become a supernatural being, who could lead the immense rivers of China as if he had been engaged in regulating the course of feeble streamlets.'

These illustrations of Biot are sufficiently conclusive. I may put the matter before the reader by one of a different character. I have represented the condition of the surface of China when Yu

5 See the number of the 'Journal Asiaticque' referred to, pp. 160, 162. Most of this chapter was written before I had an opportunity of seeing it. A dialogue of very extensive research calling in question, in conversation, the views which I told him I was going to propound about the Yu Kang, I was led to make another effort (having made several fruitless ones) to obtain in Hongkong a copy of the 'Journal Asiaticque,' that I might find what were Biot's views and was fortunate enough, among a heap of odd numbers, to discover what I wanted.
entered on his labours by supposing the regions of North America, from the St. Lawrence southwards, to have been found in similar disorder and desolation by the early colonists from Europe in the seventeenth century. Those colonists had not the difficulties to cope with which confronted Yu; but we know how slowly they pushed their way into the country. Gradually growing in numbers, receiving constant accessions from Europe, increasing to a great nation, inferior to no other in the world for intelligence and enterprise, in more than two centuries they have not brought their territory more extensively into cultivation and order than Yu did the inundated regions of China in the space of less than twenty years!

The empire, as it appears in 'The Tribute of Yu,' consisted of nine provinces. On the north and west its boundaries were much the same as those of China Proper at the present day. On the east it extended to the sea, and even, according to many, across it, so as to embrace the territory of Corea. Its limits on the south are not very well defined. It certainly did not reach beyond the range of mountains which run along the north of Kwang-tung province, stretching into Kwang-se on the west and Fuh-kēn on the east. Even though we do not reckon those three provinces in Yaou's dominion, there still remains an immense empire, about three times as large as France, which we are to suppose was ruled over by him, the chief of K'e, and the different regions of which sent their apportioned contributions of grain, and other articles of tribute, to his capital year by year.

But besides this division of the empire, the Book gives us another into five domains, by which it extended 2,500 le from the capital on every side, the whole thus constituting a square of 5,000 le. We have Yu's own declaration of his services in completing those domains, and in organizing the regions beyond, as far as the borders of the four seas, and placing them under the government of four presidents. It is impossible for us to put credit in this representation. The five domains cannot be put down on the territory of China, ancient or modern. I have shown in my notes, pp. 148, 149, the difficulties which attend the account that we have of them. With reference to a similar but more minute arrangement of domains given in 'The Rites of Chow,' Biot says that 'it is evident that these symmetrical divisions have nothing of reality.'

6 See the 'Yih and Tsēih,' par. 4. 7 Le Tcheou-li, tome II, p. 169.
same difficulty with the division into nine provinces. Their mountains and rivers are, in the main, the same which have existed since the earth received its present form, and which will continue to the end of the world. The difficulty is in believing that Yu dealt with them as he is said to have done, and that there was in his time an empire exercising sway over such an extent of the country. As we must deny, however, the division into domains, for the making of which we have what purport to be Yu's own words, and which occupies six paragraphs in 'The Tribute of Yu,' it may be deemed less presumptuous to question the division into nine regions, which it is nowhere expressly said in the Shoo that he made,—to question it as not having been in existence at all in his time.

The accounts which we have of the empire subsequent to Yu forbid us to allow that it had attained in his day so great a development. The third sovereign of the Hea dynasty, T'ae-k'ang, grandson of Yu, having crossed the Ho on a hunting expedition, found his return obstructed by the chief of K'eung, and was never able to regain his throne. His five brothers had gone with their mother, and were waiting for his return on the banks of the Lô, when they heard of the movement against his authority. They then poured out their sorrow in songs, which are given in the Shoo. One of them refers to Yu as 'The sovereign of the myriad States!' while another speaks of Yaou, 'the prince of T'aoou and T'ang, who possessed this country of K'e,'—'this country,' which was then held by the representatives of Yu. Nearly a hundred years elapsed, after the expulsion of T'ae-k'ang, before the House of Hea regained sure possession of the throne. This was done, B.C. 2,078, by Shaou-k'ang, whom we find lurking about, not far from the old capital of Yaou, for nearly the first forty years of his life, now herding the cattle of one chief, and anon acting as cook in the establishment of another, who discovers his worthiness, and gives him his two daughters in marriage. All these events transpire, we may say, on the banks of the Ho, and there is no indication of the country elsewhere being interested in them. It is believed that Yu died at Hwuy-k'e in the present Chê-kêang; but it was not till the last year of Shaou-k'ang that any chief was appointed in that part of the country in the name of the reigning House.

When we come to the dynasty of Shang, B.C. 1,765–1,122, we find it difficult to admit that even then there was a China at all equal to that which Yu is said to have ruled over. The Shoo tells
us of its founder T'ang the Successful; and in him and Kēē, the last
sovereign of the line of Yu, we seem merely to have the chief of
Shang warring with the chief of Hea. It next gives us some notices of
the minority of T'ae-kēē, T'ang's successor; and then there is a blank
in the history for three hundred years. When the field is occupied
again, we meet with Pwan-kāng, the 17th sovereign, in great trouble,
engaged in transferring his capital from the north of the Ho to the
present district of Yen-sze in Ho-nan, on the south of it. To re-
concile the murmuring people to the trouble of the removal, he
reminds them that he was only acting after the example of former
kings, and that the capital of the dynasty had already been in five
different places. The nation, evidently, had still its seat in the
neighbourhood of the Ho, and notwithstanding all that Yu is supposed
to have done in regulating the waters of that river, its principal
settlement had to be frequently changed in consequence of inunda-
tions. The accounts are not those of a great people, but of a tribe
which had little difficulty in migrating from one spot to another.

Later still, we find a fact which is more conclusive perhaps on the
point in hand than any of the considerations which I have yet
adduced. The empire of the Chow dynasty consisted, like that of
Yaou, of nine provinces. The old province of K'e formed three of
them; Seu was absorbed in Ts'ing; and Lēang had disappeared from
the empire altogether. Portions of the more eastern parts of it may
have been embraced in the provinces of Yu and Yung, but much
the greater part was wild barbarian territory, beyond the limits of
the Middle Kingdom.

The kings of Chow ruled over a territory
less than that of Yaou by the present provinces of Sze-ch'uen and
Yun-nan! The dominions of Chow were not under-estimated, but
the dimensions of the empire in the days of Yu have been greatly
exaggerated. We can no more admit that he ruled over the nine
provinces ascribed to him, than that he executed the stupendous
labours of which he has the glory.

7. What then are we to think of 'The Tribute of Yu,' telling us,
as it does, of the nine provinces, and of the labours put forth,
and the contributions imposed upon them
by Yu? According to Biot, in the article of
the 'Journal Asiatique,' already referred to, we are to find in it 'only
the progress of a great colony.' He says further:—'Admitting even
that Yu really visited all the points mentioned in the chapter, and

8 See the Chow Le, Bk. xxxii.
so ran over more than the 1,500 leagues of which I have spoken, we should simply have to regard him as the first explorer of the Chinese world. In his general exploration, he established the posts of the colonists or planters on different points of the territory which he occupied by force, or which he obtained by a friendly arrangement with the natives. He caused the wood around those posts to be cut down, and commenced the cultivation of the soil. He may have commenced also, along with his colonists, certain labours on some rivers, carried off some stagnant waters, or embanked some lakes. At every one of his posts, he examined the productions of the ground, and the articles which they could obtain by barter from the natives. He then determined the nature of the contributions which every new colony should send to the mother colony. Such is still, in our days, the method pursued by the leaders of the pioneers who engage in exploring the deserts of America. They establish posts where they may purchase furs from the natives, and may commence at the same time the clearing of the forests. After Yu, the labours of draining the country and clearing the forests continued during some ages, and the result of all was attributed by Chinese tradition to the first chief.'

The reader cannot fail to be struck with the ingenuity of the above view; and I believe that there is an inkling of the truth in it. It is certainly an improvement on the view previously advanced by Father Cibot in his very learned essay on 'The Antiquity of the Chinese,' which appears under the name of 'Ko a Jesuit,' at the beginning of the 'Memoires sur les Chinois.' Himself of opinion that the territory on which Yu laboured was of small extent, Cibot thinks that this chief, remaining at the centre of his government in K‘e-chow, might yet have sent expeditions of discovery, and to fix, on the ground of what he had learned of the other provinces, the imposts to be drawn from them, in the same way as has been done under all the succeeding dynasties, when it has been designed to extend the empire by colonies and the opening up of the country. 'Of how many countries of America,' says he, 'have charts and descriptions been given, before they were peopled, or even on the eve of being so? If what has thus been said of their mines, productions, and curiosities, proves the knowledge of Europeans, what we find in the Yu Kung will prove the similar knowledge which Yu had of the territory of China.'

For myself, I cannot admit that Yu really visited all the points which he is said to have done, nor can I find in the order in which his labours are detailed the steps by which the great Chinese colony actually proceeded to occupy the country. We recognize its primitive seat in the southern parts of the present Shan-se, with the Ho on the west and south of it. Across that stream lay the present Shen-se on the one side, and Ho-nan on the other. Into those portions of the country the subjects of Yu would penetrate long before they reached as far south as the Kêang. In point of fact we know that they did do so. His son fought a battle with the prince of Hoo, at a place in the present department of Se-ngan in Shen-se; and the usurper E kept his grandson, T'ae-k'ang, a sort of prisoner at large in a part of Ho-nan. But the country of Ho-nan was in the province of Yu, the 7th in order of Yu's operations; and that of Shen-se was in Yung, the last in order. It is plain, therefore, that we are not to look in the Yu Kung for indications of the historical course and progress of the great Chinese colony.

'The Tribute of Yu' describes the country of China as its extent came to be ascertained in the course of the dynasties of Hêa and Shang, and as its different parts were gradually occupied by the increasing and enterprising multitudes of the Chinese people, and contributed their various proportions of revenue and tribute to the central government which continued to be in K'ê-chow. There were memorials of toils which the great Yu had undergone in making good the first foot-hold of his tribe, and of allotments of territory which he had made to the most distinguished among his followers. The nature of the country, in many places covered with forests and inundated, had caused the colonists much trouble in their advances. It occurred to some historiographer to form a theory as to the way in which the whole country might have been brought to order by the founder of the Hêa dynasty, and he thereupon proceeded to glorify Yu by ascribing so grand an achievement to him. About the same time the popular stories of Yu's self-denial, in remaining with his wife only four days after their marriage, in passing thrice by his door regardless of the wailings of his infant son K'ê, in flying about over the country, here driving his carriage over the level ground, there forcing his way up the rivers in a boat, now toiling through the marshes in a sledge, and anon stalking along the steep and slippery sides of the hills, with spikes to his shoes, with a measuring line in his left hand and a square and pair of compasses in his left, until his
body was wasted to a shadow, and the skin of his hands and feet was callous:—these popular stories found their recognition in the 'Yih and Tseih,' and prompted at once the conception of the romance of the *Yu Kung,* and obtained for it a favourable reception. Then Yu could enter well into association with Yaou and Shun, and form a triad with them at the beginning of the Chinese monarchy. Their wisdom and benevolence appeared in him, combined with a practical devotion to the duties of his position, in which all sovereigns might have a model, that would for ever win them from indolence and self-indulgence, and stimulate them to a painstaking discharge of their responsibilities.

The conclusion to which a careful consideration of 'The Tribute of Yu' has brought me is thus far enough from the opinion of Bunsen, that it was 'a contemporary and public document of his reign.' It is to be regarded on the contrary as a *romance,* of which Yu is the subject, composed long after him,—composed probably after the dynasty which he founded had passed away. Cibot quotes several Chinese authorities, affirming its late composition. Biot seems inclined to attribute the Book, as we now have it, to Confucius. 'It is at least certain,' he says, 'that Confucius brought together in this chapter various *souvenirs* long antecedent to his own epoch;' and he adds, that 'carrying its composition no farther back than this, we should have in it one of the most ancient geographical documents in the world.' But I showed, on pp. 3–6 of these prolegomena, that we have no sufficient reason to believe that Confucius had anything to do with the compilation of the Shoo. We have, moreover, an indication, I think, in the Shoo itself, that the duke of Chow was familiar with this record of Yu's labours. Towards the close of that statesman's counsels to king Ching on the 'Establishment of Government,' we find him saying:—'Have well arranged your military accoutrements and weapons, so that you may go forth beyond the steps of Yu, and be able to travel over all beneath heaven, even to beyond the seas, everywhere meeting with submission.' How was the duke of Chow acquainted with 'the footsteps of Yu'? It must have been either by tradition, or by some written account of them. The latter is the more probable. I have already called attention to the fact, that the large territory included in Yu's province of Léang did not form a part of the dominions of Chow. It was natural that the duke of Chow, so ambitious and far-reaching as we

2 See Pt. V., Bk. XIX., p. 32.
know him to have been, should be anxious that the sway of his House should not come short of that ascribed to either of the previous dynasties. On another occasion, he summoned the duke of Shaou to go on with him, 'abjuring all idleness, to complete the work of Wăn, till their empire should entirely overspread the land and from the corners of the seas and the sunrising there should not be one disobedient to their rule.' His reference to 'the steps of Yü' does not prove that Yü really travelled and toiled and subdued the face of nature as the Yü Kung reports; it only proves that such was the current belief at the commencement of the Chow dynasty, affording at the same time a presumption that that document was then among the archives of the empire. This is my opinion,—that 'The Tribute of Yü' was among the written monuments of ancient times, which passed from the dynasty of Shang, and came under the care of the Recorder of the Exterior under that of Chow. Then subsequently it was very properly incorporated in the collection of Historical documents now known as the Shoo.

8. The opinion of Bunsen, that 'The Tribute of Yü' was a contemporary and public document of Yü's reign, was mainly grounded on the confidence which he reposed in the genuineness of a stone pillar, with an inscription, said to have been erected by Yü on the top of Mount Häng, in the present Hoo-nan. He says:—'We have Yü's own unquestionably genuine account of the labour employed upon the great work by which he saved the country in the inundation. After the Egyptian monuments, there is no extant contemporary testimony more authentic, and none so old as the modest and noble inscription of that extraordinary man. It is true that it has now become illegible, but a copy was made of it about 1200 in the time of the Sung, which has been preserved in the high school of Siau-fu, and in the imperial archives at Pekin. Hager has given a tracing of it. Only those who are unacquainted with the subject can entertain any doubt as to its originality.' Perhaps, if the learned writer had made himself more fully acquainted with the history of this tablet, he would have expressed himself as strongly against its genuineness.

The casting of tripods or vases and of bells is asserted of Yü by very ancient traditions. Nine vases particularly are ascribed to him, each one having on it a chart of one of the nine provinces. Biot

3 Pt. V., Bk. XVI., p. 21.
1 See 'Egypt's Place,' &c., vol. III., pp. 394, 395.
ON THE CREDIBILITY OF THE RECORDS IN THE SHOO. [PROLEGOMENA.

says of them:—'The existence of these early sculptured or graved charts appears to me entirely admissible;'—they represented the nine regions known to the first Chinese, and were not pictures of the empire of Yu. But after the ages which elapsed; without doubt, between this first chief and the dynasty of Chow, and after the extension of the Chinese rule, the respect of the Chinese for their ancestors became transformed into a veritable rite; the personage of Yu increased in their remembrances, and grew into a sort of demigod, who had reduced the world to order. Then the nine regions traced upon the vases of Yu became the nine provinces of his pretended empire.' That there were in the Chow dynasty nine vases, ascribed to Yu, and looked on as palladia of the empire, is sufficiently attested; but it is by no means clear that they had on them a series of charts of his nine provinces. But this is not the place to enter on any discussion of them. The earliest mention of them will be found in a note below. I have introduced them here, merely to contrast the ancient references to them with the comparatively modern era when the stone tablet on mount Hang began to be spoken of.

The first writer whose testimony to the existence of this tablet is adduced is Chaou Yih, a Taoist recluse of the Eastern Han, who lived towards the end of the first century of our era. He has left us a 'History of Woo and Yue,' but the Work so abounds in ridiculous stories, of

2 For Biot's remarks, see the article on the Yu Kung in the 'Journal Asiaticque,' p. 176. The earliest reference to the tripod of Yu, is, I believe, in the Tao Chuen, under the 3d year of duke Seuen (B.C. 606), where a messenger from the emperor Ting appears in colloquy with a general of the State of Ts'oo. The general wished to know the size and weight of the tripod. The answer was:—'The prosperity of the govt. depends on the sovereign's virtue, and not on the tripod. Anciently, when Hea was distinguished for its virtue, they got plans of distant regions, and remarkable objects in them. The nine pastors sent in the metal of their provinces, and tripods were cast, with representations on them of those objects. This was done exhaustively, so that the people could recognize the sprites and evil things; and when they went among the rivers, marshes, hills, and forests, they did not meet with misfortune;—yes, the sprites of the hills and waters did not come in their way. Thus a harmony was secured between the high and the low, and all received the blessing of Heaven. When the virtue of Ke was all obscured, the tripods passed over to Shang,—for 600 years. In consequence of the cruel tyranny of Chow of Shang, they passed over to Chow. When the virtue is brilliant, the tripods though light are heavy; when it gives place to darkness and disorder, they become light though heavy. Heaven sustains bright virtue;—where that is, its favour rests. King Ching fixed the tripod in Kä-huh (Kueh: in the pres. He-nan), and divined that the dynasty should last 80 generations, and 700 years. This is Heaven's decree, and though the virtue of Chow is decayed, that decree is not changed. You need not ask about the weight of the tripod.' This account of the tripod is not very clear; but it is as clear in the translation as in the original. We should not infer from it that they had on them charts of the nine provinces. Accounts differ as to what became of them,—whether they came into the possession of Ts'ien, or were sunk in a river by the last sovereign of Chow. See the 太平御览.
which I give a specimen below,⁵ that we can put little credit in anything which it relates. Among other things stated in it was this:—that 'the spirit-like Yu had left an inscription on the hill of Keu-leu;'⁶ Keu-leu being the name of one of the 72 peaks given to mount Häng, and indeed, the principal one of them all, so that the names Keu-leu and Häng are sometimes used interchangeably. In various topographical Works, written between the Han dynasty and that of Y'ang, mention is made of Yu in connection with mount Häng; but they only reproduce the fables of Chao Yih, and say nothing definite of the pillar about which we are inquiring.

Under the T'ang dynasty, accounts of it were abundantly rife; but there is no evidence that they were anything more than stories floating about among the people, or that any person of character had seen the interesting relic. On the contrary, the writer who has given us the fullest description of it, tells us that he had himself been unable to find it on the mountain, after the most diligent search. This was the famous Han Yu, among whose poems is the following, on mount Keu-leu:—

'Upon the peak of Keu-leu, sure there stands,
Yu's pillar, fashioned by most cunning hands;
The stone carnation, characters all green,
Like tadpoles bent, like leeks invert, are seen;

5 Of the accounts of this Book, the reader may take the following specimen:—K'wan being thrown into the water, after he was put to death on mount Yu, was changed into a yellow dragon, and became the spirit of abyss of Yu (為羽淵之神). Yu was then appointed to undertake the task of regulating the waters. For seven years he laboured without effect, and, full of heaviness, ascertained from some books of Hwang-te, that among the pillars of heaven, the south-eastern mountains, there was one called Yuen-wei (宛委), where there was a book concealed, in characters of green gem, on tablets of gold, bound together with silver, which would be of use to him. He then went east, ascended mount Häng, and sacrificed a white horse. Not finding what he sought, he went to the top of the mountain, looked towards heaven, and whistled. There he fell asleep, and dreamed that a boy, in red embroidered clothes, calling himself the messenger of the azure waters, came to him, and told him that if he ascended the Yuen-wei hill, on such and such a day of the third month, he would find the gold tablets. The boy at the same time indicated that this hill was in the east; and thither Yu went, and on the day appointed dug up the gold tablets, with their gem characters, which told him how to proceed to accomplish his mighty work.' See Chao's Work, 卷四. 6 神禹有岣嶁山銘. See the 館崎亭集外編卷三十五; and the 曝書亭集卷四十七, art. 1. I say in the text that there 'was' such a statement in Chao's Work, because that Work is now mutilated, and I have glanced over the copy to which I have access without finding the statement in question.
With pheasants floating here, the phoenix there,
Tigers and dragons make, between, their lair.
A monument so grave is hidden well,
And imps might pry, and nothing find to tell.
A solitary Taoist saw the stone.
'Twas chance him led.—I came, with many a groan,
And, weeping fast, searched round and searched again;
'Twas labour lost, the quest was all in vain.
The monkeys, 'mid the foliage of the wood,
Seemed sadly to bewail my grieving mood.'

Two important points are established by these lines:—the one,
that Han Yu himself, though he searched diligently for the pillar,
could not find it; the other, that the voucher in his time for its existence
was a solitary Taoist, one of a class which deals in things fantastic and prodigious,
whose averment we pronounce, with a justifiable foregone conclusion, is more likely to be false than true.

From the T'ang dynasty we come to Sung. For more than three hundred years after Han Yu, we read nothing about the pillar. Still it was talked about; and in the 12th century, two of the ablest men in China purposely visited mount Häng to put the question as to its existence at rest by their personal examination. They were Choo He, the most distinguished critic and philosopher of his age, and Chang Nan-hüen, also an eminent scholar. Their search for the stone was as fruitless as that of Han Yu had been; and to my mind the judgment of Choo He that it never had any existence but in Taoist dreams is decisive. Chinese writers account for the failure of him and the other intelligent seekers to find it, by attributing to it a personal intelligence. It was 'a spirit-like thing, which could appear and disappear at pleasure.'

Not very long after the search of Choo He, in the period Kea-ting (A.D. 1208–1224) of the 13th emperor of the Sung dynasty, there came to the mountain an officer from Sze-chüen, called Ho Che, and was

7 See the Works of Han Yu, 卷三·岣嵝山尖神禹碑, 字青石 赤形墓奇, 科斗拳身褎倒披, 鷇飄風泊攀虎螭. 事嚴迹秘鬼莫窺, 道人獨上偶見之, 我來咨 哇涕濡沬. 千搜萬索何處有, 森森綠樹猿猱悲. Accounts of the pillar, of a similar kind, are found in the 丹鉛總錄卷一, quoted from 徐靈期 and 崔融, both, like Han Wan-kung, of the T'ang dynasty. 8 斯文 显晦, 信有神物. See the 丹鉛總錄 referred to above.
conducted by a woodcutter to the peak of Chuh-yung, where he found the monument and took a copy of it, which he had engraved and set up in the Taouist monastery of Kwei-mun. Here then was the monument seen at last, and the inscription on it copied,—more than 3,000 years after its erection. So long time it had endured, standing there on the mountain, exposed to all elemental influences! This alone is sufficient to prove the falsehood of it. I have seen monuments in China a thousand years old, and which had been in a measure sheltered from the weather; but in every case the engraving on them was in some parts illegible. The tablet of Yu could not have stood, where it is said to have done, for such a length of time, and been found in the condition in which Ho Che is said to have found it. What was brought to light in the 18th century was a clumsy forgery. I have called attention by italics to the fact of the copy being set up in a Taouist monastery. A Taouist brain first conceived the idea of the monument, and Taouist hands afterwards fashioned it. An ordinary forger would have left gaps in the inscription to tell their own tale of its ancient date; but it was supposed that posterity would believe that this spirit-like thing had bid defiance to the gnawing tooth and effacing fiders of time.

When the discovery was made public, it was not generally credited. We should have thought that so precious a monument would draw many visitors to it, now that its place was known, and that it would even become an object of the public care. No such thing. Even the copy taken by Ho Che would seem to have had the 'spirit-like' quality, attributed to the monument, of making itself either visible or invisible. Under the Sung dynasty, people refused to receive it; and we have to come to the period Ching-tih of the Ming dynasty, in the early part of the 16th century, before we meet with it again. Then, an officer of the province of Hoo-nan, Chang Ke-wăn, professed to have found the copy engraved by Ho Che, which he transcribed; and since his time it has had its place among the monuments, real or pretended, of Chinese antiquity.

It will occur to the reader to ask whether the stone be still on mount Hăng. In a copy of the inscription, published in 1666, by a Maou Tsăng-kéen, which is in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Chalmers, the
editor speaks of the difficulty of reaching the top of Keu-leu, how ladders are necessary and hooks, and says that he had himself been to the spot and handled the stone. But he says also, that the characters and stone had both been of an immense size, and are now all in fragments, so that the inscription cannot be made out. Let it be granted that there are some fragments of rock on one of the summits of mount Hâng, with old characters cut on them, how is it known that these were ever any tablet of Yü? or how is any verification obtained from them of the inscription, as we have it? Choo He and Chang Nan-hëen, in the 12th century, might very well have seen the remains described by Tsâng-kêen, and decided that Yü had never had anything to do with them. Their character shows certainly that Han Yü and the other writers of the T'ang dynasty were only describing an ideal tablet of Yü,—which, indeed, we might conclude on other grounds. The only voucher for the points involved in the above questions is Ho Che, or rather the story which we have of his discovery of the monument in the 13th century.

The review which I have given of the history of the stone sufficiently shows my own opinion, that it is not entitled to the least credit; and I am supported in this view by the great majority of Chinese archæologists, so little ground is there for Bunsen’s affirmation that ‘only those who are unacquainted with the subject can entertain any doubt as to its originality.’ He based his conclusion on a monograph of the inscription, published at Berlin in 1811 by M. Klaproth, which I have not seen. I have read an account of it, however, in the second volume of Remusat’s ‘Melanges Asiatiques.’ Klaproth, it would appear, having become convinced of the genuineness of the monument, addressed himself particularly to show that the ‘tadpole’ characters have been correctly identified. This might very well be the case, without the arguments which I have urged against it being at all affected. There was nothing to hinder the maker or makers of it, say in the time of the Sung dynasty, from disguising their fraud, by writing it after the model of the most ancient forms of the characters. My friend, Wang T’aou, in a Chinese monograph of it, observes on this point:——‘The maker of it was clever in imitating the ancient form of writing; and it was this ability which enabled him to impose on many.’ On the next page the reader will find a copy of the inscription, such as it is, taken from the sheet in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Chalmers. The characters were first reduced by a photograph, and then copied for a wooden block to
suit the size of my page. By the side of each tadpole character is the modern form which is supposed to have taken its place. I give it simply as a curiosity. In a note below will be found some remarks on Bunsen's attempt to translate it. More than sufficient space has been allowed to it in the text of these prolegomena, as my object, in advertising to it at all, was simply to show that an argument could not be constructed from it to invalidate the opinion which I have advanced as to the late origin of the Yu Kung.  

12 The identification of a few of the characters in the copy of which Bunsen ventured a translation was different from that in the copy here printed. The 丹鉛總録 gives the inscription thus:—承帝日奎，翼輔佐卿，洲渚與登，鳥獸之門，參身洪流，而明發爾興，久旅忘家，宿嶽麗庭，智譬形折，心罔弗辰，往求平定，華岳泰衡，宗魂事哀，榮餘仲軒，鬱塞昏徒，南潯衍亨，永制食備，萬國其寧，暨舞永奔。 Now I undertake to say, that of a good deal of this it is not possible to ascertain the meaning with any degree of certainty. Bunsen speaks of a version by Father Amyot, published by Hager, which, he says, is not in the true sense of the word a translation. (This may be seen in Williams' 'Middle Kingdom,' Vol. II., pp. 204, 205.) He acknowledges Klaproth's attempt to be a translation, but not quite accurate in some parts. His own attempt to give an accurate version I will not take the trouble to discuss. He says that those who have any acquaintance with the language will understand, from a literal Latin version of the characters, the philological principle on which his translation is based; but the fact is, that a very moderate acquaintance with the language is sufficient to show that Bunsen knew very little about it. If his interpretation of Egyptian monuments be not better than his interpretation of 'the monument of Yu,' his volumes on 'Egypt's Place in Universal History' are of little value.

If the writer of the inscription knew what he was doing in pencilling his tadpole characters, I do not think they have all been correctly identified. Accepting the identification given in this note, I would propose the following as an approximation to a correct interpretation:

'I received the words of the emperor, saying, "Ah! Associate helper, aiding noble! The islands and islets may now be ascended, That were doors for the birds and beasts. You devoted your person to the great overflowings, And with the day-break you rose up. Long were you abroad, forgetting your family; You lodged at the mountain's foot as in a hall; Your wisdom schemed; your body was broken; Your heart was all in a tremble. You went and sought to produce order and settlement. At Hua, Yó, Tsé, and Hang. By adopting the principle of dividing the waters, your undertakings were completed. With the remains of a taper, you offered your pure sacrifice. There were entanglement and obstruction, being swamped, and removals. The southern river flows on in its course; For ever is the provision of food made sure; The myriad States enjoy repose; The beasts and birds are for ever fled away."'}
9. From the view which I have taken of the labours of Yu, the reader will understand that I do not identify the deluge of Yaou with that described by Moses in the Book of Genesis. I am inclined, however, to believe that, in the language of the Shoo-king respecting the terrible nature of the inundation which frightened Yaou and Shun, we have the voice of tradition, affirming the earlier and universal catastrophe,—universal at least in the sense that it involved the destruction of 'all flesh,' all the individuals of our race, excepting those who were preserved with Noah in the ark.

Missionaries,—Protestant missionaries especially,—accepting the labours of Yu as historical, have expressed themselves incautiously on the identity of the two deluges. Dr. Gutzlaff, for instance, wrote: —'We do not doubt but Yaou's was the same flood recorded in sacred history, though we are not able to give the exact date from Chinese history; nor do we hesitate to affirm that China was peopled after the deluge.'

Bunsen has taken occasion from this to express himself with undue severity of 'the confusion and ignorance of the missionaries, believing that Yu's labours referred to the Flood of Noah, which never reached China.' And again: —'The inundation in the reign of Yaou had just as much to do with Noah's flood, as the dams he erected and the canals he dug had to do with the Ark. The learned Jesuit Fathers were well aware of this, but they were prevented by orders from Rome from publishing the truth. The fact of so absurd an idea being accepted by the English and Scotch Missionaries, and even by Morrison himself, is a very melancholy instance of the way in which the sound judgment of learned men may be warped by rabbinical superstition and the intolerant ignorance of their Churches, in the investigation of historical truth.'

Now, Morrison gave his opinion in the matter in very guarded terms; and I do not think that he was farther from the truth than his critic. In the preface to his dictionary, p. xiii., he observes: —'In the Shoo-king mention is made of a great and destructive accumulation of waters upon the face of the earth; whether it be called In-undation or Deluge is immaterial. The removal of the waters, and settling the state of all the various regions then known is understood by the phrase Yu Kung. Yu was the person who effected that

work. This Deluge makes a grand epoch in Chinese History. After a fanciful account of the creation, there follows a period of Chinese civilization, when Fuh-he's successors introduced marriage; government; working in metals; the use of musical instruments; and characters for the division of time. The profligacy and misrule of the monarch Te-chih\(^4\) is noticed, and then follows Yaou's deluge; after which the earth is again represented as overspread by wild uncultivated vegetation, and over-run by savage beasts....The above is a faithful outline of the picture drawn, by Chinese writers, of the history of the ancient world as known to them. Its similarity to that given by the Jewish Legislator must be observable to every one; and the probability, that both accounts refer to the same remote facts, is not to be overturned by slight anachronisms, or a discordancy in the detail.'

To the same effect are the observations of Dr. Medhurst. He calls the time between Fuh-he and Yaou and Shun the 'traditionary Period' of Chinese history, and adds:—'While we might be unwilling to give full credit to what Chinese writers say of the events of this period, it is not improbable that much of it is drawn by tradition from the correct account of the antediluvian age handed down by Noah to his posterity. The coincidence of ten generations having passed away, the institution of marriage, the invention of music, the rebellion of a portion of the race, and the confused mixture of the divine and human families, closed by the occurrence of the flood in the time of Yaou, might lead us to conclude that in their allusions to this period, the Chinese are merely giving their version of the events that occurred from Adam to Noah. When Yu ascended the throne, the lands were drained, and China became habitable.'\(^5\)

In these representations of two of the most distinguished Protestant missionaries, the traces of 'rabbinical superstition,' and of subjection to 'the intolerant ignorance of their churches,' seem to me hardly discernible. Possibly there may be in the Chinese accounts of Fuh-he and his successors some faint echo of the primitive tradition;—I am not concerned at present to enter upon that subject. What is said in the above quotations about the deluge of Yaou, however, is misleading. The reader is led to suppose that it comes in Chinese history, as caused by the declension and wickedness of the times immediately preceding,—a judgment of Heaven. If it were so,
the view which they take would be greatly strengthened. But the Shoo is entirely silent on this point. Not a word is said as to the flood's being a punishment of the sins either of ruler or people.

But now, according to the views which I have sought to establish, the labours of Yu are not history, but myth. He did not perform the prodigious achievements on the mountains and rivers which are ascribed to him. That he was the laborious founder of the Chinese empire, and did much within the small space of territory which was then comprehended in its limits, there is no occasion to deny; but the gradual extension of the empire and development of its resources and order, which were the growth and accomplishment of many centuries, have been attributed to him by the Chinese, and their romance has been accepted by missionaries and others. The labours of Yu being denied, no place is left in his time for the deluge of Yaou. The utmost that can be allowed is an inundation of the Ho, destructive enough, no doubt, but altogether unfit to be described in the words put into the mouths of Yaou, Shun and Yu about it. Did the compilers of the first Parts of the Shoo draw upon their fancy for the floods that embraced the mountains and overtopped the hills and assailed the heavens? or did they find them in the tradition of a deluge by which 'all the hills that were under the whole heaven were covered?' I prefer to take the suggestion in the latter question as the fact, and therefore think that in the description of the inundation of Yaou's time we have an imperfect reference to the deluge of Noah.

10. Before leaving the subject of Yu and his labours, it will be well to say something on another point, the commonly received account of which may be urged as inconsistent with the conclusions I have endeavoured to establish. Can the population of China in Yu's time be ascertained, even approximately?

Two sinologues have touched on this question:—Edward Biot the younger, in articles on 'The Population of China, and its Variations,' in the 'Journal Asiaticque' of 1856; and T. Sacharoff, of the Russian Embassy in Peking, in an essay on 'The Rise and Fall of the Chinese Population,' translated into English last year by the Rev. W. Lobscheid.

The articles of Biot were written when his knowledge of Chinese subjects was immature, six years before he published in the same Journal the view of the Yu Kung, to which I have had occasion to
make frequent reference. Had they been produced at a later date, he would not have accepted the statement of Ma Twan-lin, that the number of the people, on the conclusion of Yu's labours, amounted to 13,553,923 souls;—a number, which he, on certain hypothetical reasonings of his own, increased to 21,415,198.

Sacharoff would reduce the smaller of these estimates to a single million; but his remarks on the subject betray considerable confusion of thought. He says:—‘Two censuses were at the disposal of native authors for ascertaining the amount of the population of China, during the happy reigns of Yaou and Shun, the epochs of the highest civilization. These were:—the division of the country for administrative purposes; and the extent of the really cultivated land. The first would, indeed, be a sufficient ground for arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, if the ancient documents stated the number of the principal provinces. If, e. g., we take the nine provinces, into which Yaou divided the empire in the 23d century, then the population must have been very small, and could hardly exceed 100,000 families, or one million individuals. A calculation based on the extent of arable land proves nothing, because the classics scarcely state how many square rods were counted to a family, whilst nothing is said of the total amount of cultivated land, so that by fixing a certain figure, we are obliged to accept an arbitrarily given number of individuals.’

I have endeavoured to find Ma Twan-lin’s authority for the assertion, that, when Yu had reduced the empire to order, the inhabitants amounted to 13,553,923; and the oldest writer in whom I have met with it is Hwang-p’oo Meih, who died A.D. 282. The statement, occurring thus, for the first time, about two thousand five hundred years after the date to which it refers, is of no historical value. As given by Meih, indeed, it is merely the result of certain calculations by him from the extent of the empire ruled by Yaou, and does not profess to be grounded on any certain data. So many absurdities are related, moreover, on the same page about Yu and other ancient worthies, that I am surprised the estimate of the population ever obtained any currency.

For instance, Meih begins by referring to the legends about Shinnung and Hwang-te,—how the empire of the former extended, from

east to west, a space of 900,000 里, and from north to south, 850,000 里; and how the latter, after having invented boats and carriages to traverse this mighty territory, determined the position of the different States in it by astronomical calculations. The author thinks that what is said about Shin-nung exceeds belief; but he goes on to quote the authority of Confucius (taken however from the 'Family Sayings,' an apocryphal Book) for the empire of Chuen-heuh, as extending to the Moving Sands on the west, Cochín-china on the south, the Sea on the east, and Yew-ling (north of Chih-le) on the north; and then, he comes to Yaou and Yu. Yu’s nine provinces contained, he estimates, 24,308,024 服, or nearly 368 million acres, of which 9,208,024 服, or 140 million acres, were cultivable. Then comes in the amount of the population, and the further statement that the empire contained at that time 10,000 States. It is added on the authority of the ‘Classic of Hills and Seas,’ a book full of all sorts of prodigious stories, that Yu made two of his officers—Ta-chang, and Shoo-hae—walk, the one from the extreme east to the extreme west, and the other from the extreme north to the extreme south, and count their paces. The former traversed 223,300 里, and 71 paces; the latter 233,500 里, and 75 paces; but we must suppose that Mei-h was here counting only 100 paces to a 里. In fact, it is difficult to tell, how he took the terms, for he subjoins that, within the four seas, from east to west were 28,000 里, and from north to south 26,000. There were 5,350 famous hills; 467 hills producing copper; and 3,609 producing iron. The writer is evidently writing at random. The estimate of the population is no more to be received than any of all the other notices which he gives.

When Sacharoff says that, if we take the nine provinces, into which Yaou divided the empire, the population could hardly exceed one million individuals, it is difficult to understand what he means. If we could accept ‘the nine provinces,’ as indeed veritable portions of the empire, and believe that the country was occupied, even thinly, to that extent, we might very well allow a population for them, not of one million, but of twenty millions. But the critical study of the documents of the Shoo forbids us, as I have shown, to think of Yaou and Shun as other than petty chieftains, whose dominions

8 禹使大章步自東極至於西垂，二億三萬三千里七十一步，又使堅亥步南極北盡於北垂，二億三萬三千五百里七十十五步。The thing is differently stated in the copy of the 山海經, which I have,—printed in 1818, the 23d year of the reign K'ē-k'ēing.
hardly extended across the Ho; and though Yu was the founder of a dynasty that lasted for more than four centuries, it is doubtful whether the last of his successors ruled over so much as the nine provinces of Yaou. The arguments on which I have maintained these conclusions might have needed reconsideration, if the estimate of thirteen millions and a half of inhabitants in Yu's time had been supported by a tittle of independent evidence; being merely a rough and random calculation at a period long subsequent, on the assumption of such a territory, those arguments are unaffected by it.

The number of one million which Sacharoff would allow for the Chinese of Yu's time is, it seems to me, abundantly large. The population of the country, in the time of king Ching, when the duke of Chow was administering the government, is given as 13,704,923; that is, according to the current accounts, the population had only increased 151,000 in eleven centuries and a half. If we suppose one million of inhabitants in Yu's time, and that they doubled every two hundred years, they ought to have amounted, in the time of the duke of Chow, to about one hundred millions. And yet we may say that there was no increase at all in all that space of time. About 400 years after, in the 13th year of king Chwang, B.C. 683, the population had decreased below what it was in Yu's days, and is given as only 11,941,923. It is evident from these figures, that the accounts of the population of the empire before our era cannot be regarded as approximations even to the truth;—especially it is evident, that assigning to Yu more than thirteen millions is simply of a piece with the assigning to him the achievements of a demigod on the face of the water and the land.

Ma Twan-lin, after Hwang-p'oo Meih and other early writers, calls attention to the decrease in the number of States, composing the empire, under each of the three early dynasties. At a grand durbar held by Yu on mount T'oo, 10,000 princes appeared to do him homage;—there were then 10,000 States. When the dynasty of Shang superseded Hea, those 10,000 were reduced to a little over 3000; and according to Meih, there was a corresponding diminution in the number of the people. In the beginning of the 12th century, B.C., when king Woo established the rule of Chow, his princes were only 1,773; and, again adds Meih, the people had dwindled correspondingly. But the people were more, according to Meih himself, in the beginning of the Chow dynasty than they had been in Yu's days, by 151,000 individuals. I say again, that it is evident the 10,000
States, of more than twenty centuries before our era, never had any existence. The state of the country under the successors of Yu, which I have pointed out on p. 61, is altogether inconsistent with the idea of such an empire. The magniloquent style of speech, however, once introduced, subsequent writers adopted it. Confucius himself and Mencius adhered to it, hiding thereby from themselves, their contemporaries, and posterity the truth about their own times, and the small beginnings of their history in the distant past.

11. I will not attempt to question the credibility of the Books of the Shoo lower down than the time of Yu. Those belonging to his dynasty are only three; and each of them is brief. As I said in the first paragraph, from the beginning of the Shang dynasty, we seem to tread the field of history with a somewhat confident step. The Books of Chow are sufficiently to be depended on, for they must have been made public while the memory of many of the things which they describe was still fresh.

The results which I have endeavoured to bring out in this chapter are:—first, that Yu is a historical personage, and was the founder of the Chinese empire, but that nearly all that the Shoo contains of his labours is fantastical exaggeration; and second, that Yaou and Shun were also real men, chiefs of the earliest Chinese immigrants into the country, but that we must divest them of the grand proportions which they have, as seen through the mists of legend and of philosophical romance. It seems folly to attempt to go beyond the Shoo, and push the history centuries farther back to the time of Fuh-he. We have now to inquire in the next chapter whether it be possible, from the Shoo or other sources, to determine with any satisfaction how long before our era we are to place those worthies.
CHAPTER III.

ON THE DETERMINATION OF THE PRINCIPAL ERAS IN THE SHOO.

THERE IS NO CHRONOLOGY IN THE SHOO; AND IT WAS NOT TILL THE HAN DYNASTY THAT THE CHINESE BEGAN TO ARRANGE THEIR ANCIENT HISTORY WITH REFERENCE TO A COMMON ERA. THE PERIODS OF THE THREE DYNASTIES, AND OF YAOU AND SHUN, CHINESE HISTORY, BEGINS ABOUT 2000 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST.

1. On my first conception of this chapter, my idea was to designate it 'The Chronology of the Shoo.' Such is the title of the third chapter of Gaubil's 'Observations on the Shoo-king,' in which he has touched, succinctly and ably, on nearly all the points to which I have to call the attention of the reader. 'The Chronology of the Shoo,' however, would be a misnomer. There is no arrangement or succession of dates in it which can be so described. We learn from it that the dynasty of Chow succeeded to that of Shang, and the dynasty of Shang or Yin to that of Hea; and that prior to Yu, the founder of the Hea, there were the reigns of Shun and Yaou. In its present condition, it contains only scanty notices of a few of the sovereigns in the earlier dynasties, and the length of the reigns of two or three of them is stated; but even when it was complete, it did not embrace a list of all the rulers of China, and of the number of years which they reigned respectively:—and much less did it specify any date as a great era in the distant past, from which the commencement of the successive dynasties, and the accessions of the different monarchs in each of them, should be calculated. As Gaubil has observed, 'If we had only the Shoo-king, we should have but confused ideas of the time comprised in the four [five] Parts of the book.' We need not be surprised at this. The chronology of a nation comes to be cultivated as a science, only after it has long subsisted, and when the necessity is felt of arranging the events of its history in regular series on the course of time.
2. It was in the Han dynasty that it was first attempted to construct a chronological scheme of the history of the empire. For this purpose its scholars employed the well-known cycle of 60 years, in the 2d year of the 76th revolution of which, according to the commonly received views, I am now writing; and which is with the Chinese what the century is with us. It was assumed that this cycle had been made in the reign of Hwang-te by Ta-naou, one of his officers; but I need hardly say that the assumption rests on no satisfactory grounds. Believing the views which I have advocated in the last chapter to be correct, I must pronounce Hwang-te to be a fabulous personage, so far as any connection with the Chinese empire is concerned. If such a man ever lived at all, it was elsewhere than in China; and it is not till we come to the times of Ts‘in and Han, more than 2,000 years after the period assigned to him, that we find Ta-naou spoken of at all.¹ And though the invention of the cycle is then generally ascribed to him, there are writers who give the credit of it to Fuh-hie long before.² What is of more importance to observe is, that the cycle, as it is now universally recited and written, was not employed before the end of the Former Han dynasty, i.e., until after the commencement of our Christian era, to chronicle years at all:—its exclusive use was to chronicle the days. Koo Yen-woo, one of the ablest scholars of the present dynasty, says expressly on this point:—‘The 22 cycle characters [i.e., the 10 stem characters from kēi to kieei, and the 12 branch characters from tsze to hae] were used by the ancients to chronicle the days, and not to chronicle the years. For chronicking the years there were the 10 stem names of oh-fung, &c., down to twan-mung, and the 12 branch names of shē-t‘e-kih, &c., down to juy-han. The way of later times, to say that such a year was kēi-tsze, and so on, was not the ancient way.’³ Yen-woo then quotes from the preface to the Wae-ke,⁴ or ‘Additional Records,’ a supple-

¹ See the 事旅 累原, 卷一, art. 甲子. We read:—世本曰, 大槇造甲子. 吕氏春秋曰, 黄帝師大槇. 黄帝內傳曰, 帝既斬蚩尤, 命大槇造甲子. 正時. 月令章句曰, 大槇探五行之情. 斗則所建. 于時始作甲乙以名日. 謂之幹. 作子丑. 以名月. 謂之支. 支幹相配. 以成六旬. ² See the 通鑑 纏目. 前編. 卷之二. 伏羲氏作甲歷. 定歲時. ³ See the 顧炎武. 日知錄. 卷二十, art. 古人不以甲子年歳. ⁴ 劉恕 通鑑外紀. 目録序.

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ment to the 'General Survey' of History by Sze-ma Kwang, with whom Lew Shoo, its author was associate, the following testimony: —'The years of the sovereigns before (!) and after Fuh-he, down to king Le, are, I apprehend, dark and hardly to be ascertained; and we borrow the names of the kēu-tsze cycle to chronicle them;' adding himself: —'When did this practice of borrowing the cycle names to chronicle the years commence? It commenced in the time of the usurper Mang' (A.D. 9—22). The statement of this writer, that the ancients chronicled years by the names oh-fung shé-t'ē-kih, &c., is very questionable; but I must content myself, for the present, with referring to what is said on the subject in the appendix to this chapter, on the 'Astronomy of the ancient Chinese,' with which the Rev. Mr. Chalmers has favoured me. So far as my reading has gone, there cannot be produced a single unchallengeable example of the naming of any year by any cycle characters whatever, previous to the termination of the Chow dynasty.

In the Shoo itself the current cycle is used to chronicle days, and days only. Years are specified according to their order in the reign of the sovereign to whom they are referred. Such specification of years, however, is in our classic exceedingly rare.

There can be no doubt that before the Han dynasty a list of sovereigns, and of the lengths of their several reigns, was the only method which the Chinese had of determining the duration of their national history. And it would still be a sufficiently satisfactory method, if we had a list of sovereigns and of the years each reigned, that was complete and reliable. We do not have this, however. Even in the early part of the Han dynasty, Sze-ma Ts'een's father and himself were obliged to content themselves with giving simply the names and order of most of the rulers in the dynasties of Shang and Hea. The lengths of the several reigns in

5 Sze-ma Kwang gets the credit of fixing the standard chronology; but let me call the attention of the student to Choo He's account of the matter. He tells us:—'When Kwang first made a Chronological scheme, his earliest date was the 1st year of Wei-lēé (n.c. 424). Afterwards, he extended his dates to the time of Kung and Ho (n.c. 840). After this again, he made his 'Examination of Antiquity,' beginning with the period of "highest antiquity," but he could give no dates of years earlier than that time of Kung and Ho. It was Shou K'ang-tēé who pushed the calculations up to the 1st year of Yāo (溫公初作編年于威烈王後又添至共和又稽古錄始自上古然共和已上之年已不能推矣。獨邵康節始推至堯元年云)。The passage is quoted in Hwang Ch'in-fung's notes on the annals of the Bamboo Books, 卷三, p. 4. Choo He appears to have been fascinated in a measure by the Bamboo Books.
the standard chronology have been determined, mainly, I believe, to make the whole line stretch out to the years which had been fixed on astronomical considerations for the periods of Chung-k'ang of the Hea dynasty and of Yaou. It will be seen in the sequel, and more fully in the next chapter, how the Bamboo Books contrive to shorten many of the reigns, so that those periods shall be less remote than they are commonly placed by about 200 years.

If in the Four Books, or in any other books of the Chow dynasty, we had a statement of the length of the national history from any given era to that of the writer, the notice would be exceedingly valuable. Or, if the lengths of the reigns of the sovereigns of Shang and Hea, cursorily mentioned, were given, we should be in a position to make an approximate computation for ourselves. I do not know, however, of more than two passages in all these books, which are really helpful to us in this point. Both of them are referred to by Gaubil. If the reader will turn to the passage translated from the Tso-chuen, in the note on p. 67 above, he will see it there stated that the dynasty of Shang possessed the empire for 600 years. That is one of the passages. The other is the very last chapter of the Works of Mencius, where that philosopher says that 'from Yaou and Shun to T'ang—a period including all the dynasty of Hea—were 500 years and more; that from T'ang to king Wăn—the period of the Shang dynasty—were 500 years and more; and that from king Wăn to Confucius were 500 years and more.' Now, we know that the birth of Confucius took place in B.C. 551. Adding 551 to the 1500 years 'and more,' given by Mencius, we have the era of Yaou and Shun, at 2,100 years before our Saviour, or thereabouts. The words of Mencius,—'from Yaou and Shun to T'ang,' are, indeed, sadly indefinite. Does he mean the end of Shun's reign, and the beginning of Yu's? or does he mean the beginning of Yaou's reign? I think it was the latter which he intended. But vague as his language is, I do not think that with the most painstaking research we can determine anything more definite and precise concerning the length of Chinese history than it conveys. Mencius knew nothing of rulers before Yaou, nor do I. What we are told of Yaou and Shun, moreover, is little trustworthy. About 2,000 years before the Christian era, China, which has since become so large an empire, rises before us, with small beginnings, in the vista of the past. I do not think that anything more precise than this can be said upon the subject. Let us see.
3. The last of the kings of the Chou dynasty mentioned in the Shoo is P'ing, the 13th of the line, whose 'Charge to Prince Wăn' of Tsin forms the 28th Book of the 5th Part. His place in history is well ascertained. Confucius' Chronicle of the Ch'un Ts'ew commences in B.C. 721. The 1st of the 36 eclipses mentioned in it took place three years after, on the 14th February (n.s.), B.C. 719; and it is recorded that in the month after king P'ing died. Here, therefore, is a point of time about which there can be no dispute. In the words of Gaubil, 'we know the time of the end of the Shoo-king.' An earlier date in the Chou dynasty is known with the same certainty. The She mentions an eclipse which took place on the 29th August, B.C. 775, in the 6th year of king Yew, who preceded P'ing. Yew reigned 11 years, and his predecessor, king Seuen, 46, whose reign consequently commenced B.C. 826. Up to this date Chinese chronologers agree. To the ten reigns before king Seuen, the received chronology assigns 295 years, making the dynasty begin in B.C. 1,121. The Bamboo Books assign to them only 223, making it commence in B.C. 1,049. In the lengths of five of the reigns the two schemes agree; but whether the longer estimate of the other five or the shorter is to be preferred, I do not see that we have sufficient grounds to determine. Gaubil, reasoning from the cycle names of the days, which are given in several of the Books of Chou (as I have pointed out in my notes on the various passages), would fix the commencement of the dynasty in B.C. 1,111 [or 1,110]. If we suppose that Mencius, as is most likely, in saying that 'from king Wăn to Confucius were 500 years and more,' intended by 'king Wăn' the commencement of the Chou dynasty, we have to conclude that this era must be between B.C. 1,051 and 1,161. The date in the Bamboo Books places it too late; that in the common chronology cannot be far from the truth.

4. In treating of the period of the Shang dynasty, we cannot fix a single reign with certainty by means of astronomical data. The common chronology assigns to it 28 reigns extending over 644 years, so that its commencement was in B.C. 1,765. The Bamboo Books make the sovereigns to be 30, and the aggregate of their reigns only 508, so that the dynasty began in B.C. 1,557. Pan Koo of the Han made the length of the dynasty 529 years.

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1 三月, 春王二月, 已已, 日有食之。三月, 春王崩。
2 See the She, Pt. II., Bk. IV., Ode ix.—十月之交。朔日辛卯, 日有食之。
The difference of two reigns between the schemes of Sze-ma Kwang and the Bamboo Books is unimportant, and, if they otherwise agreed, could only affect the length of the dynasty by 6 years. Some remarks on those reigns will be found in the note on Mencius, V., Pt. I., v. 5. That the number of reigns is not over-estimated we may infer from the statement of Mencius that between T'ang, the founder of the dynasty, and Woo-ting, the 20th (or 22d) sovereign, 'there had been six or seven worthy and sage rulers.'¹ In the 15th of the Books of Chow, the names of three of the sovereigns are given, and the duration of their reigns, to show how Heaven is likely to crown a good king with length of sway:—T'ae-mow, who reigned 75 years; Woo-ting, who reigned 59; and Tsoo-kö̤n, who reigned 33. The two schemes which I have mentioned agree in the length of those reigns, and of five others. From the statement in the Tso-chuen, that the Shang dynasty lasted 600 years, and that of Mencius, that 'from T'ang to king Wän were 500 years and more,' we may judge that the 644 years assigned to the Shang by the standard chronology are too many, and the 508 years of the Bamboo Books too few.

5. According to the common chronology, the dynasty of Hsia lasted 439 years; according to the Bamboo Books, it lasted 481. The difference between the two schemes is not great, though they agree exactly in the lengths of three of the reigns only. Mencius' words, that 'from Yaou and Shun to T'ang were 500 years and more,' include the period of Yaou and Shun as well as that of the Hsia dynasty; but the years which he assigned to the two early sages, probably, did not differ much, if at all, from the common estimate of the two chronologies.² If we add 150 years either to 481 or 439, the sum is under 600 years. The period usually assigned to the Hsia dynasty cannot be far from the truth.

In the 4th of the Books of Hsia we have the record of an astronomical fact, which we might hope would enable us to determine the time of its occurrence, with as much certainty as the year of the death of king P'ing of the Chow dynasty is determined. In the reign of Chung-k'ang, the 3d of Yu's successors, there was an eclipse of the sun in the sign Fang. Sze-ma Kwang places the event in Chung-k'ang's 1st year, = b.c. 2,158 (or 2,159); the Bamboo Books place it in his 5th year, =, according to them, b.c. 1,947 (or 1,948). Neither

¹ See Mencius, II., Pt. I. i. 8.—由湯至於武丁，賢聖之君。六七作
² Compare his statements in V. Pt. I., v. and vi.
of these years can be correct. Such an eclipse could not have taken place in them.

Gaubil tells us that the most famous astronomers of the T'ang dynasty, and subsequently those of the Yuen, determined this eclipse for the year B.C. 2,128 (or 2,127) on the 1st day of the 9th month, which year, moreover, they fixed as the 5th of Chung-k'ang; and that other astronomers of the same dynasties determined it for B.C. 2,155 (or 2,154), which would be the 5th of Chung-k'ang in the common chronology. He himself adopted and zealously supported the latter determination; but subsequent and more accurate calculations seem to prove that he was in error. The reader is referred to what I have said on the subject in the body of the Work, pp. 167, 168. The eclipse of B.C. 2,128 may possibly be that mentioned in the Shoo; and yet a different one, or more than one, may be found, within the period of the Hea dynasty, which would satisfy the necessary conditions. The authenticity of the Book in which we have the statement about the eclipse is called in question; but I have pointed out that that particular passage is guaranteed by its being quoted in the Tso-chuen. The history or story in connection with which the statement is given is also put down, by Bunsen and others, as nothing better than 'a popular fable;' and neither am I concerned to deny this:—it may very well consist with the reference to the natural phenomenon which actually occurred. That phenomenon, however, shows that neither of the current chronologies of the time is to be relied on; and it does not by itself enable us to fix the time of the reign of Chung-k'ang.

6. We come to the earliest period of Chinese history,—that of Yaou and Shun. The Shoo assigns 50 years of independent reigning to Shun: and Sze-ma Kwang and the Bamboo Books adopt the estimate. It says also that he was on the throne along with Yaou 30 years. Mencius says these were only 28; but the two additional years may be made out by supposing that they were years of mourning after the death of Yaou. Yaou had reigned at least 70 years, before he felt the necessity of some one to relieve him of the toils of government. 1 Both Kwang and the Bamboo Books adopt Yaou's 70th year, as the date of Shun's association with him, and so assign to him in all 100 years. Pan Koo gives 70 years to him, and 50 to Shun, thus strangely

1 See the Canon of Yaou, p. 12.
allowing the 28 or 30 years of their associate rule to drop altogether out of his chronology.\(^2\) Kwang’s standard tables place Yaou’s first year in b.c. 2,357, (or 2,356); the Bamboo Books place it in 2,145. There is thus a difference of rather more than 200 years between them. As we found them both wrong in regard to the reign of Chung-k'ang, we must hence conclude that they are wrong also in regard to the period which we are now examining.

It has been generally supposed that Yaou’s directions to the astronomers He and Ho, in the first Book of the Shoo, furnished data sufficiently certain to enable us to determine his era. The Shoo does not tell us indeed, in what year of his reign Yaou delivered those instructions, but the chronologers have all assumed that it was in his first year. The remarks of Mr. Chalmers on the point, in the appendix to this chapter, show that the value of Yaou’s observations for chronological determinations has been overrated. The emperor tells his officers, that, among other indications which would enable them to fix the exact period of the cardinal points of the year, the vernal equinox might be ascertained by observing the star \textit{neaou}; the summer solstice by observing the star \textit{ho}; the autumnal equinox by observing the star \textit{heu}; and the winter solstice by observing the star \textit{maou}. It was assumed by the scholars of the Han dynasty that by \textit{neaou} was to be understood the constellation or equatorial space then called \textit{sing},\(^3\) beginning at \textit{Hydra}, and including a space of 20\(^\circ\); and that by \textit{ho} was to be understood \textit{fang},\(^4\) corresponding to \textit{Scorpio}, and including 40\(^\circ\). It was assumed also, that, as the result of the observation (of the manner of which the Shoo says nothing), \textit{sing} would be found to pass the meridian at six o’clock in the evening, at the vernal equinox; and that the other stars mentioned would pass it at the same hour at the seasons to which they were referred.

I do not think there is any reason to call these assumptions in question. The scholars of Han, ignorant of the fact of the procession of the equinoxes, could not have arbitrarily fixed the particular stars to suit their chronological views;—their determination of them must have been in accordance with the voice of accredited tradition. Supposing that the stars were all what it is now believed they were, to what conclusions are we led by them as to the era of Yaou?

Bunsen tells us that Ideler, computing the places of the constellations backwards, fixed the accession of Yaou at b.c. 2,163,\(^5\) which is

\(^2\) See the 前漢書·律歷下, p. 15.  \(^3\) 星.  \(^4\) 房.  \(^5\) Place of Egypt, &c., III., p. 100.
ON THE PRINCIPAL ERAS IN THE SHOO. [PROLEGOMENA.

only 18 years before the date in the Bamboo Books. On the other hand, J. B. Biot finds in the statements of the Shoo a sufficient confirmation of the date in the received chronology, B.C. 2,357.6 Freret was of opinion that the observations left an uncertainty to the extent of 3 degrees, leaving a margin of 210 years.7 It seems to myself that it is better not to insist on pressing what Yaou says about the stars of the equinoxes and solstices into the service of chronology at all. Gaubil, Biot, and the other writers on the subject, all quote Yaou's observations so far as they had astronomical reference; but they take no notice of other and merely popular indications, which he delivered to his officers to help them to ascertain the seasons. They would know the spring, he tells them, by the pairing of birds and beasts, and by the people's beginning to disperse into the country on their agricultural labours. Analogous indications are mentioned for summer and autumn; till in the winter time the people would be found in their cozy corners, and birds and beasts with their coats downy and thick. Taken as a whole, Yaou's instructions to He and Ho are those of a chief speaking popularly, and not after the manner of a philosopher or astronomer. We must not look for exactness in his remarks about the cardinal stars. The mention of them in the earliest portion of the Shoo proves that its compiler, himself, as I showed in the last chapter, of a later date, had traditions or written monuments of a high antiquity at his command; but Yaou was as likely to be speaking of what he had received from his predecessors as of what he had observed for himself; and those predecessors may not have lived in China, but in another region from which the Chinese came. If it were possible to fix the exact century, in which it was first observed that the stars of the equinoxes and solstices were neaou and heu, ho and maou, that century may have been anterior to Yaou, and not the one in which he lived.

7. From the review which I have thus taken of the different periods of Chinese history, documents purporting to belong to which are preserved in the Shoo, it will be seen that the year B.C. 775 is the earliest date which can be said to be determined with certainty. The exact year in which the Chow dynasty commenced is not known; and as we ascend the stream of time, the two schemes current among the Chinese themselves diverge more widely from each other, while to neither of them can we accord our credence. The accession of Yu, the first sovereign of the nation, was probably at some time in

the nineteenth century before Christ; and previous to him there were the chiefs Shun and Yaou. Twenty centuries before our era the Chinese nation appears, beginning to be. To attempt to carry its early history to a higher antiquity is without any historical justification. There may have been such men as Chinese writers talk of under the appellations of Chuen-heuh, Hwang-te, Shin-nung, Fuhe, &c.; but they cannot have been rulers of China. They are children of the mist of tradition, if we should not rather place them in the land of phantasy.

For myself, I had adopted the chronology of the Septuagint as nearer the truth than that of our present Hebrew Bibles, more than five-and-twenty years ago, before it was definitely in my plan of life to come to China as a missionary; but the history of China need not seriously embarrass any one who follows the shortest chronology of Scripture. Writers like Bunsen, who follow the will-o’-the-wisps of their own imagination, may launch their shafts against the intolerance of churches, and narrow-mindedness of missionaries. On Chinese ground we can afford to laugh at their intolerance. Each bolt they discharge is mere brutum fulmen; each shaft, imbelle telum.

APPENDIX

ON THE

ASTRONOMY OF THE ANCIENT CHINESE.

By the Rev. John Chalmers, A.M.

1. The Chinese believed the earth to be a plane surface;—"straight, square, and large,"1 measuring each way about 5,600 le (=1,500 miles), and bounded on the four sides by "the four seas." 2 The North sea and the West sea were of course purely imaginary. The earth was motionless, while the sun and the moon and the starry heavens were continually revolving with great rapidity. This is the fixed belief of the Chinese even at the present day. The sun was estimated to be about 15,000 le (=4000 miles) from the earth, and it was supposed that the city of Loh was in "the centre of heaven and earth,"—the middle of the Middle Kingdom. 3 In other places the shadow of a perpendicular gnomon was not due north and south at noonday, or else it was too short.

1 直, 方, 大, see the Yih-king, 坤卦. 2 Shoo, Pt. II, BK. I. 13.; Pt. III. BK. I. Pt. ii. 14—23. 3 Shoo, Pt. V. BK. XII. 14.
or too long; but here it was not found to deviate in either direction, and its length on midsummer-day was to the length of the gnomon as 15 to 80. The distance assigned to the sun is in fact the earth’s radius, and was a natural inference from the plane figure of the earth, taken in connection with the different elevation of the sun in different latitudes. From the same premises it was also inferred that the shadow would be all awry at noon in places far east or far west of Loh;—those on the east being too near the morning sun, and those on the west too near the evening sun. The following legend 4 may be quoted as illustrative of the supposed nearness of the sun to the earth. “There is a country in the far west, in the place of the setting sun, where every evening the sun goes down with a noise like thunder, and the king of the country leads out a thousand men on the city wall to blow horns and beat gongs and drums, as the only means of keeping little children from being frightened to death by the unearthly roaring of the monster.” The writers of the early Han dynasty hesitate not to affirm that the experiment to prove the deviation of the shadow at noon was made with all the necessary apparatus,—clepsydras, gnomons, &c., and found successful. But the clepsydra is not mentioned in any authentic writing of earlier date than the Han; and we may safely conclude that this, as well as some other instruments mentioned by interpreters of the classics, and in the Chow-le, was unknown to the ancient Chinese. The clepsydra is described by Aristotle (b.c. 384—322).

The Chinese have made attempts at various times to calculate the distance of the sidereal heavens. In the History of Tsin 5 the result of a calculation is given with amusing minuteness. It is said:—“By the method of right-angled triangles the distance between heaven and earth was found to be 81,394 le, 30 paces, 6 feet, 3 inches, and 6 tenths!” Another calculator 6 gives 216,784 le. The diameter of the sun is given by one writer as 1000 le; 7 and he is said to be 7000 le below the heavens (the firmament).

2. “The first calendars of the Greeks were founded on rude observations of the rising and setting of certain stars, as Orion, the Pleiades, Arcturus &c.” 8 The same may be said of the calendars of the Chinese. Even after Meton and Callippus the Chinese calendar must have been founded on very “rude” observations indeed. During the two centuries and a half embraced by Confucius’ History of the later Chow dynasty, the commencement of the year fell back a whole month. This is demonstrable from the dates of the 36 eclipses, of which a list will be found subjoined, and from a variety of references to months, and days of the cycle of 60, which occur throughout the History. It is probable that an error of another month was committed before the fall of the dynasty in the 3d century B.C. The rapid derangement of the months, and consequently of the seasons during this period, however, most probably arose from the adoption of some erroneous system of intercalation, invented to supersede the troublesome observations of the stars from month to month. And the consequence was, that the knowledge of the stars came to be cultivated only for purposes of astrology,—a science in which accuracy is no object. Hence even at the present day, the signs of the zodiac, or the 28 mansions of the moon, are most frequently represented not as they appear now, but as they appeared to Yaou and Shun. 2 The earliest account, which has any claim to authenticity, of the stars employed to mark the cardinal signs of the zodiac, is in the Canon of Yaou. According to

4 篆咸志. 5 晉志. 6 張揖. 7 徐整長歷.
1 See Smith’s Dictionary of Antiquities, Article Calendar. 2 Shoo, Pt. 1 Bk. I.
the interpretation of that document, the equinoxes were in Taurus (Pleisades) and Scorpio, and the solstices in Leo and Aquarius in the time of Yaou. No doubt there was a tradition to this effect at the time when the Shoo-king was compiled, for the author knowing nothing of the precession of the equinoxes, could not have adjusted them to the time of which he was writing. His "examination of antiquity" was so far accurate, although the details of his narrative may and even must be mythical. Even Yaou himself may be so. In accordance with Chinese ideas of a sage, Yaou in a few pompous sentences makes it appear that he is perfectly acquainted beforehand with the results of the observations which he orders his astronomers to make:—"You will find the star is in neaou," &c. But did they find the stars as Yaou said they would find them? We are supposed to believe that they did, of course; but since we are not told, we claim the liberty to doubt. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that Yaou, before the observations were made, was dependent on tradition for his knowledge, and that his astronomers were capable of making accurate observations, they would in that case have had to report some failure in the verification of his statements. But apart from this, we are prepared to affirm that three of the men sent to the four borders of China could not have seen the stars, which occupied for the time being the equinoctial and solstitial points, culminating on the evenings named. E.G., the first point of Libra could not be seen culminating at nightfall, when the sun is in the first point of Cancer, for it must culminate at 6h. p.m., whereas the sun would not set in any part of China in midsummer much before 7h. p.m., and the stars would not be visible for half an hour after sunset. This last fact would stand equally in the way, at the equinoxes, of the observers' seeing their stars culminating, unless, indeed, the time of observation was several centuries later than the date usually assigned to Yaou (B.C. 2356—2255), so that the stars to be observed had ceased to be exactly in the solstitial colure. The astronomer who went to the north in winter is the only one who would have no difficulty of this kind. He might see his star long before it culminated. But unless he had a good clock, he could not tell that it culminated at 6h. p.m. In the course of the long winter evening he would lose his reckoning sadly. The clepsydra also, supposing that he had one, might be ice-bound. The observation could have been made more conveniently in every way at the central station than at the northern border.

The value of the astronomical part of the Canon of Yaou, as a confirmation of the received chronology, has been much overrated. According to the obvious interpretation of the text, Yaou had reason to expect the stars he mentioned to be in the equinoctial and solstitial colures. But what his reason was we are left to conjecture. It might be personal observation; or it might be tradition from his great-grandfather, or from Noah himself.

Scorpio, the Ho of Yaou, was considered, even to the end of the Chow dynasty, an important guide to the knowledge of the seasons, as is evident from the frequent references to it in the writings of that time. An ode in the Book of Poetry, attributed to Chow-kung, begins with the words, "In the seventh month Ho passes on,"—that is to say, passes to the westward of the meridian at nightfall. From which it would follow that in the sixth month it was in the meridian at the same hour. This would have been the case if the seventh month had coincided with ours, or with the end of July and part of August, but not if the year had commenced with our December, as

3 First sentence of Canon of Yaou. 4 左傳·國語 &c. 5 詩·豳風.
the Chinese say the year of the Chow dynasty always did. Here therefore is an argument against the prevailing opinion, which there are other strong reasons for setting aside, that king Woo, when he became emperor, ordered that the year should begin before the winter solstice, while the first month was still absurdly styled the first of spring. The fact is, the months of the year fell into this great disorder afterwards, through neglect, and not on account of an imperial decree. It is probable, however, that even in Chow-kung's time the first month of the year was the last of the winter season, the error of one month passing down from the previous dynasty. As early as B.C. 775, we find the year beginning with our December; and 50 years after, it begins with January again.

The former date, B.C. 775, is very important, as being the earliest which astronomical calculation really confirms. The tenth month of that year commenced on 29th of August (new style)—the 28th day of the cycle of 60—with an eclipse of the sun, which is mentioned in the Book of Poetry. The first month of next year, unless an intercalary month intervened, would begin about the end of November.

The passage in the Ts'o Ch'ien, in which Confucius is made to say that in the 12th month of the year, Scorpio was still visible in the west, is not intelligible, for the sun must have passed through Scorpio in October, and the 12th month was certainly not our September.

A very ancient and characteristic method of determining the seasons and months of the year, to which the Chinese are fond of alluding, was by the revolution of Ursa Major. One of its names, of which it has several, is "the Northern Bushel." Under this name it is often confounded with the North Pole, and also with one of the 28 mansions in Sagittarius, which has the same name. Its tail is called the "handle." There is a clear statement of this method of determining the seasons in the writings of Hoh-kwantsze:—"When the tail of the Bear points to the east (at nightfall), it is spring to all the world. When the tail of the Bear points to the south, it is summer to all the world. When the tail of the Bear points to the west, it is autumn to all the world. When the tail of the Bear points to the north, it is winter to all the world." It is well to keep in mind that the body of the Great Bear was in ancient times considerably nearer to the north pole than it is now, and the tail appeared to move round the pole somewhat like the hand of a clock or watch. The Historical Records say, that the seven stars of the Northern Bushel are spoken of (in the Shoo, Pt. II. Bk. I. p. 5) when it is said, "The pivot and the gem-transverse adjust the seven directors." According to later interpreters, the sun, moon, and five planets are the seven directors, and the pivot, &c., refer to an astronomical instrument. But the ancients knew nothing of the five planets. No reference to them as fire can be found in the classics. On the contrary, they seem to have supposed, as the Greeks did before Pythagoras, that Lucifer and Hesperus were two stars. Hence in the Book of Poetry we find lines to this effect:—

"In the east there is Lucifer
In the west there is Hesperus."9

And the references to the five planets in the Chow Ritual, and in the three annotated editions of the Chun Ts'ew, are evidence of their later origin. The same may be said of the use of the planet Jupiter for astrological purposes, which belongs to the time of the Contending States, or to the early Han. At that time the period of

6 詩.小雅. 7 左傳.哀公十二年. 8 鳥冠士, Sec. V. 9 詩.小雅.
Jupiter was supposed to be exactly 12 years, so that he gave a year to each sign of the Zodiac, therefore he is always called the year star. Considering this exact law of motion in the planet, one Chinese author remarks:—"It must be a spiritual thing without doubt."

The annexed figure will illustrate the use of Ursa Major as a kind of natural clock, whose hand makes one revolution in a year. The earth's surface (square of course) is converted into a dial, and the horizon is divided into 12 parts, making due north the centre of the first division. In theory the time of observation is 6h. P.M. precisely. But it was necessary to wait till the stars were visible. If the tail then pointed due east, it indicated the vernal equinox; but if it pointed due west, as represented in the figure, it was the autumnal equinox.

In this instance, the hand of the clock points a little in advance of the sun in the ecliptic, and to the bright stars in Scorpio, for the tail of the Bear always points to Scorpio. So then we have still Scorpio as the sign of mid-autumn.

This symmetrical position of the Great Bear, or "Northern Bushel," with reference to the seasons, is essential to the Chinese creed; and hence to this day, maugre the precession of the equinoxes, it retains its position in the estimation of almost all Chinese, learned and ignorant. The seasons still arrange themselves round the dial in exactly the same way; Winter going to the north, Spring to the east, Summer to the South, and Autumn to the west.

3. The most common and the earliest division of the ecliptic is that of the 28 mansions. These are of very unequal extent, and consequently very inconvenient for any purpose but that of astrology. The apportioning of 7 of these mansions to each of the cardinal points is also nothing more than an astrological device; but the Chinese student comes in contact with it so frequently, that some explanation of its origin seems very desirable. We must remember that the hour of midnight at the winter solstice is with the Chinese a grand epoch; a sort of repetition of the T'ae-keih or commencement of all things. Let the circle in the annexed figure represent the position of the ecliptic at midnight in mid-winter, in relation to the Chinese earth, represented by a square space in the centre. At the season and hour in question, in the time of Yaou, Leo would be in the meridian, and south of the zenith in the middle of China; Taurus would be in the west, and Scorpio in the east; and it is correctly inferred that Aquarius, though invisible, would be north of the nadir.
Accordingly, the seven winter mansions of which Aquarius is the centre are assigned to the north, and the seven summer mansions of which Leo is the centre are assigned to the south. Thus far the arrangement agrees with that already described according to the motion of the Great Bear. But the vernal mansions go to the west, and the autumnal ones to the east, reversing the previous direction of these two seasons, and in opposition to the prevailing notion of the Chinese that spring belongs to the east, &c. This discrepancy does not seem however to trouble their minds at all, and we may safely leave it unexplained.

The angular value of the 28 mansions varies from 1° to 30°, and modern books differ materially from the older ones as to the dimensions of each. Even the four great divisions differ more than 30° one from another. The following are their respective lengths as given in the introduction to Yung-ch'ing's Shoo-king. The circle was divided into 365 ¹⁄₄ degrees:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constellation</th>
<th>Degrees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>365 ¹⁄₄</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This division of the ecliptic is, with some slight variations, common to the Arabians, the Hindoos, and the Chinese;—a fact which seems to point to the common origin of these races, or to their inter-communication at a period of which history gives us as yet no information.

Besides this inconvenient system of unequal constellations or mansions, the Chinese have, in common with western nations and the Hindoos, the division of the Zodiac into twelve equal parts or signs. This improvement was probably also introduced in the end of the Chow, or the beginning of the Han dynasty. The Sinologue will see a reference to two of these signs in the Tso Chuen,¹ where they are mentioned for an astrological purpose, in connexion with the planet Jupiter. The following is a list of the Chinese signs, with the constellations to which they correspond. The commencement with Aries is optional, as the Chinese usually write them round a circle.

1 大梁 Aries-Taurus. 2 寶 沈 Taurus-Gemini. 3 鶉首 Gemini-Cancer. 4 鶚火 Cancer-Leo. 5 鶉尾 Leo-Virgo. 6 壽星 Virgo-Libra. 7 大火 Libra-Scorpio. 8 析木 Scorpio-Sagittarius. 9 星紀 Sagittarius-Capricorn. 10 立枵 Capricorn-Aquarius. 11 媺訾 Aquarius-Pisces. 12 降婁 Pisces-Aries.

The commencement of the first month of spring between the 20th of January and the 19th of February is said to fall always within the 11th of these signs. This ought therefore to coincide with our Aquarius; and the fact that it includes part of Pisces might be taken as indicative of an earlier date than that of our Zodiacal nomenclature; but it seems rather to be an accommodation to the ancient traditions. We do not find that the ancient Chinese made much practical use of the 12 signs; and even to the present day the 28 mansions of the moon have retained their place in preference to the more scientific division.

¹ 左傳襄公二十八年.
4. Slowly and reluctantly did the Chinese astronomer awake to the recognition of the fact that the position of the equinoxes in the ecliptic was shifting from age to age. With the traditions of 2000 years embodied in the classical literature of his country, and engraved on the tablets of his memory, and with the alteration of a whole sign in the position of the equinoctial points staring him in the face, his mind remained sealed against the entrance of the new idea; and went on in its old rut by sheer *via-inertiae*. Hipparchus (B.C. 160—125) discovered the precession of the equinoxes by comparing his own observations with those of Aristyllus and Timocharis, or others who preceded him by not more than two or three centuries; whereas the first man in China who took notice of the precession lived in the 4th century of the Christian era (Comm. on Canon of Yau, p. 21). He was separated from Yau by a period of 2000 years!

5. The invention of the cycle of 60 is ascribed to Hwang-te (B.C. 2,630), and in particular its application to years is affirmed to have commenced in his reign; but this is a mere fiction. It was not applied to years even in the time of Confucius. The Cycle consists of two sets of characters; one set of 10, and one set of 12,—which are combined in couples, odd to odd and even to even, making in all sixty combinations.

The “twelve terrestrial branches,” as they are called, were first invented, in all probability, to distinguish the twelve spaces into which the horizon is divided, as described above. Their names and order are as follows:—

1 子 tse, 2 丑 ch’ow, 3 寅 yin, 4 卯 maou, 5 辰 shin, 6 巳 sze, 7 午 woo, 8 未 we, 9 申 shin, 10 酉 yow, 11 戌 seuh, 12 玄 hae.

The common mode of expression, 建子, 建丑 &c., "to set up tse," "to set up ch’ow," &c., refers to the tail of the Great Bear pointing to tse, ch’ow, and the other ten divisions of the dial. Tse, the first character always indicates due north, and the middle of winter.

It was an easy step, from the original application of the ‘twelve branches’ to the months, to a duodecimal division of the day; but according to native authorities this was not adopted till the time of Han. It does seem strange that the Chinese should have existed so long without any artificial division of the day; and yet in recording eclipses, where the time of the day is a most important item, it is never mentioned.

The application of the cycle to days is undoubtedly a very ancient practice. But it would seem from a passage in the Shoo, Pt. II. Bk. IV., par. 8, that the days were originally arranged in tens only, by means of the 10 “celestial stems.” These are:—

1 甲 kea, 2 乙 yih, 3 丙 ping, 4 丁 ting, 5 戊 mow, 6 己 ke, 7 庚 kang, 8 辛 sin, 9 壬 jin, 10 癸 kwai.

Yu is made to say, "I remained with my wife only the days sin, jin, hreii, kwai." These are the last three and the first of the above set of characters, and the natural inference from their use here is that they were invented to divide the month into three equal parts (three decades); and that in course of time they were combined with the twelve branches to make the famous Chinese cycle of sixty. The first mention of the

1 一日十二時始於漢. See Morrison’s View of China, Chron. Tables.
cyclical name of a day is found in the Shoo, Pt. IV. Bk. IV. p. 1. It is said to have been in the 12th month of the first year of the emperor T'ae-kēā. The current chronology makes this year to be b.c. 1,752. But the chronology is utterly valueless; and we have no sufficient data by which to verify the day. Moreover, this is the only instance of the use of the cycle which occurs before b.c. 1,121 of the same chronology. In the Books of Chou it is frequently employed.

The state of confusion in which Chinese chronology is found to be, down to the time of the Eastern Chow, and the fact that not a single instance of the application of the cycle to years can be found till after the classical period, are sufficient to satisfy us that this invaluable method of dating years was never used in ancient times. The first attempt to arrange the years in cycles of sixty is found in Sze-ma Ts'ee'n's Historical Records, in a table constructed for the purpose of intercalation, and extending over a period of 76 years, the first year being b.c. 103. But instead of using the Chinese cyclical characters, he employs words of two and three syllables, which, considered from a Chinese point of view, must be pronounced barbarous. We give the names applied to the first thirteen years. Perhaps some one acquainted with the ancient language of the Hindoos may hereafter be able to identify them. The second word in each name has some connexion with the motion of the planet Jupiter; and Sze-ma says that Sheht'e, part of the first name, means Jupiter. His commentator adds that Jupiter belongs to the east, and is the essence of wood, the spirit of the Green god, Ling-wei-jang. This last word is one of six meaningless trisyllables, applied to the god of the north pole and to the five elemental gods, during the Han dynasty, for which also we must seek a foreign origin. They are given below:

Names of Years in Sze-ma Ts'ee'n's History, probably of foreign origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Names</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>端蒙</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>撿提格</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>南蒙</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<td>99</td>
<td>南蒙</td>
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<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>端蒙</td>
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<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>尚陽</td>
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<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>昌陽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>青陽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>赤陽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>黄陽</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Names of gods, probably of foreign origin.

The god of the north pole: 北帝 Béidi      Yew pih pao
The Green god (wood): 青帝 Qígúi      Ling wèi jang
The Red god (fire): 赤帝 Chídí      Ch'ih p'êch ao
The Yellow god (earth): 黃帝 Huángdì  Shay ch'oo new
Various attempts have been made to analyse the second word Skhth'chih, (in Cantonese Shipt'ai hak. Is Shipt'ai intended to represent the Hindoo name of Jupiter,—Vrishaspati; and hak the Hindoo chaera, or cycle?) applied to the first year of Sze-ma Ts'een's Table; and to determine which of the 12 branches' it ought to be identified with. Sze-ma himself, besides saying that sheht'e is Jupiter, explains the term to mean the place of that planet in the ecliptic; and again, with strange inconsistency, he says elsewhere it is the star or constellation to which the tail of Ursa Major points. In a work called the 'Classic of Stars,' sheht'e is said to denote a "spiritual instrument of western nations." Now this confusion of words without knowledge is easily accounted for on the supposition that the cycle of 60 years was introduced from the Hindoos, to whom the Chinese were indebted in the time of Sze-ma Ts'een for other things even more important. In justice to Sze-ma, however, or rather to the compilers of the Work that goes by his name, for it is the work of more than one hand, it ought to be stated that they saw that the motion of Jupiter was in the opposite direction to that in which the "12 branches" are reckoned, and would give them in the reverse order. They therefore had recourse again to the Great Bear; and explained that the character belonging to that month of any year when Jupiter rose before the sun in the east was the cyclical character for that year. They then tell us that, in the year B.C. 103, Jupiter rose in the morning during the first month, which is (寅) yin, the third of the 12 branches. This ought therefore to be the cyclical character for 103. But future chronologists made it (丑) ch'om, the second. Probably they did this because the History says that Jupiter was in ch'om. But if this was their reason, they overlooked the fact that on the following year the planet is said to be in (子) teze, and again after another year has elapsed, he is in (亥) hae, going backwards over the characters. They evidently lighted upon the wrong expression. The original runs thus:—"In the sheht'e-chih year, the (卯) yin of the year, moving to the left, is in (寅) yin, and the star of the year (Jupiter) moving, in the opposite direction, to the right, is in ch'om." The word (卯) yin here is too vague to be translated. It means anything which is the reverse of the star, or the counterpart of the star. Chinese scholars are fond of using this form of expression:—"The year is in keah-teze;" but probably very few ever reflect on the meaning of the phrase, or know that it has its origin in the above passage from the Historical Records, much less could they say for certain whether it is the yin of the year, or the star of the year, that they intend to say is "in keah-teze."

The characters before in use for the cycle of 60 days were soon substituted for the longer names: but not without some diversity of opinion as to where the cycle should commence. In the chronological Tables given in the Historical Records the cyclical characters have been supplied by a later hand, from B.C. 840 downwards; but in every case the authority of the scholars of Tsin (A.D. 265-419) is quoted. See Kwang seems to be most closely followed; but he was preceded in the same department of labour by Hwangfoo Meih, and perhaps also by the inventor of the so-called Bamboo Books. So then the cycle of 60 years cannot have commenced earlier than the Han,
and owes its present form to the scholars of Tsin; although the Chinese for the most part still glory in the delusion that it was invented by Hwangte, (80 × 75 =) 4500 years ago.

6. The Chinese month has always been lunar; and as twelve lunations come short of a solar year by nearly 11 days, it is necessary from time to time to insert an extra month to preserve a general correspondence with the solar year. The statement of Yaou (Shoo, Pt. I. par. 8), that the year consists of 366 days, was made with a view to facilitate the process of intercalation which he ordered his astronomers to conduct. But to reckon the solar year at 366 days would occasion an error of a whole month in 40 years; so that in the course of his long reign of 100 years Yaou might have seen great cause to shorten the solar period. It would seem, however, that neither he nor his successors made any attempt to obtain more accurate numbers, and that in fact their intercalation was regulated by the natural recurrence of the seasons, and rude observations from year to year. During the Chow dynasty, intercalary months were placed at irregular intervals, but most frequently at the end of the year.

The Chinese seem even then to have had no idea of the proper interval between two intercalations, which is now known to be 32 or 33 months on an average. The amount of error which they actually committed in the commencement of the year has been already referred to; and we now give a few examples gathered from the "Ch‘un Ts‘ew" of Confucius. According to the theory of later writers, the year ought always to have commenced between November 22 and December 22; but on the contrary we find that the year B.C. 719 commenced ............... on January 16;

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<th>Month</th>
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<td>583</td>
<td>November 16</td>
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<td>556</td>
<td>November 17</td>
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<td>November 19</td>
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<tr>
<td>526</td>
<td>November 15</td>
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For an instance of the intercalary month placed at the end of the year on three successive occasions, the reader is referred to Sze-ma Tse‘en’s Chronological Tables,—

Ts‘in dynasty, years 207, 204, & 201, B.C. Each of these would be separated from the other by 36 lunations instead of 32; and a proportionate amount of error would be caused in the situation of the months.

In the second century before the Christian era, the Chinese made extraordinary efforts to open communication with the West. They explored due west as far as the borders of Persia. Beyond thence madic tribes of Huns and Scythians, their immediate neighbours, the Chinese travellers found nations comparatively civilised, dwelling in cities and towns. Their horses were far superior to any known in China, and were eagerly coveted by the emperor. They had wine made from grapes, which the rich preserved for many years. Among other objects of interest unknown in Eastern Asia are mentioned single humped camels (C. Arabicus) and ostrich-eggs. At the same time they became acquainted
with the northern parts of India,—Shindo (Scinde?), Dahea, &c. Sze-ma Ts’een, who gives a full history of these discoveries, does not indeed tell us that they became acquainted with the cycle of Callippus, either through the Bactrians or the Hindoos; but there is scarcely a shadow of doubt that this was the case. In no other way can we account for the sudden appearance, in Ts’een’s History, of a method so far in advance of anything known before in China, and one which had been already employed in the West for more than two centuries. The cycle of Callippus is simply this:—

\[4 \times 19 = 76\text{ years} = 27759\text{ days} = 940\text{ lunations.}\]

It must have been well known to Alexander, the pupil of Aristotle, and the conqueror of Sogdiana, Bactria, and the Punjab, B.C. 328—325. The reformation of the Chinese calendar by Sze-ma Ts’een and others, with the help of these numbers, dates from the winter solstice of the year 104 B.C. In order to make this epoch appear as perfect as possible, they overlooked minor differences, though amounting to a whole day in the case of the solstice, and declared that new moon, and winter, and midnight, all coincided, at the commencement of the first of the cycle. From this remarkable epoch all dates before and after were to be calculated by the new method. In constructing a calendar for short periods, or even for a century or two, the method was invaluable; but with unlimited faith in its perfection, the Chinese scholars of that day proceeded to solve by means of it all difficult problems of ancient chronology; and here of course it led them astray. We can easily see the amount of error which they committed in reckoning back 16 centuries to the first year of T’aie-kei, or ten centuries to the 13th year of Woo-wang. In round numbers, the error of the Metonic cycle, as modified by Callippus, amounts to one day in the time of new moon for every 300 years, and three days in the time of winter solstice for every 400 years. So then the scholars of Han, in calculating the day of new moon at the commencement of the Chow dynasty, made an error of three days. As Confucius has nowhere told us, and possibly could not tell, how many years the Chow dynasty had lasted up to his own time, the problem the chronologers had to solve was to find a year near the supposed date of Woo-wang, which should commence with the day sin-maou. Such a year being found would, according to the Shoo-king, Pt. V. Bk. III. par 1, be the 13th of king Woo. Calculated according to the Metonic cycle from the epoch of Han, the year in question is B.C. 1121. But if we attempt to verify this date by modern methods, we find that the supposed first new moon of 1121 would fall three days later than sin-maou, and moreover that the whole lunation would be before the winter solstice, and belong according to the Chinese theory to the preceding year. So then, if we are not prepared to reject all the dates in the Shoo-king as spurious, we have no alternative but to condemn the received chronology. But the chronology of the whole period embraced by the Shoo rests on nothing better than mere conjecture, and imperfect astronomical calculations, made after the reformation of the calendar in the 2nd century B.C. We have no hesitation therefore in rejecting it.

It may be well to state here one or two additional arguments in favour of the view that the Chinese borrowed their astronomy from the West before the Christian era. It is stated by Sir J. F. Davis, in his work on The Chinese, Vol. II. p. 290, that the Hindoo cycle of sixty years “is a cycle of Jupiter, while that of the Chinese is a solar cycle.” The learned author does not explain what he understands by “a solar cycle” of 60 years, nor does he give any authority for the statement. We have found, on the
contrary, that the Chinese cycle, like the Hindoo one, is connected with the period of Jupiter. In the same page of the above work it is said, "Besides the lunar zodiac of twenty-eight mansions, the Hindoos (unlike the Chinese) have the solar, including twelve signs." But we have seen that the Chinese have also the twelve signs.

Another proof that the Chinese borrowed from the Hindoos is the use they made of conjunctions of the five planets. The rise of the Han dynasty, it is asserted, was marked by one of those conjunctions. And as the Hindoo era, cali-yug, commenced (B.C. 3102) with a conjunction of all the planets, so the Historian of Han places a conjunction of all the planets in the reign of Chuen-heuh (B.C. 2513–2436, mod. chr.), just at the time when that emperor is said to have corrected the calendar, and fixed the commencement of the year in February. The late Baron Bunsen, in his Work on Egypt (Bk. IV. Pt. IV.), has attempted to verify this conjunction of the planets; but this, as well as the credence he gives to the tablet of Yu, only shows his ignorance of the subject; and that he ought to have manifested more of a fellow feeling with the 'ignorant' and 'superstitious' and 'intolerant' missionaries, who mistook the inundation of Yaou for the flood of Noah. These ancient conjunctions of the planets are utterly unworthy of credit. There was a rough approximation to such a conjunction at the commencement of the Han dynasty, in May, 204 B.C. But the only real conjunction of the five on record is that of Sep. 15, 1186 A.D., in the Sung dynasty. The Chinese in this matter seem to have been servile imitators of the Hindoos; and the Hindoos in their turn borrowed from the Greeks. When the expression "ts'eih ching" (七政), "the seven directors," is taken in the sense of sun, moon, and five planets, and applied to days, the idea is obviously and confessedly western.

7. Referring to the Shoo, Pt. III. Bk. IV. parag. 4, we find this sentence:—"On the first day of the last month of autumn the sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang." Upon which there was beating of drums, and a general commotion such as the Chinese usually make on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. It is evident, from the quotation of the passage in the Tso-chuen, that an eclipse of the sun is meant, and also that the record existed in some form or other in the time of Tso K'uen-ming. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the genuineness of this part of the Shoo is open to great suspicion, and in particular, that the phrase 辰弗集于房, lit. "The heavenly bodies were not harmonious in the chamber," looks more like a modern form of speech, than a primitive way of denoting an eclipse of the sun. It occurs nowhere else; and although no other eclipse is mentioned in the Shoo, in the other classical writings eclipses of the sun are of common occurrence, and are uniformly denoted by 日有食之 "the sun was eaten." This seems more likely to be the older phrase. And again, with regard to the character 房, fang, it is evidently not taken in the Tso-ch'uen for the constellation that now goes by that name, but as equivalent to Shay (舍), any division or mansion of the Zodiac. This interpretation seems also to be favoured by several later writers. The ancient name of the constellation was Ho or Ta-ho, i.e. Scorpio, and it is only called fang in the Book of Rites.

But granting that an eclipse within that part of Scorpio which now goes by the name of Fang is intended, no such event could have been witnessed during the reign of Chung-k'ang, if we adopt the current chronology. The eclipse of the astronomers of T'ang, although it happens to agree with that of Gaubil, in being on the fifth year of Chung-k'ang, was reckoned according to some other chronology than that which
is current now, and was in fact the eclipse of 2127, which has recently come into favour, after Gaubil's has been set aside as invisible (See Comm. in loc.) The astronomers of T'ang distinctly state that it was in the year kmei-tsze, the 30th of the cycle of years; and on the day keng-teh, the 47th of the cycle of days. I have found them right even in the day; which implies a high degree of accuracy in their figures, considering that they were calculating an eclipse at the distance of nearly 3000 years. Is it possible that those Chinese astronomers were superior to Gaubil? or was their success in this instance accidental? It was perhaps too late in the day for the scholars of T'ang to fix the uncertain chronology by astronomical calculation, though those of Han practised this method freely with far inferior knowledge.

Those, however, who like the year 2127 as the date of the eclipse may adopt it now without fear of its being hereafter proved invisible. But it is well to keep in mind that eclipses satisfying the conditions are by no means rare. Eclipses of the sun, visible in the northern hemisphere in the sign Scorpio, might be looked for in any of the following years:

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<th>B.C.</th>
<th>2154</th>
<th>2024</th>
<th>1894</th>
<th>1764</th>
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<td>2135</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1875</td>
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<td>1977</td>
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<td>2108</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1848</td>
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### ECLIPSES RECORDED BY THE ANCIENT CHINESE.

#### RECORDED IN THE BOOK OF POETRY.

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<th>Emperor's Name</th>
<th>Year of Reign</th>
<th>Year of Cycle</th>
<th>Moon</th>
<th>Day of Cycle</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year B.C.</th>
<th>Month &amp; day. New style</th>
<th>Chinese Moon</th>
<th>Day of Cycle</th>
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<tr>
<td>君王</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>I</td>
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#### RECORDED IN THE CH'U N TS'EW.

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<th>Emperor's Name</th>
<th>Year of Reign</th>
<th>Year of Cycle</th>
<th>Moon</th>
<th>Day of Cycle</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year B.C.</th>
<th>Month &amp; day. New style</th>
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<th>Day of Cycle</th>
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<td>II</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>719</td>
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<td>蘭王</td>
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<td>August 21 IX 7</td>
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ECLIPSES RECORDED BY THE ANCIENT CHINESE—Continued.
CHAPTER IV.

THE ANNALS OF THE BAMBOO BOOKS.

THE BAMBOO BOOKS IN GENERAL;—THEIR DISCOVERY AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.

THE ANNALS.

HOW FAR THE ANNALS ARE TO BE RELIED ON;—CONCLUSION FROM THEM AS TO THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE EARLY RECORDS OF THE SHOO.

1. Having made such frequent reference in the last chapter to the Bamboo Books, I have thought it would be well to devote a chapter specially to them, embodying the text, with a translation, of that portion of them which is most important, and from which the shorter scheme of Chinese chronology is derived. Some Sinologues, like Father De Mailla, have written about them without sufficient discrimination, and have not done them justice; while other students of chronology, like Freret and Bunsen, unable to examine them for themselves, have attached a greater value to them than can be fairly claimed. The student will be glad to have the ancient history of China, as indicated in them, in the same volume with the records of the Shoo; and it will be found that they give important corroboration to some of the views which I have advanced on the older portions of the classic.

'The Bamboo Books' is a comprehensive designation. It is not, indeed, so wide as De Mailla represents, when he says:—'It is the general name given to all ancient Books written on tablets of bamboo, before the manner of making paper was discovered.' Such books might be spoken and written of as 'Bamboo Books.' The Bamboo Books is the name appropriate to a large collection of ancient documents, discovered in A.D. 279, embracing nearly twenty different Works, which contained altogether between seventy and eighty chapters or Books.

1 See the first of the P. De Mailla’s letters to Freret, prefixed to L’Histoire générale de la Chine.'
The discovery of those Works is thus related in the history of the emperor Woo, the first of the sovereigns of Tsin, whose supremacy over the empire is acknowledged in chronology:—In the 5th year of his reign under the title of Hëen-ning\(^2\) [= A.D. 279, the year before the chronological commencement of the Tsin dynasty], some lawless parties in the department of Keih dug open the grave of king Seang of Wei [Died B.C. 295], and found a number of bamboo tablets, written over, in the small seal character, with more than 100,000 words; which were deposited in the imperial library. But before the tablets were placed in the library, they had sustained various injury and mutilation. The emperor referred them to the principal scholars in the service of the government, to adjust the tablets in order, having first transcribed them in modern characters. The chief among these was one Wei Hăng,\(^3\) famous for his knowledge of the old forms of the characters. He was assisted by Shuh Sih, Ho Kêou, Seun Heuh, and others,—all men of note in their day. In two years their labours were completed, and the tablets were placed in the library in order. De Mailla says that the scholars reported to the emperor unfavourably of the Bamboo Books:—that ‘they were filled with reveries, extravagances, and manifest falsities.’ I have not found in the Books of Tsin\(^7\) that they gave any such sweeping decision. They made out the names of 15 different Works, the tablets of which, more or less complete, could be arranged together. Some of these Works were, indeed, full of extravagant legends and speculations;—they soon fell into neglect, if they have not entirely perished. There were two among them, however, of a different character:—a copy of the Yih King, in two Books, agreeing with that generally received; and a book of Annals, beginning with the reign of Hwang-te, and coming down to the 16th year of the last emperor of the Chow dynasty, B.C. 298. This was in 12 or 13 chapters.

If the scholars of Tsin sent in to the emperor any formal report of their labours, and of their judgment on the different portions of ‘the Bamboo Books,’ it has not been preserved; but we have the most satisfactory evidence of the points I have just stated, in the appendix or l’envoi affixed by Too Yu to his well known edition of the Tso Chuen.\(^8\) He tells us, that on returning, in A.D. 280, from a

\(^2\) 咸寧五年. See the Books of Tsin, 帝紀第三, p. 18.  
\(^3\) 邯恆。  
\(^4\) 末晉。  
\(^5\) 和嶠。  
\(^6\) 荀偃。  
\(^7\) See in particular the history of Shuh Sih, 列傳,第二十一.  
\(^8\) 杜預左傳,後序.

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military expedition to Woo, he completed his great Work, when his attention was called to the Bamboo Books which had been recently discovered; that, by the carelessness of the parties who first found them, they had suffered much damage; and that, when he saw them in the library, the portions most complete and distinct were a copy of the Yih King, and certain Annals, relating, in the latter part of them, more particularly, the affairs of the State of Tsin.

The reader will be conscious of a disposition to reject at once the account of the discovery of the Bamboo Books. He has read so much of the recovery of portions of the Shoo from the walls of houses, that he must be tired of this mode of finding lost treasures; and smiles when he is now called on to believe that an old tomb opened, and yielded its literary stores, long after the human remains that had been laid in it had mingled with the dust. From the death of king Sêang to B.C. 279 were 595 years;—so long had these Books been in the bosom of the earth. The speed, moreover, with which the tablets were transcribed and arranged was surprising. It is hard to credit that so much work was done in so brief a time. Against the improbabilities in the case, however, we have to place the evidence which is given in support of it. The testimony of Tso Yu, especially, a witness entirely competent and disinterested, and which was probably in A.D. 281 or 282, seems to place it beyond a doubt, that there had been a large discovery of ancient Works in a tomb a few years before, of which a most valuable portion was that which is now current under the name of 'The Annals of the Bamboo Books.' How far some of the other portions have been preserved, I am not able to say; but these Annals have held their place in the literature of China. They are mentioned in the catalogues of the Suy and T'ang dynasties.

Shin Yō, a scholar and officer of the Lèang dynasty, (A.D. 502—557) published an edition, with a commentary, in the 6th century. Under the Sung dynasty, Choo He made several references to them, not unfavourable. Two scholars of Yuen, Hoo Ying-lin and Yang Shing-gan, laboured upon them; and in the present dynasty five or six different editions and commentaries have been published;—showing that, notwithstanding the generally unfavourable opinion of scholars, the Work has not yet been put out of the court of criticism.

I now subjoin the text and a translation, with a few annotations.

9 沈約字休文. 10 胡應麟. 11 楊升庵.
2. **THE ANNALS OF THE BAMBOO BOOKS.**

**PART. I.**

1. **Hwang-te; dynastic title Héen-yuen.**

*Note.* His mother was called Foo-pau. She witnessed a great flash of lightning, which surrounded the star *ch'oo,* (a Duube) of the Great Bear with a brightness that lightened all the country about her, and thereupon became pregnant. After 25 months, she gave birth to the emperor in Show-k'ew. When born, he could speak. His countenance was dragon-like; his virtue that of a sage. He could oblige the host of spirits to come to his court, and receive his orders. He employed Ying-lung to attack Ché-yew, the fight with whom was maintained by the help of tigers, panthers, bears, and grizzly bears. By means of the Heavenly lady Pā, he stopped the extraordinary rains caused by the enemy. When the empire was settled, his sage virtue was brightly extended, and all sorts of suspicious indications appeared. The grass K'eu-hi-yih grew in the court-yard of the palace. When a glib-tongued person was entering the court, this grass pointed to him, so that such men did not dare to present themselves.

In his 1st year, when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Yew-héung. He invented the cap with pendants, and the robes to match. In his 20th year, brilliant clouds appeared; and he arranged his officers by names taken from the colours of the clouds.

*Note.* The suspicious omen of brilliant clouds was in this way:—The vapours of the red quarter [the south] extended so as to join those of the green [the east]. In the red quarter were two stars, and in the green, one—all of a yellow colour, which appeared, when the heavens were clear and bright, in Shé-te, and were named the brilliant stars. The emperor in yellow robes fasted in the Middle palace. When he was sitting in a boat on the Yuen-hoo, above its junction with the Lé, there came together phœnixes, male and female. They would not eat any living insect, nor tread on 1. 1 Sze-ma Te'ien says that Hwang-te's name was Héen-yuen; and many others take 氏 here as 名. It seems to me preferable to take it in the case of Yaou, who was 陶唐氏: and of Shun's 有虞氏. See the Introductory notes to the Canons of Yaou and Shun. Héen-yuen may have reference to the invention of carriages, which is commonly ascribed to Hwang-te, though these Annals do not mention it; or it may have been the name of a place. There are many methods of accounting for it.

2. This and other notes which follow are supposed by some to be a portion of the text of the Annals. The more likely opinion is, that they are additions to the text by diff't hands;—several of them, but not all, by Shin Yó. As they are not many, I have translated them; but they abound so much in extravagant, monstrous, statements, and besides are so full of errors, that I will rarely occupy space with comments on them.

3. Yew-héung must be the name of a State. It is referred to what was called 'new Ch'ing' (新鄭), in the pres. Ho-nan.

In his 50th year, in the autumn, in the 7th month, on the day Kang-slin [57th of cycle], phoenixes, male and female, arrived. The emperor sacrificed at the river Loh.

Note. Beginning with Kang-slin, the heavens were wrapt in mist for three days and three nights. The emperor asked T'ien-lao, Leih-muh, and Yung-shing, what they thought of it. T'ien-lao said, 'I have heard this:—When a kingdom is tranquil, and its ruler is fond of peace, then phoenixes come and dwell in it; when a kingdom is disordered, and its ruler is fond of war, then the phoenixes leave it. Now the phoenixes fly about in your eastern borders rejoicing, the notes of their singing all exactly harmonious, in mutual accord with Heaven. Looking at the thing in this way, Heaven is giving your majesty grave instructions, which you must not disobey.' The emperor then called the recorder to divine about the thing, when the tortoise-shell was only scorched. The recorder said, 'I cannot divine it; you must ask your sage men.' The emperor replied, 'I have asked T'ien-lao, Leih-muh, and Yung-shing.' The recorder then did obeisance, twice, with his face to the earth, and said, 'The tortoise will not go against their sage wisdom, and therefore its shell is only scorched.'

When the mists were removed, he made an excursion on the Lo, and saw a great fish; and sacrificed to it with five victims, whereupon torrents of rain came down for seven days and seven nights, when the fish floated off the sea, and the emperor obtained the map-writings. The dragon-writing came forth from the Ho, and the tortoise-writing from the Lo. In red lines, and the seal character, they were given to Héen-yuen. He entertained the myriad spirits in Ming-t'ing, the present valley of Han-mun.

In his 50th year, the chief of 'The Perforated Breasts' came to make his submission. So also did the chief of 'The Long Legs.' In his 77th year, Ch'ang-é left the court, and dwelt by the Jō-water; he begat the emperor K'êen-hwang.

In his 100th year, the earth was rent. The emperor went on high.

of the divit. departments were called—'He of the green cloud; he of the white cloud (白雪氏),' &c. 5 Some editions read here—the 57th year, instead of the 50th. 6 'The Perforated Breasts' and 'The Long Legs' are of course fabulous. We read of them, and other equally monstrous barbarian tribes, in the 'Classic of Mountains and Seas' (山海經). 7 Ch'ang-é was a son (1st or 2d is debated) of Hwang-te, and, not being able for the empire, was sent away to a State near the Jō-water, in the pres. Sze-ch'üen. Others have it that he went away himself, in virtuous humility;—all is fabulous. 8 When this son of
II. THE EMPEROR CHE; DYNASTIC TITLE SHAOU-HAOU.1

Note. His mother was called Neu-tsê. She witnessed a star like a rainbow come floating down the stream to the islet of Hwa. Thereafter she dreamed she had received it, and was moved in her mind, and bore Shaou-haou. When he ascended the throne, there was no auspicious omen of phenixes. Some say that his name was Tê-ning, and that he did not occupy the throne. He led an army of birds, and dwelt in the west, where he arranged his officers by names taken from birds.

III. THE EMPEROR CHUEN-HEUH; DYNASTIC TITLE KAOU-YANG.1

Note. His mother was called Neu-ch'oo. She witnessed the Yau-kwong star (a Benetnach) go through the moon like a rainbow, when it moved itself in the palace of Yew-fang, after which she brought forth Chuen-heuh near the Jö-water. On his head he bore a shield and spear; and he had the virtue of a sage. When 10 years old, he assisted Shaou-haou; and when 20, he ascended the imperial throne.

1 In his 1st year, when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Puh. In his 13th year, he invented calendaric calculations and delineations of the heavenly bodies.
2 In his 21st year, he made the piece of music called 'The Answer to the Clouds.'
4 In his 30th year, he begat Pih-k'wân, who dwelt in the south of T'êen-muh.
5 In his 78th year, he died. Shuh-k'e made disorder, and was made end of by the prince of Sin.

Ch'ang-e was emperor, we do not know; some identify him with Chuen-heuh; others make that emperor his son. S. See the last par. of the Canon of Shun.—Many accounts say that Hwang-te did not die, but went up to Heaven on a dragon. Hâng Ch'in-fung gives the following passage, quoted by some writers as from the Bamboo Books:—

Ch'ang-e was idolatry at a very early time. This statement was no doubt in one of the Bamboo Books, but not in the Annals. The same may be said of another,—that this 'Tao-ch'ê is raised Chuen-heuh to the throne, 7 years after Hwang-te's death.'

II. Some editions of the Annals give this notice as an addition of Shin Yô's. Others separate the name and title from the note, and put them in the text.—Sze-ma Ta'en does not give this emperor Che at all. There are many discussions about him, whether he was a son of Hwang-te, or a grandson; or whether he was not rather descended from Fuh-he. His title of Shaou-haou would seem to be in relation with Fuh-he's of Ta'e-haou.

III. Chuen-heuh was a son, or a grandson of Ch'ang-e mentioned above. The title of Kaou-
IV. The emperor Kuh; dynastic title Kaou-sin.

Note. He was born with double rows of teeth; and had the virtue of a sage. He was at first made prince of Sin, and afterwards succeeded to Kaou-yang as monarch of the empire. He made blind men beat drums, and strike bells and sounding stones, at which phœnixes flapped their wings, and gambolled.

1 In his 1st year, when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Poh. In his 16th year, he made Ch'ung lead an army, and extingushi the State of Yew-kwae. In his 45th year, he conferred on the prince of T'ang the appointment to be his successor.

4 In his 63rd year, he died.

Note. The emperor's son Che was deposed, after having been appointed nine years.

yang must be derived from some place where he ruled; but two places of this name are assigned to him at different periods of his life—the 1st in the pres. dia. of Ke, dep. of K'aefung, Ho-nan; the 2d in the dep. of Taou-ting, Chih-le.

2 This Puh was probably in the pres. dep. of Tung-ch'ang, Shan-tung. 3 Comp. 歷象, in Can, of Yaou, p. 2. Some editions read 12th instead of 18th. 4 Hwang Ch'in-fung would remove this notice to the 20th year of Hwang-te. 5 This Pih K'wan, or baron K'wan, is commonly supposed to be the father of Yu the Great; but in that case K'wan would be well on to 200 years old, when Yaou calls him to regulate the waters. T'een-muh was a mountain, '20,000 feet high,' acc. to the Classic of Mountains and Seas; and on the north of the Jo-water, acc. to one of the sporadic passages of the Bamboo Books, found elsewhere (是惟若陽). 術器云云, generally appears as a note, but it belongs to the text. Shuh-k'e is said to have been a descendant of Shin-nung, and son of the emp. Kuh.

IV. 1 Kuh was the grandson of Yuen-hesou (元囂), one of Hwang-te's sons. Where the principality of Sin, from which he has his dynastic name, was, seems not to be known. See the dict. of Yu. 2 This was probably what was afterwards the southern Po. See introd. note to 'The Speech of T'ang.' 3 Yew-kwae was in the pres. dia. of Yung-yang, dep. of K'aefung. On who Ch'ung was, see the notes of Hwang Ch'in-fung. 4 The prince of T'ang is Yaou. See on the title of 'The Book of T'ang.' I must translate 楚為秦侯, as I have done. Comp. 錫虞葬命, under the 70th year of Yaou below. The difficulty in the way of the construction is the concluding note about the emperor's son Che; but this may be got over, by transferring it, as an appendix to this par. His appointment was to the succession, and his unworthiness being proved, his father himself deposed him from his place as heir, and gave the succession to his younger brother Yaou. Ch'in-fung argues for this construction, and re-arrangement of the text. I had adopted the construction, however, before reading his remarks.
PART. II.

The reigns of Yuou and Shun.

I. EMPEROR YAOU; DYNASTIC TITLE, T’AOU AND T’ANG.

Note. His mother was called King-too. She was born in the wild of Tow-wei, and was always overshadowed by a yellow cloud. After she was grown up, whenever she looked into any of the three Ho, there was a dragon following her. One morning the dragon came with a picture and writing. The substance of the writing was:—"The red one has received the favour of Heaven." The eyebrows of the figure were like the character 亀, and of variegated colours. The whiskers were more than a cubit long; and the height was 7 cub. 2 in. The face was sharp above, and broad below. The feet trode on the constellation Yih. After this came darkness and winds on every side; and the red dragon made King-too pregnant. Her time lasted 14 months, when she brought forth Yaou in Tan-ling. His appearance was like that in the picture. When he was grown up, his height was ten cubits. He had the virtue of a sage, and was invested with the principality of Tsang. He dreamed that he climbed up to heaven. When Kaou-shin was decaying, the empire returned to him.

1 In his 1st year, which was ping-tszue 2 (13th of cycle; = B.C. 2,145), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in K‘e; 3 and commanded He and Ho to make calendric calculations and delineations of the heavenly bodies. 4 In his 5th year, he made the first tour of inspection to the four mountains. In his 7th year, there was a k‘e-lin. 5 In his 12th year, he formed the first standing army. In his 15th year, the chief of K‘eu-sow came to make his submission. In his 19th year, he ordered the minister of Works 8 to undertake the regulation of the Ho. In his 29th year, the chief of the Pigmies 9 came to court in token of homage, and offered as tribute their feathers which sank in water. In his 42d year, a brilliant star appeared in Yih [Crater]. In his 59th year, he travelled for pleasure about Mount Show, 10 in a plain carriage drawn by dark-coloured horses.

11 In his 53d year, he sacrificed near the Loh. In his 58th year, he caused

1 Sec on 'The Songs of the Five Sons,' p. 7. 2 This is the 1st determination of a year by cycle names in the Annals. We fix the year to be B.C. 2,145, by calculating back on the cycle from the 6th year of King Yew of Chow, which (as we have seen) is certainly known. I shall call attention below to the fact that all these cycle names of the years in the Annals were introduced into them after their recovery or discovery. 3 K‘e is of course K‘e-chouw.

[Prolegomena.]

12 his son Choo to be sent in banishment by prince Tseih to Tan-shwuy. In his 61st year, he ordered the baron K'wan of Ts'ung to regulate the Ho. In his 69th year, he degraded K'wan. In his 70th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, he caused the chief of the four mountains to convey to Shun of Yu his charge to succeed to the throne.

Note. When the emperor had been on the throne 70 years, a brilliant star issued from the constellation Yih, and phoenixes appeared in the courtyards of the palace; the pearl grass grew, and the admirable grain flourished; sweet dews moistened the ground, and crystal springs issued from the hills; the sun and moon appeared like a pair of gems, and the five planets looked like threaded pearls. In the imperial kitchen there appeared itself a piece of flesh, a banner, a fan, which, when shaken, raised such a wind that all eatables were kept cool and did not spoil. It was called the fethch fitch. A kind of grass, moreover, grew on each side of the palace stairs. On the 1st day of the month, it produced one pod, and so on, every day a pod, to the 16th; while on the 17th one pod fell off, and so on, every day a pod, to the last day of the month; and if the month was a short (of 29 days), one pod shrivelled up, without falling. It was called the fethch fitch. When the flood of men were assuaged, the emperor, attributing the merit of that to Shun, wished to resign in his favour. He therefore purified himself and fasted, built altars near the Ho and the Lo, chose a good day, and conducted Shun and others up mount Shou. Among the inlets of the Ho, there were five old men, walking about, who were the spirits of the five planets. They said to one another, 'The river scheme will come and tell the emperor of the time. He who knows us is the double-pupilled yellow Yau.' The five old men on this flew away like flowing stars, and ascended into the constellation Mau. On the 2nd month, on the sin-chow day, between the dark and light, the ceremonies were all prepared; and when the day began to decline, a glorious light came forth from the Ho and beautiful vapours filled all the horizon; white clouds rose up, and returning winds blew all about. Then a dragon-horse appeared, bearing in his mouth a scaly cuirass, with red lines on a green ground, ascended the altar, laid down the scheme, and went away. The cuirass was like a tortoise shell, nine cubits broad. The scheme contained a tally of white gems, in a basket of red gems, covered with yellow gold, and bound with a green string. On the tally were the words, 'With pleasing countenance given to the emperor Shun.' It said also that Yu and Hua should receive the appointment of Heaven. The emperor wrote these words, and deposited them in the Eastern college. Two years afterwards, in the 2nd month, he led out all his ministers, and dropped a peel in the Lo. The ceremony over, he retired, and waited for the decline of the day. Then

It is a wide word. 4 See on Canon of Yau, p. 2. 5 The 'four mountains' are those mentioned in the Canon of Shun, p. 8. 6 兵 is to be taken here in the sense of soldiers, and not merely as weapons of war. 7 See on 'The Tribute of Yu,' Pt. i, p. 53.

8 I should take 共工 as a proper name, but for the Canon of Shun, p. 21. 9 The nation of Pigmics, like the 'Perforated Breasts' and 'Long Legs,' is mentioned in the classic of the Hills and Seas. The 括地志 places it.
In his 71st year, he commanded his two daughters to become wives to Shun.
In his 73rd year, in the spring, in the 1st month, Shun received the resignation of the
emperor in the temple of the accomplished ancestor.
In his 74th year, Shun of
Yu made his first tour of inspection to the four mountains.
In his 75th year, Yu,
the superintendent of Works, regulated the Ho.
In his 76th year, the superintendent of Works smote the hordes of Ts'aou and Wei,
subdued them.
In his 86th year, the superintendent of Works had an audience, using for his article of
introduction a dark-coloured mace.
In his 87th year, he instituted the division
of the empire into 12 provinces.
In his 89th year, he made a pleasure palace in
Ts'aou.
In his 90th year, he took up his residence for relaxation in T'auou.
In his 97th year, the superintendent of Works made a tour of survey through the 12
provinces.
In his 100th year, he died in T'auou.

Note. The emperor's son Choo of Tan kept away from Shun in Fung-ling. Shun tried to
yield the throne to him, but in vain. Choo was then invested with T'ang, and became the guest
of Yu. After three years, Shun ascended the throne of the son of Heaven.

II. THE EMPEROR SHUN; DYNASTIC TITLE YEW-YU.1

Note. His mother was named Uh-tang. She saw a large rainbow, and her thoughts were so
affected by it, that she bore Shun in Yau-hue. His eyes had double pupils, whence he was
named 'Double Brightness.' He had a dragon countenance, a large mouth, and a black body,
6 cubits, 1 inch long. Shun's parents hated him. They made him plaster a granary, and set fire
to it beneath—he had on birds' work clothes, and flew away. They also made him deepen a
well, and filled it with stones from above—he had on dragon's work clothes, and got out by the
side. He ploughed in Leih. He dreamed that his eyebrows were as long as his hair. Accordingly,
he was raised and employed.

12 Ts'aou and Wei are two well known States in the time of the Chow,—the former
lay in the part of Shan-tung, the latter in Shen-se. I am not sure that those in the text were
the same. They would seem too far apart.
11 See note on the name of Part II. of
the Shoo. 2 西王母, lit., 'the mother

on the north of the Roman empire (在大
秦國北). 10 Mount Show is the Luy-
show of 'The Tribute of Yu,' Pt. ii. 11 Tan-
shuway is referred to the pres. dis. of Nan-
yang, dep. Nan-yang, Hu-nan. There was there,
no doubt, a stream called Tan.
In his 1st year, which was ke-nwéi (56th of cycle, = B.C. 2042), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in K’ei; and made the music called Yu-shau.

Note. On his accession, the felicitous bean grew about the stairs, and phonixes nested in the courts. When they beat and tapped the musical stones, to accompany the nine performances of the Shao, all the beasts came after one another gambolling. A brilliant star came out in Fang. The earth produced the horse Shing-hwang.

2 In his 3d year, he commanded Kaou-yau to make the code of punishments.

3 In his 9th year, messengers from the western Wang-moo came to do homage.

Note. The coming to court from the western Wang-moo was to present white stone rings and archers’ thimbles of gem.

4 In his 14th year, auspicious clouds appeared; and he ordered Yu to consult about affairs for him.

Note. In the 14th year of Shun’s reign, at a grand performance with bells, musical stones, organs, and flutes, before the service was concluded, there came a great storm of thunder and rain. A violent wind overthrew houses, and tore up trees. The drumsticks and drums were scattered on the ground, and the bells and stones dashed about confusedly. The dancers fell prostrate, and the director of the music ran madly away; but Shun, keeping hold of the frames from which the bells and stones were suspended, laughed and said, ‘How clear it is that the empire is not one man’s empire! It is signified by these bells, stones, organs, and flutes.’ On this he presented Yu to Heaven, and made him perform actions proper to the emperor; whereupon harmonious vapours responded on all sides, and felicitous clouds were seen. They were like smoke, and yet not smoke; like clouds, and yet not clouds; brilliantly confused; twisting and whirling. The officers in mutual harmony sang of those felicitous clouds, the emperor thus leading them on:—

How bright are ye, felicitous clouds! In what order are ye gathered together! The brightness of the sun and moon is repeated from morn to morn. All the ministers then advanced, and bowing low, said:—Brilliant are the heavens above, Where the shining stars are arranged. The brightness of the sun and moon Enlarge our one man.” The emperor sang again, ‘The sun and moon are constant; The stars and other heavenly bodies have their motions. The four seasons observe their rule. The people are sincere in all their services. When I think of music, The intelligences that respond to Heaven Seem to be transferred to the sages and the worthies. All things listen to it: How does its rolling sounds thrill! How does it inspire the dance?’ When the essential brightness was exhausted, the clouds shrivelled up and disappeared. Thereupon of the king of the west; or ‘the queen-mother of the west.’ But the characters are merely the name of a State or kingdom in the distant

west. See Hsing’s Comm. in loc.

3 The prince of Hea is Yu. See the introd. note on the name of the third Part of the Shoo.
the eight winds all blew genially, and other felicitous clouds collected in masses. The crouching dragons came hurriedly out of their dens; guanodons and fishes leaped up from their deeps; tortoises and turtles came out from their holes,—removing from Yu to serve Hea. Shun then raised an altar at the Ho, as Yaou had done before. When the day declined, there came a fine and glorious light; and a yellow dragon issued and came to the altar, bearing a scheme on his back, 32 cubits long and 9 cubits broad, in lines of red and green intermingled, the words of which were that he should resign in favour of Yu.

5 In his 15th year, he commanded the prince of Hea to conduct the sacrificial duties in the Grand apartment. In his 17th year, in the spring, in the 2d month, when he entered the college, he used for the first time the myriad dance. 5

6 In his 25th year, the prince of Seih-shin came to do homage, and paid tribute of bows and arrows. In his 29th year, the emperor invested his son E-keun with the principality of Shang. In his 30th year, he buried queen Yuh near the Wei.

Note. Queen Yuh was Ngo-hwang.

10 In his 33rd year, he commanded the prince of Hea to take the superintendence of the people, who thereupon visited the mountains of the four quarters. 7 In his 33rd year, in the spring, in the first month, the prince of Hea received the appointment to be successor, in the temple of the spiritual ancestor; and restored the division of the empire into nine provinces. In his 35th year, he commanded the prince of Hea to lead a punitive expedition against the Yew-méaou. The prince of Yew-méaou came to court and did homage. In his 42d year, the chief of Heuen-too came to court, and paid as tribute precious articles and gems. In his 47th year, the hoar-frost of winter did not kill the grass or trees. In his 49th year, he dwelt in Ming-t'isou. 8 In his 50th year, he died.

Note. E-keun had been invested with Shang, and is called Keun of Shang. Queen Yuh was Ngo-hwang. In Ming-t'isou was the hill of Ts'ang-woo. There Shun died and was buried. It is now Hae-chow.

4 The classic of Hills and Seas makes the name of a mountain. The meaning in the transal. is much preferable;—the principal apartment in the ancestral temple.

5 萬 is here the name of a dance (萬, 無名也). 6 Seih-shin; elsewhere Shushin. 7 Comp. ‘The Counsels of Yu,’ p. 9. 夏 is to be understood as the subject of 烏, lit. ‘to ascend,’ but here=‘to visit.’

8 See on the last par. of the Can. of Shun.—Some strange passages are gathered from other portions of the Bamboo Books, and supposed to have belonged to ‘The Annals,’ which give quite a different account of the relations between Yaou and Shun. They make Shun dethrone Yaou, and keep him a prisoner, raise Chou for a time to the throne, and then displace him; and the text allows no intercourse between father and son. See Fang Chin-fung’s Supplement to the Annals, in the last chapter of his Work.
PART. III.

The dynasty of Hea.

i. The emperor Yu; dynastic title, Hea-how.

Note. His mother was called Sew-ke. She saw a falling star, which went through the constellation Maou, and in a dream her thoughts were moved till she became pregnant, after which she swallowed a spirits' pear. Her back opened in due time, and she gave birth to Yu in Shihnew. He had a tiger nose and a large mouth. His ears had three orifices. His head bore the resemblance of the stars Kow and K'een. On his breast seemed a figure in gem of the Great Bear, in the lines of his feet he seemed to tread on the character 夙;—hence he was called Wan-ming. When he grew up, he had the virtue of a sage, and was 9 cub. 6 in. long. He dreamt that he was bathing in the Ho, and drank up the water. He had also the happy omen of a white fox with 9 tails. In the time of Yaou, Shun brought him forward. As he was looking at the Ho, a tall man, with a white face and fish's body, came out and said, 'I am the spirit of the Ho.' He then called Yu, and said, 'Wan-ming shall regulate the waters.' Having so spoken, he gave Yu a chart of the Ho, containing all the regulating of the waters; and returned into the deep. When Yu had done regulating the waters, Heaven gave him a dark coloured mace, with which to announce his completed work. When the fortunes of Hea were about to rise, all vegetation was luxuriant, green dragons lay in the borders, and the spirit of Chuh-yung descended on mount Ts'ung;—Shun resigned, and Yu ascended the throne. The Lo produced the tortoise Book, called 'The great Plan.' When the three years of mourning were over, he made his capital in Yang-shing.

1 In his 1st year, which was jin-tse (49th of cycle, = B.C. 1,989), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in K'e. He published the seasons of Hea throughout the 3 regions and States. In his 2d year, Kaou-yaou died. In his 5th year, he made a tour of inspection, and assembled the princes at mount T'oou.1

1. 1 Mount T'oou,—see on the 'Yih and Tseih,' par. 8. 2 The name of Hwuy-ke'remains in the dis. so called, dep. of Shau-hing, Chê-keang. Many wonderful stories are related of the chief of Fang-fung; but all agree that Yu killed him because he came late to the meeting.—Among other notices of Yu, which are not in the Annals, but are elsewhere found, quoted as from them, is this,—that 'from Hwang-to to Yu were 30 generations,' or reigns (黃帝至禹為世三十世). If this were ever really in the Annals, much of them must be lost.

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Note. On his way to the south, when crossing the Kéang, in the middle of the stream, two yellow dragons took the boat on their backs. The people were all afraid; but Yu laughed and said, "I received my appointment from Heaven, and labour with all my strength to nourish men. To be born is the course of nature; to die is by Heaven's decree. Why be troubled by the dragons?" On this the dragons went away, dragging their tails.

4 In his 8th year, he assembled the princes at Hwuy-k'e, when he put the chief of Fang-fung to death. In the summer, in the 6th month, it rained gold in the capital city of Hea. In the autumn, in the 8th month, he died at Hwuy-k'e.

Note. Yu reigned (as associate, or as sovereign) 45 years. He presented Yih to Heaven, and died seven years after. When the three years of mourning were ended, the empire turned to K'e (his son).

II. THE EMPEROR K'E.

1 In his 1st year, which was krei-hae (60th of cycle, B.C. 1,078), when he came to the throne in the capital city of Hea, he made a great feast to the princes in the tower of Keun, after which they followed him back to the capital in K'e, when he made a second great feast to them in the tower of Senen. In his 2nd year, Pih-yih, the prince of Pe, left the court, and went to his State. The king led his forces to punish the prince of Hoo, when there was a great battle in Kan. In his 6th year, Pih-yih died, and the emperor appointed a sacrifice to him. In his 8th year, he sent Mang T'oo to Pu, to preside over litigations. In his 10th year, he made a tour of inspection, and celebrated a complete service of Shun's music in the wilderness of T'een-muh. In his 11th year, he banished his youngest son, Woo-kwan, beyond the western Ho. In his 17th year, Woo-kwan with the people about the western Ho rebelled. The baron Show of P'ang led a force to punish them, when Woo-kwan returned to his allegiance. In his 14th year, the king died.

11. From 壬子, the 1st year of Yu, to this 乙亥, both inclusive, are twelve years; Yu must have died in 丁未, leaving 3 complete years, before K'e's accession. This is the rule in these Annals all through the Hea dyn. The years of mourning are left between the deceased emperor and his successor, but this interregnum varies from 2 to 4 years.

2 This is the city in par. 4 of the last reign. Yu had moved his capital, or made a second one. A dis. of Kwei-tib dep. is still so called.

Near or in this was the tower of Keun. 諸侯從 may be construed by itself:—the princes agreed to follow him; as if the feast had been a political gathering to secure the throne to K'e. 4 See 'The Speech at Kan.' 5 This account does not agree with the account of the death of Yih, which is often attributed to the Annals, and which was no doubt in some of the Bamboo Books; viz. that 'Yih was aiming at the throne, and K'e put him to death' (益千啟立, 啓殺之).
THE ANNALS OF THE BAMBOO BOOKS.

[PROLEGOMENA.

iii. The emperor T'ae-k'ang.

1. In his 1st year, which was kwei-nei (20th of cycle, B.C. 1,957), when he came to the throne, he dwelt at Chin-sin. He went hunting beyond the Loh, when E entered and occupied Chin-sin. In his 4th year, he died.

iv. The emperor Chung-k'ang.

1. In his 1st year, which was ke-ch'ow (30th of cycle, B.C. 1,951), when the emperor came to the throne, he dwelt in Chin-sin. In his 5th year, in the autumn, in the 9th month, on the day käng-seuh (17th of cycle), which was the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun, when he ordered the prince of Yin to lead the imperial forces to punish He and Ho.1 In his 6th year, he conferred on the prince of Keun-woo the appointment of leader among the princes.2 In his 7th year, he died. His son Sëang went away, and dwelt in Shang-k'ew,3 where he was supported by the prince of Pei.4

v. The emperor Seang.

1. In his 1st year, which was mow-seuh (35th of cycle, B.C. 1,943), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Shang;1 and led a punitive expedition against the hordes of the Hwae. In his 3rd year, he proceeded against the hordes of Fung and Hwang. In his 7th year, the hordes of Yu came to make their submission. In his 8th year, Han-tsuhl put E to death, and made his own son Këaou dwell in Ko.2 In his 9th year, Seang dwelt in Chin-kwan.3 In his 15th year, Seang-t'oo, the prince of Shang, prepared carriages and horses, and removed to Shang-k'ew. In his 20th year, Han-tsuhl extinguished the House of Ko.4 In his 26th year, Han-tsuhl made his son Këaou lead an army, and extinguish the House of

iii. 1 The site of Chin-sin is not well ascertained. The dict. places it in the dis. of Wei (讝縣), dep. of Læ-chow, Shan-tung. Others—more correctly, I think,—refer it to the dis. of Kung, dep. of Hu-nan. 2 See on 'The Songs of the Five Sons.'

iv. 1 See on the 'Punitive Expedition of Yin.'

v. 1 L. e. in Shang-k'ew, the chief city of the Shang family, which now begins to come into prominence.
THE ANNALS OF THE BAMBOO BOOKS.

9 Chin-kwan. In his 27th year, Késou attacked Chin-sin. There was a great battle in Wei, when the boat of the prince of Chin-sin was overturned, and he was put to death. In his 28th year, Han-tsuō made his son Késou murder the emperor. The empress Min fled to Yew-jing; and Pih-mei made his escape, and fled to Kih.

Note. The site of Chin-kwan was what was Te-kew. The empress Min, who was pregnant, made her escape by a hole, and returned to her father, the prince of Jing. Pih-mei fled to the chief of Kih.

11 The heir of the line of Hea, Shau-k'ang, was born in the year ping-yin (＝B.C. 12194). He fled from Yew-jing to Yu, in the year yih-yew (＝B.C. 1895).

13 Pih-mei led the forces of Chin-sin and Chin-kwan from Kih to attack Tshu; and the heir-son Shau-k'ang sent Joo-e to attack Ko; and put Késou to death, in the year k'eh-shin (＝B.C. 1876). His eldest son, Ch'o-o, led a force against Ko, and extinguished it.

Pih-mei put Han-tsuō to death, and Shau-k'ang returned from Lun to the capital of Hea, in the year yih-ke (＝B.C. 1875).

Note. In the year after her flight, the empress Min gave birth to Shau-k'ang, who became, when he was grown up, chief herdman in Jing, and was on the watch against the evil designs of Késou. Késou having sent Te-sion to look for him, Shau-k'ang fled, before his arrival, to Yu, where he became chief cook. See, the prince of Yu, gave him his two daughters in marriage, and the city of Lun. There his fields were a le square; and his followers amounted to 500. He displayed his virtue, and formed his plans to collect the multitudes of Hea, and raise the hopes of the old officers. An old servant of Hea, called Pih-mei, issuing from Kih, collected all the people that were left of the two Chin, to attack Tshu. Tshu trusted in Késou, and felt quite at ease, giving no thought to his wickedness, and making no preparations. At the same time, Shau-k'ang sent Joo-e to spy out Késou's condition. Now Tshu had married a daughter of Shun-woo, by whom he had a son who died early, leaving a widow called Neu-ke. Késou obliged one Yu to go to her house, and pretend that he had something to ask of her. On this Neu-ke's mended his lower clothes, and they passed the night in the same house. Joo-e sent a party, took them by surprise, and cut off the head of Neu-ke. Késou, being very strong and swift, made his escape; and then

Yih (歧州) in Læ-chow. Késou and a brother are said to have been the sons of Hantshu by the wife of E; but they must have been born before K's death. See concluding note in Pt. III. of the Shao. 3 Chin-kwan is ref.—but not certainly—to the dis. of Show-kwang, dep. Ta'ing-chow, Shan-tung. 4 This Ko lay between the States of Sung and Ch'ing. 5 This Chin-sin would agree with the dis. of Wei. Were there two places of the same name? 6 Yew-jing was in the pres. sub. dep. of Tung-p'ing, dep. of Tæ-nan, Shan-tung. 7 Kih was in the pres. dis. of P'ing-yuen, dep. Tæ-nan.
vi. The emperor Shaou-k'ang.

1 In his 1st year, which was ping-woo (43d of cycle, = B.C. 1,874), when he came to the throne, the princes came to court to do homage. He entertained the duke of Yu as his guest. In his 2d year, the hordes of Fang came to make their submission.

2 In his 3d year, he restored the descendant of prince Tseih, the minister of Agriculture.

Note. Puh-fuh, a descendant of prince Tseih, had lost the office, which was now restored.

3 In his 11th year, he caused Ming, the prince of Shang, to regulate the Ho. In his 18th year, he removed to Yuen. In his 21st year, he died.

vii. The emperor Ch'oo.

1 In his 1st year, which was ke-ze (6th of cycle, = B.C. 1,851), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Yuen. In his 5th year, he removed from Yuen to Laou-k'ew. In his 8th year, he went on a punitive expedition towards the eastern sea, as far as San-show, and got a fox with 9 tails. In his 13th year, Ming, the prince of Shang, died, pursuing his labours on the Ho. In his 17th year, he died.

Note. The name Ch'oo is written with a diff. character (守). The emperor is also called Pih-ch'oo. There was a younger brother, a worthy descendant of Yu, who was therefore rewarded by the emperor.

Who Mei was is all uncertain. He had been, say many, an adherent of E. This is very unlikely. He appears here a strong partisan of the House of Hsia. 9 Yu was in the pres. dis. of Yu-shing, dep. Kweil-thih.

vi. 1 The descendant of Tseih here intended, as restored to the ministry of Agriculture, was probably the famous Kung-lew. 2 Yuen is ref. to the pres. dis. of Tse-yuen, dep. Hwae-k'ing, Ho-nan.

vii. 1 Laou-k'ew is referred to the dis. of Ch'in-lew, dep. of Kue-fung.
viii. The emperor Fun.

1. His 1st year was mom-teze (25th of cycle, = B.C. 1,832), when he came to the throne. In his 2d year, the 9 wild tribes of the east came to perform service.

2. In his 16th year, Yung, the baron of Loh, fought with Fung-e, the baron of Ho. In his 33d year, he appointed the son of the chief of Keun-woo to Soo. In his 36th year, he made a circular enclosure for a prison. In his 44th year, he died.

Note. Fun is by some called Fun-fa.

ix. The emperor Mang.

1. In his 1st year, which was jin-sekin (9th of cycle, = B.C. 1,788), when he came to the throne, he went with the dark-coloured mace to receive the baron of Ho. In his 13th year, on a tour of inspection to the east as far as the sea, he got a large fish.

2. In his 33d year, the prince of Shang removed to Yin. In his 58th year, he died.

Note. Mang is in some editions called the emperor Hwang.

x. The emperor Seeh.

1. His 1st year was sin-wei (8th of cycle, = B.C. 1,729), when he came to the throne.

2. In his 12th year, Tsze-hae, prince of Yin, went as guest to Yew-yih, the chief of which put him to death, and sent away his followers. In his 16th year, Wei, prince of Yin, with the forces of the baron of Ho, attacked Yew-yih, and killed its ruler Mëen-chin.

1. Ex. 1 The word "yeh" is to be taken here in its proper meaning of "wild tribes of the east."
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PROLEGOMENA.

The prince of of Yin, Tsze-hae, visited Yew-yih, and was guilty of licentious conduct, so that the ruler of Yew-yih, Meên-chin, slew him, and drove his followers away. In consequence of this, Shang-kâi-wei of Yin obtained the services of the army of the baron of Ho, attacked and extinguished the State of Yew-yih, putting Meên-chin to death. For a time Yin had decayed, but when Shang-kâi-wei revived its power, the people avenged the wrong that had been done.

4 In his 21st year, he conferred regular dignities on the chiefs of the hordes of K'eu'en, of the white hordes, the dark hordes, the hordes of Fung, the red hordes, and the yellow hordes. In his 25th year, he died.

xi. THE EMPEROR Puh-kâng.

1 His 1st year, was ke-hae (36th of cycle, = B.C. 1,701), when he came to the throne. In his 6th year, he attacked the country of Kew-yuen. In his 38th year, Yin made an end of the House of P'e. In his 59th year, he resigned the throne to his younger brother Kêung.

xii. THE EMPEROR Kêung.

1 His 1st year, was mou-seu (35th of cycle, = B.C. 1,642), when he came to the throne. In his 10th year, the emperor Puh-kâng died.

Note. In the period of the three dynasties there was only one resignation of the throne,—that by Puh-kâng. He must have had the virtue of a sage.

3 In his 18th year, he died.

xiii. THE EMPEROR Kin.

Note. Also called Yin-kâi.

1 In his 1st year, which was ke-mei (56th of cycle, = B.C. 1,821), when he came to the throne, he dwelt on the west of the Ho. In his 4th year, he made the music of the West. The chief of Keun-woo removed to Heu.

1 Kew-yuen=the 'nine pasturages,' probably a tract of flat country in the pres. Chih-le.
2 The territory of P'e was in the pres. dis. of Ho-tsin, dep. Keang Chow, Shan-se. It is observed that the extinction of this State was the 1st step of the kind, taken by Shang, to the imperial sway.

xi. 1 That is, he lived in Shen-se. 'The western Ho' denotes the country west of K'e-chow.

2 Heu corresponded, probably, to the pres. Heu Chow, Ho-nan.

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In his 8th year, there was an inauspicious portent in the sky;—ten suns appeared together. In that year the emperor died.

xiv. The emperor Kʻung-kea.

In his 1st year, which was yih-sze (mistake for he-sze; 6th of cycle, = B.C. 1,611), when he came to the throne, he dwelt on the west of the Ho. He displaced the chief of Chʻe-wei, and appointed Lew-luy to feed the dragons. In his 3d year, the king hunted on mount Foo. In his 5th year, he made the music of the East.

In his 7th year, Lew Luy removed to Loo-yang.

Note. The king was superstitious, and acted in a disorderly and licentious way. The prince became like him, and the govt. of Hoa began to go to decay. He was hunting on mount Foo of Tung-yang, when in a great wind the sky was all overcast. The emperor lost his way, and went into the family of a peasant, whose wife had just been confined. Some said, 'The emperor has come to see you;—it is a good day. This child will have great good fortune.' Some said, 'Not so. This child will be unfortunate.'—When Kʻung-kea heard this, he said, 'Let it be the child of me, the emperor; then who can harm it?' Accordingly he took the child with him; but when it was grown up, it was killed by a hatchet, on which he made the song of 'Break the Hatchet;'—what is called 'The music of the East.'

A female dragon of those which Lew Luy had the keeping of died, when he privately made pickle of it, and set it before the emperor, who enjoyed it; and ordered Luy to look for the missing dragon. Luy was afraid, and removed to Loo-yang, where his descendants became the Fan family.

In his 9th year, he died. The prince of Yin returned to Shang-kʻew.

Note. Also called Kaou.

xiv. 1 The State of Chʻe-wei is ref. to a place in the dep. of Ta-ming, Chih-le. It is hard to say what is meant by feeding the dragons, though there are many legends about it. 2 It is strange how the title of 'king' is here employed for 'emperor.' 3 Or 'to the south of mount Loo;'—in the pres. dis. of Loo-san, dep. Joo-chow, Ho-nan.

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THE ANNALS OF THE BAMBOO BOOKS.

[PROLEGOMENA.

1. His 1st year was hang-shin (17th of cycle, = B.C. 1,600), when he came to the throne. He restored the representative of the House of Ch'e-wei to his State.

Note. In the decay of the Hsia, chiefs of Keun-woo and Ch'e-wei succeeded one another as Head of the princes.

2. In his 3d year he died.

xvi. THE EMPEROR FAH.

Note. Also called the emperor King; and Fe-hwuy.

1. In his 1st year, which was yih-yew (22d of cycle, = B.C. 1,595), when he came to the throne, various wild tribes came and made their submission at the king's gate.1 He again repaired the walls. There was a meeting on the upper pool, when the wild people came in, and performed their dances. In his 7th year, he died. Mount T'ae shook.

xvii. THE EMPEROR KWEI.

Note. Called also Kēś.

1. In his 1st year, which was jin-shin (29th of cycle, = B.C. 1,588), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Chin-sin. In his 3d year, he built the K'ing palace, and pulled down the Yung tower.2 The K'eu'en hordes penetrated as far as K'e, with the standard of revolt.3 In his 6th year, the hordes of K'e-chung4 came to make their submission. In his 10th year, the five planets went out of their courses. In the night, stars fell like rain. The earth shook. The E and Loh became dry. In his 11th year, he assembled the princes in Jing, when the chief of Yew-min fled home, on which the emperor extinguished Yew-min.5 In his 13th year, he removed to the south of the Ho.6 He made for the first time men-drawn carriages.7 In his 14th year, Pēen led the imperial forces, and smeote Min-san.8

xv. 1 王門 should probably be 玉門, 'the gate of gems,'—one of the gates of the palace, so called.

xvi. 1 The meaning of 再保至池 is very much debated. See Hāng Ch'ín-fung, in loc.

xvii. 1 This, no doubt, was in the dis. of Kung, dep. Ho-nan. 2 For conjectures on the meaning of the names here, see Hāng, in loc.
In his 15th year, Le, prince of Shang, removed to Poh.  

Note. This was the 1st year of T'ang the Successful.

In his 15th year, Shang made E Yin come to court. In his 20th year, E Yin, returning to Shang, met with Joo Kew and Joo Fang at the north gate. In his 21st year, the forces of Shang went on a punitive expedition against the prince of Loo, and subdued him. They then went against King, which made submission. In his 22d year, Le, prince of Shang, came to court, when the emperor ordered him to be imprisoned in the tower of Hea. In his 23d year, he set Le at liberty, when the princes went and offered their submission to Shang. In his 26th year, Shang distinguished Wun. In his 28th year, the chief of Keun-woo attacked Shang. Shang assembled the princes in King-poh and proceeded against Wei, which its forces took. They then proceeded against Koo. The Grand recorder Chung Koo left the court and fled to Shang. In his 29th year, the forces of Shang took Koo. Three suns appeared together. The prince of Pe, Ch'ang, left the court and fled to Shang. In the winter, in the 10th month, they chisselled through mountains, and tunneled hills, to open a communication with the Ho. In his 30th year, there was a fall of mount K'eu. The emperor put to death his great officer Kwan Lung-fung. The forces of Shang marched to punish Keun-woo. In the winter, there was a fire in Ling-suy. In his 31st year, Shang proceeded by way of Urh against the capital of Hea; and overcame Keun-woo. Amid great thunder and rain a battle was fought in Ming-carriages are said to have been made for Mo-he, Koo's wife. The comm. identify this Min-san with a Mung-san (蒙山);—perhaps corresp. to Mung-san, dep. Ta-chow, in Szech'uen. This was the 'southern Poo.' King;—known afterwards as Ta'oo.
t'eaou, when the army of Hea was defeated. Kēeh fled away to San-tsung, against which the army of Shang proceeded. A battle was fought at Ching, and Kēeh was taken in Tsēaou-mun. He was then banished away to Nan-ch'ao.u.

Note. From Yu to Kēeh were 17 reigns. Calculating reigns and interregnums, the dynasty lasted 471 years.

17 K'eu is better known as mount Chin (山). 18 See the comment of Sun Che-luh, sited by Hâng. For some read 哈. 19 San-tsung is ref. to the dis. of Ting-t'aoou, dep. Ts'aoou-chow. 20 In the sub. dep. of Tung-p'ing, T'ae-ngan.
PART IV.

The Dynasty of Shang.

1. T'ang the Successful, of Shang or Yin.

Note. His name was Le. T'ang, indeed, had seven names, and conducted nine punitive expeditions. When he returned from subduing T'ai in Nau-ch'ao, the princes, having eight interpreters, came to him, to the number of 1,600. The chief of the 'Wonderful Arms' also came in his chariot. They all wished him, Teen-yih Le, to assume the imperial dignity, to which, after declining thrice, he acceded.

In ancient times, the empress of Kaou-ching, called K'een-teih, at the vernal equinox, when the dark swallow made its appearance, followed her husband to the suburbs to pray for a son, and was bathing with her sister in the Water of Heuen-k'ew, when a dark swallow dropped from her mouth a beautifully variegated egg. The two sisters strove to cover it with baskets which they had; but K'een-teih succeeded in getting it. She swallowed it, became pregnant, and by-and-by her chest opened, and she gave birth to Sse. When he grew up, he was minister of Instruction to Ysou, who conferred on him the principality of Shang because of his services to the people.

After 13 generations, Sse's descendant, Choo-kwei, was born, whose wife was called Foo-too. She saw a white vapour go through the moon; it was moved to pregnancy; and on the day Yih bore T'ang, who was therefore styled T'een-yiih. The lower part of his face was broad, and it tapered above;—it was white and whiskered. His body was one-sided, and his voice was loud. He was 9 cubits high, and his arms had four joints. He became T'ang the Successful.

T'ang lived in Poo, and cultivated his virtue. When E Chi was about to comply with T'ang's invitation, he dreamed that he passed by the sun and moon in a boat.

T'ang came east to Le, to see the altar of Ysou. He dropped a gem in the water, and stood at some distance. Lo! yellow fishes leaped up in pairs; a black bird followed him, and stood on the altar, where it changed into a black gem. There was also a black tortoise, with red lines forming characters, which said that K'ee or T'ang should supersede him. At the same time, the spirit of Taou-wu was seen on mount Pei. Another spirit, dragging a white wolf, with a hook in his mouth, entered the court of Shang. The virtue of metal waxed powerful;
In his 1st year, which was gheh-hae (12th of cycle, = B.C. 1,545), when the king came to the throne, he dwelt in Poh; and confirmed the appointment of E Yin as prime minister. In his 2d year, he died.
iii. Chung-Jin.

Note. Named Yung.

1. In his 1st year, which was ting-ch’om (14th of cycle, = B.C. 1,543), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Poh, and confirmed the appointment of E Yin. In his 4th year, he died.

iv. T’aek-keah.

Note. Named Che.

1. In his 1st year, which was sin-sze (18th of cycle, = B.C. 1,539), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Poh, and confirmed the appointment of E Yin. E Yin sent T’aek-keah away, and confined him in T’ung, seizing the throne himself.1

Note by Ys. It is a mistake to say this. The truth is that he only acted as regent.

2. In his 7th year, the king privately escaped from T’ung, and put E Yin to death. The sky was overspread with mists for three days, when he raised to office Yin’s sons, E Chih and E Fun, ordered their father’s fields and houses to be restored, and equally divided between them.

Note by Ys. This par. does not accord with the text before and after it. It is, probably, the addition of an after time.

3. In his 10th year, he celebrated a great service to all his ancestors in the Grand ancestral temple. For the first time he sacrificed to the Intelligences of the four quarters.2 In his 12th year, he died.

v. Yuh-ting.

Note. Named Heuen.

iv. 1 This and the next notice are so diff. from the current and classical accounts of E Yin and T’aek-keah, that the friends of these Annals are in great perplexity about them. Hung Ch’iu-fung would refer them to the ‘Fragmentary Words’ of the Bamboo Books. Seu Wăn-tsung contents himself with saying, after the original commentator, that they are the additions of a later hand.

2 方明-四方之神 明. This is the easiest interpretation. Some suppose the
THE ANNALS OF THE BAMBOO BOOKS

[PROLOGUE.

I. KHANG.

I. 1. This was the Time, when Shao Hsueh (the 14th year of the ruler) died.}

II. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

III. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

IV. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

V. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

VI. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

VII. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

VIII. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

IX. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

X. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

XI. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

XII. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

XIII. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

XIV. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

XV. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

XVI. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

XVII. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

XVIII. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

XIX. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.

XX. 1. In his 1st year, which was the 30th (30th of the 5th month) in the 4th year of the ruler, he came to the throne, and dwelt in Poh.
x. CHUNG-TING.

1 In his 1st year, which was sin-ch’ow (38th of cycle, = B.C. 1,399), when he came to the throne, he removed from Poh to Gaou 1 on the Ho. In his 8th year, he went on an expedition against the hordes of Lan. 2 In his 9th year, he died.

Note. Named Chwang.

xi. WAE-JIN.

1 In his 1st year, which was hang-seuh (47th of cycle, = B.C. 1,390), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Gaou. The people of Pei 1 and of Séen 2 revolted.

2 In his 10th year, he died.

2 Hang Ch’in-fung says these carriages were of roots of the mulberry tree;—perhaps, referring to their colour.

3 Probably in the pres. dis. of Pe-hing, dep. Ts‘ieng-chow, Shan-tung.

1 1 Gaou was on a mount Gaou (敟山), in the pres. dis. of Ho-yin, dep. K‘ae-fung. Up to this time, the capital had been the western P‘o.

2 The dis. of Ch‘in-wei, dep. K‘ae-fung.
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Note. Named Ching.

1 In his 1st year, which was khang-shin (57th of cycle, = B.C. 1,380), when he came to the throne, he removed from Gaou to Sêng. In his 3rd year, the baron of P'ang subdued P'ei. In his 4th year, he made an expedition against the hordes of Lan.

2 In his 5th year, the people of Sêen entered the region of Pan, when the barons of P'ang and Wei attacked it, and the people of Sêen came to make their submission.

3 In his 9th year, he died.

Note. Named T'ang.

1 In his 1st year, which was ke-sze (6th of cycle, = B.C. 1,371), when he came to the throne, he removed from Sêng to Kang. He gave appointments to the barons of P'ang and Wei. In his 2nd year, Kang was inundated, when he removed to Pe. In his 3rd year, he confirmed the appointment of Woo Heen as prime minister. In his 8th year, he walled Pe. In his 15th year, he gave an appointment to Kaou-yu, prince of Pin. His 9th year, he died.

Note. The fortunes of Shang flourished again under Tsoo-yih. His sacrificial title was Chung-tsung.

Note. Named Tan.

In his 1st year, which was mow-tze (25th of cycle, = B.C. 1,352), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Pe. In his 14th year, he died.

xii. In the pres. dis. of Ngan-yang, dep. Chang-tih, Ho-nan.

xiii. In the pres. dis. of Ho-tein, Kêang Chow, Shan-se. What appointments is not said. Many comm. say—government of Pa, or chiefs of the princes; but the text will not bear that construction. Some would go away to the dis. of P'ing-hêang, dep. Shun-tih, Chih-le, for this Pe—which is very unlikely. In Pin Chow, Shen-se. Kaou-yu was a descendant of Kung-lew. Here was the seat of the Chow family.
Note. Named Yu.

1. In his 1st year, which was jin-yin (39th of cycle, = B.C. 1,338), when he came to
2. the throne, he dwelt in Pe. In his 5th year, he died.

xvi. Tsoo-ting.

Note. Named Sin.

1. In his 1st year, which was ting-me (44th of cycle, = B.C. 1,333), when he came to
2. the throne, he dwelt in Pe. In his 9th year, he died.

xvii. Nan-kang.

Note. Named Kang.

1. In his 1st year, which was ping-shin (53rd of cycle, = B.C. 1,324), when he came
3. to the throne, he dwelt in Pe. In his 8th year, he removed to Yen. In his 6th year, he died.

xviii. Yang-kéah.

Note. Named Ho. Some style him Ho-két.

1. In his 1st year, which was jin-seuh (59th of cycle, B.C. 1,318), when he came to
2. the throne, he dwelt in Yen. In his 8th year, he made an expedition to the west
3. against the hordes of mount Tan. In his 4th year, he died.

xix. Pwan-kang.

Note. Named Seun.

xvii. 1 Yen is no better known than Pe. Some make it out to have been in Shan-tung, in
2. Loo.

xix. 1 Probably in the dis. of Loo-san, dep. of Joo, Ho-nan. 2 The 'northern Mung' =
3. northern Fo, what is called 'King Fo,' under
In his 1st year, which was ping-yin (3d of cycle, = B.C. 1,314), when he came to
the throne, he dwelt in Yen. In his 7th year, the prince of Ying came to do
homage. In his 14th year, he removed from Yen, to the northern Mung, which
was called Yin. In his 15th year, he built the city of Yin. In his 19th year,
he confirmed the appointment of A-yu, prince of Pin. In his 28th year, he died.

**xx. Seau-sin.**

1. In his 1st year, which was keah-woo (31st of cycle, = B.C. 1,286), when he came
to the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 3rd year, he died.

**Note.** Named Sung.

**xxi. Seau-yih.**

1. In his 1st year, which was ting-yew (34th of cycle, = B.C. 1,283), when he came
to the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 6th year, he ordered his heirson, Woo-ting,
to dwell by the Ho, and study under Kan Pwan. In his 11th year, he died.

**Note.** Named Looen.

**xxii. Woo-ting.**

1. In his 1st year, which was ting-woo (44th of cycle, = B.C. 1,273), when he dwelt in
Yin, he confirmed the appointment of Kan Pwan as prime minister. In his 3rd
year, in consequence of a dream, he sought for Foo-yuê, and found him. In his
6th year, he confirmed Foo-yuê in the dignity of prime minister; and inspected the
schools where they nourished the aged. In his 12th year, he offered a sacrifice
of thanksgiving to Shang-keah Wei. In his 26th year, his son Heau-e died in
the 28th year of Kée's reign; and Yin under
the reign of the emperor Mang.

**Note.** 1 See on the Charge to Yuê, Pt. iii.,
par. 1. 2 These schools were asylums. They
were called schools, because the aged who were
supported in them would enforce the duties of
filial duty and submission. 3 See the note
above, on the 16th year of the emp. Mang.

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xxiii. Tsoo-kang.

1 In his 1st year, which was ping-moo (43rd of cycle, b.c. 1,214), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Yin; and made 'The Instructions of Kaou-tsung.' In his
3 11th year, he died.

Note. Named Yaou.

xxiv. Tsoo-Keah.

1 In his 1st year, which was ting-zee (54th of cycle, b.c. 1,203), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 12th year, he led a punitive expedition
3 against the hordes of the West; from which he returned in the winter. In his
4 13th year, the hordes of the West came to make their submission. He confirmed
5 the appointment of Tsoo-kan, prince of Pin. In his 24th year, he established
6 new the penal statutes of T'ang. In his 27th year, he gave appointments to his
7 sons, Gaou and Leang. In his 33d year, he died.

by his father. But this may be an invention of | of Shang. See the concluding note to the

future times. See the ixth of the Books | said Book.
xxv. Fung-sin.

Note. This king had lived, when young, away from the court, so that, when he came to the throne, he knew the necessities of the inferior people, protected them with kindness, and allowed no countenancy to the wifeless and widows. Towards the end of his reign, however, by multiplying punishments, he alienated the people of distant regions; and the fortunes of Yin again decayed.

1. In his 1st year, which was kung-ying (27th of cycle, = B.C. 1,170), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 4th year, he died.

Note. Styled Lin-sin in the Historical Records. His name was Seen.

xxvi. Kang-tiing.

1. In his 1st year, which was kāh-nu (31st of cycle, = B.C. 1,166), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 8th year, he died.

Note. Named Gaou.

xxvii. Woo-yih.

1. In his 1st year, which was jin-yin (30th of cycle, = B.C. 1,158), he dwelt in Yin.

2. The prince of Pin removed to Chow near mount K'e.1 In his 8th year, the king removed from Yin to the north of the Ho.2 He confirmed the dignity of T'an-foo as duke of Chow, and conferred on him the city of K'e. In his 15th year, he removed from the place he then occupied on the north of the Ho to Mei.3 In his 21st year, T'an-foo, duke of Chow, died. In his 24th year, the forces of Chow smote Ch'ing. A battle was fought at Peih, which was subdued.4 In his 50th year, the forces of Chow attacked E-k'e,5 and returned with its ruler as a captive.

6. In his 34th year, Ke-leih, duke of Chow, came and did homage at court, when the king conferred on him 30 le of ground, ten pairs of gems, and ten horses.

Note. Named K'eu.

xxvii. The prince of Pin, who made this removal, was T'an-foo, or king T'ae, celebrated in the She, and by Mencius. Ke-san is still the name of a dis. in Fung-tê-ang dep., Shen-se. By this move the House of Chow brought its principal seat nearly 100 miles farther east.

2. I agree with Ch'in-fung that it is better not to try to identify this 'North of the Ho' with any particular site. 3 See on the 'Announcement about Drunkenness,' par. 1. 4 Ch'ing and Peih were in the dis. of Heen-ning, dep. Se-gan. 5 In the pres. dep. of
In his 35th year, Ke-leih, duke of Chow, smote the demon hordes of the Western tribes. The king was hunting between the Ho and the Wei, when he was frightened to death by a great thunderstorm.

**Note.** Wrongly styled T'ae-ting in the Historical Records. His name was T'o.

1 In his 1st year, which was ting-ch'om (14th of cycle, = B.C. 1,123), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Yin.

2 In his 2d year, Ke-leih, duke of Chow, attacked the hordes of Yen-king, and was defeated. In his 3d year, the Yuen-water thrice ceased to flow in one day.

3 In his 4th year, Ke-leih attacked the hordes of Yu-woo, and subdued them, after which he received the dignity of Pastor and Teacher.

4 In his 5th year, Chow built the city of Ch'ing.

5 Ke-leih attacked the hordes of Ch'e-hoo, and subdued them. In his 11th year, Ke-leih smote the hordes of E-t'oo, and, having taken their three great chiefs, came with them to court to report his victory. The king put Ke-leih to death.

**Note.** The king at first appreciated the services of Ke-leih, gave him a libation mace, with flavoured spirits of the black millet, and the nine ensigns of distinction as chief of the princes; and after all that, he confined him in the house of restraint, so that Ke-leih died from the trouble, and gave occasion to the saying that Wan-ting killed him.

8 In his 12th year, phoénixes collected on mount K'e.

**Note.** This was the 1st year of king Wan of Chow.

9 In his 15th year, the king died.
THE ANNALS OF THE BAMBOO BOOKS.

Note. Named Seen.

1. In his 1st year, which was *kang-yin* (27th of cycle, = B.C. 1,110), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 3d year, he ordered Nan Chung to oppose the hordes of Keun on the west, and to wall the city of Soh-fang. In the summer, in the 6th month, there was an earthquake in Chow. In his 9th year, he died.

Note. Named Shoo. This was Chow. He is also called Show-sin.

1. In his 1st year, which was *ke-hae* (86th of cycle, = B.C. 1,101), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Yin. He gave appointments to the princes of K'ew, Chow, and Yu.

Note. The prince of Chow was Ch'ang, chief of the West.

3. In his 3d year, a sparrow produced a hawk. In his 4th year, he had a great hunting in Le.1 He invented the punishment of Roasting.2 In his 5th year, in the summer, he built the tower of Nan-tan.3 There was a shower of earth in Poh. In his 6th year, the chief of the west offered sacrifice for the first time to his ancestors in Peih.4 In his 9th year, the royal forces attacked the State of Soo, and brought away Tan-ke as a captive. The king made an apartment for her, with walls of carnation stone, and the doors all-adorned with gems. In his 10th year, in the summer, in the 6th month, he hunted in the western borders. In his 17th year, the chief of the west smote the Teih.5 In the winter, the king made a pleasure excursion in K'e.6 In his 21st year, in the spring, in the 1st month, the princes went to Chow to do homage. Pih-e and Shuh-ts'e7 betook themselves to Chow from Koo-chuh. In his 23d year, in the winter, he had a great hunting along

xxx. 1 九 here is read as 仇. It was the name of a State, which was also called 鬼,—probably in the pres. dep. of Chang-tih, Ho-nan. The three princes here seem to have been the three kung. 2 See on the 6th of the Books of Shang. 3 What is called in the Shoo 'the Stag tower.' 4 Ke-leih had been buried in Peih. Ch'in-fung supposes this was a sacrifice at his tomb. 5 These were different tribes, occupying the northern regions, west of the Ho. 6 The pres. dis. of K'e, dep. Wei-huway. 7 See the Ana., V, xxii., et al.
In his 23rd year, he imprisoned the chief of the west in Yew-le.8

In his 29th year, he liberated the chief of the west, who was met by many of the princes, and escorted back to Ch'ing. In his 30th year, in the spring, in the 3rd month, the chief of the west led the princes to the court with their tributes. In his 31st year, the chief of the west began to form a regular army in Peih, with Leu Shang as its commander. In his 32nd year, there was a conjunction of the five planets in Fang. A red crow lighted on the altar to the spirits of the land in Chow. The people of Meih invaded Yuen, when the chief of the west led a force against Meih.9

In his 33rd year, the people of Meih surrendered to the army of Chow, and were removed to Ch'ing. The king granted power to the chief of the west to punish and attack offending States on his own discretion.

Note by Yr. King Wan thus for 9 years received the appointment of Heaven; and the empire was not yet all secured by him at his death. His plenipotentiary authority to punish and attack, in which the will of Heaven might be seen, commenced in this year.

In his 34th year, the forces of Chow took Ke and Yu; and then attacked Ts'ung, which surrendered. In the winter, in the 12th month, the hordes of Kuen overran Chow. In the 35th year, there was a great famine in Chow; when the chief of the west removed from Ch'ing to Fung. In his 36th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, the princes went to court at Chow, and then they smote the hordes of Kuen. The chief of the west made his heir-son Fa build Haou. In his 37th year, the duke of Chow built an imperial college. In his 39th year, the great officer Sin-k'eh fled to Chow. In his 40th year, the duke of Chow made the spirit-tower. The king sent Kao-k'ih to seek for gems in Chow. In his 41st year, in the spring, in the 3rd month, Ch'ang, the chief of the west, died.

Note. King Wan of Chow was buried in Peih; 30 le west from Fung.

In his 42nd year, (the 1st year of king Woo of Chow)—Fah chief of the west, received the vermillion book from Leu shang.11 A girl changed into a man.

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8 In the dia. of T'ang-yin, dep. Chang-thih.
9 Both Meih and Yuen were in the pres. dep. of Ping-leang, Kan-suh.
10 There is a story of a tablet of gem belonging to the princes of Chow, which Chow coveted.
43d year, in the spring, he had a grand review. Part of mount K‘aou fell down.

In his 44th year, Fuh smote Le. In his 47th year, the recorder of the Interior, Héang Che, fled to Chow. In his 48th year, the E goat was seen. Two suns appeared together. In his 51st year, in the winter, in the 11th month, on the day moe-teze (25th of cycle), the army of Chow crossed the ford of Mang; but returned. The king imprisoned the viscount of K‘e; and put his relative, Pe-kan, to death; while the viscount of Wei fled away. In his 52d year, which was käng-yin (27th of cycle), Chow made its first attack on Yin. In the autumn, the army of Chow camped in the plain of S‘een. In the winter, in the 12th month, it sacrificed to God. The tribes of Yung, Shuh, Kêang, Maou, Wei, Loo, P‘ang, and Puh, followed Chow to the attack of Yin.

Note. They marched to Hing-k‘ew, the name of which was changed to Hwae. From the extinction of Hea by T‘ang to Show were 25 kings, and 496 years.

and wished thus to get for himself. 11 This was a prodigious thing, ’a spirit-like animal,’—was a book of Counsels, containing the principles of Hwang-te, and Chuen-heuh. 12 This was in K‘e of Chow. 13 This was in K‘e. 14 See on ‘Speech at Muh.’
PART V.

The dynasty of Chow.

I. KING WOO.

Note. Named Fa. Of old time, Kéang Yuen, the wife of the emperor Kaou-sin, was assisting him at a sacrifice in the borders in order to obtain a son, when she saw the footstep of a large man, and trod upon it. At the instant she felt after a certain manner, and, becoming pregnant, by and by gave birth to a son. Thinking the whole thing unlucky, she threw the child away in a narrow lane, but the goats and cattle avoided it, and did not trample on it. She then placed it in a wood, where it was found by a woodcutter. She took it then, and laid it upon the ice, and there a large bird came and covered it with one of its wings. Kéang Yuen, surprised by all this, received the child at last, and nursed him, giving him the name of ‘Cast-away.’

The lower part of the child’s face was largely developed, and his appearance altogether extraordinary. When he was grown up, he became minister of Agriculture to Ysan, and rendered great services to the people. He is known as prince Tseih. His grandson Kung-léw was eminently virtuous, so that the princes behaved to him with the same ceremonies as they did to the emperor.

In the time of Hwang-te, there had been a prophecy, to the effect that the chief of the west should become king, in a certain ked-taze year; that Ch’ang should lay the foundations of the dignity, Fa exercise the judgments necessary to it, and Tanh develops its principles. In the 18th generation, accordingly, from Kung-léw, Ke-lielih was born; and in his 10th year, a multitude of flying dragons filled the pasture lands of Yin—an emblem of a sage in an inferior position, who should in course of time rise to his proper distinction.

The wife of Ke-lielih was called Tae-jin, who became pregnant after dreaming that she had been with a tall man. Afterwards, when relieving nature, she gave birth to Ch’ang. This Ch’ang became king Wen of Chow. He had a dragon’s countenance, with a tiger’s shoulders; was 10 cubits high; and had 4 nipples on his chest. His grandfather, king Tae, said, ‘It will be Ch’ang, in whom our family shall rise to distinction.’ Ke-lielih’s eldest brother was Tae-pih who, knowing
that Heaven's purpose was to be realized in Ch'ang, went away to Yüe, and never returned. His next brother, Chung-yung, followed this example; so that Ke-leih remained to be his father's heir, and the succession descended to Ch'ang, who became chief of the West, and made his capital city in Fung.

The wife of king Wän was called T'ae-sze. She dreamed that in the courtyard of the imperial palace there were thorns growing, while her eldest son Pän planted some fæze trees about their own gate, which changed into a fir, a cypress, a yih, and a tsu. This dream she told to king Wän, who prepared gifts, and led his ministers along with Pän to give thanks for it.

On the k'ē-taże day, in the last month of autumn, a red bird came to Fung with a writing in its beak, which it put down at the door of Ch'ang. Ch'ang received it with a reverential obeisance, and found the writing to this effect:—'Ke Ch'ang is the son of the God of the empyrean. The destroyer of Yin is Chou.' The king was about to go to hunt, when the recorder Pēen divined the meaning of this writing, and said:—'You will get great spoil; but not a bear nor a grisly bear. Hæven is sending a Grand-tutor to aid you. My ancestor, the recorder Ch'ow, divined once for Yu with the san-kao-yao, from an elephant's tusk, and which has now occurred.' The hunting party went on, and at the water of P'wan-ke, there was Leu Shang, fishing on the bank. The king descended, hastened to him, and said with a bow: 'I have been hoping to meet with you for seven years, and now I find you here.' Shang instantly changed his name at these words, and answered, 'I, Hope (the looked for), fished up a semicircular gem with this inscription:—'Ke has received the appointment of Heaven; Ch'ang will come and take it up. You have fished this up in the Lō, and will have your reward in T'a.'

Shang went out one day rambling, when he saw a red man come out from the Lō, who gave him a writing, with the words:—'As a backbone, you must assist Ch'ang.'

King Wän dreamt that he was clothed with the sun and moon. A phœnix duck sang on mount Ke. In the first month of spring, on the 6th day, the five planets had a conjunction in Fäng. Afterwards a male and female phœnix went about Wän's capital with a writing in their beaks, which said:—'The emperor of Yin has no principle, but oppresses and disorders the empire. The great decree is removed; Yin cannot enjoy it longer. The powerful spirits of the earth have left it; all the spirits are whisked away. The conjunction of the five planets in Fäng brightens all within the four seas.'

When king Wän was dead, his eldest son Pän ruled in his stead. His teeth were one piece of bone, and he had a shepherd's eyes. When he was about to attack Chou, and had reached the ford of Māng, 800 princes came together, without any previous understanding, all saying, 'Show may be smitten.' King Woo, however, did not listen to them, but when Shou had killed Pe-kan, imprisoned the viscount of Ke, and was abandoned by the viscount of Wei, then he assailed him. When he was crossing the river at the ford of Māng, in the middle of the stream, a white fish leaped into the king's boat. The king stooped down and took it up. It was 3 cubits long, and under its eyes were red lines which formed the characters—'Chow may be smitten.' The king wrote over them the character for 'dynasty,' and the words disappeared. After this he burned the fish in sacrifice, and announced the event to Heaven. Lo! fire came down from heaven, and rested over Wang-uh, gradually floating away into a red bird, with a stalk of grain in its beak.
grain was in commemoration of the virtue of prince Tseih; the fire was an auspicious response from heaven to the burnt-offering of the fish.

Woo then went eastward and attacked Show, whom he vanquished in the wilderness of Muh. His soldiers did not need to stain their swords with blood, so easily did the empire turn to him. He invested Leu Shang with the principality of Ta'e. Through the abundance of the virtue of Chow, all vegetation was most luxuriant; even the southern wood could supply materials for building a palace, and hence we have the name—"southernwood house." When he was possessed of the empire, Woo fixed his capital in Hau.

1 In his 12th year, which was sin-mauv (28th of cycle, = b.c. 1,049), the king led the tribes of the west and the princes to attack Yin, and defeated Show in the wilderness of Muh. He took with his own hand Show prisoner in the tower of Nan-tan; and entered into the participation of the bright appointment of Heaven, setting up, to continue the sacrifices to his ancestors, Luh-foo, the son of Show, known as Woo-kang. In the summer, in the 4th month, he returned to Fung, and sacrificed in the ancestral temple. He appointed Inspectors of Yin, and went himself on a tour of inspection to Kwan. He made the music Ta-woo. In his 13th year, the baron of Ch'ou came to make his submission. He presented the captives of Yin in the Grand ancestral temple; and afterwards granted great investitures to the princes.

3 In the autumn there was a very abundant harvest.

In his 14th year, the king was unwell, when the duke Wan of Chow prayed for him on an altar-area, and made ‘The Metal-bound Coffer.’ In his 15th year, the prince of Sulshin came to make his submission. He made his first tour of inspection to the mountains of the four quarters, and made an announcement to the cities of Me. In the winter, he removed the nine tripods to Loh.

5 In his 16th year, the viscount of Ke came to do homage. In the autumn, the royal forces extinguished P'oo-koo. In his 17th year, he appointed his heir-son Sung in the eastern palace to be his successor. In the winter, in the 12th month, he died, being 94 years old.

1 Reckoning from the 42d year of Show, when Woo succeeded his father, as duke of Chow. 2 禽=擒. See the sect. of Show's death in the note on par. 1 of 'The Successful Completion of the War.' 3 It is diff. to translate 分天之明. I take 明=明命. Some take 分 as by mistake for 受; but I have brought out the same meaning which that would give. The text will not allow the meaning of—'before day-break' (天尚未明), which Wan-tsing gives. 4 The or 'setting' up of Show's son is to be understood only as I have indicated. There was no participation of the empire with him, as the preceding seems to make Biot suppose. 5 See the note on par. 12 of 'The Metal-bound Coffer.' 6 That is, he presented the left ears which had been cut off. See the Shu, Pt III., Bk. I. Ode vii., 8. 7 See the Shoo P't. V., Bk. XI. 8 This was 'The Announcement about Drunkenness; but see, in the notes on that Bk. of the Shoo, the controversies about the date and the author.
Note. Named Sung.

1. In his 1st year, which was ting-yew (34th of cycle, B.C. 1,043), in the spring, in the 1st month, when he came to the throne, he ordered the prime minister, duke Wân of Chow, to take the leadership of all the officers. On the day kang-roo (7th of cycle), the duke of Chow made an announcement to the princes at the great gate. In the summer, in the 6th month, they buried king Woo in Peih. In the autumn, the king assumed the covering for the head. Woo-kâng with the people of Yin rebelled. Duke Wân of Chow left the court to reside in the east. In his 2d year, the people of Yin and of Seu, with the hordes of the Hwaie, entered Pei with the standard of rebellion. In the autumn, there was a great storm of thunder and lightning, with wind, when the king met the duke of Chow in the borders; and immediately after, they smote Yin. In the 3d year, the king's armies extinguished Yin; Woo-kâng Luh-foo was put to death; the people of Yin were removed to Wei; Yen was forthwith invaded; and P'oo-koo was extinguished.

Note. Koo was aiding in the rebellion of the four kingdoms; and therefore the duke of Chow extinguished it.

2. In his 4th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, he first gave audience to the princes in his father's temple. In the summer, in the 4th month, he first tasted the first fruits of the wheat. The army smote the hordes of the Hwaie, and then entered Yen. In his 5th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, the king was in Yen, and removed its ruler to P'oo-koo. In the summer, in the 5th month, he came from Yen, and removed the people of Yin to the city of Loh; and thereon proceeded to build Ching-chow. In his 6th year, he made a grand hunting expedition on the south of mount K'e. In his 7th year, the duke of Chow restored the government to the

2. The 'great gate' was on the left of the 5th or last of the principal gates of the palace. The duke would harangue the nobles in the usual place of 'Audience of Govt.'

[CH. IV.]

Prolegomena.


King. In the spring, in the 2d month, the king went to Fung. In the 3d month, Duke K'un of Shaou went to Loh, to measure the ground for the city. On the day k'iau-tsze (1st of cycle), the duke Wăn of Chow made an announcement to the numerous officers in Ching-chow; and thereon they walled the eastern capital. The king then went to it, and the princes came to do him homage. In the winter, he returned from it, and appointed anew a shrine to Kaou-yu. In his 8th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, he first took his position as imperial host, and administered the government for himself. He gave orders to K'in-foo, prince of Loo, and Keih, prince of Ts'e, to remove the multitudes of Yin to Loo. He made the pantomimic dance, called Shang. In the winter, in the 10th month, his forces extinguished the State of T'ang, and removed its people to Too.

In his 9th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, he had a great sacrificial service in the grand ancestral temple, when he first used the choh. The chief of Shuh-shin came to do homage, when the king employed the baron of Yung to convey his Charge to him. In his 10th year, he appointed his brother Yu of T'ang to be head of all the princes. The chief of Yueh-chang appeared to do homage. The duke of Chow left the court, and resided in Fung.

In his 11th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, the king went to Fung. His brother of T'ang presented a stalk of fine grain, and was ordered to convey it to the duke Wăn of Chow. The king appointed Duke Pin of Chow to govern the eastern capital.

Note by Yê. This duke Pin of Chow is Keun-ch'in, the son of the duke of Chow, and younger brother of Pih-k'in.

In his 12th year, the king's forces and those of Yen walled Han; and the king gave a Charge to the prince of Han. In his 13th year, the king's forces assembled with those of the princes of Ts'e and Loo, and smote the hordes of the Jung. In the summer, in the 6th month, the prince of Loo offered the grand imperial sacrifice in the temple of the duke of Chow. In his 14th year, the forces of Ts'e invested the city of Keuh, and subdued it. In the winter, the announcement was made of the completion of Loh. In his 18th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, the king went to Loh, and settled the place of the tripods there. Phænixes made their appearance, and a sacrifice was offered near the Ho.

On the Le Ke, Bk. IV., Pt. iii., p. 17. See on the 15th year of T'ao-yih. Occupied by descendants of Yaou—in the pres. dist. of Yih-shing, dep. Pin-yang. In the dist. of Ch'ang-gan, dep. Se-yang. The chö was a song, with music, made by the duke of Chow, and used at a certain part of the service. See the Pref. to the Shoo, 56th Notice. There is no end of difficulty in fixing the meaning of this sentence.

16 Prob. in the pres. dist. of Koo-ugan, dep. of Shun-t'ien. Not far from Yen. A place of an eastern tribe, in the pres. dep. of Tang-lae. See on the xxth of the Books of Chow.
In his 19th year, the king made a tour of inspection to the how and teen domains, and to the four mountains, the duke K’ang of Shoua being in attendance on him. When he returned to Tsung-chow, he settled the various orders of officers, and degraded the prince of Fung. In his 21st year, he removed the representations of the penal laws. The duke Wan of Chow died in Fung. In his 22d year, he buried duke Wan in Peih. In his 24th year, the chief of Yu-yueh came to make his submission. In his 25th year, the king held a great assembly of the princes in the eastern capital, when the wild tribes of the four quarters came to make their submission. In the winter, in the 10th month, he returned from the eastern capital, and performed a great service in the grand ancestral temple. In his 30th year, the horse of Le came to make their submission.

Note by Yü. The horses of Le belonged to mount Le. They had been smitten by the chief of Lin, who announced the event to king Ching.

It is said that when king Woo occupied Haou as his capital, he granted Fung as the appanage of one of his younger brothers, whom Ching degraded for drunkenness. Such representations were hung up before one of the palace gates, and perhaps the gates of public offices generally. Ching thought the people were now so accustomed to the rule of Chow, and acquainted with the laws, that they did not need the lessons of such figures and descriptions.
In his 33rd year, the king rambled in Keuen-o, with duke K'ang of Shaou in attendance, and then returned to Tsung-chow. He ordered his heir-son Ch'aou to go to Fang to bring home his bride. Ke, the baron of Fang, escorted her to Tsung-chow. In his 34th year, it rained gold in Heen-yang.

Note by Ys. It rained gold in Heen-yang; and in 3 years, the empire sustained a great loss.

In his 37th year, in the summer, in the 4th month, on the day yih-ch'ow (2d of cycle), the king died.

### III. King K'ang

1. In his 1st year, which was keah-seuh (11th of cycle, B.C. 1,000), in the spring, in the 1st month, when he came to the throne, he ordered the prime minister, duke K'ang of Shaou, to take the leadership of all the officers. The princes did homage in the palace of Fung. In his 3rd year, he fixed the songs for the different musical performances. The period of mourning being over, he offered the imperial sacrifice to his predecessor. He renewed the admonitions to the officers of agriculture, and announced them in the ancestral temple. In his 6th year, duke T'ae of Ts'e died. In his 9th year, the prince of T'ang removed to Tsin, and made a palace in a beautiful style. The king sent and reproved him. In his 12th year, in the summer, in the 6th month, on the jin-shin day (9th of cycle), the king went to Fung, and gave his Charge to the duke of Peih. In the autumn, duke E of Maou died.

3. In his 16th year, he give a Charge to K'eih, the duke of Ts'e. He went south on a tour of inspection, as far as mount Loo of Kew-keang. In his 19th year, K'in-foo, prince of Loo, died. In his 21st year, the prince of Loo made a palace, with the sentry-jofts above the gates covered with rushes. In his k'ang now fixed the songs for different pieces. That is, he made all the necessary changes connected with the introduction of his father's shrine into the temple, and sacrificed to him. 3 Supposed to be in 3d of the 2d Bk. of the Praise-songs of Chow. It would appear from 'The Testametary Charge,' par. 10, that he was dead before this. This change of site was not great. 6 See the xivth of the Books of Chow. 7 Here the battle about the
THE ANNALS OF THE BAMBOO BOOKS.

IV. KING CH'AOU.

In his 1st year, which was käng-tsze (37th of cycle, B.C. 980), in the spring, in the 1st month, when the king came to the throne, he restored the practice of suspending the representations of the penal laws. In his 6th year, he gave a Charge to the baron of Seun. In the winter, in the 12th month, peach trees and plum trees were in flower.

In his 14th year, in the summer, in the 4th month, the regular stars were invisible. In the 7th month, the people of Loo killed their ruler Tse. In his 16th year, the king attacked Ts'oo; and, in crossing the Han, met with a large rhinoceros. In his 19th year, in the spring, a comet appeared in the space Tsze-mei. The duke of Tse and the baron of Sin followed the king against Ts'oo. The heavens were dark and tempestuous. Pheasants and hares were terrified. The king's six armies perished in the Han. The king died.

V. KING MUH.

In his 1st year, which was ke-meï (56th of cycle, B.C. 961), in the spring, in the 1st month, after he came to the throne, he built the palace of Chiaou, and gave a Charge to Yu-meï, the baron of Sin. In the winter, in the 10th month, he built the palace of Che in Nan-ch'ing. From king Woo to Muh, the empire was possessed 100 years. From Muh downwards the capital was in Se-ch'ing.

Nine Keang is fought over again. See on 'The Tribute of Yu.'

1 In dis. of E-shé, dep. P'o-chow, Shan-se.
2 Including the stars about the north pole.
3 In Ch'ing Chow, dep. K'ae-fung. Its chiefs were of the family of the duke of Chow.
4 In the dis. Ch'ang-tsze, dep. Loo-ngan, Shan-se.
5 This palace is supposed to have been somehow in commemoration of his father, king Chiaou. The baron of Sin is represented in some accounts as having rescued him from the Han, though he died in consequence of the fright and injuries received.
6 In Hwa Chow, dep. T'ung-chow, Shen-se.

v. 1
In the 6th year, Tan, the viscount of Seu, came to do homage, when the title of baron was conferred on him. In his 8th year, the chief of the northern Tang came to do homage, and presented a very swift mare, which produced the famous

Luh-urh. In his 9th year, he built the Spring palace.

Note. The king resided in the spring palace, and that of Ch'ing.

In his 11th year, he gave additional distinction and a Charge to Mow-foo, duke of Tse, the prime minister. In his 12th year, Pan, duke of Maou, Le, duke of Kung, and Koo, duke of Fung, led their forces, in attendance on the king, against the hordes of the K'euen. In the winter, in the 10th month, the king being on a tour of inspection in the north, punished those hordes. In his 13th year, the duke of Tse attended the king with his forces on an expedition to the west, when they encamped in Yang. In the autumn, in the 7th month, the hordes of the west came to make their submission. The hordes of Seu invaded Loh. In the winter, Ts'ou-fou drove the king in triumph into Tsung-chow. In his 14th year, he led the viscount of Ts'oo against the hordes of Seu, and subdued them. In the summer, in the 4th month, he hunted in Keun-k'ew. In the 5th month, he made the palace of Fan. In autumn, in the 9th month, the people of Teih invaded Peih. In the winter, there was a grand hunting in the marsh of Ping. He built Foo-laou. In his 15th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, the chief of Lew-keun came to make his submission. The king made the tower of Chung-peih. In the winter, he surveyed the Salt marsh.

Note. One copy has here:—'The king went to Ngan-yih, and viewed the Salt pond.' This is wrong.

In his 16th year, Kew, prince of Hoh, died. The king gave a Charge to Ts'ou-foo, and invested him with Chaou. In his 17th year, he went on a punitive expedition to mount Keun-lun; and saw the western Wang-moo. That year the chief

pres. dep. of Seu-chow, Kaeang-soo. 4 King Muh was famous for his horses; he had several,—'Spurn the earth, Mount the clouds,' &c.
5 Should probably be Tsing. 6 Undetermined. Some say it was in Ke-chow; others, in Ts'ou; others far beyond, 3,000 l from Tsung-chow. 7 An ancestor of the House of Ts'ou, famous for his skilful and rapid driving.
8 Probably in dis. of Hea-yih, dep. Kwei-tih. It was near the capital of the early kings of Hea. 9 That is 'Tigers' Hold,' in dis. of Ke-shwuy, dep. Kae-fung. Muh kept tigers here. 10 That is of 'storied pest-gems.' 11 Supposed to be in the very distant west. Biot says:—'The great lake of the country of Cashgar.' 12 Dis. of Chaou.
of Wang-moo came to court, and was lodged in the palace of Ch’ao. In the autumn, in the 8th month, certain hordes were removed to T’se-yuen.

Note. The king, in his expeditions to the north, travelled over the country of the Moving Sands, for 1,000 le, and that of ‘Heaps of Feathers,’ for 1,000 le. Then he subdued the hordes of the Keun, and returned to the east, with their five kings as captives. Westwards, he pushed his expeditions to where the green birds cast their feathers (the hill of San-wel). On these expeditions he travelled over 190,000 le.

12 In his 18th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, he dwelt in the palace of Che, where the princes came and did homage. In his 21st year, duke Wăn of Tse 14 died. In his 24th year, he ordered Jung-foo, the recorder of the Left, to make a Record. 15 In his 35th year, the people of King entered Seu, when Tsêen, baron of Maou, led his forces, and defeated them near the Tse. 16 In his 37th year, the king raised a great force of nine hosts, and proceeded eastward to Kâw-keang, where he crossed the water on a bridge of tortoises and iguanodonas piled up. 17 After this, he smote the people of Yuë as far as Yu. The people of King came with tribute.

18 In his 39th year, he assembled the princes at mount T’oo. In his 45th year, 19 Pe, prince of Loo, died. In his 51st year, he made the code of Leu on Punishments, and gave a Charge to the prince of P’oo in Fung. 16 In his 59th year, he died in the palace of Che.

VI. KING KUNG.

Note. Named E.

1 His 1st year was kēah-yn (51st of cycle, = B.C. 906), when he came to the throne. In his 4th year, the royal forces extinguished Meih. In his 9th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, on the day tīng-hae (24th of cycle), the king made Leang, the recorder of the Interior, convey a Charge to Tsêen, baron of Maou.

4 In his 12th year, the king died.
vii. King E.

Note. Named Kēen.

1 In his 1st year, which was ping-yin (3d of cycle, = B.C. 894), when he came to the throne, there were two risings in Ch'ing. In his 7th year, the hordes of the west invaded Haou. In his 13th year, the people of Teih invaded K'e.

2 In his 10th year, the king removed from Tsung-chow to Hwae-le. In his 17th year, Chib, the duke of Loo, died. In his 21st year, the duke of K'woh led his forces north, against the hordes of the K'euen, by whom he was defeated and put to flight. In his 25th year, the king died.

Note. The movements of king E were without proper regulation; the orders of his government were ill-timed; the holder of the time-jar did not attend to his duty:—and the consequence was that the princes began to lose their virtue.

viii. King Heau.

Note. Named Peih-fang.

1 In his 1st year, which was sin-mau (28th of cycle, = B.C. 890), in the spring, in the 1st month, when he came to the throne, he ordered the prince of Shin to smite the hordes of the west. In his 3d year, the hordes of the west came, and presented horses. In his 7th year, there were great rain and lightnings about the Kēang and the Han; and oxen and horses died.

Note. In this year king Lo was born.

4 In his 8th year, they made pasture grounds for the first time of the country about the Keen and the Wei. In his 9th year, the king died.

vii. 1 Given as in the dis. of Hing-p'ing, dep. Se-negan (Blot). Hāng Ch'in-fung contends this was a different place, and that the site is not known. He strongly repudiates the idea that in the movement of king E, or the previous one of Mu to Ching, we are to understand anything like a transference of the capital. viii. 1 In dis. of Nan-yang, dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan. 2 Fei-tze, of the House of Te'lin, was employed to look after the king's horses here.
ix. KING E.

His 1st year was hung-ts'e (37th of cycle, = B.C. 800), when he came to the throne. In his 2d year, the people of Shuh and the people of Lue came to present carnage and other gems. The king performed a service of homage to the Ho, using the large mace. In his 3d year, he assembled the princes, and boiled duke Jae of Ta'e in a tripod. In his 6th year, when hunting in the forest of Shay, he captured a rhinoceros, and carried it home. In his 7th year, the duke of Kwóh led his forces, and smote the hordes of Ta'e-yuen as far as Yu-ts'e-uen, capturing 1,000 horses. In the winter, there was a storm of hail as large as whetstones. Héung-k'eu, the viscount of Ts'o, smote the country of Yung as far as Goh. In his 8th year, the king was ill, when the princes prayed to the hills and streams. The king died.

x. KING LE.

In his 1st year, which was mow-shin (45th of cycle, = B.C. 852), when he came to the throne, he built the palace of E, and gave a charge to the prime minister Loh, the duke E of Yung. The people of Ts'o presented tortoise and other shells. In his 3d year, the hordes of Hwae invaded Loh, when the king ordered Ch'ang-foo, duke of Kwo, to act against them, which he did without effect. Shan, the duke H'ien of Ts'e, died. In his 6th year, Yen, viscount of Ts'o, died. In his 8th year, he began the watch for any who reviled him. Léang-foo, the baron of Juy, cautioned all the officers in the court. In his 11th year, the hordes of the west reached Ngan-chu, in the Historical Records.

5 Häng would change 社 into 杜. 6 In dist. Chuh-san, dep. Yun-yang, Hoo-ph. 7 In dist. of Woo-ch'ung.

x. 1 As king Muh built a palace after the name of his father, king Ch'aou. 2 Yung must be the name of a principality. The dict., however, says nothing of this on the character.

3 Acc. to the Chow Joo, the king employed
penetrated to K'eu-en-k'ew. In his 12th year, the king became a fugitive, and fled to Che. The people surrounded the palace; and having seized the son of Duke Muh of Shao, they put him to death. In his 13th year, the king was in Che; and Ho, baron of Kung, administered the imperial duties.

Note. This is the style of the period of Kung-ho.

In his 14th year, the hordes of the Yen-yun overran the western border of Tsung-chow. Duke Muh of Shao led his forces in pursuit of the southern hordes of King as far as the Loh. In his 16th year, prince Woo of Ts'ae died; and also Yung, the viscount of Taoo. In his 19th year, the baron E of Ts'ao died. In his 22d year, there was a great drought; and duke Yew of Ch'in died. In his 23d year, the drought continued; and duke He of Sung died. In his 24th year, the drought continued; and duke Woo of K'e died. In his 25th year, still the drought. Yen, viscount of Taoo, died. In his 26th year, there was still the drought, when the king died in Che. The dukes, Ting of Chow and Muh of Shao, then raised his eldest son Tsing to the throne; Ho, baron of Kung, returned to his State; and there was a great rain.

Note. The great drought had continued so long, that all huts were burned up. When king Fun died, they consulted by the tortoise-shell the spirit of the sun, and were answered that Le had been done to death by some monstrous thing. When the dukes of Chow and Shao had raised his oldest son Tsing to the throne, Ho of Kung returned to his State. He was a man of the greatest virtue. Honour did not make him overmuch glad, nor did neglect move him to anger. He afterwards sought his own ease and pleasure in retirement on the top of mount Kung.

xi. King Seuen.

In his 1st year, which was kheah-seuh (11th of cycle, = B.C. 826), in the spring, in the first month, he came to the throne, when the dukes, Ting of Chow and Muh of
Shaou, assisted in the government. He restored the field levies. He made chariots of war. Prince Hwuy of Yen died. In his 2d year, he gave a Charge to Hwang-foo, the Grand-tutor; and one to Hew-foo, the Master of the Horse. Duke Shin of Loo died. Soo, a younger son of the House of Ts surrounded, murdered his prince, Keang, the baron Yew. In his 3d year, the king ordered the great officer Chung to attack the hordes of the west. Show, the duke Woo of Ts'e, died. In his 4th year, the king ordered Kwei-foo to go to Han, after which the prince of Han came to court.

In his 5th year, in the summer, in the 6th month, Yin Keih-foo led his forces, and smote the Yen-yun, as far as Ts'e-yuen. In the autumn, in the 8th month, Fang Shuh led his forces, and smote the southern hordes of Kim. In his 6th year, the duke Muh of Shaou led his forces against the hordes of the Hwae. The king led his forces against the hordes of Seu, having Hwang-foo and Hew-foo in attendance on him, when he camped on the Hwae. When he returned from the expedition, he gave a Charge to duke Muh of Shaou. The hordes of the west killed Chung of Ts'in. Seang, viscount of Ts'oo, died. In his 7th year, the king gave a Charge to the baron of Shin. The king ordered Chung Shan-foo, prince of Fan, to wall.

Ts'e. In his 8th year, the king first completed the apartments of one his palaces. Duke Woo of Loo came to court, when the king appointed his heir son He to succeed to the principality. In his 9th year, the king assembled the princes in the eastern capital, after which they hunted in Foo. In his 12th year, duke Woo of Loo died. The people of Ts'e murdered their ruler, Woo-ke, known as duke Le, and appointed his son Chih in his room. In his 15th year, prince Le of Wei died.

The king gave a Charge to duke W'an of Kwoh. In his 16th year, Ts'in removed its capital to Keang. In his 18th year, prince E of Ts'e died. In his 21st year, Pih-yu, of the ducal House of Loo, murdered his prince He, known as duke E.

XI. These were charges for military services, regulated by the quality of the lands. They had been neglected during the exile of the last king. 2 This coming of the prince of Han to court is celebrated in the She, Pt. III, Bk. III, Ode vii. Mention is made of Kwei-foo.

This expedition is celebrated in the She, Pt. II, Bk. III, Ode vii. 4 See the She, Pt. II, Bk. III, Ode vi. 5 See the She, Pt. III, Bk. III, Ode vi. Fan was in the di of Tae-yuen, dep. Hwae-k'ing. We are to understand the metropolis of Tae. 6 考一成 'to finish.' What apartments are intended, it is impossible to say. They may have been, as many suppose, those of a palace in honour of his father. 7 See the She, Pt. II, Bk. III, Ode v. On the north of the dia of Tae-p'ing, dep. Ping-
In his 29th year, the king gave his Charge to To-foo, a scion of the royal House, to reside at Loosh. In his 24th year, Ch'ih, the duke Wan of Ts'e, died. In his 26th year, there was a great drought, when the king prayed at the border altars and in the ancestral temple; and there was rain. In his 27th year, K'een, the duke Hwuy of Sung, died. In his 28th year, Seun, viscount of Ts'oo, died. In his 29th year, the king for the first time neglected the setting an example of husbandry in his thousand acres field. In his 30th year, hares appeared gam-bolling in the capital Haou. In his 32d year, the royal forces attacked Loo, and put Pih-yu to death; and the king invested Ch'ing, known as duke Heaou, with the principality, in the palace of E. Heaou, the duke He of Ch'in, died. A horse changed into a man. In his 33d year, the duke Ching of Ts'e died. The royal forces attacked the hordes of T'ae-yuen without success. In his 37th year, a horse changed into a fox. The prince He of Yen died. Goh, the viscount of Ts'oo, died. In his 38th year, the royal forces and prince Muh of Ts'in proceeded against the hordes of the T'aeou and the Pun, when they were defeated and put to flight. In his 39th year, the royal forces attacked the K'ang hordes, and were defeated, and put to flight in a battle in Ts'een-mow. In his 40th year, he numbered the people in T'ae-yuen. The western hordes destroyed the city of K'ang. The people of Ts'in defeated some northern hordes in Fun-sih. In his 41st year, his forces were defeated in Shin. In his 43rd year, he put to death the great officer Too Pih, whose son Sih-shu then fled to Ts'in. Fei-sang, the prince Muh of Ts'in, died, when his brother Seang-shu usurped the principality, and the heir-soon Keou fled. His 44th year was t'ing-ho, the 1st year of Shang-shu of Ts'in. In his 46th year, the king died.
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XII. KING YEW.

Note. Named Nešt.

1 His 1st year was kung-shin (57th of cycle, = B.C. 780), when he came to the throne. K'ew, the heir son of Ts'in, returned thither, and slew Shang-shuh. The people then raised him to the government;—he is known as prince Wan. The king gave a

2 Charge to Yin Hwang-foo, the Grand-tutor. In his 2d year,—sin-yew, the 1st year of prince Wan of Ts'in,—the King, Wei, and Loh, all became dry. A part of mount K'e fell down. The king began to increase the taxes. Prince Wan of Ts'in, with To-foo, of the royal House, attacked, Tsang, and subdued it. After this To-foo took up his residence on the hill of Ch'ing-foo. He was duke Hwan of Ch'ing.1 In his 3d year, the king became enamoured with his concubine Paou-sze. In the winter, there was great thunder and lightning. In his 4th year, the people of Ts'in smote the western hordes. In the summer, in the 6th month, there fell hoar-frost.

5 The duke E of Ch'in died. In his 5th year, his heir son, E-k'ew, fled from the court to Shin. Hwang-foo prepared another capital in Heang.2 In his 6th year, the king ordered Pih-sze with the royal forces to attack the hordes of Luh-tse,3 but they were defeated and put to flight. The western hordes destroyed K'ae. In the winter, in the 10th month, on the day sin-mau, there was an eclipse of the sun.

8 In his 7th year, the people of Kwoh extinguished Ts'e-sou.4 In his 8th year, the king gave an additional dignity to To-foo, baron of Ch'ing, his minister of Instruction. He made Pih-fuh, the son of Paou-sze, his heir apparent. In his 9th year, the prince of Shin sent an embassy to the western hordes, and to Tsang, and entered into an engagement with them. In his 10th year, in the spring, he made a solemn agreement with the princes in the grand apartment of the ancestral temple.5 In the autumn, in the 9th month, the peach trees and almond trees were in fruit. The king led his army against Shin. In the 11th year, in the

Where Ch'ing-foo was, is not exactly known.

2 As if anticipating the capture, which took place ere long, of the existing capital; but where this Heang was is much debated.

3 These belonged to the Keang tribes.

4 ? In Shen
spring, in the 1st month, the sun and moon had haloes. The people of Shin, of Ts'ang, and the hordes of the K'ueen, entered Tsung-chow, and murdered the king and duke Hwan of Ch'ing. The chief of the K'ueen killed the king's son, Pih-fuh, and took Paou-sze as his captive. The princes of Shin and Loo, with the nan of Heu and the young lord of Ch'ing, raised E-k'ew, who was in Shin, to the throne; but Han, duke of Kwoh, declared another son of Yew, named Yu-chin, who was in Hwuy, to be king.

Note. This last is known as king Hwuy. There were thus two kings at the same time. When king Woo made an end of Yin, the year was in kung-yin. Twenty-four years after, in the year k'ao-yin, the vases were finally placed in the city of Loo. From that time to king Yew, were 257 years; giving us in all 281 years. From sin-mou, the 1st year of Woo, to kung-woon, the last of Yew, were 292 years.

xiii. King P'ing.

Note. Named E-k'ew. From the removal of the capital to the east, the chronicler relates the affairs of Ts'in; and the king's coming to the throne is not mentioned.

1 In his 1st year, which was sin-mei (8th of cycle, B.C. 769), the king removed the capital to the east, to the city of Loo. He conferred the dignity of chief among the princes on prince Wan. The prince of Ts'in united with the prince of Wei, the barons of Ch'ing and Ts'in, and with their troops escorted the king to Ching-chow.

2 In his 2d year, Ts'in made the western altar. Hsien of Loo died. The king conferred on Ts'in and Ts'in the fields of Pin and K'e. In his 3d year, the people of Ts'e extinguished Chuh. The king conferred an additional dignity on the baron of Ch'ing, his minister of Instruction. In his 4th year, the prince king of Yen died. The people of Ch'ing extinguished Kwoh. In his 5th year, the duke Seang of Ts'in led his forces against the western hordes, and died on the ex-

Chow, Ho-nan. 5 太室 is to be taken here as on the occasion of its previous occurrence. This is plain from the She, Pt. II., Book V., Ode iv., which, probably, refers to this meeting of king Yew and the princes.

2 See the xxxth of the Books of Chow. The Ching-chow is Loo. The transference of the capital is the subject of the She, Pt. II., Bk. V., Ode ix. 2 時神靈之所依止, 'the place where the spirit rests.' Seang, the prince of Ts'in, elated with his new acquisitions in the west, made this altar, where he sacrificed to God. The presumption was somewhat disguised by making the sacrifice be to 'the white god' (白帝). 4 A small State on the north of Ts'e. 5 ? The dignity of duke. The
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In his 6th year, the prince Gae of Yen died. In his 7th year, E, viscount of Ts'oo, died. In his 8th year, the baron of Ch'ing put his great officer, Kwan K'e-sze, to death. In his 10th year, Ts'in removed its capital to near the K'een and the Wei. In his 13th year, the duke Woo of Wei died. In his 14th year, the people of Ts’in extinguished Han. In his 15th year, the duke Wăn of Ts’in inflicted a great defeat on the western hordes in K’e, and came to restore the fields on the east of K’e. In his 21st year, the prince Wăn of Ts’in put the king’s brother, Yu-chin, to death in Hwuy. In his 23rd year, the duke Woo of Sung died. In his 24th year, Ts’in instituted the sacrifices to the Precious ones of Ch’in. In his 25th year, prince Wăn of Ts’in died. Ts’in for the first time, used the punishment of destroying criminals’ relatives. In his 26th year,—ping-shin, the 1st year of prince Ch’aiou of Ts’in,—the prince of Ts’in invested his younger brother Ching-sze with the city of K’eu-h-yuh. In his 32nd year, Fan-foo of Ts’in murdered his ruler, prince Ch’aiou, and called Ching-sze to the throne; without success. The people of Ts’in then called the son of Ch’aiou, who was the prince Henou, to the sovereignty, and put Fan-foo to death. In his 33rd year,—kwei-mou, the 1st year of prince Henou of Ts’in—the people of Ts’o’o overran Shin. In his 43rd year, the duke Chwang of Wei died. The king’s subjects took guard of Shin. In his 40th year, duke Chwang of Ts’e died. Ching-sze, Hwan-shuh of K’eu-h-yuh, died; and was succeeded by his son Shen, who is known as Chwang-pih.

Note. From this time the prince of Ts’in dwelt in Yih, and is known as the prince of Yih.

In his 41st year,—sin-hae, the 1st year of Chwang-pih,—in the spring, there was a great Ching. That was in dis. of Koo-ngan, dep. of Shun-t’u’en. A branch of that House had settled itself in the dis. of Han-shing, dep. Tung-chow, Shen-se, which was the Han here spoken of. The story is, that two boys, who changed into pheasants, had made their appearance, and it was known, in a wonderful way, that he who got the female would become chief.
storm of rain and snow. In his 42d year, the wild tribes of the north attacked Yih, and penetrated to the borders of Tsin. The duke Shang of Sung died. The duke Hwuy of Loo sent Tsae Jang, to request liberty to use the ceremonies of the imperial border sacrifices and of the ancestral temple. The king sent the recorder to go to Loo to stop the assumption. In his 47th year, Chwang-pih of K'eu-h-yuh of Tsin entered Yih, and murdered the prince Heau. The people of Tsin drove him out, and raised to the sovereignty Keih the son of Heau, known as prince Goh. In his 48th year,—mow-woo, the 1st year of the prince Goh of Tsin,—there was thunder without any clouds. The duke Hwuy of Loo died. In his 49th year,—ke-wei, the 1st year of duke Yin of Loo. In this year, the Ch'en-T'seu begins,—the duke Yin of Loo and the duke Chwang of Choo formed an alliance at Koo-mieh. In his 51st year, in the spring, in the 2d month, on the day yih-seuh (42d of cycle), there was an eclipse of the sun. In the 3d month, on the day kung-seuh, the king died.

xiv. King Hwan.

Note. Named Lin.

1 His 1st year was jin-seuh (50th of cycle, = B.C. 718). In the 10th month, Chwang-pih rebelled in K'eu-h-yuh, and attacked Yih. Wan, of the ruling House, came to the rescue of Yih, and Chin, the chief of Seun, pursued Chwang-pih as far as the valley of Kea. The prince of Yih then burned the standing grain of K'eu-h-yuh, and returned. Afterwards he attacked the place, and gained a great victory. Chwang-pih’s son, afterwards duke Woo, solicited peace, came as far as Shang (or Tung), and returned. In his 2d year, the king made the duke of Kwoh attack K'eu-h-yuh of Tsin. The prince Goh of Tsin died, when Chwang-pih attacked Tsin. The among the princes, while the possessor of the male would become king. They were called "The precious ones of Ch'in," from the place where they appeared. Duke Wan of Tsin caught the female, which changed into a stone; and he appointed a sacrifice to them in the pres. dis. of Paou-ke, dep. Fung-ts'ehang. 10 In the dis. so called of dep. P'ing-yang. 11

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people of Ts'in raised Kwang, the son of prince Goh, to the sovereignty. He is known as prince Gae. His 3d year was keah-tsze, the 1st year of prince Gae of Ts'in. In his 4th year, Chwang-pih of K'euh-yuh died, and was succeeded by his son Ch'ing, the duke Woo. The State had still only one army. In his 5th year,—the 1st year of duke Woo of K'euh-yuh,—the people of Juy, Shing-king, the people of Seun, and the baron of Tung, all rebelled against K'euh-yuh. In his 11th year,—1st year of the prince Sean-tszze of Ts'in,—the chief of K'euh-yuh took prince Gae of Ts'in prisoner, when the people of Ts'in put Gae's son, known as prince Sean-tszze, in his place. Wan, the baron of Juy, fled to Wei.

Note. Wan was driven out by his mother.

In his 12th year, the royal forces and those of Ts'in besieged Wei, took Wan, the 8th month of the year. In his 13th year, in the winter, the baron of K'euh-yuh enticed prince Sean-tszze of Ts'in to an interview, and killed him. He then extinguished the House of Seun, and gave its territory to his great officer Yuen Gan, who became the chief of Seun. Some people of one of the western hordes met Wan, the baron of Juy, in Kesou. In his 14th year, the king ordered Chung of Kwoh to smite K'euh-yuh, and to raise Min, a younger brother of prince Gae, to be prince of Ts'in in Yih. His 15th year was the 1st year of prince Min of Ts'in. In his 16th year, in the spring, K'euh-yuh extinguished Yih as the capital of Ts'in. In his 19th year, the duke Chwang of Ch'ing died. In his 23d year, in the 8th month, on the day yih-mei, the king died.

xv. King Chwang.

Note. Named To.

1 In his 1st year, which was yih-yem (22d of cycle, = B.C. 695), K'euh-yuh still maintained only one army, different from Ts'in. In his 6th year, in the 5th month, he buried king Hwan.

field 12,500 men. 3 There seems to be something wanting here. 4 In dia. Yung-ho, dep. T'ung-chow. 5 In the small dep. of K'iu, a place. There is the reading of K'iu.
xvi. King Le.

Note. Named Hoo-ts'e.

1 In his 1st year, which was khang-tsee (37th of cycle, = B.C. 680), duke Hwan of Ts'e assembled the princes at Pih-hing,1 to bring to order the troubles of Sung.

2 In his 3rd year, duke Woo of K'eu-yuh made an end of prince Min of Tsin, and presented many of the precious relics of the State to the king, who appointed him to be prince of Tsin, maintaining only one army. In his 4th year,—the 38th year of duke Woo of Tsin,—Tsin still declined to be present at one of the meetings called by the duke Hwan of Ts'e.

Note. A note in the Tao Chuen says it was in this year prince Min of Tsin was made an end of.

4 In his 5th year, duke Woo of Tsin died, and was succeeded by his son Kwei-choo, known as duke Hsien. The king died.

xvii. King Hwuy.

Note. Named Leoang.

1 In his 1st year, which was yeh-sze (42d of cycle, = B.C. 675), the 1st year of duke Hsien of Tsin, the duke Hsien of Tsin went to court. The king went to Ching-chow.

2 There a white hare appeared, dancing in the market place. In his 2nd year, his son Tuy raised a rebellion, and the king went and dwelt in Ch'ing, where the people entered his treasury, and took many gems, which changed into yih that shot their venom at men.1 In his 9th year, Tsin walled Kiang.2 In his 16th year, the duke Hsien of Tsin formed two armies, and extinguished the State of Kang,3 which he gave to his great officer Chau Suh. He also extinguished Wei, and gave it to his great officer Pei Wan.

Note. This was the germ of the extinction of Tsin by its great officers of Chou, Han, and Wei.

xvi. 1 In the dis. of Tung-o, dep. Ts'e-nangan.

xvii. 1 khang-tsee.—see the She, Pt. II, Bk. V, Ode 8, st. 8. It is described as 'a short fox,' which lived in the water, where it filled its mouth with sand, which it shot at the shadows of persons on the bank, who thereon became sick.

3 In the small dep. of Kang, Shan-se. This had been one of the capitals of Shang.
In his 17th year, duke E of Wei fought with the red hordes of the north at the marsh of Tung (or K'ueang). In his 19th year, duke Hsien of Ts'in united his forces with those of Yu, and, attacking Kwoh, destroyed Hea-yang. Ch'ow, duke of Kwoh, fled to Wei, and Hsien ordered Hea-foo Leu-sang to occupy his capital. In his 25th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, some of the northern hordes attacked Ts'in. The king died.

1 In his 1st year, which was kang-woo (7th. of cycle, = B.C. 650), duke Hsien of Ts'in died, and He-ts'e was raised to the sovereignty. Le K'i-h, however, put him to death, and named Ch'in. In his 2nd year, -sin-wei, the 1st year of duke Hwuy of Ts'in — the duke of Ts'in put Le K'i-h to death. In his 3rd year, it rained gold in Ts'in. In his 7th year, the chief of Ts'in crossed the Ho and attacked Ts'in. In his 15th year, duke Hwuy of Ts'in died, and was succeeded by his son Yu, known as duke Hwae. Duke Muh of Ts'in, with a force, escorted duke Hsien's son, Ch'ung-urh, to the State, and invested Ling-ko, Shwang-ts'euen, and K'ew-shwae, which all surrendered. Koo Wei and Ssen-chin went to Loo-lew to oppose Ts'in, when duke Muh sent his son Chih to speak with them, after which they camped in Seun, and entered into an engagement with Ch'ung-urh in the midst of the army, he having crossed the Ho at Ho-k'euh. In his 16th year, yih-yew, the 1st year of duke Wan of Ts'in — Ts'in put Tsze-yu to death. In his 17th year, Ts'in walled Seun. In his 20th year, king Seang of Chow assembled the princes in Ho-yang. In his 22nd year, the army of Ts'e drove out Ch'e, the

**Note.** Named Ch'ing.

4 A city of Kwoh. 5 This name is difficult to explain. Hea, perhaps, was the name of the officer's city, from which he was called Hea-foo. Then Leu would be his name, and Sang would denote his relationship to duke Hsien.

xviii. King Seang.
heir-prince of Ch'ing, who fled to Shing-chang Nan-ch'ing. In his 24th year, duke Wan of Tsin died. His 25th year was k'üet-woo, the 1st year of Hwan, the 3rd year of Hsüen. In his 30th year, the Loh was dried up at Héang. In his 31st year, duke Séang of Tsin died. His 32d year was sin-ch'ow, the 1st year of E-kaou, the duke Ling of Tsin. In his 33d year, the king died.

xix. King K'ing.

His 1st year was kwei-mao (40th of cycle, = B.C. 617). In his 6th year, a comet entered the Great Bear (Northern Bushel); and the king died.

Note. Named Jin-chin.

xx. King K'wang.

His 1st year was ke-yen (46th of cycle, = B.C. 611). In his 6th year, duke Ling of Tsin was killed by Chaou Ch'uen, who was then sent by Chaou Tun to Chow, to fetch the prince Hih-t'un, and raise him to the dukedom. The king died.

Note. Named Pan.

xxi. King Ting.

His 1st year was yih-mao (52d of cycle, = B.C. 605), the 1st year of duke Ching of Tsin. In his 6th year, duke Ching of Tsin, with some of the northern hordes, attacked Ts'in, and captured a spy, whom they put to death in the market place of K'iang, and who came to life again six days after. In his 7th year, duke Ching...
of Ts'in died in Hoo.\(^1\)

In his 18th year, the Aid of the State of Ts'in came to present some musical stones of gem, and the boiler which Ts'in had taken from the duke of Ke.\(^2\) In his 21st year, the king died.

\section*{XXII. King Keen.}

\textit{Note.} Named E.

2 His 1st year was \textit{ping-teze} (13th of cycle, \(=\text{B.C. 584}\)). In his 5th year, the duke King of Ts'in died.

3 His 6th year was \textit{sin-teze}, the 1st year of duke Le of Ts'in.

4 In his 13th year, the duke Le of Ts'in died. The king Kung of Ts'o-oo had a meeting with the duke P'ing of Sung in Hoo-yang.\(^1\) In his 14th year, \textit{ko-ch'ou}, the 1st year of duke Taou of Ts'in, the king died.

\section*{XXIII. King Ling.}

\textit{Note.} Named See.

2 His 1st year was \textit{kang-yin} (27th of cycle, \(=\text{B.C. 570}\)). In his 14th year, the duke Taou of Ts'in died.

3 His 16th year was \textit{k'ei-shin}, the 1st year of the duke P'ing of Ts'in. In his 27th year, he died.

\section*{XXIV. King King.}

\textit{Note.} Named Kwei.

2 His 1st year was \textit{t'ing-teze} (54th of cycle, \(=\text{B.C. 543}\)). In his 13th year, in the spring, a star issued from the constellation Woo-neu.\(^1\) In the 10th month, duke P'ing of Ts'in died. In his 14th year, \textit{k'ung-woo}, the 1st year of duke Ch'aou of Ts'in,—the

\begin{flushright}
Tyew and Tso Chuen, under the 2d year of duke Ching.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textit{xxiv. 1} 'The widow;'—four stars, about the middle of Capricorn.
\end{flushright}

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waters of the Ho at Lung-mun were red for 3 le. In his 19th year, duke Ch'aou of Ts'in died. In the winter, in the 12th month, peach trees and almond trees were in flower. His 20th year was the 1st year of the duke K'ing of Ts'in. In his 25th year, duke K'ing of Ts'in pacified the disorders of the royal House, and placed king King on the throne.

Note. Named K'ae.

xxv. King King.

1 His 1st year was jin-moo (19th of cycle, = B.C. 518). In his 8th year, duke K'ing of Ts'in died. His 9th year was king-yin, the 1st year of duke Ting of Ts'in. In his 14th year, the milky way was not visible in the sky. In his 26th year, an azure rainbow was seen in Ts'in. In his 28th year, the Loh was dry in Chow. In his 36th year, the K'e was dry in Old Wei. In his 39th year, Ts'in walled Tun-k'ew. In his 43rd year, the duke of Sung killed his great officer Hwang Yuen near the Tan-water, the course of which was stopt, so that it did not flow.

In his 44th year, the king died.

Note. Named Jin.

xxvi. King Yuen.

1 In his 1st year, which was ping-yin (3d of cycle, = B.C. 474), the duke Ting of Ts'in died. His 2d year was ting-moo, the 1st year of duke Ch'uh of Ts'in. In his 4th year, the State of Yu-yueh extinguished that of Woo. In his 6th year, the course of the Kwei of Ts'in ceased at Leang. The course of the Tan water was interrupted.

1 'Old Wei; — i.e. Chao-ko, formerly the capital of Wei, but now belonging to Ts'in. 2 In dis. Ts'ing-fang, dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. 3 There were no fewer than 7 Tan-waters. The one here was also called the P'een; on which see the dictionary.

xxvi. 1 These two States lay along the seacoast, embracing a considerable portion of Keang-soo and Ch'ah-keang. Woo was the more northerly of the two. 2 The Kwei took its rise from a mountain in the east of dis. of Keang, in the dep. of the same name, in Shan-se. 3 This took its rise in the dis. Kaou-p'ing, dep. Tsih-chow.
5 and stopped for 3 days. In his 7th year, the people of Ts'e and of Ch'ing attacked Wei. The king died.

**xxvii. King Ching-ting.**

1 In his 1st year, which was *kwei-yen* (10th of cycle, = B.C. 467), Yu-yueh removed its capital to Lang-ya. In his 4th year, in the 11th month, Kow-ts'een, the viscount of Yu-yueh, known as Tan-chih, died, and was succeeded by his son, Luh-ch'ing.

2 In his 6th year, the Ho of Tsin stooped its course at Hoo. In his 7th year, Seun Yaou of Tsin walled Nan-Ishang.

**Note.** One copy adds:—"In the 20th year of duke Ch'uh of Tsin.'

3 In his 10th year, Luh-ch'ing, the viscount of Yu-yueh died, and was succeeded by Puh-show. In his 11th year, the duke Ch'uh of Tsin fled to Ts'e. In his 12th year, the waters of the Ho were red for three days. Seun Yaou smote Chung-san, and took the hill of K'ung-yu. In his 13th year, Han P'ang of Tsin took the city of Loo She. His 16th year was the 22d year of the duke Ch'uh of Tsin.

4 In his 17th year, the duke Ch'uh of Tsin died, when a grandson of duke Ch'ao, known as duke King, was raised to the dukedom. His 18th year was the 1st year of duke King of Tsin. In his 20th year, Puh-show, the viscount of Yu-yueh, known as Mang-koo, was put to death, and was succeeded by Choo-kow.

5 In his 23d year, Ts'oo extinguished Tse. In his 24th year, Ts'oo extinguished K'e. In his 26th year, the 11th year of duke King of Tsin, the king died.

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**Note.** Named Kéae.

*There was more than one Lang-ya.* That here was in the dis. of Choo-shing, dep. Ts'ing-chow, Shan-tung. 2 Kin Le-te'eing observes that Tan-chih are to be read together as one word, 'after the syllabic way of the west,' being the viscount's name in the speech of Yüe. 3 In the dep. of Joo, Ho-nan. 4 In dis. of T'ang, dep. Paou-ting. 5 Supposed to be a place on the river Loo (Lo). 6 In the dis. of Loo-shhe, Shen Chow, Ho-nan.
THE ANNALS OF THE BAMBOO BOOKS.

[CH. IV.

威烈王

考王

xxviii. King K'aoou.

1. In his 1st year, which was sin-chou (38th of cycle, = B.C. 439), the 12th year of the duke of K/'ou. In his 10th year, Ts'oo extinguished Keu. In his 11th year, duke King of Tsin died. In his 12th year, jin-tze, the 1st year of Liew, the duke Yew of Tsin,—the duke Taou of Loo died.

5. In his 14th year, Ke-sun of Loo had a meeting with the duke Yew of Tsin in Ts'oo-k'ew. In his 10th year, the king died.

xxix. King Wei-lieh.

2. His 1st year was ping-shin (53d of cycle, = B.C. 424). In his 3d year, there was a great drought in Tsin, and the ground produced salt. In his 5th year, the waters of the Tan of Tsin left their natural course, and battled in an opposite direction. In his 6th year, Ts'in Ying, a great officer of Tsin, murdered duke Yew in the Lofty chamber, when prince Wan of Wei raised Che, the son of duke Yew, to the dukedom. In his 7th year, which was jin-seuh, the 1st year of duke Lii of Tsin, Hieen-tze of Chaou walled Heuen-she, and Woo-tse of Han made his capital in P'ing-yang. In his 8th year, Chaou walled the city of P'ing. In his 9th year, the people of Ts'soo attacked our southern border as far as Shang-loh.

8. In his 11th year, Keu-sze, a son of the ducal Head of the House of T'ien, attacked Han-tan, and besieged the city of P'ing. Yu-yueh extinguished T'ang.

xxviii. 1 In the dis. of Ngan-k'ew, dep. Ts'ing-chow, Shan-tung. 2 Probably in the dis. of Keu-yay, dep. Ts'ouon-chow.

xxix. 1 In dep. of Taib-chow, Shan-se. 2 夫人, here is taken as = 擋. 3 The incidents referred to here are not clearly related elsewhere. I am strongly inclined to believe, with some critics, that for 大夫 we should read 夫人; so the meaning is that duke Yew was murdered by his wife, a lady of the House of Ts'in, in his chamber,—his own private and peculiar apartment. 4 The here = officer or chief. 5 In dis. of Ling-ch'uen, dep. Taib-chow. 6 In dis. of Chiang-loh, dep. Taib-chow. 7 In Shang Chow, Shen-se. —By 'our' southern border is meant the southern border of Wei. Whereas the Annals have, from the accession of king K'in, been those more particularly of Tsin, from the 1st year of king K'sou, the 1st also of prince Wan of Wei, they relate to that State. 8 This Keu-sze
In his 12th year, Choo-kow, the viscount of Yu-yueh, attacked T’an, and carried off captive its viscount Koo. In his 14th year, Choo-kow, viscount of Yu-yueh, died, and was succeeded by his son E. In his 16th year, T’seen P’an of T’se fought near P’ing with Han K’eu of Han-tan, when the forces of Han-tan were defeated and put to flight, and T’seen P’an took Han K’eu prisoner, and captured the city of P’ing and Sin-shing.

In his 17th year, the prince Wan of Wei invaded Ts’in as far as Ch’ing, and on his return built Fun-yin and Hoh-yang. T’seen Tao-tze died; and T’seen Poo put to death his great officer Kung-sun Sun. Kung-sun Hwuy took possession of Lin-k’ew, and rebelled against Ch’aou. T’seen Poo laid siege to Lin-k’ew, to the rescue of which came Teih Keoh, Kung Se’s of Ch’aou, and the army of Han, who fought with Poo near the marsh of Lung, defeated him, and put him to flight.

In his 18th year, the king ordered the chiefs of Han and Leeh of Ch’aou, and our forces, to attack T’se; when we penetrated within the Long wall. In his 23d year, the king conferred on the nobles of T’sin, each of the Heads of the Houses of Wei, Ch’aou, and Han, the title of prince.

Note. Named K’ewou.

1. His 1st year was kung-shin (17th of cycle, = B.C. 400). In his 9th year, duke Lueh of Tain died, and was succeeded by his son, duke Hwan. In his 10th year was ke-ch’ow, the 1st year of K’ing, the duke Hwan of Tain. In his 15th year, is not read of elsewhere.

9 At this time the family of T’seen had engrossed the power of T’se, over which it asserted ere long sole authority. Still a prince of the House of Len was nominally ruling, and we can only translate him as I have done.

10 In dis. of Hantian, dep. Krang-p’ing, Chib-le. This was the chief city of the House—shortly, the State—of Ch’aou, one of the dismemberments of Tain, and we shall find it often used for Ch’aou.

11 The dis. T’ang, dep. Yen-chow. In most editions of the Annals, Lin-k’ew is said to have been held by Kung-sun Sun, which is evidently wrong. Hwang Ch’in-fung reads 賽 instead of 祖. The events indicated in the par. cannot be clearly gathered from other sources.


13 Both these places were in dep. of T’ung-chow, where there is still the dis. of Hoh-yang. 賽 seems to be a mistake for 洛.

14 In the dis. of Yun-shing, dep. T’aou-chow. 15 In dis. of Yun-shing, dep. T’aou-chow.
the prince Wan of Wei died, having enjoyed his dignity 50 years. There was great wind, and it was dusk at noon. He, the eldest son of the duke of Tsin, fled away. In his 16th year, which was yih-wei, the 1st year of Keh, the prince Woo of Wei, one of the sons of Woo, called Hwan, was appointed to a government away from the capital. In his 21st year, Han extinguished the State of Ch'ing, and the prince Gae of Han took possession of its capital. In his 23rd year, Yu-yueh removed its capital to Woo. In his 26th year, the king died. Wei walled Loh-yang, Ngan-yih, and Wang-heuen. In the 7th month, the eldest son of the viscount of Yu-yueh, named Choo-kew, murdered his ruler E. In the 10th month, the people of Yueh put Choo-kew, also called Yueh-lwah, to death, and put Foo-ts'ol-che in his place.

Note. Named He.

xxx. 1 These were merely nominal dukes. 2 It is necessary to supplement the text here. The ruler of Wei sent away his son Hwan to avoid future troubles;—which, however, occurred in course of time. 3 Should, probably, be Lou-yang, still the name of a dis., dep. Funchow. 4 In Kée Chow. 5 In Kéang Chow. 6 His ruler was also his father. The thing is related confusedly, here and elsewhere.

xxx. 1 In the south of the dis. of Yen-tsin, dep. Wei-hwuy. 2 Hwang argues that this passage should come in under the 12th year of king Hiécn. 3 In dis. of Ch'ing-teze, dep. Lou-
of Han, attacked our city of K'wei. In his 7th year, the king died. Our forces attacked Chao, and invested Ch'uh-yang. T'ien Show of Ts'e came with a force against us, and besieged Kwan, which surrendered. Wang Ts'oh, a great officer of Wei, fled to Han.

Note. Named Peen.

1 In his 1st year, which was kwei-ch'ow (50th of cycle, = B.C. 367), Ch'ing walled Hing-k'ew.

Note. From this, the name of Han is exchanged for Ch'ing.

2 Tsze-hiang of Ts'in was appointed ruler of Lan. In his 2d year, the waters of the Ho were red for three days at Lung-mun. In his 3d year, King K'ea of our ruling House led a force against Ch'ing, when Han Ming fought with us in Han, and our forces were defeated and put to flight. In his 4th year, in the summer, in the 4th month, on the day kia-h-yin, we removed our capital to Ta-lieang. Our king threw open his preserves in the marsh of Fung-ke for the benefit of the people. Sze, a younger brother of Sze-k'eu of Yu-yueh, murdered him, — Mang-ningan, his ruler, who was succeeded by Woo-chuen. In his 5th year, it rained peh stones in Ch'ing. Some ground there suddenly became longer by 100 cubits and more, and higher by a cubit and a half. In his 6th year, our forces attacked Han-tan, and took Liah-jin. They attacked it again, and took Fei. It rained millet in Ts'e. In his 7th year, we gave to Han-tan Yu-t'se and Yang-yih. Our king had a meeting with the prince Le of Ch'ing at Woo-sha. In his 8th year, we led the waters of the Ho into the marsh of P'oo-t'een, and also made great ditches to...
lead off the waters of the marsh. The people of Hea-yang led the waters of the
9 Ts'ing-e of mount Min all the way from Ts'in to our State. In his 9th year,
10 the forces of Ts'in attacked Ch'ing, camped in Hwase, and walled Yin. In his
10th year, an army from Ts'o led out the waters of the Ho to overflow the country
outside the Long wall. Lung K'ea led a body of troops to build the great wall on
11 our western border. Ch'ing took T'wan-lew and Shang-tse. In his 11th year,
the prince Le of Ch'ing sent Heu Shih to surrender to us the cities of Ping-
k'ew, Hoo-yew, and Show-yuen, with the country as far as the highway of Ch'ing;
while we ourselves took Che-taou and Ching-luh. The king had an interview
with the prince Le at Woo-sha, where he agreed to raise the siege of Taih-yang,
12 to restore the city of Le to Ch'ing. In his 12th year, the princes Kung of
Loo, Hwan of Sung, Ching of Wei, and Le of Ch'ing, all came to our court, in
acknowledgment of submission. Woo-chuen, the viscount of Yu-yueh, known as
13 T'an-ch'u-h-maou, died, and was succeeded by Woo-k'iang. In his 13th year,
the prince Ching of Han-tan had an interview with the prince Ching of Yen in
14 Ngan-yih. In his 14th year, Kung sun Chwang of Ts'in attacked Ch'ing, and
besieged the city of Ts'eou, without being able to take it. He then led his army,
and walled Shang-che, Ngan-ling, and San-min. Han-tan attacked Wei, took the
hill of Ts'ih-fu, and walled it. The army of Ts'e fought with Yen near the Kow-
water, and was put to flight. In his 15th year, T'ien K'ee of Ts'e attacked our
eastern border, when a battle was fought at Kwei-yang, in which our forces were

The Ts'ing-e flows from the dis. of Loo-san, dep. Ya-chow, Sze-ch'uen, and ultimately joins the Kiang. Seu Tsang-san thinks the meaning is that the people of Hea-yang had performed the service described for Ts'in, and in this year came back to Wei. The meaning in the translation is more natural, and is preferred by Hung Chin-fung. In dis. Ho-nuy, dep. Hwase-k'ing. But the reading is not sure. The expression is evidently corrupt. Granting that there was in its dominions an erection called 'The Long Wall,' it was too remote from the Ho to allow of our supposing any such attempt on its part as is described. Hung Chin-fung would substitute 韓 for 楚. It is observed that this was the commencement of the Great Wall. Shang-tse is another name for Ch'ang-tze, pres. name of the district to which T'wan-lew is referred. See above.

17 Wei was at this time pressing Han hard, and the surrenders here mentioned were made to obtain peace. 'The highway of Ch'ing' had formerly been called 'The general Road' (途路). All the places spoken of are to be looked for in dep. of K'ee-fung. In dis. of Tse-yuen, dep. Hwase-k'ing. In dis. of Ch'ang-yuen, dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. Flows thr' the dis. of Ping-k'uh, dep. Shun-t'ien. 22 Kwei-yang, prob. the north of the Kwei river. I have not found any deter-
defeated and put to flight. The eastern Chow,\textsuperscript{23} gave Kaou-too,\textsuperscript{24} to Ch'iing. The prince Le of Ch'ing came to acknowledge submission to our king in Chung-yang. King Koo of Sung and Kung-sun Ts'ang of Wei united their forces with those of Wei, to besiege our Sêang-ling.\textsuperscript{25} In his 16th year, our king, with the army of Han, defeated the forces of those princes at Sêang-ling, when the prince of Ts'e sent King Shay of Ts'ooc to come and ask for peace. The forces of Han-tan defeated us at Kwei-ling.\textsuperscript{26} Ts'in attacked the city Oh-yu\textsuperscript{27} of Han, when our king Hwuy-ching sent Chao---and defeated Ts'in.

Note. It is not known under what year this last notice should be ranged.

17 In his 17th year, Yen attacked Chao, and laid siege to Chuh-Juh, which was saved by king Ling of Chao, and the people of Tae, who defeated Yen at Choh.\textsuperscript{28} Ts'in took Yuen-woo and Hwoh-ts'ih.\textsuperscript{29}

Note. Hwô-ts'ih is the same as Luy-ts'ih, the marsh of Luy, where Shun fished.

19 In his 18th year, Ts'e built a dyke as a part of its great wall.\textsuperscript{30} In his 19th year, our king went to Wei, and commanding that Nan the son of his duke should only be prince. His 20th year. In his 21st year, Yin Chin of Wei and Kung-sun Fow of Chao attacked Yen; and on their return, took Hea-uh,\textsuperscript{31} and walled K'euuh-yih.\textsuperscript{32} In his 22d year, which was jin-yin,\textsuperscript{33} Sun Ho invaded Ts'ooc, and penetrated to the suburbs of San-hoo.\textsuperscript{34} Ts'ooc attacked Seu-chow.

23 In his 23d year, Chang of Wei, supported by the forces of Ch'ing, led an army against Ts'ooc, and took Shang-ts'ae.\textsuperscript{35} Sun Ho took Yin-yang.\textsuperscript{36} The duke Heau of Ts'in had an interview with several of the princes in Fung-ts'ih.\textsuperscript{37} In Keang there was a rent of the earth, extending west to the river Fun. In his 24th year, 

omination of the place. \textsuperscript{23} This was the emperor, now merely 'the shadow of a great name.' \textsuperscript{24} In dis. Lô-yang, dept. Ho-nan. \textsuperscript{25} In sub. dep. of Shuy, dept. Kweh-thih. \textsuperscript{26} In dis. O-taih, dep. Ts'ao-chow. \textsuperscript{27} Dis. of Yu-shay, dep. Léau, Shan-se. \textsuperscript{28} In dis. Wang-too, dep. Paou-ting. \textsuperscript{29} Hwô-ts'ih, the marsh of Hwô, but here the name of a city in the dis. of Yang-shing, dep. Tsih-chow. Yuen-woo must also be the name of a city. But this notice is evidently out of place.—What have we to do at this date with Ts'in?

30 This wall of Ts'e has been mentioned before, under the 18th year of king Wei-lih. It was intended as a protection against Ts'ooc.防,' a dyke' or embankment against a stream, is used here for a wall, a defence against an enemy. \textsuperscript{31} Both in the pres. Ting Chow, Chih-le. \textsuperscript{32} Here is evidently a corruption of the text. Jin-yin was not the 22d year of king Hêen. Seu Wân-ting supposes we should read Shô-mên. \textsuperscript{33} Prob. in dis. Nuy-bèng, dep. Nan-yang. \textsuperscript{34} Still the name of a dis., dep. Joo-ning. \textsuperscript{35} Belonging to Ts'ooc, dis. of Lin-yang, Hêen Chow. \textsuperscript{36} The marsh of Fung;—has occurred before.
Wei defeated Han at Ma-ling. His 25th year. In his 26th year, our Jang Ts'ze led a force, and fought with K'ung Yu of Ch'ing in Leang-hi, when the army of Ch'ing was defeated and put to flight. *Afterwards,* we fought with T'een P'an at Ma-ling. In his 27th year, in the 5th month, T'een P'an of Ts'e, with the people of Sung, invaded our eastern border, and besieged Ping-yang. In the 9th month, Yang of Wei, on the part of Ts'in, attacked our western border. In the 10th month, Han-tan attacked our northern border. Our king attacked Yang of Wei, when our troops were defeated and put to flight. In his 28th year, we walled Tse-yang. Ts'in in 29th year invested Yang of Wei with Woo, the name of which was changed into Shang. In his 30th year, P'ei removed its capital to Seeh. In the 3rd month, we made a great ditch in our northern suburbs, to carry off the waters of P'o-o-t'een. His 31st year, in his 31st year, Soo Hoo of Ts'in led a force against Ch'ing, and was defeated by Seang of Han near Swan-water.

*Note.* It is not known in what year this took place; but it is given here.

His 32nd year. In his 33rd year, the prince Wei of Ch'ing, with Han-tan, besieged Seang-ling. In his 34th year, Hhwuy Ch'ing of Wei, this being his 36th year, changed the style of his reign, and called it his 1st year. The king had a meeting with several of the princes in Seu-chow. Woo-kæang, the viscount of Yu-yueh, attacked Ts'o. In his 35th year, Woo-tih of Ts'oo led a force, and in conjunction with Ts'in, attacked Ch'ing, and besieged Lun-she. His 36th year, Ts'oo besieged Ts'e in Seu-chow, and then attacked Yu-yueh, and slew Woo-kæang. In his 37th year, our Lung Kæa fought with an army of Ts'in at Teao-yin, when our forces were defeated, and put to flight. Our king had a meeting with the prince Wei of Ch'ing at Woo-sha. In his 39th year, Ts'in took from us Fung-yin and P'e-she. His 40th year. In his 41st year, Ts'in restored to us Ts'eou and Keul-yu. In his 42d year, the

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87 *I.e.* 'the hill of Ma,' in dep. Ta-ning. 38 Near K'æo-fung. Perhaps we should translate—'fought at night with K'ung of Ch'ing.' 39 Dia. Tse-yang, dep. Tse-nan. 40 Shang Chow of Shen-se. 41 In dep. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. 42 In dis. Tung-fung, dep. Ho-nan. 43 In dis. of Kan-ts'uen, dep. Yen-ngan, Shen-se. 44 In dis. Yung-ho, dep.
THE ANNALS OF THE BAMBOO BOOKS.  [PROLEGOMENA.

四十七年○四十八年王陟。四十五年○四十六年○四十四年○四十三年○四十二年○四十年○三十八年○三十七年○三十五年○三十四年○三十三年○三十二年○三十一

鼎沦泗沒于淵○四十三年○四十四年○四十五年○四十六年○四十七年○四十八年王陟。

No. Named Ting.

1. In his 1st year, which was sin-ch'ow (38th of cycle, = B.C. 319), Ts'in took from us K'ěuh-yuh and P'ing-chow.1 In his 2d year, king Hwuy-ching of Wei died.
2. His 3d year, kwei-maou, was the 1st year of our present king. His 4th year.
3. His 5th year. In his 6th year, the prince of Ch'ing sent Han Shih to restore to us Ts'in-yang and Hēang. In the 2d month, we walled Yang and Hēang, changing the name of the former into Ho-yung,2 and of the other into Kaou-p'ing.3

xxxiv. King Yin.

Note. The Historical Records call this sovereign king Nan, named Yen. This must be owing to the similarity of sound in Nau and Yin.

1. In his 1st year, which was ting-me (44th of cycle, = B.C. 313), in the 10th month, king Seuen of Ch'ing came to acknowledge submission in our court of Lēang. Tsze-che of Yen attempted to kill his ruler's eldest son P'ing, but without success. The army of Ts'e killed Tsze-che, and made pickle of his body. In his 2d year, in the country of Ts'e, the ground where they measured the length of the sun's shadow lengthened more than ten cubits, and was elevated a cubit.1 Wei made Chang E its prime minister. In his 3d year, Han Ming led a force against Seang-k'ew. The king of Ts'in came, and had an interview with our king at the pass of P'oou-fan.2 In the 4th month, the king of Yueh sent Kung-sze Yu to present 300 boats, 5,000,000 arrows, with rhinoceros horns, and elephants' teeth.3 In the 6th month, Chang E

P'oou-chow. 45 In dis. Ho-tsin, Kēang Chow. 46 This statement is much debated. What could have taken the vases to the Sze? xxxiii. 1 In dis. Kēao-hêw, dep. Fun-chow, Shan-šê. 2 In dis. Ho-nuy, dep. Hwae-k'ing. 3 In dis. Tae-yuen, dep. Hwae-k'ing.

xxxiv. 1 I suppose the meaning is what I have given. We had the account of a similar phenomenon before, tho' here occasions

nine vases were sunk in the Sze, and lost in the deep. His 43d year. His 40th year. In his 45th year, Ts'oou defeated us at Seang-ling. His 48th year. In his 47th year. In his 48th year, the king died.

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3. His 5th year. In his 6th year, the prince of Ch'ing sent Han Shih to restore to us Ts'in-yang and Hēang. In the 2d month, we walled Yang and Hēang, changing the name of the former into Ho-yung,2 and of the other into Kaou-p'ing.3

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4 died. In his 4th year, Teih Chang attacked Wei. Wei defeated Han Keu, the general of Chaou. In his 5th year, the Loh entered Ching-chow. Waters issued from the hills abundantly. In the 6th year, there were great rains and violent winds. The waters of the Ho overflowed Swan-tsou. Shoo-chang of Ts'oo came with a force to have a meeting with us, and encamped at S'eng-k'ew. In his 7th year, Teih Chang came to the rescue of Ch'ing, and encamped at Nan-k'uh.

8 In his 8th year, Kung-sun Yuen of Ts'ein led a force against our city of P'e-she, the siege of which was raised by the succour of Teih Chang. There was a violent west wind. In his 9th year, we walled P'e-she. His 10th year. His 11th year. In his 12th year, T'rin destroyed our P'oo-fan, Tsin-yang, and Fung-kuh. In his 13th year, Han-tan ordered the Le, the great officers, and their servants, to remove to K'ew-yuen. The generals, great officers, sons of the 1st wife, and recorders of Tae, all wore dresses of martens' skins. His 14th year. In his 15th year, the prince of S'eih came, and had a meeting with our king at Foo-k'ew.

The people of Ts'oo penetrated to Yung-she, and were defeated. In his 16th year, our king had a meeting with the king of Ts'e in Han.

This chronicle was finished in the 20th year of our present king.

difficulty. 2 In dia. of Yung-tse, dep. P'oo-chow. 3 This notice must be out of place. Why should Yu't have sent these things to Wei, and how could it have sent the boats? 4 Yen-tain, dep. Wei-hwuy. 5 In Sih Chow, Shan-se. 6 Very remote, north-west of the pres. Yu-lin, Shem-se, more than 700 li. The par. is obscure, and the event is not elsewhere clearly related. 7 In sub. dep. of Yu, dep. K'uei-fung.

3. The Reader has now had the opportunity of making himself acquainted with the Annals of the Bamboo Books. As a specimen of the manner in which Chinese scholars deliver their opinion against them, I may quote the language of Wang Ming-shing. He says:—"It may be assumed as certain that they are a compilation which was imposed on the world by Shuh Sih. The forced versions of events in them, with their additions and combinations, are not only not worthy to be believed, but they are not worthy to be discussed. In every age there have been men capable of such mischief and falsehood. What we have to depend on, is that, while the man of knowledge will
altogether reject such books, he who may have doubts about so dealing with them will put them on one side. That is the proper way to pursue in studying them.' I cannot by any means agree in so unfavourable a judgment. The sketch of the discovery of all the Bamboo books, given in the first paragraph of this chapter, is sufficient to prove that they were not fabricated by Shuh Sih, or by any other, at the beginning of the Tsin dynasty. They had, no doubt, been lying for nearly six centuries in the tomb in which they had been first deposited, when they were then brought anew to light.

At the same time, the usage to which the tablets were subjected on their discovery, led to the loss of some, the mutilation of others, and a general confusion of their order, which leave abundant room for the exercise of critical ingenuity on the Annals as we now have them. The haste, too, with which the ancient writing was deciphered and transcribed in the current characters of the age, gives occasion to doubt whether that important work could have been executed with the care which its difficulty required. I have called attention in the notes to some of the many transpositions of paragraphs of the present text, which are proposed by Hăng Ch‘in-fung, the latest editor of the Annals, and an able and voluminous commentator on them. And there are other paragraphs, which he would cast out altogether, as having been incorporated with them from other portions of the mass of documents found in the tomb of king Séang. What was called ‘Fragmentary Sayings,’ or Narratives, of which there were eleven Books, appears to have supplied most of such additions. From the nature of the paragraphs supposed to be derived from this source, and of other fragments collected from various books where they appear as quotations from ‘The Bamboo Books’ (of which the account of the relations between Yaou and Shun, in note 8, p. 116, may be taken as an example), it appears that, besides the ore of the Annals, the tomb contained a large amount of dross, consisting of the wildest and most ridiculous legends and fables. From this material mainly were composed the long notes which we find interspersed through the Work, the more numerous and the more extravagant and absurd the more distant the times to which they

1 必是束晳僞譌------其穿鑿附會.不旦不足信,亦不足辯也.大約妄人何代茂有.全賴有識者屏黜之.有疑則闢.方為善讀書. See the 十七史商榷, on the 竹書紀年.

2 琿語,十一篇.
relate. In what must be acknowledged as really belonging to the Annals, there are, moreover, absurdities enough:—entries of prodigious phenomena, showers of gold, monstrous animals, transformations of sex, &c. The reader is often reminded of the marvels in Livy's History. Even if we were sure that we had the chronicle as it was placed in the tomb of king Sæang, we should have to be wary in our treatment of its contents; and much more must we be so, considering that we have it—here with mutilations, and there with additions.

With the reign of king P'ing, B.C. 769, there is a change in the character of the chronicle. From Hwang-te to that time, the Annals are those of the empire. The sovereigns of the different dynasties are the principal figures, in subordination to whose history the events of the various States are detailed. But from the date mentioned, the princes of Tsin become the principal figures; and they continue to be so, down to B.C. 439, when those of Wei, one of the three States, into which Tsin was dismembered, come into the foreground. From B.C. 769, therefore, the Annals are those of the State of Tsin, composed by its Recorders, and digested subsequently into a more compendious form by one of the officers, bearing that title, of the State of Wei. The earlier chronicle, which is more important and of more general interest, was compiled, probably, about the time that the second portion was commenced, by one of the Recorders of Tsin, and kept in the archives of that State, as an appropriate introduction to its particular affairs.

This view conducts us to an important conclusion respecting the Shoo. While denying, in the second chapter of these *prolegomena*, that in the older portions of the Shoo we have contemporaneous records of the events which they relate, I have given my opinion, on p. 66, that 'the Tribute of Yu' was, notwithstanding, among the written monuments of the dynasty of Shang, and passed over from its historiographers to those of the dynasty of Chow. I am not going now to retract or modify that opinion; but the fact that these Bamboo Annals contain so little of what the Shoo contains about Shun and Yu, appears to me to have a great significance. The accounts in the Shoo could not have been generally known, or, if known, not generally accepted, when the Annals were made. The character of the two Works is, indeed, different. The Annals give but the skeleton of the history of ancient China; the Shoo gives the flesh
and drapery of the body at particular times. The one tells of events simply, in the fewest possible words; the other describes the scenes and all the attendant circumstances of those events. The numerous appointments, however, of officers by Shun, and the grand labours of Yu, all related in the Shoo, ought, according to the plan of the Work, to have their brief commemoration in the Annals. That they are not so corroborated, proves that they were not accepted as matter of veritable history by the author of our chronicle. I shall dwell somewhat more minutely on this point in the next paragraph. It may suffice here to point it out distinctly. In one respect, the compiler of the documents of the Shoo has shown more discrimina-
tion than the compiler of the Annals. He did well in not attempting to go back into the shadowy age before Yaou; but I submit it to my readers, whether the want of corroboration, in the Annals, of the Shoo's accounts of the government of Shun and the labours of Yu, does not bear out my view, that the latter are merely the devices of philosophical romance, intended to present the first beginnings of Chinese history on a grand scale, and under heroes of sagely wisdom and gigantic achievement, who should be a model to sove-
reigns in all future ages.

4. There are two points in which the Annals of the Bamboo Books differ seriously from the generally received views of Chi-

differences between the Annals and the common views of Chinese History.

The one is in the matter of chronology, the years assigned in the Annals to the period between king P'ing of the Chow dynasty and the beginning of Yaou's reign being fewer by 211 than those commonly allowed. The other is that insisted on immediately above,—the contrast between them and the Shoo, in regard to the government of Shun and the labours of Yu.

On the former of these points, something was said in the last chapter. The history of China is certainly shortened in these Annals by the amount just mentioned. The number of sovereigns which they assign is the same as that in the common chronology, excepting in the case of the Shang dynasty, where we have two additional reigns, which, however, would lengthen the period by only 6 years, if the schemes otherwise agreed. The names or titles of the sove-
reigns, moreover, are for the most part the same, as will be seen in the table subjoined to this chapter. Where the length of the reigns differs, the years assigned in the Annals will generally, though not always, be found to be fewer than in the common tables. We know noth-
ing of the authority on which the duration of the greater num-

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ber of the reigns is determined in the one scheme or in the other.

Neither the chronology of the Annals, nor that more commonly acknowledged, is supported by sufficient evidence; but it is right that I should point out here the grounds there are for believing that the numbers given in the text of the Annals have been corrupted. This corruption is two-fold.

First, from the commencement of Yaou's reign downwards, the 1st year of the reigns is almost always indicated by the ordinary cycle characters. These, I maintain, were added after the discovery of the tablets;—not immediately, indeed, but by a gradual process, which was not completed until the Sung dynasty. In support of this view, I allege the following considerations:

[i.] It has been shown, on pp. 82, 83, that, before the second Han dynasty, the cycle characters were employed to chronicle days, and not years. In coming to that conclusion, Chinese scholars have not taken these Annals into account. They reach it from a study of all the ancient books known previous to the Han dynasty. The Bamboo Books turn up in the last quarter of our 3d century; and if we are to receive the cycle dates as contemporaneous with the rest of this chronicle, then all the arguments for the conclusion go for nothing. Here was a practice, exceedingly elegant and convenient for marking dates, prevalent when the Annals were composed; and yet no other instance of its use can be adduced from any of the acknowledged early Writings, while Sze-ma Ts'een and the other scholars, who first erected chronology in China into a science, knew nothing of it. Only an extreme credulity will admit this.

[ii.] The reader will have observed that a good many dates do not form part of the text of the Annals, but are introduced as notes. Let me refer him particularly to those on p. 120. The inference from this is, that the addition of the cycle dates was not made complete at once, and that subsequent insertions to perfect the system, after the work had become the possession of the public, were thus made in notes;—it was not possible then to enter them in the text.

[iii.] The early citations, under the Tsin dynasty and even later, of passages from the Annals, do not contain these cycle dates. This fact is decisive on the point. Upon the 1st date, that of ping-tsze, marking the 1st year of Yaou's reign, Hung E-heuen, a scholar and officer of the present dynasty, in the reigns Kēa-k'ing and Taou-kwang, observes:—"The various books which quote the Bamboo
Annals, do so without the cycle dates. It is not till we come to the chapter on chronology in the Books of Suy that we find the 1st year of Yaou quoted as king-tsze. Subsequently [in the Sung dynasty], a comment to the “After Chronicle of the Loo Sze” quotes the year as ping-tsze,—as we find it in the present copies of the Annals.¹¹

[iv.] If the Annals on their discovery had contained the cycle dates, we could not have had the errors which are found in the concluding notes to the dynasties of Hea and Shang on the length of those periods. This consideration is equally decisive on the matter in hand. Those notes were of early origin. Now, the Hea dynasty began with the year jin-tsze and ended with jin-seuh; it lasted, therefore, 6 cycles and 11 years, = 431, whereas the annotator says its duration was 471 years. The Shang dynasty began with the year kwei-hae and ended with käng-yin, comprising 8 cycles and 28 years, = 508, whereas the annotator assigns to it 496 years. The error in the one case amounts to 40 years, and in the other only to 12;—if the reigns had been marked at the date of those annotations, as they are now, there could not have been any error at all. We must conclude, on all these grounds, that the cycle names, used to denominate the first years of the reigns throughout the Annals, are an addition made subsequent to the period of their discovery.

Second, there is ground for thinking that the number of years assigned to the several reigns has also been altered in some cases. There are two considerations which make this probable.

[i.] Apart from the question of the cycle dates, the annotator had only to add together the years assigned to the different sovereigns, to obtain the length of the Shang dynasty. It is difficult to suppose that he should not have executed so simple an operation correctly.

[ii.] With the Hea dynasty the case is different. The addition of all the reigns, taking in the 40 years between Sëang and Shaou-k’ang, gives us only 403 years. About 40 years are dropped, being those of mourning, between the death of one sovereign and the 1st year of his successor. But now in the history of Shuh Sih, referred to on p. 106, it is stated that in the Bamboo Annals the years of the Hea dynasty were more than those of Shang.”² Attention is

¹ 洪頤煥曰：諸書引竹書紀年皆無甲子紀年，惟隋書律歷志、引竹書紀年，堯元年景子，路史後紀註引帝堯元年丙子，與今本同。Quoted by Hâng Ch’in-fung on the 1st year of Yaou.
² 夏年多殷。
called to the fact, as one of the peculiarities of the Annals, distin-
guishing them from the commonly accepted histories of those ancient
times. Häng Ch'in-fung observes upon it:—'When the history of
Shuh Sih says that the dynasty of Hea was longer than Shang,
whereas in our present copies Shang lasted longer than Hea, I do
not know on what ground the statement rested.' He might well
say so. But the memoir of Shuh Sih affords us one of the most
satisfactory testimonies to the discovery of the Bamboo Books, and
the fullest account of the various documents comprehended under
the name. The express statement to which I have called attention
cannot be got rid of. And it obliges us to conclude, that not only
were the cycle characters for years introduced into the Annals after
their emergence from the tomb, but that the lengths of the reigns
also were altered, so that the value of the chronicle, as a guide in
chronology, is altogether taken away.

The second point of difference, mentioned at the beginning of
this paragraph, between these Annals and other histories of China,
is to my mind of much greater importance. My own researches and reflections having
led me to consider most of what we read in the Shoo about the
well-ordered government of Shun and the labours of Yu, as the
invention of later times, intended to exalt the characters and
achievements of those worthies, and place them at the head of Chi-
nese history on a pinnacle of more than human wisdom and great-
ness, I am pleased with the confirmation which my views receive
from the accounts in the Annals. Let the reader compare them
carefully with the documents in the Shoo, and I do not think he
can fail to be struck with them as I have been. There are points
of agreement between the two, as could not but be the case, the
authors of them both, whatever they might add of their own, draw-
ing on the same general stock of traditions. But the details of the
Annals present the men and their doings in reasonable proportions.
We see in them the chiefs of a growing tribe, and not the emperors
of a vast and fully organized dominion.

[i.] The labours of Yu are confined in the Annals to the regulation
of the Ho. Yaou assigns to him no greater task than Sёaou-k'ang,
one of his own successors, has to assign, about 100 years later, to one
of the princes of Shang. The same task has often been assigned to
officers in subsequent times; might very well be assigned to one in

夏年多殷今本仍殷多夏不知此傳何所據而云也。
the present reign. Nothing is said of a far-extending, devastating deluge; nothing of Yu's operations on the mountains, or on the general face of the country, or on any river south of the Ho. Had it been in the accepted history of China, when these Annals were compiled, that Yu performed the more than Herculean tasks which the Shoo ascribes to him, it is unaccountable that they should not have mentioned them.

[ ii. ] The Shoo presents us with a picture of the government of Shun, which makes it appear to have been wonderfully complete. Not only has he Yu as his prime minister, and Kaou-yaou as minister of Crime; but he has his ministers of Instruction, Agriculture, Works, and Religion; his commissioner of Woods and Forests; his director of Music; his minister of Communication. According to the plan of the Annals, the appointment of all those ministers should have been mentioned; but the only names which they contain are those of Yu and Kaou-yaou. It is clear, that of the two-and-twenty great ministers by whom the Shun of the Shoo is surrounded, the greater number were the invention of speculators and dreamers of a later day, who, regardless of the laws of human progress, wished to place at the earliest period of their history a golden age and a magnificent empire, that should be the cynosure of men's eyes in all time.

If the space which I have given in these prolegomena to the Bamboo Annals appear excessive, the use to which I have turned them, to support the conclusions which I had been led on other grounds to form, must be my excuse. Even if it could be substantiated (which it cannot be), that the Annals were fabricated in the Tsin dynasty, the fact would remain, that their fabricator had taken a more reasonable view of the history of his country than any other of its writers has done, and indicated views, which, I venture to think, will be generally adopted by inquirers in the West. Those who come after me will probably assail the hitherto unchallenged accounts of ancient times with a bolder hand and on a more extensive scale than I have done in the present essay.
### TABLE OF ANCIENT CHINESE CHRONOLOGY

According to the Common scheme, and to the Bamboo Annals.

#### Common Scheme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emperor's Name</th>
<th>Years of Reign</th>
<th>1st Year on Reign</th>
<th>1st Year of Reign</th>
<th>Years of Reign</th>
<th>Emperor's Name</th>
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#### Bamboo Annals.

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### Table of Chronology

[Cal. IV.]

Hea dynasty, with title of 后 or 王, Sovereign.

Hea dynasty, with title of 帝, Emperor.
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**Dynasty of Shang, with title of 王, or King.**
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TABLE OF ANCIENT CHINESE CHRONOLOGY.—Continued.
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TABLE OF ANCIENT CHINESE CHRONOLOGY.
CHAPTER V.

THE ANCIENT EMPIRE OF CHINA.

ENTRANCE OF THE CHINESE INTO CHINA. OTHER EARLY SETTLERS.
GROWTH OF THE TRIBE INTO A NATION. RELIGION AND SUPERSTITIONS.
FORM AND ISSUES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

1. About two thousand years before our Christian era, the Chinese tribe first appeared in the country, where it has since increased so greatly. It then occupied a small extent of territory, on the east and north of the Ho,—the more southern portion of the present province of Shan-se. As its course continued to be directed to the east and south (though after it crossed the Ho, it proceeded to extend itself westwards as well), we may conclude that it had come into China from the north-west. Believing that we have in the 10th chapter of the Book of Genesis some hints, not to be called in question, of the way in which the whole earth was overspread by the families of the sons of Noah, I suppose that the family, or collection of families,—the tribe,—which has since grown into the most numerous of the nations, began to move eastwards, from the regions between the Black and Caspian seas, not long after the confusion of tongues. Going on, between the Altaic range of mountains on the north and the Tauric range, with its continuations, on the south, but keeping to the sunny and more attractive south as much as it could, the tribe found itself, at the time I have mentioned, between 40° and 45°, N. L., moving parallel with the Yellow River in the most northern portion of its course. It determined to follow the stream, turned south with it, and moved along its eastern bank, making settlements where the country promised most advantages, till it was stopped by the river ceasing its southward flow, and turning again towards the east. Thus the present Shan-se was the cradle of the Chinese empire. The tribe dwelt there for a brief space, consolidating its
strength under the rule of chieftains, who held their position by their personal qualities more than by any privileges of hereditary descent; and then gradually forced its way, east, west, and south, conflicting with the physical difficulties of the country, and prevailing over the opposition of ruder and less numerous neighbours.

2. Neighbours? Yes. The arrival of the Chinese tribe had been anticipated by others. These may have left the original seat of our infant race in the West earlier than it; or they may have left it at the same time.

Other early immigrant tribes.

If they did so, the wave of emigration had broken in its progress. Some portions had separated from the main body, and found their way into the present province of Shen-se; and others, pursuing the same direction with it, but moving with more celerity, had then been pushed forward, by its advance, towards the sea, and subsequently along the sea-board, trying to make good a position for themselves among the mountains and along the streams of the country. We are not to suppose that the land was peopled by these tribes. They were not then living under any settled government, nor were they afterwards able to form a union of their forces, which could cope with the growing power of the larger people. They were scattered here and there over the region north of the Ho, gradually extending southward toward the Keang. Hostilities were constantly breaking out between them and the Chinese, over whom they might gain, once and again, temporary advantages. They increased in their degree, as well as those, and were far from being entirely subdued at the end of the Chow dynasty. Remnants of them still exist in a state of semi-independence in the southwestern parts of the empire. Amid the struggles for the supreme power, which arose when one dynasty gave place to another, and the constant contentions, which prevailed among the States into which the empire was divided, the princes readily formed alliances with the chiefs of these wilder tribes. They were of great assistance to king Woo in his conflict with the last sovereign of the dynasty of Shang. In the speech which he delivered to his forces before the decisive battle in the wild of Muh, he addressed the ‘men of Yung, Shuh, Keang, Maou, Wei, Loo, P‘ang, and Poh,’ in addition to his own captains, and the rulers of friendly States. We are told that the wild tribes of the south and north, as well as the people of the great and flowery region, followed and were consenting with him.  

1 The Shoo, Pt. V., Bk. III., parr. 2–4. 2 Pt. V., Bk. IV., p. 6.
Edward Biot calls attention to the designation of the early Chinese tribe or colony as 'the black-haired people,' saying that they were doubtless so named in opposition to the different or mixed colour of the hair of the indigenous race. But I cannot admit any 'indigenous race,'—any race that did not come from the same original centre of our world's population as the Chinese themselves. The wild tribes of which we read in the Shoo and Chinese history, were, no doubt, black-haired, as all the remnants of them are at the present day. If we must seek an explanation for the name of 'black-haired people,' as given to the early Chinese, I should say that its origin was anterior to their entrance into China, and that it was employed to distinguish them from other descendants of Noah, from whom they separated, and who, while they journeyed to the east, moved in an opposite and westward direction.

3. It was to their greater civilization, and the various elements of strength flowing from it, that the Chinese owed their superiority over other early settlers in the country. They were able, in virtue of this, to subdue the land and replenish it, while the ruder tribes were gradually pushed into corners, and finally were nearly all absorbed and lost in the prevailing race. The black-haired people brought with them habits of settled labour. Their wealth did not consist, like that of nomads, in their herds and flocks. Shun's governors of provinces in the Shoo are called Pastors or Herdsmen, and Mencius speaks of princes generally as 'Pastors of men;' but pastoral allusions are very few in the literature of China. The people could never have been a tribe of shepherds. They displayed, immediately on their settlement, an acquaintance with the arts of agriculture and weaving. The cultivation of grain to obtain the staff of life, and of flax to supply clothing, at once received their attention. They knew also the value of the silk-worm, and planted the mulberry tree. The exchange of commodities—the practice of commerce on a small scale—was, moreover, early developed among them. It was long, indeed, before they had anything worthy of the name of a city; but fairs were established at convenient places, to which the people resorted from the farms and hamlets about, to barter their various wares.

In addition to the above endowments, the early Chinese possessed

3 See his Introduction to his translation of the Chow Le, p. 5.
1 Mencius, I., Pt. I., vi. 6.
the elements of intellectual culture. They had some acquaintance with astronomy, knew approximately the length of the year, and recognized the necessity of the practice of intercalation, to prevent the seasons, on a regard to which their processes of agriculture depended, from getting into disorder. They possessed also the elements of their present written characters. The stories current, and which are endorsed by statements in the later semi-classical books, about the invention of the characters by Ts‘ang-köé, in the time of Hwang-te, are of no value; and it was not till the Chow dynasty, and the reign particularly of king Seuen (B. C. 825—779), that anything like a dictionary of them was attempted to be compiled; 2 but the original immigrants, I believe, brought with them the art of ideographic writing or engraving. It was rude and imperfect, but it was sufficient for the recording of simple observations of the stars in their courses, and the surface of the earth, and for the orders to be issued by the government of the time. As early as the beginning of the Shang dynasty, we find E Yìn presenting a written memorial to his sovereign. 3

The habits of the other settlers were probably more warlike than those of the Chinese; but their fury would exhaust itself in predatory raids. They were incapable of any united or persistent course of action. We cannot wonder that they were in the long run supplanted and absorbed by a race with the characteristics and advantages which I have pointed out.

4. The reader will understand that what I say in this paragraph on the religion and superstitions of the early Chinese will be based almost entirely on the documents of the Shoo; and that Book has to do with the sayings and doings of the emperors. By and by, we shall have before us all the testimony of all the classical writings, and be prepared to consider these important subjects, as they entered into and affected the life of the people at large. I would willingly have deferred any discussion of them at present; but it was necessary to my design in the present chapter to touch cursorily upon them.

The chiefs and rulers of the ancient Chinese were not without some considerable knowledge of God; but they were accustomed, on their first appearance in the country, if the earliest portions of the Shoo can be relied on at all, to worship other spiritual Beings as well.

2 See the Introduction to Morrison’s Dictionary, and an Essay by Father De Mailla,—Recherches sur les Characters Chinois,—the 7th of the essays, appended to Gaebil’s Shoo-king.
3 The Shoo, Pt. IV, Bk. V., Pt. 1, par. 1.
There was no sacerdotal or priestly class among them; there were no revelations from Heaven to be studied and expounded. The chieftain was the priest for the tribe; the emperor, for the empire; the prince of a State, for his people; the father, for his family.

Shun had no sooner been designated by Yaou to the active duties of the government as co-emperor with him, than 'he offered a special sacrifice, but with the ordinary forms, to God; sacrificed purely to the six Honoured ones; offered their appropriate sacrifices to the rivers and hills; and extended his worship to the host of spirits.' Subsequently, in the progresses which he is reported to have made to the different mountains where he met the princes of the several quarters of the empire, he always commenced his proceedings with them by 'presenting a burnt-offering to Heaven, and sacrificing in order to the hills and rivers.' I do not refer to these passages as veritable records of what Shun actually did; but they are valuable, as being the ideas of the compilers of the Shoo of what he should have done in his supposed circumstances.

The name by which God was designated was the Ruler, and the Supreme Ruler, denoting emphatically His personality, supremacy, and unity. We find it constantly interchanged with the term Heaven, by which the ideas of supremacy and unity are equally conveyed, while that of personality is only indicated vaguely, and by an association of the mind. By God kings were supposed to reign, and princes were required to decree Justice. All were under law to Him, and bound to obey His will. Even on the inferior people He has conferred a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right. All powers that be are from Him. He raises one to the throne and puts down another. Obedience is sure to receive His blessing; disobedience, to be visited with His curse. The business of kings is to rule in righteousness and benevolence, so that the people may be happy and good. They are to be an example to all in authority, and to the multitudes under them. Their highest achievement is to cause the people tranquilly to pursue the course which their moral nature would indicate and approve. When they are doing wrong, God admonishes them by judgments,—storms, famine, and other calamities; if they persist in evil, sentence goes forth against them. The dominion is taken from them, and given to others more worthy of it.

1 The Canon of Shun, parr. 6, 8. 2 Pt. IV., Bk. III., par. 2. 3 Pt. IV., Bk. IV., p. 2; et passim. 4 Pt. IV., Bk. III., p. 2.
The duke of Chow, in his address on 'The Establishment of Government,'\(^5\) gives a striking summary of the history of the empire down to his own time. Yu the Great, the founder of the Hou dynasty, 'sought for able men, to honour God.' But the way of Kēē, the last of his line, was different. He employed cruel men;—and he had no successors. The empire was given to T'ang the Successful, who 'greatly administered the bright ordinances of God.' By and by, T'ang's throne came to Shao, who was all violence, so that 'God sovereignly punished him.' The empire was transferred to the House of Chow, whose chiefs showed their fitness for the charge by 'finding out men, who would reverently serve God, and appointing them as presidents and chiefs of the people.'

It was the duty of all men to reverence and honour God, by obeying His law written in their hearts, and seeking His blessing in all their ways; but there was a solemn and national worship of Him, as ruling in nature and providence, which could only be performed by the emperor. It consisted of sacrifices, or offerings rather, and prayers. No image was formed of Him, as indeed the Chinese have never thought of fashioning a likeness of the Supreme.

Who the 'six Honoured ones,' whom Shun sacrificed to next to God, were, is not known. In going on to worship the hills and rivers, and the host of spirits, he must have supposed that there were certain tutelary beings, who presided over the more conspicuous objects of nature, and its various processes. They were under God, and could do nothing, excepting as they were permitted and empowered by Him; but the worship of them was inconsistent with the truth that God demands to be recognized as 'He who worketh all in all,' and will allow no religious homage to be given to any but Himself. It must have always been the parent of many superstitions; and it paved the way for the pantheism which enters largely into the belief of the Chinese at the present day, and of which we find one of the earliest steps in the practice, which commenced with the Chow dynasty, of not only using the term *Heaven* as a synonym for God, but the combination *Heaven and Earth*.\(^6\)

There was also among the early Chinese the religious worship of their departed friends, which still continues to be observed by all classes from the emperor downward, and seems of all religious services to have the greatest hold

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5 Pt V., Bk. XIX.  
6 Pt. V., Bk. I., Pt. i., p. 3.
upon the people. The title given in the Shoo to Shun’s minister of Religion is that of ‘Arranger of the Ancestral temple.’ The rule of Confucius, that ‘parents, when dead, should be sacrificed to according to propriety,’ was, doubtless, in accordance with a practice which had come down from the earliest times of the nation.

The spirits of the departed were supposed to have a knowledge of the circumstances of their descendants, and to be able to affect them. Events of importance in a family were communicated to them before their shrines; many affairs of government were transacted in the ancestral temple. When Yaou demitted to Shun the business of the government, the ceremony took place in the temple of ‘the accomplished ancestor,’ the individual to whom Yaou traced his possession of the supreme dignity; and while Yaou lived, Shun, on every return to the capital from his administrative progresses, offered a bullock before the shrine of the same personage.

In the same way, when Shun found the toils of government too heavy for him, and called Yu to share them, the ceremony took place in the temple of ‘the spiritual ancestor,’ the chief in the line of Shun’s progenitors. In the remarkable narrative, which we have in the 6th of the Books of Chow, of the duke of Chow’s praying for the recovery of his brother, king Woo, from a dangerous illness, and offering to die in his stead, he raises three altars—to their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather; and prays to them, as having in heaven the charge of watching over their great descendant. When he has ascertained by divination that the king would recover, he declares that he had got Woo’s tenure of the throne renewed by the three kings, who had thus consulted for a long futurity of their House.

This case shows us that the spirits of good kings were believed to be in heaven. A more general conclusion is derived from what we read in the 7th of the Books of Shang. The emperor Pwan-káng, irritated by the opposition of the wealthy and powerful Houses to his measures, and their stirring up the people also to murmur against them, threatens them all with calamities to be sent down by his High ancestor, T’ang the Successful. He tells his ministers, that their ancestors and fathers, who had loyally served his predecessors, were now urgently entreating T’ang, in his spirit-state in heaven, to execute great punishments on their descendants. Not only, therefore,

7 Canon of Shun, p. 23. 8 Ana., II., v. 9 Canon of Shun, p. 4. 10 Ib., p. 8.
did good sovereigns continue to have a happy existence in heaven; but their good ministers shared the happiness with them, and were somehow round about them, as they had been on earth, and took an interest in the progress of the concerns which had occupied them during their lifetime. Modern scholars, following in the wake of Confucius, to whom the future state of the departed was all wrapt in shadows, clouds, and darkness, say that the people of the Shang dynasty were very superstitious.—My object is to bring out the fact, and the nature of their superstition.

There is no hint in the Shoo nor elsewhere, so far as I am aware, of what became of bad emperors and bad ministers after death, nor, indeed, of the future fate of men generally. There is a heaven in the classical books of the Chinese; but there is no hell; and no purgatory. Their oracles are silent as to any doctrine of future rewards and punishments. Their exhortations to well-doing, and their warnings against evil, are all based on a reference to the will of God, and the certainty that in this life virtue will be rewarded and vice punished. 'Of the five happinesses, the first is long life; the second is riches; the third is soundness of body and serenity of mind; the fourth is the love of virtue; and the fifth is doing or receiving to the end the will of Heaven.' There is no promise of rest or comfort beyond the grave. The virtuous man may live and die in suffering and disgrace;—let him be cheered. His posterity will reap the reward of his merits. Some one, sprung from his loins, will become wealthy, or attain to distinction. But if he should have no posterity:—it never occurred to any of the ancient sages to consider such a case.

I will pass on from this paragraph with a reference to the subject of divination. Although the ancient Chinese can hardly be said to have had the knowledge of a future state, and were not curious to inquire about it, they were anxious to know about the wisdom and issues of their plans for the present life. For this purpose they had recourse to divination. The duke of Chow certainly practised it; and we have a regular staff of diviners among the officers of the Chow dynasty. Pwan-käng practised it in the dynasty of Shang. And Shun did so also, if we can put faith in 'The Counsels of Yu.' The instruments of divination were the shell of the tortoise and the stalks of a certain grass or reed. By various caustic

11 Pt. V., Bk. IV., par. 39.
operations on the former, and by manipulations with the latter, it was supposed possible to ascertain the will of Heaven. I must refer the reader to what I have said about the practice on the seventh section of 'The Great Plan.' It is difficult to understand how the really great men of ancient China could have believed in it. One observation ascribed to Shun is worthy of remark. He tells Yu that 'divination, when fortunate, must not be repeated.' I once saw a father and son divining after one of the fashions of the present day. They tossed the bamboo roots, which came down in the unlucky positions for a dozen times in succession. At last a lucky cast was made. They looked into each other's faces, laughed heartily, and rose up, delighted, from their knees. The divination was now successful, and they dared not repeat it!

5. When the dignity of chief advanced to that of sovereign, and the Chinese tribe grew into a nation, the form which it assumed was that of a feudal empire. It was probably not until the Chow dynasty, that its constitution was fully developed and consolidated; as it is only then that we find in the last part of the Shoo, in the Ch'un Ts'ew, the Rites of Chow, and other Works of the period, materials to give a description of it. King Woo, we are told, after he had overthrown the last sovereign of the line of T'ang, arranged the orders of nobility into five, from duke downwards, and assigned the territories to them on a scale proportioned to their different ranks. But at the beginning of the Hea dynasty, Yu conferred on the chiefs among his followers lands and surnames. The feudal system grew in a great measure out of the necessities of the infant empire. As the ruder tribes were pushed backwards from its growing limits, they would the more fiercely endeavour to resist further encroachment. The measure was sometimes taken of removing them to other distant sites, according to the policy on which the kings of Assyria and Babylon dealt with Israel and Judah. So Shun is reported to have carried away the San-méaou. But the Chinese empire was too young and insufficiently established itself to pursue this plan generally; and each State therefore was formed with a military constitution of its own, to defend the marches against the irruptions of the barbarians.

12 Pt. II., Bk. II., p. 18.

1 Pt. V., Bk. III., p. 10. 2 See the Tribute of Yu, Pt. ii., p. 16. I seem to see clearly now, that this paragraph and the six that follow should be interpreted of Yu the emperor, and not of him as a minister of Yaou.
What was designed to be the central State of the empire was the appanage of the sovereign himself, and was of the same dimensions as one of the largest of the feudatory States. Over this he ruled like one of the other princes in their several dominions; and he received, likewise, a certain amount of revenue from all the rest of the country, while the nobles were bound to do him military service, whenever called upon. He maintained also a court of great ministers, who superintended the government of the whole empire. The princes were little kings within their own States, and had the power of life and death over the people. They practised the system of sub-infeudation; but their assignments of lands were required to have the imperial sanction.

It was the rule, under the Chow dynasty, that the princes should repair to the court every five years, to give an account of their administration of their governments; and that the emperor should make a general tour through the country every twelve years, to see for himself how they performed their duties. We read in the Canon of Shun, that he made a tour of inspection once in five years, and that the princes appeared at court during the intermediate four. As the empire enlarged, the imperial progresses would naturally become less frequent. By this arrangement, it was endeavoured to maintain a uniformity of administration and customs throughout the States. The various ceremonies to be observed in marriages, funerals and mourning, hospitalities, religious worship, and the conduct of hostilities; the measures of capacity, length, weight, &c.; and the written characters of the language:—these were all determined by imperial prerogative. To innovate in them was a capital offence.

The above is an imperfect outline of the feudal constitution of the ancient empire of China, which was far from enjoying peace and prosperity under it. According to the received accounts, the three dynasties of Hea, Shang, and Chow were established, one after another, by princes of great virtue and force of character, aided in each case by a minister of consummate ability and loyal devotion. Their successors invariably became feeble and worthless. After a few reigns, the imperial rule slackened. Throughout the States there came assumptions and oppressions, each prince doing what was right in his own eyes, without fear of his suzerain. The wild tribes round

3 Here is the true account of the origin of the names Chung Kwoh (中國), 'Middle State,' and Chung Pang (中央), 'Middle Region.' 4 Can. of Shun, par. 9. 5 See the Canon of Shun, par. 8; and the Doctrine of the Mean, Ch. XXVIII.
about waxed bold, and kept up a constant excitement and terror by their incursions. Then would come an exceptional reign of more than usual vigour, and a partial order would be established; but the brief prosperity was only like a blink of sunshine in a day of gloom. In the Shoo, the termination of the dynasties of Hea and Shang is attributed to the wickedness of their last emperors. After a long array of feeble princes, there suddenly appear on the throne men of gigantic physical strength, the most daring insolence, and the wildest debaucheries, having neither piety nor ruth; and in contrast with them are princes, whose fathers have for several generations been attracting general notice by their righteousness and benevolence. When Heaven and men can no longer bear the iniquity of the tyrants, the standard of revolt is raised, and the empire speedily comes under a new rule. These accounts are, no doubt, much exaggerated and embellished. Kéé and Show were not such monsters of vice, nor were T'ang and Woo such prodigies of virtue. More likely is it that the earlier dynasties died out like that of Chow, from sheer exhaustion, and that their last sovereigns were weaklings like king Nan, rather than tyrants.

The practice of polygamy, which was as old as Yaou, was a constant source of disorder. A favourite concubine plays a conspicuous part in the downfall of the dynasties of Shang and Hea, and another signalizes a calamitous epoch in that of Chow. In the various States, this system was ever giving rise to jealousies, factions, usurpations, and abominations which cannot be told. No nation where polygamy exists can long be prosperous or powerful; in a feudal empire its operation must be peculiarly disastrous.

The teachings of Confucius in the Chow dynasty could not arrest the progress of degeneracy and dissolution in a single State. His inculcation of the relations of society and the duties belonging to them had no power. His eulogies of the ancient sages were only the lighting up in the political firmament of so many suns which communicated no heat. Things waxed worse and worse. The pictures which Mencius draws of the misery of his times are frightful. What he auspiced from the doctrines and labours of his master never came to pass. The ancient feudal empire was extinguished, amid universal anarchy, in seas of blood.

The character and achievements of the founder of the Ts'in dynasty have not yet received from historians the attention which they deserve. He destroyed the feudal system of China, and introduced,
in its room, the modern despotic empire, which has now lasted rather more than 2,000 years.

6. The ancient empire of China passed away, having been weighed in the balances and found wanting. Under the system of rule, which superseded it, the boundaries of the empire have been greatly extended, and the people have grandly increased. Now, however, it would seem to be likewise approaching its end. It would not have endured so long, but for the position of the country at the extremity of the Asiatic continent. Its neighbours were not more powerful than itself, and they were less civilized. Once and again the country has been overrun and subjugated by the descendants of the tribes which disputed the possession of the soil with its earliest colonists; but it has subdued them in its turn by its greater cultivation, and they have become more Chinese than the Chinese themselves. The changes of dynasty since the end of the old empire or classical period have not been revolutions, but only substitutions of one set of rulers for another. In the present century new relations have arisen between China and the rest of the world. Christian nations of the West have come into rude contact with it. In vain did it fall back on the tradition of the 'Middle State,' and proclaim its right to their homage. The prestige of its greatness has vanished before a few ships of war, and the presence of a few thousand soldiers. The despotic empire will shortly pass away as the feudal one did, but with less 'hideous ruin and combustion.' It is needless to speculate on the probabilities of the future. God will be His own interpreter. China, separated from the rest of the world, and without the light of revelation, has played its part, and brought forth its lessons, which will not, I trust, be long without their fitting exposition. Whether it is to be a dependent or independent nation in the future, to be broken up or remain united, the first condition to happiness and prosperity is humility on the part of its scholars and rulers. Till they are brought to look at their own history and their sages, falsely so called, according to a true estimate, and to cease from their blind admiration of them, there is no hope for the country.
CHAPTER VI.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL WORKS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS VOLUME.

SECTION I.

CHINESE WORKS.

1 In the 十三經註疏 (see proleg. to vol. I., p. 129):—
   [i.] 尚書註疏, containing the commentary of K'ung Gankwô, and the expositions made and collected by K'ung Ying-tâ and other scholars of the T'ang dynasty (see above, p. 31).
   [ii.] 爾雅註疏. This is a sort of dictionary to the classics. The comments are by Kwoh P'oh (郭璞), of the Tsin dynasty, and the exposition, glosses and disquisitions, by Hing Ping (邢昺), of the Sung. 爾雅 may be translated—'The Ready Rectifier'.

3 欽定書經傳説纂纂. 'Compilation and Digest of Comments and Remarks on the Shoo King. By imperial authority.' In 24 Books. I have generally in my notes called this Work—'Yung-ching's Shoo.' It was commanded in 1721, the 60th year of the period K'ang-he, the last year but one of the emperor Benevolent; and appeared with a preface by his son and successor, the emperor Pattern, in 1730, the 8th year of the period Yung-ching. Many great scholars were employed in its preparation and publication. They drew on the writings of 380 scholars,—from the Ts'in dynasty downwards. First, they give the commentary of Ts'ae Ch'in, the disciple of Choo He (see above, pp. 35, 36), interspersed with illustrative glosses. Then follows a collection of passages, confirmatory of Ts'ae's views, taken from their authorities (集說). This is often followed by an appendix of different views of the text, which are conceived to be worthy of examination (附錄). Occasionally, the editors give their own decisions, where they think they have more light than their predecessors had (案). There are maps and illustrations at the beginning, and a critical introduction; while the preface
ascribed to Confucius is given and commented on at the end. This Work may serve the student in lieu of many others. It is a monument of industry and research;—beyond all praise.

4 I have made frequent reference to the other imperial editions of the Classics, mentioned in proleg. to vol. I., p. 131; especially, to the 春秋傳說彚纂, which embodies the Chuen of Tso-k'ew, Kung-yang, and Kuh-léang.

5 欽定周官義疏, 'Discussion of the Meaning of “The Officers of Chow.” By imperial authority.' In 48 Books. This Work, with two others on the 'Rites,' was ordered in 1748, the 13th year of the reign K'ēen-lung, by the emperor Pure, to complete the labours of his father, the Benevolent, on the Classics. Edward Biot thus characterises it:—'It is worthy to be compared with the best Works executed in Europe on the different parts of the Bible. I should even say that it is superior to them, if I did not fear being accused of partiality' (Introduction to the Translation of 'The Rites of Chow,' p. xxxv.) The eulogy is deserved, so far as the exhaustive research is concerned. In range of thought and speculation, commentaries on the Chinese Classics and the Bible cannot be compared.

6 御製日講書經解義, 'Daily Lectures, Explaining the Meaning of the Shoo King. By imperial authority.' In 13 Books. It was ordered by the emperor Benevolent in 1,680. I have often quoted it under the name of 'The Daily Explanation.' It has all the qualities which I ascribed to the sister work on the Four Books, 'being full, perspicuous, and elegant.'

7 三山拙齋林先生尚書全解, 'A Complete Explanation of the Shang Shoo, by Lin Chueh-chae of San-shan.' In 40 Books. The author is commonly called Lin Che-k'e; and so I have generally referred to him. His commentary is very voluminous. It is older than Ts'ae Ch'in's, and, in my opinion, superior to it.

8 臨川吳澄今文尚書纂言, 'Digest of Remarks on the Modern Text of the Shang Shoo, by Woo Ching of Lin-ch'uen.' In 4 Books. See above, p. 36. This is the commentary of the Yuen dynasty;—terse and original.

9 陳氏師凱書蔡傳旁通, 'The Commentary of Ts'ae on the Shoo Illustrated by Ch'in Sze-k'ae.' Published in 6 Books, in 1,520. It is a commentary on Ts'ae Ch'in's commentary. The author draws his illustrations from 88 different Works.

10 王耕野先生讀書瞥見, 'Imperfect Views (views through a tube), by Wang Käng-yay, of passages in the Shoo.' In 2 Books.
This also is a Work of the Yuen dynasty. The views are sometimes very ingenious.

11 王鲁齋書疑 'Wang Loo-chae’s Doubts about the Shoo.' In 8 chapters. The author was of the Sung dynasty. He is also called Wang Pih (王柏).

12 The 皇清經解, (See proleg. to vol. I., p. 133) contains many Works on the Shoo, or on portions of it. Those which I have made most use of are:—

[i.] 尙書集註音疏, 'Comments of himself and others on the Meaning of the Shang Shoo, and on the Pronunciation of the Characters.' The author was a Kæang Shing (江聲), of the district of Woo, dep. Soo-chow. It occupies Books 390-403 of the collection;—a Work of vast learning, but dogmatical.

[ii.] 尙書後案, 'Latest Decisions on the Shang Shoo.' By Wang Ming-shing (王鳴盛), an acquaintance of Kæang Shing, and of the same district. His main object is to bring out the views of Ch’ìng K‘ang-shing, as the true exposition of the Classic. The Work occupies Books 404-434, and took the author 34 years to complete it. His research is vast; but his object is one-sided.

[iii.] 尙書今文注疏, 'The Shang Shoo in the Modern and Ancient Text Commented on and Discussed.' Books 735-773. The Work appeared in 1,815. The author was Sun Sing-yen (孫星衍), an officer of high employments. His 'ancient text' is not that current under this designation, but the variations from Fuh-säng’s text, which are found in Ch’ìng K‘ang-shing and other Han writers.


[v.] 禹貢樞指, 'The Needle-touch applied to the Tribute of Yu.' Published in the reign K‘ang-he, by Hoo Wei (胡渭). The author had previously been employed, with many other officers, in preparing a statistical account of the present empire. The Work cannot be too highly spoken of. Books 27-47.

17 古文尚書疏證, 'A Discussion of the Evidence for the Ancient Text of the Shang Shoo.' By Yen Jö-keu (閔若翱); published in
1,704. The Work is a vehement onset against the genuineness of the commonly received 'Ancient Text,' and was intended to establish, beyond contradiction, the views of Kēang Shing, mentioned above. The plan of it extends to 128 Chapters or Arguments; but not a few of them are left blank. It is, no doubt, very able; but, as is said of it in the catalogue of the Imperial Libraries, it is too discursive, and full of repetitions.

18 Of the writings of Maou K‘e-ling (proleg. to vol. I., p. 132), bearing on the Shoo, there are:—

[i.] 古文尙書管詁, 'The Wrongs of the Ancient Text of the Shang Shoo.' In 8 Books. This was intended as an answer to the Work of Yen Jō-keu; and it seems to me that Maou has the best of the argument.

[ii.] 尚書廣聴錄, 'New Essays for Readers of the Shang Shoo.' In 5 Books. Throws light on several passages; but the author is too devoted to the commentary of Ĝan-kwō.

[iii.] 舜典補亡, 'The Lost Portions of the Canon of Shun Supplied.' In 1 Book.

21 洪範正論, 'A Correct Discussion of "The Great Plan."' In 5 Books. By Hoo Wei, whose Work on the Tribute of Yu has been noticed above. This is a fit companion to the other.

22 經義考, 'An Examination of the Explanations of the Classics.' In 300 Books. By Choo E-tsun (朱彝尊). It contains a list of all the Works on the Thirteen Classics, lost or preserved, of which the author's industry could ascertain the names, from the earliest time down to the present. Much information is given about many of them; and critical questions connected with them are discussed. The Work was ordered by the emperor Pure (Kēen-lung), and appears with an Introduction from his pencil.

23 御纂朱子全書, 'A Grand Collection of the Views of Choo He. By imperial authority.' Compiled in 66 Books, in the 52d year of the period K'ang-ke. Books 33 and 34 are on the Shoo.

24 羱餘叢考, 'A Collection of Essays, written at intervals of Filial Duty.' In 43 Books. By Chaou Yih (趙翼). Published in 1,811.

25 Ma Twan-lin's General Examination of Records and Scholars; and its Continuation. See proleg. to vol. I., p. 134.

27 A Cyclopaedia of Surnames, or Biographical Dictionary, &c. See proleg. to vol. I., p. 133.

29 The Philosopher Mih. See proleg. to vol. II., p. 126.
30 The Collected Writings of Han Ch‘ang-le. See proleg. to vol. II., p. 126.
31 説文解字, 'Definitions and Explanations of Characters.' This is the dictionary of Heu Shin. See note on p. 1, above. It was not finished A.D. 100, as there stated, but in 121.
32 釋名, 'Explanation of Terma.' In 4 Books. By Lew He (劉熙), a scion of the imperial House of Han.
33 經典釋文, 'An Explanation of the Terms and Phrases in the Classics.' In 30 Books. By Luh Tih-ming (陸德明), of the T‘ang dynasty. This is more a dissection of the Classics, excluding Mencius, and including Laou-tsze and Chwang-tsze, giving the sounds of characters, and the meaning of them single and in combination, than a dictionary. It is valuable as a repertory of ancient views.
35 經韻集字析解
36 四書誌經字譜
37 經籍纂譜
38 國語, 'Narratives of the States.' In 21 Books. Belongs to the period of the 'Divided States' (列國); and is commonly ascribed to Tso-k‘ew Ming. It is always published with comments by Wei Ch‘aou of Woo (吳章昭), one of the 'Three States.'
39 戰國策注, 'Plans of the Warring States, with Comments.' In 33 Books. Belongs to the closing period of the Chow dynasty. It was compiled in the first instance by a Kaou Yew (高誘), of the Han dynasty; but was subsequently largely supplemented.
40 呂氏春秋, 'The Ch‘un Ts‘ew of Leu.' In 26 Books. Ascribed to Leu Puh-wei, the prime minister of the founder of the Ts‘in dynasty. It is tiresome to read, but is useful in studying the Classics.
41 吳越春秋, 'The Ch‘un Ts‘ew of Woo and Yuē.' See above, pp. 67, 68.
42 昭明文選 李善註, 'Selection of Compositions, by Ch‘aou-m‘ing, with the Comments of Le Shen.' In 30 Books. Ch‘aou-m‘ing is the posthumous title of the compiler, who was heir to the throne during the Lēang dynasty (A.D. 503–557), but died early. The compositions are of various kinds,—poems, letters, epitaphs, &c.; from Tsze-liäa downwards to the first Sung dynasty. The commentator was of the Sung dynasty.
WORKS CONSULTED.

43 二十四史, 'The Historians.' See proleg. to vol. I., p. 134.

44 御批通鑑輯覽一百十六卷附明唐桂二王本末三卷, 
'Grand Collection of the General Mirror of History, in 116 Books; 
with a Supplement, containing the History of the two kings, T'ang 
and K'wei, in the Ming dynasty, in 3 Books. With the imperial 
views.' A noble work, commanded in the 33d year of K'e'en-lung.

45 資治通鑑綱目, 'General Mirror of History, in Heads and 
Particulars, for the Assistance of Government.' My copy is an 
edition of 1,807, in 101 Books, to the end of the Yuen dynasty.

46 綱鑑易知, 'The Mirror of History, made Easy.' In 29 Books. 
By Woo Sing-k'eu-en (吳秉權). Published in the 50th year of 
K'ang-he.

By a Woo Kwan (吳琯), of the Ming dynasty. Contains only the 
Text, and comments of Shin Yǒ, of the Lêang dynasty.

48 竹書紀年統箋, 'The Bamboo Annals, with a Complete An-
notation.' In 12 Books. By Seu Mān-tsing (徐文靖), of the pre-
sent dynasty. There is also a preliminary Book, carrying the 
History up to Fuh-he; and one on the Evidences of the Annals. 
The Geographical notes are most valuable.

49 竹書紀年集證, 'The Bamboo Annals, with Collection of 
Evidences.' In 50 Books. Published in 1,813, by Ch'in Fung-
hāng (陳逢衡). The Work is very carefully executed; by a most 
able scholar; and seems to exhaust the subject of the Annals.

50 十七史商榷, 'The Seventeen Histories Examined and Dis-
played.' In 100 Books. By Wang Ming-shing, whose 'Latest 
Decisions' on the Shoo King have been noticed above. Like that 
other Work, this also displays amazing research.

51 大清一統志, 'Statistical Account of the Empire under the 
Great Pure dynasty.' Commanded in the 29th year of the Emperor 
Pure, A. D. 1,762. In 424 Books.

52 歷代統紀表; and 歷代疆域表. See proleg. to vol. I., pp. 
134, 135.

53 日知錄, 'Essays, the Fruit of Daily Acquisitions.' In 32 Books. 
By Koo Yen-woo (顧炎武). The essays are on a Multitude of 
subjects, likely to engage the attention of a Chinese Scholar. 
Published in 1695.

55 太平御覽. A monstrous miscellany, in 1,692 Books, prepared 
by order of the second emperor of the Sung dynasty, in 977. The
style of his reign at the time was 太平興國; hence the name of the Work.


57 事物紀原. 'Record of the Origin of Affairs and Things.' A miscellany of the Sung dynasty. Contains 1,765 articles.

58 丹鉛總錄, 'Miscellaneous Pencillings.' In 27 Books. Originally published under the Ming dynasty in 1,524.

SECTION II.

TRANSLATIONS AND OTHER FOREIGN WORKS.

Several of the Works, mentioned in the prolegomena to vol. I, pp. 135, 136, have been frequently consulted by me. In addition to them, I have used:—


The Shoo King, or The Historical Classic, being the most ancient authentic Record of the Annals of the Chinese Empire, illustrated by Later Commentators. Translated by W. H. Medhurst, Sen. Shanghae, 1,846.


Journal Astaticque. Particularly the Numbers for April, May, and July, 1,836; for December, 1841; for May, and August and September, 1842.


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The Numerical Relations of the Population of China, During the 4000 Years of its Historical Existence, &c. By T. Sacharoff, Member of the Imperial Russian Embassy in Peking. Translated into English, by the Rev. W. Lobscheid. Hongkong, 1864.
PREFACE TO THE SHOO KING,
ATTRIBUTED TO CONFUCIUS.

1. Anciently there was the emperor Yaou, all-informed, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful. His glory filled the empire. He wished to retire from the throne, and resign it to Shun of Yu. Descriptive of all this, there was made THE CANON OF YAOU.

PREFACE TO THE SHOO KING. This is often called 'The small Preface' (小序), to distinguish it from the larger one (大序) and (尚書序), prefixed by K'ung Gan-kwô to his commentary on the Classic. It was among the other monuments recovered from the wall of Confucius' house, which were given to Gan-kwô to be deciphered and edited. He incorporated it with the Work itself, breaking it up into its several parts, and prefixing to each Book the portion belonging to it. Other scholars of the Han dynasty edited it in its complete form at the end of the classic. It seems to me better, and to afford more facility of reference to it hereafter, to prefix it here as a whole.

If it were indeed the work of Confucius himself, its value would be inestimable; but its many peculiarities of style, as well as many inanities, forbid us to believe that it is the composition of the Sage. Ch'ing Kang-shing (鄭康成), Ma Yung (馬融), and Wang Suh (王肅), those great scholars of the Han dynasty, all attribute it to him; and to justify them for doing so, Keang Shing (江聲) appeals to the words of Sse-ma Ts'e'en (in the 史記孔子世家) — 'He prefaced the Records of the Shoo, from the times of T'ang and Yu, down to Muh of Ts'iu, arranging their subjects in order (see 江徹君尚書集注音疏, on the 序). This, however, would only be evidence at the most that Confucius had made a preface to the Shoo King; but Ts'e'en's statement, in which he has been followed by many subsequent chroniclers, was grounded merely on the existence of this document itself, many parts of which he has introduced into his histories (本記), though not all in the order in which they are given by Gan-kwô. It is enough to admit with Choo He, that this preface was the production of some writer in the end of the Chow or the beginning of the Ts'iu dynasty. — I shall discuss here but sparingly its various statements. That will be done, where necessary, in the introductions to the several Books.
II. Shun of Yu was in a low and undistinguished position, when Yaou heard of his comprehensive intelligence, and wishing to make him successor to his throne, made proof of him in many situations of difficulty. *With reference to this,* there was made the **Canon of Shun.**

III. The emperor regulated the territories, appointing *nobles* to every quarter to reside in them, giving them surnames of distinction, and defining the constituents of each. *Descriptive of this,* there were made the **Kwuh Tsó,** the **Kew Kung,** in nine Books, and the **Kaou Yu.**

I. This paragraph contains, according to the arrangement of the Books which I have adopted, and for which I have elsewhere given the reasons, the notice of only one Book, the first part of the Classic. ‘The Canon of Yaou’ is edited as the first of ‘The Books of Yu,’ by those who divide the Work into four parts; and as the first of the Books of Yu-Hsa, by those who make only three divisions.

2. This best explained, with Gan-kwó, by 適, ‘to withdraw,’ though the 子 following would more readily be translated by ‘to’ than by ‘from.’

Both Gan-kwó and Ching K'ang-shing understand the 父 as denoting not the resignation of the throne, but simply of the management of affairs. Yaou was still emperor till his death, and Shun was only his vice.

3. I have translated after Gan-kwó. Keng Shing points differently, and gives quite another view of the meaning: K'ung Ying-ti (孔穎達), Gan-kwó's glossarist of the T'ang dynasty (flour. in greater part of the 7th cent.), says—*In such cases, where the text of the classic is lost, we shoot at the meaning in the dark. Gan-kwó interpreted according to the words, whether correctly or not cannot be known.* For this reason I have for the most part given the Chinese names of the lost Books, without attempting to translate them.

The 汐作 may mean ‘The Achievements of Government.’

*The Nine Laws* (共一法); and *The Nine Contributions* (共一給); also *The Nine Hills* (共一邱). All is uncertain. And so also is the meaning of 藥. 4. 帝...
PREFACE TO THE SHOO KING.

4 Kaou Yaou unfolded his counsels; Yu completed his work; the emperor Shun made him go on to further statements. With reference to these things, there were made the counsels of the Great Yu, and of Kaou Yaou, and the Yih and Tseih.

5 III. Yu marked out the nine provinces; followed the course of the hills, and deepened the rivers; defined the imposts on the land, and the articles of tribute.

6 K'e fought with the prince of Hoo in the wilderness of Kan, when he made the speech at Kan.

7 Ta'ec-k'ang lost his kingdom; and his five brothers waited for him on the north of the Lo, and made the songs of the five sons.

8 He and Ho, sunk in wine and excess, neglected the ordering of the seasons, and allowed the days to get into confusion. The prince of Yin went to punish them. Descriptive of this, there was made the punitive expedition of Yin.

9 IV. From Seé to T'ang the Successful, there were eight changes

舜申之于《申之》，repeated it, has reference probably to the commencing words of the 'Yih and Tseih'—'The emperor said, Come Yu, you likewise must have admirable words.'

III. The four Books in this paragraph constitute the third part of the Shoo. The genuineness of two is questioned; but it is remarkable that Confucius found among the relics of the Hsia dynasty, B.C. 2204-1766, only these four documents worthy to be transmitted to posterity. And, indeed, the first of them should belong more properly to the Books of Yu.

Not. 5. 任土作贡，—all the commentators make the 任土 auxiliary to the other characters, = 'he assigned the tribute according to the nature and productions of the land.' It seems much simpler to take them as I have done; comp. Mencius, IV. Pt. I. xiv. 3. It will be seen the notice is defective, and wants 作禹贡 at the end. Ch'ing has called attention to this. 6. The style of this notice is considered sufficient evidence that the preface is not the work of Confucius, who would never have represented the emperor and his vassals as if they were fighting on equal terms. 7. 須得 Necessities. 8. 脫—The paragraph, containing 23 prefatory notices, enumerates 81 different documents, in
of the capital. T'ang at first dwelt in Pó, choosing the residence of the first sovereign of his House. Then were made the 

10 When T'ang chastised the various princes, the chief of Kō was not offering the appointed sacrifices. T'ang began his work by chastising him, and then was made the T'ANG CHING.

11 E Yin went from Pó to Hea. Indignant with the sovereign of Hea, he returned to Pó; and as he entered by the north gate, met with Joo Kew and Joo Fang. With reference to this were made the JOO KEW, and the JOO FANG.

12 E Yin acted as minister to T'ang, and advised him to attack Kē. They went up from E, and fought with him in the wilderness of Ming-t'aeou. Then was made the SPEECH OF T'ANG.

13 When T'ang had vanquished Hea, he wished to change its sacrifices to the Spirit of the land, but concluded not to do so. With

40 Books or chapters (篇), all belonging to the dynasty of Shang, n.c. 1765—1123. More than half of them are lost,—the first five, classed by some among the Books of the Hea dyn.; the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th; the 15th, 16th, and 16th; the 19th to the 25th; and the 29th. Of the remaining 11 documents, there are only 5 whose genuineness is unchallenged. The order in which they stand, moreover, differs somewhat in the preface as edited by Gan-kwö, and as approved by Ch'ing and other Han scholars.

Not. 9. Siē, from whom the sovereigns of the Shang dyn. traced their descent, was a son of the emp. Kū, n.c. 2432; whose capital was Pó. Kuh must therefore be the 先王, and probably the 帝 in 帝告. The Announcement to the Emperor. 諡沃 may mean 'The Rule of Enrichment.'
PREFACE TO THE SHOO KING.

14. The army of Hea being entirely defeated, T'ang followed it and smote San-tsung, where he captured the precious relics and gems. Then E-pih and Chung-pih made the teen pao.

15. When T'ang was returning from the conquest of Hea, he came to Ta-k'eung, where Chung Hwuy made his announcement.

16. T'ang having made an end of the sovereignty of Hea, returned to P'o, and made the announcement of T'ang.

17. Kaou Shen made the ming keu.

18. After the death of T'ang, in the first year of T'ae-keu, E Yin made the instructions of E, the sze ming, and the tsoo how.

19. When T'ae-keu was declared emperor, he proved unintelligent, and E Yin placed him in T'ung. After three years he returned with him to P'o, when he had applied his thoughts to the course of duty. Then E Yin made the T'AE-KEU in three Books.

see Mencius, VII. Pt. II. xiv.; he says that the spirits of the land and grain might be changed on proof of their powerlessness, and much more might this be done on a change of dynasty as here. But whom was T'ang to place as the human assessor of such, in room of the, to whom the Hea dyn. had sacrificed? None was found so worthy. E-che and Chin-hoo were probably two ministers consulted on the subject. 14. The precious relics and gems were those of the Hea emperors. 17. This notice contains no prelatory explanation. There are three others of the same kind. Kaou Shen (so the name is to be read), according to Ma Yang, was minister of Works. 明居 may mean—Illustration of the way to settle the people. 18. 肆命— A declaration of the way of Heaven, acc. to Gan-kwê; 'of the principles of government,' acc. to Ch'ing. 稱后, 'the past (= deceased) sovereign,' referring to T'ang.

19. 正庸—王天與 (of the Yuen dyn.) says, 'Gan-kwê explains this phrase by he thought of the constant course of duty; Soo by he thought of using the words of E Yin; Ch'in says, The meaning is expressed by Mencins (Y. Pt. I. vi. 5.)—He repented of his errors, was
E Yin made the Both possessed pure virtue.

When Yuh-ting had buried E Yin in Pō, Kaou Shen then set forth as lessons the doings of E Yin, and there was made the yuh-ting.

E Chih was prime minister to T'ae-mow, when ominous appearances showed themselves in Pō. A mulberry tree and a stalk of grain grew up in the court. E Chih told Woo Heen, who made the Heen E in four Books.

T'ae-mow spoke on the subject with E Chih, and there were made the E Chih and the Yuen Ming.

Chung-ting removed to Heaou, and there was made the Chung-ting.

Ho-tan-kēa lived in Sêang, and there was made the Ho-tan-kea.

Tsoo-yih met with calamity in Kâug, and there was made the Tsoo-yih.

contrite, and reformed himself, &c.' See the集說, in loc.

22. Gan-kwō and others refer to 穀 as two trees growing together. But how can a stalk of grain be represented as a tree? The 說文 dict. explains the char, 棗 by 穀 ( ? radical 木 and not 禾), a kind of mulberry tree from the bark of which both cloth and paper can be made. We should probably read 穀 one tree. Gan-Kwō says it attained its size in seven days; Sze-ma T'even says one evening! 巫咸—see the 君奭, par. 7.

Ch'ing interprets 'Heen. the Wizard,'—perhaps correctly. T'even says that Heen made the Heen E, and the T'ae-mow. 23. These last Books are supposed to have been on the subject of the ominous appearances. 原 is the name of a minister. 原命,' The charge to Yuen.'

25. Ho-tan-kēa,—this is always given as the name of the 10th emp. of the Shang dyn. We may suppose that Tan-kēa was his name, and that the 河 was added, because of some peculiar troubles in his time with that river. See the 遼鏡續目. 26. 地,—was overthrown; i.e., the capital was injured by an
Pwan-kang made the fifth change of capital, and was about to repair Pô, as the cradle of the Yin. The people murmured, and expressed themselves resentfully to one another. With reference to this there was made the Pwan-kang, in three Books.

28. Kaou-tsung dreamed that he got Yüé, and made all his officers institute a search for him in the wilds. He was found in Foo-yen; and the charge to Yüe was made in three Books.

29. Kaou-tsung was sacrificing to T'ang the Successful, when a pheasant flew up, and lighted on the ear of a tripod, and there crowed. Tsso Ke lessoned the king on the subject, and made the day of the supplementary sacrifice of Kaou-tsung, and the instructions to Kaou-tsung.

30. Yin's first hatred of Chow was occasioned by its conquest of Le. Tsso E, full of dread, hurried off to inform Show. With reference to this there was made the chief of the west's conquest of le.

31. Yin having cast away the sovereignty conferred on it by Heaven, the count of Wei made his announcement to the Grand Tutor and to the Junior Tutor.

32. V. In the eleventh year king Woo smote the power of Yin. On the mow-woo day of the first month, his army crossed the Ho at Mâng-

overflow of the Ho. 31. This paragraph contains notices—such as they are—of 38 different documents in 40 Books, extending from the commencement of the Chow dynasty, B.C. 1121, to 626, within little more than half a century of the birth of Confucius, Eight of the pieces have been lost—the 5th, 7th, 11th, 12th, 22d, 28d, 27th, and 28th; there are two documents, very different in themselves, each of which claims to be 'The Great Speech.'
Descriptive of this there was made the Great Speech, in three Books.

33 King Woo, with three hundred chariots of war and three hundred tiger-like officers, fought with Show in the wilderness of Muh. Then was made the Speech at Muh.

34 King Woo smote Yin; and the narrative of his proceeding to the attack, and of his return and sending his animals back to their pastures, with his governmental measures, form the completion of the war.

35 When king Woo conquered Yin, he slew Show, and appointed Woo-k'ang over the original principality of his House. He got the count of Ke to return to him, and the Great Plan was made.

36 When king Woo had conquered Yin, lie appointed the princes of the remaining Books 29 are of unchallenged genuineness, and the claim of the others—the 8d, 6th, 10th, 21st, 28th, 29th, 32d, 33d, and 84th—has been discussed and mainly admitted in the prelog. These 29 Books form now the fifth and last part of the classic.

Not. 38. 戎车三百两虎贲三百人，—see Men. VII. Pt. II. iv. 4, where this sentence appears to be quoted; but with 戎 for 戎, and 三千人 for 三百人。Seo-ma Ts'e'en also has 三千人. Mih Teih, again, says that Woo had 100 chariots, and of 虎贲之卒四百人(明鬼篇下). Another enumeration of 800 is also found. See the 尚書今古文注疏 of 孫星衍, in loc. The虎贲 are said to have been 勇士, 'brave officers,' centurions, according to Gan-kwō (百夫长). 35. 殺受—Show, like another Sardanapalus, burned himself, after being defeated by king Woo. Woo-k'ang was Show's son, called also 禄犂(或甫), was appointed by Woo over the original seat of his House to continue the sacrifices to his forefathers.

箕子—-the 大傳, or Introduction to the Shoo, ascribed to 伏生, says, that 'the count of Ke on being delivered from the prison, where he had been put by Show, unwilling to become a servant to the new dynasty, fled to Corea, of which Woo appointed him ruler. This obliged him to come to Woo's court to acknowledge the king's grace, and then it was that the Great Plan was obtained from him.' Others say that his appointment to Corea was a subsequent affair. If so, another explanation of 以箕子歸 has to be sought. 36. 分器 may be translated—'The apportioned vessels.'

邦—封. It was one of the ceremonies of investiture, to give part of the furniture of the ancestral temple of the emperor to the deputed noble. See the 集說. The principles
the various States, and distributed among them the vessels of the ancestral temple. *With reference to this* there was made the fun k'ès.

37. The western people of Le made an offering of some of their hounds; and the Grand Guardian made the hounds of Le.

38. The chief of Ch'aoü having come to court, the chief of Juy made and impressed on him the Ch'aoü Ming.

39. King Woo was sick, which gave occasion to the Book about the duke of Chow's making the metal-bound casket.

40. When king Woo had deceased, the three overseers and the wild tribes of the Hwae rebelled. The duke of Chow acted as prime minister to king Ching; and having purposed to make an end of the House of Yin, he made the great announcement.

41. King Ching having made an end of the appointment in favour of the House of Yin, and put Woo-kâng to death, he appointed K'ê, the count of Wei, to take the place of the descendants of Yin. *Descriptive of this*, there was made the charge to the count of Wei.

42. The king's uncle, the prince of T'ang, found a head of grain, two stalks in different plots of ground growing into one ear, and presented it to the king. The king ordered him to send it to the duke of Chow in the east. *Upon this* was made the kwei ho.

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In note 43 it is said, "The chief of Juy, being in the court and making the royal charge, must have been a minister of the king. 旅一陳. He set forth the majesty and virtue of the king to charge Ch'aoou.' 42. The prince of T'ang was a younger brother of king Ching's mother; see the左傳.昭十五年.
The duke of Chow having got the king's charge and the head of grain, set forth the charge of the sovereign, and made the Kea Ho.

The king Ching having smitten his uncles, the prince of Kwan and the prince of Ts'ae, invested his uncle K'ang with the rule of the remnant of Yin. With reference to this, there were made the announcement to K'ang, the announcement about wine, and the good materials.

King Ching being in Fung, and wishing to fix his residence at Lô, sent the duke of Shao in the first place to survey the localities. Then was made the announcement of Shaoiu.

The duke of Shao having surveyed the localities, the duke of Chow went to build this capital, called Ching Chow, and sent a messenger to announce the divinations. With reference to this the announcement about Lo was made.

When Ching Chow was completed, the obstinate people of Yin were removed to it. The duke of Chow announced to them the royal will, and the numerous officers was made.

Gau-kuô takes 畫一鎧, 'a hillock,' 'a mound;' so Choo He elsewhere explains the character. Ch'ing makes it 苗, 'a stalk of growing grain,' which gives a good meaning, but made for the occasion. 孫星衍 would explain it by 母一抽, 'toes or fingers,' a figurative expression for the grain dividing from the stalk.

"The Presented Grain."
The duke of Chow made the Book AGAINST LUXURIOUS EASE.

The duke of Shaou acted as guardian and the duke of Chow as tutor, the chief ministers of king Ching, his left and right-hand men. The duke of Shaou was not pleased, and the duke of Chow made the PRINCE SHIH.

After the death of the king's uncle, the prince of Ts'ae, the king appointed his son Chung to take his place as a prince of the empire. Then was made the CHARGE TO CHANG OF TS'AE.

King Ching having smitten the wild tribes of the Hwae on the east, at the same time extinguished the State of Yen. Then was made the CHING WANG CHING.

King Ching having extinguished Yen, and wishing to remove its ruler to P'oo-koo, the duke of Chow announced the thing to the duke of Shaou. Then there was made the TSEANG P'OO-KOO.

King Ching returned from Yen, and in the honoured city of Chow made an announcement to all the States. Then was made the NUMEROUS REGIONS.

The duke of Chow made THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GOVERNMENT.
When king Ching had made an end of the House of Yin, and extinguished the wild tribes of the Hwae, he returned to Fung; and there was made THE OFFICERS OF CHOW.

When king Ching had smitten the wild tribes of the east, Su-hsin came to congratulate him. The king made the chief of Yung make the charge to SU-HSHIN, and gave him presents also.

The duke of Chow was in Fung and about to die. He wished to be buried in Ching chow; but on his decease king Ching buried him in Peih, making an announcement at his bier. Then was made the PO-KOO.

After the death of the duke of Chow, Keun-ch’in was commissioned with the separate charge of regulating Ching Chow in the eastern border, and there was made the KEUN-CH’IN.

When king Ching was about to die, he ordered the duke of Shaou and the duke of Peih to take the lead of all the princes to support productions and articles of their countries as tribute (以其方貢來貢). Su-hsin, I suppose, had brought such, and the emperor ordered him gifts in return. 57. Sze-ma Ts’ieen says that Chou-kung on his death-bed said, ‘Bury me in Ching-chow, to show that I dare not leave king Ching.’ The king, however, buried him in Peih, beside king Wan, to show that he did not dare to look on Chou-kung as a servant (see the 魯周公世家).

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60 When king K’ang occupied the sovereign place, he made an announcement to all the princes, and there was made the announcement of king K’ang.

61 King K’ang ordered that a document of appointment should be made for the duke of Peih, severally defining the localities in the borders of Ching chow. There was then made the charge to the Duke of Peih.

62 King Muh appointed Keun-ya to be the minister of instruction of Chow; and there was made the Keun-ya.

63 King Muh appointed Pih-keung to be the master of his household; and there was made the charge to Keung.

64 The prince of leu was charged by king Muh to set forth the lessons of Hea on the redemption of punishments; and there was made leu on punishments.

65 King P'ing gave to prince Wăn of Tsin spirits of the black millet mixed with odoriferous herbs. With reference to this, there was made the charge to Prince Wan.

66 When Pih-k’in, prince of Loo, first dwelt in K’euh-fow, the Seu and other wild tribes rose together in insurrection. The gates on

secure. The announcement must have been to the duke on his bier, or by means of a sacrifice. Some suppose that the subject announced had something to do with the removal of the ruler of Yen, a measure which had originated with Chow-kung. 60. 既尸天子——the use of尸 here is strange. It leads us to 太康尸位 in ‘The Songs of the five Sons,’ and to 羲和尸厥官 in ‘The Punitive Expedition of Yin.’ The writer of the preface would seem to have had those passages in view; but the尸 here simply —主, and intimates nothing condemnatory of king K’ang.
the eastern frontier were kept shut, and there was made the speech at Pe.

67 When duke Muh of Ts'in was invading Ch'ing, the duke Seang of Tsin led an army, and defeated his forces in Heau. When they returned, he made the speech of the Duke of Ts'in.

SUMMARY. From this preface it appears that the Shoo-king, as compiled by Confucius, contained 81 Documents in 100 Books. The preface has no division of those into Parts. According to the arrangement made in this volume, Part I., or the Book of Ts'ang, contained 1 document still existing: Part II., or the Book of Yu, contained 7 documents in 15 Books, of which 3 in 11 Books are lost; 4 remain, but not all equally allowed: Part III., or the Book of Hea, contained 4 documents in 4 Books, all of which remain, though the genuineness of two of them is questioned: Part IV., or the Book of Shang, contained 31 documents in 40 Books; 20 documents in 23 Books are lost; 11 documents remain, only 5 of which, however, are unquestioned: Part V., or the Book of Chow, contained 38 documents in 40 Books; 8 documents in 8 Books are lost; of 1 there are two very different versions; 20 documents are fully admitted.
THE SHOO KING.

PART I. THE BOOK OF T'ANG.

THE CANON OF YAOU.

I. Examining into antiquity, we find that the emperor Yaou was called Fang-heun. He was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful,—naturally and without effort. He was sincerely courteous, and capable of all complaisance. The display of these qualities reached to the four extremities of the empire, and extended from

TITLE OF THE WHOLE WORK. 尚書—Anciently, the Work was simply called the Shoo. So Confucius, in the Analects, and Mencius refer to it. See Ana. II. xxii., &c.; Men. I. Pt. II. iii. 7, &c. The addition of 尚, "High," is by Ch'ing K'ang-shing attributed to Conf. He says, "Conf., honouring it, gave it the denomination of 尚書. Honouring and emphasizing it as if it were a Book of Heaven, he therefore called it "The Highest Book," "(尊而重之若天書然,故曰 尚書). Gan-kwô in his preface ascribes the name to Fuh-shang, who called it, he says, the 尚書 "as being the book of the highest antiquity" (以其上古之書). The use of the name by Mihs Tchih in his 明鬼篇 however, shows its existence before Fuh's time. With whom and how it originated, we cannot positively say. 尚, given by the 説文 as being formed from 尚 and 評, "what is described or related with a pencil, 'a writing.'

TITLE OF THE PART. 唐書—In so denominating this portion of the work, I follow the authority of Hsia Shin 許慎 (of the 2d cent.), who in his dict. (the 説文) quotes part of par. 8 as from the 唐書. Kiang Shing and Maou K'e-ling, likewise, both say that this was the arrangement of Fuh-shang himself; see the 集注音疏 of the former in loc., and the 古文尚書考詁巻一,
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p. 9, of the latter. Besides, Yauow constituted a dynasty by himself. He and Shun were as distinct from each other as were Shun and Yu.

唐者尧有天下之號
‘T’ang is the dynastic designation of Yauow.’ Before he succeeded to the empire, he was prince of T’ang. The name is still retained in the district so called of T’ang, in Chih-le.

TITLE OF THE BOOK. 唐典, ‘The Canon of Yauow.’ Yauow is to all readers substantially the name of the emperor. Whether it was so or not, see on par. 1. 唐典 is found in Kang-he’s dict., under 唐, but the 說文 gives it under 夏, ‘that which is high and level.’ ‘冊 being placed over it, there is thus indicated the exalted nature of the document. The character indicates that it is classical, invariable, what may serve as a law, and rule.’ The sayings and doings of Yauow and Shun form a pattern for all ages.—With regard to the relative position of the three titles, they are placed here according to modern usage. Under the Han dynasty, the relative position was just the reverse. The title of the Book was put highest, and that of the Work lowest.

CONTENTS OF THE BOOK. Yauow is the subject of the Book; first in his personal character, and the general results of his government; next in his special care for the regulation of the calendar, and the labours of agriculture; and lastly, in his anxiety to find a man to whom in his declining years he could intrust the administration of affairs, and who might succeed him on the throne. He appears before the reader—the sage; the administrator; the patriotic sovereign. There are in all, according to the ordinary, though not unexceptionable arrangement only 12 paragraphs (節), which may be divided into 3 chapters (小節 or 大段). Ch. I contains the parr. 1 and 2; ch. II. contains parr. 8—8; ch. III. contains parr. 9—12.

CH. I. THE SAGELY VIRTUES OF YAUOW, AND THE BENEFICENT CHARACTER AND SUCCESSFUL RESULTS OF HIS GOVERNMENT. 1. Par. 1. Choo He gave his decided opinion that the six characters 日若稽古帝堯 were to be construed together without stop, and were ‘the introductory words of the chronicle’ (see 朱子全書, 卷三十三: 唐典). ‘When we make a study of the ancient emperor Yauow.’ Anciently, however, a comma was put at 古; 日 (read also 粵) 若 were taken as a formula of introduction; and 稽古帝堯 were a sentence, of which 帝堯 was the subject, and 稽古 the predicate. Kang-shing makes 稽同 and 古同, and explains, ‘Yauow was able to accord with Heaven, and his actions were of equal merit with its’ (see any of the comm. of the present dyn.). Support is thought to be given to this view by Conf. words, Ana. VIII. xix. But it is plainly inadmissible. Ma Yung and Gan-kwé, taking only 日 as introductory, make 若稽稽同于古, and 若稽稽考. The latter explains, ‘He who could accord with and examine ancient principles, and practise them, was the emperor Yauow.’ There is not so much violence here to the meaning of terms, as in Ch’ing’s interpretation; but Maou Ké-ling points out another and much simpler construction, taking 日若稽古 as an ancient formula prefixed by chroniclers to their narratives. (Instances may be seen in 孫星衍, in loc.) The four characters, then, = ‘When we examine into antiquity,’ and 帝堯 are the subject of the 日 which follows; see Maou’s 尚書正經注, 卷一. 帝堯曰放勲 (or 勳) — The uniform testimony of antiquity is that放勲 was Yauow’s name; 重華 that of Shun; and 文命 that of Yu. So expressly, Sze-ma T’se’en Ch’ing, Ma, and Chao Ké. Mencius also seems to countenance this, V. Pt. i. iv. 1; though I there, in deference to the Sung scholars, translated the words by ‘The Highly Meritorious.’ Gan-kwé was the first to treat the characters as a descriptive phrase, taking 放 (up. 2d tone) = ‘to learn,’ ‘to imitate;’ ‘it may be said of him that he imitated the merit of the highest ages?’ Choo He’s disciple 蔡沈 improved on this, making 放 = ‘until,’ and the phrase = ‘The Highly Meritorious.’ But it is better to revert to the ancient view. For the difficulty in its way, arising from Pt. ii. iii. 1, see in loc. But if Fang-huen, &c., were the names of Yauow and the other sages, what account is to be given of the terms 帝堯, &c., themselves? This question cannot be settled beyond dispute. They were not 諡, honorary, post-humous titles, as Ma Yung says; for, not to insist on the point that the giving of such titles originated with the Chow dyn., we find both Shun and Yu spoken of and spoken to by those styles; see, par. 8: Pt. ii. i. 8; iv. 1. I must regard them as a kind of 號 or 字, designations.

Yauow’s reign commenced n.c. 2356. He is the fourth of the “five Te,” with whom Sze-ma T’se’en commences his history. After Shun, the sovereigns of China were called by the humbler title of ‘Wang’ or King, down to the Te’in dynasty, n.c. 220. 帝 is a synonym of Heaven, and properly denotes ‘God.’ The 說文 defines it by 誠, ‘to judge; and K’ung Ying-ta, expounding the application of it, says that Heaven exercises an impartial rule, judging righteous judgment, and that the name is given to the earthly sovereign, the viceroy of Heaven, as expected to do the same; see Ying-ta’s paraphrase on the first par. of the preface.

欽明文思 (up. 3d tone, exp. by
2 earth to heaven. He was able to make the able and virtuous distinguished, and thence proceeded to the love of the nine classes of his kindred, who all became harmonious. He also regulated and polished the people of his domain, who all became brightly intelligent. Finally, he united and harmonized the myriad States of the empire; and lo! the black-haired people were transformed. The result was universal concord.

Ch'ing—盧深通敏, 'in cogitation profound, in penetration active.') 安安—欽 'reverential,'=cherishing a constant feeling of responsibility. This, it is said, is the 'one word' in the Book, indicating the one virtue out of which all Yau's other qualities grew. Gan-kwô takes 安 as a verb — by these four virtues he gave repose to those to whom repose was due.' Much better to take the phrase as in the translation, with Choo He. Ch'ing read 宴宴.

光蔽 (3d tone, —及) 四表— Gan-kwô expl. 光 by 充— those virtues filled up and reached to, &c. Fuh-shang's text seems to have read 横 (see the 后案); but in the prefatory notice we read 光 表—外, 'that which is outside.' Acc. to Ch'ing, 四表— 四海之外, 'the remotest limits of the four seas.' 上下— 天地, heaven above and earth beneath.

2. 克明俊德— see the Great Learning, Comm. i. 4, where for 俊 we have 勇. There the 'great virtue' is that of Yau himself; but the preceding has spoken sufficiently of that. Ch'ing and Gan-kwô both take the meaning as in the translation, which moreover agrees with Conf. teaching. Doct. of the Mean, xx. 12, 13, where 親親 follows 尊賢. The commentator in the Great Learning accommodates the text of the Classic. 九族— all of the same surname, all the relatives of consanguinity, from the great-great-grandfather to the great-great-grandson. Gow-yang (歐陽), and other interpreters of Fuh-shang's Books, understood the nine classes to be 4 on the father's side, 3 on the mother's, and 2 on the wife's (see Ying-tä in loc.). Ch'ing and Gan-kwô rightly prefer the former view; but we may say with Ts'ae Ch'in that the relatives by affinity should here be understood as included with the others.

章百姓— I have given 百姓, after Ts'ae Ch'in, as meaning 'the people of the imperial domain.' That the phrase must be restricted in signification is plain from the 萬邦 and 黎民 that follow. Gan-kwô, however, says that 百姓—百官, 'the various officers.' Ch'ing substantially agrees with him;— 百姓— 羣臣之父也 兄弟. That 'the hundred surnames was a designation of the great families of the State under the Chow dyn. is shown clearly by Ying-tä, in loc. But in the Shoo-king, where the phrase occurs some 14 times, much the more natural interpretation of it is 黎民, 'the people.' Part V. x. 10; xvi. 9 are exceptions to this, but the ordinary usage is as I have said. For 平 the 'Historical Records' give 使, and Ch'ing interpreted by 當, 'to distinguish, to separate.' Hence it has been contended that the original reading was 平, the old form of which was liable to be mistaken for that of 平. [I cannot in these notes enter much into the question of various readings, and discuss the correctness of the text. The subject has been treated generally in the proleg.] 萬邦— 萬國 (so it is in the 史記), 'the myriad States,' i.e., the States of all the princes beyond the imperial domain. 黎— 黑, i.e., black-haired. Some simply expl. it by 衆, 'all'於, an excl. read 萬.時是— Gan-kwô brings out the concluding clauses thus:— 天下 衆民皆變化從上是以風俗大利: 'All the people under heaven were transformed, and followed the example of the sovereign, so that their manners became greatly harmonious.'

VOL. III.
II. Thereupon Yaou commanded He and Ho, in reverent accordance with their observation of the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate the movements and appearances of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces; and so to deliver respectfully the seasons to the people.

He separately commanded the second brother He to reside at Yu-e, in what was called the Bright Valley, and there respectfully to 

Ch. II. The Measures of Yaou to Secure a Correct Calendar in Order to Promote the Business of Agriculture. Par. 3. 王 is a conjunction, we naturally connect this par. with the preced., as following it in time. Such is not the case, however. Parg. 1 and 2 should be taken as the words of the chronicler whoever he was, and whenever he wrote, giving his general impressions of Yaou's character and government. Here he begins to make use of documents, yet condensing them in his own language, till we arrive at par. 8. 乃 is equivalent to our 'now.' About the Hes and Hos we need not seek to be wise above what is written here and in Pt. III. iv. It is attempted to connect them with a Chung and Le (里黎) descended from the emp. Shaou-haou, b.c. 2904 (see on Pt. V. xxvii. 6), as hereditary occupants of their offices. They come before us receiving their appointment from Yaou to form a Board of astronomy, and specially to regulate the calendar,—a work so necessary for the purposes of agriculture. Gaubil says they were charged likewise 'to correct the abuses and disorders which had been introduced into manners and religion' (Le Chou-king, p. 6, n. 2); but there is nothing in the text to justify this. It is queried whether those mentioned in par. 8 were elder brothers of the others, heads of their respective families, or merely those brothers, so that we should translate 義 和—'the Hes and the Hos.' Were there three of each surname or only two? The point cannot be settled. I receive the impression that there were three. 欽若 (順) 翕天—'reverently to accord with the vast heaven.' 翕天 is the name specially appropriated to the firmament of summer, when an air of vigour and vastness seems to fill all space. We are not to think of anything beyond the visible expanse and the bodies in it. The 集傳 defines 眼 as 'the writings in which calculations were recorded,' and 象 as 'the instruments with which the heavens were surveyed.' This cannot be. The characters are verbs. 眼 is 'to calendar,' implying calculations and writings; 象, 'a figure,' 'a resemblance,' and, as a verb, 'to imitate,' must here = 'to delineate,' 'to represent.' 翅, 'the stars,' generally; both the fixed stars and the planets. 辰, 'the zodiacal spaces.' These, it is said in the 集傳, by the conjunctions of the sun and moon, divide the circumference of heaven into twelve mansions (十二次). For 人時 we should probably read 民時; see 章玉裁's 古文尚書異義, in loc.

Parr. 4–7. It is supposed the work enjoined in the prec. par. has been done. That there may be no mistake in a matter of such importance,—to test the accuracy of the calendar, two members of each of the families He and Ho are appointed to the work of verification at different points. Par. 4. The second brother He has his appointment at 呙夷 (see Pt. III. i. p. 22), not, as often stated, the present Tang-chow in Shan-tung, but a place farther to the east in Korea. There was a spot convenient to observe the sun coming up, as from a valley, to enlighten the earth, from which it got its name. The 玖 would seem to denote that He's proper residence was at Yu-e, but perhaps it only indicates a sojourn there to make the necessary observations. So in the other parr. This is Choo He's opinion. He was to receive the rising sun, acc. to the 集傳, by carefully noting the length of the shadow cast from a gnomon; but this is not said in the text. The special object of his observation was to ascertain that mid-spring, the vernal equinox, was correctly fixed; and the final end was that the 東作 'labours of the east' might be adjusted. Those labours of the east are the labours of spring; and in the other parr. the south stands for summer, the west for autumn, and the north for winter. On this see the
receive as a guest the rising sun, and to adjust and arrange the labours of the spring. "The day," he said, "is of the medium length, and the star is in Neao; you may thus exactly determine mid-spring. The people begin to disperse; and birds and beasts breed and copulate."

5 He further commanded the third brother He to reside at Nankeao, and arrange the transformations of the summer, and respectfully to observe the extreme limit of the shadow. "The day," said

易經說卦傳, ch. v. The idea underlying the representation seems to be that of an analogy between a day and the year,—the morning, with the sun in the east, corresponding to spring; noon, with the sun in the south, to summer, &c.

To guide He in his observations, he is told, 1st, that he would find 日中, 'the day of the average length,' i.e., a mean between its lengths at the solstices, or more probably of the same length as the night, determined by a clepsydra (so, Ma Yung); and 2d, that 'the star was Neao.' But Neao (鳥) is not the name of a star, but of a constellation, or space of the heavens, extending over 11° (see Keang Shing), and embracing 'the seven constellations of the Southern quarter.' called 井 鬼 柳 星 張 翼 彈 郗. Gan-kwo means the idea is that all those seven constellations would be visible on the evening of the vernal equinox. This view cannot be correct, however, because in the next three paragraphs the 星 is the star or 宿, which culminated on each occasion. We have then to adopt as the star indicated here, the central one of the space Neao, which was the view of Ma Yung and K'ung-shing; and it is stated by Ta'e Ch'in that 張, 一, a very learned Buddhist priest of the T'ang dynasty (in the reign of 元宗, A.D. 718-756) calculated this to be the star 雙星, corresponding to Cor. Hydra of the west.

Here Dr. Medhurst in his translation of the Shoo King has made the following note:—"If Cor. Hydra culminated at sun-set on the day of the vernal equinox in the time of Yaou, the constellation on the meridian at noon of that day must have been Pleiades in Taurus. Now as by the retrocession of the equinoxes the stars of the zodiac go back a whole sign in 2000 years, it would take 4000 years for the sun to be in Pleiades at the time of the vernal equinox, which is about the time when Yaou is said to have flourished, and affords a strong confirmation of the truth of Chinese chronology. For Pleiades is 56 degrees and one third from the point where the ecliptic crossed the equinoctial A.D. 1800, and as the equinox travels backwards 50 seconds and one tenth per annum, it would take about 4000 years for Pleiades to be in the zenith at noon of the vernal equinox. Referring to Chinese records, we find that Yaou's reign closed 2254 years before Christ, which added to 1800 makes 4084; and a retrogression of 50 seconds and one tenth per annum would give 4050.' See a note to the same effect by the editors of the 書經傳說, in loc.

By the equal length of day and night, and the culminating star, He-chung would be able exactly to determine (殷正, Gan-kwo) mid-spring. Two popular characteristics of the season are added. The people would be dispersed, scattered, that is, from their homes and villages where they had been congregated during the winter, and engaged in field work; and animals would be beginning to breed. For 羽狄狄, Sze-ma Ts'e'en has 鳥獸字微, but the meaning is substantially the same.

5 Another He is sent to Nan-keou, the border of 安南, Annam, or Cochinchina, called also 交趾. Sze-ma Ts'e'en says that the sway of the emperor 領猶 extended 'from幽陵 on the north to 交趾 on the south.'

Ch'ing, supposes that the characters 日明都 (=='in what was called the Bright Capital') have dropped out of the text after 交趾, 南詣 (al. 詣 and 與), '詣化' to transform; 'with reference to the changes of things
He, "is at its longest, and the star is Ho; you may thus exactly determine mid-summer. The people are more dispersed; and birds and beasts have their feathers and hair thin, and change their coats."

He separately commanded the second brother Ho to reside at the west, in what was called the Dark Valley, and there respectfully to convoy the setting sun, and to adjust and arrange the completing labours of the autumn. "The night," he said, "is of the medium length, and the star is Heu; you may thus exactly determine mid-autumn. The people begin to feel at ease; and birds and beasts have their coats in good condition."

6. To two younger members of the house of Ho the examination of the times of the autumnal equinox and winter solstice was assigned. The particular place in the west to which Ho-chung had to repair cannot be specified.

The culminating star was Heu, the centre one of 'The Dark Warrior' (玄武), which embraced the seven constellations of the northern quarter, and corresponding to β Aquarius. It is observed here in Yung Ching's Shoo King, 'At the autumnal equinox in Yao's time the sun was in (β Scorpio); while now it is in (α Crateris [Alkaid]).'

The editors of the 書經傳説 say here: 'At the summer solstice in Yao's time the sun was in (α Hydrae Alphard; Reeves), whereas now it is in (λ Orion).'

This work was ordered in the 8th year of Yung-ching, A.D. 1730. 躹民因-因《to be going on from,' i.e., 析而又析, 'the people were still more scattered and in the fields than in the spring.'
7
He further commanded the third brother Ho to reside in the northern region, in what was called the Sombre Capitol, and there to adjust and examine the changes of the winter. "The day," said he, "is at its shortest, and the star is Maou; thus you may exactly determine mid-winter. The people keep their cozy corners; and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick."

8
The emperor said, "Ah! you, He and Ho, a round year consists of three hundred, sixty, and six days. By means of an intercalary..."
month do you fix the four seasons, and complete the determination of the year. Thereafter, in exact accordance with this, regulating the various officers, all the works of the year will be fully performed."

the precession of the equinoxes, which he estimated at one degree in 50 years) reckoned the circuit of the heavens [= the sidereal year] at 365°26', rather more than 3654, and the circuit of the year [= the tropical year] at 365.24 days; rather less than 3654.

'Under the Sung dynasty' [i.e., the northern Sung, which succeeded the T'ang], 'Ho Ching-teen' [about the middle of the 5th century] made another alteration in these reckonings, and estimated the circuit of the heavens at 365°255', and the tropical year at 365.246 days.

'Under the Yuen dynasty, Kwang Chow-king' [died A.D. 818, at the age of 86], 'on a comparison of ancient and modern observations, fixed the circuit of the heavens at 365°2575', and the tropical year at 365.2425 days. The accumulation of decimal figures, however, in both of these quantities [while the degree was made to correspond to a day] 'made all calculations founded upon them difficult.'

'But the philosopher Shao Hung' [邵偽夫; died A.D. 1017; his tablets have a place in the temples of Confucius], 'in his 門會曆世 adopted the number 360 as an arbitrary standard, the circumference of the heavens being the basis of his calculations. That being once fixed [at 360°] it became comparatively an easy matter to deal with the other fractional quantities.' [It must be observed that the phrase 天周, circuit or circumference of the heavens, here changes its meaning; and the value assigned to it, in its former sense, of 360°2575', now to be reckoned in days, is as necessary to astronomical calculations as ever.]

'Accordingly, the calendar now published by authority determines the circumference of heaven to be 360° (a degree containing 60 minutes, a minute 60 seconds and all the parts below continuing to be reckoned by 60); and the tropical year consists of 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 45 seconds (365.2421875).'

'Through successive ages, though the fractional parts have been now a little more and now a little less, the determinations have all been based on the round number in this Canon of Yao, and have served to illustrate it. As to the conjunctions of the sun and moon, determining the changes and first days of months, and the conjunctions of the sun and ' (various fixed stars in) 'the heavens, determining the equinoxes and solstices,—whereas the solar period and the lunations do not correspond so that there arise what are called the surplus of the former and the deficiency of the latter, there is required the use of intercalation to make the four seasons come each in its proper place. This is the practice indicated in this Canon of Yao, which constitutes it the model for all ages.'

Yaou certainly commanded his officers to use intercalations,—how they did so we cannot tell. Previous to the Han dynasty, Chinese history does not furnish us with details on the subject of intercalation. In the time of that dyn., however, we find what is called the Metonic cycle well known. It is not mentioned as any discovery of that age. See the 'History of the Former Han' by Pan Koo (范固), finished about A.D. 80, in the 元會曆世, where the whole process is fully described. No doubt it came down to the Han from the Chow, and was probably known in China long before Meton reformed the Athenian calendar according to its principles, B.C. 432. I abstract the following account from Woo Ch'ing (吳澤) of the Yuen dynasty's Work on the Shoo:—A common year of 12 months of 30 days each, or 360 days, is assumed. Not that there ever was such a year in China, as Medhurst says by mistake (Shoo King, p. 8, note); but it is convenient to lay down that as the length of the year in order to exhibit the process of intercalation. Now, the sun makes its circuit of the heavens in 365 days and 1/4, or 365 days and 235-940ths (a day being divided into 940 parts). The year as determined by the sun, therefore, is 5 days and 283-940ths over 360, which excess is denominated 氣盈. A synodic revolution of the moon, again, takes place in 29 days and 499-940ths, so that 12 months = 354 days and 348-940ths, short of 360 by 5 days and 592-940ths, which deficiency is denominated 朝虚. Adding the excess and the deficiency, we have 10 days and 827-940ths, the difference of the two from 360 in one year.

In the third year this amounts to 22 days and 601-940ths, when the first intercalation of one synodic period is supposed to be made, leaving 8 days and 102-940ths unabsorbed.

In the sixth year there have accumulated 35 days and 703-940ths, which a second intercalation reduces to 6 days and 204-940ths. A third intercalation in the ninth year would leave 9 days and 306-940ths, which by the eleventh year would amount to 81 days and 80-940ths, reduced by intercalation to 1 day and 521-940ths.

A fifth intercalation in the fourteenth year would leave 4 days and 629-940ths.

A sixth in the seventeenth year would leave 7 days and 725-940ths, which in the nineteenth year would amount to 29 days and 499-940ths, which the last intercalation would exactly absorb.
III. The emperor said, "Who will search out for me a man according to the times, whom I may raise and employ?" Fang-ts'e said, "There is your heir-son Choo, who is highly intelligent." The emperor said, "Alas! he is insincere and quarrelsome:—can he do.

The emperor said, "Who will search out for me a man equal to the exigency of my affairs?" Hwan-tow said, "Oh! there is the minister of Works, whose merits have just been displayed in various

It is to be observed that the above division of a day into 940 parts was different from that of the Han dynasty, and indeed only began to obtain in the time of the great Sung dynasty. Practically, moreover, a month must be estimated by a whole number of days; and hence the Chinese have so many short months in the year of 29 days, while the rest are of 30 days.

允率百官庶新，咸熙是很 well given by Sze-ma T'ae'en—信幸百官，衆功皆興。百工百官, 'the hundred' (i.e., all the various) 'officers,' each office having its special department of work. It is not said that He and Ho had any further charge of the officers beyond supplying them with a correct calendar.

Ch. III. THE ANXIETY OF YAO TO FIND THE RIGHT MEN FOR THE EXIGENCIES OF THE TIMES, AND ESPECIALLY THE BEST MAN ON WHOM TO DEVOLVE THE THRONE:—ALL ILLUSTRATING HIS FREEDOM FROM EVERY SELFISH CONSIDERATION. The events described in the prec. 6 parr. are referred by the compilers of Chinese history to the 1st and 2d years of Yao's reign; but we really cannot say when they took place. Par. 12 belongs to the 70th year of his reign; par. 11 is referred with some probability to the 61st; the 10th must be of about the same date.

P. 9. Yao inquires—prob. in open court—for an officer whom he may employ in high affairs. What the affairs were we cannot know. Ma Yung thinks that by this time the four Hes and Hous were dead, and that one was wanted to enter on their duties as ministers of the four seasons. A meaning is thus found for 时 is 四时; but the view is to be rejected at once. Gan-kwö takes 时 as 'these,' and connects the par. with the 8th, making the inquiry to be for a premier to direct all the officers, and all the works of the year (so also T'ae'en); but the only connection between the parr. is of fragments brought together into the present canon. The matter must be left indefinite.

朊—誰 'who,' 委 is here not a particle of exclamation, as hitherto, but a verb, 訪问 to inquire for. 若 in p. 8, 'to accord with.' It is observed that in those times of wise antiquity, forcible control was not the way of sovereigns and ministers, but a cautious accordance with nature and circumstances. 延用 'to use.' Fang-ts'e (Ying-t's makes 放 in the 2d tone) only appears here. He must have been a minister. Sze-ma T'ae'en for 背子 has 鬱子—'to continue, to succeed;' and I have translated accordingly. Gan-kwö takes 背 for the State so called, (see Pt. III. iv.), and 青 for the title of its ruler, 'count;' and Ying-t's says it seems to him unnatural for the emperor's son to be recommended and spoken of as here. But that only serves to exalt the character of Yao, who was free from the partialities of common men, that 'do not know the wickedness of their own sons' (Great Learning, Comm. viii. 2). The difficulty would disappear, if we could suppose that Yao is here proposing to resign his throne. 付 is a particle of exclamation, intimating the speaker's decided dissent.

P. 10. Yao again makes inquiry for a minister who might be equal to the management of his affairs. Such seems to be the meaning of 事, which is given by Gan-kwö as 'affairs.' Ma Yung explains it by 官, 'officers,' as if it were a prime minister to be over all the other ministers, who was wanted. Hwan-tow and the Kung-kung appear in the next Book, p. 12, as two of the four great criminals whom Shun dealt with. 工 is the name of the one's office. In the next Book, p. 21, Shun calls Ching to the same. It is about Minister of Works. Ch'ing sup-
ways." The emperor said, "Alas! when unemployed, he can talk; but when employed, his actions turn out differently. He is respectful only in appearance. See! the floods assail the heavens."

The emperor said, "Oh! chief of the four mountains, destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation. In their vast extent they embrace the mountains and overtop the hills, threatening the heavens with their floods, so that the inferior people groan and murmur. Is there a capable man, to whom I can assign the correction of this calamity? All in the court said, "Oh! there is poses that the Kung-kung here was the 水官, 'officer of the Waters.' He had no doubt, as we shall see, been employed to relieve the distress occasioned by the prevailing floods. 都 is an exclamation, the opposite of 呵, indicating approval and commendation. Choo He says that 方鳩厥功 cannot be understood, but that the old view—as in the transl.—may be allowed to stand. Sze-ma Tse'en gives Hwan-tow's reply:—共工旁聚布功可用。靜, 'to be still,' = unoccupied. Gan-kwô explains it by 謀, 'to plan'; but that meaning only arises from the context here.

流天 is joined by Gan-kwô to the prec. characters:—'He appears to be respectful, but his heart is full of pride as if it would inundate the heavens.' Dissatisfied with this, T'a-ne Chi'in declares the two characters to be unintelligible, and that they dropped into the text here somehow from the next par. In the transl. I have followed an art. on the passage in the 廬學士, 龍城札記, which forms the 388th Book of the 皇清經解. The writer starts from an intimation in the 'Annals of the Bamboo Writings' (竹書紀年), that Yau in his 10th year appointed the Kung-kung to the management of the Ho. That management had been on the whole unsuccessful. The result was the existing state of inundation, to which Yau in the text points as evidence of the officer's incompetency.

P. 11. The appointment of K'wo in to remedy the distress occasioned by an overflowing flood. This overflow of waters has been called by some western writers 'the deluge of Yau'; and it has been endeavoured to identify it with the deluge of Noah. The descriptions in the classic, however, will not permit this; see on Pt. III. i.

The emperor addresses himself to the 四岳 (or 嶽), literally 'The four Mountains:'—those mentioned in the next Book, par. 8, T'ae-taung or Mount T'ae on the east (in the present Shantung); Mount Hwang in the south (in Hoo-nan); Mount Hwa in the west (in Shan-se); and Mount Meng in the north. These were central points in the empire, to which different quarters of it were referred. In the text does Yau address one great officer styled the chief of the four Mountains, or does he address the body of great officers in charge of the different quarters? Gan-kwô held that the four Yô were four individuals, the successors of the Hse and Hô, parr. 4-7. K'ang-shih thought that at the time of Yau's reign to which this par. belongs, the places formerly held by those Hse and Hô were filled by eight chiefs (八伯), who are addressed. Choo He determined that only one man was intended, the president of all the nobles of the empire, regulator of the relations between the court and its feudal retainers. To this opinion I must give in my adhesion. It has its difficulties; but when Yau proposes to the 四岳 in the next par., to take his place upon the throne, it is impossible to suppose that more than one individual is denoted.
K'wán.” The emperor said, “Alas! no, by no means! He is disobedient to orders, and tries to injure his peers.” His Eminence said, “Well but—. Try him, and then you can have done with him.” The emperor said to K'wán, “Go; and be reverent!” For nine years he laboured, but the work was unaccomplished.

The emperor said, “Oh! you chief of the four mountains, I have been on the throne for seventy years. You can carry out my appointments;—I will resign my throne to you.” His Eminence said, “I have not the virtue; I should only disgrace the imperial seat.”

abundance,’ a sheet of water; 方, as in prec. par., 一, on all sides; 割, ‘to cut with a knife,’ hence generally ‘to injure.’ 洪, is expl. by 漫, ‘great water,’ ‘water flooding, and destroying things.’ 下民其容, 下之民, ‘the people who live in the low places’; but the phrase, of not infrequent occurrence in the mouths of great men in the Shoo, denotes simply the people, in distinction from themselves. Observe the use of 其, completing the rhythm of the clause, and giving the force of a double nominative to the verb.

金, ‘all;’ 金, all in the court, not the 四岳 only, but the other nobles with him. Of course it may be said that as the inquiry was addressed only to the Y6, and the answer is prefaced by this character shows that Y6 was a designation not of one but of many. But tho' there were 4 or 8 Y6, I should understand 金 of others beside them;—so does Ying-ts, yet believing that the Y6 were four.

K’wan was a minister of Yano, the father of the great Yu (禹), and chief of the state of Ta’ung (崇伯), corresponding to the present Hoo-heen (鄂縣) in the dep. of Se-ngan in Shen-se.

方 命 方 放, ‘to disregard, neglect.’ Ch’ing and Ma’ Yung both take the character so, and Ch’ing would also read it as 放, 8d tone. It is merely a conceit, which is given in the 集傳, that ‘what is round moves, and what is square’ (方) stops,’ so that ‘方 comes to mean ‘to disregard,’ or ‘to disobey!’ 异哉, the 説文 defines 异 by 興, a meaning which I don’t see how to understand here. Ts’e Ch’in says he does not understand the character. The rest of the Y6’s reply is given more fully by Sze-ma Tsw’en,—試不可用而己. Ch’ing’s view is not so good —Try him. He is fit for this, though not for other duty in which you need not to employ him.’ 载, ‘a year. For this, acc. to Ying- ts, in the Hea dyn., they subsequently used 畎; in the Shang, 祀; and in the Chow, 年.

續用不成,—we may suppose that the force of 用 merges in that of 繼 功.

P. 12. Yau, having been 70 years on the throne, wishes to resign the administration of affairs to the worthiest, and Shun appears on the stage.

朕, the imperial We, was anciently simply ー, I, used by superiors and inferiors. It was one of the characteristic actions of the founder of the Ta’ in dyn. to appropriate it to the sovereign.

庸 (用) 命ー, ‘use, carry out my orders,’ 翼ー, ‘to yield, to resign.’ Ch’ing takes itー, ‘to enter into,’ He interprets Yau’s inquiry thus,—Among all you princes is there
The emperor said, "Point out some one among the illustrious, or set forth one from among the poor and mean." All in the court said to the emperor, "There is an unmarried man among the lower people, called Shun of Yu." The emperor said, "Yes, I have heard of him. What is his character?" His Eminence said, "He is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately unprincipled; his step-mother was insincere; his half-brother Seang was arrogant. He has been able, however, by his filial piety to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to self-government, so that they no longer proceed to great wickedness." The emperor said, "I will try him!

one, who, acting in harmony with things and obeying the orders of Heaven, can enter in and occupy my throne, discharging the duties that devolve on the emperor?" This is very far-fetched. It is found in a note in the _History_, whose own version of the passage is decisively in favour of what is now the common view:—

The emperor said, "Point out some one among the illustrious, or set forth one from among the poor and mean." All in the court said to the emperor, "There is an unmarried man among the lower people, called Shun of Yu." The emperor said, "Yes, I have heard of him. What is his character?" His Eminence said, "He is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately unprincipled; his step-mother was insincere; his half-brother Seang was arrogant. He has been able, however, by his filial piety to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to self-government, so that they no longer proceed to great wickedness." The emperor said, "I will try him!

The usage of the term in the next Book is in favour of the former view. 蒸, properly = steam. But steam ascends and moves forward; hence here 蒸烝父 — "to move by gradual progress to self-government." The account here given of the influence which Shun had produced on his parents and brother is not borne out by the statements in Mencius, Book V. Pt. 1. i. and ii.

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I will wive him, and then see his behaviour with my two daughters." On this he gave orders, and sent down his two daughters to the north of the Kwei, to be wives in the family of Yu. The emperor said to them, "Be reverent!"

From 帝日 to the end, I have translated according to Choo He's view of the passage: that down to 刑于二女 we have Yaou's words; from 馎降 to 子虞, what he did; and that the 馄哉 at the end were addressed to his daughters. The construction is not easy; but the interpretation of Gan-kwö, and that of Keang Shing in the pres. dyn., make confusion worse confounded. 娘 (3d tone), "to give a daughter to a man to wife." 刑-法, "example," "behaviour." The names of Yaou's two daughters are said to have been Wo-wang (娥皇) and Neu-ying (女英). "The former," says Woo Ch'ing, "became Shun's wife, and the other his concubine." But this is said, applying the ways of subsequent times to Yaou's age. We cannot acknowledge any inferiority of the one to the other. 娘 (= 娘, "to be wife to") applies equally to both. The 娯 is a small stream in Shan-se, rising where the two depp. of Ping-yang (平陽) and P'oo-chow (蒲州) border on each other, and flowing southwards to the Ho. 汘 is defined 'the north of a stream;' or it may be, there was a smaller stream so called, which flowed into the Kwei, not far from its junction with the Ho. A note on the 集説 in Yung-ching's Shoo says that there is such a stream so called, but that people may have been led by the text of the Classic to give it that name. Here was the dwelling-place of Shun.
THE SHOO KING.

PART II. THE BOOKS OF YU.

BOOK I. THE CANON OF SHUN.

I. Examining into antiquity, we find that the emperor Shun was called Ch'ung-hwa. He corresponded to the former emperor; was profound, wise, accomplished, and intelligent. He was mild and respectful, and entirely sincere. The report of his mysterious virtue was heard on high, and he was appointed to occupy the imperial Seat.

TITLE OF THE PART. 虞書—Yu is the dynastic designation of Shun, as T'ang was that of Yao. It does not appear so clearly, however, how it came to be so. Ts'ae Chin, after Kang-shing, says that 虞 was the family name of Shun. Wang Suh said that it was the name of a place or country (地名), held to have been the pres. district of 安邑 in the dep. of 解州 in Shan-se. Some think that Yao, after marrying his daughters to Shun, appointed him chief of this State (see the 通志 quoted in the 通鑑綱目, on the 70th year of Yao's reign); but this is inconsistent with the first mention of Shun to Yao, in the proc. Book. It is commonly held that Shun's ancestors had been lords of the principality of Yu to the time of his father, who somehow lost his patrimony and was reduced to the rank of a private man. It may have been so, and the old title would continue to be cherished, though without the accessories that made it valuable. As to the history of the family of Yu, there is much difficulty in tracing it. Mencius, Book IV. Pt. II. 1., tells us that Shun was of the wild tribes of the east, born in Choo-fung. Sze-ma T'ween makes him descended from Hwang-te through the emp. Chuen-heth. But as Yao was also descended from Hwang-te through the emp. K'uh, Yao and Shun must have had the same surname, and the idea of the one marrying his daughters to the other is so abhorrent to Chinese notions of propriety, that Choo He denounced T'ween's genealogy as highly injurious to the fame of the sages. As Shun and the ladies would be cousins about ten times removed, a foreigner cannot sympathize
with the horror expressed at the thought of their union. From the 國語, 晉語 九, and the 左傳, 昭公 八年, it appears that there was, or at least that in the time of the Chow dyn., it was believed there was, high up among Shun's ancestors, one of the name of Mōh (cją), who has no place in T'wen's genealogy; and some, discounting entirely the account in the "Historical Records," would fix on this Mōh as being the progenitor of Shun, chief of the principality of Yu, and not of the lineage of Hwang-țe.—I have given these details to illustrate the many uncertainties that attend questions relating to Chinese antiquity.

TITLE OF, AND DISPUTES ABOUT, THE BOOK.

—舜典, 'The Canon of Shun.' For the characters themselves, see on the title of the Canon of Yao, and on par. 1 of that Book. This Canon is all found, with the exception of the first par., both in the texts of Fu-hang, and of Gan-kwō. Fu-hang-hang, however, taught it as a part of the preceding Canon, and those who now deny the authenticity of the Books additional to his have no Canon of Shun in their editions.

On this question it may be observed:—First, the ancient preface to the Classic shows that there were originally two Canons—that of Yao, and that of Shun—distinct from each other. Secondly, about one half of the Book, as we have it, might very well belong to the Canon of Yao, the par. 2–12 being all occupied with the trial of Shun and his doings as acting emperor, while Yao was yet alive. Par. 2, moreover, follows naturally the last par. of the prec. Book.

Thirdly, from par. 14th to the end we have the doings of Shun as emperor, which can with no propriety form a part of the Canon of Yao. The natural conclusion from this points is, that in the Canon of Shun we have the whole or a part of what was anciently and properly so called, and another portion which has been improperly separated from the Canon of Yao. The Shoo has still its two T'ên, but the point of division between them has been incorrectly marked. It accords with this conclusion, that Mencius, Bk. V. Pt. I. iv, quotes par. 13, as from the Canon of Yao. Other similar quotations of portions of the first part of the Book are adduc'd. The quotations of many par. of the second part, as belonging to the Canon of Yao, can be found.

In the 'Historical Records' (五帝本記), immediately after the account of Yao's death, as in par. 13, there follow various accounts of Shun,—legendary, indeed, in their character, but having the sanction of Mencius, Bk. V. Pt. I. i, et seq. which are not now in the Canon of the Classic. No doubt, the original and less gossiping version of those accounts formed, before the dyn. of T'ên, part of the Shoo; and so much of the Canon of Shun I believe to be lost. See an attempt by Maou Ke-l'ing to reconstruct, the whole, appended to his 文書廣譯錄.

It is more difficult to come to a conclusion on another question, with which that about the Division of the Canons has been unnecessarily complicated,—the question of the

Genuineness of the First Paragraph.

These twenty-eight characters have a history of their own, Fuh-shang knew nothing of them, nor is it clear that Gan-kwō did. Had he found them among the other portions of the Shoo which were recovered from the wall of Confucius' house, the two Canons must have been from the first accurately divided by them. When the work of Gan-kwō was first presented to the Government, as contained in the Shoo in larger measure than Fu-hang's Books, by Mei Tsih (梅禪), sometime in the beginning of the eastern Tain [unfortunately, the Histories of the Tain dynasty are some of them lost. The 'Book of Tain' from which Kung Ying-ta quotes his account of Tsih does not now exist; and it does not seem possible to ascertain the year when Gan-kwō's work was authoritatively recognized], this paragraph was wanting.

During the dyn. of the Southern Ts'e (南齊), in a. d. 497, one Yao Fou-hing (姚方典), found 'in a large ship' (於大航頭), that of a large ship; so, Ying-ta; in the 'Books of the Suy dynasty' (459–617), however, it is said that Fou-hing (於大航市), 'bought it in a large ship. That character is given in the dict. as used synonymously with 船), a copy of Gan-kwō's Canon of Shun was sent to the par. complete. He memorialized the Government on his discovery, and acc. to Maou K'e-ling, divided the Canons as we now have them. Not even yet, however, was the par. publicly recognized. Soon after the presentation of his memorial, Fou-hing was put to death; and the matter continued undecided till the early part of the reign of the first Suy emperor, when another copy was found containing the sentences in question.

This late recognition of the introductory portion of Shun's Canon justifies a suspicion of its genuineness. On the other hand, Ying-ta says that, the Mei Tsih's copy, of this par., they supplied it from Wang Suh and Fan Ning, the former of whom had written on all the classic, and the latter specially on this Canon. (See the list of Books on the Shoo, in the time of the Suy dyn.) Now Wang Suh died a.d. 235, himself an adherent of the House of Wei (魏), yet before the final extinction of the Han. The industry of critics has also discovered portions of the par. in the remains of writers prior to Suh. Maou K'e-ling quotes especially from Wang Ts'ân (王粲), who died a.d. 216, and from Wang Yen-show (王延壽), more than half a century earlier; and contends that the par. must have been with the rest of the Canon deciphered by Gan-kwō. Against this conclusion has to be put the fact of the improper division of the Canons, which I have pointed out. My own opinion is that some such par. did originally belong to the Canon of Shun. The fact of the Canon of Yao, and the Councels of Kaou Yaou (to say nothing of the Councels
II. Shun carefully set forth the beauty of the five cardinal duties; and they came to be universally observed. Being appointed to be General Regulator, the affairs of each department were arranged in their proper seasons. Having to receive the princes from the four

of Yu), being so prefaced, renders it all but certain that this Book had a similar introduction. Portions of this float among scholars from one source and another, and gradually coalesced into the par. which we now have. Mencius Ke-ling is the best defender of its genuineness, in the second chapter of his

Against it, see the 60th art. in the 向書古文疏證 of

Yen Jo-ku (閩若櫜).

Contents of the Book. These are the measure and misleading account of the Book given in the preatory notice of it has been pointed out. Looking at the Canon as it is now edited, we may conveniently divide it into six chapters—the first, cont. par. 1, describing Shun’s virtues and advancement; the second, cont. parr. 2–4, describing Yaw’s trial of Shun, and resignation to him of the administration of affairs; the third, cont. parr. 5–11, describing the acts of Shun as Yaw’s viceroy; the fourth, parr. 13 and 14, describing the demise of Yaw, and accession of Shun to the throne; the fifth, parr. 15–27, describing Shun’s choice of ministers, and other arrangements; and the sixth, parr. 28, recording his death. As Yaw was the subject of the last Book, so is Shun of this.

Ch. I. THE SAGELLY VIRTUES OF SHUN, AND HIS CONSEQUENT ADVANCEMENT TO DIGNITY. On the constr. of 日若稽古, and on 義日重華, see on the last Book, p. 1. When 重華 is taken as descriptive of Shun, and not as his name, the interpretation is—there was anew a display of virtue in him equal to that of Yaw. 協于帝—of the course is Yaw. 項塞—appraise, ‘to stop up;’ then, ‘fill up,’ and hence, ‘what is solid,’ ‘solidity.’ It is observed by Chin Tsh-show (真德秀 of the Sung dyn.) that in the times of T’ang and Yu they had not yet the character of sincerity, and that that is the meaning conveyed here by 項塞 章德—of幽 潑, ‘dark and hidden.’ An obj. is taken to the genuineness of the whole par. from the phrase, which belongs to the school of Taoism. No doubt it is a common phrase with Taoists, but I do not see why other writers might not use it also to express the idea of ‘mysterious virtue.’

升聞, ‘ascended and was heard of,’ i.e., came to the ears of Yaw. 乃命以位—act. to Ts’ai Chin, 位 is simply 職位, ‘office’ or ‘offices,’ with reference to the various posts in which Shun was tested. Such an interp. supposes the par. to be in its proper place; but it has been shown that it should stand after par. 18, and 位—the throne, the imperial Scat.

Ch. II. SHUN FULLY SATISFYING YAW’S HOPES IN VARIOUS OFFICES, THE EMPEROR AFTER THREE YEARS COMMITS TO HIM THE ENTIRE ADMINISTRATION OF AFFAIRS. P. 2. It is supposed that Shun, after receiving the emperor’s two daughters in marriage, ruled his house well, and Yaw proceeded to try him, first as minister of Instruction. 善—`to beauty-ify.’ Some expel it by 和, ‘to harmonize.’

五典, ‘the five Cannons,’—what are elsewhere called 五教, ‘the five lessons,’ and 五常, ‘the five constant duties,’ the virtues belonging to the five social relations of husband and wife, father and son, sovereign and subject, elder and younger brother, and friends.

Thereafter Shun was introduced into the office of General Regulator. 槐, ‘to consider,’ ‘to calculate,’—度. 百 槐—度百官之事, 百 槐 expresses the regulation of the business of all the officers. The office of General Regulator is not heard of in subsequent dynasties. That of 家宰 or premier corresponded to it under the Chow. It is said in the ‘Historical Records’ that in discharging the duties of minister of Instruction, Shun employed the services of ‘the eight good men’ (八元), descended from Kaou-sin (高辛氏) or the emp. K’uh, whom Yaw had not been able to employ; and in the office of prime minister, that he availed himself of the help of the ‘eight triumphant ones’ (八根), descended from Kaou-yang (高陽氏), or the emp. Chuen-heth. The same thing is found in the 左傳.

Why may we not suppose that such legends, existing in the ancient documents, were purposely rejected by Confucius himself?
quarters of the empire, they all were docilely submissive. Being sent to the great plains at the foot of the mountains, amid violent wind, thunder, and rain, he did not go astray.

3 The emperor said, "Come, you Shun. I have consulted you on all affairs, and examined your words, and found that your words can be carried into practice;—now for three years. Do you ascend the imperial throne." Shun wished to decline in favour of some one more virtuous, and not to consent to be successor. On the first day, of the first month, however, he received Yaou's retirement from the imperial duties in the temple of the Accomplished ancestor.

Shun was finally tried as the president of the nobles, in the office of the Sze Yô 四岳). 賓于四門—賓, 'a guest,' and also 'to receive a guest,' 'to act the host.' This is its sense here. Ch'ing read it in the 3d tone, as if it had been 倫 四門—'to act the host at the four gates,' i.e., to receive the nobles coming from the different quarters. So, Ma Yung. K'ang Sîng says ingeniously that the four gates were those of the 明堂 or Hall of Audience. The 'Historical Records' have a legend of Shun's banishing away 'the four bad ones' (四凶), in connection with the duties of this office. It is difficult to know what to think of the last part of the par. 麓 is expl. by Ch'ing as 山足, 'the foot of a mountain.' The 'Historical Records' take the account literally as in the transal. Looking at the phrase 納于大麓, following so close upon 納于百稷, it is natural to interpret it in the same way, as indicating Shun's appointment to some office. This Gankwô has done, and after him Wang Suh. They say—麓, 鑫也. 鑫於百稷之官. 使大錄天下萬機之政. 'Lux means to record. Yaou appointed Shun to an honourable and distinguished office, that he might record the govt. of the empire with its myriad springs.' This might be admitted as a good enough explanation of the phrase, but the sequel about the wind and rain cannot be made to harmonize with it. See in the 集說 various attempts to explain the passage, all unsatisfactory.

P. 8. 詢—咨謀 'to consult about.' 乃 is in the sense of 尔. 'you.' 底—致. 'to come to, result in.' The paraphrase of the 'Daily Lessons' puts 詢 and 考 in the past complete tense:—Formerly, when I called you to employment, I consulted you on what you would do, and examined the plans you laid before me.' But why should we suppose that the two had not been in frequent intercourse all along? Ch'ing strangely takes the 'three years' to be three years subsequent to Shun's receiving the nobles of all quarters. The last clause might also be translated—'Shun declined on the ground of his virtue's not being equal to the succession.'

P. 4. This demission of the actual conduct of affairs is referred to the 73d year of Yaou's reign. 正月上日, see on p. 14. Here 正 (in this sense often, but not necessarily, read in the 1st tone) 月—'the first month,' 上日—'the first day.' This has been disputed but without reason; see the remarks of Lin Che-ké (林之奇) in the 集說. Certainly, if this natural interp. of 上 be rejected, we are altogether at sea as to its meaning. 終 終 intimates that 'now Yaou ended his imperial administration, and Shun undertook it' (so, Ts'ae Ch'in). 子文 祖 must be understood 'in the temple of,' or
5. He examined the gem-ornamented turning sphere, and the gem transverse tube, that he might regulate the seven Directors.

6. Thereafter, he sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to Fuh-shang says:— "What was the 旋機? 旋 means to revolve; and 機 means a spring, what is minute. That whose own motion is very small, while the movements which it produces are great, is what is called here 旋機. The words denote the north pole" (尚書大傳). Keang-shing says he approves of this view, but taking the four characters to be a description of the 'Great Bear,' called in Chinese the 'Northern Peck' (北斗). The ‘handle’ is the ‘transverse’ of the classic. 天璇 is the name still given to α Dubhe of Ursa Major; 天玑 to α Dubhe; and 天玉 to α Aloth. This explanation is marked by simplicity, but the text of the classic will not admit of it. The writer must have had some constructed instrument in his mind’s eye. De Guignes observes that the details are very singular for the time to which they refer, and asks whether astronomy had then made so much progress (Le Chou King, p. 13, note). But the existence of instruments of the character indicated is in accordance with the astronomical knowledge which we have seen that Yaou possessed. With regard to the form of Shun’s sphere, it was no doubt very simple. The figure in Yung Ching’s Shoo, said to represent it, is all of modern device. The object of Shun’s labours on the sphere and tube was ‘to regulate (齊, “make uniform”) the seven Governments.’ By these 七政 Ma Yung understood the seven stars of the Great Bear. Keang-shing said they meant ‘spring, autumn, winter, and summer, astronomy, geography, and anthropology’ (see Keang Shing, in loc.). These opinions may be set aside at once. The consent of later times is all but universal to the view of Gan-kwo, that the seven governments were the sun, the moon, and the five planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, each of which had its own rules of government. According to this, we ought to translate 七政: ‘the seven regularly governed Bodies.’ But we have seen that the study of astronomy in those early times was all for practical purposes. The motions of the heavenly bodies were ascertained, to be a help to the movements of the government on earth. I prefer therefore to render the terms by ‘the seven Directors.’


"Sacrifice;" ‘upon this,’ ‘thereafter.’ Gan-kwo (especially...
God; sacrificed purely to the six Honoured ones; offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the host of spirits.

He called in all the five tokens of gem; and when the month was over, he gave daily audience to the chief of the four Mountains, and all the Pastors, finally returning the tokens to the several nobles.

as expounded by Ying-tá) makes the character follow in logical sequence from the prece. par., as if Shun had discovered by his examination of the heavenly bodies, that Yao's urging him to occupy the throne was from Heaven, and immediately he proceeded to announce his compliance to all superior spiritual powers.

類, 留, and 望 are the names of different sacrifices. 經 denotes a sacrifice offered to the Highest, on an extraordinary occasion, which characteristic is faintly indicated in the name, 留 being 'of a sort,' 'a class.' Hence K’ang-shing says that Shun now sacrificed to Shang Te at the round mound, i.e. at the place and with the ceremonies appropriate to the imperial worship of Heaven at the winter solstice. By 上帝 we are to understand God, the supreme Ruler. It is not till we come down to the times of the Chow dynasty that anything can be discovered to lead us to think of Shang Te as other than one and supreme. During the Chow there grew up the doctrine of five Te, sometimes represented as distinct from Shang Te, and sometimes as different manifestations of Him. It has not, however, maintained itself. K’ung-sun’s view of the worship of the five Te has been indicated above. Ma Yung held that Shang Te was 'The supreme One' (太一); see the Record of Rites, 禮運, Pt. iv. 4. The whole of his comment is:—上帝太一, 神在紫微宫, 天之最顯者, 'Shang Te is the great One; his spirit occupies the palace of Tsze-wel' [a celestial space about the pole], 'the most distinguished of the heavenly Powers.' The blending of astrological fancies with the classical truth appears in it. Wang Suh made Shang Te here simply to be synonymous with Heaven; and Gan-kwö himself had defined the name as 'Heaven and the five Te.' (天及五帝). I cannot doubt but Shang Te is here the name of the true God; but the truth concerning Him and His worship had been perverted even in this early time, as appears from the other clauses of the paragraph.

煙 is supposed by Ching K’ang-sling to be connected with 煙, 'smoke,' and have reference to the burnt sacrifices which were presented; but this view cannot be sustained. The word applies to a sacrifice offered 'with purity and reverence.' Who the 'six Honoured ones' were, it is not possible to ascertain. Full-shang and his earlier followers held that, though six were mentioned, only one Being or Power was intended,—a sort of plastic influence, working between heaven and earth and the four cardinal points (see Sun Sing-yen, in loc.) Subsequently every donor had his own, as may be seen in Ying-tá. Acc. to Gan-kwö, followed by Wang Suh, the six Honoured ones are 'the seasons, cold and heat, the sun, the moon, the stars, and drought.' Of course we must understand that the emp. sacrificed to certain spirits, ruling over these phenomena and things, and residing probably in different stars. 望 is the name of sacrifices offered to the hills and streams. The sacrificer would probably look towards the quarter where each mountain or stream was situated. We are to understand that 'the hills and rivers' were all throughout the empire, not the more famous of them only, but all, with their presiding spirits.

Finally, Shun did homage to 'the herd of spirits,'—all spirits of heaven, earth, and men, not included in the above three clauses,—to mounds, dykes, plains, forests, and the sage and worthies of ancient times.' So says Ying-tá, who points out also how, in thus sacrificing to 'all spirits' (百神), Shun was exercising an imperial prerogative. Such was the solemn worship of Shun, a sage, a perfect man, according to the Chinese ideal. It was offered in the year b.c. 2283, so soon had men departed from the truth of God, and added to His worship of their own inventions.

P. 7. Shun gives audience to the nobles of the empire, and confers them in their fiefs. 

五瑞—'the five gem-signs.'—'It is difficult to get a word exactly corresponding to 瑞. Medhurst transl. it by 'sceptre.' The fiefs of the empire were divided into five classes, the chiefs of which were known respectively by the titles of Kung, Hau, Pih, Tsze, and Nam (see Mencius, Bk. V. Pt. ii.); so it was in the Chow dynasty, and there was an arrangement, the same or similar, in the earliest times. Each ruler, on obtaining his appointment from the emperor, received a token, differing in size and form according to the rank. This he kept, and brought with him whenever he appeared at
在第二个月的册，他做了个巡视的东巡，从泰山，往西山，至日，后班。
seasons and months, and rectifying the days; he made uniform the standard tubes, the measures of length and of capacity, and the steel-yards; he regulated the five classes of ceremonies. As to the several articles of introduction,—the five instruments of gem, the three kinds of silk, the two living animals, and the one dead one, when all was over, he returned the five instruments. In the fifth month, he made a similar tour to the south, as far as the southern mountain, observing the same ceremonies as at Tae. In the same way, in

bull (特—牛), in the temple of the Cultivated ancestor, announcing the completion of his circuit. 藝祖 is probably the same as 文祖. p. 4. So, Gan-kwô and K'ang-shing.

On arriving at each of his halting places, Shun first pres. a burnt-offering to Heaven. 柴 lit. —‘firewood.’ On the altar a pile of wood was reared, on which the victim and other offerings were placed. The practice is the same at the pres. day. The old interp. placed no comma after 宗, but placed one after 柴. Choo He pointed at 宗, and then read on to 川. I put a comma both at 宗 and 柴. 秩: in order, —‘in order.’—如其秩大 (i.e. acc. to their order). Diff. ranks were assigned to the hills and rivers, and the ceremonies paid to them varied accordingly. Shun’s business at the various points, after giv. audience to the nobles was:—1st, to see that they had the calendar correct—協時 (—四時) 月 (謂月之大小, i.e., which months were long and which short. So, Gan-kwô; and this would imply a process of interpolation like the present) 日 (謂日之甲乙, i.e., the names of the days, their designation by the cycle-characters); 2d, to see that the weights, measures, &c., of the diff. States were uniform. 同律—he made uniform the regulation-tubes. 律 is defined by 分, ‘that which divides.’ The name was given to twelve tubes, originally made of bamboo, then of some gem, and in the time of the Han dyn. of brass or copper. They were a little more than three tenths of an inch in diameter, and the circumference of the bore was exactly nine tenths. The longest was called ‘the yellow cup’ (黃鐘), 9 in. long, and the shortest ‘the responsive cup’ (應鐘), only 4.66 in. The name of 律 more especially belonged to six of them, which gave the sharp notes in music. The others, giving the flat notes, were called 吋. The twelve together about formed, I believe, a chromatic scale. But besides their application to music (see on p. 24), the huang chang was the standard measure of length. The 90th part of it was 1 分 (分), 10 分 were 1 寸 (寸); 10 inches were 1 foot (尺); 10 feet were 1 丈 (丈); and 10 丈 were 1 yin (引). It is said that the breadth of a grain of millet (—秀之廣) made a 分, and that 90 of them determined the length of the 1st tube. See the Commentary of Ts‘ao Illustrated’ (蔡傳旁通), by Chi’in Sze-k’ae (陳師凱) of the Yuen dyn. (pub. A.D. 1921).

The same tube was the standard for measures of capacity. 184 millet grains filled a 分 of it, and 1200 grains filled the whole. So much made a yoh (龠); 2 yoh made a kub (合); 10 kub, 1 shing (升); 10 shing, 1 tow (斗); 10 tow, 1 kub (斛). The tube, again, supplied the standard for weights. 100 grains of millet weighed a choo (銘); 24 choo; 1 huang (兩) or tael; 16 taeels, 1 kin (斤), or catty; 50 catties, 1 kuu (鈞); and 4 kuu, 1 kub (石), or stone.

From all these applications of ‘the yellow cup’ we find it spoken of as ‘the root of all human affairs’ (黃鐘為萬事根本).
the eighth month, he travelled westwards, as far as the western mountain; and in the eleventh month he travelled northwards, as far as the northern mountain. When he returned to the capital, he went to the temple of the Cultivated ancestor, and offered a single bullock.

9 In five years there was one tour of inspection, and four appearances of the nobles at court. They set forth a report of their government in words. This was clearly tested by their works. They received chariots and robes according to their services.

Shun would carry with him from the capital standard tubes, measures, steyards and beams, and weights. There was a 3d subject to occupy him. He had also to regulate the five ceremonies. By these Ch'ing understood the ceremonies to be observed in appearing at court and in their intercourse with one another by the five classes of nobles indicated in the last par. Gan-kwó and Ma Yung take the ceremonies to be the same with those recognized under Chow dyn., the various ceremonies of worship (吉禮); the ceremonies appropriate to calamity and mourning (凶禮); the ceremonies appropriate to guests of State (賓禮); the ceremonies appropriate to war (軍禮); and festive ceremonies (嘉禮) appropriate to marriages and other occasions of joy. This latter interpretation is to be preferred.

The nobles in waiting upon Shun brought with them their tokens of investiture — the 五瑞 of last par, called here 五玉 and 五器; and also various articles which prepared the way for their audience, and are here called 賣. ‘A man's gift maketh room for him, and bringeth him before great men.' This obtains in the east more than elsewhere, and obtained from the earliest times. The statutes enacted even in Shun's days recognized it, and endeavoured to regulate it and prevent its abuse. 三帛, 'three fabrics of silk.'

Ch'ing says they were red silk (赤緞), on which the descendants of Kaou-sin presented their insignia; black silk, on which those of Kaou-yang presented theirs; and white silk, used by the other nobles. Gan-kwó and Wang Suh, again, say that they were silks of a deep red, brought by the eldest sons of princes; dark azure silks, brought by 三公之孤; and yellow silks, brought by the chiefs of small attached territories.

二生, 'two living animals,' — lambs or kids, brought by the highest officers in the various States (儒); and geese, brought by inferior officers (大夫).

一死, 'one dead animal,' — pheasants brought by the smaller officers, and scholars expecting employment (士). 如五器, 'as to the five instruments,' i.e., the signs. Those who would transpose this clause (see above) are obliged to expl. 如同, 'to make uniform.'

This year of inspection must have been a busy one to Shun. Many commentaries have doubted the possibility of his accomplishing all the work. Some things indicated have been pushed up, I must suppose, from the practices of a subsequent age.

P. 9. Regular periods of tours of inspection and appearances of the nobles at court, with the results of such appearances. After the circuit detailed in last par, it was probably enacted by Shun that such a tour should be made every five years. During the intermediate four years, the nobles and princes of the diff. divisions of the empire presented themselves at court. Ma and K'ung suppose that the four appearances were those at the four points of meeting during the year of the imperial circuit. The other view — more in accord with the phrase 四朝 — is given by Ch'ing. He says the nobles came separately, intending, we may suppose with T'ae Chin, that the first year those of the east came, those of the south on the second, &c.

敬以言，敬一陳。 'to lay out, set forth'; 祭以進，‘to present,'—to represent. In want of any expressed nominative
Shun instituted the division of the empire into twelve provinces, raising altars upon twelve hills in them. He likewise deepened the rivers.

He gave delineations of the STATUTORY punishments, enacting banishment as a mitigation of the five great inflictions; with the whip to be employed in the magistrates' courts, the stick to be employed in schools, and money to be received for redeemable crimes.

to these verbs, we may take them indefinitely:—"There was setting forth and representation by means of words." So with the other clauses.

功, 'meritorious service,' is specially applied to 'service to the State' (國); while庸 is 民 功, 'service rendered to the people' like the teaching them agriculture (see the 周禮夏官司馬第四之三).

車服以庸—see the She King Pt. II., Bk. VII., viii. 以 is here somewhat diff. from its use in the prec. clauses, and 

according to:—"
P. 10 Division of the empire into twelve provinces, and attendant circumstances. This division must have taken place several years after Shun's accession to the administration. While Yu was labouring on the flooded provinces, their number was only nine, and the rearrangement of them as twelve must have been subsequent to the conclusion of his work. It is referred by the Annalists to the 81st year of Yaou. Fuh-shang in his Preface assigns it to the first year of Shun's independent reign, which would seem to be more likely.

For the provinces, see next Part, Bk. I. Shun divided K'e into the three provinces of Ping (井), K'e (冀) and Yew (幽); and Ts'ing into Ts'ing (青) and Ying (營). See Ying-ts' in loc. This division into twelve provinces did not last beyond Shun's reign.

封十有二山, —封, 'to raise a mound,' here —封土為壇, 'to raise up earth for an altar' (Keang Shing). In every province Shun selected a mountain,—the largest probably,—and made it the 'guardian' of the territory (鎮山). See the 周禮夏官司馬第四之六.

濬, in p. 1, 'profound,' 'deep,' here a verb, —'to deepen.' The mention of this leads us to refer the whole of this par. to Shun's own reign, some years after the completion of Yu's work.

P. 11. Punishments. Comp. p. 20; and Pt. V., Bk. XXVII. 象以典刑—象, 'to delineate;' as in the Canon of Yaou, p. 3. There is much dispute about the meaning of the char. here. Gan-kwö takes it as =法, 'laws,' and expl.—according to the laws, he used the regular punishments, not going beyond the laws.' This view may at once be set aside. T'ou Ch'ên says we are to understand it as in the phrase—"Heaven hangs out its appearances to show to men' (天垂象以示人), which gives us the idea of pictorial representation. 典刑—regular punishments,' said to be 五 in the next clause. Those were branding (on the forehead) (墨); cutting off the nose (劓); cutting off the feet (刖); castration (宮); and death [which might be by various modes of execution] (大辟).

It is maintained by some Chinese scholars that Yaou and Shun did not use these severe punishments. They did not need to do so, it is said. Ma Yung says on the text:—"Kao Yu Yaou instituted these five punishments, but none made themselves obnoxious to them. There were the representations (其象), but not the criminals (其人). Fuh-shang speaks of persons liable to these punishments being dressed so as to attract attention, which made a greater impression than the infliction of the penalties would have done. These objections were made at a very early time, and answered by Seun K'i. In the 8d cent. before Christ. Others allowing that Yaou and Shun had the punishment of death, say that the other four penalties in the flesh (肉刑) originated with the Hoa dyn.; but neither is this correct. See Maou K'e-l'in's 廣
Inadvertent offences and those which might be caused by misfortune were to be pardoned, but those who offended presumptuously or repeatedly were to be punished with death. "Let me be reverent; let me be reverent," he said to himself. "Let compassion rule in punishment."

12 He banished the minister of Works to Yew island; confined Hwan-tow on mount Tsung; drove the chief of San-meonou and his people
into San-wei, and kept them there; held K'wan till death a prisoner on mount Yu. These four criminals being thus dealt with, universal submission prevailed throughout the empire.

IV. After twenty-eight years the emperor demised, when the people mourned for him as for a parent for three years. All within the city fell!' From the 中文, "three Meson," it is only attempted to account for by foolish legends.

From the 國語, we see it was thought in the Chow dyn., that Yao had been in hostilities with the people of Mo-chou, and we shall see in the next Book that Yu had likewise to proceed against them. Shun's measure seems to have been to remove their Chief and probably a portion of his people to another part of the country. We must suppose that their chief is specially intended, to make one in the quaternion of four great criminals.

流——'to banish.' 放——'to put in a place and confine there.' 竅——'to drive to, and keep in prison.' 以内 says that every one of the four criminals was dealt with in the way of 諄. A lighter meaning therefore is given to the term; and indeed, it is not easy to suppose that while Yu was his right hand, and rendering the greatest services to the empire, Shun would put his father to death. Woo Ching says, "he was put to death there."

The place must originally have been 蘇州, the 太 on being a subsequent addition. This place was somewhere in the north;—it is said outside Shih-le province, to the north-east of Mei-hsun (密雲) dis., dep. of P'ing-t'ien. I am not sure, however, whether it is right to translate it by 'island.' 赤山 was in the south, in the pres. Hoo-nan, in the dis. of Yung-t'ing (永定) in Kwe-chow (蘇州). 三危 was a district in the west, deriving its name from a hill of the same name. "It rises," says the Statistical Account of the empire under the pres. dyn., "in the south-east of the dep. of Gan-so (安西) in Kan-suh, with three precipitous summits, which seem threatening to

The death of Yao and Accession of Shun to the throne. P. 13. 八載—it seems to me that every unprejudiced reader of the classic must understand this as meaning 28 years, reckoning from Shun's accession to the administration of affairs, mentioned p. 4, so that Yao's death would occur in the 100th year of his reign, B.C. 2557. The matter is complicated, however by what is related in the 'Historical Records,' that Yao, getting Shun in the 70th year of his reign, employed him for 20 years, and only then resigned to him the administration, dying himself 8 years after. This account would make Yao's reign extend over 98 years. The conclusion we draw from the classic is all against this view.

喪落 together = 'to decess.' Ts'e'en has 薨. Choo He says that at death the animal goes to heaven, and the anima to the earth. In this case, 薨 ought to denote 'to ascend,' but it simply = 亡 = 'to go away.' 百姓 —as in last Bk., p. 2, the 四海 corresponding to the 万国 and 黎民 here. Keang Shing remarks that the mourning for three years proves that 百姓 must be confined to officers; but this assumes that 薨 is to be understood in the sense of 'wearing mourning,' and not in that of 'lamenting' generally. Besides, the people of the imperial domain had to
four seas, the eight instruments of music were stopped and hushed.

14 On the first day of the first month, Shun went to the temple of the Accomplished Ancestor.

15 V. He deliberated with the chief of the four Mountains, how to throw open all the doors of communication between the court and the empire, and sought to see with the eyes and hear with the ears of all.

wear mourning for three months (集傳, in loc.); and here they extended of themselves the rule to three years. 考—a father, deceased; 姑, a mother, deceased. 四海, —'the four seas.' Anciently, the territories occupied by the nine E (東), the eight Teih (秋), the seven Jung (戎), and the six Man (蠻), were called 'the four seas.' All within the four seas was divided into the nine provinces. Within the nine provinces there were arranged the five domains, divided into three, —the imperial, the noble's, the peaceful,—called the 'Middle Kingdom,' and two,—the domain of restraint, and the wild domain,—called the country of the 'four wild tribes;' —see Ho Ming-king's Introduction to his Work on 'The Tribute of Yu.' According to this view, which is that of the ancient Dictionary, the 爾雅, 'the four seas' is a designation having nothing to do with the seas. The scholars and thinkers of the Sung dyn. did not understand how it could have arisen, and rejected this account of the phrase. The phrase must have had its origin in some idea of the habitable territory as bounded on every side by water (see Con. Ana., XII. v., note). Yen Jö-keu, in his 'Topography of the Four Books,' art. 四海, says that the phrase has two meanings; generally it is to be taken in accordance with the ancient view, but sometimes it has a vast and vague signification, and —天下, 'all under heaven.' Practically, this account is correct, but it says nothing of the origin of the phrase.—In the text, we must take the phrase vaguely, comprehending the empire. Even allowing the account of the 爾雅, 四海 must—四海之内, or 九州. The writer could not have the barbarous territory beyond the empire in his mind.

八音—'the eight sounds,' i.e., all musical instruments, made of metal, of stone, of silk, of bamboo, of a gourd, of earth, of leather, or of wood.

P. 14. Shun's accession to the throne. This did not take place the year that Yao died, nor the year after, but when the three years' mourning was expired. Nor did Shun then immediately occupy the throne. He allowed time for the expression of opinion from the nobles and people, and was willing that Yao's son Choo should succeed to his father. Neither nobles nor people, however, would have any other but Shun to reign over them. See Mencius, Bk. V. Pt. I. v. 7. The date of the accession was b. c. 2254.

月正元日, —comp., p. 4., 正月上日. Gan-kwô and Wang Suh supposed the two passages identical, and that月正 and 元 in the one and 正月 and 上 in the other are only variations of style, which a writer may indulge in without any great reason. Ch'ing on the other hand contends that the changes teach an important fact,—that Shun on his accession to the throne changed the first month of the year, from the month after the winter solstice, to the month beginning with it. It is slender ground on which to build such a conclusion. Suh says that it was a custom of the Yin and Shang dynasties which changed the beginning of the year, and that the Hoa dyn. and all previous times made it commence with the third month after the winter solstice; see on Con. Ana. XV. x. An expression in Pt. III. Book, ii. p. 3. may be pressed in support of Ching's view. I do not know that there is any other evidence of it, and must here leave the point undetermined.

格于文祖.—文祖, see on p. 4. Shun went now to the temple to announce his accession to the throne; but henceforth he would go to the temple of his own ancestors.

CH. V. ACTS OF SHUN AS EMPEROR. With this par., or the prec., commences what is properly the Canon of Shun, or rather a fragment of that Canon. It wants the beginning, and we may say it wants the end also,—hardly carrying us beyond the events of one year.

P. 15. Measure of Shun to call forth the good and able to public service, and make himself acquainted with the state of the empire 服是 here more than 'to inquire;' it conveys the idea of plans...
He consulted with the twelve Pastors, and said, "The food!—it depends on observing the seasons. Be kind to the distant, and cultivate the ability of the near. Give honour to the virtuous, and your confidence to the good, while you discountenance the artful:—so shall the barbarous tribes lead on one another to make their submission."

17 Slun said, "Ah! chief of the four Mountains, is there any one who can vigorously display his merits, and give wide development and measures (see the Book of Changes)."

16. Counsels to the twelve pastors of provinces. 他 (he) 言 (said) "The food!—it depends on observing the seasons. Be kind to the distant, and cultivate the ability of the near. Give honour to the virtuous, and your confidence to the good, while you discountenance the artful:—so shall the barbarous tribes lead on one another to make their submission."

17. Slun said, "Ah! chief of the four Mountains, is there any one who can vigorously display his merits, and give wide development and measures (see the Book of Changes)."
to the undertakings of the emperor, whom I may make General Regulator, to aid me in all affairs, and manage each department according to its nature?" All in the court said, "There is baron Yu, the superintendent of Works." The emperor said, "Yes. Ah! Yu, you have regulated the water and the land. In this new office exert yourself." Yu did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of the minister of Agriculture, or See, or Kaou-yaou. The emperor said, "Yes; but do you go, and undertake the duties."

The emperor said, "K'e, the black-haired people are still suffering
The emperor said, "See, the people continue unfriendly with one another, and do not observe docilely the five orders of relationship. It is yours, as the minister of Instruction, reverently to set forth the lessons of duty belonging to those five orders. Do so with gentleness."

The emperor said, "Kaou-yaou, the barbarous tribes disturb our bright great land. There are also robbers, murderers, insurgents, and traitors. It is yours, as the minister of Crime, to employ the five

"The people were suffering," &c. Perhaps we should so translate; but it seems more natural to render as I have done,—after Woo Ch'ing, and the 'Daily Explanation,' to be straitened. For 阻 Sze-ma Ts'ien has the distress of hunger. It is yours, O prince, the minister of Agriculture, to sow for them these various kinds of grain."

Nothing about it here. 不親—I have said 'continue unfriendly,' to indicate the reference to the past services of See, which is properly supposed. 五品—'a class;' a rank'; 五品, 'the five ranks,' under which human society may be arranged;—parent and child, sovereign and subject, husband and wife, brothers, and friends.

五教—'the five lessons of duty, belonging to those orders. See Mencius, III. Pt. I. iv. 8, who puts his seal to the meaning of this and five教. There need be no hesitation, therefore, in rejecting K'ang-shing's view, that the 'five fars' are 'father, mother, elder brother, younger brother, and son,' and the five 教—'the duties belonging to those. 教 is 'lit., it is in gentleness,' i.e., the people must be drawn, they can't be forced, to those duties."

P. 20. Confirmation of Kaou-yaou as minister of Crime. 猋夏—'to throw into confusion.' Ch'ing expl. it by 猖, 'to invade and throw into confusion.' 災 is a name for 'the middle country,' conveying the ideas of 'brightness and greatness.' The character 災 is generally found with it.

The latter are traitors, members of one's household or State; the former are insurgents.
punishments for the treatment of offences, for the infliction of which there are the three appointed places; and the five banishments, with their several places of detention, for which three localities are assigned. Perform your duties with intelligence, and you will secure a sincere submission."

21 The emperor said, "Who is equal to the duty of superintending my workmen?" All in the court said, "There is Suy." The emperor said, "Yes. Ah! Suy, you must be minister of Works." Suy did obeisance, with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in

or invaders. 作土, Ch'ing exp. 士 as 'one who presides over the examination of civil and criminal causes'; Ma says he was 'the chief of such judges.' During the Chow dyn. there was the 士師, or chief criminal judge, but he was only a subordinate to the minister of Crime. Kao-yu's office was that of the 大司寇 of the Chow dyn. On the interpr. of 五刑有服, 五服三就, 五流有宅, 五宅三居, opinions are much divided. The five punishments, we may assume, are the branding, castration, &c., mentioned on p. 11.

服, says Woo Ching, indicates the application of the punishment to the body, as a garment is put on. I do not think we can translate in English more closely than if we say—'There are the five punishments which are to be undergone, and for the undergoing of them there are three places to be resorted to.' What those three places were, cannot be determined.—Ch'ing says—'the open country (原野); the market-place and court (市朝); and the place where the 甸師氏 executed his functions' [more privately, on members of the imperial House]. Ma Yung takes the same view. Gan-kwō had determined the three places to be the open country, the market-place, and the court, from misunderstanding a passage in the 國語. 魯語. 上. 大刑用甲兵, 云。云。 Dissatisfied with these explanations, Ts'e suggested that it may have been that capital sentences were carried into effect in the market-place, castration, in some place corresponding to the 'mulberry apartment' (蠶室) of the Han dyn., and the other

三 punishments, in some other place, screened from the wind.—We must leave the subject undetermined.

The five severe inflictions might be commuted for banishments,—to a greater or less distance. Each banishment was undergone in a certain place (宅); but those five localities were comprehended within three larger divisions of territory. This is the extent of the conclusion to which we can come on this part of the passage. Gan-kwō says the lesser banishment was to a distance of a thousand li; the second was beyond the limits of the nine provinces; and the third was to the remotest region of barbarism. Ch'ing has a strange view. He would read 宅 as 『( constitute), and thinks it means handcuffs, fetters, &c., with which the criminals were secured.

惟明克允, does this mean, 'Be intelligent and you will secure the acquiescence of the people,' or 'Be intelligent and your sentences will be in accordance with the truth of the cases?' The characters will admit of either meaning. These Ch'ing joins them together, but a translation can only admit one of them.

P. 21. Appointment of Suy to be minister of Works. This office was vacant in consequence of Yu's appointment to be General Regulator. The minister of Works, it would appear, had to look after all the workers, or guilds of workers, in earth, stone, metal, leather, &c.

若子工, see on 若, in Can. of Yaou, p. 9.

垂 (read Suy, like 瑞; see the Dict.),—mention is made of 'the bamboo arrows of Suy,' preserved as precious relics in the times of the Chow dyn.; see Pt. V. Bk. XXII. 19. The Taoist philosopher Chwang also speaks of 'the finger of Suy' (垂); see the 南華外篇. 第三). Suy would appear from this to have
favour of Shoo, Ts'eousang, or Pih-yu. The emperor said, "Yes; but do you go and undertake the duties. Effect a harmony in all the departments."

The emperor said, "Who is equal to the duty of superintending the grass and trees, with the birds and beasts, on my mountains and in my marshes." All in the court said, "There is Yih." The emperor said, "Yes. Ah! Yih, do you be my Forester." Yih did obeisance, with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Choo, Hoo, Heung, or Pe. The emperor said, "Yes; but do you go, and undertake the duties. You must manage them harmoniously."

been himself a skilful worker.

Some make him a son of Kaou Yaou, but this is not likely (see the 集説, in loc.). According to Sze-ma Ta'een he was descended from Chuen-heuh, and, receiving from Shun the surname of Ying (嬴), became the progenitor of the rulers of Ts'in (秦). Ta'een gives his name 伯益 and not 伯益 (see 秦本紀第五). As Yih had been associated with Yu, this may be the reason why Ch'ing, Ma, and Wang Sueh all read 禹日益哉 instead of 亖日益哉. This is considered a flagrant proof of the falsehood of the common text. The 'Historical Records,' however, for 亖日益哉 皆曰. The text from which Sze-ma copied must have had 亖曰. 虢-山澤之官, 'the officer of the hills and marshes.' In the time of the Chou dynasty, each department had its superintendent, and the office was of smaller importance. 虢 means 'to consider,' 'to calculate' and the warden of the forests' was so styled, it is said, because he had so much to think about! Some would also make the name of the office to be 虢-朱虎熊罙-役, 'the fire,' 'the tiger,' 'the bear,' 'the grisly bear.' These were four officers, brothers, it is said, the sons of Kaou-sin. Their names, and those in the last par., might make us compare Shun's court to a council of Red Indians. The Historical Records add that these four men became Yih's assistants. This agrees with the meaning
23. The emperor said, "Ah! chief of the four Mountains, is there any one who can direct my three religious ceremonies?" All in the court said, "There is the baron E." The emperor said, "Yes. Ah! baron, you must be the Arranger of the ancestral temple. Morning and night you must be respectful. Be upright, be pure." The baron did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of K'wei or Lung. The emperor said, "Yes; but do you go, and undertake the duties. Be reverential."

24. The emperor said, "K'wei, I appoint you to be Director of music, and to teach our sons, so that the straightforward may yet be mild,

which I said on last par. some give to the diff. word 諸.

P. 23. Appointment of Pi-k'e to be minister of Religion. The 四岳 is specially consulted with reference to the appointment of Yu, p. 17, and the app. here—showing, it is supposed, the superior importance of the two offices of General Regulator and minister of Religion. 典—here a verb, 主, ‘to preside over,’ ‘to direct,’ 三禮, ‘the three ceremonies.’ There is no difference of opinion as to the understanding of these. They are all the observances in the worship of the spirits of heaven (天神), the spirits of earth (地祇), and the spirits of men (人鬼). The ceremonies of the first went by the name of 祀; of the second by that of 祭; of the third by that of 享. The minister of religion under the Chow dyn. was called 大宗伯, and the duties of his office will be found described at length under that name in the ‘Rites of Chow’ (夏官).

伯夷—’the baron E, 伯 being his title (爵, Woo Ch'ing). How it is that the emperor addresses him simply by the title, and that the historian describes him simply by it is a difficulty, which has not been solved (see 段玉裁’s Work, in loc.). The ‘Historical Records’ do not use 伯 alone, but always say 伯父. 秦宗—秩—敘次, ‘to arrange,’ ‘to dispose in order’; 宗—祖廟, ‘the ancestral temple’ (this is the proper meaning of the character). That this—Arranger of the ancestral temple—should be the name given to the minister of Religion, shows strikingly the chief place occupied by the worship of their ancestors in the religion of China, from the earliest times. 夙夜惟寅, 直哉 惟清. Choo Ho says:—'From reverence there will come uprightness, and from uprightness purity' (惟寅故直, 惟直故清). I suppose it is so, but it is very difficult to discover in the text the grammatical nexus of the different clauses.

P. 24. Appointment of K'wei to be minister of Music. It is singular how great an importance is here attributed to training in music, and that this should have been a special department regulated by imperial statutes from the earliest times. Under the Chow dyn., the minister of Music was styled 大司樂; see the chapter on his duties in the ‘Rites of Chow,’ 春官, 宗伯—第二之六. 夔 is the name of a monstrous animal, ‘a dragon with one leg.’ I can find no other information about the officer thus designated, besides the notice here.
the gentle may yet be dignified, the strong not tyrannical, and the
impetuous not arrogant. Poetry is the expression of earnest thought;
singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression. The notes
accompany that utterance, and they are harmonized themselves by
the pitch pipes. In this way the eight different kinds of instruments
can all be adjusted so that one shall not take from or interfere with
another, and spirits and men will thereby be brought into harmony.”

and in Bk. IV, p. 9. 肅 is expl. by Gan-kwŏ by 長, 'eldest,' and he adds—meaning the
elest son of the emperor, and the younger branches of the families of the nobles and
officers.' He had before him a passage in the Le Kē,—the 王制, Pt. iv. p. 4, where we are
told the minister of Music (樂正) taught
'the poems, ceremonies, and music of the former
kings,' and was resorted to by the eldest
and other sons of the king, the eldest sons of
all the feudal princes, the eldest sons (by their
proper wives) of the nobles and officers, and by
the promising youth of the kingdom.' 肅, how-
ever, denotes descendants generally; and there
was an early time another reading of 肅 for

肅, leaving the子 quite unqualified. In
無慮無傲無母. 詩言志, 言亦是 by 心之所
之, 'that to which the mind moves,' and
hence it is translated by 'will,' 'aim,' 'purpose.'
It denotes thought, but thought earnest and
ardent, which seeks display and development.
Shun's definition of poetry is not much amiss.

永 is, lit., 'water flowing on long and
unbroken.' Ch'ing explains it here by 長, 'to
prolong.' Singing is the poetic language 'in
linked sweetness long drawn out.' 聲依
永律和聲 is 'to rely on,' 'to
be according to,' 'to keep close to.' Its
force is well brought out in the 'Daily Explanation':—'This singing gives rise to the distinc-
tion of notes into high and low, treble and
bass,—the five notes of music, indeed, which
all come out in connection with the prolonged
tube g must be made considerably less than half
the length of the tube G in order to sound the
octave to it. Their division of the tubes into 6
律 and 6 吕, moreover, has complicated the
subject, and thrown around it the perplexity of
their reasons about the yin and yang
principles.

八音克謳—see p. 18.

The emperor said, "Lung, I abominate slanderous speakers, and
destroyers of right ways, who agitate and alarm my people. I
appoint you to be the minister of Communication. Early and late give
forth my orders and report to me, seeing that every thing is true.

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八音克謳—see p. 18.

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forth my orders and report to me, seeing that every thing is true.
26 The emperor said, "Ah! you, twenty and two men, be reverent, and so shall you aid me in performing the service of Heaven."

27 Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving were degraded, and the deserving promoted. By this arrangement the duties of all the departments were fully discharged. The people of San-meao were discriminated and separated.

is intended to help instruction; hence followed the appointment of Kaon-yao. Workers make implements and utensils for the benefit of the people:—this is the conclusion of government; hence Suy was appointed, and so far as men are concerned, the organization of the government was pretty well complete. Shun then proceeded to care for the grass and trees, for birds and beasts, appointing Suy. This done, the time came for the cultivation and development of ceremonial observances and music. These two things are the grand consummation of government, by which service is done to Heaven, to earth, and to spirits, and all things are brought to harmony and order; hence there were the appointments of E and K'wei:—of E first and then of K'wei, because music must be a sequel to the ceremonial observances. With music the work of government might be supposed to be ended, but notwithstanding the abundance of able ministers, let slanderous dividers once go abroad, and the men of worth and ability would be made restless, and what had been done would come to nought. On this account the appointment of Lung was made last of all. The design of this was the same with that of Shun's concluding charge to the pastors of the twelve provinces, that they should make it hard for the artful; and with Confucius' concluding lesson on the administration of a country—to keep far from specious talkers." (Ana. XV. xx. 6).

P. 26. General address to all his principal ministers.

P. 27. Institution of examinations; and further discipline of the Meaouites.

Ch'in is obliged to leave them out altogether, and says the 22 were the 12 presidents of provinces, with Yu, Suy, Yih, Pih-e, K'wei, Lung, Shoo-teaang, Pih-yu, Choo-hoo, and Heung-pie; and Wang Ming-shing argues, in his postscript, that this view should not be changed! Gan-kwâ and Ma Yung leave out Tsew, Sis, and Kaou-yao, and say the 22 men were Yu, Suy, Yih, Pih-e, K'wei, Lung, the 12 presidents of provinces, and the four ministers called 四岳. This view is followed by Keang Shing.

惟時亮天功—時是: 亮在四岳

i.e., 黣幽陟明: 明, 'the dark,'—the idle and undeserving; 明 is the opposite of this. 庶績咸熙,—see Can. of Yaou, p. 8.

分北三苗—北 (read p'ei, 3d tone), 'to separate.' Keang Shing would read it pê, contending, that the original character was two 八, one over the other, the old form of 別. In what year the Meaou were thus dealt with we cannot tell. Wang Suh thinks that after the discipline of them mentioned p. 12, those who were left in their original seats again proved insubordinate, and another separation and banishment of them had to be made.

Ch. VI. Summary of Shun's life; and death.

There is no dispute about the first clause; all allow that Shun, when he was thirty, was called to employment by Yaou, and the testing of him began. The reading of 三十
VI. In the thirtieth year of his life Shun was called to employment. Thirty years after, he went on high and died.

在位 is much disputed. Ch'ing read 二十, making Shun's life to have amounted altogether to 100 years. And there was a reading of 三十 for 三十. Wang Ming-shing and Twan Yuh-tse adduce many proofs of it. But on p. 13 we saw that the 28 years there could only be understood of the years during which Shun acted as Yaou's vicegerent. Adding to them the three years of his testing, p. 3, we should have 31 years; but one of those three may naturally be considered the year in which he was called from his obscurity. We shall thus have the 三十 of the text. As to the 50 years on the throne, these must include the two years (three, including the year in which Yaou died) of mourning for Yaou, when opportunity was given for the accession of Yaou's son. Altogether then, Shun was on the throne, with universal recognition, 48 years, his life extended over 110 years; and he died a.C. 2202. Gan-kwô, not deducting the two years after Yaou's death, makes Shun's age 112.

至於方死—I have translated this clause after Tsâo Ch'in, who relies chiefly on the usage of the 'Bamboo Annals,' where 陟方 is used of the death of the emperors, and 方 after it is a difficulty, and so is the 且死, for the going on high should be mentioned after the death, and not before it. Gan-kwô, to avoid these difficulties, takes 方 in the sense of region, and says 方道南方巡狩死.' he went up the way towards the southern region, on a tour of inspection, and died.' Maou K'e-ling argues for this view; but it is inadmissible as an explanation of the text of this paragraph. He builds principally on the account of Shun's life and death in the 'Historical Records.' It is there said:—'When Shun was 20, he was heard of for his filial piety; at 30, he was promoted by Yaou; at 50 he undertook the administration of affairs for Yaou, and when he was 58, Yaou died. At 61, he took his place, and occupied the imperial throne 89 years, after which, being on a tour of inspection in the south, he died in the wilderness of Ta'ung-woo (蒼梧), and was buried at Kew-ê (九疑) of Keang-nan, in Ling-ling.' Ling-ling is the name of a district in the pres. dep. of Yang-chow (揚州) in Hon-an, where they still show, or pretend to show, the grave of Shun. Mencius (IV. Pt. II. i.) gives another name to the place of his death.
THE BOOKS OF YU.

BOOK II. THE COUNSELS OF THE GREAT YU.

1. On examining into antiquity, we find that the great Yu was called Wān-ming. Having arranged and divided the empire, all to the four seas, in reverent response to the inquiries of the former emperor,

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—大禹謨 ‘The Counsels of the great Yu.’ The Books of the Shoo have been arranged in six classes, according to the nature of their subject-matter. Of those classes the ‘Counsels’ form the second, containing the wise remarks and suggestions of high officers on the subject of government. In one of the Writings ascribed to K'ung Foo (孔 餒), Confucius is made to say—‘In the Counsels of the great Yu, I see the loyalty and diligence, the service and merits of Yu’ (孔叢子, 卷一, 諫書篇). 謨—‘plans;’ but it is implied that the plans are the result of deliberation. Hsu Shin defines it ‘plans of deliberation;’ and his expounder adds:—‘The thoughtful consideration of a subject, and the description of a plan in consequence, is what is indicated by 謨.’ Yu, it has been seen in the prev. Book, was the son of K'wān, the chief of Tsung. According to Sze-ma Te'seen, K'wān was a son of the emp. Chuen-heuh, so that Yu was the great-grandson of Hwang-te. He is here called ‘the Great,’ ‘because of the greatness of his merit’ (Gan-kws)—the services he rendered on occasion of the great inundations which devastated the empire.

Into the question which is agitated about the Genuineness of the Book I do not here enter; the reader is referred to what has been said on the subject in the proleg., and to the remarks that will be found on particular passages in the annotations. The ‘Counsels of Yu’ were a portion of the Shoo edited by Confucius. The preface, and many references to it in other books, sufficiently prove this. It was not among the portions recovered and taught by Fuh-shang, but it was among those recovered by K'ung Gan-kws. In the words of Ts'e Chin:—‘The modern text wants it; the ancient text has it’ (今文無, 古文有).

CONTENTS. The Book may be divided into three chapters—the first, embracing 8 parr., and containing various counsels of Yu and Yih on principles and methods of good govt.; the second, parr. 9–19, occupied with Shun’s resigning the administration of the govt. to Yu, and cont. many sage observations and maxims; the third, parr. 20, 21, describing Yu’s measures against the people of Meaou. The style differs from that of the Canons. It is sententious as befits the subject: and we observe in it a tendency to fall into rhythm.

Ch. I. Yu; his Counsels and those of Yih on Government; compliments between the Emperor and those Ministers. P. 1. The achievement of Yu, and occasion of delivering his
2 he said, “If the sovereign can realize the difficulty of his sovereignship, and the minister can realize the difficulty of his ministry, government will be well ordered, and the people will sedulously seek to be virtuous.” The emperor said, “Yes; let this really be the case, and good words will nowhere lie hidden; no men of virtue and talents will be neglected away from court; and the myriad States will all enjoy repose. But to ascertain the views of all; to give up one’s own opinion and follow that of others; to refrain from oppressing the helpless; and not to neglect the straitened and poor:—it counsels.

日若稽古, 大禹日文命。Gan-kwô, followed by Te’se Ch’in, takes 文命 as two nouns, the subject of the verb 敷—his accomplished virtue and the lessons of his teaching were spread abroad to the four seas, according to what is said in the last par. of the ‘Tribute of Yu.’ The common. Soo Shih 触 or Soo Tung-po, moreover, asks to what 敷于四海 can be referred, if 文命 be taken as the name of Yu. The first words of the ‘Tribute of Yu’ enable us to answer the question,—禹敷士, ‘Yu divided the land.’ To the same effect, in the She-king, Pt. IV, in the 4th of the Praise-songs of Shang, we have 禹敷土方, where 敷 is explained by 治, ‘to regulate.’ The meaning therefore may very well be as I have given it in the translation.

Bk. I. p. 18. 祝 ( 敬) 承于帝, ‘he reverently received—took it up—from the emperor.’ Wang K’ang-t’ang (王肯堂, Ming din.) says:—‘The emp. with his love of questioning and delight in excellence addressed his inquiries to his minister, who reverently responded to his sovereign, laying on him what was difficult and setting forth what was excellent.’

F. 2. Good govt. depends on sovereign and minister not shrinking from the difficulties of their position. Comp. Con. Ana., XII. xv. 后君, ‘the sovereign,’ ‘ruler,’ 敏, ‘active,’ ‘alert’ here as a verb, — ‘to follow earnestly,’ It is better to take the char. thus, than to interpret,—‘will quickly be virtuous,’ though earnest e.deavour.s will speedily attain their object.

F. 3. Shun’s response to Yu’s sentiment, and disclaimer of such merit in himself. 允一信, ‘truly,’ 信—‘be-cause, nowhere,’ ‘Good words will nowhere lie hidden,’ i.e., all capable of giving lessons of good will find their way to notice. 野, ‘the wilds,’ ‘the fields,’ are away from court. ‘The myriad States will enjoy repose,’ being ruled and directed by the wise and good.

舍已从人, —see Men., II. Pt. I. viii. 3. 不虞无告, 不费田 }//comp. in 莊子, 天道篇. ——is taken from the Counsels of Kao-yûn, p. 1;—shall we say that Book of the Shoo is also forged? —唯帝時克, ‘the emperor is Yuon; 時—是; Ying-tâ paraphrases:—
was only the emperor Yao who could attain to this.” Yih said, “Oh! your virtue, O emperor, is vast and incessant. It is sagely, spiritual, awe-inspiring, and adorned with all accomplishments. Great Heaven regarded you with its favouring decree, and suddenly you obtained all within the four seas, and became sovereign of the empire.”

Yu said, “Accordance with the right is good fortune; the following of evil is bad:—the shadow and the echo.” Yih said, “Alas! be cautious! Admonish yourself to caution, when there

惟帝堯於是能爲此行, “it was only Yao who could act thus.”

P. 4. Yih repudiates Shun’s disclaimer, and celebrates his virtue. I can by no means agree with Gan-kwô and Ch’in, that the 帝 in 帝德 refers to Yao. Ch’in observes, indeed, that to take 帝 as some do, as referring to Shun himself, would make the whole plain, and is in harmony with the style of ‘The Counselors,’ 帝 in the mouth of Shun being Yao, but 帝 in the mouth of Shun’s ministers being Shun. He decides against it, however, because in the simple honesty of those early times Yih would not have praised Shun so to his face! But this is no more than what Kao-yao does in this same Book, p. 12.

都—see on Can. of Yao, p. 8. Choo He here says that 都 meaning the capital, the place where superior men assemble, when used as an exclamation, conveys the idea of admiration (see the 遷}, “to move without ceasing.”

乃神—see Men. VII. Pt. II. xxv. 7, 8.

乃文—as the civil (文) always takes precedence in China of the military (武), it is thought necessary to note here that the terms are inverted from the necessity of the rhythm (note in the 集傳). 奄 is taken by Gan-kwô as 同, of which I can’t make sense. Ch’in explains it by 戒, “entirely,” “the whole of.” The meaning which I have foll. seems more natural; and the rise of Shun might very well be thus described.

In the 呂氏春秋 十三卷 (near the end), we find a portion of this par. quoted from ‘the Books of Hu’s.’—夏書曰: 天子之德廣運, 乃神, 乃武, 乃文. Wang Ming-shing argues that the par. of the text was made from this, the maker inserting 乃神 before 乃武, to complete the rhythm and flow of the whole passage. But is it not more natural to suppose that Leu quotes the Classic incorrectly?

P. 5. The certain connection between the right and happiness, between the wrong and misery.

惠—順, “to follow,” “to accord with,” as in Bk. II. p. 17. 迪, “to advance,” “to go forward,” and here opposed to 邪, “going back wards,” “rebelliousness,”—“the right way.”

惟影響 and not 如影響 is an emphatic way of representing the truth of the two preceding statements; so, to say “is good fortune,” rather than “leads to good fortune” is not only a literal rendering, but is necessary to give exactly Yu’s sentiment. “We are not to look,” says Ch’în King (陳經, Sung dyn.) ‘for good fortune or bad, beyond the complacency or dissipation of the mind.’ Yu’s object by this remark was to deepen the impression of his previous observation.

P. 6. Exhortation founded on Yu’s proposition. 呃—see Can. of Yao, p. 10. 做
seems to be no reason for anxiety. Do not fail in due attention to the laws and ordinances. Do not find your enjoyment in indulgent ease. Do not go to excess in pleasure. In your employment of men of worth, let none come between you and them. Put away evil without hesitation. Do not try to carry out doubtful plans. Study that all your purposes may be with the light of reason. Do not go against what is right to get the praise of the people. Do not oppose the people to follow your own desires. Attend to these things without idleness or omission, and from the four quarters the barbarous tribes will come and acknowledge your sovereignty.”

7 Yu said, “Oh! think of these things, O emperor. Virtue is seen in the goodness of the government, and the government is tested

(Choo He says the original read. was 敬戒無虞,—be reverently cautious where there is no calculating; no forecasting, i.e., no occasion for anxiety. 法度,—not only the laws of State and ordinances of govt., but all the rules for the regulation of conduct, be it even in eating and drinking (see a note in the 集傳). 自去, ‘to go beyond,’—like water overflowing and not returning. 有志惟熙,—your hundred movements of mind, let them be bright. It is observed by She Lan (時瀾, Sung dyn.): ‘The movements of the sages are accordant with reason. Whithersoever their spirits and mental exercises carry them, these are brightly intelligent and great; hence it is said 百志惟熙’ (集說). 來王,—the wild tribes outside the provinces did not come regularly to court, but every chieftain of a tribe came once, on his taking the rule, to acknowledge the imperial supremacy; this was called 來王. So it was in the Chow dyn. See a note by Chin Sze-k'ae in the 集傳.

In a pass. in the 國策, the clauses 任賢勿貳去邪勿疑 are quoted from the Shoo in an inverted order;—a proof, it is said, that the pres. ‘Counsels’ is a forged compilation. But such arguments have no force. Irregular quotations from the acknowledged Books are not uncommon. The clause 無急 is found in the Books of the After Han, 卷五十二, near the end of the sketch of 部首, only we have 致 for 急. But there are other passages of the classics in the same sketch, without any specific acknowledged. See Maou K'e-ling and Wang Ming-shing, in loc. P. 7. Further exhortations and details by Yu on the subject of government. Choo He observes that parr. 2—3 were all one conversation, but whether what follows was spoken at the same time cannot be known. P. 7 is gen. connected with the prec, in the manner indicated in the transl., but the 翻 may—‘think of
by its nourishing of the people. There are water, fire, metal, wood, earth, and grain,—these must be duly regulated; there are the rectification of the people's virtue, the conveniences of life, and the securing abundant means of sustentation,—these must be harmoniously attended to. When the nine services thus indicated have been orderly accomplished, let that accomplishment be celebrated by songs. Caution the people with gentle words; correct them with the majesty of law; stimulate them with the songs on those nine subjects,—in order that your success may never suffer diminution."

What I am now going to say. "穀 (coo), as in Can. of Yau, p. 2 德惟善政一惟 connects the two parts of the clause; but I have spoken before of the difficulty in determining exactly the force of the particle. 'Virtue—just is good government;'—this is expanded in the Daily Explanations:—'Virtue does not exist ineffectively in one's own mind merely. It should be seen in the conduct of affairs, making the government entirely good, and then it is real virtue.'

Now follows a description of good govt., as consisting in the nourishment of the people,—not the bare support of their bodies, but the sustenance and development of their whole being. We must wish, however, that the description were given in plainer terms.

First, to get food for the people, water, fire, metal, wood, earth (see V. Bk. IV. 5, which purports to be part of Yu's teaching), and grain must be regulated. The grain is the principal thing here, and the result of the whole process of regulation. Fire acting on metal melts it, and metal implements may be fashioned. These act on wood, and wooden implements are made. We have now the plough, &c., to act upon the earth, and by-and-by there will be the grain. But what use of water has been made in this process? Here is a difficulty. Ch'in Sze-k'ye says, 'Water acts on fire—subdues it, makes it subservient— for cookery!'

Second, food being provided, govt. goes on to 正徳,—not, as Gan-kwo would make it, the rectification by the ruler of his virtue as an example to the people, but getting the people to be virtuous—fathers kind, sons filial, &c.

To this succeeds 利用, 'the facilitating of things used,' attained by the promotion of arts and commerce; and also 厚生, 'the enrichment of living,' abundant comforts and luxuries.

These three great objects, it is said, 德惟 are to be harmonious, to be attained by the measures appropriate to each, without any collision between them.

Third, the aid of song is to be called in, 九功,—'the nine services,' referring to the management of water, of fire, &c., and the other things just detailed. 叙—the and above. 端—督, 'to urge and reprove.'

8 The emperor said, "Yes. The earth is now reduced to order, and the influences of heaven operate with effect; those six magazines and three businesses are all truly regulated, so that a myriad generations may perpetually depend on them:—this is your merit."

9 If the emperor said, "Come, you, Yu. I have occupied the imperial throne for thirty and three years. I am between ninety and a hundred years old, and the laborious duties weary me. Do you, eschewing all indolence, take the leadership of my people." Yu said, "My virtue is not equal to the position; the people will not repose in me. But there is Kaou-yau, with vigorous activity sowing

P. 8. Complimentary response of Shun. Yu has urged Shun to a certain style of govt., and Shun responds that the possibility of its realization was all owing to him. 地平—this refers to Yu's labours on the inundated provinces. 天成—Heaven completes.' The meaning is that there could now be seed-time and harvest. Gan-kwô foolishly says—五行序日成, the five elements acting in order is what is called 成; and Ying-tâ more foolishly expands the 'five elements' into the spirits of the five elements (五行之 神). We find this sentence quoted as from the 'Books of Hea' in the 左傳, 僖, 二 十四年. 六府—'six treasures,' (see Con. Ana. XI. xiii). Those are the water, fire, &c., of the prec. par. the six 'treasuries' or magazines of nature. 三事—three businesses,' i.e., the rectification of the people's virtue, &c. 时是—'this.' 乃—'you.' This par. prepares the way for the proposal in the next.

CH. II. Yu is called to act as Shun's viceregent, and is obliged unwillingly to accept the dignity. P. 9. Shun on the ground of his age requests Yu to relieve him of the

P. 10. Yu wishes to decline the proposal in favour of Kaou-yau.
abroad his virtue, which has descended on the black-haired people, till they cherish him in their hearts. O emperor, think of him! When I think of him, my mind rests on him, as the man for this office; when I would put him out of my thoughts, they still rest on him; when I name and speak of him, my mind rests on him for this; the sincere outgoing of my thoughts about him is that he is the man. O emperor, think of his merits!"

11 The emperor said, "Kaou-yao, that of these my ministers and people, hardly one is found to offend against the regulations of my government, is owing to your being the minister of Crime, and intelligent in the use of the five punishments to assist the inculcation of the five duties, with a view to the perfection of my government, and
that through punishment there may come to be no punishments, but the people accord with the *path of the Mean.* *Continue to be strenuous.*" Kaou-yaou said, "Your virtue, O emperor, is faultless. You condescend to your ministers with a liberal ease; you preside over the multitude with a generous forbearance. Punishments do not extend to the criminal's heirs; while rewards reach to after generations. You pardon inadvertent faults, however great; and punish purposed crimes, however small. In cases of doubtful crimes, you deal with them lightly; in cases of doubtful merit, you prefer the high estimation. Rather than put to death an innocent person, you will run the risk of irregularity and error. This life-loving virtue has penetrated the minds of the people, and this is why they do not render themselves liable to be punished by your officers." The emperor said, "To enable me to follow after and

badly takes it in the first case as—當 期 于 子 治," ‘aiming at my govt.’ The
tone, with an intensive mean-

ing, as in the transl. Wang Ming-shing quotes from the

*民協于中,— 御*外傳: 聽獄執中者,皇陶也, 故曰民協于中,

時乃功," as in p. 8. 12. 臨 and 御 are both terms of imperial application. *‘*When a superior visits an inferior, designates the act*; ‘*wherever the son of Heaven stops is called (see the Dict.). The diff. between them is indicated by the employment of them in the text. 臨 describ. Shun in his relation to his min-

isters (下), and 御 in his relation to the peo-

ple. 隻 and 世 are here synonyms,— 子孫, ‘descendants.’ 過, Bk. p. 11; *故* is crimes done ‘on purpose.’

失不經," ‘to fail by being not regular,’ not according to the standard. 兹用—所以, ‘therefore,’ ‘it is hereby that.’

有司— the officers,’ ‘an official;’ see *Ana. XX. ii 8, et al.* I cannot but think that Kaou Yaou intended himself by the phrase, and feel inclined to translate; — ‘this is why they do not render themselves liable to be punished by me, who am but an officer.’

In the 左傳, 襄二十六年, we find quoted from the ‘Books of Hen’—與其殺不辜, 宁失不經. 13. Shun

reiterates his sense of Kaou-yaou’s merits. 惟
obtain what I desire in my government, the people everywhere responding as if moved by the wind;—this is your excellence."

14 The emperor said, "Come, Yu. The inundating waters filled me with dread, when you realized all that you represented, and accomplished your task,—thus showing your superiority to other men. Full of toilsome earnestness in the service of the State, and sparing in your expenditure on your family; and this without being full of yourself or elated; you again show your superiority to other men. Without any prideful presumption, there is no one in the empire to contest with you the palm of ability; without any boasting, there is no one in the empire to contest with you the claim of me-

乃之休—乃—汝; 休—美 ‘excellence.’ In the Works of the philosopher Seun, 大暑篇, we find the first part of this par. with a slight change. He says—舜曰, 維子從欲而治.

Parr. 14–19. Shun returns to insist on Yu’s becoming his viceroy; delivers various admonitions to him; disallows his repeated attempt to decline the dignity; and finally Yu undertakes the government. 14. 來禹, 泽水儆子—see in Men. III. Pt. II. ix. 8. 泽水警余, Ta’sue Chin says the old text read 降; and according to that chart, Gankwo explains—‘the waters flowing down.’ No doubt the text of Memious has prevailed to change 降 into 泽. 成允成功 is literally—‘you accomplished sincerity, you accomplished merit.’ I have translated according to the expansion of the meaning in the 集傳. There can be no doubt that by the ‘merit’ which Yu accomplished is intended his management of the inundating waters. The passage is quoted in the 左傳襄六年, and explained in harmony with the case which it is adduced to illustrate:—when one’s good faith is established, he can accomplish his services. 汝賢—汝賢於人, ‘you are superior to, you surpass others,’ see this meaning of 貴 in Ana. XI. xxv. et al.

克勤于邦, 克儉于家,—comp. Ana. VIII. xxi. 假, —in the sense of 大, ‘great;’ 自假, —‘making one’s-self great;’ being elated, 勤 is defined 自賢, ‘making one’s-self superior;’ and 儉自弘, ‘arrogating to one’s-self merit.’ There is something like the four clauses beginning 汝惟不矜 in Seun’s 君子篇, and also in Laou-teze’s 道德經; but we need not assume that the pres. text was compiled from those passages. 慳 is properly ‘to urge,’ it may be to urge another, or to exert one’s-self, and Ying-tâ makes the meaning here—‘I urge your virtua. ’ But this is quite unsuitable, and hence Choo He says that 慶 and 慍 were anciently interchanged, and so understands it in
rit. I see how great is your virtue, how admirable your vast achievements. The determinate appointment of Heaven rests on your person; you must eventually ascend the throne of the great sovereign. The mind of man is restless, prone to err; its affinity for the right way is small. Be discriminating, be undivided, that you may sin-

the sense of 'great,' 'to consider great.'

The mouth, the nose, the ears, the eyes, and four limbs all belong to one's own body; they are the things which are of one's self, and are not like the conviction of right and duty (道), which belongs to one with all others. Thus we have at once the root of selfishness, and there is a proneness to li moreover; yet this is not in itself bad—it is only the root of what is bad. 'Take what is here called the人心, and regulate and control (交之) it, and you have the道心:
take the道心, and leave it uncared for (放之), and you have the人心.' Putting the question, whether it could be said of the mind of the sages, that it was also restless and prone to err, he replies that the affinity for the right in them completely predominated so as to rule the other. (See the集說.)

惟精惟一, these denote the exercise of mind and force of will by which the人心 can be kept from disturbing the道心, and there will result in practice the strict adherence to theMean, the course which neither exceeds nor comes short of what is right.

允執厥中 is found in the Con. Ana., XX. i. 1. The rest of the par., it is said, was made up in the time of the Ts'in dyn. by Mei Tseh from Sean King's解蔽篇. We certainly find there, and quoted as from道經: the passages人心之危,道心之微. There is also much in the context about being精於道, and 一於道. Sean King has written nothing which he was not likely to do, if he had the Shoo with this passage in his mind. And, on the other hand, it must be allowed that a forger might have compiled the first three clauses of the par. from him. His quoting from the道經 can hardly be said to be decisive in the question, for as we refer to the Bible often as 'The word of Truth,' 'The book of Truth,' the phrase in question
16 cerely hold fast the Mean. Do not listen to unsubstantiated words; 17 do not follow undeliberated plans. Of all who are to be loved, is not the sovereign the chief? Of all who are to be feared, are not the people the chief? If the multitude were without the sovereign, whom should they sustain aloft? If the sovereign had not the multitude, there would be none to guard the country for him. Be reverent. Carefully demean yourself on the throne which you will occupy, respectfully cultivating the virtues which are to be desired in you. If within the four seas there be distress and poverty, your Heaven-

may denote the Shoo under a similar designation. One thing is certain—the sentences were put together before the time of Mei Tseh, for Ma Yung in his "Kung Chi" quoted—惟精惟一,允執厥中 (see the 尚書箋詞 in loc.). He who has found reason to accept these "Counsels" as genuine on other grounds will not have his faith disturbed by the difficulties connected with this passage.

It has been impugned not only on the critical grounds which I have indicated, but as containing heretical doctrine. Wang Ch'ung-yunn (王充) of the Yuen dynasty, and Mei Tseh of the Ming, especially, have contended that the idea of human nature which it gives is quite contrary to the orthodox truth; but even Ming-shih condemns them for being carried so far by their detestation of Mei Tseh.

16. An admonition to prudence and caution in counsel and action. "To examine and attest." 'Unsubstantiated words' are counsels for which no precedents can be adduced. 'Undeliberated plans' are plans that have not been submitted for general consideration.

The first clause, 可愛非君, and the next are to be taken interrogatively. The 日議 gives them; 勿, 民所可愛, 豈非君乎, 君所可畏, 豈非民乎. Comp. a somewhat similar construction in Mencius, II. Pt. I. ii. 22, et al. 元后: 元, 'great.' We find the clauses—衆非元后, 何戴, 后非邦, 无與守邦, quoted from the "Books of Hea," in the 國語, 周語, 上: 戴——to carry on the head; and thence, 'to respect,' 'to honour.' 慎乃有位: I take as—慎, 汝将有之位, and the next clause also as addressed to Yu in his own person. 可欲 is very much the same as 可欲." in Men., VII. Pt. II., xxx. 8.

四海困窮, 天祿永終—see Ana. XX, i. 1. I have adhered to the translation of this sentence which I gave in the Analects. Gan-kwô takes quite a different view of it. 'By困窮,' he says, 'are intended the sufferers of distress through the empire, who have none to appeal to. Let the emperor cultivate the virtues appropriate to him, and care for these, and the possession of the throne will abide for ever in his person.' (天之祿籍, 長終, 天之蘊, 長終, 天之蘊) Maou Kê-ling shows that previous to the time of the 'Eastern Tsîn' this was the
Yu said, "Submit the meritorious ministers one by one to the trial of divination, and let the fortunate indication be followed." The emperor said, "Yu, the officer of divination, when the mind has been made up on a subject, then refers it to the great tortoise. Now, in this matter, my mind was determined in the first place. I consulted and deliberated with all my ministers and people, and they were of one accord with me. The spirits signified their assent, the tortoise and grass having both concurred. Divination, when fortunate, may not be repeated." Yu did obeisance, with his head to the ground, and firmly declined the throne. The emperor said, "Do not repeat your words, which sends forth what is good, and gives rise to war. My words I will not repeat."

Yu received interpretation of the language while that which I have followed (and which is much more likely and natural) prevailed from that time; and he argues that if the commentary of Gai-kwái were indeed a forgery of Mêi Tsê he would not have given the explanation which had by his time gone into disuse. 母不習吉，惟口出好興，務同中。Mêi quotes the words as from "The Books of the former Kings," a usual formula with him when quoting from the Shoo King. It is not easy to trace what connection the truth declared in them has with the other remark of Shun.
not do so. It is you who can suitably occupy my place.” On the first morning of the first month, Yu received the appointment in the temple of the spiritual Ancestor, and took the leading of all the officers, as had been done at the commencement of the emperor’s government.

30 III. The emperor said, “Alas! O Yu, there is only the prince of the Meaou, who refuses obedience;—do you go and correct him.” Yu on this assembled all the princes, and made a speech to the host, saying, “Ye multitudes, listen all to my orders. Stupid is this prince of Meaou, ignorant, erring, and disrespectful. Despiteful and insolent to others, he thinks that all ability and virtue are with himself. A rebel to the right, he destroys all the obligations
decide by words; it often = 'an oath;' but in the classic its application is to the solemn charge laid upon his soldiers by a general, a speech delivered to a host. It is said in the 禮記, 檀弓 下, p. 11, that 奉 were first made in the time of the Yin or Shang dyn.; but incorrectly, as the present instance is sufficient to show. The speech of Yu is given by Mih Tsêh, with some omissions and alterations, in the last part of his chapter on 'Universal Love.' 濟 is given in the Dict. as meaning 'the appearance of multitudes' (衆盛之貌), to which Ts'e Chin would add, 'and of marshalled order.' 有衆 = '和衆.' This use of 有, in sententious, half rhythmical passages, is not uncommon. 災, from 'summer' and 'insects,' signifies 'insects moving about,' brought to all their activity by the summer heat. 'To be insubordinate,' and 'to be stupid,' are secondary significations. It is here a term of contempt, applied to the chief of Meau; buzzing, heedless, as an insect. 保天降之咎者子 其克有勳。 爾尚一乃心力。 罪 其民逆命。益贊于帝。 焉。 慶。 遠弗届。 滿招損。 謙。 "of virtue. Superior men are kept by him in obscurity, and mean men fill all the offices. The people reject and will not protect him. Heaven is sending calamities down upon him. On this account I have assembled you, my multitude of gallant men, and bear the instructions of the emperor to punish his crimes. Do you proceed with united heart and strength, so shall our enterprise be crowned with success."

21 At the end of three decades, the people of Meau continued rebellious against the emperor's commands, when Yih came to the help of Yu, saying, "It is virtue which moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride brings loss, and humility receives increase,—this is the way of Heaven. In the early time of the
emperor, when he was living by mount Leih, he went into the fields, and daily cried with tears to compassionate Heaven, and to his parents, taking to himself and bearing all guilt and evil. _At the same time_, with respectful service, he appeared before Koo-sow, looking grave and awe-struck, till Koo also became truly transformed by his example. Entire sincerity moves spiritual beings;—how much more will it move this prince of Meaou!” Yu did homage to the excellent words and said, “Yes.” _Thereupon_ he led back his army, having drawn off the troops. The emperor _also_ set about diffusing his accomplishments and virtue more widely. They danced with shields and feathers between the two staircases of the court. In seventy days the prince of Meaou came to make his submission.

帝初于歷山——the _初_ here is always referred to Shun’s early life, before he was taken notice of by Yaou. The _日講_ here expands it—帝 征 賊之初。曾耕于歷山, ‘early in the emperor’s life, when he was in a low and private station, he ploughed upon mount Leih.’ In opposition to this, however, Mencius says the weeping and crying to heaven and his parents took place when Shun was 50 years old. See _Men._ V. Pt. I. i. 5. There is no way of reconciling these representations. Mount Leih is referred to a hill, 30 lo south of P’oo-chow (平州), dep. of Ping-yang (平陽), in Shu-an. 

文德 _is explained by Ts’ae Ch’in by 文命德教. I have a persuasion myself that the best translation would be—the _virtues of peace,’ _文_ being used in opposition to _武_ War had been tried, and found ineffectual; they would now see what effect would be produced by an exemplification of the blessings of peace.

舞于階于兩階, —see on Ana. III. i. The _舞_ was more a posture-making
than what we call dancing. 于兩階—
于兩階之間，‘between the two staircases,’ that appropriated to the sovereign as host, and that employed by his guests. The expression—于庭 of the Analects. The shield was a weapon of war appropriate to a war-dance. On this occasion Shun wanted by this exhibition in the court to show how he disliked war. And the consequences, we are told, justified Yih’s advice. The prince of Meaou came and made his submission.—From the whole of this 8d. chapter, I conclude that Yu’s expedition against Meaou was unsuccessful. He had to retreat. The advice of Yih, with the subsequent measures, and their result, serve merely to gloss over the real fact.
THE BOOKS OF YU.

BOOK III. THE COUNSELS OF KAOU-YAOU.

I. On examining into antiquity, we find that Kaou-yaou said, "If a sovereign sincerely pursue the course of his virtue, the counsels offered to him will be intelligent, and the aids of admonition will be harmonious." Yu said, "Yes; but explain yourself." Kaou-yaou made Kaou-yaou his chief minister, with the view of his ultimately succeeding him, but the design was frustrated by Kaou-yaou’s death, and that then his son was appointed to the principality of Ying-lu (英 六), in the prov. of Gan-hwuy. We have still the dis. of 英 山, in the dep. of 六安, which was distinguished under the Chow dyn., by the power of Te'oo (楚), and an end was made of the representatives of Kaou-yaou. See a note on Kaou-yaou in the 四書經注集證 Ana. XII. xxii. There is still a clan of the surname Kaou which traces its origin to Kaou-yaou (see the 氏 姓 譜, 畏氏); but Kaou and yaou are to be taken together as the minister’s name.

CONTENTS. The Book is found in the texts both of Puh-shang and Kung Gan-kwa, so that there is no question of its genuineness. I have divided it into four chapters. The first, pp. 1, 2, enunciates the principle that in govt. the great thing is for the prince to pursue the course of his virtue, which will be seen in his knowledge of men, and giving reprove to the people. The second chap., pp. 3—5, is designed...
said, "Oh! let him be careful about his personal cultivation, with thoughts that are far-reaching, and then he will effect a generous kindness and nice observance of distinctions among the nine classes of his kindred; all the intelligent also will exert themselves in his service; and from what is near he may reach in this way to what is distant." Yu did reverence to the admirable words, and said,

to illustrate the former of these things,—the knowledge of men; and the third, pp. 6, 7, treats of the reception of the people. In the fourth chap., p. 8, Kaou asserts the reasonableness of his words, and humbly expresses his own desire to be helpful.

Ch. I. THE DUTY OF A SOVEREIGN TO BE TRULY VIRTUOUS; ITS HAPPY EFFECTS; ITS NATURE; ITS GRAND EVIDENCES; AND ITS DIFFICULTY.

1. Kaou-yaou and Yu on the nature and consequences of a sovereign's course of virtue.

日若稽古,—see on the 1st par. of the previous Books. Those who would accept K'ang-shing's expl., of 稽古, as applied to Yaou, allow that it is not admissible as applied to the minister; and they say that we must not obstinately think that the same words have always the same meaning in the classics (不可泥于一說, Keang Shing)! When we go on to the next clause—黃陶曰允德云云,—however, we cannot explain according to the analogy of the corresponding passages. Tung-po says,—Will those who take Fang-heun, Ch'ung-hwa, and Wên-ming, as the names of Yaou, Shun, and Yu, say that Yun-teh (允迪) was the name of Kaou-yaou? This certainly cannot be said, but we are in no better case if we take Fang-heun and the other expressions as descriptive epithets. Yun-teh is neither the name of Kaou-yaou, nor any honourable description of his doings or character. In whatever way we interpret the passages in the other Books, 黃陶 (or, as Keang Shing and others edit, 各謬) must be translated, 'Kaou-yaou said.'

允迪厥德謨—it is not easy to understand this passage. In the 'Historical Records' it appears as—信其道德謨明輔和。Believing his path of duty and virtue, his plans will be intelligent and his aids harmonious, '允被 taken as an active vrb, 信, and 迪一道, as in the last Book, p. 5. Keang Shing and Sun Yen adopt the same view. But if this were the correct view, we should have read—允厥迪德。All suppose, it will be seen, that Kaou-yaou is speaking of the sovereign. Gan-kwo takes 迪 as—走‘to tread on,’ ‘to walk,’ so that 迪德 = ‘to pursue the course of virtue.’ He takes a peculiar view, however, of 迪, which is with him not = ‘his,’ but ‘their,’ and 迪德 is ‘the virtue of the ancients,’ and he expounds the whole:—A sovereign ought sincerely to tread the path of the virtue of the ancients, planning how to enlarge his intelligence in order to assist and harmonize his govt. Woo Ch'ing has a view of his own, and takes 迪德 as descriptive of a minister's duty to his sovereign. He defines 迪 by 尋, 'to lead forward,' and 迪 by 明哲之人, 'intelligent men.' His expos. is.—The duty of ministers to their sovereign is truly and really to stimulate and promote his virtue. In taking their counsels, he must strive that he have the intelligent to assist him, and must harmonize them.' None of these interpretations is satisfactory, and unable to suggest one more so, I have followed in the transl. the view of Ts'ae Ch'in, who expounds:—If the sovereign really pursue the course of his virtue, what his ministers counsel will be intelligent, and wherein they would aid him, they will be harmonious. This agrees better with what is said in the sequel, though it has its difficulties. An ingenious note by Wang K'ang-t'ang (王肯堂; Ming dyn.) is given in the 集傳; 謨 indicates the setting forth of counsels and 弱, the exercise of correction. 謨 and 弱 belong to the ministers; 明 and 謨, to the sovereign. When they offer counsels on occasion of occurring affairs, he can understand their mind, without any doubts; when they differ from him and offer admonitions, he can harmonize with their words, and not put himself against them.' This is ingenious, but too refined. While approving of Kaou's words, Yu
2 "Yes." Kaou-yaou said, "Oh! it lies in knowing men, and in giving repose to the people." Yu said, "Alas! to attain to both these things was a difficulty even to the emperor Yao. When a sovereign knows men, he is wise, and can put them into their proper offices. When he gives repose to the people, he is kind, and the black-haired people cherish him in their hearts. When a sovereign can be thus wise and kind, what occasion will he have for anxiety about a Hwan-tow? what to be removing a prince of Meaou? what to fear any one of fair words, insinuating appearance, and great artfulness?"

3 II. Kaou-yaou said, "Oh! there are in all nine virtues to be discovered in conduct; and when we say that a man possesses any virtue, that
is as much as to say—he does such and such things." Yu said, "What are the nine virtues?" Kaou-yaou said, "Affability combined with dignity; mildness combined with firmness; bluntness combined with respectfulness; aptness for government combined with reverence; docility combined with boldness; straightforwardness combined with gentleness; easiness combined with discrimination; vigour combined with sincerity; and valour combined with righteousness. When these qualities are displayed, and that permanently, have we not the good officer?

4 When there is a daily display of three of these virtues, their possessor could early and late regulate and enlighten the Family, of what else the char. can mean here, but this signification of it is not in the Dict., nor have I seen any other example of it. Keang Shing arguing from the definition of 肘, says that 肘 and 膝 were anciently, interchanged. They were so in the sense of the "armpit." 膝 has a secondary mean.—"to uphold," "to sustain," and attributing that also to 肘, he interprets—"supporting the actions of men, there are nine virtues." I cannot accede to this view. The 肘 which follows has its common meaning of 'and,' and moreover.

載采禾—He does such and such things. The Historical Records read, instead of these characters, 始事事; and Woo Ch'ing and Keang Shing both interpret 載 here by 始. It is certainly easier to take it with Gan-kwô as 行. Ying-tâ says:— "載 has the signification of transport and movement (運行之義), hence we define it by 行." 采—事, as in Can. of Yaou, p. 10. 載事事—其人行某事某事. 章而栗, as in Bk. I. p. 24. So also 直而溫. 愿而恭, "—on 愿 (al.
which he was made chief. Where there is a daily severe and reverent cultivation of six virtues, their possessor could brilliantly conduct the affairs of the State, to which he was constituted ruler. When such men are all received and employed, the possessors of these nine virtues will all have their services. Then men of a thousand and men of a hundred will fill the offices of the State; the various ministers will emulate one another; all the officers will accomplish their duties at the proper times, observant of the five elements-regulated seasons:—and thus their various duties will be fully accomplished.”

5 “Let not the emperor set to the rulers of States an example of...
indolence or dissoluteness. Let him be wary and fearful, remembering that in one day or two days there may occur ten thousand springs of things. Let him not have the various officers cumberers of their places. The work is Heaven’s;—it is men’s to act for it.”

6 III. “From Heaven are the social arrangements with their several duties; to us it is given to enforce those five duties, and then we have the five courses of generous conduct! From Heaven are the social distinctions with their several ceremonies; from us proceed the observances of those five ceremonies, and then do they appear in regular practice! When sovereign and ministers show a common example of careful attention to his duties, and so get all his officers and nobles to give the same.

無教逸欲有邦—do not teach idleness and desires to the holders of States. 無一母. Gan-kwo explains:—不為逸豫貪欲之教是有國者之常. ‘Do not practise the lessons of idle pleasure and inordinate desires, which is the constant way of the holders of States.’ He does not suppose the counsel given to the emperor for his personal benefit, but to concern generally princes and officers; but his interpretation altogether is inadmissible. 教 is the teaching of example;

非必教令謂上行而下效也 (Tv’se Ch’in). 空—that which is small and minute,‘機’the spring or motive force, which, indeed, is Keang Shing’s text.

Gan-kwo explains 空 by 空 ‘empty.’ The phrase in the transal, gives its force. 天工人其代之—Keang Shing says that 天 is the sovereign. So it is, but embracing the officers employed by him;—the king as supreme, and governors that are sent by him.’

CH. III. ON GIVING RESPECT TO THE PEOPLE:—THE ACCOMPLISHMENT BY MEANS OF GOVERNMENT OF HEAVEN’S PURPOSES FOR THEM. 6. 天敘有典—Keang Shing reads 五典 after Ma Yang; but as we have below 天敘有禮, &c. 有典 is here probably the correct text. And, acc. to the same analogy,
reverence and respect for these, do they not harmonize the moral nature of the people? Heaven graciously distinguishes the virtuous;—are there not the five habitiments, five decorations of them? Heaven punishes the guilty;—are there not the five punishments to be severally used for that purpose? The business of government!—ought we not to be earnest in it? ought we not to be earnest in it? 7

"Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see; Heaven brightly approves and displays its terrors, as our people brightly approve and would awe:—such connection there is between the upper and lower worlds. How reverence ought the masters of the earth to be!"

ranks spoken of to be the different orders of nobility, and that the 禮 are the ceremonial distinctions appropriate to each. But this can hardly be correct, though K'ang-shing and Wang Suh both give a partial sanction to it. Down to 回 哉, Kaou-you seems to have before him the influence of govt, on the mass of the people. I take myself 禮 as—五者之禮, all the ceremonies belonging to the distinctions of rank in connection with the five constituent relations of society. This is the most natural view in the connection. I have hesitated between it and an interpretation in accordance with the use of the phrase in Bk. II. p. 8, which indeed may be harmonized with it.有 禮—here Ma Yung read 五庸哉, which should probably be adopted, on the same ground that 有 者 should be sustained,—the analogy, namely, of the other clauses.同 實, 1901., and 禮.—I have followed Choo Ite and Te'see in translating this clause Keang Shing, in acc. with his view of the prec. one to which I have referred, explains:—all who advance together to position in the court will be respectful both in body and mind.' He takes 禮 as—進; 協恭, reverence of the body; and 和夷, reverence of the mind. The view is quite inadmissible. 天命有 德—命, 'to regard and appoint,' i.e., to distinguish graciously. 五服五 章哉—see on next Book, p. 4. 五刑 五用哉—see on Bk. I. 11. The commentator She Lan (時澐) observes:—'In connection with the distinguishing of the virtuous, and punishment of the guilty, there is no reference to anything to be done by us (不云我), to show that reward and punishment are to be simply in harmony with the mind of Heaven. The social arrangements and ceremonial distinctions have indeed their foundation in the mind of Heaven, but man is necessary, with his help and regulations, to complete them. But in the matter of rewards and punishments, man may not introduce one jot or tittle of his own.' This is a good instance of the way in which Chinese critics refine upon the letter of the classical texts.

7. The sympathy between Heaven and the people.—A warning to rulers, that they strive to give repose to the people. 天聰自 我民聰明, 天明畏自我民 明威 (Ma Yung read 畏 in both places),—comp. Pt. V. Bk. I. i. p. 11; ii. 7. 达于 上下,—'this reaches to above and below.' Here 上 refers to heaven, and 下 to the people. 敬哉有土,—on 有土 Ying-ta quotes from K'ang-shing:—'The en-
8. IV. Kaou-yaou said, “My words are reasonable, and may be put in practice.” Yu said, “Yes; your words may be put in practice, and crowned with success.” Kaou-yaou said, “As to that I do not know, but I wish daily to be helpful. May the government be perfected!”

Ch. IV. Kaou-yaou’s confidence in his principles; and his humility. 惠-順於理, ‘accordant with reason;’ comp. the use of 惠 in Bk. I. p. 17; II. p. 5. 底行; 乃言底可續—comp. Bk. I. p. 3. 思曰贊贊襄哉—the ‘Historical Records’ have here simply 思贊道哉. Gan-kwō and Ying-tā join the 思 to the upper clause:—‘As to that I do not know nor think about it.’ On the 日 they make no remark. Keang Shing supposes there may be a transposition of 思曰 for 日思, and then he would take 日 as—愛. It is certainly an easier solution of the difficulty to say with Ts‘ae Ch‘in that 日 is here a mistake for 日. 賛一 as in the last Book., p. 21. It is repeated, to show that Kaou-yaou would be helpful in any way (所助 非一事). At the second 賛 I put a comma, and read 襄哉 by itself, taking 襋 as—成. For other interpretations, see Keang Shing and Wang Ming-shing.
THE BOOKS OF YU.

BOOK IV. YIH AND TSEIH.

1 I. The emperor said, “Come Yu, you also must have admirable words to bring before me.” Yu did obeisance, and said, “Oh! what can I say after Kaou-yaou, O emperor? I can only think of maintaining a daily assiduity.” Kaou-yaou said, “Alas! Will you

Those scholars were mistaken’ (棄稷一人，不宜言名又能言官是彼謬耳). As to incorporating the Book with the preceding one, that had been done by Fuh-shang; and the ‘modern text’ (今文) is always published with this Book as the conclusion of the ‘Counsels of Kaou-yaou.’

CONTENTS. These have been divided into three chapters. The first, embracing parr. 1—9, relates a conversation between Yu and the emperor, in the presence of Kaou-yaou. Yu relates his own diligence and achievements as a model to the empr., and administers various advices; and Shun on the other hand insists on what his ministers should be. The second chapter, parr. 9, 10, has no apparent connection with the former. K'wei appears in it as minister of Music. In the third chapter, p. 11, Kaou-yaou and Shun sing to each other on the mutual relations of the sovereign and his ministers.

CH. I. P. 1. Yu, urged by the emperor to counsel him, describes his own diligence and labours to remedy the calamity of the inundating waters.

來禹汝亦昌言，— the 諸 also, connects this Book closely with the prec.;—so closely, indeed, that many contend it is only a portion of it, and should not stand by itself as a division of the Shoo. But the expres-
描述大禹治水的故事。大禹在治水的过程中，发明了疏导水流的方法，使得洪水不再泛滥，人民得以安居乐业。
sowing grain, and showing the multitudes how to procure the food of toil in addition to flesh meat. I urged them further to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. In this way all the people got grain to eat, and all the States began to come under good rule.” Kaou-yao said, “Yes; we ought to model ourselves after your excellent words.”

2 Yu said, “Oh! be careful, O emperor, of the manner in which you occupy the throne.” The emperor said, “Yes.” Yu said, “Find your rest in your resting-point. Attend to the springs of things, study stability; and let your assistant's be upright:—then

as 九州之川, ‘the streams of the nine provinces.’ Some have enumerated ‘nine rivers,’ as intended by the phrase; but in fact, the rivers on which Yu laboured, as will be seen in the next Book, were many more than nine.

距—至, ‘to, ‘to reach to.’ 距四海—
‘to the four seas.’ But what were those ‘four seas?’ This passage shows to my mind that this phrase, in the mouth of Yu and others, with reference to his labours, has more sound than sense. 溶 (as in Bk. I. p. 10) 消
距川, 消 and 消 were artificial channels cut in the fields for the purposes of agriculture. The 消 was the smallest of such channels, a foot deep and a foot wide; the 消 was the largest, 16 feet wide, and as many deep. Between them there were 消 and 消. So it was at least in the Chow dynasty;—see the Rites of Chow. The 工記之四. ‘To the streams’ is definite enough, and we ought to have as substantial a meaning in the ‘four seas.’

惟承播—播, must be taken as—
布種五穀, ‘to sow the various kinds of grain.’ K'ang-shing, indeed, will have the sowing and cultivating here to be only of vegetables, such as could be grown in marshy ground. 貧食—'the food of toil, ' a good name for the produce of agriculture. Ma Yung reads 根食, ‘root-grown food.’ 惟承有無化居—Keang Shing reads 财, principally on the authority of a passage in Fu-hsiang’s Introduction to the Shoo, which is now lost. It would give a good enough meaning. 遷— to remove, ‘as,’ says Lin Che-k'e, 'to convey fish and salt to the hilly country, and bring the lumber of the woods to the low grounds.' 且 is defined in the Dict., with reference to this pass, by 积也,蓄也, ‘stores,’ accumulated materials.' 粒—米食日粒
‘rice food is called 粒.’ The rice is eaten whole, and not ground. But we should not confine the meaning of 粒 to rice.

P. 2. Yu admonishes the emperor on the way to secure the blessing and favour of Heaven. 都帝, 慎乃在位.—comp. 慎乃有在位. In Bk. II. p. 17, noting the diff. of 有 and 安. 安有, —comp. the Great Learning, T. 3, et al. But after this reference, it is difficult to say exactly what Yu means. 惟承惟康—惟—思, ‘to think of.’ Immediately below, however, in 惟承, it is the particle, whose various application is so difficult to determine. 惟承丕應侯志
is expanded in the Daily Explanation thus:—
一有動作, 布之政令, 則天下 ornaments, 丕應若先待我志之發矣, ‘on the occasion of any move—
will your every movement be greatly responded to, as if the people only waited for your will, and you will brightly receive gifts from God. Will not Heaven renew its favouring appointment, and give you blessing?"

3 The emperor said, "Alas! ministers! associates! Associates! ministers!" Yu said, "Yes."

4 The emperor said, "My ministers constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. I wish to help and support my people;—you give effect to my wishes. I wish to spread the influence of my government, when you send forth your orders about it throughout the empire, they will with one accord greatly respond to them, as if they had first been waiting for the intimating of your will."

昭受上帝，——you will brightly receive God." We must understand 上帝其命，——some similar phrase.

申命用休，— the force of the 其, "will it not be that" —? Woo Ch'ing well expanded the clause: 天亦申其已然之命而嘉美之, 'Heaven likewise will renew its existing regard, and indicate its favour and esteem.' He interprets the prev. clause, however: —'you will brightly respond to the favour which you have received from God.'

P. 3. The emperor enlarges on his dependence on his ministers, and the services which they render.

8 吾，— alas! Shun speaks, it is said, under excitement, unable to receive all that Yu had just said, and with special reference to 其汜直. Yu says: —臣 indicates the men; 臣 indicates the office. Woo Ch'ing makes them two classes,臣 being the ministers in the administration of business, and 臣 those in personal attendance on, and intercourse with, the emp. The 臣 and the 臣 must be the same persons, the former term express. their official station, and the latter the personal intimacy of the emp. with them;—see a note by Chang Wang (張綱, Sung dyn.) in the 集說: —臣作朕股脛耳目, —the emp. himself is the head.—元首; see below, p. 11. 左右有民，—左右助, 'to assist.' Ma Yung says:—左右助, 'to assist on the left hand and the right.'

有民—我所有之民, 'the people which I have,' — 'my people.' 翼—wings,' to serve as wings to; then, metaphorically, 'to assist,' 'to give effect to' (成). The literal meaning is lost in the text. 宣力,—to proclaim my strength. Gan-kwô defines 力 by 力, 'the services of gov't.' 古人之象, 'the ancients.' Gauibl observes:—

'lt is remarkable that Shun, who is so ancient, speaks of the figures on the dresses of the ancients' (Le Chou-king, p. 56, note). In the first supplement to the Yih King (繁辭下傳, Ch. II. p. 5) we read that Hwang-te, Ysou, and Shun let fall their robes, and the empire was governed (黃帝, 嚴, 垂衣裳而天下治). By "the ancients," therefore, we may be conducted to Hwang-te, 'the Yellow emperor,' the inventor of the cycle, a.c. 2637, but not beyond him. There were twelve figures, six painted on the upper garment or robe (衣), and six embroidered on the lower garment (裳). They were called altogether 'the twelve ornaments' (十二章). Those
vernment through the four quarters;—you are my agents. I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients,—the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the dragon, and the flowery fowl, which are depicted on the upper garment; the temple-cup, the aquatic grass, the flames, the grains of rice, the hatchet, and the symbol of distinction, which are embroidered on the lower garment:—I wish to see all these displayed with the five colours, so as to form the official

on the robe were the sun, the moon, stars (Gan-kwô would place a comma in the text after 星, and make the 辰 禹 refer to the three prec. nouns, and be in apposition with them. Ch'in T'se'ang-tsou [陳祥道] says the 星 were the five planets, and 辰 the twelve zod. spaces. But 星辰 go together, and simply stars), a mountain, a dragon, and a pheasant (華蟲, the variegated animal; 蟲 is often used not for insects only, but for living creatures generally. These figures—prob. two of each—were painted (作會; 色 is used for 繡). The figures on the lower garment were a cup, used in the services of the ancestral temple (of the temple cups, one had the figure of a tiger on it 虎, and another of a kind of monkey 虎). One or both of these was on the 色, some kind of water plant, flames, grains of rice, an axe-head (斧). This character denotes a texture of black and white stripes, ornamental. The Dict. says that an axe or hatchet is so called from its white head and black handle. I should rather suppose that it was used for 色, from their agreement in sound, and what I have called the symbol of distinction (㝬. This is defined as a texture of black and azure stripes. As applied to the embroidered ornament, that was made in this form 亞 or two 集 placed back to back). These figures were embroidered (緝繡 Ch'ing takes 繡 to be for 緝, 'to embroider,' syn. with 繡. Gan-kwô would take it in its ordinary sense of 'fine cloth made of the fibres of the 葛.' I do not see how it is then to be construed).

彰施于五色。Ch'ing says that 采 and 色 refer to the same thing, only 采 is the substance of the various colours, unused, and 色 those colours employed in painting and embroidery. The sacrificial robes of the emperor had all these 12 figures painted or embroidered upon them, emblematic of various attributes, which I will not attempt to specify. The 公 or highest nobles were restricted from the use of the sun, moon, and stars; the 伯 and 侯 were further restricted from the mountain and dragon; and, by a constantly decreasing restriction, five sets of official robes were made, indicating the rank of the wearers. See last Book, p. 6. 天命有德五服五章。[The practice of the earlier times in the use of these ornaments was a good deal altered during the Chou dynasty. The subject is often perplexed, from not bearing this in mind.]

六律五声八音，—see Bk. I. p. 24. As to what follows—治忽以出納五言，I am far from clearly understanding it. In is supposed to—察, 'to examine,' as in Bk. I. p. 5. 忽 is taken as 'the opposite of治, misrule.' 五言 is made—五聲。The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases the passage thus:—音和由政事之修。音之和由政事之修。音之和由政事之修。音之和由政事之修。音之和由政事之修。音之和由政事之修。音之和由政事之修。音之和由政事之修。
robets; it is yours to adjust them clearly. I wish to hear the six pitch-tubes, the five notes determined by them, and the eight kinds of musical instruments, regulated again by these, examining thereby the virtues and defects of my government, according as the odes that go from the court, and the ballads that come in from the people are ordered by those five notes:—it is you who hear for me. When I am doing wrong, it is yours to correct me;—do not follow me to my face, and when you have retired, have other remarks to make. Be reverent, ye who stand before and behind and on each side

而我不盡自聴也。 'The harmony of all musical instruments is owing to the happy order of the govt., and their dissonance to its being ill attended to. The method of examining into the matter is to look upon the elegant compositions which proceed from the court, and the songs and ballads which are brought in from the people—all pieces, in fact, which are put together in harmony with the five notes, and set to music, as evidence of the sovereign's virtues and the people's manners; and I am not able to hear them all for myself.' Gan-kwō gives substantially the same view of the 冶忽 as the above, but he takes the clause 出納五言 differently, and explains:—

Moreover, the use of music, thus regulated, is to communicate instructions about the five virtues, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge, and faith, giving them forth to the people to accomplish their transformation.'

The reading—in 冶忽 is by no means certain. The 'Historical Records' give, instead of it, 來冶滑, which is unintelligible.

Ch'ing read 在冶忽, and took 聽 as a writing-tablet of gem, ivory, or other material, according to the rank of the bearer. The nobles and officers carried this with them into the court. 'The sovereign also,' says Ch'ing, 'was provided with one, to communicate to the principal officers (五官) the lessons of govt.' But what have those tablets to do with music? Ch'ing's reading does not make the passage any plainer. The reading—采政忽 has had its advocates, but its meaning would not differ from that of the textus receptus.

In the Books of the 'Former Han' dyn., however, we have the passage—

書曰：子欲聞六律，五聲，八音，七始，詩，以出納五言，女聽。 No doubt this was a current reading in the early times of the Han. It makes the whole clause refer somehow to the subject of music, without introducing the matter of examining about the govt., and so far it is to be preferred. But what are we to understand by the 七始, or 'seven beginnings?' Pan Koo, the historiographer of Han, says they are 'heaven, earth, man, and the four seasons.' So far as I can understand the book, Ch'ing, he understands by them the complete musical scale, containing the five notes (五聲) and two septimal notes. They are no doubt terms with some musical significance. A single, understanding the theory of music, and having some practical acquaintance with the art, might succeed in elucidating the subject. Pan Koo takes 出納五言 in the same way as Gan-kwō.

言五言—五常之言。—We go on to the next par., wishing that the second part of this were more apprehensible, or that we understood it better.

5. The duty of ministers freely and openly to correct the sovereign's faults.

子 違。—'I am opposing;' i.e., going contrary to the right (有違戾於道)。此弼，—with reference to 翌 弼，in illustration of whose interp. Ying-ta refers to 惟 子一人無良，實賴左右前後

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6 of me. As to all the obstinately stupid and calumniating talkers, who are not to be found doing what is right, there is the target to exhibit their true character; the scourge to make them remember; and the book of remembrance! Do we not wish them to live along with us? There are also the masters of music to receive the compositions which they make, and continually to set them forth in

有位之士,其不及; in Pt. V, Bk. XXVI, p. 8. Fuh-shing and Kang-shing after him supposed that there were four ministers attendant on the person of the empress, specially called 鄙—a helper on the left, a corrector on the right, a solver of doubts before, and a stimulator of purpose behind. 'There is no evidence that there were such officers. [Hierarch is here equivalent to臣, as in p. 8. 6. That ministers are not only to be strictly faithful to their sovereign, but are to use stringent measures to correct others, and provide a supply of good men for the use of the State.

昔之頑誣誣:—there are the 誣誣行 of Bk. I, p. 25. We are to understand these words not of the people generally, but of sons of officers, and youths of greatest promise of ability, who may be expected to discharge hereafter the functions of the State (see Foh Cih Ch'ing, loc. cit.).

若不在時,則時是: Gan-kwō takes it as the emphatic,' what is right.' Wang Ch'ing, with ref. to his observation on the prec. clause, says, 'who are not in this selection,' i.e., selection to office.

侯以明之, 'there is the target to show them clearly.' Archery was made much of anciently in China; see the 儀禮 卷八至十四. The archers must advance, retreat, and move round, according to the proper rules. Where the aim of the mind is right, the adjustment of the body will be correct; and thus archery supplies an evidence of character. Unworthy men will not be found hitting frequently. There were three ceremonial trials of archery, belonging to the emperor, the princes, the high ministers, and the great officers. First, there was the Great archery, used to select those who should assist at the sacrificial services. Second, there was the

Guests' archery, used on occasion of the princes appearing at court, and their visiting among themselves. Third, there was the Festive archery, used at entertainments generally. From the first kind expectant scholars were excluded; but they could take their part in the other trials. He then goes on to describe the various targets used at those trials. What we call the 'bull's-eye,' was the figure of a small bird (鴞). See Docr. of the Mean, xiv. 5). Confucius more than once spoke of archery as a discipline of virtue (see Ana. III. vi., et al.). Certain victors will of course unfit men for the successful practice of archery, but to lay down success in archery as a test of moral character is tending a subject to tatters. The most famous archers of Chinese antiquity were very bad men: see Men. IV., Pt. II., xxiv. 擊以記之, 'there is the scourge to make them remember.' The archery field was, according to this, truly a place of discipline. This illustrates the 朴作成形 of Bk. I, p. 11.

書用 (以) 詣 (read cho) 草, 'there is the book;' not, it must be borne in mind, a book of paper and printing, but a record made on cloth or on a tablet. It does not appear that the record should be confined to the result of the trials in archery; see the 周禮 地官司徒第二之四, where the heads of districts are all supposed to keep a register of the characters of the people, in reference to the laws generally. 欲並生哉, -the object of the trial, the punishment, and the record, is to effect a reformation. The characters may be translated—'Oh! we wish them to live together with us.' Keang Shing defines 生 by 生, 'to advance;' and explains it by 'to advance to goodness.' This is far-fetched.

工以納言,時而鬻之—工, is, no doubt, 一樂官, 'an officer of mu-
song. If they become reformed, they are to be received and employed; if they do not, let the terrors of punishment overtake them." 7

Yu said, "Yes, but let your light, O emperor, shine all through the empire, even to the grassy shores of the seas, and in the myriad States the most worthy of the people will all wish to be your ministers. Then, O emperor, you may advance them to office. They will set forth, and you will receive, their reports; you will make proof of them severally by their merits; you will confer chariots and robes according to their services. Who will then dare

sic.' All commentators agree in this. As to the interpretation of the whole clause, I have followed Ts'ae Ch'in, as in the concluding part of p. 4, without feeling sure of being right. To quote here again from the 'Daily Explanation,' we have there this paraphrase:—然必観

其收過與否又當命樂官
取彼所進納之言, 播于樂章
時時而宣頒之, 其言和平
是能收過。" But it must be seen whether they read the reform or not. The officers of music must also be charged to take the words which they present and send in, and set them to music, continually rehearsing them. If their words are harmonious and mild, it is an evidence of their reformation. On the other hand, Gan-kwô, foll. by Woo Ch'ing and others, thinks the use of the musical officers in the matter was to bring their songs and sentiments to bear on those who had undergone the discipline described, in order to complete their reformation. This is, perhaps, the preferable view.

格則承之, 如在 Ana. II. iii. 7. Yu suggests to the emperor that his chief dependence must be on himself, and not on any assistance or correction of his ministers. 逾

哉—'Yes!' Tung-po says that while this phrase expresses the assent of the mouth, it indicates that the mind does not quite consent. But this is hypercriticism, suggested by the design apparent in the sequel of the paragraph.

海隅生—隅—角,' a corner;'

生 is given in the 'Daily Explanation' as equivalent to 黎民, 'all the people;' and this is a meaning now often attached to the phrase. But it is contended that it was not so understood before the Ts'in dynasty. 蒼 properly denotes the green colour of grass, and Gan-kwô connects the phrase with 海隅, as in the translation (至于海隅蒼, 蒼然生草木). 獻—獻—賢, 'the worthy,' 'the wise,' as in Ana. III. ix, 黎 may be taken as — 'all;' or in the sense we have hitherto attached to it:— the wise of the black-haired race.' 時舉—時—是.

The whole clause—'and your Majesty will simply have to employ them,' 獻納以

言, 明庶以功車服以庸—comp. Bk. I. p. 9. Ying-ta explains the slight difference between the two passages, saying that the first is descriptive of Shun's dealings with the princes, whose standing was recognized, and this speaks of the first selection and employment of officers. Hence we have here 獻, and 庶, 獻 denoting the receiving and choice of them, and 庶, the distinction of them from their fellows (納謂受取之, 庶謂在羣衆). This is ingenious, though the 庶 has to me a suspicious appearance. Choo

He would read 試. Keang Sling reads the whole according to a quotation from the 'Books of Hsia' (which, however, may possibly be of the passage in the Can. of Shun) in the 左傳,
not to cultivate a humble virtue? Who will dare not to respond to you with reverence? If you, O emperor, do not act thus, all your ministers together will daily proceed to a meritless character.

8  "Do not be like the haughty Choo of Tan, who found his pleasure only in indolence and dissipation, and pursued a proud oppression. Day and night, without ceasing, he was thus. He would make boats go where there was no water. He introduced licentious associates into his family. The consequence was that he brought the honours of his House to an end. I took warning from his course. When I

lecturing Shun, and warning him not to be like Choo of Tan,—Dared a minister to speak so to the sage emperor? This diff. is somewhat got over by introducing the characters 帝曰 which again necessitate the 帝曰 below. 丹朱—it is stated, in the 漢書律曆志 that 'Yaou placed his son Choo in 丹淵' from which it is concluded that Tan was the name of a State to which Yaou appointed his son.

頑頑 is defined 不休息貌 'the appearance of unceasingness.' Ch'ing connects the phrase with the clause below, and says:—

'Choo having seen people moving about in boats during the inundation, after the waters were reduced, would still live in a boat, and made men unceasingly push it along.' Wang Ming-shing argues for a metaphorical explanation of 丹水行舟, making it = Mencius 從流忘反 (I. Pt. II. iv. 7).—absurdly, it appears to me. 朋淫家內—this is illustrated from the orgies of Kē, the last emp. of the Hea dyn., who dug a pool, and made a night palace, where men and women lived promiscuously together, and where he once remained himself for a whole month.

用殄厥世—殄—絶, 'to extinguish.' Te'se Ch'in says 此者世煑之天下也, '世 means making hereditary—handing down to future generations—the empire of Yaou.'
married in T'oo-shan, I remained with my wife only the days sin, jin, kweii, and kea. When my son K'e was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labour on the land. Thus I assisted in completing the five tenures, extending over 5,000 le; in appointing in the provinces twelve Tutors; and in establishing, in the regions beyond, extending to the four seas, five Presidents. These all pursue the right path and are merito-

'...to reprove' and Ying-tâ says:—'...and his ...ing wickedness, and stopping one's self from a similar course.' T'seen gives, for this clause, 子不能順 is, which is quite inane. The clause is natural in the month of Yu, unnatural from Shun. I do not see how with this clause we can adopt the reading 帝日 at the begin of the par.

妻子壱山—塗山 was the name of a principality, the daughter of the ruler of which was married by Yu. A hill called 塗 gave its name to the territory, and is identified with one in the pres. prov. of Gan-hway, 8 le to the south-east of the dis. city of Hwa-yuen (懐遠), dep. of Fung-yang (鳳陽). Ch'ing says that Yu was married on the day 辛, and got the emperor's command to undertake the remedy of the inundation on the day 甲, so that he spent only three nights in his house. But I suppose he was already engaged in his great work, and could only spare four days from it for the business of his marriage.

槃槃—槃 was Yu's son who afterwards succeeded to the throne. The two other characters express the sound of an infant's crying.

弗子, 'did not son him,' i.e., did not regard him. Mencius tells us (III. Pt. I. iv. 7) that Yu, when engaged upon the waters, was eight years away from his family, and though he thrice passed the door of his house, did not enter it.

荒—大, 'great,' greatly.' 土功, 'the service of the land,' i.e., all the work which he had to perform in regulating the waters.

弼成五服—see on the next Book, Part ii., parrs. 18—22. Yu speaks of himself here, it is said, as only 'assisting,' (弼), because he would attribute the great merit to the emp.

Woo Ch'ing, however, considering 弼 to mean, primarily, the effort employed in forming the figure of a bow, explains the text of the figure and formation of the different tenures,—a very likely explanation. 州十有二師—Medhurst has translated this clause:—'In every district I appointed twelve officers,' and then he has a note to the effect that over every province there was established only one nobleman, as officer. Gault translates the text in the same way as Medhurst:—'Chaque Tcheon eut douze chefs.' It is a vexed question whether in each province there was only one 師, or whether there were eleven. The old interpreters, not without differences among themselves, yet all maintain the larger number. It will be sufficient here to give an abridgment of the views of Ch'ing.—'Inside the tenure of Restriction (要服) were the nine provinces (九州), containing altogether a space of 48,000,000,000 square le. Deducting from these the imperial domain, there remain 48,000,000; or 6,000,000,000 square le to each province. Now, when Yu assembled the princes of the empire at Hway-k'e (會稽), they amounted to 10,000. Such was the number of the States of the nine provinces. Over every province was a Pastor (牧), and the worthiest of the princes were selected to be tutors or counsellors (師) to him. For every hundred States there was one 師, and 12 師 would suppose 1200 States. Each province contained of States 100 le square, 200; 70 le square, 400; 50 le square, 600; altogether 1400. Deduct 200 of these, as an allowance for waste lands, and there remain 1,200 States. Multiply these by 8; we have 9,600, and allowing 400 for States within the imperial domain, we have the 10,000 States forming the empire. The value of these statements and figures will have to be considered in connection with the next Book. In the meantime, according to these views there were in all
rious; but there are still the people of Meaou, who refuse to acknowledge their duty. Think of this, O emperor." The emperor said, "That my virtue is followed, this is the result of your meritorious services, so orderly displayed. And now Kaou-yao is respectfully carrying out your arrangements, and employing the represented punishments with entire intelligence."

96 Tutors or Counsellors in the empire. The ancient commentators agree in this view, and many of the moderns follow them.—Tsâ Ch'in for instance, and the authors of the "Daily Explanation." On the other hand, many scholars maintain that, the 12 are the same as the 12 of Bk. I., p. 16; and that the appointment of them here is not to be referred to the time when Yu reduced the waters of the inundation, and the provinces were nine in number, but to the subsequent period, when Shun had altered that division, and made twelve provinces (Bk. I., p. 10). This was the prevailing opinion in the Yuen dyn. Woo Ch'ing advocates it, and so does Wang Kang-yay (王耕野). I may quote the language of the latter:—"Twelve Tutors in provinces were the same officers as those elsewhere denominated pastors. It was their duty to nourish the people, and therefore they were called pastors; it was their duty also to be the instructors of the people, and therefore they were called tutors. Don't let it be supposed that, besides the 12 pastors, there were other 12 princes appointed in every province to be their tutors." (see the 讀書卷見卷上看.) This was the view which occurred to myself on the study of the classic, without reference to commentaries, and I am inclined still to prefer it. I have made the translation so literal that it will admit of either view.

外薄四海咸建五長, "beyond the nine provinces," 薄 (p'o) is a vague expression, indicating all the territory beyond the nine provinces, which partially acknowledged the imperial sway. Medhurst translates the clause:—"Beyond these districts, even to the four seas, everywhere I established the five elders;" and in a note, translated from Ts'ae, he says:—"Beyond the nine regions, bordering on the four seas, in every part he separately established five elders as superiors, to take the general charge of the country." The translation of Gaubil is entirely incorrect.—Joining the foll. 各迪有功 closely with the clause immediately preceding, he translates the whole:—"Au dehors je renfermais dans leurs bornes les quatre mers, cinq autres choses furent établies, et je réussis dans mon entreprise." This is evidently not the meaning; what the meaning is, it is not so easy to determine. According to my interpretation, it is that there were five chiefs to whom was given the superintendence of all this outlying territory. I do not find this view, however, supported by Chinese authorities. Ch'ing said:—"Outside the nine provinces over five States was appointed a chief, to observe each of them—i.e., the rulers of each—to observe their duties." (外則五國立長使各守其職). This view is supposed to be confirmed by a passage in the Le Ke. 王制 ii. 2, where it is said that "five States formed a connection, and every connection had a chief" (五國以爲屬屬有長). Such an arrangement, however, belonged to the Chow dynasty, and it prevailed all beyond the imperial domain. Woo Ch'ing makes the 五長—五等諸侯, "the five kinds of princes," the kung, how, pih, &c. He adds that the 師 were leaders of all princes in a province, the 長 presided each over one State.—Neither of these interpretations appears to me so likely as the one which I suggest. 各迪有功— I take 迪 as in the last Book p. 1, only that 迪 is here intransitive, unless we take 有功 together, as a noun governed by it. The meaning adopted in the former passage of 迪—導 by Woo Ch'ing would answer here. He of course adheres to it, and Keang Shing here adopts it, making 各迪有功—率道諸侯就功. 弗卽工—卽—
K'wei said, "When the sounding-stone is tapped or strongly struck; when the lutes are swept or gently touched; to accompany the singing;—the imperial progenitors come to the service, the guest of Yu is in his place, and all the nobles show their virtue in giving place to one another. Below there are the flutes and drums and hand-drums, which join in at the sound of the rattle, and cease at the sound of the stopper; with the calabash organs and bells:—all

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K’wei celebrates the power of the music which he superintended. Ts’ae Ch’in observes that this chapter is to be considered by itself, and has no connection with the previous or subsequent portions of the Book. Shun, he observes, reigned more than 50 years, and must have had many conversations in which Kao-yau, K’wei, and Yih took part. The historian has preserved the most remarkable of their remarks, but not in the sequence of their conversations. Ts’ae blames, therefore, the efforts of scholars to force a connection between this and the context. It is as well to admit this view, though the mind naturally likes to think that we have in the various ‘Counsels’ so many integrals.

拳擊鳴球球球

is defined as ‘the sonorous gem-stone (玉磬),’ and also as ‘a fine gem’ (美玉). It is, no doubt, used here in the former application. I have seen a king, brought in 1861 from the ‘Summer palace,’ that had been made for the emp. K’een-hung of jade stone fully an inch thick, and like a ship-builder’s knee, the form in which the instrument is commonly represented. When suspended and struck with a piece of metal, it emitted a rich ringing sound.

The k’in was 5.66 feet long, with five strings to which other two, called the civil and martial, were subsequently added. The Great shih was 8.1 feet long, and 1.8 ft. broad, with 27 strings; the Elegant shih of the same size, had 20 strings, and one in common use only 19; the Praise shih of the same breadth, but nearly a foot shorter, had 23 strings. Some ascribe the invention of the k’in to Fuh-he; some, to Shin-nung; and some to Shun. is a forcible striking of the strings; and , a slighter. 以誨 is expanded in the ‘Daily Explanation’ to 以合于人声之歌; ‘to accord with the singing of the human voice.’ 祖考—‘grandfather and father,’ is ancestors.

祖考來格—祖考之神來至, ‘the spirits of ancestors come.’ The whole of the service is supposed to take place in the ancestral temple of Shun.

The guest of Yu is Choo of Tan, the son of Yao; comp. are 作寢于王家, I. V. Bk. VIII. 1. 以下之, ‘in the lower part of the hall.’ We understand from this that the sounding-stone and lutes were in
the higher or raised portion of the hall.

The **鼓** was a kind of flute, originally made of bamboo. Accounts differ as to its exact form. It is generally figured as double, two tubes, each with a mouth-hole and fire other holes. It is difficult to see how the two could be blown together. Other flute instruments were the **簫** and the **笛**. The **鼓** is the general name for drums. The **鼓** was a small drum, held by a handle, with two strings fixed to the sides and terminating in knobs. When twirled by the hand, those knobs struck on the ends, and produced the sound. Pedals now carry a small instrument of this kind about with them, and by the noise it makes attract the public attention. Ts'ae supposes that the two characters of the text belong to the one instrument, the **鼓**. Woo Ch'ing, with whom I agree rather, takes them to signify the small hand-drums and the large drum. **合止盡**

The **彭** is said, was a lacquered box, a foot deep and 2.4 ft. square (other dimensions are assigned), with a handle going down to the bottom, and moveable so as to strike against the sides when turned round. At the sound of this the other instruments struck up. The **彭** is represented as a couchant tiger of wood, with 27 teeth along the ridge of his back, which when rapped against by a handle gave the signal for the music to stop. This is the common account of these instruments and their use, which however does not go higher than the Han dynasty. Woo Ch'ing calls it in question, and with him agrees Sun Ke-yew. **集說**

According to them, the **彭** was made of earth, an instrument similar to the **𐰰**. In this way all the **八音**, or eight kinds of musical instruments are mentioned by K'wei. This explanation is not unlikely; but I cannot make out fully what Hood Ch'ing says about **合止**

The **彭** is made of reeds or tubes (19 in large instruments, and 13 in smaller), placed upright in an emptied calabash, with a cross piece of metal at the mouth of each tube. G. T. Lay, Esq., in his *The Chinese as they are*, p. 88, has called the **彭** Jubal's organ, and says:—"This seems to be the embryo of our modern and magnificent organ, and consists of several tubes varying in length, so as to utter sounds at harmonic intervals from each other. These tubes are inserted into a bowl (were originally placed in a calabash), which must be taken as the humble representative of the wind chest, while the office of bellows is of course discharged by the human breath." The invention of this primitive organ has been ascribed to a fabulous female sovereign (女媧氏), who followed Fuh-he. **鎻**

The invention of the bell is carried up to Koo-yen (鼓延), a grandson of Fuh-he. **以聞** is expanded in the *Daily Explanation* to **以與堂上衆樂,更迭聞作**, "to strike up at the intervals, in their turns with the instruments in the higher part of the hall." Ts'ae says:—"與詠歌送奏, 'striking up in their turn with' (after) 'the singing.' The meaning is the same. **階階是定防形, the appearance of moving." Ts'ae says:—"The music not only moved spirits and men; but even birds and beasts—ignorant creatures—led on another to gambol to it. **蜃韶九成,蜃韶** are to be taken together as the name of the music of Shun, said to have been made by him in the 5th year of his reign (see the 水治通鑑編目 作者之二). For **蜃** we should read **篤**, meaning a sort of castanets, held by the dancers as they kept time to the music; but the two characters lose their individual meanings, and represent the music of Shun. **成** is defined by Ying-ta as 樂曲終, "the completion of the music and song." He adds that when one song was concluded, another was sung to a different tune; and this was repeated in Shun's music 9 times, with reference to what is said in Bk. II, p. 7,—"when the nine services
10 K'wei said, "Oh! when I strike the stone or tap the stone, all kinds of animals lead on one another to gambol, and all the chiefs of the officers become truly harmonious."

11 The emperor on this made a song, saying, "Being charged with the favouring appointment of Heaven, we must be careful at every moment, and in the smallest particular." He then sang, saying,

"When the members work joyfully,
The head rises flourishingly;
And the duties of all the officers are fully discharged!"

Kaou-yaou did obeisance, with his head to the ground, and with a loud and rapid voice said, "Oh! think. It is yours to lead on,

have been orderly accomplished, let that accomplishment be celebrated in songs.'

Kung-he's dict., char. 鳳, several descriptions of the bird will be found. 來儀

來舞有容儀, as in the trans. Ch'ing's expl. is different, and to me hardly intelligible. He says, 儀匹也來止而乘匹. I suppose he means that they came and bled in the court.—K'ung Ying-tä observes that though the descent of the spirits of ancestors is mentioned in connection with the music high up in the hall, and the movements of animals in connection with that below, and the appearance of the phoenix in connection with the whole service, we are not to suppose that the particular effect was owing to the whole or partial part of the service as specified. Ts'ue notices also the opinion of some who explain the statements away, and ask how we can suppose that birds and beasts and phoenixes really came gambolling in the court. He replies that such suspicions merely show ignorance of the power of music, and then he adduces instances only recorded (見於傳者), quite as marvellous as those in the text. It was the music of Shun, as preserved in Te'e, which so affected Confucius that for three months he did not know the taste of flesh (Ana. VII. xiii.). P. 10.

See Book I. p. 24. I said the passage was out of place there. It would almost seem to be the same here, though the concluding clause,—庶尹允諧, adds a particular point to the effects of music, not mentioned in the prec. par.

尹 is defined, both by Gan-kwo and Ch'ing, by 正, which again 官長, the heads of the officers, i.e., the directors of the various official departments. The 'stone' is here mentioned by K'wei (for particular reasons, which exercise the ingenuity of commentators), by synecdoche,—one of the kinds of musical instruments for all the eight kinds.

Ch. III. Songs of the Emperor and Kaou-yaou, on the Duties of the Emperor and his Ministers. This par., if the two prec. did not intervene, might well be taken as a sequel to parr. 4—6 on the part of Shun, and parr. 7, 8, where Yu tells him that his dependence must be on himself, and not on his ministers

庸用; but we cannot tell with what reference it is used. It indicates that the reflection and song of Shun were consequent on something previously mentioned, being = on this.' There is nothing in the parr. immediately prec. to which the thia can be referred.

勅之命勅, as in p. 6, of the last Book:—being charged with the favouring appointment of
and to originate things, with a careful attention to your laws. Be reverent! Oh! often examine what you have accomplished. Be reverent!" With this he continued the song, saying,

"When the head is intelligent,
The members are good;
And all business will be happily performed!"

He again continued the song, saying,

"When the head is vexatious,
The members are idle;
And all affairs will go to ruin!"

The emperor said, "Yes; go ye, and be reverently attentive to your duties!"

Heaven," 惟時,—comp. 食哉惟時, Bk. I. p. 16. 股肱,—see p. 4. 元首,—the sovereign is evidently intended by this phrase. In Ying-ta’s paraphrase ( foll. by K'ang-he’s dict., char. 元首, 元 is taken as 首; but it is rather an adj., with some eulogistic meaning,—‘the great,’ ‘the superior.’

百工熙哉,—comp in Can. of Yaou, p. 8, 允釐百工, 瑞績咸熙. 瑞言曰, 率哉—Gan-kwô defines 瑞 by 大言而疾, ‘with great words and rapid.’ 率哉 is evidently addressed to the emp. Ch’ing says that they are a summons to all the ministers to give heed to the warning just uttered by the emperor; and Ming-shing and Keang Shing, in their prejudice, endorse the view. 懲—法, ‘the laws.’ A careful attention to these on the part of the emp.

would be a good example to the officers to attend to their duties. ‘Examine what you have accomplished;’—i.e., that you may carry on your undertakings and govern with the same success. 廣載歌曰, 廣—續, ‘to continue.’ 歌 is taken by Ch’ing as—始, making the meaning,—he continued and sung his first song; with ref. to 歌 below. Gan-kwô takes it as—成, ‘to complete.’ making the meaning,—he continued and completed the meaning of the emperor. 畝勝哉—Ch’ing explains 畝聚小小之事, ‘a general collection of small affairs.’

To the same effect, substantially, are the views of Gan-kwô and Ma Yung. ‘Vexatious,’ as in the transl., seems to give the idea, though it is not easy to collect it from the several characters. 往斎哉,—see Can. of Yaou, p. 11, et al.
THE SHOO KING.

PART III.

THE BOOKS OF HEA.
1. Yu divided the land. Following the course of the hills, he hewed down the woods. He determined the high hills and great rivers.

A long rambling account of Yu's labours, it is said that 'Great Heaven was pleased with him, and gave him the empire, while there was conferred on him' (we must understand by Yaou) 'the surname of Sze (賜姓曰姬) and the clan-name of Holder of Hea (氏曰有夏).' This part of the Shoo King never consisted of more than the four Books, which compose it at present—a fact difficult to be accounted for; and the first of them, much more extensive than all the others together, is descriptive of what took place during the vice-gerency of Shun, before the death of Yau. Ying-tse says that originally it was among the Books of Yu, but that the historiographers of Hea placed it among those of their dynasty, or perhaps Confucius was the first to assign it its present place. Whenever it was first placed among the Books of Hea, there can be no doubt that Ts'ue Ch'in gives the true reason for that arrangement, when he says that the merit here described was the ground of Yu's advancement to the imperial seat.
The Nine Provinces of Yu,
From the Work of Hoo Wei.
Each square 700 le.
NAME OF THE BOOK.—禹贡, 'The Tribute of Yu.' Tribute, however, is not here to be understood in the sense of a contribution paid by one nation to another in acknowledgment of subjection and testimony of fealty, but as the contribution paid by subjects to their proper rulers. The barbarous tribes round about the Middle Kingdom bring here, indeed, their贡, and the attempt by the rulers of the present Manchow dynasty to give the same name to the presents sent to them from Great Britain and other countries was an assumption which needed to be repressed and rebuked; but such offerings occupy a very inferior place, as compared with the贡 or contribution of revenue, levied from each province. We might rather expect that the Book should be called禹赋; however, has the general signification of an offering made by inferiors (下之所供謂之賦), and may embrace the赋 while that term is more restricted and could not be employed to comprehend the贡 so called. This is the account given by Yingtai of the name of the Book, and I think correctly. Teâe Ch'in endorses a view somewhat different:

—In the Book we have both贡 and赋, and yet it is called only by the former. Mencius observes that the sovereign of the Hsia dynasty enacted the 60 mow allotment, and the payment of a proportion of the produce (夏后氏五十而貢; Bk. III. Pt I. iii. 6). This proportion was determined by taking the average of several years, so that, accord. to this acc., 貢 was the general name for the revenue levied under the Hsia dynasty from the land.

CONTENTS. The name,—'The Tribute of Yu,' gives a very insufficient account of the contents. The determination of the revenue, and of the various articles of tribute was, indeed, very important, but this Book describes generally the labours of Yu in remedying the disasters occasioned by the overflowing waters. Having accomplished that, he went on to define more accurately the boundaries of the different provinces, and to divide the empire into five tenures. It may be regarded as a domesday book of China in the 23rd century before Christ;—but when we consider that it is contained in the compass of a few pages, we cannot expect very much information from it. Choo He says in several places, that much of what is said about the geography of the country—the mountains and rivers—cannot be understood, in consequence of the changes of names, and the actual changes in nature which have taken place. This is doubtless the case; but when we shall have an accurate and scientific survey of China, and it is known to us in the length and breadth of its provinces as any of the countries of Europe is, this ancient document will be invested with a new interest, and have a light thrown upon it, for want of which we can at present in many places only grope our way.

The division of the Book into two parts, which is found in Yung Ching's Shoo, and I have here followed, is convenient, but of modern device. It is still unobserved in many editions, of which I need only mention the 'Daily Explanation.' The first part of the Book is conveniently arranged in chapters, the first containing only one paragraph; and each of the others containing the account of one province in a good many paragraphs. On the title of 'The Counsels of the Great Yu,' it was observed that the Books of the Shoo have obtained sixfold classification, and accord. to their subject-matter;—these are from the historiographers. But all between, from匡州 down to讃于四海 is the narrative by Yu himself of his various labours;—his narrative is presented to the emperor, and kept in the bureau of history, whence it was edited by the proper officers with some modifications of the style.'

CH. I. A SUMMARY OF Yu'S SCHEME OF OPERATIONS UPON THE INUNDATED EMPIRE. It is the general opinion that this par. lays down the plan on which Yu proceeded to his task; and though there is nothing in the language to determine absolutely in favor of this interpret., I think it is the most likely. First, he divided the land into nine provinces, and arranged in what order they should be taken in hand. Next, he travelled along the hills, and possessed himself with a general idea of what was to be done to afford a vent for the waters, and conduct them by their natural channels. Lastly, the waters being carried off, he defined the boundaries of the provinces more accurately than had been done before, by reference to the principal mountains and streams.

禹徏—徏土, comp. 'Counsels of Yu,' p. 1. Ch'ing defines 徹 by 佈, 'to spread out,' 'to arrange,' adding 佈治九州之土, 'he arranged and reduced to order the water and land of the nine provinces.' Ma Yung says that徏不分; and in Gan-k'iu we find all these terms together:—洪水汎溢禹徏治九州之土, 'amid the overflowing of the inundating waters, Yu divided, arranged, and reduced to order the land of the nine provinces.' It may be questioned whether the division of China into nine provinces originated with Yu. The first territorial arrangement of the country is referred to Hwang-te, who, it is said, 'mapped out the country, and divided it into provinces, making in all 10,000 States of 100 li each (畫野分州，得百里之國萬區; see the 歷代疆域表, under Hwang-te).
In the accounts of Chuen-heuh, the grandson of Hwang-te, we read that he 'established nine provinces,' the names of which are the same as those of Yu. The 'Historical Records' give Yu, along with Yih and Teih, received the emperor's commands, and ordered the princes and people to call forth labourers to divide and arrange the land.' I introduce this passage because it helps us to understand how Yu accomplished his great work. We are too apt to think of him alone in connection with it. He had the merit of suggesting, directing, and superintending; but all the talent and strength of the empire were helping. Yih and Teih are mentioned by himself as his coadjutors. Passages from the Shoo itself, the 'Historical Records,' &c., indicate that he was also in correspondence with Kaou-yao, the Sze-yo, Pii-he, and the pastors of the provinces, and so had all the resources of the empire at his disposal. This has suggested to Hoo Wei (胡渭) another ingenious view of the meaning of '数士.'

Taking 数 as 仏, 'to give,' 'to assign,' he says:—'What is expressed by 数 is to be assigned to, and so on.' Yih-chow was to be assigned to and so; Yen-chow to so and so; and this was simply the choice and employment of men for the several portions of the work.'

Ch. II.—The Account of K'ee-chow. Pp. 2—6. Engineering labours on the rivers and country. P. 2. 冀州. The old interpreters all read on 冀州 既载, and placed a comma at 载, making the meaning to be—'A description of the work to be done in K'ee-chow was first prepared.' No doubt it seemed to them that 载, being generally equivalent to our sign of the perfect tense, presupposed a subject already mentioned. But in p. 5, 既修大, it introduces a clause in an absolute manner. It is much more in consonance with the analogy of the commencing parr. of the other chapters on the other provinces to put a stop at 冀州. The only difference is that those others are all defined by certain boundaries, whereas no boundaries are assigned to this. The reason may be, as Tse says, that all the others being defined, the boundaries of this might thence be known; or, as it said by others, it is left undefined, a mark of distinction, as containing the imperial seat, the capital of the empire. Hwang-te is said to have had his capital in Choh-luh (涿鹿); Chuen-heuh, his in Te-k'ew (帝邱); Kaou-sin, his in Poh (毫);
THE TRIBUTE OF YU. 95

Yaou, his in Ping-yang; and Shun, his in Poo-fan (蒲扇);—all of which places were within K' e-chou. As to the actual boundaries of the province, it had the Ho—what is called the Yellow River—on three sides of it, the west, south, and east. On the west, between it and Yung-chow, was all that portion of the Ho, which forms the present dividing line of Shen-se and Shan-se, in a course of about 500 miles, according to Su-ma Chow's Kingdom, vol. I., p. 15). At the south-western corner of Shan-se, the Ho turns to the east, and first dividing that province from Ho-nan, flows through Ho-nan on to the south-west point of Shan-tung, and afterwards traverses Kiang-soo, with a southerly inclination, finally disemboguing itself in about lat. 34°. At any rate, one would have so described its course a few years ago; it is said now to pursue a north-easterly course from somewhere in the border between Shan-tung and Ho-nan. It did this in the time of Yu. It turned north at about the place where Chih-le, Shan-tung, and Ho-nan all touch, and its waters flowed north and east into the present gulf of Pih-chih-le. The southern boundary of K' e-chou, therefore was the Ho in its south-easterly flow, which divided it from Yu-chow; and its eastern boundary was the Ho in its north-easterly flow, which divided it from Yen-chow. [This north-easterly portion is often called the Ho of Yu;—the first change in its direction to a more southerly course took place in the 5th year of the emp. Ting (王定) of the Chow dyn. B.C. 601.] The northern boundary of K' e-chou must be left altogether indefinite.

From this account of the province, it will be seen that Medhurst is in error when he speaks of it as corresponding to the present Shan-se (Shoo King, p. 83). It was of much larger extent. As stated in 'The Boundaries of the empire in Successive Dynasties,' K' e-chow embraced the present provinces of Chih-le and Shan-se, with the three departments of Chang-tib (彰德), Wei-hway (衛輝), and Hwae-king (懷慶) in Ho-nan, and the western portion of Shing-king or Leaou-tung.

Pp. 34. 既載壺口治梁及岐山. If 既載 is joined, as by the old scholars, with 蒙州, it is not possible to construe 壺口.

They have said nothing, however, which would indicate that they saw the difficulty.

載 is best taken as 事, 'to perform service.' Ts'e and others would combine the meanings of 始 'first,' and 事. He says:—經始治之謂載; but this is not necessary.

壺口 is the name of a hill which we might translate 'Pot's-mouth.' It is 70 li to the south-east of the small dep., city of Keih (吉), in Shan-se. Medhurst gives its position in as in lat. 36°15', N., long. 6°35', W. of Peking. The Ho passes it in its southward flow, 'seething like a boiling pot' (see a note in the 集傳), and I suppose that in the time of Yu some spur of the mountain encroached upon the stream. South of Hoo-k' ow was the Lung-mun (龍門) or 'Dragon Gate,' an important point of the Ho, so called from a hill of that name; and north of it was the 金門, or Great Gate, also an important point. Before Yu's labours, the waters of the Ho not finding free course from Mang-mun downwards, there overflowed and inundated both K' e-chow and Yung-chow. By what he did on Ho-k'ow and his immediately subsequent operations on mount Leang, he achieved one of the most notable of his labours, and opened the Dragon-gate.' Leang and K'e are the names of two hills, belonging, say the scholars of the Sung dyn. to K' e-chow; belonging, said the older interpreters, to Yung-chow. Acc. to T'sae, Leang was the Leu-leang (呂梁) hill, corresponding to the present 'Spine hill' ('骨脊山'), in the north-east of the small dep. of Yung-ning (永寧), belong to the larger one of Fan-chow (分州); and K'e was the Hoo-k' ow, or 'Fox-peaks,' hill in the same dep. of Fan-chow, in the west of Hesason district (孝義縣). T'sae says that the waters of the Ho passed at the base of both these hills. But it is objected by Hoo Wei that 'Spine hill' is fully 150 li from the Ho, and 'Fox-peaks' more than 300. I must conclude that while it was natural for the Sung scholars to look for Leang and K'e in K' e-chow, they have not been successful in finding them there. Turning to the old interpreters, who refer the hills to Yung-chow, Leang is the present mountain of that name, 90 li to the north-west of the dis. city of Han-shing (韓城), dep. Se-nau, in Shen-se; and K'e, called also 'Heaven's pillar' (天柱), is 90 li north-east from K'san (岐山) dis. city, dep. of Fung-Ts' iang (鳳翔). The former was not far from the western bank of the Ho, and near to Lung-mun. We can easily see how some operations on it should have been necessary to complete the accomplishment of the object contemplated in beginning at Hoo-k' ow. But why should he have gone westward to mount K'e? Hoo Wei answers:—'By dealing with mount Léang, a free passage was made for the Ho, and the calamity of inundation was removed from the country on the right and left of this western portion of it. But that country still remained unfit for the purposes of agriculture, covered with pools and marl, and it was brought to earth with his own words, 'to deepen the channels and canals, and conduct them to the rivers, that Tseih might proceed to his business. But why should he defer proceeding at once to his work on T'ae-yuen and Ye-yang, which were near the imperial seat? If he had now gone at once eastward, not a few years must have elapsed before he could come back to this point; and we may conclude also that it was of great importance to the capital itself that this part of the country should be regulated without de-
lay.' These observations seem to give an insufficient idea of Yu's turning aside a little from Ke-chow to the adjoining part on the west. There remains still another point to be touched on, before we proceed to the next paragraph. We get the impression that Yu's labours commenced at Hoo-kow and mount Leang. But Choo He has questioned this. Referring again to Hoo Wei, he observes—Choo in his 語錄 says that he cannot fully credit the common view as to the commencement of Yu's labours, for that if he had opened the passage of the 'Dragon Gate' without previously clearing the channels below, the out-rush of the Ho would only have been more disastrous than before. It was Yu's plan to commence at the lowest point, and therefore in Ke-chow must have begun at Ke-shih, and the nine Ho. These views have been followed, especially by Foo Tung-shuh (傅同叔); and it is generally concluded that Yu began to deal with the waters in Yen-chow. But let us attend to the aspect of the inundation, as it presented itself to Yu. He said: 'Destiny has given me the over-flow of the waters. In their vast extent, they embrace the mountains and overpower the hills, threatening the heavens.' Mencius' account is:—'In the time of Yaou, the waters flowing out of their channels inundated the Middle kingdom. Snakes and dragons abounded, and the people had no place where they could settle themselves. In the low grounds they made nests for themselves, and in the high grounds they made caves.' This was the aspect of the inundation as it appeared to Yaou, and frightened him; it is described by him accordingly. It was occasioned chiefly by the outburst of the Ho above Mang-mun, and no other place so urgently required that measures should be taken with it. If Yu could manage the Ho at Lung-mun and mount Leang, he would find no insurmountable difficulties elsewhere; if he could not do this, the capital must have become the home of plagues. But without reference to the capital, here was the spot where it was necessary to take the first measures to remedy the terrible evil.' Kung Ying-ta reasons in a similar way, and insists that the waters of Ke-chow did not flow through Yen-chow.

P. 5. 既修太原, 至于岳陽—
既修, 'having repaired.' This is understood to have reference to the labours of K'wan, Yu's father, which had not been altogether ineffectual. Choo Hoh-ing (朱鹤齡; of the pres. dyn.) has said:—'On the north of the Ho there are many of K'wan's dykes. The capital being within the space here indicated, K'wan had wrought with peculiar energy to defend it from the waters. Yu entered into his labours, availed himself of them and completed them. But there was this difference between the father and the son. Yu went first to the source of the evil, and made a free course for the Ho; whereas K'wan had confined himself to a branch of it, to the course of the Fun in those parts.' 太原—lit., 'the great plain;' but the name still exists as that of the principal prefecture of Shan-se, and also of a district of the same. The city of T'ae-yuen is in lat. 37°43', N., lon. 118°55', W. of Peking. 岳陽,—'the south of Yü.' Yu, called also Tae-yü, was the principal mountain in Ke-chow. It is now the Hoh-tae (霍山) hill, 30 le to the east of Hoh-chow city, belong to the dep. of Ping-yang. It is said to be 200 le in circumference, and its southern skirts touch on the two districts of Yoh-yang (岳陽), and Chau-shing (趙城). Hereabouts Yuon, it is said, had his principal city when marquis of T'ang; but this is doubtful. The 修至, indicate continuousness of operation, and indeed this paragraph is descriptive of Yu's regulation of the river Fun (汾), which rose in Tae-yuen, pursued a devious course to Yoh-yang, and afterwards joined the Ho.

P. 6. 端懷底績, 至于衡漳?
—Yu is now operating on the borders of the Ho in its eastward course from the south-western corner of the pres. Shan-se. The name of Tan- hwaee still partly remains in that of the dep. of Hwoe-k'ing (懷慶), in Ho-nan, whose prin. city is in lat. 35°6', N., 115°28', W. of Peking. The territory was low and level, easily inundated therefore, and requiring more toil to be spent on it. The toil and the eventual success are indicated in the phrase 底績, i.e.comp. Can. of Shun, p. 3, and Coun. of Kaou-yon, p. 8. Having done all that was necessary for the pres. on the southern portion of the Ho, Yu went on to the junction of the Chang with the Ho; or, as Liu Che-ke says, we may suppose that he crossed over the country, across the mountain ranges of 大行, to the sources of the Chang, and regulated its course, and the country which it drained, all the way to the Ho. 衡 is taken as 衡, and 滂漳 is 'the cross-flowing Chang,' so called with reference to its course from east to west, or the contrary; a course from north to south or from south to north being described as natural (從)—see the 集說. Ma Yung and Wang Suh were of opinion that 傳 was the name of one river, and 滂漳 that of another, but there is no evidence to support their view. It appears, however, that the 滂漳 was formed by the union of a 'clear' (淸漳) and a 'muddy' (濁漳) Chang. The full account of them is taken from the 地理令釋, or Modern Geography:—'The Clear Chang rises 30 le to the south-west of the district city of Lu-p'ing, (lat. 37°53', N; lon. 240', W.), dep. Tae-yuen. Flooding south-east to the dist. of Shé-heen (涉縣). dep. Chang-tih (彰德) Ho-nan, it is then joined by the muddy Chang, at “the Meeting of the Chang.” Thence it flows north-east to Chih-le, and in the dist. of Kwan-
7, 8. The soil of this province was whitish and mellow. Its contribution of revenue was the first of the highest class, with some proportion of the second. Its fields were the average of the middle class.

In the portion of the 'Rites of Chow' just referred to, we have much said about the practical uses to which a knowledge of the different soils should be turned, but the simple statement of the text does not require that I should enter on that subject. 3. Both the revenue and the fields—that is, the cultivable ground—were arranged in three classes (see Part ii., p. 15), and under each class were three divisions. Thus the value of the ground ranged from the 1st to the 9th degree; and the amount of revenue did the same. In general rule, I apprehend, in regard to it being that it should be a tenth of the produce. The amount of revenue would be very much regulated by the character of the ground, but not entirely so. A poor tract of country well cultivated would produce more than a rich one, left to go to waste. The actual produce depended on many other circumstances in addition to the character of the soil, such as the density or sparseness of the population, the system of irrigation, manuring, &c. Here in K'e-chow, the revenue was the highest of the highest class, with an admixture of the second degree of the same. Such is said to be the force of 錯. Gan-kwô and K'ang-shing both define the term in this connection by 錯通率第一; but allowing their meaning, we are still unable to say when and where the reduction from the highest amount of revenue was admitted. In the account of the other provinces, the description of the fields always precedes that of the revenue, as is proper, the revenue chiefly depending on the ground; but here the order is reversed. The revenue is mentioned first, and the quality of the fields follows. The most likely explanation, perhaps, of this is that suggested by Lin Che-k'e, that K'e-chow being the imperial domain, its income would be derived not only from the fields, but from a groundrent, and imposed on gardens, orchards, &c., as well. In the other provinces, again, mention is made of "articles of tribute," in addition to the 'revenue.' Those were expressions of their fealty presented by the princes. There was no occasion for them in the imperial domain.

Vol. III.
9 The waters of the Häng and Wei were brought to their proper channels; and Ta-luh was made capable of cultivation.

10 The wild people of the islands brought dresses of skins. Keeping close on the right to the rocks of Kê ê, they entered the Ho.

P. 9. Other engineering labours. It is difficult to say why this par. does not immediately follow the 6th. We may reasonably suppose that the country was all rescued from the inundation before measures were taken to fix the revenue. 從從其故道, ‘to follow their old channels,’ has a hophal signification.

The Häng river takes its rise from a valley of the hill of the same name, in the pres. dis. of Keuh-yang (曲陽; lat. 38°49', N.; long. 1'40', W.), dep. Chin-ting (真定, called also 定州). Near its source it is called the ‘Long Streamlet’ (長溪); it pursues an eastern course, to the borders of Kê Chow (趙州), dep. Paou-ting (保定), receiving difft. names in its progress. At this point it unites with the Tze (澠河), and by-and-by flows into the Tâng water (唐河), called also the Kow (河). The Wei, under the name of Luy-kow (雷鳴), rises in the district of Ling-show (靈壽; lat. 38°18', N., long. 1°57', W.), and flowing to the south, enters the Hoo-to (滹沱).

Hoo Wei contends that by the Häng of the text we are to understand the Kow, and by the Wei the Hoo-to. The Kow and the Hoo-to now unite their streams, and travelling eastwards pass the city of Tëen-tain, and on to the sea. The Häng and the Wei in Tu’s time poured their united waters into the Ho.

大陸既作—Kâng-shing says that 大陸 is ‘the name of a marsh or lake, on the north of Kë-luh (鉅鹿; lat. 37°17', N., lon., 1°17', W.). Modern writers incline to consider it the name of a large tract of flat ground, ‘embracing,’ says the Daily Explanation, ‘the district of Hing-tay (邢臺), and the smaller depps. of Chaou (趙州), and Shin (深).’ I apprehend the modern view is correct. 土雅 having the signification, given in the text, of ‘what is high and level.’ As to the lake of Ta-luh, called also Kwang-o (廣阿), it is still very considerable. It touches the dis. of Shu-}

11 夾右碣
III. *Between* the Tse and the Ho was Yen-chow.

The nine branches of the Ho were conducted by their proper channels. Luy-hea was formed into a marsh; *in which the waters of* the Yung and the Tseu were united. The mulberry grounds were made fit for silkworms, and then *the people* came down from the heights, and occupied the ground *below*.

The soil of this province was blackish and rich; the grass in it became luxuriant, and the trees grew high. Its fields were the lowest of the middle class. Its revenues just reached what could be deemed the correct amount; but they were not required from it as from the other provinces, till after it had been cultivated for thirteen years. *Its articles of tribute* were varnish and silk; *the baskets* from it were filled with woven ornamental *fabrics*.

They floated along the Tse and T'ai, and so reached the Ho.
in 'King's-house' hill (王屋山), in the pres. Tae-heen (濟南), dep of Hwae-k'ing, Ho-nan; see Part II, p. 10. This would give its rise in about lat. 35°5', lon. 4°48'. W. Flowing eastwards it now enters the sea, as the small, at about lat. 37°15' N., lon. 1°55'. E. Its name appears in its course in that of Tae-nan (濟南), the principal dep of Shan-tung. Yen-chow did not commence at or near its source. We must place the boundary point between Yen and Yu in the pres. Te-sou-chow (曹州):—see Hoo Wei, in loc. The same critic says on the Ho as the boundary-line of Yen on the west and north:—At the pres. dis. of Teo-shing (大名, in the dis. of Sceo-heen (濟南); lat. 35°45', N.; lon. 1°88', W.), it made a bend to the west, and flowed northwards past the dep. of Chang-t'ih in Ho-nan. Then turning eastwards, it flowed through various depp. of Chih-le—Kwang-p'ing, Shun-t'ing, Chin-t'ing, and Ho-kien, on to the sea. This was the old course of the Ho of Yu, the same as the course of the Chang described in the Han dynasty." According to this account, the Ho of Yu must have disappeared where the Pe-ho (北河, 'the northern Ho') now flows. With these boundaries, Yen-chow (兗 is sometimes called 沢) may be said to have contained—of the pres. Shan-tung, the dep. of Tung-ch'ang (東昌), the northern portion of Tae-nan, and western of Yen-chow; and of Chih-le, the dep. of Te-ning, with portions of those of Ho-kien and Te'en-t'ien:—see the 歷代疆域表. It was not a large province.

Pp. 13-16. Engineering labours. 13. 北河 (bei he) seems properly explained by Te-sue—即順其道, 'were made to follow their courses.' The whole sentence gives the idea that the nine streams or branches were already existing, and that Yu's work was to clear and direct them. K'ang-shing seems rather to have thought that the nine channels were opened by Yu, to diminish the force of the mighty stream (河水自上至此流盛而地平無岸，故能分為九，以衰其勢); but such a view cannot be thought of. The truth seems to be that the Ho discharged itself into the sea by many branches, in addition to the main stream described in the last note. These all occupied the northern part of Yen-chow, which formed the delta of the Ho, and Yu, selecting eight or nine of the streams, cleared their course, and by means of them drained the country.

It has always been, and still is, a curious inquiry among Chinese scholars, to determine, if possible, the nine Ho. The 南流雅 as if they had all been existing in the Chow dyn., gives their names as Tsoo-he (徒駱); T'ae-he (大河); Ma-k'ee (馬頴); Fuh-foo (覆<float signal image="3840-028" width="1343" height="1235" type="image">覆桶); Hoo-soo (胡蘇); K'ee-n'k'ee (簡渡); Kow-p'wan (鉤盤); Kih-tain (釣津). These are only eight names, and some therefore divide the sixth name into two, making the K'eein one stream, and the k'ee another, while others, who probably, make out the nine by adding to those eight the 'Ho of Yu,' or the main stream, already described. As early as the Han dynasty, it was the opinion of many that it was of no use trying to identify these various streams, the face of the country being so much altered from the time of Yu. Some, indeed, were of opinion even then, that the whole of the delta of the Ho of those early days had been swept away into the sea. Others, however, thought that the K'eein, the Kow-p'wan, and the Kih-tain were then determinable, and the researches of the scholars of the Tung dynasty are said to have determined other three;—but these matters are very doubtful. It is sufficient for us to know that the northern part of Yen-chow, the delta of the Ho, was rescued from the inundating waters by Yu.

14. In the south-east of the small dep. of Puh (濮), sub. to Te-sou-chow (曹州), is the marsh of Luy, still retaining part of the ancient name. It was in the waters of Luy-hea that Shun fishied, according to the 'Historical Records,' and heresabouts also Yaou is said to have rambled (堯作遊成陽 has been the name of Puh-chow under various dynasties). 'Luy-hea was marshed;'—we are not to suppose that Yu now for the first time formed a marsh at this point, but that by draining and embanking he reduced and confined the waters to their proper limits. Te-sue quotes a story from the mountain stream about a spirit of thunder with a dragon's body and a man's head, which dwells in the lake and makes a noise like thunder by thumping on its belly. 'Thus,' concludes Te-sue, 'the lake, originally called the Hea, got its name of Luy-hea, the Thunder-hea.' One Le Che-tsao (李之藻) of the Ming dyn. ridiculing this story, says that at certain seasons the waters seem to be sucked through some passage at the bottom with a loud noise. 15. I do not know that the Yung and the Tseu have been distinctly identified. They were streams in the neighbourhood of the Luy-hea, and it seems proper to join this par. with the pres., and to read that the two streams were united in the marsh. Yet it may not have been so. Both Gan-k'wö and K'ang-shing thought so. The latter, indeed, as if he were describing what he had seen, says that the streams first met each other from opposite directions, and then entered the lake in one stream (激 have difficulty in translating 瀝 were the streams united in the marsh). On the other hand, we read in the 'Daily
Explanation:—"The Yung issuing from the Ho, and the Tsen issuing from the Tsé, when the Tso was regulated, the Yung flowed into the Tsen, and they were conducted in one stream to the Ho."

16 桑土  政—when the mulberry country was silicorne—Medhurst translates—supplied with silkworms; but the meaning must be rather as I have given. The silk worm dislikes moisture; as the country was drained, and the waters confined to their proper places, the people could attend to it with success.

What particular tract of the country was intended by 桑土 we do not know. The whole of Yen-chow was distinguished for its mulberry trees and silkworms, but especially the region about Puh, H'ang-shing, quotes, in illustration, from the 楚記 (Bk. I, 6). 桑開濮上之音 is (於是)降 (i.e., 民降).

丘宅土=丘 or 邑 is defined by 小陵, a small mound (see the 部雅); by 土性自然, the natural formation of the ground (孫炎). In Yen-chow the hills were few, but the mounds or rising grounds were many. While the inundation prevailed, the people were driven to these, but now they could descend from the heights, and dwell on the level ground. 宅土=宅平土.


17. The colour of the soil was the opposite of that of K'ee-chow, being "black," or blackish. I find it difficult to determine exactly the meaning of 璋 (2d tone). Ma Yung defines it by 賊, rich and fat; Gan-kwô, by 塊起, as if it meant rising up in mounds or ridges. It is better to abide by Ma's meaning.

惟 silky 茂, luxuriant. The 說文 quotes the passage under 稠, which is the expl. of 草盛爾, 長, tall.

Lin Che-kue observes that the provinces on the north and west were very hilly, and naturally rich in grass and forests, so that there was no occasion to speak of these things in connection with them. The provinces in the south and east, however, were low and wet; they suffered especially from the inundation; all vegetation in them was stunted or unnaturally rank; and therefore the grass and trees of Yen, Sen, and Yang are all made mention of.

Hoo Wei observes that this account of the grass and trees of Yen-chow, growing luxuriantly and tall after Yu's labour, would seem to be inconsistent with Mencius' observation that the inundation made all vegetation more luxuriant (Bk. III, Pt. I, iv. 7); and replies that Mencius' idea is that the overflowing waters caused everywhere a rank jangly growth, whereas here the description is of the country under the flood and of man, drained of the excessive floods, and responding readily to the toil put forth on it.

18. The fields of this province were ranked in the 6th degree,—the lowest of the middle class. Its revenue was 國. This char.

is defined, both by the ancient and modern interpreters as 十。'correct,' 'exact,' and further they all agree in saying that the revenue of this province was the lowest of all. Ts'ao brings this meaning out of 十 thus:—"The revenue of Yen was the lightest of all; and the sovereigns of the empire consider that the lightest revenue is the correct thing' (以薄賦 爲正).

The rest of the paragraph, 作十有三載乃同, he considers an additional circumstance. Not only was the revenue fixed at the lowest degree, but even that amount was not levied till after 18 years of cultivation, so much more had Yen suffered from the overflow of the waters than the other provinces. This interpretation is upon the whole the best that has been proposed. To take 作 as descriptive of the cultivation of the land is in harmony with its meaning everywhere else in this Book. The old interpreters, Gan-kwô, Ch'ing, and Ma Yung, all took 作十有三载 as descriptive of the length of time that it took to deliver Yen from the inundating waters, so that it was the very last of the provinces on which the work could be reported as completed. Gan-kwô gets a meaning for 正 out of this circumstance:—"Yen was the ninth rescued from the flood, and so its revenue was fixed the ninth or last in degree." Ch'ing read on 正 with the next characters, with an adverbial meaning, — 'just.' This may be done, but then there is nothing in the sentence to indicate that the revenue was fixed at the lowest rate.

18. 正貢, Choo.

He says:—貢 denotes the offerings presented by the princes to the emperor; therefore in all the eight provinces, beyond the imperial domain, we have mention of them. Under the Chow dyn., those offerings were of nine kinds:—Offerings available for sacrifices (祿貢), victims, &c.; offerings for the ladies of the harem (嬪貢), as silk and hemp; offerings available for vessels (器貢), metal, sounding stones, varnish, &c.; offerings available for presents (幣貢), gums, silks, horses, &c.; offerings of commodities (貨貢), as dress, and materials for dresses (服貢); feathers and hair (羽貢); sundries (實貢), as fish, fruits, &c.; (see the "Rites of Chow." 夫官, 采聿, 第一之二.

The articles from Yen-chow consisted of varnish, the province producing largely the trees which yield it, and silk.
IV. The sea and the Tae mountain were the boundaries of Ts'ing-chow.

The territory of Yu-e was defined; and the Wei and Tsze were conducted by their proper channels.

The soil of this province was whitish and rich; near the sea were wide tracts of salt land. Its fields were the lowest of the first class, and its contribution of revenue the highest of the second.

Its articles of tribute were salt, fine grass-cloth, and the productions of the sea, of various kinds; with silk, hemp, lead, pine-trees, and strange stones, from the valleys of the Tae. The wild tribes of Læ were taught tillage and pasturage, and brought in their baskets the silk from the mountain mulberry.

They floated along the Wän, and reached the Tse.
pres. Shan-tung, so that the territory of Ts'ing-chow extended indefinitely into Leau-tung, and Chaου-seen or Corea. So it would appear, however, to have done. When Shun extended Yu's nine provinces to twelve (Can. of Shun, p. 10), he divided Ts'ing-chow into Ts'ing and Ying (營);—he cut off, that is, from Ts'ing all the indefinitely extended portion lying north and east across the sea, from the present Shantung; and constituted it into a new province.

In confirmation of this, the records may be referred to, where, in the enumeration of the nine provinces, we do not have the name of Ts'ing-chow, but read instead—齊日營州,'Ts'e was called Ying-chow.' Now Ts'e embraced nearly all of Ts'ing-chow west of the sea. The calling it 营 shows how Ts'ing and Ying were connected, and is a sufficient answer to the view of some who contend that the Ying-chow of Shun was a section of K'e-chow, and not of Ts'ing-chow. The 'Boundaries of the Empire in successive Dynasties' says:—Ts'ing-chow embraced the three departments of Ts'ing, Tang, and Lai, with the western portion of Tse-nan, extending also to all the parts of Leau-tung and Ting-leou.'

Pp. 22, 23. Engineering labours. 22. 嵯夷略—Gan-kwo defines 略 by 用功, 'to expend a little labour upon,' but the term—used only here in the description of Yu's operations—has probably a more definite significance. In the first meaning given to 略 in the dict., it is coupled with 經略, 'meaning 'to define'—or, perhaps to survey —'the boundaries.' Ts'e adopts this meaning, and adds 为之防彊 'to raise dykes and boundaries about it.' Yu'e is the same as the Yu-e, to which Yaou sent the second brother He, to observe the rising sun (Can. of Yaou, p. 4).

The name 嵯夷 is written also 嵯夷, 彝. 嵯 and 彝 (evid. a mistake for 經) and perhaps in other ways. Those who confine Ts'ing-chow within the pres. Shan-tung refer this place to the small dep. of Ning-hae (寧海州; lat. 39°35', N., lon. 4°18', E.) in Ts'ing-chow. But as Yaou would send He to the remotest point eastwards, which was within the limits of the empire, and we have seen that Ts'ing-chow extended to the pres. Corea, it is more natural to conclude that Yu-e was some tract in that region.

23. 濱道其道,— lit., 'the Wei and the Taze, their channels,' i.e., were conducted by their proper channels. 其道 indicates that Yu led the rivers here to their proper channels, while 其道 shows that they were new channels which he made to divide the force of the Ho; but we saw reason to question this view of that portion of Yu's labours. The river Wei rises in the north-

east of Kue-chow (lat. 33°36', N.; lon. 2°52', W.), dep. of E-chow (沂州), and flowing east passes by Ch'oo-shing (諸城) in Ts'ing-chow. Thence proceeding north, it enters the sea, 50 le to the north-east of Ch'ang-yih (昌邑縣; lat., 36°52', N.; lon., 2°15', E.).

The Taze (濵) is not found in the 蒼文, K'eang-shing edits 縣, which with 縣 was interchanged) rises in the northern slope of Yuen hill (原山), 25 le to the West of Poh-san dis. city (博山); thence it flows north-eastwards past the districts of Yih-too (益都), Lin-tze (臨淄), Loh-nan (樂安), and Shao-kwang (壽光)—all in Ts'ing-chow. Not far from this last city (lat. 36°55', N.; lon. 2°32', E.), it enters the sea by the embouchure of the Ts'ing water (清水泊). With the Wei and Taze, Yu's labours in Ts'ing-chow terminated;—he had less to do here than in other provinces.


24. 嚴土白壤—see pp. 7 and 17. 海濱廣斥—斥谓地藏卤 '斥 is descriptive of a country which is salt.' Accord. to the 言文斥 and 國 are synonyms, salt tracts in the east being described as 斥, and similar tracts in the west as 國. The country intended in the text was doubtless the coast of the two departments of Tang and Lai, where there is an active preparation of salt at the present day. The ancient kingdom of Ts'e was noted for its advantages of salt and fish. 25. The fields of this province were only second in the empire to those of Yung and Seu.

26. 綿—this char. denotes a fine fabric made of the fibres of the 蒽, ox delicos tuberosus. A coarser fabric of the same kind was called 綿. Hoo Wei observes that in subsequent ages these fabrics were required only from the southern regions, with the single exception of 15 pieces of 綿葛, which continued to be required from Lin-tze (臨淄)—a relic of Yu's arrangements.

海物惟錯—海物 'things of the sea,' i.e., fishes, crabs, oysters, &c. Gan-kwo here defines 錯 as in p. 8, by 錯非一種 'mixed, not of one kind only.' In opp. to this, Lin Che-ke says that 末物 sufficiently declares the variety of the articles, without the addition of 惟錯 to convey the same idea. Comparing the sentence with 齒革羽毛惟木, p. 44, he argues that 錯 must be something different.
V. The sea, the Tae mountain, and the Hwae were the boundaries of Ts‘eu-chow.

from 海物, and — ‘grinding stones.’ Woo Ching adopts the same view, and argues that 惟 in the middle of a clause is a conjunctive particle, meaning ‘and.’ The interpretation itself is not unlikely, but the meaning given to 惟 cannot be sustained; as, e.g., in p. 21.

The sea, the Tae mountain, and the Hwae were the boundaries of Ts‘eu-chow. The course of the main stream may be thus described. It took its rise in the dia of Læe-woo (萊莱; lat, 36°16' N., lon, 1°26', E.), dep. of Tae-ngan. Flowing past the districts of Tae-ngan, Fei-shing (肥城), and Ning-yang (寧陽), on to the subordinate dep. of Tung-ping (東平; lat, 38°07', N., lon, 1°08', E.), it entered the Tae. This ancient course of the Wan cannot now be traced. It was diverted, during the Yuan and Ming dynasties, to feed the Grand Canal.

Ch. V. The account of Seui-chow.

P. 28. Boundaries. Three boundaries of this province are mentioned, while of the other provinces only two are specified. There was the sea on the east; the Tae mountain on the north; and the river Hwae on the south. For the Hwae see on Part II, p. 11. It is sufficient here to state that it takes its rise in the dia of T‘ung-pih (桐柏, lat. 38°20', N., lon. 3°10', W.), dep. Nan-yang, of Ho-nan. Flowing east, the main stream of it joins the Yellow river in the dia of Ts‘ing-ho (清河; lat. 38°33', N., lon. 2°34', E.), dep. Hwae-ngan (淮安), in K‘iang-soo. In Yu’s time it held its own way to the sea, and was the dividing line between Seui-chow and Yang-chow. The Tae mountain is as indefinite a boundary for the north of Seui, as we saw it was for the south of Ts‘ing-chow. The north-east dividing line of the two was where the two depts. of E-chow and Ts‘ing-chow now touch. No western boundary is mentioned. In the time of Chou, according to the 五雅, ‘westward from the sea to the Tae was Seui-chow’ (濟東日徐州). We may conclude, therefore, that the Tae was, to some distance at least, the boundary between Seui-chow and Yu-chow. According to the ‘Boundaries of Successive Dynasties,’ Seui-chow embraced the territory of the pres. dep. of Yen-chow in Shan-tung and all the country south to Seui-chow in Kuang-soo; and from the small dep. of Shih-chow (宿州) in Fung-yang, and Sze-chow (泗州, both in Ngan-huyt), eastward through Kuang-soo, by Seui-chow and the north of Hwae-ngan dep., on to the dep. of Hae-chow (海州). A more detailed account given in a note in the 集傳, from the ‘Geography Modernized,’ to the effect that the present Seui-chow (in Kuang-soo); the four districts of Hwae-yuen (懷遠), Woo-ho (五河), Hwang-heen (江
30 The Hwae and the E rivers were regulated. The hills of Mung
31 and Yu were brought under cultivation. The lake of Ta-yay was
32 confined within its proper limits. The country of Tung-yuen was
33 successfully brought under management.
34 The soil of this province was red, clayey, and rich. The trees and
35 grass became more and more bushy. Its fields were the second of
the highest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of
the second.
36 Its articles of tribute were earth of five different colours; with
the variegated feathers of pheasants from the valleys of the Yu;
and form a deep pool (羽澤), and we are told

in the 左傳, that the spirit of K’wan was
changed into a yellow bear, which sprang into
the gulf of Yu (羽淵)! Hoo Wei, however,
and not without apparent reason, would refer
the place of K’wan’s banishment to a mount Yu,
farther to the east, in the dis. of Fung-lae (蓬萊)
in Tung-chow.

其藝 ‘were planted.’
Hoo Wei observes: 方耕日作, 既種
日藝, ‘Just ploughed is called 作; already
planted is called 藝’ When the E was re-
gulated, the country on the west of it to Mung,
and on the east of it to Yu, would be so far
drained that Yu could proceed to whatever other
labours were necessary upon it.

31. 大野既猪—Sze-ma Ts’e’en reads: 大野
既都, He avoids, as is common with him,
the unusual and difficult character. Gan-kwô
defines: —水所停日豬, ‘where water
rests is called 猪. To the same effect is Wang
Suh’s definition: —水所停止深者
日賁. The waters overflowed the borders
of the lake; by reducing them and by embank-
ments, Yu succeeded in confining them within
their proper limits. We can only speak, it
will be seen, of the Ta-yay lake or marsh in the
past tense. It was in what is now the district
of Keu-yay, lat. 35°27’, N., lon. 12° W., of the
dep. of Ts’ou-chow. In subsequent times it
was often called the lake of Keu-yay, 大
鉄 having the same signification of ‘great.’
It had a connection on the south with the Choo
洲, and the Sze, and on the north with the
T‘ing and the Tae, so that it must have been
liable to risings of its waters. The country all
about it has been liable to inundations of the
Ho. A great one happened a.d. 181, which it
took more than 20 years to remedy. Repeated
inundations from the time of the Han dyn.
obiterated all traces of the labours of Yu. In
a.d. 1344, the Ho spread over all the districts
of Keu-yay, Ken-t‘êng (嘉祥). Wan-shang
(汶上), and Jin-shing (任城); and when it
retired south again, this lake was left quite
dry, a tract of level ground; —see the 虞貢
錄, in loc. [These notices are interesting.
They show that the state of the country which
called forth Yu’s services was not peculiar to
his time.]

32. Tung-yuen, ‘the eastern
plain,’ is now the sub. dep. of Tung-p’ing, and
some adjacent territory, in the dep. of Tae-ngan.
It was in the north of Seu-chow; but is spoken

of as eastern, with reference to its position east
of the Tae. 底平,—the 底 as has been
observed before, implies the putting forth of
effort. The two characters —‘could be levelled,’
but we must understand 底 as Gan-kwô did.
He says: —言可耕, ‘the meaning is that
it could be cultivated.’ Wang Yen (王炎)
oberves: —The confining the waters of Ta-
yay, and then bringing Tung-yuen under
management, were things of which the one was
the sequel of the other’ (集說).

Pp. 33—35. Soil, revenue, and tribute. 33.
土黏日壤, ‘earth adhesive is called clay.’
There can be no doubt of the meaning. Chi’ing
instead of 壤 read 肆. 草木漸包
— the 言文 鍾 this sentence as 草木
薪包. 包 or 蓋 has the signification,
as applied to trees or shrubs, of ‘bushy.’ Wang
Suh explains: —包相包裹也, 包
means embracing one another, —showing that he
read 包, and an intelligible description of a
bushy shrub.

漸—'gradually, successively by degrees,’
34. The cultivable ground of Seu ranked in the second grade, and its re-
venue was only in the fifth.

35. 土五
色, —the soil of Seu-chow was red. Such was
its general character, but in different parts
earth of different colours must have been found;
especially was the country about the pres.
districts of Choo-shing (諸城), and Tung-shan
(銅山) in Seu-chow, famed for its coloured
earts. The meaning of this tribute is thus
expanded by Ying-tâ from Gan-kwô: —The em-
peror raised a mound of earth of the five
colours, as an altar to the spirits of the land.
On the investiture of any prince, a quantity of
earth, of the colour characteristic of the region
where his principality lay, was cut away and
given to him, which he took home to build an
altar with. All the altars thus built, however,
were covered with yellow earth. The earth
was given to each prince, in bundles covered
with white rushes, emblematic of purity.’
Ying-
tâ quotes also from Han Ying’s preface to the
Shie King, to the effect that the emperor’s
altar was five cubits square, green on the east,
red on the south, white on the west, black on
the north, and all covered with yellow earth.
[Comp. Naaman’s request to Elisha, 2 Kings, v.
17.] 美映夏, — 彰映, comp. 微
映, p. 26. The dict., with reference to this
passage, defines 夏 by 五色, ‘having the
the solitary dryandra from the south of mount Yih; and the sounding stones that seemed to float near the banks of the Sze. The wild tribes about the Hwae brought oyster-pearls and fish; and their baskets full of deep azure silks, and other silken fabrics, chequered and pure white.

36 They floated along the Hwae and Sze, and so reached the Ho.

five colours, variegated, and we may accept this meaning, though some would make 夏霍 together the name of a pheasant found about the Yu. 霍 (hoi) alone means a long-tailed pheasant. The ancient Chinese made great use of feathers on their flags and banners, and for ornament generally.

崑陽孤桐--
崑陽, 'the south of Yih.' There were two mountains of this name, one north in the pres. dis. of Teow (郧縣) in Yen-chow, and the other south, called 葛嶂, in the sub. dis. of P'ai (邳) in Ssu-chow. It is the latter which is intended in the text. The wood of the dryandra is always considered good for making lutes. The older and loftier the tree, the better for the purpose. One that stood solitary on the hill-side or top, having outlived all its companions, would possess a special value. This is, I suppose, the force of the 孤, or 'solitary.'

濱漂浮磬——the Sze, which rises in the dis. of Sze-shuy (泗水; lat. 55°48', N., lon. 12°, E. The dis. takes its name from the stream, and that again, named from the fact that it is formed by four streamlets, each with its separate spring, in Yen-chow, is now one of the feeders of the Grand canal. In Yu's time it flowed into the Hwae in the country of the present Ssu-chow. It was after its entrance into the pres. Keang-soo, in the pres. district of Tung-shan (銅山), that the sounding stones of the text were found. The reason why they are spoken of as 'floating' seems to be that suggested in the translation by the addition of 'seemed to.' At any rate, that is the explanation of the older interpreters. Other views may be seen in the 反證指 in loc. 殷氈珠暨魚——can only mean 'the wild people about the Hwae.' They continued rebellious and intractable long after Yu's time;—see Confucius' Preface, par. 40, 55. Gan-chö blunders here, as we saw he did upon 蕭夷, p. 26. He says that 淮 and 𥤫 are the names of two rivers. Wang-Suh and Ma Yung agreed with him; but Ch'ing explained as in the translation. 鰲是 another name for the pearl oyster. 厭婿立織縹—here these baskets of silks would seem to have been brought also by the wild tribes of the Hwae, and so the Daily Explanation expressly says (三者亦淮夷所出命其盛諸縹而貢焉)—comp. on p. 26. Still, 厭婿 may refer to the whole province, like 厭貢 above. 立,織, and 縹 are descriptive of three kinds of silken fabrics: the first expressing the colour as being 赤黑, 'red and black,' a deep azure; the second indicating a chequered silk, with a black warp and white woof (黑經白緯); and the third, a fabric white and unornamented. Other accounts of these characters may be found in Hoo Wei.

P. 36. Route of conveyance to the Ho. 達于河.—Keang Shing edits 達于河 after the 設文; but the analogy of the corresponding par. in the account of the other provinces is sufficient to justify the reading of the text. We have 河, moreover, in the 'Historical Records.' As to the route itself, it will suffice to give the paraphrase of the 'Daily Explanation':—'The tribute was conveyed northwards from Sen. First, they floated in boats along the Hwae, and from the Hwae entered the Sze. Proceeding then still north, they went on to the Ho from the Sze, either by the Yung (濱) or by the Tse.'
VI. The Hwae and the sea formed the boundaries of Yang-chow.
The lake of P'ang-le was confined to its proper limits; and the sun 40 birds had places to settle on. The three K'iang were led to enter the sea; and it became possible to still the marsh of Chin.

CH. VI. THE ACCOUNT OF YANG-CHOW.

P. 37. Boundaries. The Hwae was the boundary on the north, and it is natural to suppose that the other boundary mentioned, the sea, should be referred to the south of the province. This was the view of Gan-kwo (南渡淮)

If it were really so, Yang-chow must have extended along the coast as far as Cochin-china, and not a few Chinese scholars are ready at the present day to argue that it did so. Others restrict it to more likely dimensions. Hoo Wei contends that the sea which has been specified as a boundary of the provinces of Ts'ing and Seu was that along their east coast, and similarly ought we to think of the sea as a boundary of Yang. K'ang-shing had said, rather indefinitely, that the boundaries of Yang-chow were from the Hwae southwards to the sea along the east (揚州界自淮而南至海以東).

I have caught the exact meaning of his words.—

至海以東—I think the amount of his interpretation is all that we can conclude from the text. Yang-chow extended from the Hwae southwards along the coast, but how far is not said. No other province was beyond it in the south, but that it did not extend to the southern shores of the sea. Kwang-tung we may be sure;—where it really did terminate we cannot tell. The articles of tribute and revenue in Yu's time, and the hills and waters mentioned in the account of the empire under the Chow dynasty, lead us to conclude that the imperial dominions did not then extend beyond what is called the southern mountain-range, and the 'five mountains' (南嶺和五嶺). Williams in his 'Middle Kingdom,' p. 127, says of this:—'The Nan Ling runs along the north of Kwang-tung, between it and K'ang-se and Hoo-nan. The chain takes forty or fifty names in its course from Kwang-se to Fuh-keen, but no part of it is so well-known as the road, twenty four miles in length, that crosses the Mei ling, between Nan-ngan and Nan-hung.' The names of the 'five ling' in Hoo Wei's charts, are 越城 on the west, 萬洛 on the east. Of course the territory of China proper gradually extended south and west; but it was the ambition of the founder of the Ts'in dynasty, which first formally incorporated the southern regions with it. Among the forty

tracts (郡) into which he divided his empire, we have those of Nan-hae (南海), Kwei-lin (桂林), and Sian (象), embracing Kwang-tung and Kwang-se on to An-nam or Cochin-china. Hoo Wei, tracing the eastern border of Yang-chow along the coast of K'ang-soo, Ch'ë-keang, and Fuh-keen, extends it to Ch'ao-yang (潮陽); lat. 23° 22', N., lon. 18°, E. dis., of Ch'ao-chow dep., in Can. province. This is certainly bringing it far enough south.

The western boundary of Yang-chow is left quite undefined. Along the greater part of its course it was conterminous with King-chow, and in the north-west with Yu-chow.

The 'Boundaries of Successive Dynasties' speaks within bounds, when it assigns to Yang-chow the present Ch'ë-keang, Keang-se, and Fuh-keen (今南直浙江江西福建皆是). To those three provinces the 'Daily Explanation' adds Kwang-tung, of which only a small portion, if any, can be assigned to it. And neither of these accounts carries the province so far west as it went, nor do they give the more northern portion of it. A note in the 集傳 from 'Geography Modernized,' gives the area more in detail. Modernizing its statements a second time, we may say that Yang-chow contained—of Keang-soo, the departments Keang-ning (江寧), Soo-chow (蘇州), Sung-keang (松江), Chang-chow (常州), Chin-keang (鎮江), and Yang-chow (揚州), with the districts of Shan-yang (山陽), and Yen-shing (鹽城) in the dep. of Hwae-ngan (淮安); of Nga-nhuy, the departments Nga-keang (安慶), Hwu-y-chow (懷州), Ning-kwò (寧國), Ch'ë-chow (池州), T'ae-p'ing (太平), Leu-chow (盧州), with the smaller dep. of Ho Chow (和), Seu Chow (滁), and Kwang-tih (廣德), together with the small dep. of Show Chow (壽), and the districts of Fung-yang (鳳陽), Ting-yuen (定遠),
and Ling-peih (靈壁), in Fung-yang dep.,
the districts of Ho-h-k'w (霍邱) and T'ae-
ho (太和), in dep. of Ying-chow (潁州),
and those of Yu-ch'e (盱眙), and T'een-
ch'ang (天長), in Sze Chow (泗州); of
Ho-nan, the districts of Kwang-shan (光山),
and Koo-ch'ı (固始) in the small dep. of
Kwang (光州); and of Hoo-pih, the small
dep. of Ke (濟州) and the districts of Lo-
teen (羅田), Ke-shwuy (靄水), Kwang-
tse (廣濟), and Hwang-mei (黃梅), in
the dep. of Hwang-chow (黃州).

The above
may be considered the northern portion of
the province. Southwards, according to the
same detail, were Ch'ıa-kiang, Kiang-se, Fuh-kién, and the
dep. of Chi-chou in Kwang-tung.

38. 皆懘—see p. 31.
The P'ang-le is the
famous lake well known as the Po-yang, so
called from the name of an island in it (鄱陽
山).

It is in the northern part of Kiang-se,
and is stated to be 450 le in circumference, its
waters lapping the coast of 4 difft. depts.—Nan-
ch'ang (南昌; lat. 28° 37', N. lon. 38°, W.),
whose chief city is dis. from it to the south-west
150 le; Jao-chow on the east of (鏡州; lat.
28°59', N., lon. 14°, E.) distant from it 40 le;
Nan-k'ang in the north-west (南康; lat. 29°
81', N., lon. 27°, W.) distant 5 le; and Kwe-
k'iang, also on the northwest (九江; lat.
29°54', N., lon. 24°, W.) dis. 90 le. The P'ang-
le marsh or lake received many streams. (Lew
Hin, of the Han, dyn., enumerated nine).
The services of Yu were required to regulate its
banks, and keep the waters within their proper
limits.
39. 陽島攸居, one scholar,
Lin Che-k'ı supposes that 陽島 may be the
name of a place. This view might come sub-
stantially to the same as the common traditional
interpretation, which there is the less reason,
therefore, to call in question. 陽一目, 'the
sun,' as the great source of energy and bright-
ness. 陽島, 'sun birds,' are wild geese,
who follow the course of the sun. 'In the
winter months they live upon the islands of this
lake, in flocks which may be counted by hun-
dreds and thousands. The sun in summer travels
south, and in winter north. The geese come
south in the 9th month, and in the first month
go north again. Thus they avoid the cold and
repair to the regions of heat, and are therefore
called sun birds' (Woo Ch'ıng). The overflow-
ing and disarrangement generally of the lake
had driven these birds from their former haunts,
to which they could now return after Yu's
operations.

It does seem a trivial circum-
stance to mention in such a condensed accounnt
of Yu's labours; and it was not unnatural for
Lin Che-k'ı to cast about for another explana-
tion.

Pp. 40, 41. 三江旣入, the disputes
about the three Kiang are endless; and I do
not think it is possible to settle them so as
to place the meaning of the text beyond dispute.
It seems proper to join the par. with the next,—
震澤底定; and there is an agreement in
the opinion that the 'Shaking Marish' was what
is now called the 'Great Lake,' (太湖), in
the south-west of the dep. of Soo-chow, and
in the borders between Kiang-soo and Chü-k'iang.

It would seem that it was owing to the opera-
tions on the three Kiang that it became possible
(底) 'to settle' the disturbed waters of the lake.
This would take us away from the great
Kiang, the Yang-tze, which flows through
Kiang-soo to the sea considerably north of Soo-
chow. Accordingly, Ts'ae Chin follows the
authority of Yu Chung-ch'oo (虞仲初;
Tsin dynasty. Died about the middle of the
4th century), who made the three Kiang to be the
Sung-keang (松江), with the two branches
into which it separates 70 le after issuing from
the lake, the Low Keang (呉江), 'in this sense
read low] 江), flowing north-east into the sea,
and the Tung Keang (東江), flowing south-
east. The place where the Sung divided, was
called the 'Mouth of the three Kiang,' (三
江口); and we have still the same name, in
the north of the dis. of Woo-keang (呉江).

This view would seem to satisfy the require-
ments of the text, but it is objected to it that
the existence of the Tung Keang has never been
proved;—see Maou Ke'-ling, in loc. The Sung
and the Low might be accepted as one of the
three Kiang, but cannot be the whole three.

When we turn, moreover, to the 國語, we
find in the 越語 mention made more than
once of the 'three Kiang.' It is said particularly
in one place that 'the Keang surrounded' (等
traversed in various directions) 'the States
of Woo and Yu' (三江環之民無
所移). The three Keang of Chung-ch'oo by
no means answer to this description.

The oldest view of the passage— and it is that
followed by SsoTung-po, which Ts'ae mentions,
but only to argue against it—considered the
'three Keang' to be only another name for
the 'Great Keang,'—the Yang-tze. It was
founded on the expressions 西江之民無
所移. The three Keang of Chung-ch'oo by
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founded on the expressions 西江之民無
所移. The three Keang of Chung-ch'oo by
no means answer to this description.
42. The bamboos, small and large, then spread about; the grass grew long and thin, and the trees rose high; the soil was all miry.

43. The fields of this province were the lowest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the highest of the lowest class, with a proportion of the class above.

44. Its articles of tribute were gold, silver, and copper; yaou and.

from the P'ang-li. The three Keang separating at the P'ang-li into three openings (or orifices) entered eastwards into the sea'; see the note. This account is not very intelligible. One part of it would seem to make the one stream of the Yang-tse, called by three names in three parts of its course, to be the 'three Keang,' and again this stream would seem to have separated into three at the P'ang-li. As, however, the one or the three entered into the sea, without approaching the 'Shaking Lake,' we do not see how the settlement of that should be connected with the 'three Keang.' Gan-kwō thought 'that the three Keang' were the 'Great Keang,' and said, with Ch'ing, that it divided into three after leaving the P'ang-1, but those three branches he conducted all to the 'Shaking Lake,' from which again they proceeded by three courses to the sea. This cannot be the true view. It would oblige us to suppose an alteration from the ancient channel of the grand stream to that which it now pursues of which we have no evidence. As I said, at the beginning of the note, we do not know what rivers the three Keang were. Ch' in Sze-k' a, in his notes upon Ts' a's commentary, says at this place:—If we would interpret the text without reference to views which have been urged, and would look over Yang-chow for the rivers of most advantage or capable of being most injurious to it, we shall find none equal to the Great river,—the Yang-tse, the Sung Keang, and the Chê Keang. Maou K' u-l ing, again, makes them out to be the Sung Keang, the Chê Keang, and the P'oo-yang (浦陽). The Yang-tse is too far removed from the other, and too vast in itself, to allow us to couple it with them. The Chê Keang, from which Chiekeang province takes its name, and the Sung Keang were perhaps two of the three Keang; but I cannot hazard a conjecture about the third.

Pp. 42-44. Vegetation; soil, revenue, and tribute. Acc. to the analogy of par. 17 and 33, we should expect the account of the vegetation to follow, and not to precede, the description of the soil. I have not found a satisfactory explanation of the different order observed here. The term 'is the name of a small-stemmed bamboo. Gan-kwō explains it by 竹箭; but we are not to interpret 箭 by 'arrow.' It is merely here a synonym of the term in the text. 箭 is the name of a large species of bamboo, 'the joints of whose stem are a fathom apart,' so said Le Seun (李巡; Han dynasty). 箭布. Gan-kwō expands:—水去已布生 'when the water was removed, they spread about and grew.' 天—comp. the quotation from the She in the Great Learning, comm. ix. 6.—桃之夭夭. Gan-kwō explains it here by 少長, the meaning of which I have endeavoured to give in the translation.

高—'tall.' 厚士惟於泥—the 黃土 defines 黃 by 黑土 in the midst of water.' We can hardly accept this as a description of the soil of a province so large as we have seen Yang-chow described to be. It shows, however, how greatly the country, where Yu had been, had suffered from the overflow of the rivers.

43. The fields were of the lowest or ninth grade; the revenue was of the seventh, with a proportion of the sixth. 土頭—see on par. 4.

This is in the second tone, meaning 'going up' into the class above. 44. 金三品—'the three grades of metal.' Those were gold, silver, and copper. In the 'Historical Records,' 卷三十, 金三品, we read:

古者金有三等, 其黃金為上, 白金為中, 赤金為下, 'Among
keun stones; bamboos small and large; elephants' teeth, hides, feathers, hair, and timber. The wild people of the islands brought garments of grass. The baskets were filled with woven ornamented

occurrence of the name again confirms the ordinary reading. One tribe of wild people, north or south, might have been called the 'Bird barbarians;' but when the name is applied equally to the two extremities of the empire along the sea-board, we must take the phrase as having nothing special in its signification. Hoo Wei would carry us chiefly to Japan for the people here intended; but that is too remote. Possibly the name may include the inhabitants of Formosa, and the Chusan archipelago, as well as of the islands generally along the east coast.

are said by Gan-kwô to be 'beautiful gems' (美玉). Wang Subh, however, describes them as 'fine stones inferior to gems.' He is supported by the 説文 expressly in his account of the second, and probably also in that of the first; see the 鍔後案. The 鍔 were used for arrow-shafts. One statement says they were solid, which I do not know that any bamboo can be. The 鍔 were used, the larger of them for small packing and other cases, the smaller for flutes and similar instruments.

毛惟木—惟 is here a connective particle, — and.' See note on par. 26, upon 惟危. Lin Che-kê says that 'by teeth, hides, feathers and hair we are to understand whatever about animals was available for use or for ornament.' More specially, Gan-kwô understood by 'teeth' the teeth of elephants, and by 'hides' (革 supposes the hair to be taken off) the hides of the rhinoceros. This view is generally accepted in. Are we to suppose then that the rhinoceros and elephant were found in Yang-chow in Yu's time? They may very well have been so. Hoo Wei observes that from the mention or supposed mention of these animals some argue for the extension of the limits of the province beyond the southern mountain-range to Kwang-tung, Kwang-so, and An-nam, and replies that the princes might be required to send articles of value and use purchased from their neighbours, as well as what they could procure in their own territories.

The Historical Records read as in the text. The
They followed the course of the Keang and the sea, and so reached the Hwae and the Sze.

VII. The *King mountain* and the South of the *mountain Hwang* were the *boundaries of King-chow*.

was sent; when there was none, it was not sent as tribute. It is with 錫 that we soften metal!

(有錫則貢之，或時乏則不
	錫) 也. 錫 certainly has the meaning of tin; but any mineral article of tribute would not be mentioned here in connection with the fruits. We must adhere to the view of K'ung and Wang.

P. 43. *Route of conveyance to the capital.*

浩 看 seems to have the meaning of going with the current and keeping along the shore. The tribute-bearers so passed down the Keang to the sea, and then turning north proceeded along the coast to the mouth of the Hwae, which stream they ascended to the place where it received the Sze. By the Sze they would go on to the Ho.

This par. would seem to show that there is an error in Mencius' account of Yu's labours, Book III, Part I, iv. 7. He there says that 'Yu opened a vent for the Joo and Han, and regulated the course of the Hwae and Sze, so that they all flowed into the Keang.' (決汝漢排淮
	浩而注之江). Now, we know it was not till the Chow dynasty, that a channel or canal was cut across the country to connect the Hwae and the Keang;—see the 左傳哀九年. Mencius does appear to have made a mistake.

CH. VII. *The account of King-chow.*

This province was bounded on the north by the mountain King,—the southern King as it is termed (南條之峙山), to distinguish it from the mount King of Yung-chow (p. 76). It is mentioned again, Part ii, par. 8. It is in Hoo-pih, 80 le east and north from the dis. city of Nan-chang (南漳, lat. 31°47', N., lon. 4°46', W.), dep. of Shang-yang (襄陽). East and west from it were other hills, and barrier-passes (關) among them, which separated King from Yu-chow. On the south the prov. was bounded by the south 12 of Hwang, which is a very indefinite expression. Hwang (or Hwang)-shan itself is 80 le to the west of the dis. city of Hwang-shan (called from the mount; lat. 27°14', N., lon. 3°51', W., Biot), dep. Hwang-chow, Hoo-nan. It is the southern mountain of the Canon of Shun, par. 8. But what is meant by 'the south of Hwang?' Ying-tsi replies:—'South of Hwang there was no other famous mountain or large river which could be named as bounding the province. The specification of the 'south' shows us that the province extended beyond, southwards from the mountain.' I think it likely that King-chow extended towards the southern range, mentioned in speaking of the boundaries of last province. On the east King-chow and Yang-chow were continuous, and on the west there was Læng-chow.

The *'Boundaries of Successive Dynasties' says:—The present Hoo-kwang' (i.e., Hoo-pih and Hoo-nan); the dep. of Tsun-e (遵義, now belongs to Kwei-chow) in Sze-ch'uen, with the south of Chung-king (重慶) dep.; the depp. of Sze-nan (思南), Tung-jin (銅仁), Yin-chow (恩州) and Shih-ta'śēn (石阡), in Kwei-chow; the whole of Kwang-se, and Leen-chow (連州) dep. in Canton;—all these territories were comprehended in King-chow. As this authority gave the extent of Yang-chow too limitedly, it thus extends King-chow too much. The 地理今釋 gives the following detail;—King-chow embraced,—of the pres. Hoo-kwang the eleven depp. of Woo-ch'ang (武昌), Han-yang (漢陽), Nga-nluh (安陸), King-chow (荆州), Yu-chow (岳州), Ch'ang-sha (長沙), Häng-chow (衡州), Chang-ti (常德), Shin-chow (辰州), Paou-k'ing (寶慶), and Yung-chow (永州), also the two small depp. of Ch'in (黔) and Taing (緬), and the wards of Sze-chow (施州), together with the dis. of Nan-chang, dep. Song-yang, the five districts of Nga-nluh (安陸), Yun-mung (雲夢), Hesou-kang (孝感), Ying-shing (應城), and Ying-shan (應山), and the south of the sub. dep. of Suy (隨), all in dep. of Tih-nan (德安), the four districts of Hwang-kang (黃崑).
47. The K'iang and the Han pursued their common course to the sea, 48 as if they were hastening to court. The nine K'iang were brought 49 to complete order. The T'o and T'seen were conducted by their

(黃岡), Ma-shing (麻城), Hwang-pe (黄陂), and Hwang-kan (黃安) of the dep. of Hwang-chow; of Shoo-ch'uen, the dist. of Kien-ch'o (建始) in K'wei-chow (荆州), dep.; and of K'wan-se, dep. Kwei-lin, the dist. of that name, and the north of Hing-kan (興安) district.

Pp. 47-50. Engineering labours. 47. The K'ang, and the Han, see on Part ii., parr. 8 and 9. The K'ang entered King-chow in the pres. dist. of Pa-tung (巴東; lat. 20°2', N., long. 118°1', E.), dep. of K'ang-shiang (宜昌), and pursuing an eastern course to the dep. city of Han-yang, receives the waters of the Han (lat. 30°9', N., long. 118°2', W.). The Han flows from Shen-se into Hoo-ph', in the dep. of Yan-yang (沔陽; city, lat. 28°49', N., long. 118°57', W.), and then holds a south-eastern course to its junction with the K'ang. We may suppose that Yu expended no small amount of labour on the two rivers, from their entrance into King-chow on to the point of their junction. Particularly is he said to have operated on a narrow pass in the dist. of Pa-tung (called 巴夾) and 三夾; but all such achievement is passed over in the text. Wang Te'sou (王樵; Ming dyn.) says: "The six characters of the par. bring the mighty stream of the united rivers rushing to the sea before our eyes. I have looked at it from Woo-ch'ang, and the vast flood dashing on brought to my mind the idea of a man hurrying with all his speed on some special mission without a thought of anything else." 閨宗于海, acc. to Gan-kwo and K'ang-shih, "with the reverence for the sea that is seen in court for the sovereign." Tr'ae gives the view of them which is seen in the translation. The appearance of the princes at court in the spring, he says, was called 朝; their appearance in summer was called 朝宗. There is little to choose between the interpretations. The phrase itself, with a similar application, is found in the She King, Part II., Book III., Ode ix. 48. 九江 九江 whatever opinion be come to about the 'nine K'ang,' I do not see that the K'ang can with any propriety have a direct meaning assigned to them from the translation, which is after Tu'sse Ch'ing, who says that

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ended at Keang-k'ow (江口), meeting in Siwang-loh (桑落). All these names would not take us far from the pres. dep. of King-chow. And yet, since the time of Yu, these nine branches of the Great Keang have disappeared, leaving only their names. They cannot be traced any more than "the nine Ho." All the earlier scholars agree in this account. The names of the streams, moreover, are given, and though no two enumerations agree in all the nine, about seven will be found the same in all of them.

As to the second view, that the nine Keang is another name for the P'ang-le lake, it took its origin from an expression of Se-ma Ts'e'en in his Historical Records—"I ascended the hill of Leu; and saw where Yu separated the nine Keang." After him Lew Hin said that the nine streams entered into the P'ang-le; and at last, in Pan Koo's Geography of the Han dynasty, under the district of Sin-yang (莘陽) in Leu-keang dep. (盧江郡), we have the note:—"The nine Keang of the "tribute of Yu were in the south of this. They all united eastwards of this, and became the Great Keang." But this view is easily disposed of. According to the classic, the nine Keang were in King-chow, and the P'ang-le was in Yang-chow;—the two had nothing to do with each other. Moreover, the classic says that the Keang, after passing the nine Keang, went on to Tung-ling, and then flowing gently eastwards in the north with the P'ang-le (Part. ii., p. 9), so that not only were the nine Keang and the P'ang-le not identical, but Tung-ling and a tract of country lay between them. It is quite clear that Se-ma Ts'e'en and all who followed him were in error.

The divisions of the country got their names very much from those of the waters in them, and mistakes, like that which has been pointed out, came to be stereotyped on the face of the land. Besides this, there is another point about the original site of places. The tract of Keow-keang (九江郡), as originally established by the Ts'in dynasty, was in King-chow between Se-ling and Ke-chun (在荊州西陵縣之間). At the commencement of the Han dynasty, it was taken away and afterwards reappointed, but was placed near to Show-chun (壽春), made to approach, that is, to Yang-chow. During the usurpation of Wang-mang (王莽), the Kew-keang of Show-chun was changed into the tract of Yen-p'ing (延平郡), and the tract of Yu-chang (豫章) in Keang-nan was changed into Kew-keang; and thus it was that the Kew-keang of King-chow passed into the P'ang-le of Yang-chow.

Mao goes on to relate other changes in the geographical position assigned to Kew-keang, had the text not been narrated as narrated itself; and we have still the dep. of Kew-keang in Keang-se, near the Po-yang lake, the old P'ang-le, as was noticed in the note on par. 88. The demonstration is complete that in the time of Yu the nine Keang and the P'ang-le had no relation together, but were in different provinces, a long way removed from one another.

On the opinion here generally followed, that we are to regard the Tung-ling lake when we read here of the nine Keang, Mao observes that it commenced with Hoo-tan (胡旦, early in the Sung dynasty). He was followed by Chou Shwo-che (趙說之), Ts'ang Yen-ho, and others, especially Choo He, whose advocacy of the view has secured for it its present general acceptance. There are differences of opinion, in the details of it, as to the nine streams having their common receptacle in the Tung-ting. It is difficult also to reconcile it with Part ii. par. 9. I have less difficulty, however, in supposing that the lake is what now corresponds to the nine Keang of Yu than in believing the view of Gan-kwo which Mao endorses. If the Great Keang had ever separated its main stream, and become nine streams, history would not be silent as it is to their disappearance, and traces of their former existence would still be discoverable on a geographical survey of the country. Such a survey may yet throw some new light on the meaning of the text.

49. 汩濁既道, the same words occur again, p. 64, in connection with Leang-chow. There must have been streams with these names in both the provinces. The 汪 says:—

"Streams issuing from the Keang are called 汪; those issuing from the Han are called 汪. Gan-kwo, says that 'To is another name for the Keang.' The likeliest view seems to be that at an island in the middle of the great stream, in the present dis. of She-keang (枝江, 'the branching of the Keang;,' lat. 80°24', N., lon. 5°0', W.), dep. of King-chow, its waters separated, and the stream divided into one north and one south, meeting again near the Tung-ting lake. The northern of these channels was called the 'To. Hoo Wei insists also on another stream called the 'E, water (夷水), which took its rise in the present dis. of Woon-San (巫山) of K'wei-chow dep. in Szechuen, and after entering King-chow, joined the Keang in the pres. dis. of E-too (宜都), as also to be accounted one of the 汪, which engaged the labours of Yu. For the Ts'een we are referred to the dep. of Nga-nan in Hoo-pih, where the name is preserved in that of the dis. of Ts'een-keang (潜江; lat. 30°26', N., lon. 112°40', W.). As the character also signifies "to ascend;" 'to lie hidden,' Hoo Wei supposes that the Ts'een of the Han flowed from it under ground in the first place, and then coming to the surface found its way back to the parent stream. Among the branches of the Han now there is one called Leu-fuh (蘆洑), in which name we have a reference to an under-
50 proper channels. The land in the *marsh of Yun became visible*, and that of Mung was brought under cultivation.

51 The soil of this province was miry; its fields were the average of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the highest class.

52 Its articles of tribute were feathers, hair, ivory, and hides; gold, silver, and copper; the ch'un tree, wood for bows, cedars and cypresses; grindstones, whetstones, arrow-head stones, and cinnabar. *There were also the k'wan and loo bamboos, and the wood of the hoo tree, of which the three regions were able to contribute the best specimens.* The three-ribbed rush was put in cases, which *again* were wrapped up.

The land in the *marsh of Yun became visible*, and that of Mung was brought under cultivation. The soil of this province was miry; its fields were the average of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the highest class. Its articles of tribute were feathers, hair, ivory, and hides; gold, silver, and copper; the ch'un tree, wood for bows, cedars and cypresses; grindstones, whetstones, arrow-head stones, and cinnabar. *There were also the k'wan and loo bamboos, and the wood of the hoo tree, of which the three regions were able to contribute the best specimens.* The three-ribbed rush was put in cases, which *again* were wrapped up.

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Ground current (宜取伏流之意). This, he supposes, may be the *T'ien* of the text. The "Statistical Account" of the present dyn. confirms this view. 50. The reading of this par. is not certain. In the Han dyn. the prevailing reading was *雲夢土作乂*. The founder of the Tang dynasty issued a proclamation settling the reading to be that now published. The reading depends to my mind on the question of whether there were two marshes, the Yun and the Mung, or only one,—the Yun-mung. Each side of this is very plausibly maintained. On the whole I am inclined to agree with the authors of the "Daily Explanation," that the marshes were two, 'the Yun on the north of the Keang, spreading over the country of the present dep. of Ngan-luh and Tih-ngan, and all about the sub. dep. of Meenyang (沔陽); and the Mung, on the south of the Keang, spreading over the districts of Keang-hea (江夏) and Hwa-yung (華容)." We can understand how these might be spoken of sometimes as one lake without reference to the Keang between them, and how it might be called sometimes the Yun, and sometimes the Mung. If, indeed, it was only one, then I can make no meaning of the text. The necessity of the case would make us read *雲夢土*. If the two portions were spoken of separately,—about which there is to me no doubt,—then we may interpret as in the translation. The large tract of country covered by the marsh was very much drained by the other labours which have been detailed; north of the Keang the water sank till the ground appeared in
The baskets were filled with deep azure and purple silken fabrics, and with strings of pearls that were not quite round. From the country of the nine Kéang the great tortoise was presented. They floated along the Keang, the T'ou, the Tsêen, and the Han; crossed over to the Lô, and proceeded to the most southern part of the Ho.

53 for pillars. Was it the dammar? 柏 is probably the cypress; but I do not know that I am right in calling the 柏 the cedar. It is described as having the leaf of the 柏, and the stem of the 松, or common pine, growing very large, enduring cold, and good for making coffins and boats. 猶砥磐丹— the le and lea were both stones abounding in the hills of King, adapted for purposes of grinding. The former were of a coarser substance; the latter closer and finer. The lea were stones, by their natural shape and quality fitted for being made into arrow-heads. The best are said to be found far north, on the banks of the Hih-lung, where they are called 水花 flowers, hard and sharp, approaching to the character of iron (名木花石堅利 入鐵) 丹一丹砂, ‘cinnabar.’

惟菌籠樗— these were all good for making arrows. The kêu and kêu grew about the marsh of Yun-mung ( Gan-kwô). The kêu was a tree. We know that it was famed for the arrows made from it, because Confucius, on one occasion, being asked about a bird which lighted on the palace of the prince of Chin and died, placed with a kêu arrow, declared that it was transfixed with one of the famous arrows of Suh-sin;—see the references in the note to par. 56 of the Preface. 三邦

底貢厥名,—I think it is most natural to connect this clause with the one immediately preceding, and to suppose that it has reference only to the three articles just specified. Many, however, extend it to all the articles of tribute enumerated. What the three countries were, we cannot tell. Tung-po would make the phrase out to mean all the States of King,—large, small and middling;' Gan-kwô, understanding the par. to extend only to the 狗, 狗, and 狗, which he thinks grew about the Yun-mung, naturally takes the three countries to have been three States in the neighbourhood of that marsh. 厥名猶言 尤美 ‘厥名—'the best of them';

—so, Chang Kew-shing 張九成. K'ung-shing very strangely puts a point at 貢, and reads 貢名 as part of the next clause. 包鼯幽茅— the rush here spoken of, described as having 三脊, i.e., three-ribbed, was used for straining the wine at the imperial sacrifices. It was packed in small cases, which again were covered over,—showing the value of the article by the care which was taken of it. This seems to be the meaning of the character. Gan-kwô and Wang Suh put a stop at 包, and understand by it 'bundles' of fruit, as in the case of Yang-chow. The former also takes 菁 and 以 as being two different articles. K'ung-shang defines 甌 by 纖結, 'to tie or wrap round.' These explanations are all erroneous. I prefer also the meaning which I have given to 包。幽 to another which is common, and which is 'bundles in cases.' 厥簌玄繡羔組—繡 is another name for 綢. The silk has received three dippings in the dye-fluid. 羔組 are to be taken together. The former character denotes ‘pearls that were not round’ (珠不圓者, acc. to the 說文); these were strung, and put into the baskets, as I read the text. Some say they were carried by themselves, and not in the baskets. 九江納錫大龜—'the great tortoise' attained the size, acc. to the ‘Historical Records,’ (龜策傳) of two cubits and a half. Such a creature would be esteemed very valuable, where divination was much relied on. Gan-kwô explains the 錫 as having the same force with the 金 in par. 44. He says;—龜不常用錫命而納之, ‘the tortoise was not a regular article of tribute, but was presented when required by express command.’ But the phraseo-
54 VIII. The King mountain and the Ho were the boundaries of Yu-
chow.

55 The E, the Lô, the Ch'een, and the Kêen, were conducted to the 
56 Ho. The marsh of Yung-po was confined to its proper limits. The 
57 waters of the marsh of Ko were led to that of Mâng-choo.

58 The soil of this province was mellow; in the lower parts it was 
59 in some places rich, in others dark and thin. Its fields were the 
highest of the middle class; its contribution was the average of the 
highest class, with a proportion of the very highest.

ology is different, and the nature of the case was different also. The tortoise might not be found, even when specially called for. It is better to take 錫 as a synonym of 錫, —a meaning which it often has. The people presented the tortoise whenever they met with it. It was always a welcome contribution.

P. 58. Route of conveyance to the capital. They floated along the Keang, the T'o, and the T'een, not necessarily from one of these to the other, but rather, I suppose, according to the place where the various articles were being brought from. It was necessary, however, to reach the Han, which took them to the borders of Yu-chow, where they had to leave their boats, and cross over the country to the Lô, by which they might proceed to the southern portion of the Ho, the boundary between Yu-chow and K'ê-chow.

CH. VIII. The account of Yu-chow.
P. 54. Boundaries. On the south was mount King, which has been spoken of as the northern boundary of King-chow. On the north was the Ho, that is, the southern portion of it which flowed nearly a direct course from west to east. On the north-west, this prov. touched on the northern slopes of mount Hwa, which is sometimes described as belonging to it. On the east it was conterminous with the provinces of Yen, Sue, and Yang. Yu-chow, indeed, was the central one of Yu's nine divisions of the empire, and was conterminous, for a greater or less distance, with all of them except Ts'êng-chow, which lay off in the east by itself. The 'Boundaries of Successive Dynasties' says:—Yu-chow comprehended the present Ho-nan, with the department of Yun-yang in Ho-nan. The more detailed and exact account of the 'Geography Modernised' is:—Yu-chow embraced—of the present Ho-nan, the five de-
partments of Ho-nan, K'ae-fung (開封), Kwei-thi (歸德), Nan-yang (南陽), and Joo-ning (汝寧), with the small dep. of Joo (汝州); of Chih-le, the two districts of Tung-ming (東明) and Ch'ang-hwa (長垣), dep. of Ta-ming (大名); of Shan-tung, the four districts of Ting-t'ao (定陶), Shing-woo (城武), Ts'ao (曹), and Tan (單), dep. of Ts'ao-chow (曹州); of Ngan-hway, the four districts of Fow-yang (濮陽), Ying-shang (潁上), T'ao-ho (太和), and Mung-shing (蒙城), with the sub. dep. of P5 (亳), in the dep. of Ying-chow (潁州); and of Hoo-pîh, the five districts of Seang-yang (襄陽), Kwang-hwa (光化), E-shing (宜城), Tsou-yang (東陽), and Kuh-shing (穀城); with the sub. dep. of Keun (均州), in the dep. of Seang-yang, the district of Yun (郢) in the dep. of Yun-yang, and the northern part of the sub. dep. of Suy (隨) in the dep. of Th'ngan (德安).

Pp. 55—57. Engineering labours. 55. Comp. Part ii. par. 18, from which it appears that the four streams or rivers here mentioned, did not separately enter the Ho. The Lô received the waters first of the Kêen and the
Ch’ien, and last those of the E, and then proceeded, with them all to the Yellow river. In the text we are told, I suppose, the order in which Yu operated, upon them. First, he took in hand the E, and having cleared its course to the Lo, continued his labours on that stream on to the Ho, after which he turned to what was necessary for the Ch’ien and Kien.

The E-water (伊水) has its source in Bear’s-car hill (熊耳山), in the dis of Loo-shé (盧氏) lat. 34°01’ N., lon. 5°32’ W., in the small dep. of Shen-chou (陝州), Ho-nan. Passing into the dep. of Ho-nan, it flows east, close by the dis. city of Ts’ung (嵩). Bending towards the north, it passes through the districts of E-yang (伊陽) and Lo-yang (洛陽), into that of Yen-ze (偃師; lat. 34°39’ N., lon. 3°49’ W.,), 5 le to the south-west of whose dis. city it enters the Lo. The Lo rises in the Twin range (秦嶺), 50 le to the north of the dis. city of Lo-nan (洛南; lat. 34°06’, N., lon. 6°22’ W.), in the small but independent dep. of Shang (商州), in Shen-se. It enters Ho-nan in the dis. of Loo-shé, and flows north and east through Shen-chow, on to Ho-nan dep. Proceeding north-east, through the south of the dis. of Yung-ning (永寧), and the north of E-yang (宜陽), it traverses the dis. of Lo-yang, where it receives the Ch’ien and Kien. Going on eastwards through Yen-ze, where it receives the E, its course is through the north-west of Kung (鞏縣), into the dis. of Fan-shu-wui (汜水), dep. K’ao-fung, where it enters the Ho.

The Ch’ien and the Kien are both on the north of the Lo. The former rises in the west of the dis. of Mäng-tain (孟津; lat. 34°52’, N., lon. 3°50’ W.), and flowing south to that of Lo-yang, it runs south-east into the Lo.

The Kien rises in White-stone hill (白石山), in the north of Min-ch’ê (孟州) district, lat. 34°49’, N., lon. 4°47’, W., and flows east, south of Sin-ngan (新安) district city, to the west of Lo-yang dis., where it joins the Ho.

Another Yu has often been wanted since Yu’s time to remedy the devastations done by these four streams. In A.D. 184, the E and Lo overflooded and carried away nearly 2000 families. In A.D. 228, the same stream inundation immense loss of life and property. In A.D. 722, a rising of the E destroyed a portion of the city of Tung-too (東都); and another in 800 was equally calamitous. Injuries quite as great are recorded from risings of the Ch’ien and Kien; — see the 禹貢雜指 in loc.

56. Ts’ai-k’ung says that the Yung and the Po were ‘two waters,’ the former connected with the Tse and the latter with the Lo. This view is followed in the ‘Daily Explanation,’ but it has been satisfactorily refuted by Hoo Wei and others. An older view now commands general acceptance, for it was Yen Sze-koo of the T’ang dynasty, who first advocated the opinion adopted by Ts’ae. Gan-kwo, K’ang-shing, and Ma Yong all hold that the two characters should go together (淮波 or 洪流), as the name of a marsh, that formed by the waters of the Tse, rising up remarkably out of the ground, as described Part ii, par. 10. The name partly remains in those of the districts Yung-tai (漾澤) and Yung-yang (漾陽) in the dep. of K’ae-fung. The marsh itself in the days of K’ang-shing was dried up, and become so much level ground (今塞為平地).

57. Following the course of the Tse, Yu proceeded on to the marsh of Ko, taking its name from the hill of Ko, near the prep. dep. city of Tse-chow (承州) in Shan-tung (山東), lat. 3°53’, N., lon. 53’, W. It was also formed by the waters of the Tse, and unable to bring it entirely under management by itself, Yu led off the excess of its waters to the marsh of Mäng-chou. This name is variously written, — 孟母望諸 in the ‘Rites of Chow,’ 明都 by Seo-ma T’sean. A memorial of it remains in the tower of Mäng-chou (孟諸台), 10 le to the northeast of the dis. city of Yu-ching (虞城; lat. 34°39’, N., lon. 19’, W.) dep. of Kwe-ti in Ho-nan. The marsh itself cannot now be traced, and Hoo Wei observes that repeated overflowings of the Ho, which commenced A.D. 1286, and laid the country about Kwe-ti under water, have obliterated all traces of Yu’s labours in that quarter. Whether there was a connection between the marsh of Ko and that of Mäng-chou which he only cleared, before Yu’s time, or whether he opened such a connection in order to carry off the excessive waters of the former, we cannot tell. 被及, as in Can. of Yaou, par. 1. As the Ho might be considered one of the rivers of Yu-chow and beyond comparison the greatest of them, we may be surprised that nothing is said of any labours performed upon it. We must suppose that when Yu was operating on the northern bank of it, about mount Yoh, and Tan-hwae (pp. 5, 6), he had sent detachments over to Yu-chow, and finished at once all that was necessary to be done for the great stream. This left him free to direct his attention first to the Lo and its tributary streams in the west of the province, and then to the Tse and the evils it gave rise to in the east.


58. 埼塚—see per. 7. K’o-chow and Yuchow agreed in the general character of their soil, but no colour is assigned to that of Yuchow, because, we are to suppose, no uniformly characterised it in this respect. 堆塚—see par. 17, where I adopted Ma Yung’s meaning of the term as ‘rich.’ This places it in direct opposition to Ts’ae’s definition of 堆 as ‘low,’ ‘thin,’ ‘poor.’; such also was K’ang-shing’s ac-
Its articles of tribute were varnish, hemp, a finer hempen cloth, and coarser hempen cloth. The baskets were filled with fine silken fabrics, and fine floss-silk. Stones for polishing sounding-stones were rendered, when required.

They floated along the Lo, and reached the Ho.

IX. The south of mount Hwa and the Black-water were the boundaries of Leang-chow.

The hills Min and Po were brought under cultivation. The T'o

count of it. The 黑文 defines the char. by 黑, 'black, hard, earth.' I have done the best I could with the two terms.

If we look only at the revenue of the province, we should expect its fields to rank much higher than they do; the reason of the disproportion, according to Foo T'ung-shuh, was that the black hard tracts in the lower parts of it were unfit for the cultivation of grain. The student will observe how the place of the word 織 is different from what it occupies in par. 8 and 48.

染, see par. 19; 染 and 織, see par. 26; 織 is a coarse kind of hemp, a perennial plant, acc. to Luk Ke (陸璣). The samerubber, 許, see par. 85; 織 織, see par. 44. The phrase follows the articles so contributed, they being sufficiently marked off from the other articles by the 厭包 which precede. Here it precedes the articles, because, if it followed them, its force might be extended to the others previously mentioned. The 萬 were stones used for polishing other stones and gems, differing from the grinding-stones and whetstones of King-chow, the use of which was to polish articles of metal.

P. 61. Route of consequence to the capital. From the eastern parts of Yu-chow they could at once reach the Ho. From the western, they reached it by means of the Lo.

Ch. IX. The Account of Leang-chow.

P. 62. Boundaries. There is no dispute about the former of the boundaries mentioned. Mount Hwa is 'the western mountain' (西岳) of the Canon of Shun, par. 8, standing on the south of the dis. city of Hwa-yin (華陰; lat. 34° 35', N., lon. 6° 31', W., Biot), in the dep. of T'ung-chow (同州), acc. to the latest arrangement of Shen-se province. In the small adjacent dep. of Shang (商) is the dep. of Shan-yang (山陽), which is said to be identical with the Hwa-yang of the text. Mount Hwa served as boundary mark to three of Yu's provinces-Leang, Yu, and Yung. On the other boundary, the Black-water, there is not the same unanimity of opinion. Gan-kwo 896 says: 'On the east this province reached to the south of mount Hwa, and on the west to the Blackwater.' If, indeed, the Blackwater was the boundary of Leang-chow on the west, we are led to identify it with the river of the same name, also the western boundary of Yung-chow, and described in Part II., p. 6, as 'flowing into the southern sea.' This view leads to great difficulties, quite as great as those attending the extension of Yung-chow round the sea-coast to Cochín-China. The first distinctly to controvert it appears to have been Sze-lung (薛士龍; Sung dyn.), who took the boundaries mentioned in the text as the northern and southern, and not those on the east and west:—'The northern boundary of Leang-chow was the south of mount Hwa, and on the south it stretched along the Blackwater, the present Loo-water (南距黒水, 黑水今灃水). The name of the Loo had taken the place of the Blackwater in the Han dynasty, and subsequently to the T'ang, the stream has
been called the 'river of the Golden Sands' (金沙江); but it is sufficiently proved that this stream, or at least that portion of it from its junction with the Shing-shu-yu (绳水) and the Jo-shu-yu (若水) to their merging in the Min Kang, was called the Blackwater.

Combining the statements of the 'Geography Modernized,' and the 'Statistical Account of the present dynasty,' we have the following description of the southern boundary of Leang-chow: 'The present Great River, as it is called by the Pus-chow people, is the Black water of Leang-chow. Its sources are very remote, farther off than those of the Yellow river, in 27°30′, west lon. (though its source is very remote, it must surely be an error, as it would take us away from the border of Calcutta), and between 29° and 39° north lat. Flowing south-east, it enters Yunnan, near the pass of Ta-shing (塔城), in the border dep. of Le-keang (Lat. 26°51′, N. lon. 16°01′, W.). Flowing through the northern part of this province, it enters Sze-chu'en in the dep. of Ning-yuen (寧遠), and, bending more northwards, enters the Keang in the south of the dep. of Seu-chow (叙州; lat. 28°38′, N. lon. 11°08′).

After the junction of the Loo and the Keang, the latter great stream would continue the southern boundary of Leang on to King-chow. On the east it was conterminous with Yu-chow and King-chow. Its western boundary cannot, I think, be laid down with any certainty.

It is worthy to remark that neither of the two great natural boundaries which followed Wu, neither the Yin nor the Chow, included the province of Leang. Portions of it were embraced in their provinces of Yu and Yang, but the greater part was considered as wild, savage territory, beyond the limits of the Middle Kingdom. We can hardly suppose that the territory of China was ever diminished so greatly. It is more reasonable to think that Wu pushed his labours in this direction, not so much because the country was really included in Taou's empire, as because it was necessary for him to operate upon it for the benefit of the more eastern parts.

The 'Daily Explanation' says:—'Leang-chow embraced the present provinces of Sze-chu'en, Kwei-chow, and Yunnan, with the dep. of Han-chung (漢中) in Shen-se, and the small dep. of Keao (階州) in Kan-suh.' This representation is beyond the truth; and that in the 'Boundaries of Successive Dynasties' of the Leang-chow and over the present Sze-chu'en, and the dep. of Han-chung in Shen-se,' seems to be too narrow.

The following is the detail in the 'Geography Modernized:'—'Leang-chow embraced—of Shen-se, the dep. of Han-chung, and the small dep. of Hing-nan (興安) and Shang (商州); of Kan-suh, the small dep. of Keao, and the two districts of Hwuy (貘) and Leang-tang (兩當), in dep. of Tvin (秦州); of Hoo-pih, the three districts of Fang (房), Chuh-

san (竹山) and Chuh-k'e (竹谿), and the west of Yun-se dia, (郧西), dep. of Yun-yang (鄖陽); and the prov. of Sze-chu'en.'

Pp. 63—66. Engineering labour. 既藝—see on par. 30. "山川—see Part ii, parr. 3, 4, 8 and 9. In these mountains were the springs of branches of the great streams of the Keang and Han. Mount Min (the 'Historical Records' read Min (岷) instead of the 'Mingchow') of Sze-chu'en is in the most north-western part of Sze-chu'en, called the 'Ping of Sung-p'wan (松潘廳), given by Biat as in lat. 32°38′, N., lon. 12°32′, W. The 'Geography of the Shoo Modernized' says that 'from the small dep. of Min (岷州) in Kung-ch'ang (蒙昌) of Shen-se [now of Kan-su], a range of lofty mountains with deep valleys stretches westwards to the western borders of the department of Ching-too (成都). The snowy ridges of Mow-chow (茂州) and other famous elevations are to be reckoned to this range. Where Yu began his operations was at the mountain of Lan-k'oea (浪架) on the very borders on the north-west of Sung-p'wan. Mount Po, called Po-ch'ung in Part ii, p. 8, was not so far west. There were two mountains of the name—one 90 li to the north of the present sub. dep. of Ning-keang (寧羌州; lat. 32°42′, N., lon. 10°14′, W.), in Han-chung dep. of Shen-se, whence the waters of the eastern Han issued. This was the Po-ch'ung of Part ii. The other was in the pres. small dep. of Tvin (秦州; lat. 34°36′, N., lon. 10°42′, W.) of Kan-suh; and from it the waters of the western Han issued. The two were distant from each other, north and south, between three and four hundred li; but they are to be considered as belonging to the same range. Yu's work on these two mountains is described as 'the clearing the springs of the Keang and the Han' (江漢流源之事). The text tells us that the country about the foot of the mountains themselves was brought under cultivation.

64. See on par. 46. Gan-kwô thought that the T'o and the T'sen here were the same as those of King-chow, the upper portion of their courses being here referred to. But this view cannot be adopted. Woo Ch'ing says:—'These were the separately flowing branches of the Keang and Han that were in Leang-chow. In the east of the pres. district of Pe, (郫縣) lat. 30°47′, N. lon. 12°32′, W.) dep. of Ching-too was a T'o, which flowed westwards into the Keang. In the south-west of the dis. of Taou-keang (導江) in P'ang-chow (彭州) [these are names of former territorial divisions; we have now the dis. of P'ang in Ching-too dep., and the dis. of Kwan (灌) in the same corresponds to Taou-keang] there was another T'o which flowed east into the Keang.
and the Ts'een were conducted by their proper channels. Sacrifices were offered to the hills Ts'ae and Mung, on the regulation of the country about them.

The country of the wild tribes about the Ho could now be successfully operated on.

The soil of this province was greenish and light.

Its fields were the highest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the lowest class, with proportions of the rates immediately above and below.

Its articles of tribute were musical gem-stones, iron, silver, steel, stones for arrowheads, and sounding-stones; with the skins of bears, great bears, foxes, and jackals, and articles woven with their hair.

Again, in the dis. of Chin-foo (真符) in Yang Chow (揚州) [we have now the dis. of Yang in the dep. of Han-chung, in Shen-se], there was the water of Te'een-kuh (鰲谷), which was a Ts'een. But the branches flowing from the Keang and Han, whether large or small, long or short, all went by the names in the text, and are to be looked for in various places. When the mountains Min and Po were brought under cultivation, the upper parts of the two streams were regulated; and now their courses through all the province were cleared by the measures taken with the various To and Ts'een. 65. The hills of Ts'ae and Mung are both referred to the present dep. of Ya-chow (雅州; lat. 30°3', N., lon. 13°25', W.). Mount Mung seems to be sufficiently well ascertained. The "Statistical Account" of the present dynasty says that it stands on the borders of the three districts of Ya-ngan (雅安), Ming-san (名山), and Loo-san (蘆山), of the above department, and that the best tea of all Sze-ch'uen is grown upon it. Mount Ts'ae is not so well determined. The "Geography of the Shoo Modernized" identifies it with the hill of Chow-kung (周公山), 5 le to the east of Ya-chow city, and the Statistical Account of the Ming dynasty, adopting that view, adds that 5 le further off there is a place called Leu-p'ing (有地名旅平), where it is probable that Yu offered his sacrifices. But this Leu-p'ing was not heard of till modern times, and, indeed, Teh Mung-tih (葉夢得), of the Sung dynasty, was the first to say that the hill of Chow-kung was the Ts'ae of the Shoo. The Geography of the Han dynasty does not mention the Ts'ae at all. Hoo Wei inclines to the opinion that we are to look for it in one of the famous Ngo-me hills (峨眉山) in the dis. of the same name (lat. 23°22', N., lon. 125°50', W.), dep. of K'ea-ting (嘉定). 旅平

一旅 is applied to designate sacrifices offered to mountains;—see Ana. III. vi. The "Daily Explanation" expands the whole paragraph thus:—The Mei-water had flowed between the hills of Ts'ae and Mung with a rapid and destructive course, but now all this was remedied, and Yu sacrificed to the mountains, and announced the completion of his work (蔡蒙二山之關，沲水所經、其勢漂疾，為害，今木土既平，于是旅祭其山而告成功焉).

Ts'ae gives two views of the meaning of this paragraph, neither of which he accepts as quite satisfactory, though he rather inclines himself to the former of them. It is that propounded by Gan-kwo, that the two characters were the name of a tract of country. The other is that Ho and E were the names of two streams. A more natural interpretation is that of K'ang-shing, that 和夷—和上之夷，'The wild people upon the Ho,' though, taking the two characters in connection with the rest of the par., we must understand them of the territory occupied by those people.
The 龍水 is another name for the 沔水, which came through the pres. Mow Chow (茂州), and, after a long course of about 3,000 li, flowed into the Kiang in the dep. of Kea-ting. But we can hardly think that the tribes mentioned dwelt along all the stream, even in that portion of it which was in Sze-chow.

P. 67—68. Soil, revenue, and tribute. 67. In interpreting this par., Ts'ae follows Gan-kwô, who gives 黃 as 黑, ‘black,’ a meaning which it often has, but which does not seem appropriate here. We should thus be told only the colour of the soil, and nothing about its nature. Gan-kwô adds, indeed, to 黃 the char. 而沃壤 ‘rich and mellow;’ but this cannot be all indicated by 黃, and the next par. is inconsistent with such a view of the soil of Leang. The ‘Historical Records’ read 驊 for 黃, which variation does not assist us at all in determining the meaning. In these circumstances we must look about for another meaning of 黃 and Ma Yung, followed by Wang Suh, has suggested that which I have adopted in the translation. He defined the character by 小疏 ‘small and thin.’ This suits the passage well enough. The difficulty with it is that we do not find such a meaning of the term elsewhere, and hence it is not given in the Dictionary. 68. Its fields were ranked in the second grade, and the revenue in the 8th, though this sometimes, or perhaps in some places, rose to the 7th, and again fell to the 9th. The ‘Daily Explanation’ says:—

The 織皮是熊 is ‘the bear;’ the 織皮 is described as ‘like the bear, of a yellowish white’ (爾雅); ‘like the bear, with a long neck, and long legs, very fierce and strong, able to pull up trees’ (郭璞); ‘there are yellow po, and red (赤) po,—it is larger than the 熊, and the grease is coarser.’ I do not think we can at present determine exactly the species of the po. The 狐 is ‘like a dog, but with a long tail;’ the 獭 are ‘a small sort of 狐.’ Ts'ae, after Soo Tung-po, takes 織皮 as two different things, the former denoting a sort of felt (織), made from the hair of the animals; the latter denoting furs (以織者曰織). Other commentators make the two characters to denote only one thing—a fabric woven from the skins tanned, and cut into very small and thin strings (Woo Ch'ing). The view adopted by Ts'ae is to be followed. Quite natural is the view of K'ang-shing, who puts a stop at 織 as if they were the living animals which were sent as tribute, and then takes 織皮 as the name of a barbarous territory:—

There is more reason in the opinion of Woo Ch'ing, Hoo Wei, and others, who instead of stopping at 織, carry the paragraph on to 織皮. The furs and hair-cloth are thus the tribute from the wild tribes lying west and north of the province, and the description of the route of conveyance commences in the same way as in the previous provinces.
From Se-k'ing they came by the course of the Hwan; floated along the Ts'e'en; crossed the country to the Mèn; then entered the Wei; and ferried over the Ho.

The Blackwater and the Western Ho were the boundaries of Yung-chow.

The Weak-water was conducted westwards. The King was led to mingle its waters with those of the Wei. The Tseih and the Tse'u

P. 70. Route of conveyance to the capital. 西傾因桓是來—see the conclusion of last note. 西傾 is the name of a mountain, which belonged to Yung-chow; its southern slopes, however, passed into Léang. It is often identified with the mountain of the same name in the district of Chang (彰縣; lat. 84°40', N., lon. 11°50', W.), dep. of Kung-ch'üang in Kan-su;—see below, Part ii., p. 2. The river Hwan took its rise on the south of the mountain. It is also called the White-water (白水), and flowing into Sze-ch'üen, in the dis. of Ch'iao-hwa (昭化; lat. 32°16', N., lon. 10°38', W.), dep. Paou-ning, it proceeds to join the western Han. This western Han was the Tse'en, and going up it they should have been able to pass into the Mèn, another branch of the Han, for it flows out of the pres. dis. of Léé-yang (略陽), dep. of Han-chung, and running south-east into the dis. of Mèn, called after it, it there joins the great stream. Perhaps there were shallows in the course of the Tse'en, which rendered it necessary to leave their boats, or it may have been a saving of time and labour to leave the water at some point, and go across the country to the Mèn (see a note in the Collective, by Foo Yin (傅寅)).

From the Mèn it was necessary to get to the north, into the Wei, which was in Yung-chow. From the text,—入于渭,—we should conclude that this was accomplished without taking the land again. But this was impossible, their being no water-communication between the Han and the Wei. In the dep. of Fung-ta'siang (鳳翔), however, of Shen-se, and dis. of Mei (郿縣; lat. 34°18', N., lon. 8°38', W.), is the mountain of Ya (鸇嶺), from which the stream of Paou (褒水) flows south into the Mèn, while another stream on the north side, the Seîy (斜川), flows into the Wei. Probably, the tribute-bearers ascended the Paou as far as they could, and then went overland to the Seîy. For the Wei, see Part ii., p. 12. It enters the Ho, and of course brought the travellers to that stream, which they ferried across at some suitable point. 絕河而渡曰晉.

Ch. X. The account of Yung-chow.

P. 71. Boundaries. The western boundary is here assigned and the eastern. The former—the Black-water—is diff. from the river of the same name, which formed the southern boundary of Léang-chow;—see on par. 62. It is no doubt the same with the Black-water of Part ii., p. 6, which see. It will be sufficient here to quote from the 貞貞錦囊:—According to Shwang Yin's work on the Waters, with the comment of Tsao-yuen, "The Black-water issued from Fowl-hill in Chang-yih (出自張掖雞山; Chang-yih is now the principal dis. in the dep. of Kan-chow (甘州, lat. 39°, N., lon. 15°32', W.), and flowing south to Tun-hwang (通會), the prin. dis., dep. of Nangan-se (安西), passed by the hill of San-wei (三危山) and flowed on to the southern sea."

Acc. to the Compilation of Geography (括地志; a work of the T'ung dynasty), "The Black-water rose 120 li to the north of E-woo district in E-chow (伊州), and flowing south was lost about the hill of San-wei, in Sha-chow (沙州), 46 li to the south-east of the district city of Tun-hwang." We cannot tell which of these accounts is correct. The T'ung-teen (通典; by 杜佑 of the T'ain dynasty) says: "Accomplish-
ed scholars like Kung and Ch'ing did not know where the Black-water was, because, perhaps, in the lapse of time, it had become dried up. About the western boundary,—the western Ho,—there is no uncertainty. This was the Ho, where it runs from north to south, between the present Shan-se and Shen-se,—called the western, as being the western boundary of Ka-chow, the imperial province. The length of its course from the point in Yu-lin dep. (榆林), where it enters Shen-se, to the district of Hua-yin, amounts, it is said, to 1,700 l. 

On the south, Yung-chow was conterminous with Leang-chow, from mount Hwa westwards, on to Se-king, and again westwards on to Tseih-shih, from which Yu traced the course of the Ho (Part ii., par. 7), and thence again to the Black-water. The northern boundary of the province is not at all intimated in the Shoo, but it must have extended from the position of the present city of Yu-lin, lat. 36° 18'. N., lon. 7° 27'. W., westwards along the north of Shen-se and Kan-sub as far as the southern boundary did.

Hoo Wei says that of Yu's nine provinces this was the largest, and that next to it were Ka and Leang. 'The extent of Yung, from east to west, was about 3,500 l., and from north to south, about 2,500 l., while in all this great space there was not much of unoccupied territory.'

Pp. 72–78. Engineering labours. 72. The Weak-water,—see Part ii., p. 5. In the 'Statistical Account of the present dynasty,' under the dep. of Kan-chow in Ka-suh, we find the following account of the 16. Weak-water:—'It rises in the south-west of San-tan district (山川 DAN), and flows north, west of the city, into the district of Ch'ang-yih. Passing that district city on the north, it enters, going on still to the north-west, the borders of Kao-t'ae (高泰) in Suh-chow (蘇州), lat. 39° 45'. N., lon. 127° 21'. W., this is the Weak-water of the Tribute of Ya.' Some accounts say that it can be crossed in cordages of skin, while yet a piece of straw thrown upon its surface would sink to the bottom. To this feeble slowness of its stream its name is ascribed.

'西'—was conducted westwards. This was its natural course, and in this it is unique among the rivers mentioned in this Book, all the rest flowing east, with the exception of the Black-water of this province, whose course was south. In the general disorder, which had prevailed, however, we may suppose that it had taken a direction to the south-east, and mingled its waters with those of the Ho.

73. 涇水 In the Can. of Yaou, par. 12. Ts'eae makes it to be the name of a stream which entered the King, before it joined its waters with those of the Wei. If this had been intended, we may be sure that the text would have been different. 沔 is defined—水北, 'the north of a stream'; 水之隈曲, 'the bending bank of a river'; 水中州, 'an island in a river'; and by the 説文水相入, 'the meeting of two rivers.' The second and last of these meanings may easily be harmonized. As regards the first meaning, there is no difficulty in the text where the King flows from the north to the Wei. The King, according to the 'Statistical Account of the present dynasty,' makes its appearance in Shen-se in the west of Shun-hwa dis. (淳化; lat. 34° 55'. N., lon. 7° 58'. W.), in the small dep. of Pin (邠州), thence it flows past the small dep. of K'an (乾), enters the dep. of Se-nang, and takes its way, through the districts of Le-t'ae-u (醴泉), and King-yang (涇陽), on to that of Kao-lung (高陵; lat. 34° 30'. N., lon. 7° 24'. W.), in the south-west of which it joins the Wei. It is said to have its rise in Ke-t'ou hill (斧臠山), in the south-west of Ping-liang dis. (平涼; lat. 35° 34'. N., lon. 104° 48'. W.), dep. of the same name in Kan-sub. The Wei,—see below, Part ii., p. 12. The stream of the King was muddy and that of the Wei clear; and the muddiness of the former became more evident after their junction. There are many poetic allusions to these circumstances,—see the She-king, Part I. Book III, Ode XI. 74. 滇池 在 from par. 9, but the from cannot here be taken in the same way. There the phrase indicated that the Häng and Wei were made to follow their natural channels; here it signifies that the Tseih and Ts'e were made to join the Wei. Tung-poo says:—'The following here is like that with which a youth follows his elder. The Wei was great and the Tseih and the Ts'e were small; hence it is said that they were made to follow' (note in the 集說).

Acc. to the 'Geography of the Shoo Modernized,' the Tseih takes its rise in the pres. dep. of Se-nang, in the north of the dis. of T'ung-kw'an (同官; lat. 35° 6', N., lon. 7° 28'. W.), and flowing past that city on the east, is then joined by the T'ung-kw'an river. Proceeding thence south-west to the sub. dep. of Yaou (耀州; lat. 34° 58'. N., lon. 7° 35'. W.), it unites with the Ts'eau. The Ts'eau rises in the dis. of Chung-poo (中部; lat. 38° 58'. N., lon. 7° 16'. W.), in the small dep. of Luh (鄜州), and after flowing through the dis. of E-kuan (宜君), passes into the dep. of Se-nang, traverses the dis. of T'ung-kw'an, on to the south of Yaou Chow, where it unites with the Tseih. Their united waters proceeded
75 were led in a similar way to the Wei; and the waters of the Fung found the same receptacle.
76 The mountains King and K'e were sacrificed to, and those of Chung-nan and Shun-wūh were also regulated, and all the way on to that of Neaou-shoo. Successful measures could now be taken with the plains and swamps, even to the marsh of Choo-yay. The country about San-wei was made habitable, and the affairs of the people of San-meau were greatly arranged.
79 The soil of the province was yellow and mellow.
80 Its fields were the highest of the highest class; its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the second.

The waters of the Fung found the same place, i.e., they were conducted in the same way to the Wei. The Fung has its rise in the hill of Chung-nan, in the south-east of the district of Mei (鄖縣; lat. 34°48', N., lon. 12°12', W.), dep. of Lan-chow (蘭州) in Kan-suh.

Hoo Wei here makes the following note:—'
Ch’in Ta-yew (陳大猷, Sung dun) says, "The ancients felt it right to sacrifice on occasion of any great undertaking, and it was specially right to do so in connection with such an undertaking as Yu's. But we have mention of his offering sacrificially in the provinces of Yung and Leang, because these were the two last provinces where he operated, and his sacrificing in them shows that he had done so in the other provinces as well. Further, Yu's sacrificing is mentioned only in connection with the hills of T'ae-chow and Mung in Leang, and those of
King and Ke in Yung, because Ts'e and Heng were the last hills of Leang, and King and Ke were the first of Yung, so that we may understand he sacrificed to all the others; and thence it is said below that the hills in all the nine provinces were cleared of their wood and sacrificed to." These observations are good, but do not give the proper reason for the use of the term 旅: At Hoo-k'ow the object was the clearing of the Ho: at Leang and Ke it was the clearing of the Ho and of the country as well; and hence we have the terms 蕃 and 蕃. At Mung, Yu, Min, and Po, the object was the cultivation of the country, and therefore we have the term 蕃. At Ts'e, Mung, King, Ke, Chungnam, Shun-wuh, and Neou-shoo, the object was to clear the streams in the valleys, and had nothing to do with the fields or country, and hence we could not have 蕃 but only 旅. At San-wel the object was both to clear the Black-water, and the valley-streams, so that the country might be inhabited, and hence we have the term 宅. The words used in every case have a peculiar appropriateness to the circumstances. They have all a reference to Yu's labours upon the disordered country. We are not to lay stress upon the idea of sacrificing in 旅:

This is ingenious; but Wei has not told us the peculiar and appropriate meaning in the use of 旅.

77. 'Ground wide and level is called 原; low and wet is called 洼. What we read in the She, "He measured the plains and marathas," has the same local application as the phrase in the text.' So, Ts'e Chin, following Ch'ing Kangshing. The ode referred to is that in the 6th in the 2nd Book of the 大雅, celebrating the praises of Duke Lew, who founded the fortunes of the House of Chow in the territory of Pin (鴻). If we thus interpret the text, the region of these operations of Yu was the present Pin-chow (邠州) in Shen-se. Possibly, however, the phrase may have a more extensive reference. Even at present, in a multitude of the districts of Shense and Kan-suh there are one or not more able 原, many of which in Yu's time would be in a marshy condition. For the marsh of Choo-yaw we have to go to Kan-suh, 80 li east of the district of Chin-fan (鎬). In the geography of the Han dynasty it is called the marsh of Hew-ch'oo (休屠). To reach this Yu must have crossed the Ho.

78. 黃—see Can, of Shun, par. 12. The hill identified with this San-wel is in the south-east of the district of T'un-hwang. Thither Shun had removed the most unprincipled and insubordinate of the people of San-nencou. The banishment had not been without its effect in softening and subduing them, and now when Yu came to administer the proper order to their settlement, the moral effect of his kindness is said to have completed the work of their transformation. The Black-water, it was seen on par. 71, passed by the mountain of San-wel. We must suppose that it was by operating on its troubled stream, that Yu effected the change which is intimated in the character of the country around.

三苗丕敟—Gan-k'wö explains this:—三苗之族大有敟 'the tribe of the San-nencouites had great order and arrangement;' adding—'This is said to set forth the merit of Yu.' I cannot see my way clear to adopt the common modern view that the phrase丕敟 celebrates the merit of the Menouites. Ch'ing Heau, for instance (鄭曉; Ming dyn.), says on 敃 'it expresses how they became good, reforming their faults and putting away their malignant stupidity.'

I find two interesting notes on this par. The first is by Leu Tseoo-heen (呂祖謙; of the Sung dynasty), who says:—'The people of San-nencou were driven to San-wel for their evil conduct, and according to the views of other ages they might have been left as banished criminals to themselves, to destroy themselves or to keep themselves alive, without being cared for or pitied. But such was not the mind of those early sages. When they were criminals, it was necessary to banish them; but after that punishment was inflicted, it was thought right to show kindness to them, and to extend to them the influence of good government. Thus it was that Yu having regulated the waters as far as San-wel, there laid out for the Menouites the plan of their settlements.'

The other note is by Ts'e T'ien:—'When Shun drove out the people of San-nencou, it was only the worst among them whom he removed to San-wel, while he left the rest in their settlements. But here we find the banished portion displaying great merit, while the others still continued bad and insubordinate. The old settlements of the San-nencouites were amid the strengths of hills and streams, the influence of which fostered such a spirit. Even now-a-days we find the people about the Tung-tung lake ever and anon breaking out and displaying such a spirit; and when they are captured and questioned, most of them are found to have the surname of Meou.—Are they the descendants of the ancient tribe?'

Ps 79—81. Soil, revenue, and tribute.

79. Yellow is considered the proper colour of soil. The soil of Yung-chow was thus the best of all the provinces. 80. The disproportion here between the character of the fields, which were in the first grade, and the amount of the revenue which was only of the sixth grade is very great. It is generally explained by saying that the population was very thin; and I do not see how it can otherwise be accounted for. Hoo Wei having argued for the wide extent of the province, and said
Its articles of tribute were the k'ew and lin gem-stones, and the lang-kan precious stones.

From as far as Tseih-shih they floated on to Lung-mun on the western Ho; they then met, on the north of the Wei, with the tribute-bearers from other quarters.

Hair-cloth and skins were brought from Kwān-lun, Seih-che, and Kʻeu-sow;—the wild tribes of the West all coming to submit to Yu's arrangements.

There were few empty, uninhabited districts in it, feels the pinch of the difficulty, and tries to get over it by arguing that Yu only levied revenue from the fertile country on either side of the Wei, in which moreover there were many high hills and long valleys. But his reasoning is not satisfactory;—it is tantamount, in fact, to the giving up many of his former statements. 81. Chʻing defines  by 美玉, 'an admirable gem.' The 說文 calls it 玉磬, 'a sounding-stone of gem,' which would agree with the use of the term in Part II., Bk. IV., p. 9. We may conclude that the 琳 was a jade suitable for the manufacture of such instruments. The 琳 is called by Chʻing 美石, 'a beautiful stone,' and in this he stands alone. The 說文 and other authorities agree in referring it also to the class of 玉, or gema. The two characters 琳 and 玉 go together. Gan-kwō describes the substance denoted by them as 'a stone, but like a pearl.' Some speak of it as a kind of coral, but we cannot look for coral in the hilly and inland districts of Yung-chow. Possibly it was lazurite, or the lapis lazuli.

82. Route of conveyance to the capital. Two routes are here indicated. The one—and we may suppose it the principal one—was by the Wei, which would be available for the more southern portion of the province. The other was by the Ho, which was available from the mountain of Tseih-shih (see Part ii., p. 7: it is in the sub. dis. of Ho (河州), lat. 38°44', N., lon. 13°28', W.). Parties living more to the east could of course take the Ho at the most convenient part of its course towards its highest northern latitude when it turned south, and then descend with it as far as the mountain of Lung-mun, on its western bank, in the north-east of Han-shing dis. (韋城; lat. 35°32', N., lon. 5°3', W.). Not far from this, a little south of it, they met with the boats which had come to the Wei, and tracked up from the junction of that stream with the Ho. Here I suppose they all took the shore, and travelled through K'ee chow to the capital.

83. Other articles of tribute. The par. should form part of par. 81. In this view of the concluding portion of the Part, I agree with Soo Tung-po, to whom Tse Tsen also inclines. The analogy of 織皮 in par. 69 seems to necessitate it. As the account of all the other provinces, moreover, concludes with the route of conveyance to the capital, we cannot understand why this should not do the same. On par. 69, Kʻang-shing took 織皮 as the name of a country; here, with strange inconsistency, he takes them as descriptive of the tribes from Kwān-lun, Seih-che and Kʻeu-sow, all 'skinwearing.' Kʻwan-lun, Seih-che, and Kʻeu-sow are understood to be the names of mountains, giving name to the regions and tribes about them. We have only to conceive of them as representing three tribes of what were called the western barbarians, and those three the greatest of them all, so it is added that all the tribes came and submitted to Yu's arrangements. So says Hoo Wei:—三國之西戎而西戎之大者皆來曰西戎即 敷 來曰 西戎之大者皆來曰西戎之大者 敷 取'則其餘無不賓服' 敷 也。即義 is equivalent to the 敷 in par. 78.
THE BOOKS OF HEA.

BOOK II. THE TRIBUTE OF YU. PART II.

1. Yu surveyed and described the hills, beginning with K’ien and Kow, and proceeding to mount King, then acrossing the Ho, Ho-Yen, and Szech’ing, from which he went to Wang-hu: then there were Tan-hang, and mount Hsang, from which he proceeded to Ke-yih, where he reached the sea.

The following pages are not legible.
east; and we have no reason to believe that any practical steps were taken till the work was begun at Hoo-kow. Part I., p. 3. Following the account of the regulation of the nine provinces, the paragraph here should describe what was done by Yu subsequently to that regulation; and in the first two chapters we seem to have a view of the position of the principal mountains, and the courses of the principal streams, as if Yu had paused to look back upon his work, and take a broader view of the country. We cannot suppose that he travelled again along the hills or the rivers, for in that case his toil would have been endless, and he must have gone again and again over the same ground. He surveyed mentally the mountains and rivers, and made delineations of them,—their ranges and courses. This is the meaning which I venture to attach to 導,—to survey and describe.'

See-ма T'seen between 導 and 河 inserts 九山.—'He surveyed the mountains of the nine provinces.' So we must interpret 導山. Twenty-seven mountains are immediately specified; it is impossible that the mention of them should be preceded by a statement that Yu only dealt with 'nine mountains.' With regard to the order in which the mountains are enumerated, it has given occasion to divide them into different ranges. Ma Yung and Wang Suh considered there were three;—the northern range (北條), embracing from mount K'een to K'ee-shih; the middle range (中條), embracing from Se-k'ing to Pei-wai; and the southern range (南條), embracing the rest. Ch'ing K'ang-shing made four ranges of them (四列);—the northern (陰列), from K'een to K'ee-shih; the next-northern (次陰), from Se-k'ing to Pei-wai; the next-southern (次陽), from Po-ch'ung to Ta-pé; and the southern (正陽), from mount Min to Foo-tsoén. His object, we can see, was to make these ranges correspond to the courses of the principal streams,—the Ho, the Hwa, the Han, and the K'iang. Since the publication of T'ae's commentary, it is customary to speak only of two ranges, a northern and southern. This is only a simplification of K'ang-shing's arrangement.

P. 1. The mountains K'een, Ke, and King were all in Yung-chow,—all in the pres. Shen-se. The 'Statistical Account of the present dynasty' gives mount K'een (K'ang Shing edits 尋 and not 冏) as in the west of the sub. dep. of Lung (龍州; lat. 34°48', N. 9°51', W.), dep. Fung-te-sheng. Others have identified it with a mount Wou (呂山), in the south of the same Lung Chow. The authors of the Statistical Account say the two hills were anciently considered as one. Ke and King,—see Part i., p. 76. The former, like K'een, belongs to the dep. of Fung-te-sheng. The latter, we saw, was in that of T'ung-chow. Hoo Wei observes that there were anciently three mountains called King:—that in the text, where Yu is said to have cast his nine famous vases (大禹鑄鼎處); that on the borders of the prov. Yu and King, where P'ên Ho found his famous gems. (卡和得玉處; see in the Biographical Dictionary 大禹鑄鼎, surname 卡), the third, not mentioned in the Shoo, in the prov. of Yu, at a place referred to the pres. dep. of Shen (欽州), in Ho-nan, where Hwang-te is said to have cast some vases.

通于河,—the point at which the Ho was crossed, or supposed to be crossed, is said to have been 35 li to the east of the district city of Chou-yih (潮邑; lat. 34°46', N., lon. 6°26', W.), dep. of T'ung-chow. The phrase certainly reads as if an actual progress of Yu were described; but I must understand it as meaning simply that, had such a progress been made, the Ho must have been crossed here.

壷口,雷首, 至于太岳, 一 壺口, see Part i., p. 4. 雷首 is in the south of the district of Yung-t'ae (永泰; lat. 34°54', N., lon. 6°18', W.), dep. of P'oo-chow (浦州). The mountain received in course of time many names. Among them were those of mount Show (首), and Show-yang (首陽), at the foot of which Pih-e and Shuh-te's died of hunger (Ana. XVI. xii). 太岳—see on 岳陽, Part i., p. 5. Yu had come south from Hoo-kow to Luy-show, and now again he turns north, in consequence of the urgency with which relief was called for from the capital. The Tae-yoh is 30 li to the east of Hii-chow (漢州; lat. 36°34', N., lon. 14°45', W.). 底柵析城, 至于王屋—(Sso-ма T'seen has 砥柵). Gan-k'ow says on this, at par. 7, below, that it was the name of a mountain, where the waters of the Ho separated, and passed by, embracing the hill, so that it appeared in the waters like a pillar (山名河水分流包山而過, 山見水中, 若柱然). The place is now referred to the small dep. of Shen in Ho-nan, 40 li northeast from the dep. city, lat. 34°45', N., lon. 5°23', W., and is also called by the name of 'The Hill of the three Gates,' or Passages (三門山). The 'Book of the Waters' (水經注) says:—When Yu was regulating the evils of the inundation, when he found a stream impeded by a mountain, he chiselled through it, and cut through this hill of Te-chow, perforating it in three places called the 'Three Passages.'—Chau
2. **South from the Ho, he surveyed Se-k'ing, Choo-yu, and Neaoushoo, going on to T'ae-hwa; then Heung-urh, Wae-fang, T'ung-pih, from which he proceeded to Pei-wei.**

3. **He surveyed and described Po-ch'ung, going on to the other mount King; and Nuy-fang, from which he went to Ta-péé.**

4. **He did the same with the south of mount Min, and then went on to mount Háng. From this he crossed the lake of Kew-k'ang, and went on to the plain of Foo-tséen.**

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T'ang-he (趙冬曦), a writer of the T'ang dynasty, describes the hill of Te-ch'oo as consisting of six peaks, all rising up in the midst of the stream. On the most northern of them were two pillars, over against each other, standing up near the bank, and forming the passage of the 'Three Gates.' We cannot say what labours Yu performed at this point, nor what was the appearance presented in his time by the hill. Notwithstanding what he did, the Ho has here occasioned incalculable evil to the people, and incalculable trouble to the government. Hsiao Wei has made a precis of attempts to overcome the natural difficulties of the passage, from the Han to the Sung dynasty, the result of which appears to have been to aggravate the evil rather than remove it.

The hill of Schi-shing is found in the dep. of Tsih-chow (澤州), in the south-west of the district of Yang-shing (陽城, lat. 35°26', N., lon. 3°22', W.). Wang-uh is in the dep. of Hwae-k'ing, in Ho-nan, 80 le to the west of the dis. city of Yae-yuen (泫源, lat. 35°7', N., lon. 3°49', W.). It extends to the borders of Yang-shing district, just mentioned, and presents an appearance as if it consisted of three storcks, like a house.

**太行恆山.**

至于碣石入于海——T'ae-hang is in the south of Fung-t'sé dis. (鳶台) in Tsih-chow (lat. 35°30', N., 3°39', W.). South of it lies the district of Ho-nuy (河內), dep. of Hwae-k'ing, while, stretching along to the north-east, it touches in its range on the district of Ling-ch'uen (陵川), on the districts of Hoo-k'wan (壺關), Loo-shing (路城), and Le-shing (黎城), dep. of Loo-ngan (路安), on the dis. of Woo-heang (武鄉) in Pe Chow (泌州), on the dis. of Ho-shun (和順) in Leau Chow (遼州), and on that of Loo-p'ing (樂平) in Ping-ting dep. It is called by a hundred different names in different parts of its range, but it is really the same mountain of T'ae-hang.

**碣石.** ——see on Can. of Shun, par. 5. It is the northern mountain, the limit of Shun's excursions to the north, and according to the determination of the present dyn., is in about lat. 39°41', N., lon. 24°33', W. I don't know where Dr. Medhurst got the latitude which I have assigned to it from him on page 35. According to the geography of the Han dyn., we should look for mount Háng in Keu-yang dis. (曲陽, lat. 38°39', N., lon. 14°40', W.), dep. of Chin-ting, in Pih-chih-li. This opinion prevailed through many dynasties. In the Sung dynasty a more northern position began to be claimed for the northern hill, and the Ming dyn. decreed that the proper Háng was in Shai-se. It did not, however, remove the sacrifices from Keu-yang. This was done in the 17th year of Shun-che of the present dynasty. We must conclude that the decision of the Ming and the present dynasties is incorrect. The Háng hill of Shai-se would take us away from the Ho, along which this range of hills is evidently laid down from K'éen to Kio-shih.

**碣石.** ——see on Part i., p. 11. I must believe that Kio-shih was something like Tch'oo, only not far from the mouth of the river.
Some would claim for the name the dignity of a mountain like Tae-hang or Hsiang, but this is no more necessary than that Te-ch'oo should have been equal to Soh-shing or Wang-uh. The rocks of Kê-shih were existing, it was seen, at the beginning of our era, but they have long disappeared before the encroachments of the sea. It is vain to attempt to lay down their place with nice precision.

入于海。——Ying-tâ makes this phrase refer to the range of mountains, which here terminated in the sea. Hoo Wei contends on the other hand that we must understand it of Yu,—that it takes up 逾河, and tells us that Yu here took a boat, and went out some distance to take a survey of the rocks of Kê. The view which I have taken of 云 renders it unnecessary to suppose any personal action of Yu; but on the application of the phrase, I choose to agree with Ying-tâ rather than with the modern scholar.

P. 2. 西領朱閿鳥鼠至于大華——this par. contains the 'second row' of northern hills, according to Kung-shing's phrasology. Taung Yen-ho observes that as no 賣 precedes 西領, we must bring the verb on from the commencement of the prec. par. We must do so, but we can hardly read the two paragraphs together. We have traveled from west to east; and now we return to the west again.

西領——see on Part i., p. 76. I have said there that it is often identified with mount Se-k'ing in the dis. of Chang, dep. of Kung-ch'ang. So it is in the Statistical Account of the Ming dyn., but that of the prec. dynasty says this is a mistake. The compilers of that find it rather beyond the extreme west of that dep., within the boundaries of Koko-nor, about 350 le to the south-east of the Ting of T'ao-chou (洮州; lat. 34°26', N., lon. 12°57', W.). With them agree Hoo Wei and other scholars. This view is probably the correct one. The mountain has also the names of K'êng-t'he (疆臺), and So-keang (西疆). 朱閿——this mountain is 30 le to the south-west of the district of Fuh-keang (伏羌; lat. 34°28', N., lon. 11°44', W.), in the depart. of Kung-ch'ang. Yen Jô-kuo says that he visited the mountain, and found it of no very great size, having a reddish appearance; on a rock were the four words engraved—

'Choo-yan fixed by Yu' (禹奠朱閿).

鳥鼠——see on Part i., p. 76, and below, p. 12. The Wei had here its source. Hoo Wei observes at this point:—Yu in his survey of the hills did not always go forward in a straight course, but went sometimes round about or retraced his steps. Thus instead of going east from Luy-show he went north to Tae-yê, the urgent need of the capital requiring him to do so. As Neou-shoo was on the east of the Taou-water (洮水), Yu's most direct and convenient route would have been from Se-k'ing along that stream to Neou-shoo, instead of which he first went to Choo-yan, and then retraced his way westwards to the other mountain. This is strange, and may lead us to suppose that the names of Choo-yan and Neou-shoo have somehow changed places in the text. 大華 is the 'western mountain' of the Canon of Shun, and the mount Hwa of Part i., p. 62. Between Neou-shoo and Tâe-hwa were the hills of Shun-wuh and Chung-nan (Part i., p. 76), which are not mentioned here.

肩耳外方。——this mountain is identified with mount Ts'ung (嵩 or 崇山) in the district of T'ung-fung (登封; lat. 34°26', N., lon. 8°27', W.), dep. Hoo-nan in Hoo-nan prov. It has received also the names of Ts'ung-kaou (嵩高) and Tâe-shih (太室). It came in subsequent times to be considered as the 'Central Mountain' (中嶽) and emperors still make progress to it.

桐柏——this mountain has given its name to the district of T'ung-pih (lat. 32°20', N., lon. 8°10', W.) in the dep. of Nan-yang (南陽) of Hoo-nan. The Hwae has its source near it;——see par. 11. Hoo Wei considers that two other hills,—Ts'ung (大復) 30 le east of the dis. city, and Tae-tesan (胎簪), 30 le to the north-west of it, are branches of T'ung-pih, and to be included in the name in the text. 陪尾——Gan-kâ, referring Wee-fang, T'ung-pih, and Pei-wei, all to Yu-chow, sought for the last of them in the hill of Hwag-wei (横尾), 30 le to the north of the dis. city of Nyan-luh (安陸), dep. of Tih-nan (德安). Hoo-pih, which he says the river Hwae passed by. But this was a mistake. Pei-wei is in Shan-tung, dep. of Yen-chow, and the district of Sze-shwuy (lat. 35°48', N., lon. 1°2', E.). The Sze-water (泗水) had here its sources. The 至于 before 陪尾 indicates that there was a considerable distance between it and the last named mountain of T'ung-pih.

P. 3. We return now to the west again, and have to do with the mountains of the southern range. 畲嶠家至于荊山——see Part i., p. 63, and below, p. 8. Ts'ao says that the appearance of the mountain was like a 裔, 'the tumulus of a grave,' and hence it was called Po-ch'ung. Gan-kâ on 桐嶠
II. He surveyed the Weak-water as far as Hô-le, from which its superfluous waters went away among the Moving sands.

6 He surveyed the Black-water as far as San-wei, from which it went away to enter the southern sea.
according to the view which I have taken. We have in the paragraphs simply a description of what would have been seen on such a survey.

P. 5. Szao-nu, Taken, after 傳 (with him, 道) has 九川, as we found the addition of 九山 in par. 1; and it so happens that only nine rivers are specified. Still the phrase 傳九川 must be taken in analogy with 傳九山, as speaking not of the nine rivers, but of the rivers of the nine provinces.

The Weak-water,—see on Part I., par. 73.

Hö-le is the name of a hill rising in the north-west of the dist. of Chang-yih, stretching along in a north-west direction from the dep. of Kan-chow into the adjoining one of Sueh. The ‘Statistical Account’ gives it in both of the departments. The ‘Geography Modernized’ says:—‘The Moving Sands lie beyond the pass of Koa-kauh (嘉峪關) in Shen-se [this pass is in the north of Sueh Chow, prov. of Kan-suh, at the termination of the great wall], from Sueh-koo-noo [索科諾河] northwards, on the east as far as mount Ho-lan (賀蘭山), and on the west as far as the borders of the discontinued Shaw-chow (西至廢沙州界); Shaw-chow has again been replaced as the Ward of Shaw-chow (沙州衛) by the pres. dynasty, in the extreme west of Ngar-se dep.). They extend from north to south more than 1,000 l., and from east to west several hundred l. The sand rises up and moves or flows along before the wind. Everywhere in the tract indicated this is to be seen.’ In the rough map of China and its territories in the ‘Universal Geography’ (瀛環志略), published by Sou (徐繼畲), the governor of Fuh-kien in 1849, these moving sands are laid down very distinctly. On the east and north they are called Hau-hae (鴨海), and on the west the deserts of Gobi (戈壁). The description of the Weak-water in the ‘Statistical Account’ does not enable us to understand the text, which Hoo Wei has conceived and described in the following way, from a study of all the references to it in older books:—Finding its waters near its source in a troubled condition and flowing eastwards, Yu conducted them from the hill of Kuang-shih (窮石), where they had their origin, north and west to the hill of Hö-le. There the main stream took a turn to the north-east, and proceeded to the marsh of Keu-yen (居延澤), which was among the moving sands,—which is called, in the preceding extract from the ‘Geography Modernized’ Sueh-koo-noo-moo. But there were times when its waters were so swollen, that instead of all flowing east from the passage in the Hö-le hills, a portion overflowed and went westwards. These were the ‘superfluous waters’ of the text, and they led away to the west, and lost in the sands of what is now the desert of Gobi. All this is ingeniously conceived and supported; but any distinct traces of this labour of Yu can hardly be expected to be discernible after the lapse of so long a time.

P. 6. The subject of the Blackwater is quite as difficult as that of the Weakwater; see on Part I., p. 71. There it is given as the western boundary of Yung-chow, corresponding to the western Ho. But on the west of Kan-suh we find no stream answering at all to this description. Black-waters there are, besides that which is given as the boundary of Yung-chow, about ten in number, but not one of them satisfies the requisitions of the text.

The last particular stated,—that the Black-water flowed to the southern sea, proves, indeed, that there could have been no such stream in the quarter assigned to the hill of San-wei. In his comments on the ‘Book of the Waters,’ Le Tsou-yu says:—‘The Black-water took its rise in Fowl-hill of Chang-yih, and flowing south to Tu-khuan passed by San-wei, from which it went away still south to the southern sea; but Chang-yih and Tu-khuan were both on the north of the Ho. The way in which the Black-water was able to cross the Ho, and proceed to the southern sea, was that westward from Twel-shih the course of the Ho is often under ground, so that another stream might flow over it towards the south.’ This view is absurd enough. There are no recent observations to support it. After taking the Black-water in this way across the Ho, it would still be necessary to carry it over the main stream of the Kiang.

Hoo Wei, seeing that this account could not be adopted, supposes that the stream turned west after passing the hill of San-wei, and after getting beyond the sources of the Ho and the Kiang, flowed south again, and entered the southern sea. Of course in thus writing, he knows not what he writes about. Of the rivers flowing south into the sea to the west of China there are the May-kiang, or River of Cambodia, the Mei-nam of Siam, the Salween, and the Irawaddy. Many have tried to identify the Black-water with the first of these, which rises in Tibet, and flows through Tun-nan as the Lan-tsang (湄江). There is a river certainly which flows into the southern sea, but the northern part of it can in no ways be made into a boundary of Yung-chow.

Yu’s geographical knowledge certainly was at fault in the case of the Black-water. Referring back to Part I., p. 62, where we saw reason to believe that the river of this name there mentioned was the southern boundary of Léang-chow, and correctly identified with the ‘Golden Sands,’ or a portion of it, the main stream of the Kiang. Now the ‘Golden Sands’ was known as the Black-water only after it had received the Shing, the Jō and the Loo. The Loo, moreover, has itself the name of the Blackwater. We cannot conceive that this was supposed to extend indefinitely to the north, and run along both Léang-chow and Yung-chow. This would enable us to believe that Yu, or whoever compiled this Book from his memoranda and reports, had the idea, however erroneous, of only one stream in his mind, when speaking of the boundaries of two provinces. But in this simplification there remains the point of the
He surveyed the Ho from Tseih-shih as far as Lung-mun; and thence, southwards, to the north of mount Hwa; eastward then to Te-ch’oo; eastward again to the ford of Mang; eastwards still he passed the junction of the Ló, and went on to Ta-pe. From this the course was northwards, past the Keang-water, on to Ta-luh; north from which the stream was distributed and became the nine Ho, which united again and formed the meeting Ho, when they entered into the sea.

The Chinese Government cannot be said to have been indifferent to the discovery of the sources of the Ho. The Han, the T’ang, and the Yuen dynasties sent out special officers to trace the stream to its fountain-head. The emperor K’ang-he of the present did the same. We should read the reports of their expeditions with more interest, if it were not for the uncouth form which the names of the mountains and rivers of the Koko-nor assume when represented by Chinese characters. After all that the Chinese themselves have done, much distinction yet awaits the explorer from the west who shall visit the springs of this most fast-rushing and unmanageable of the great rivers of our globe.

Lung-mun,—see on Part I., p. 62. The Ho, after entering Kan-suh in Ho Chow, flows east and north through the dep. of Lan-chow, and passes into that of Ning-hsia (寧夏). This it traverses, now outside, now inside the great wall, going more north than east, and, at length, east of the district of Ping-lo (平羅; lat. 38°22’, N., lon. 4°22’, W.), it goes again beyond the great wall into the country of the Ortos Mongols (鄂爾多斯界), which it quite embraces, only entering China proper again in Yu-lin (榆林), the north-eastern department of Shen-se. After this it flows south, sometimes inclining to the west, to the hill of Lung-mun, dep. of Tung-chow. Hoo-kow, we saw, was somewhat to the north of Lung-mun, on the eastern or Shan-se side of the river; and hereabouts Yu commenced his labours. From Tseih-shih to Lung-mun, along the course of the Ho, is a distance of more than 3,000 le.
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Yu's time. The north of mount Hwa is specified, as marking the point at which the Ho turned from its southern course to proceed east. Here also we must suppose that Yu had to put forth his skill and resources in its regulation.

東至于遜柱—see on par. 1.

又東至于孟津—'the ford of Mang' still gives its name to the district of Mang (孟縣; lat. 35°46’, N., lon. 110°36’, W.), dep. of Hwae-k'ing in Ho-nan. The whole name, indeed, remains in a district of Ho-nan dep., which borders with the dis. of Mang on the north and east, the Ho being between them. The ford is about 20 le to the south of the dis. city of Mang. Lin Che-k's supposes that it was not till he reached this point that Yu found it possible to ford the Ho; but there were during the Chow dynasty other fords between this and Te-ch'oo. Mang was most conveniently situated with reference to the capital. This is the reason why it is specified.

東過洛汭—see on Part i., p. 55. Here, with reference to the stream of the Ho, we may very well read 落汭 as in the translation. Elsewhere, as in Book III. par. 8, we must render differently. At the place of junction of the two streams, Yu must have performed some labour.

至於大伾—the character 大 is disputed. 坤, 興, and 邢, all have their advocates. Connected with the form of the character are the opinions as to whether we should regard 大伾 as the name of a district or place, or of a hill. We may acquiesce in the conclusion of the Statistical Account of the present dynasty that we are to find it in the present Lo hill (黎山), 20 le to the southeast of the dis. city of Seun (濬縣; lat. 35°45’, N., lon. 110°38’, W.), in the dep. of Wei-hwuy of Ho-nan. [This is a recent arrangement; this dis. used to be reckoned in the dep. of Tai-ming, Chih-lı.e.] From the ford of Mang to this point, the Ho had been gradually bending northwards.

北過洚水至于大伾,
—The Keang-water should probably be 隄; in the Statistical Account we have 隄 rises in the south-west of the dis. of Chun-lıw (屯留), dep. of Loo-ngan in Shan-se, and flowing into the dis. of Loo-shing (潞城), joins the 'Muddy Chang,' (濁漳), which, according to the Geography Modernized, is in consequence also called the Keang-water (洚水). This river flowing east entered the Ho of Yu between Ta-pi and Ta-luh. The particular point was probably in the district of Fei-heang (肥鄉), dep. of Kwang-p'ing. Ta-luh,—see on Part i., par. 9. There, however, we have to take 大伾 as the name of a district; here we have to think of some definite place, to be found probably in the district of Ping-heang (平鄉; lat. 37°2’, N., lon. 120’3’, W.), 11 le to the north of which we have the site of the old city of Kiu-luh.

又北播為九河—see on Yen-chow, Part i., par. 18. The successive changes in the course of the main stream of the Ho, and encroachments of the sea since the time of Yu, make it impossible for us now to ascertain those nine streams. The same things also render the rest of the paragraph difficult of elucidation. 同為逆河，入于海,
—It would seem from this that the nine Ho again united their waters, and formed one great river which seemed to contend with the advancing waves of the sea. The union of so many streams in one before entering the sea is difficult to suppose in the circumstances. Can we suppose that by the逆河 is meant the coast water all along the space included between the Ho and its extreme southern branch, kept in a constant state of agitation by so many channels emptying themselves into it at great distance from one another? This appears to be what in subsequent times was called the P'o-hae (渤海).

[It is clear from the above details that we cannot look for the Ho of Yu on the present face of the country. As it received the Chang river, however, before reaching Ta-luh, which still pursues its course to the sea, and enters it in the dep. of T'ien-tsin, we may suppose that the north-eastern part of the Ho's course was not much diff. from the present course of the Chang.]

By the time of the famous duke Hwan of Ta'e in the Chow dyn., B.C. 684-642, of the nine Ho all but one had disappeared, and not long after, B.C. 601, in the 6th year of the emp. Ting (定王), 1675 years, acc. to the 'Annals of the various dyns.,' after Yu's labours, the first great change in the course of the stream took place. This, however, did not disturb the carriage of the sea. The main stream broke off, not far from Ta-po, and after running for some time in the Ta (瀆川), broke off from it again, and proceeding east and north, rejoined the Chang, and went on as before to the sea. A second change, more extensive, took place more than 600 years later. In the third year of the usurper Mang (王莽; A.D. 11, the channel from the Ta northwards disappeared, and the Ho, now in the channel of the Ta and now north of it, flowed east to the sea, which it entered in the pres. district of Le-tein (利津; lat. 37°28’, N., lon. 110°32’, E.), dep. of Woo-t'ing (武定), Shantung. For more than 1000 years a struggle was maintained to prevent the stream from going further south, but in A.D. 1194, the main stream broke off in the dep. of Wei-hwuy in Ho-nan, about the district of Sin-heang (新鄉; lat. 35°22’, N., lon. 22°32’, W.), and flowing east and north as far mount Léang (梁山).]
From Po-ch'ung he surveyed the Yang, which, flowing eastwards, became the Han. Farther east, it became the water of Ts'ang-lang; and after passing the three great dykes, went on to Ta-p'êe, southwards from which it entered the K'iang. Eastward still, and whirling on, it formed the marsh of P'ang-le; and from that its eastern flow was the northern K'iang, as which it entered the sea.

in the dis. of Show-chang (壽張), dep. of Yen-chow, it there divided into two branches, one flowing north and east, and entering the sea in the dis. of Lien-tow, the other going east and south till it joined the Hwae, and went on in its channel to the sea. After this, the northern branch gradually became less and less. During the Yuen and Ming dynasties, The Hu finally broke off in the district of Yung-tsih (榮河), dep. of K'ao-fung, and proceeded east with a very inclination to the south till it joined the Hwae. I have not met with an account of the changes which it has undergone since. Until within a few years it discharged itself into the sea by the old channel of the Hwae.

P. 8. The course of the Han. 漫冢導漾 (in Sze-ma Tæt'en and others, 漫), 流為漢—see on Part I., p. 68. It is there stated that there were two mountains called Po-ch'ung, one in Kan-su, in the small dep. of Ts'ing (秦州), 60 li to the southeast of the dep. city, in which what is called the Western Han (西漢水) takes its rise. Flowing through Ts'in Chow and K'ee Chow (陜州) into Sze-ch'uen, it is lost in the K'uei-ling, which proceeding south through the departments of Pau-nung (保寧), and Shun-k'ing (川慶), enters the K'iang, near the dep. city of Chung-k'ing (重慶; lat. 29°42', N., lon. 9°58', W.). The Geography of the Han supposed that this western Han was the Yang of the text; and that we were to look for the Po-ch'ung mountain in the pres. Kan-su. But there is no connection between the two Hans;—there is none now, nor is it likely that there ever was. The mistake made in the Han dynasty has led to much perplexity and debate on the sentence under notice. The Po-ch'ung of Yu was, no doubt, the mountain in the north of Ning-k'iang Chow (寧羌州), dep. of Han-chung.

Here the Han rises, and for some time after issuing from its springs it was called the Yang. Flowing east along the south of the district of Miên (沔縣), it passes the dep. city in the dis. of Nan-ch'ung (南鄭), whereabouts the name of Yang censored, and was superseded by that of Han. From the dep. of Han-chung, the Han passes into that of Hsing-nang, out of which it proceeds from Shien-se into Hoo-pih in the dep. of Yun-yang (鄫陽). Entering from this that of Seang-yang in the sub. dep. of K'eu (均州), it took the name of the Water of Ts'ang-lang:—又東為滄浪之水. There was an island here according to Lo Taou-yuen in the middle of the stream, called Ts'ang-lang (淹中有洲日滄浪洲), which gave occasion to the name which was retained to the junction of its waters with the K'iang. It is perhaps seen a more likely solution of the name, that it was given to the stream here from the bluish tinge of its waters. 過三

遙至干大別南入于江—this describes the course of the stream from K'eu Chow till it mingles its waters with the H'eng. On Ta-p'êe, see on par. 8. The only difficulty is with 三遙, which Ts'ae says was the name of a stream, or streams. Such also was the view of the older commentators,—Gan-kwo, Ch'ing H'euen, Ma Yang, and Wang Suh. The 說文, however, defines 遼 as 'a large dyke on a river's bank where people could dwell' (墾增水邊土人所止). This meaning is the better established of the two. Ho Wei fixes on three points, all in the pres. district of Seang-yang, where he supposes these dykes to have been raised to sustain the impetus of the waters entering the Han, and considers them to be the positions indicated in the text.
9 From mount Min he surveyed the Kêang, which branching off to the east formed the T'o; eastward again it reached the Le; after this it passed the nine Kêang; and flowing eastward and winding to the north, it joined the Han in its eddying movements; from that its eastern flow was the middle Kêang, as which it entered the sea.

10 He surveyed the Yen water, which flowing eastward became the Tse, and entered the Ho. Thereafter it flowed out, and became the

no small difficulties. First, the waters of the Han have now mingled with the Kêang—why should it still be spoken of as if it were a distinct stream? Second, the P'ang-le lake has its own sources and feeders, independent of the Kêang, and is moreover a very considerable distance from the river;—it cannot with propriety be represented as being formed by the Han and Kêang. Laborious efforts have been made to clear up these points,—with some, but by no means complete, satisfactoriness. I apprehend that the face of the country changed very considerably during the 2,000 years and more that elapsed between Yu and the Han dynasty; whether the changes can still be traced remains to be seen:—see what was said on the nine Kêang, pp. 113, 114. The way in which Chinese scholars have dealt with the difficulties of the text will be seen from the two following quotations. First, on the second perplexity which I have indicated, Choo-foo-tze says:—'The marshing of P'ang-le took place, indeed, to the south of the great Kêang. But it did so in consequence of the nature of the ground, which high in the north and low in the south impeded the wide discharge of the waters from the P'ang-le. Unable to find a sufficient vent, they gathered themselves up, and spread abroad in the form of the lake which we have, several hundred li in extent.' Again, on the whole passage Woo Ching has said:—'The Han flowing south enters into the Kêang, and then along the northern bank of the Kêang, flows eastward, the northern portion of the Kêang, and so enters the sea (東行為江之北, 而入於海). But the Han having once entered the Kêang, the two became one stream, and yet it is here said:—'it flowed eastward as the northern Kêang,' as if there were still a separate stream. How is this to be accounted for? Let us bear in mind that the sources of the Han were remote, and its stream great, barely second to the Kêang, and all but its peer. Another way of speaking was necessary here than the style usual on the junction of a small stream with a large one; and hence in Part i., p. 47, the Kêang and the Han are here spoken of as pursuing their common course to the sea. The

Keang is not permitted to absorb both the waters and the name of the Han, but the Han shares in the name of the Kêang, becomes in fact "the northern Keang." There are again "the four principal rivers" whose discharge from their basins into the sea is commemorated (記其入海者, 著其為瀆也). Three of them are just one stream, but the fourth is twice commemorated,—as the Keang, and also as the Han. Not that the Ho, for instance, did not carry with it to the sea the waters of many other rivers, but they are all small as compared with it, and might be supposed to be swallowed up in it; but not so with the Han and the Keang. The former must still retain an individuality to the last.

P. 9. The course of the Keang.

【岷山導江, 東別為沱——見Part i., pp. 49, 63, and 64; and on par. 8 of this Part.】

At whatever point in the range of hills going by the name of Min, this branch of the Keang takes its rise, it appears in the north-west of Sze-chuen, and flows south through the Ward of Sung-pwan into the small dep. of Mou (茂州). Thence flowing more easterly, it enters the dept. of Ching-too, and in passing through the district of Kwan (灌縣), lat. 30°59', N., lon. 12°46', W.) it throws off the first T'o, often called the river of Pe (談江), because it immediately passes on the east through the dis. of that name. It goes on south under the small dep. of Mei (眉州); thence through the dep. of Koa-ting (嘉定), to that of Sen-chow (敘州), not far from which (lat. 28°38', N., lon. 11°43', W.) it receives, we are told, the river of Ma-hoo (馬湖). It would be more correct to say that here it joins the Keang, the river of the 'Golden Sands' which received the waters of the Ma-hoo not long before. From this point the course continued as eastwards, and generally with a gradual inclination to the

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north. First it traverses the small dep. of Loo (廈門), on the south-east of the dep. city of which (lat. 28°56', N., lon. 10°55', W.) it again receives the T'o, which has collected various streams in its course. From this it proceeds east and north through the depts. of Chung-k'ing (重慶) and K'wei-chow (夔州), and in the Fung-té-té (奉節) dis. of the latter, it threw off at one time a second T'o. This was the E-water (夷水), which left the K'ang at this point, and flowing to the south-east was joined by a stream from the dep. of She-nan (施南) in Hoo-pi-h, with which it went away east-ward, and rejoined the K'ang, which has passed from Sze-chuan into Hoo-pi-h, rejoined it, after passing the districts of Pa-tung (巴東) and Ch'ang-yang (長陽), dep. of E-ch'ang (宜昌), close by the district city of E-to (宜昌), dep. of King-chow. At this point the river from She-nan still flows into the K'ang, but the branch which flowed off from the great stream in Fung-té-té district has long been dried up. I have abridged the above details from the 留貢錄. They bring the present course of the Min-k'ang sufficiently well before us. From the text, however, one gets the impression that, if the main stream was not called by the name of the T'o, it was the branch or branches so styled which engaged the chief attention of Yu.

The former clause left as near the district city of E-to, lat. 30°28', N., lon. 5°39', W. This brings us to Pa-liing (巴陵) and district of the dep. of Yü-chow (岳州府巴陵縣), lat. 29°24', N., lon. 3°38', W.

In Yu's time, 東陵, 'the eastern hill,' would simply be the name of the hill which now occupies the south-western part of the dep. city, called Pa-liing, Pa-k'ew (巴邱), and T'een-yó (天岳). Among the old interpreters there is a difference of view, whether (Sze-ma Ta'een and the Books of Han read 葛) is the name of a hill or of a stream; and Ch'ing lays down a canon, which must be considered arbitrary, to settle the point. He says that in this Book after 過 and 會 we have the names of rivers, but after 至 the names of hills or marshes. Whichever we understand by the term, the name remains in the small dep. of Le, the chief city of which is in lat. 29°37', N., lon. 4°48', W. We have also the Le-water, which rising in the dis. of Yung-t'ing (永定), in the extreme west of the dep., flows eastwards through the whole of it, and passes into Hwa-yung (華容) dis., dep. of Yü-chow, where it flows into the T'ung-t'ing lake. Of the 'nine K'ang' enough has been already said. This passage certainly assigns the place of them near where the T'ung-t'ing lake is. The great difficulty in my way against according to the view of the Sung scholars is that neither here nor elsewhere in the Tribute of Yu are the 'nine K'ang' spoken of as a marsh or lake.

東進北會於匯,—this clause is attended with no little difficulty. Gan-kwó took 北 in the sense of 流 to overflow, and says that 'the stream, overflowing as it went east, divided into separate channels, which all went north and united to form the P'ang-le.' 東流 分流, 都北會於匯, 'the stream divided, all northward arrive at the汇.' Woo Ch'ing, ingeniously but too violently, removed the clause 東匯澤為彭蠡, and read it after the text—東進北會於匯. 北北會為彭蠡. 隱 is then a name, in the first place, for the meeting of the Han and K'ang, and in the next for the stream of their united waters. These attempts at explanation only show the difficulty of the text. We must suppose that in this par. the shoo takes no notice of the junction of the Han and the K'ang, but the 北 in it and the prec. par. have the same reference,—are to be understood of the turbulence of the united streams, which caused the formation of the P'ang-le. This turbulence, however, is primarily predicated of the Han, and here the K'ang is supposed by an eastward course, winding (流) to the north, to merge its waters at that point in those of the Han.

東為中江, 入于海—Gan-kwó says:—'We had the northern K'ang; here we have the middle one; that there was a southern one is plain' (有北, 有中, 南可知). The Han was called the northern K'ang in the last par., after its junction with the great stream. Here the great stream after leaving the P'ang-le, or the point at which the waters which formed it tried to discharge themselves, is called the middle K'ang. Possibly, the portion of those waters which did enter may be regarded as the southern K'ang, or southern part of the river. Still as the Shoo makes no mention of a southern K'ang, we need not trouble ourselves with it. We get the idea certainly of one stream flowing to the sea from this point, and I conceive that the three K'ang of Yung-chow (Part i., p. 40) have nothing to do with the Yang-tsze.

P. 10. The course of the Tse. What is most remarkable in the account of this river is that it is described as first on the north of the Ho, then crossing that powerful stream, and re-appearing on the south. The term 'north' in it is called by Woo Ch'ing 'the northern Tse,' the latter, 'the southern.' The name of the Tse still remains north of the Ho. On the south it has long been lost, but the ancient course of the stream must have been much the same as that of the present Scaou Ts'ing (小清河).
Yung marsh. Eastward, it issued forth on the north of Taou-k‘ew, and flowed further east to the marsh of Ko. North-east from this it united with the Wân, and after flowing north went eastwards on to the sea.

11 He surveyed the Hwae from the hill of T‘ung-pih. Flowing east, it united with the Sze and the E; and with an eastward course still entered the sea.

12 He surveyed the Wei from Neaou-urh-tung-heuš. Flowing eastwards it met with the Fung, and eastwards again with the King. Farther east still, it passed the Tseih and the Tseu; and entered the Ho.

13 He surveyed the Lö from Heung-urh. Flowing to the north-east, it united with the Kêen and the Ch‘êen; eastwards still, it united with the E; and then on the north-east entered the Ho.

—The Statistical Account says of the Tse-water, under the dep. of Hwae-k‘ing in Honan:—'It has another name, that of the Yen-water. It rises in the hill of Wang-uh, in the west of the dis. of Tse-yuen, and flowing east along the north of the district, it passes with a south-east course through the north of the district of Mang, and on to the Ho.' There is another stream, 'the Wide Tse’ (廣濟), in the same department, having a longer course very much parallel to this, and more to the east, which some would rather identify with the river of the text. It is not worth the time and space to enter into the discussions of the critics on the subject. For some time after leaving its source the stream was called the Yen, but ere long it was known as the Tse, and soon lost in the Ho.
but from the ground. The water of the marsh was most likely derived from the Ho, finding its way by some underground communication to the place, but we cannot suppose for a moment that the water of the marsh was that of the Tse, flowing into the Ho from the north and passing through it.

東出于陶丘北又東至于菏-陶丘

The name remains in the district of Tung-tou (定陶; lat. 35°11', N., lon. 111°44', W.), dep. of Yen-chow, the hill being 7½ to the south-west of the district city. The hill of Tseou was about 500 feet from the Yung marsh, and again there bubbled up a spring from the ground, which was strangely supposed to be the waters of the Tse appearing after so long a subterranean travel. Woo Ch'ing says that the hill should lead us to think of a well-spring, sending up its waters to the surface from its own bosom. These waters flowed away to the marsh of Ko which they served to augment;—see Part i., p. 57.

又北會于汶—-the waters of what we may now call the Southern Tse flowed through the marsh of Ko, and on the north-east of it were met by those of the Wan-water, which is now one of the feeders of the Grand Canal;—see on Part i., p. 27.

又北東至于海—-the Tse, augmented now by the Wan, flowed north as far as the present district city of Yang-kü (揚穀; lat. 36°9', N., lon. 119°20', W.), and then pursued its way to the sea, very much in the course of the present Sseou-t'ing (小清), the name of 'clear,' having taken its rise from the purity for which the waters of the Tse had always been famous.

P. 11. The course of the Hwaee. The Hwaee rises in the hill of Tung-pih (see on par. 2), Hon-nan prov., dep. of Nan-yang, dist. of Tung-pih (lat. 33°20', N., lon. 3°10', W.). It met with the united streams of the E and the Sze (see on Part i., par. 30) in Keang-soo, dep. of Hwa-ningan, dist. of Ts'ing-ho (lat. 33°33', N., lon. 2°34', E.), and from that point went east to the sea. The eastern portion of the Hwaee's course is now very much changed. From the dist. of Tung-pih, dep. Nan-yang, it flows east and north through the small dep. of Kwang, where it receives the Joo (汝水), and from the dist. of Koo-chie (固始; lat. 32°18', N., lon. 51', W.) it passes into Ngan-huwy. Entering this prov. in the dep. of Ying-chow (潁州), it traverses it, flowing nearly due east, and collecting many waters, to the small dep.

of Sze (泗州; lat. 35°8', lon. 11°32', E.) when it passes through the lake of the 'Great marsh' (洪澤湖), which may be said to be formed by it, into Keang-soo, and from which lake on the north-east it discharges itself again into the Yellow River, in the dis. of Ts'ing-ho, dept. Hwa-ningan. Thenceforward its course is lost in that of the Ho. At the same point the Grand Canal also issues from the Ho, so that we may say there is a connection between the Hwaee and the Yang-tse, which we saw, Part i., p. 45, began to be established in the Chow dynasty. On the northern side of the Ho, the canal now receives the waters of the E and the Sze, which used to flow into the Hwaee.

In the mention of both the E and the Sze, after their waters had been blended together, Woo Ch'ing finds a case analogous to that of the Han's retaining its individuality after joining the Keang, as in p. 8. The streams, he says, were of about equal size, and therefore the name of each must be preserved. The whole course of the Hwaee from Tung-pih to the sea is about 1,800 li.

P. 12. The course of the Wei. See on Part i., pp. 73-75. The river rises in the hill of Neaou-shoo-t'ung-hou, in the west of the district of Wei-yen (渭源), dep. of Lan-chow, Kan-suh. In par. 2, and Part i., p. 76, the mountain is called Neaou-shoo, but here we have its full name, meaning 'Bird and Rat in the Same Hole.' Gan-kwö, with his fondness for the marvellous, says that 'a bird and a rat lived in the same holes on this mountain, and paired together as male and female.' The Uruh-ya had said that 'a bird called T'oo (鷹), and a rat, called Tuh (鼠), lived here together in the same hole.' This is conceivable; the addition of their pairing is of course absurd. From Lan-chow dep. the river flows into that of Kung-ch'ang, and thence to the small dep. of Ts'ing (泰州), from which it passes into Shen-se, the whole of which it traverses till it meets the Ho at the termination of its southward flow. The whole length of its course is now under 1,500 li, whereas in the Han dynasty it was given as nearly 1,900. It may have altered its course in some parts.

P. 13. The course of the Ló. See on Part i., p. 55. 熊耳,—see on par. 2. The Heung-urh hill there mentioned is, no doubt, that of the text, from which Yu began his survey of the Ló; but the sources of the stream are more distant, in the small dep. of Shang, in Shen-se, as stated on Part i., p. 55. There is also a Heung-urh hill there, distinguished from this by the prefix of 'Western.' According to the Geography of the Han dynasty, the course of the Ló was altogether 1,970 li.
14. III. Thus, throughout the nine provinces a similar order was effectuated:— the grounds along the waters were everywhere made habitable; the hills were cleared of their superfluous wood and sacrificed to; the sources of the streams were cleared; the marshes were well banked; access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas.

15. A great order was effectuated in the six magazines of material wealth; the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that contribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. The fields were all classified with reference to the three characters of the soil; and the revenues for the Middle region were established.

Ch. III. Pp. 14, 15. A summary of the labours of Yu thus far described. 14. 九州攸同,—this clause is a summary of the whole part; the other clauses give the particulars of the general order which was established. The phrase 攸同 occurred before, where after Gan-kwô, I explained 攸 by 所, its frequent synonym;—see Part I., p. 78. K’ung seems to take the character in the same way here, his comment on the clause being 所同事在下, 'the particulars in which they were made to agree are given below.' This is forced, however. The dict. gives 攸 as sometimes merely 'a helping word' (語助詞), an expletive, and quotes from the Shê King. Part III., Bk. I., Ode x., att. 4, 5.; 四方攸同, which is much akin to the text. We may consider the 攸 therefore as simply supplying the place of the copula. The nine Chow are of course the nine provinces described in Part I.洲 and 州 were originally interchangeable; and the Urh-yâ defines 州 as 'inhabitable ground in the midst of water,' (水中可居者). Now all the habitable ground the ancient Chinese knew was conceived of as surrounded by water, and hence it was called a 州 or continent, and the subdivision was again made of the nine Chow, embracing the empire proper;—see Hoo Wei in loc. 四隩既宅, see Can, of Yaou, p. 7. But we must seek for a different meaning here. That which I have adopted is after Le Sæn (李巡), who says:—涯內近水為隩. Under Yong-chow we are told, Part I., p. 16, that the people could come down from the heights and dwell on the low ground, and under Young-chow (p. 78), that the country about San-wei was made habitable; the text says that throughout the nine provinces all the low ground near the streams that had formerly been inhabited was recovered from the waters. 四隩—四方之隩. This is better than to take it, with Ts’ae and the Daily Explanation, as 四海之隩. 九州刊旅—九山刊旅—九州之山;—see the Introduction to Ch. I. Wang Ts’i’ason (王樵) says:—刊 and 旅, describing the beginning and end of the work on the hills, embrace all the operations on them. The cutting down the wood was the first step in the regulation of the waters; the sacrificing was the announcement of the completed work.' On 旅, see on Part I., pp. 65, 76. 九州瀉源—九州—之川;—see on par. 5. 潟源, 'had their
IV. He conferred lands and surnames. *He said,* "Let me go before the empire with reverent attention to my virtue, that none may act contrary to my conduct."

Five hundred le constituted the imperial domain. From the first sources cleared, is a somewhat difficult expression. Ying-ta says it means that from the source of the rivers to their mouth, Yu cleared all their channels so that they had no obstruction in their course. This is, no doubt, intended, but the question is as to how it is said by the characters employed. Ho Wai approves a remark by one of the critics Ken (金氏), that when it is said here that the sources of the rivers were cleared, and not their courses, we must understand by the text the work described by Yu himself—'I deepened the channels, and canals, and conveyed them to the streams.' In this way there were no pools of water about the country to lead to the obstruction of rivers. The remark is well enough, but it leaves the difficulty of the language untouched. We may conclude that if the sources were cleared, the courses would also be attended to; this is probably the ground of Ying-ta's observation.

**九澤既陂—九澤 must be taken in analogy with 九山 and 九川, as 九州之澤.** It does happen, indeed, that we can make out nine marshes mentioned in the first Part,—Luy-hea in Yen-chow; Ta-yay in T'eu-chow; Fang-le in the Shing-king marsh in Yang-chow; Yun-mung in King-chow; supposing only one marsh intended in p. 50; Yung-po, the marsh of Ko, and Meng-choo in Yu-chow; and Choo-yay in Yung-chow. Notwithstanding this coincidence, we must deal with 九澤 as with 九川. 陂障, 'a bank or dyke,' used here as a verb. It is synonymous with 鋒 in the general signification, but the terms are differently applied, 鋒 denoting the high banks on both sides of a river to confine the waters to their channel; 陂, the embankment surrounding a marsh, with sluices to admit water, and others to let it out.

**四海會同, two interpretations have been proposed of this clause. There is that given in the 集傳 ---四海之水,無不會同,各有所歸, 'the waters within the four seas all met in a similar way,—each had its place to which it came.' The other, which I have followed in the translation, is that proposed by Gan-kwo. Lin Che-ke explains it by a reference to the conclusion of each chapter on the provinces, which sets forth an account of the route of conveyance to the capital. A commentator Chang (張) observes:—When the calamity of the inundation was removed, not only could the people of the nine provinces without obstruction, but the barbarous tribes, east, west, north, and south, could likewise all assemble in the capital. We are sent back to the discussions about the meaning of the phrase, 'the four seas;—see on the Canon of Shun, p. 13. In this place we must take, I think, the general indefinite signification of the phrase.**
CH. IV. Pp. 16—22. Another territorial and political division of the country. The division of the empire into nine provinces was mainly regulated by the natural features of the country, and by the hills and streams. The division here described was of another character and mainly political. Not a few difficult questions arise out of it, which I shall briefly touch on, after discussing exegetically the meaning of the several paragraphs.

P. 16. 錫土姓, 'He conferred lands and surnames,'—this must be understood in close connection with the paragraphs below. The evils occasioned by the overflow of the waters had been in a great measure removed; the lands had everywhere been surveyed; the revenues which they ought to yield had been fixed:—it was necessary that provision should now be made for the government of the multitudes, and the maintenance of the order which had been established. Yu therefore now assigned them the provinces according to the plan which is subsequently detailed, different portions of territory to those whose birth, or services, or virtue, most entitled them to the distinction. He was himself, indeed, only a minister, a servant, and what he did in this way must have been subject to the approval of Yao, by whom it was so necessary that his acts should be confirmed:—we may well suppose that they were never disallowed. And we may suppose also, that in his conferring lands his first regards were given to the officers who had rendered him the most effectual assistance in his arduous labours.

This assignment of lands was like the action of a conqueror who dispossesses the original possessors of the kingdom which he has subdued, and portions it out among his followers. And there was probably an element of this nature in the action of Yu. The tribes of San-mesou, for instance, were doubtless put under some minister of Yaou. But the strides of the founders of the Chinese empire with the earlier occupants of the country are barely intimated. Yu's subjugation of it was mainly a reclamation of it from the wildness of nature, and the disasters brought about by the overflowing of its rivers.

When it is said that Yu conferred surnames as well as names, we cannot but think of his era as that of the real origin of the Chinese empire. Gan-kwô's exposition of the par.—it must be borne in mind that he understood Yaou and not Yu as the nominative to 錫—'The emperor, establishing the virtuous, gave them surnames after their places of birth, meaning that such and such a virtuous man was born in such a place, and therefore the name of that place was given to him as a surname to distinguish him, (天子建德因生以賜姓) this is a quotation from the 左傳, 隱八年, 謂有德之人生此地, 以此地名賜之姓以顯之. The surname, however, was given not only from the birth-place, but after the name of the fief concerned, from the office held by the receiver of one of his ancestors, from any remarkable incident in his life, and from a variety of other circumstances—the history of surnames among the Chinese is just like the same history in other nations. Subsequent to Yu's time, and especially on the changes of the early dynasties, we have instances of the conferring of lands and surnames; but not at all on the large scale which the text suggests to us as practised by him.

As closely connected with this paragraph and the whole of the chapter, we should keep in mind Yu's own statement in the 諧 and 偈 thir,' p. 31, I assisted in completing the five tenures, extending over 5,000 le; in appointing in the provinces twelve 師塔; and establishing, in the regions beyond, extending to the four seas, five presidents.'

P. 17. I have introduced 'He said' before this paragraph, understanding it to be a remark made by Yu, related here, amid the account of his achievements, to show how he himself set the chief store by his personal virtue. It seems out of place, indeed, but we cannot help that. Gan-kwô rather supposes it to be describing the thought of the emperor, and in an indirect form, from the narrator, and not from the sovereign, 祖一敬 台—我 台 and 胖 have the same reference. We have seen how 胖, before the founder of the T'ien dynasty, was used indifferently by the emperor and by his ministers. Hoo Wei observes:—'From 肢州 (Part. i., p. 2) downwards describes the business of good government and the nourishment of the people; from 錫土姓 describes the business of good instruction and the transformation of the people. 成賦 中 邑 (par. 25) is what I call good government; —it gets the wealth of the people. 聲教 諏于四海 (par. 29) shows what I call the good instruction; —it gets the hearts of the people.'

Pp. 18—22. The five domains. 18. 五百里甸服,—I do not see how to translate 服 in this and the other paragraphs otherwise than by 'domain,' if, indeed, that word can be called a translation of the Chinese character. The dictionary gives the 五服, and the cognate phrases of 六服, 九服, as a distinct signification of the term, without attempting to deduce it from others that are more common. It is often represented as meaning 'service,' 服事, such and such service being rendered to the emperor here, and such and service being rendered there. So Gan-kwô explains 甸服 as denoting 甸服治田, 'for the emperor doing service in the cultivation of the fields.' In whatever way this application of it arose, the character is in effect here simply a designation of territory. 甸 is defined by T'sao as 田, 'fields; and he says:—'Because all the business of this territory was to supply the...
hundred 館 they brought, as revenue, the whole plant of the grain; from the second, they brought the ears; from the third, they brought only the straw, but had to perform other services; from the fourth, they gave the grain in the husk; and from the fifth, the grain cleaned.

19 Five hundred 館 beyond constituted the domain of the nobles. The first hundred 館 was occupied by the cities and lands of the revenue, from the fields, therefore it is called 旬服. Here again the dictionary is very cautious, and defines the term (from the 説文, the emperor's 500 館 of land.) There is, I think, a connection between 旬 and 田; but without attempting to indicate what it is, I translate 館, 'the imperial domain.' The 500 館 are understood to extend every way, north, south, east, and west, from the capital, so as to form a square of 1,000 館, which may be represented thus:

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 500 500 500 500
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The whole would contain an area of 1,000,000 square 館.

百里賦納總-總, meaning, 'to collect and bind up,' then = 'all,' 'the whole.' Here applied to the produce of the land it means 'the whole plant.' Ts'ae's definition is very good:--禾本全日賦-賦 'as revenue;' --not that they brought all the produce to the imperial granaries, but the proportion of it—probably one tenth—as assessed. This was the rule for the first hundred 館 round about the capital. We have no mention of the payment of revenue in the other domains. It was, no doubt, on some arrangement analogous to that made for this 館. The princes occupying the several territories received it, and then paid a tithe of their incomes to the emperor not in kind but in value, in other articles produced in their principalities;--such at least is the account given by Hoo Wei. 二百里納銑-銑 primaries means a 'short sickle for reaping grain'; it is then used for the grain reaped with it. Ts'ae says:--銑禾日銑. He adds, however, 半麂, 'half the stalk.' We are to understand the ear, with a small portion of the stalk, by which the ears could conveniently be bundled together.

三百里納 穀, 服-穀 denotes 'the straw,' the plant without the ears or grain. Ts'ae defines it 半穀去皮, which I do not understand.

The contribution of revenue from this portion of the domain was thus the least valuable of all, and therefore the inhabitants were called upon to perform other service, which is denoted by 服.

Ts'ae would extend this to the first and second hundred 館 as well, and some would extend it to all the other four. But this is quite arbitrary. The service must be confined to the third hundred 館. What it was we cannot well say, but Kih K'ao-foo (金吉甫) ingeniously conjectures that it was specially the conveyance of their revenue for the inhabitants of the 4th and 5th hundred 館 beyond. He finds in this an explanation for the omission of 納 in the account of their revenues; he sees also the imperial grace in the arrangement:—those at a moderate distance from the capital paid a small contribution of revenue, and made up for it by their personal service, while those farther off, paying a larger contribution, were spared the labour of conveying it.

We can see generally that the contributions from the different hundreds were arranged with reference to their distance from the capital and trouble of conveyance.

四百里粟五百里米-
粟 and 米 are sometimes used indifferently, with the general signification of 穀 or 'grain.' When a distinction is made between them as here, their meaning is as in the translation:--粟曰粟 無曰米 [Hoo Wei takes the opportunity to touch here on the burdensome system of transporting the revenue in kind (漕運之法), which has prevailed in China since the time of the Han dynasty. It was a consequence of the change from the feudal system to a centralized government,—an evil in itself, but less than other evils. In times of weakness and confusion like the present it must be found very burdensome.]

P. 19. 五百里侯服—侯服—侯國之服, 'the domain containing the principalities of the nobles.' By 侯 we must understand all the nobles of the five ranks, (see Mencius, Bk. V. I't. II., ii.); nor are we to
high ministers and great officers; the second, by the principalities of the Nan; the other three hundred were occupied by the various princes.

20 Five hundred le still beyond formed the PEACE-SECURING DOMAIN. In the first three hundred le they cultivated the lessons of learning and moral duties; in the other three hundred they showed the energies of war and defence.

suppose that they occupied only this domain; —the next was occupied by them as well. Outside the imperial domain, this extended 500 le in every direction (Ts'ue). The following figure may be taken as a representation of it —

![Image of a diagram showing the boundaries of the Peace-securing Domain]

The domain was thus altogether three times the size of the imperial domain, and would contain 3,000,000 square le.

—Ts'ue says: —采卿大夫邑地, 采 was the cities and lands allotted to the chief ministers and officers. Those were the nobles and officers in the emperor’s immediate service, having their offices within the imperial domain. Outside of it the first hundred le was assigned them for their families and support. They took rank in various degrees with the feudal princes. Under the Chow dyn., acc. to Mencius, a chief minister received as much territory as a How, a great officer as much as a Ph, and a scholar of the first class as much as a Taze or a Nan. Perhaps the arrangement made by Yu was much the same.

二百里為男邦, —the second hundred le. The 男 was the lowest of the five ranks of nobility, but the territory assigned to it in the Chow dyn. was the same as that of the Taze (子). It may have been different under Yao. The ministers and officers of the emperor took rank, it has been said, with the feudal princes, but from the territories of the Nan being called here 邑, we may conclude that the采邑

were not recognised as principalities.

三百里諸侯, —the third hundred le but 'the remaining three hundred le.' 諸侯 embraces the Kung, How, Ph, and Taze,—the princes of all the ranks above the Nan. It is conjectured that the smaller principalities were placed next to the imperial domain at once to receive and to afford shelter from the encroachments not unlikely to be attempted by the more powerful lords.

P. 20. 五百里綏服,—this domain was likewise occupied by the princes. 'Being more distant from the imperial seat,' says one of the commentators Chang (張氏), 'the name was changed to 綏, that its occupants might know that the reason why principalities were established was to secure the repose of the royal House.' According to this comment, I have translated 綏 by 'peace-securing.' The domain extended 500 le in every direction from that of the nobles in the following way —

![Image of a diagram showing the Peace-securing Domain]

It was thus five times the size of the imperial domain, and contained 3,000,000 square le.
Five hundred *le*, remoter still, constituted the domain of restraint. The first three hundred *le* were occupied by the tribes of the E; the next two hundred by criminals undergoing the lesser banishment.

Denominated *Yaou*. In his dictionary, Dr. Medhurst explains *Yao*, 'the Important Tenure,' in which case we must read *Yao* in the third tone. This view has the support of Soo Tung-po; but it cannot be admitted. In his translation of the Shoo, Dr. Medhurst renders the phrase—'the Restricted Tenure.' This is more in accordance with the prevailing view. Gan-kwó says the domain *Yao* *Yao* 文教, i.e., 'was bound and restrained by the instructions of learning.' The idea of restraint seems to be correct; the instructions of learning, as the instrument of that restraint, are foreign to the subject. Many critics assign to *Yao* the idea of *Yao* *Yao*, 'summary,' 'perfunctory.' Thus Leu Ts'oo-hēn in the 集說:—'This domain was all occupied by wild tribes, but it was still near the Middle Kingdom, and an easy, summary, jurisdiction was exercised over it;—it was not governed with attention to every particular.' I prefer the view given in the translation, with which indeed this other is not inconsistent. The territory was assigned to the nobles; but with reference to its indigenous inhabitants, they governed them in a 'rough and ready' way, just sufficient to keep them in subjection. It extended in every direction from the Peace-securing domain 500 *le*—thus:
22. Five hundred le, the most remote, constituted the wild domain. Three hundred le were occupied by the tribes of the Man; two hundred, by criminals undergoing the greater banishment.

It was thus 7 times the size of the imperial domain, and contained 7,000,000 square le.

Three hundred le were occupied by the tribes of the Man; two hundred, by criminals undergoing the greater banishment.

The first three hundred le were occupied by wild tribes which had not yet been merged in the conquering race, nor driven by it from their original seats. The attempts to explain 三里夷 as an adjective — 野 or — 野, may be seen in 禹贡 九都. Hoo Wei very pertinently compares with the text the language of Mencius, Bk. IV., Pt. II., 1.

P. 22. 五百里荒服, we have come to the last of the domains. It was called the 荒服 with reference, we may suppose, to the rude character of the inhabitants, and the wildness of the country. It extended 500 le in every direction beyond the fourth domain; thus:
It was thus nine times the size of the imperial domain, and contained 9,000,000 square le.

百里畿，二百里畿，畿—畿 corresponds to the 畿 of the prec. par. The 畿 was considered still more rude and barbarous than the 畿. Properly speaking,畿 was the name of the wild tribes on the south; 畿, that of those on the east; 畿, that of those on the west; and 畿, that of those on the north. 畿 畿, however, is used as a designation for all the wild tribes, and also 畿 畿. Similarly we find the single terms 畿 and 畿 employed.

畿 is used as in Can. of Shun, p. 12. It must denote a more distant banishment than 畿 in the last par. It is not meant that criminals occupied the whole territory, but they had their position assigned to them here among the 畿.

(The five Fuh constituted what we may call the China Proper of Yu’s time. Beyond them there was still an outlying territory, over which the ancient emperors claimed authority, and where Yu went on to make political arrangements. ‘I assisted,’ he says in the Yih and Tseih, p. 8, in completing the five domains, extending over 5,000 le; in appointing in the provinces twelve Tutors; and in establishing in the regions beyond, extending to the four seas, five presidents. ‘The nine Chow and the five Fuh covered the same territory, the former being its natural divisions, the latter its artificial and political ones. A subdivision of the five Fuh is insisted on by many, by which the three inner domains constituted the Middle Kingdom, and the two outer the territory of the ‘Four E.’ On this it is not necessary to dwell. With regard to the five Fuh, certain questions present themselves to the mind.

First, the five domains of Yu formed a square of 5,000 le. If the le were of the same length as that of the present day, Yu’s China must have extended rather more than 1,700 miles from north to south, and from east to west, and contained an area of nearly 3,000,000 square miles. The largest area which can possibly be assigned to the ‘Eighteen Provinces’ of the present day does not come up to 2,000,000 sq. m.;—see Williams ‘Middle Kingdom,’ Vol. I., p. 7. It is not possible that the le of Yu could have been equal to the le now; but scholars have not been able to determine its measurement. Koo Yen-woo (顧炎武), in the beginning of the present dynasty, contended that the ancient le was only 31–50th of the modern one, but his views do not seem to have obtained general acceptance. If they could be established, Yu’s five Fuh would have been rather more than 1,100 miles in each way, which we might admit, so far as the question of extent is concerned.

But second, the five Fuh of Yu surround the imperial domain, which is represented as a square of 1,000 le exactly in the centre of them (see in ‘Le Chou King,’ p. 333, a strange parallel attempted to be drawn by De Guignes between this arrangement and the division of the land described in the chapters of Ezekiel). Now the imperial seat of Yaou was in K’e-chow, the most northern of the provinces. His capital was in Ping-yang, the name of which remains in the dep. Ping-yang, in Shan-se, lat. 36° N., lon. 135° W. It could therefore, have been the centre of the domain. This difficulty is clearly seen by Chinese critics. Ts‘ae Ch’in observes:—‘Though we extend the northern territory of K’e-chow to Yun-chung (雲中), we are to look in the ‘Six T’ing of the city of Kwei-hwa’ in the extreme north of Shan-se for this. The city of Yun-chung is now the city of T‘oh-khew-t’oh (拓克托), to Cho (張); ? dis. of Hwou state, dep. of Shun-t’een, and to Yih (易); ? the small dep. of Yih Chow), I am afraid we shall not have 2,500 le. Even if we have them, they will consist of a sandy desert without vegetation. On the other hand, in the east and south, whereas the greatest revenue now comes, we must put down the dancer of Restraint, and the Wih domain. The account of the domains does not seem to harmonize with the nature of the country. Looked at with reference to this, it is unintelligible. I may observe, however, that territories have been very different in ancient and modern times, in regard to their prosperity and the reverse. The country on the north of K’e-chow may not have been the wild and desert tract which we find there in subsequent times; while the regions of Fuh-k‘en and Ché-koang, which were then jungly fens, occupied by barbarous tribes, have now become rich and populous, territory of the highest character. The character of a region cannot be pronounced from its appearance at one era.’ This effort of Ts‘ae to remove the difficulty cannot be regarded as successful. Barracness or fertility is one element in it. Even on that point we could not admit Ts‘ae’s view, as supported, as regards the domain of K’e-chow, by historical evidence; but the main point is that of geographical position. Ch’in Sze-k‘ac shows how, on the arrangement described, we must carry the wild domain on the east, into the sea; on the west, beyond Tseih-shih; on the north, 1,200 le beyond Yun-chung; while on the south it would not have reached mount Hán. There is no laying down the five domains on the surface of China. I cannot regard them as anything but an ideal mapping out of the country. This much we may admit,—that Yu placed the smaller principalities next to the imperial, and the larger ones farther off; the indigenous tribes being more strong and numerous according as the distance from the capital increased. In name, the divisions probably existed, and nobles and wild chiefs might be said to belong to one Fuh and another, but there could only be a rough and general approximation to the scheme which Yu had in his mind.

Third, a division of the empire into nine, or more properly ten Fuh, was made under the Chow dynasty. It is twice given in the Chow Le, first in Br. XXXIX, where the domains are called Ke (畿), and again in Br. XXXIII, where all but the king’s Ke are called Fuh. This arrangement may be represented thus:—
It will be seen that not only are the number of the domains double what Yu made them, but that, where the same names are retained, the order in which they are placed is different. That is a matter, however, to be explained when we come to the 'Chow Le.' The point to be remarked here is that the domains of Han are said to be distant from each other 500 le, like those of Yu, and we have the country represented as a square of 10,000 le. (The spaces between them in the diagram are smaller than in the proc. diagrams, in order to get the figure upon the page.) How to reconcile the Shoo and the Rites of Chow is a question of much perplexity.

The method adopted by Ch'ing K'ang-shing is the most remarkable. He supposes that the first clause in each of the paragraphs 18–22 gives the Fuh as it had been in the previous part of Yaou's reign, and that the other clauses, always describing 500 le in diff. portions, give an addition made by Yu. For instance, the 200 le of the Nans' principalities and the 300 of the other princes' were added by him to the second domain, making it altogether 1,000 le in each direction from the first. This addition is intended, he contends, by the term in the Yih and Tseih, p. 8. Making the nine provinces terminate with the Man Fuh of the Chow dynasty, 7,000 le from the capital, he gets the 49,000,000 square le which I have mentioned in the note on that passage, as the area of the empire proper. The mingled violence and ingenuity of this treatment of the Shoo cannot be contemplated without moving us to smile.

Other methods of reconciling the two accounts have been proposed. Yu's measurements, it is said, were as the bird flies, the Chow dynasty's were as men travel, up and down and winding about. Again, it is urged, the le of Yu was double that of Chow, and moreover, the domains of Chow include all the territory beyond Yu's Fuh, which he describes as extending to the four seas. As Ts'ae says, 'To sum the matter up, nothing certain has been said about it;' (要之,皆非的論). The more we extend Yu's domains, the greater difficulty we have to reconcile the classic with the actual face of the ground,—the everlasting hills, the bounding deserts, and the sea embracing the empire on the east and south.)
23 V. On the east reaching to the sea; on the west extending to the moving sands; to the utmost limits of the north and south:—his fame and influence filled up all within the four seas. Yu presented a dark coloured gem-stone, and announced the completion of his work.

Ch. V. P. 23. The universal recognition of Yu's fame, and his announcement of his completed work.

Ch. V. P. 23. The universal recognition of Yu's fame, and his announcement of his completed work. 東漸于海—漸 (the first tone) is explained by Gan-kwó by 入; so also the dict., with ref. to this pass., has 入. T'ae and most recent commentators explain the term by 漬, 'to soak.' As the term is here used along with 被 and 被, the less emphatic it is made the better. Gan-kwó's definition is to be preferred. 被于流沙. 被, as in Can. of Yaou, p. 1, et al., 流沙, see par. 5. 南暨于北. the south and the north being come to.' The extension of Yu's fame in these directions is left thus indefinite, and no place of boundary is specified, because in the Book the termination of the nine provinces north and south is left undefined. 聲教訖于四海. —it does not seem proper to bring in 'instructions,' here. Yu has appeared in the whole of the Book as a worker and not as a teacher. The 聲 was that given by his doings and character, and not by his works. I have ventured therefore to use 'influence' in the translation, instead of 'instructions.' This is according to the definitions of the term which are the oldest;—see those quoted in the dict. from the 說文 and 訝今. Hsü Wei says that 'the four seas' denote the E on the east, the Jüng on the west, the Man on the south, and the Téh on the north. I cannot think so. 諧于四海 is to me a vague phrase, by which the writer would express in the widest admissible terms the extent of Yu's fame. Compare the eulogium of the perfect sage in the Doctrine of the Mean, ch. xxxi.

禹錫玄圭, 告厥成功. 玄 as in Can. of Yaou, p. 12, and more particularly, 'Part I., p. 52.—九江納錫大龺.
Shun publicly accepted the administration; Ying-ti writes to the same effect. They both include in the thirteen years the nine in which K’wán laboured in vain.

We may be sure that the work ascribed in this Book to Yu was not done in three or four years. Mencius’ assignment of eight years is short enough. Hoo Wei supposes that so much time was occupied with the labour upon the nine provinces, and that the conferring of lands, and arrangement of the five 

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As to the exact year in which Yu began his labours; when they terminated; and how many years the deluge of Yaou lasted:—these are questions which we cannot determine categorically.
THE BOOKS OF HEA.

BOOK II. THE SPEECH AT KAN.

六日，○六乃于大誓甘战。甘王卿。召甘。战甘誓

1 There was a great battle in Kan. Previous to it, the emperor called together the six leaders of his hosts; and said, "Ah! all ye

INTRODUCTORY AND CONNECTING NOTE. It was observed in the first note on the last Book, that though 'The Tribute of Yu' appeared as the first of the Books of Hea, it is descriptive really of what took place during the reign of Yu. It terminates, accord. to the received chronology, B.C. 2276, 22 years before the accession of Shun to the throne upon Yaou's death. 'The Counsels of the Great Yu' bring us farther down. We have there the accession of Yu to the administration of the empire under Shun, B.C. 2222, and his reduction of the Measolutes, referred to B.C. 2220. The Shoo tells us nothing of Yu's accession to the throne, nor the events of his reign. Shun died B.C. 2207. Yu carried on the government during the years of mourning for his death, and then withdrew, to allow his son, Shang-k'een (商均), an opportunity of ascending the throne. The people, however, would not have him to be their king; they preferred Yu (Mencius, Book V., Part I., vi.), whose reign accordingly dates from B.C. 2294. Yaou had given him the surname of So (紂). Old and worn out with the fatigues he had undergone, he died after a reign of eight years, short as compared with the reigns of Yaou and Shun. Kaou-yao, whom he had associated with him in the administration died the year after. He then made Yih his prime minister, with the view of his succeeding him. He died on a progress to the south, B.C. 2197, in Hwu'y-k'e (會稽), in the pres. dep. of Shao-hsing (紹興), in Chê-kâng. He was succeeded by his son K'e (啟), whose reign dates from B.C. 2196, and to whom is attributed the speech recorded in this Book which is assigned to B.C. 2194, the third year of his reign.

[The Chinese chronologists are pleased to lay it down so, and it is hardly worth while quarrelling with the arrangement. Still it is not quite accurate. According to Mencius, Yih administered the govt. during the period of mourning for Yu, and it was not till that was expired, that the people called K'e to occupy his father's place in preference to Yih. His reign therefore should date only from B.C. 2194; should be reckoned only six years instead of nine; and the expedition against the prince of Hoo be referred to his first year instead of his third.]

That the speech at Kan was made by K'e rests on the authority of the Preface to the Shoo, par. 6, which is followed by Sze-ma T'aeen. The Taouist Chwang-tze, indeed, and Lew Hwang, in his 說苑, Bk. VII., 政理篇, say that Yu fought with the prince of Yu; and others speak of the emperor Scang (夏
who are engaged in my six armies, I have a solemn announcement to make to you.

3 "The prince of Hoo wildly wastes and despises the five elements, and has idly abandoned the three acknowledged commenements of the year. On this account Heaven is about to destroy him, and bring to an end the favour it has shown to him; and I am reverently executing the punishment appointed by Heaven.

4 "If you, left-side men, do not do your work on the left, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, right-side men, do not do your

后相), three reigns later than Ke, as his antagonist. The statements of Chwang-teze and Léw Heang might possibly be reconciled with the Preface, but Mih-tee, (明鬼篇), (三), quotes (with variations) most of the Book, attributing it to Yu. There were evidently two traditions during the Chow dynasty, after the time of Confucius, as to when and by whom the speech at Kan was made.

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—甘誓, 'The Speech at Kan.' —see on 'The Counsels of the Great Yu,' p. 28. The or 'martial speeches' are given by Ying-ta as the 6th of the component elements of the Shoo. This at Kan is the first of them that forms a distinct Book. We had a speech of Yu to his troops in the passage just referred to.甘 was the name of the place where the speech was made.

Contrariwise. The emperor, about to engage in battle with a rebellious vassal, assembles his generals and troops, and addresses them. First he declares obdurately the grounds of the expedition which he had undertaken, and concludes by stimulating the soldiers to the display of courage and observance of order by promises of reward and threats of punishment. It is so short that it is not worth while to divide it into chapters.

P. 1. Occasion of the speech. 大戰

于甘，—the battle is called 'great,' we might suppose, because of the numbers engaged in it, and the obstinacy with which it was contested. Another reason is assigned, however, for the denomination—that the wickedness of the prince of Hoo, in compelling the emperor to take the field against him, might be more strongly set forth. On the principle of Mencius, VII, Pt. II, ii, the emperor did not fight
sustained in time of peace. In the Chow dynasty, a 军 or army consisted of 12,500 men.

Pp. 2, 3. The grounds of the expedition against Hoo. The king commences his speech with a sigh,—an Ah! (嗟),—because of the gravity of the matter;—so, Tw'ae. 六事之人.—Ch'ing observes that the change of style from 六卿 to 六事 indicates that the king was addressing not the generals only, but the inferior officers and common soldiers as well. Of course he could not be heard by such a multitude, but his speech would be circulated throughout the host. Gan-kwô says:—各有 軍事,故曰六事. I have translated accordingly.

3. 有属氏—the holder of, i.e., the prince invested with, Hoo. This Hoo was the present territory of the district of Hoo in Shen-se. The name in the text was changed in the Twin dynasty to the present 鄉. The prince of Hoo, according to Sze-ma Tse'ên and the older interpreters, was of the surname Sze, the same as the emperor. I have read of him somewhere as K'ê's 弟兄, his elder brother by a secondary wife. Tw'ae does not seem willing to admit so much. The surname is not a point of importance. 威侮

五行,怠棄三正—these two clauses state the crime of Hoo, but in obscure or mystical terms. Ch'ing defines 行 by 四時, 'the four seasons,' making the phrase analogous with 五辰 in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 4;—see the note there. He calls 三正—天 地人之正道, 'the correct way of heaven, earth, and man,' meaning probably the same with Ma Yung, that the phrase denotes the commencement of the year in 丑 the 11th month, or midwinter, which was called the 天正, the commencement in 丑, the 地正, and the commencement in 寅, the first month of spring, the 人正. This last was the beginning of the year with the Hoo dyn.; the Shang began it with the 地正; and the Chow with the 天正. The text would imply, on this view of it, that these different commencements had been employed before;—see note on the Canon of Shun, p. 14. If it were so, perhaps the prince of Hoo wanted to begin the year with some other month, as the founder of the Twin dyn. afterward adopted the month 玲, the 10th, the first month of winter. Maou K'ê-líng's view of the subject is not unreasonable. He considers these two clauses as an obscure intimation from K'ê that Hoo refused to acknowledge him as the right successor of Yü. This is an old view. Yü had been succeeded by Shun, as the worthiest man in the empire, and Shun had been succeeded by Yü. Why should Yü's throne descend to his son? This afforded the pretext for rebellion. Maou further tries to show that by the language used K'ê makes the rebellion a crime against Heaven, and not merely an attempt against himself. See the

両書廣聴錄, in loc. We can hardly doubt that the object of the expedition was to put down a dangerous rival.

天用勲 絕其命.—勲 is given in the 說文 as 割 and defined by 絕; 命 is not to be taken as—'life,' but the position of the prince of Hoo, as invested with that principality, though, in being deprived of that, we may presume, he would pay the forfeit of his life as well; 用—'on this account,' as in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 8, et al.

P. 4. Rules to be observed by the troops. 左 不攻于左, 云—左—車左, 'the left of the chariot;' 右—車右, 'the right of the chariot.' It appears that in the warfare of those early times, chariots were much used in China, as in other nations in a similar or less advanced stage of civilization, —among the ancient Gauls and Britons, for instance. The ordinary war-chariot for the troops contained only three men,—an archer on the left, a soldier armed with javelins and pike or spear on the right, and the charioteer in the centre. This continued down to the Chow dynasty;—see the 集傳 and 後案, in loc. 攻—治,治其事, 'do your work,' i.e., observe the rules laid down for your guidance. So, also, 非其馬之正; comp. Mencius, Bk. III., Pt. II., i. 4. [The pictures of those chariots are not unlike those given of similar war material on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments.]

P. 5. The martial law of K'ê.—rewards and punishments. 用命,赏于祖 不用命,戮于社.—祖—壇廟之祖主, 'the spirit-tablets of his ancestors which had been removed from the regular hall of ancestral worship to the special shrine appointed for them;'—see on The Doctrine of the Mean, Ch. xii. 社—社主, 'the tablets of the spirits of the land.' It would appear from this, that it was the practice of the emperors, when they went on a warlike expedition, to carry with them these two classes of tablets, that they might have with the host, hovering about them, the spirits of their ancestors and the tutelary spirits of the country or dynasty. A variety of passages are adduced to prove the existence of the practice in the Chow dynasty;—it had come from the earlier time. Those tablets were to K'ê and his army like the ark of God in the camp of the Israelites. Martial law also was executed before them. And strict law it was.

士則 子義汝, 子 is defined by Gan-kwô and others by 子, 'children.' But it may
work on the right, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, charioteers, do not observe the rules for the management of your 5 horses, it will be a disregard of my orders. You who obey my orders shall be rewarded before my ancestors; and you who disobey my orders shall be put to death before the spirits of the land; and I will also put your children to death.”

include wives as well. The threat—’I will also exterminate your families.’ Attempts are made to weaken the force of both the terms 戮 and 子, but without success. A different meaning of 戮 cannot be admitted here from what it has in the preceding clause. Kaou-you praised Shun, because with him ‘punishments did not extend to the criminal’s heirs;’—see ‘The Counsels of Yu,’ p. 12. The practice of K’s was very different. It may be said that the text is speaking only of military law; and it must be replied that it was the military law of a very cruel and barbarous state of society.

Concluding Note. The Pere de Mailing, in his ‘Histoire Generale de la Chine,’ has wonderfully amplified (?) and improved the account of the battle of Kan. He says (Vol. I., p. 192):—’On the approach of the imperial army, the prince of Hoo drew up his in order of battle. The emperor arranged his troops in this way:—On the two wings he placed his chariots of war which carried 28 men, armed with arrows, pikes, and sabres, and his cavalry in the centre; after which he addressed them as follows:—’

’Remember that you are fighting for Heaven. You who are on the wings, be attentive to the orders which will be given you; let it be seen that you are well skilled with your arrows and your pikes. These are my orders; respect them. And you cavaliers, at the first signal which shall be made to you, enter with courage into the ranks, which the arrows will have opened,” &c., &c.

The Shoo does not mention the issue of the battle. According to Sze-ma Tse-ssen, it was the defeat and death of the prince of Hoo (遂滅有扈氏). We find, however, in the ‘History made Elsay’ (鋼鑑易知錄) this account:—’Not succeeding, his generals begged to renew the engagement. K’s said, “My present failure is owing to the slenderness of my virtue, and because my instructions are not good.” On this he returned with his army to the capital; silenced all his music; sat on a single mat, and confined himself at meals to a single dish. At the same time he was affectionate to his relations, and respectful to his elders; he gave honour to the worthy, and office to the able—brooding silently over his affairs (陰神; this is an unusual combination, and not found in the Thesaurus. Without other examples, we can only guess at its meaning). After a month, the prince of Hoo submitted and was put to death.”

All this is plainly an imitation of the account of Yu’s expedition against the tribe of San-meou, Pt. II., Bk. II., pp. 19, 20. It is a clumsy imitation of it. Why should the prince of Hoo, thus submitting himself to the emperor’s virtue, have been put to death?

We may suppose that K’s was successful at Kan, and put down the rising rebellion. We knew nothing of the subsequent events of his reign. He died a.C. 2188, and was succeeded by his son, Tse-k’ang.
THE BOOKS OF HEA.

BOOK III. THE SONGS OF THE FIVE SONS.

1. T'ae-k'ang occupied the throne like a personator of the dead. By idleness and dissipation he extinguished his virtue, till the black-haired people all began to waver in their allegiance. He, however, pursued his pleasure and wanderings without any restraint. He went out to hunt beyond the Lo, and a hundred days elapsed with-

Title of the Book.—五子之歌

"The Songs of the five Sons." It would have been more correct to name it 'The Songs of the five Brothers.' The singers were the brothers of T'ae-k'ang, bewailing in these strains his evil course and evil fate. The word 'Sons' is probably used with reference to the fact that they were with their mother at the time,—left to her, while he who should have been her chief support had got himself outcast both from her and his kingdom; still there is not a word in the songs having special reference to her. The Book ranks in that division of the Books of the Shoo, which goes by the name of 'Instructions' (訓). Though the form be poetical, the subject-matter is derived from the lessons left by Yu for the guidance of his posterity.

Contents. After three introductory paragraphs, relating the occasion of the Songs, we have the Songs themselves,—one from each brother. The first deplors how the emperor had lost the affections of the people; the second speaks of his dissipation and extravagance; the third mourns his loss of the imperial seat; the fourth deplors his departure from the principles of Yu, and its disastrous consequences; and the fifth is a wail over their miserable condition. I have divided the whole into two chapters,—the Introduction, and the Songs.

The genuineness of the Book is disputed. It is sufficient to say here that a Book substantially the same as this did form part of Confucius' compilation of the documents of the Shoo.

Ch. I. Pp. 1—3. How T'ae-k'ang lost his kingdom, and in what circumstances his brothers composed their songs.
2 out any sign of his return. On this, E, the prince of K'üng, taking advantage of the discontent of the people, resisted his return upon the north of the Ho. The emperor's five brothers had attended their mother in following him, and were waiting for him on the north of the Lô; and, when they heard of E's movement, all full of dissatisfaction, they related the cautions of the great Yu in the form of songs.

T‘ae-k'ang was the eldest son of K‘ö, and succeeded to the empire on his death. His reign dates from B. C. 2187. 他 is defined by Gān-kwō by 主, ‘to preside over.’ The character has that meaning;—see the dict. Its proper signification, however, is ‘a corpse,’ and it is often used for the personator of the dead in the funeral ceremonies of antiquity;—see the dict., which defines it in this application by 神象, ‘the image of the spirit.’ T‘ae has improved on Gān-kwō by interpreting the text on this use of the char.—T‘ae-k‘ang was but a personator on the throne, little better than a sham sovereign. 逸豫,逸 is ‘idleness,’ and 豫 is ‘pleasure,’ ‘dissipation.’ The meaning of the terms is akin. 任賢勿貳. But the usage in the two passages is not identical. Here 咸貳,皆有二心, ‘all had two hearts.’ 盤遊, 盤 is ‘pleasure.’ We find般 in Mencius, in the same sense,—e. g., Bk. II. Pt. i, iv. 4;般 as in 表—for the Lô, see the Tribute of Yu, Part 1, p. 55, et al.; 表—外, ‘beyond,’ ‘the country beyond;’ the has is not at all needed for the sense, and I cannot account for its introduction. 2. 有窮后羿,窮 was the name of a principality, referred to the present sub. dep. of Tili (德州), dep. of Tae-nan in Shan-tung. Its holder in the time of T‘ae-k‘ang was named E. There was a tradition in the Chow dynasty, which made him a descendant of the master of the archers, centuries before, in the time of the emp. Kuh (轒), whose office was indicated by the character, the name of the office having become hereditary as a personal name in the family. The history of the individual in the text is very obscure, and will be found, so far as it can be ascertained, in the concluding notes to this Book and the next. In the text he appears simply withstanding the return of T‘ae-k‘ang to his capital. Medhurst translates距于河 by ‘drove him beyond the Yellow river,’ but ‘drove’ is much too strong. T‘ae-k‘ang had gone beyond the Ho, we know not how far; and E opposed his return. His doing so cannot be defended, but we do not know his motives. He was enabled to do what he did, 因民弗忍, ‘because the people could not bear,’ i.e., could not bear the indifference and extravagance of T‘ae-k‘ang. 3. 御其母以從—御—侍, ‘to be in attendance on.’ The movement of the mother and brothers had perhaps been previous to the movement of E. The composition of the songs, however, could only have taken place after they had heard of that;—they look on K‘e-chou, the peculiar patrimony of their family, as being as good as lost. It is most natural to suppose that while they were waiting for the long delayed return of T‘ae-k‘ang, they heard of E’s action against him. 五子咸怨—the dissatisfaction is to be supposed to be directed against T‘ae-k‘ang. See Mencius’ defence of such dissatisfaction with a relative, Book VI, Pt. II, iii.
II. The first said,
"It was the lesson of our great ancestor:—
The people should be cherished;
They should not be down-trodden: The people are the root of a country;
The root firm, the country is tranquil. When I look throughout the empire,
Of the simple men and simple women, Any one may surpass me.
If I, the one man, err repeatedly;— Should dissatisfaction be waited for till it appears?
Before it is seen, it should be guarded against.
In my relation to the millions of the people, I should feel as much anxiety as if I were driving six horses with rotten reins.

CH. II. Pp. 4—9. THE SONGS OF THE BROTHERS.

PP. 4, 5. The first brother's song.—How T'ae-k'ung had carelessly lost the affections of the people. 4 足—'the first of them:' —i.e., the first in order who spoke, probably the oldest. 玉祖一 Gan-kwö takes 皇—'the king'; T'se makes it 一 'great'. On whichever view, the two characters refer to Yu. 民可近—literally, 'the people should be neared,' they should not be put down.' In the 國語 周語 中, we have this passage quoted as 民可近不可上. Hence it is said that the compiler of this present Book plagiarized the passage from the 國語, changing 上 into 下. I should rather suppose that the speaker in the 國語 changed 下 into 上 from the frequency of that word in his mouth at the time. On this and the next clause, comp. the words of Shun to Yu, Pt. II., Bk. II., 17. 子視天下,—'the子, according to T'se, is the speaker's designation of himself and his brothers. I am not sure of this. Possibly he is still reciting the words of Yu; or he may be speaking in the person of his brother the emperor. This last view is that which I prefer.—It is only in the last two lines, 爲人上者奈何不敬, that we have the speaker's own reflection.

一人三失怨豈在明,不見是圖。子視天下, Pare us, and also the two last clauses of it in the 左傳, 成十六年. If we connect the first clause closely with the other two, the lesson which is taught is of a doubtful character. I have therefore tried to indicate in the translation that the clause which should properly complete the first one is wanting.

子視天下,一 the 子, in opposition to 'the one man.' 以尊
The ruler of men—
How can he be but reverent of his duty?

6 The second said,
"It is in the lessons:—
When the palace is a wild of lust,
And the country a wild for hunting:
When wine is sweet, and music the delight;
When there are lofty roofs and carved walls,—
The existence of any one of these things,
Has never been but the prelude to ruin."

7 The third said,
"There was the prince of T'shou and T'ang,
Who possessed this country of K'e.
Now we have fallen from his ways,
And thrown into confusion his rules and laws;
The consequence is extinction and ruin."

The text includes references to Confucius and his teachings, as well as to the songs of the Five Sons, a collection of ancient Chinese poetry. The passage discusses the importance of maintaining a proper balance between rulership and the people, highlighting the consequences of neglecting moral and social duties.
The fourth said,

"Brightly intelligent was our ancestor, Sovereign of the myriad States!
He had canons, he had rules,
Which he transmitted to his posterity.
The standard Stone and the equalizing Quarter
Were in the imperial treasuries.
Wildly have we dropt the clue he gave us,
Overturning our family and extinguishing our sacrifices."

ought to be the same as Ping-yang.] Setting little store by all these statements, we have the fact that Yu's is often referred to as
陶唐氏 有此奠方—Yao
of course possessed the whole empire; but it was in K'ehoow that he had his capital, and it was from it that T'ae-k'ang was now kept.
We therefore find it specified in this way.
紀綱—rules and laws;—the lesser regulations and the greater.
紀 適ately signifies 'to separate and arrange sorts of silk,' a fine delicate manipulation;
綱 is the large rope of a net, to which the whole is attached.
We find the whole of this song with two slight variations, and the addition of one line, in the
左傳. Under the 8th year of duke Gae,
Confucius appears quoting from the Books of Hea—惟彼陶唐, 師彼天常,有此奠方, 今失其行, 亂其紀綱, 乃滅而亡.
P. 8. The fourth brother's song.—How unworthy a successor of Yu Tae-k'ang had been.
有典有則—Gan-kwó defines 典 by 經籍, 'standard writings,' or 'books,' and 則 by 法. T'ae, much more happily, illustrates the phrases by referring to the second Book of the Rites of Chow, where the six 典, the eight 法, and the eight 則, are all described as in the special charge of the first minister of the crown (冢宰). The 典 were the general regulations about government, and its several departments of instruction, ceremonies, offices, punishment, and employments. The 則 were the special rules about sacrifices, emoluments, the collection of revenue, &c. Yu's canons and rules were more compendious probably than those of a later period; but they would be of the same general nature. 統石 and 鈞
王府則有—關 is here explained by 通, and Medhurst translates—He rendered uniform the weights and harmonized the measures.'
But this is wrong. and 石 are two adjectives, qualifying 統 and 鈞, which latter term moreover is not a measure, but the quarter of the 石. Choo He gave it as his opinion that the two phrases were simply the denominations of the weights. We may translate 關 by 'current,' or 'standard,' and 通 by 'equalizing.' By the use of these weights there was an end of petty strife among the people,—they were made 'harmonious.' The royal treasury contained the standard measures of capacity and length as well; that we must understand:
—so widely and carefully had Yu provided for the working of the government.
We find this passage quoted in the 國語 周語下, where the glossarist, Wei Ch'ou (韋昭), of Woo, one of the 'Three Kingdoms',
would make 關—'the customs,' a meaning which might be adopted but for the following 和 覆宗,'overturning our ancestral temple,'—causing our family to be cast out from the empire.
The fifth said,

"Oh! whither shall we turn?
The thoughts of our breasts make us sad.
All the people are hostile to us;
On whom can we rely?
Anxieties stand thick in our hearts;
Thick as are our faces, they are covered with blushes.
We have not been careful of our virtue;
And though we repent, we cannot overtake the past."

P. 9. The song of the fifth brother.—A wail over the sad condition to which they were reduced.

The reason for this is that they were sad, or, as in the 'Daily Explanation,' their hearts were sad. Thus the song expresses the feeling that the thoughts of their bosom are sad. The term for 'thick' is used in the plural, the brothers in this way taking to themselves the blame attaching to Tae-k’ang.

'The sentiments are always thick'—this is said to show the strong working of their shame.

CONCLUDING NOTE. Neither from the Shoo nor from the 'Historical Records' do we learn anything about Tae-k’ang but what is contained in the first three paragraphs of this Book; and from them we cannot say in what year of his reign he undertook his hunting expedition beyond the Lô, or what was the result of the movement of E against him. The chroniclist, however, in the year 149 of his reign, B.C. 2169; and they say he was never able to recross the Ho. He lived on for ten years in Yang-hea (陽夏), corresponding to the prov. dis. of Tae-k’ang, dep. of Ch’in-chow, in Ho-nan. His name is there perpetuated. Some writers say that E built a city for him there, and allowed him to occupy it as his capital, and to continue nominally to be emperor. Whatever hand E had in it, chronology recognizes Tae-k’ang as emperor till his death, B.C. 2159; and the reign of his brother Chung-k’ang, with whom we have to do in the next Book, dates from the year following, B.C. 2158.
THE BOOKS OF HEA.

BOOK IV. THE PUNITIVE EXPEDITION OF YIN.

1. When Chung-k'ang commenced his reign over all within the four seas, the prince of Yin was commissioned to take charge of the imperial armies. At this time he and Ho had neglected the duties of their office, and were sunk in wine in their private cities, and the prince of Yin received the imperial charge to go and punish them.

NAMES OF THE BOOK.—征, 'The Punitive Expedition of Yin.' 侯, is the name of a State; 位, where it was situated I have not been able to ascertain. 侯 is in par. 1 makes it clear that we must take the first character as the name of a principality. K'ang-shing makes it, in his comment on the 8th par. of the Preface, the name of a minister, which would seem to be a gross blunder. It can be accounted for, however. The Book is one of those whose genuineness is controverted. K'ang-shing had not seen it. To guide him in determining the meaning of 侯, he had only the expression in the Preface, and its occurrence in Pt. V., Bk. XXVI., p. 14. His error is quite excusable. 征, 'punitive expedition,'—the meaning is laid down by Mencius, VII. Pt., II., ii., 2. The Book is rightly assigned to the division of the Shoo, which consists of 'martial speeches.'

CONTENTS. He and Ho, ministers of the Board of Astronomy, had grossly neglected their duties, and given themselves over to licentious indulgence. The emperor considers them worthy of death, and commissions the prince of Yin to destroy them. The prince on his part assembles his forces, and addresses them on the object of the expedition, setting forth the justice of the punishment to be inflicted, and summoning them to second him with all their energies. This is all that appears on the surface of the Book; whether we are to understand other ends as contemplated in the expedition will be considered in the notes. I have divided it into two chapters:—the first containing only the first paragraph, and stating generally the grounds of the expedition; the second occupying all the other paragraphs, which contain the speech of the prince of Yin.

Ch. I. P. I. THE OCCASION OF THE EXPEDITION. 侯命掌六师.—we can give no meaning to the "standing, as it does here, at the commencement of the Book. In modern style,
He made an announcement to his hosts saying, "Ah! ye, all my troops, there are the well-counselled instructions of the sage founder of our dynasty, clearly verified in their power to give stability and security to the State:—'The former kings were carefully

II. 始即位，征四海，命必被取/passively, —was charged; 'was appointed,' 指的 was to handle the six armies. The prince of Yin was raised to the office of 大司馬, made, in our phraseology, commander-in-chief of the imperial forces. 六師— six army forms the military force of the emperor;—see on Ana., VII. x. 2. This was the first step of Chung-k'ang on his accession to the throne, to put his armies in the charge of the prince of Yin. The editors of Yung-chung's Shoo give their opinion as to what means:—Chung-k'ang succeeded his brother in Yung-hea, and that he was not in possession of Hu's capital called Gan-yih (安邑), and the name of which still remains in the dis. of Gan-yih, in the small dep. of K'e (解州), separated by the pres. dynasty from P'ing-yang. They suppose that 他 kept him as well as T'aa-k'ang from all the country north of the Ho. This is against the view of Gan-kwô and Yung-tsâ, that E called Chung-k'ang to the throne in the room of his brother. Looking at the text, I cannot suppose that Chung-k'ang reigned only over part of the empire. The phrases 四海 and 六師 would seem designed as a protest against such a view. Then he is represented as exercising an authority quite independent in the appointment of the prince of Yin, and sending him subsequently against Ho and Ho. How it was that Chung-k'ang could possess such an authority, situated as he was between his brother, whom E kept from the best part of the empire, the whole country of the Hu, and his son whom E cast out of the whole of it,—this is a historical difficulty which we have not facts enow to enable us to solve. There is much speculation about it among the critics. The wiser course in such a case is to rest contented in our ignorance. 我和胡厥職酒业—this He and Ho would be descendants—sons or grandsons—of the ministers of Yaou; and Tsa's says that the different offices sustained by them in Yaou's time had now been united in one. We need not think so. He and Ho here may very well be the chiefs of the two families, as they rather seem to be in the Can. of Yaou, p. 3. On Tsa's view, 隨邑 will be singular, and Gaubi has accordingly translated 'leur ville.' As they were 郎 or high nobles in the employment of the emperor, their cities would be in the territory next to the imperial domain, the first hundred 里 of the How fuh, and probably not far from each other. The phrase 暫厥職, in conn. with the next clause, implies that they had both neglected their duty and abandoned their posts.

6. 酒駄—comp. 色駄 in the last book, p. 6. 肿后—see 肿上, as above. Tsa observes that when the princes of the empire took up their residence at court as high ministers, their style was changed from 侯 to 后. Some time may have elapsed between the prince of Yin's being appointed commander of the imperial armies and his receiving this commission to punish He and Ho; but we naturally conclude that he led all his powers against them. And was it necessary to do this? They were not living in their own fiefs, surrounded by other nobles yielding a reluctant submission to their suzerain. This circumstance harmonizes with the view that He and Ho were in league with E, and that the main object intended by such a display of force was to overawe that dangerous chief, and to weaken his power by cutting off his confederates.

2. 契—the speech begins like that at Kan, Bk. II., p. 2. 聖有諫訓明徵定保—的 聖 here must refer to Yu. The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases the passage thus:—我夏聖祖大禹，著有諫訓，其言皆明切徵驗，可以定國保邦。It is quoted in the left, 契 twenty-one, with 助 for 諫。聖有諫訓明徵定保 A meaning is there also put upon it not so natural as that which I give to it here. What follows are the counsels of Yu. The 'Daily Explanation' goes on to paraphrase them with a-
attentive to the warnings of Heaven, and their ministers observed the regular laws of their offices. All the officers, moreover, watchfully did their duty to assist the government, and the sovereign became 3 entirely intelligent.' Every year in the first month of spring, the herald with his wooden-tongued bell goes along the roads, proclaiming, 'Ye officers able to direct, be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the reign, as in 'Counsels of the great Yu,' 'Counsels of Kaou-yaou,' &c.; but that the rules laid down by a sovereign for the guidance of his descendants are also called by the same name, as in the 'Instructions of K'un,' p. 8. The usage of 訓 is similar. 先王克謹
天戒—'the former kings,' as spoken of by Yu, must refer to Shun and Yaou, and what others he had heard of before them. Compare the language of Shun in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 4. 古人之象。克謹。' were able to attend sedulously to; —克, joined to a verb, often serves to emphasize its meaning. 天戒—' warnings of Heaven,' such as were supposed to be conveyed by eclipses, and other unusual heavenly phenomena. 岐人—this is understood to mean the great ministers, 輔 弥大臣, while the officers generally, large and small, are spoken of in the phrase 百官 below. The 人 after 崇, however, is peculiar; but it must merge in the 崇. 內人 corresponds to the 先王 before; we cannot render it 'ministers and people.' 明明 is the redoubled adjective, expressing the meaning intensely. 3. Not only was this general principle laid down in the counsels of Yu, that the ministers and officers should all be earnestly assisting to the sovereign, but there was also a special institution to call forth the experience of all classes for the same object. 遜人 is defined by Gan-kwó, and in the dictionary by 宣令之官, 'the officer who proclaims the orders.' Ying-tsî tries to deduce the meaning from one of the significations of 遗, in which 失 = 聚, 'to collect.' This officer collected the people, and gave them their orders, and hence was derived his name.' We may translate the phrase by 'herald.' 木錐—see Ana. III. xxiv. The wooden-tongued bell was used for civil, peaceful objects; in war a metal-tongued bell was used. 徙—偏; 徙于路—'all along the roads.' What follows—官師，云云，is to be understood as the language of the herald's proclamation. So it is taken in the 'Daily Explanation.' This view is established likewise by the account of a similar practice in the Chow dynasty;—see the Chow Le. Bk. III. (天官, 大宰), par. 5. 正 歲 師 治 官之 臘 而 視 冶 象之法， 徙 以 木 錐 日， 不 用 法 者 國 內 常 刑。 官 師 相 規—官 和 師 不 是 两 种 人，但 一 个。 They are called 官 as having office, and 官 師 as supposed to be men of principle and knowledge, fitted to instruct. So, Tr'ae:—官以職 言 師 以 道 言。規—'a compass,' then used as 正，'to correct,' the use of a compass being necessary to make correct circles. There is a difficulty with 相. We naturally interpret 相 規， 'to correct one another,' but this would give no pertinent meaning. How would the officers' not correcting one another bear on the guilt of He and Ho in not admonishing their sovereign? The object of the 規 must be defects in the emperor's conduct or government. The paraphrase in the 'Daily Explanation' brings out this very clearly:—凡職官有道者，或遇朝廷之德政闕失，即直言
subject of your business! If any of you disrespectfully neglect this requirement, the country has regular punishments for you.

Now here are He and Ho. They have entirely subverted their virtue, and are sunk and lost in wine. They have violated the duties of their office, and left their posts. They have been the first to allow the regulations of heaven to get into disorder, putting far from them their proper business. On the first day of the last month of autumn, the sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang. The blind musicians beat their drums; the inferior officers and common people bustled and ran about. He and Ho, however, as if they

以相規正, 'all ye officers, being men of principle, if you see that there are defects in the virtue or government of the court, speak out directly that you may correct them.' This meaning of 相 does not first occur to the reader, but it is admissible;—the emperor is the other party opposite to whom the officers are to suppose themselves placed. 工執藝事以諫—here we go below the official class; even mechanics might see extravagance in the expenditure of the court on articles of their departments, which they were bound to find some way of remonstrating about,—so earnest was Yu, and such precautions had he taken, that the errors of the sovereign should be brought to his notice.

[Both Gauhil and Medhurst err egregiously in translating these two clauses. De Maillla hits the meaning of the former, but loses entirely that of the second. Grosier, in a note to De Mailla's version, seems to approve that of Gauhil.]

We find from 過人以諫 quoted as from the 'Books of Hea' in the 左傳, 襄十四年, 其或不恭—and on this use of 謖, see Mencius, IV., Pt., I., i., 13.

P. 4. The crimes of He and Ho; and the punishment due to them. 惟時—義和顚覆厥德, 沈亂于酒—comp. the She-king, Pt. III., Bk. III., Ode. ii. 3. 畔官離次—ref. to this passage, by 離, 'to leave.' It is better, however, to take it in the sense of 'to disobey,' 'to violate.' 官—'the duties of office'; 次—'the place,' 'the post.' 顚覆 天紀—'the first;' 暾—'to throw into confusion;' 天紀—'the heavenly regulators.' See Part V., Bk. IV., p. 8, where those regulators are said to be five,—the seasons of the year, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the calculations of the calendar. The phrase in the text is to be taken generally:—He and Ho had neglected the contemplation of the Heavens, and attention to the calendar, so putting far from them 'their proper business' (厭司—其所司之事).

乃季秋月朔、辰弗集于房—here is a specific and flagrant instance of the neglect of duty by those astronomers. On the first day of the last month of autumn it had happened that辰弗集于房. The year when this took place is not mentioned, but we cannot do other than suppose that it was the same year in which the speech was made, or the one immediately before it. The prince of Yin could not have spoken as he did, if a second autumn had intervened between the phenomenon and the date of his speech.

房—see on the Can. of Ysou, par. 5, where we saw that this was the central constellation of the larger group of constellations in the eastern quarter, called the 'Azure Dragon.' It begins with the star ω of Scorpio and ends with ε, and extends over a space of less than 5° (see Gauhil's Shoo-king, pp. 68, 80, and
were mere personators of the dead in their offices, heard nothing and knew nothing;—so stupidly went they astray from their duty in the matter of the heavenly appearances, and rendering themselves liable to the death appointed by the former kings. The statutes of government say, 'When they anticipate the time, let them be put to death without mercy; when they are behind the time, let them be put to death without mercy.'

J. B. Biot's 'Etudes sur l' Astronomie Indienne et Chinoise,' p. 375). The clause has always been understood as describing the fact of an eclipse of the sun, on the day and month indicated, in that portion of the heavens; and there can be no doubt the interpretation is correct. Down to the present day ceremonies substantially the same as those which the prince of Yin goes on to describe are observed on the occurrence of such a phenomenon. The passage is quoted moreover in the left 傳 昭 十 七 年, corresponding to a.c. 524, and this explanation given of it.—There can be no doubt therefore as to the meaning. As to the characters themselves, Madhurist translates them.—There was a conjunction of the sun and moon without being fully combined, in the constellation of Fang; and Gaubil has—'Le soleil et la lune on conjunction n'ont pas été d'accord dans Fang.' Gaubil's version is a literal translation from the interpretation of Ts'e Ta'en, who bases it on the fact that in the Books of Han instead of 集 we have 齊, and says that the two characters may be interchanged, adding:—日 月 會 兆 相 和 齊. I doubt the interchangeableness of 集 and 齊; but the former has the established significations of 合, which give the ideas of 'harmonious, regular union.' 齊 must be the conjunction of the sun and moon for the month in question; see the Canon of Yaou, par. 8. 集奏鼓—these were customs observed on occasion of an eclipse; similar practices were observed under the Chow dynasty; and with some modifications they are prescribed by the Chinese government at the present time. See Biot's Studies above referred to, pp. 357—360. 集奏鼓—by 'the blind' we must understand the musicians who were employed in antiquity because of their blindness; their loss of the sense of sight being supposed to sharpen that of hearing. 集 —伐 'to strike.' 荀夫 is explained by Ta'ae—小臣, 'small officers;' according to K'ang-shing, they were employed under the Minister of Works. By 庶人 are intended what Mencius, v., Pt. ii., 6, calls 庶民 in office, 'such of the common people as were employed about the government offices;'—see the note on that passage. Of what these people ran, and the smaller officers galloped about for, we get an idea from the passage of the 左傳 where this text is quoted. We are told that when an eclipse happened, the emperor fasted, and had the drums beat before the altar of the spirits of the land, while the princes of States presented offerings before that altar and had the drums beat in their court. [It would appear from the same passage, that in the Chow dynasty these things were observed only when eclipses happened on the first day of the first month of the year. In this point the custom of Hera, with which the present usage agrees, differed from that of Chow.] Again, in the Chow Le, Bk. XXXVII. (near the end), we read of the bow and arrows used to deliver the sun, and those used to deliver the moon. On an eclipse of the sun, they shot their arrows into the sky to frighten away the injurious moon, and vice versa. Such a long note of K'ung Ting is on the passage, where immense lore is brought to bear on its illustration. While the phenomenon was occurring so much excitement, He and Ho were entirely indifferent to it. 庶官—comp. Bk. III., p. 1. 昏迷于天象—'darkly going astray in
regard to the heavenly appearances.'

"Comp. Canon of Shun, p. 2.

政典—see on the last Book, p. 8. 有典有則. 先時者,云云;

there is considerable diversity of view in interpreting this sentence. First, the 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases it thus:—"唇官職掌,

凡躔度節候, 俱要推算

合時, 或失于先時, 或失于

後時, 罪當殺無赦." They who

are intrusted with the office of regulating the calendar must calculate exactly to the time the degrees of motion of the heavenly bodies, with the terms of the year. If they err by being too early or too late, their crime requires that they be put to death without mercy." This view is approved by Gaubil, who translates:—"Celui qui

derance on qui recule les jours doit être, sans remise, puni de mort;" and he adds in a note: "On contient les calculateurs d'éclipses, dans des termes si stricts, qu'on nomme une ancienne méthode pour les éclipses." Possibly astronomers of this high antiquity in China may have been able to calculate eclipses after a fashion, by means of the cycle of 19 years, if indeed they were acquainted with that, which is quite improbable; but I find it difficult to believe they had attained so far. Nor is this interpretation of the text sufficiently evident or attested by tradition to bring us to Gaubil's conclusion.

Second, Gan-kwò gives a more general and plausible interpretation. By 時 he understands 'the four seasons, and the four and twenty terms into which they were divided, with the times of new and full moon and the two quarters' (時節氣弦望晦朔). On this view the statute was to the effect that the astronomers neglecting their work, and allowing the months and seasons to get into confusion, were to be punished with death. It does not have, apparently, the special meaning that He and Ho's absence from their posts on the occurrence of the eclipse; but we can conceive of the prince of Yin's thinking it sufficiently to the purpose to appeal to it in addressing his troops.

Third, Lin Che-k'è separated the passage from the par. to which in all editions it is now united, and joined it to the part of the speech which follows. The prince of Yin has done with He and Ho when he has once said that they were liable to the death appointed by the former kings, and then turns to his troops to urge them to do their duty, prefixing his remarks with this reference to the canons of Government on military law, by which neglect of orders, whether in anticipating movements or in delaying them, was punishable with death. This view has been ingeniously supported by Ch'iu Lei (陳棣)—see the附錄. Choo He condemned Che-k'è's interpretation, on the ground that it was forced, the passage being connected more naturally with the preceding passage, and took it in a different way from what follows. The editors of Yang-ching's Shoo, however, profess themselves unable to decide positively between this view and the first. The ordinance is too severe, they say, against the astronomers, who might easily make a mistake in their figures, while it may be acknowledged if it form part of the stern code of martial law. For myself I have hesitated between the second and third views, abiding for the present by the second. The passage, with the slight variation of 速 for 及, is found in Seun-tse, 君道篇, but not in a connection which enables us to judge of the meaning he put upon it.

The eclipse of the sun related in this paragraph has always been a subject of great interest to students of history in China and elsewhere. Could it be satisfactorily verified, a date would be established in Chinese history, which would forever settle all doubts as to its antiquity and general certainty.

The accession of Chung-k'ang dates, it has been seen, B.C. 2158 (Gaubil says 2159). But there is no real difference between him and me, as I do not reckon the year of our Lord's birth, the Gregorian calendar running thus:—A.D. 1; A.D.; B.C.

1. Gaubil reckoning—A.D. 1; B.C. 1, my B.C. 2158 is with him B.C. 2159). The Shoo does not say expressly that the eclipse took place in that year, though the ordinary, and perhaps the readiest, inference has been that it did so. But such an inference may not be correct. The appointment of the prince of Yin may have been one of the first acts of Chung-k'ang, and the expedition against He and Ho may not have been undertaken till some years after. If the eclipse could be verified any time during the reign, i.e., between B.C. 2158 and 2146, there would be a sufficient harmony between the chronology and the astronomy. More than this, in the scantiness of dates and the uncertainties attaching to the particular reigns of the Hsia emperors from Yu to Kés, one of which uncertainties I pointed out in the concluding note to the Po. Book, I should always be prepared to regard with satisfaction a verification of the eclipse in any year of the first half of the 22d century before our era, or even, I will venture to say, between B.C. 2050 and 2158. To be sure, the genuineness of 'The Punitive Expedition of Yin' is called in question; but in regard to this eclipse, we know, on the authority of the 左傳, which I have adduced, that the record of it was in one of the Books of Hsia. Whether the Books of the Shoo, additional to those derived from Fuh-shang were a compilation of the times of the Tei dynasty or not, one of them—the real 'Expedition of Yin'—did contain the same passage that we have in the present text.

Now, the year B.C. 2158 must be given up as the date of the eclipse. No such phenomenon could have then occurred. Ts'ae tells us, however, that the astronomers of the T'ang dynasty (by which time they began to have such a knowledge of the procession of the equinoxes as enabled them to attempt these investigations) determined the date of the eclipse of the 14th year of Chung-k'ang. Several of the early Jesuit missionaries applied themselves to solve the point,—noue with such devotion to the inquiry
5 “Now I, with you all, am entrusted with the execution of the punishment appointed by Heaven. Unite your strength, all of you warriors, for the imperial House. Lend me your help, I pray you, reverently to carry out the dread charge of the son of Heaven.”

6 “When the fire blazes over the ridge of Kwân, gems and stones are burned together; but when a minister of Heaven exceeds in doing his duty, the consequences are fiercer than raging fire. I will so

as Father Gaubil, who brought out the result, in harmony with the conclusions of the T'ang scholars, that the eclipse occurred on the 11th October (old style) of the year B.C. 2154 (2154 in my scheme), the 6th year of Chung-k'ang, and that it was visible at Gan-yih at 6h. 49m. in the morning. Here was an important result; the only circumstance to render one dissatisfied with it was that the eclipse must have been very small, extending only over a sixth part of the sun's diameter, so that it was little likely to arrest attention.

Since Gaubil's time the tables used in those calculations have been rendered more accurate, and the conclusions arrived at possess a greater certainty. My friend, the Rev. Mr. Chalmers of Ceylon, has in the present year to verify the eclipse, and confirmed Gaubil's conclusion so far as regarded the year, the month, and the day, but found that it must have occurred during the night, before the rising of the sun at Gan-yih, and not after it. I have since found that the same result was obtained in France in 1840 by Largeau, an able astronomer (see Biot's 'Etudes,' p. 377). It would seem then that we must give up the year 2154 as well as 2155. And yet the matter may be considered as still sub judice. It is only in the present century that the secular variation of the moon's mean motion, which seriously affects the calculation of eclipses so remote as this of Chung-k'ang, has been determined with an approach to nice exactness. It may yet come out, as the lunar tables are perfected, that the eclipse of 2154 was visible at Gan-yih, and in that case we shall not hesitate to accept it as the one referred to in this Book.

Mr. Chalmers has determined that there were eclipses of the sun, in or near the constellation Fang, in the years B.C. 2135 (or 2136), 2127 (or 2128), and 2108 (or 2109). Of these that B.C. 2127 was visible in China, and very high Chinese authorities have contended that it was to it that the prince of Yin referred. For the reasons which I have assigned I could accept either of the dates 2125 or 2127. I can hardly doubt that on one or other of them there was the phenomenon, by their disregard of which He and Ho afforded the ground which is alleged for their punishment. The text on which I have dwelt so long is to be regarded as a strong confirmation of the substantial truth of Chinese history.

P. 5. The troops are exhorted to be brave and energetic. Compare Yu's speech to his army, Pt. II., Bk. II., 20. The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases 以爾有衆由率爾六軍衆士 which is, plainly enough, the meaning, though we cannot give 率 as a synonym of 以. We may say here that 以用 將一行 'to execute.' 同力王室-同心盡力于王室. A preposition like 于, or a verb signifying 'to maintain,' has to be supplied. 承 - 'to receive,' but must be taken here with the pregnant meaning of 'executing' as well.

P. 6. How the imperial charge was to be executed with discrimination, and justice tempered with forbearance. 火炎崑山; Ts'e says that 崑 is 'the name of a mountain, which produces gems.' K'un-kuo's account is substantially the same. It is best taken so. The dict. would lead us to say that 崑 is meant, which is now referred to the

坤山; in the west of the Koko-nor, where the Yellow river has its sources. But the text leads us to conceive of the Kwan as a volcanic mountain, which I have not read that the Kwan-lun is 天吏; see Mencius, II., Pt. I., v. 6, et al. 逸德-逸-過 'to go be,
destroy only the chief criminals, and not punish their forced followers, while those who have long been stained by their filthy manners will be allowed to renovate themselves.”

7 “Oh! when sternness overcomes compassion, then things are surely conducted to a successful issue. When compassion overcomes sternness, no merit can be achieved. All ye, my warriors, exert yourselves, and be cautious.”

**EX. IV. CA. II. 7.**

**THE PUNITIVE EXPEDITION OF YIN.**

**yond.” 逸德 is virtue—conduct in the performance of what may be considered duty—carried to its utmost, going beyond. 闘魁, ‘the great chiefs.’ He and Ho are intended. 菁從—菁—追菁, ‘pressed.’ Those parties had been forced into combination with He and Ho. The expressions here certainly give support to the view that those astronomers were associated with some rebellious movement against the imperial authority.

威與惟新—the ‘Daily Explanation’ has here—皆與斃除使之攩過自新—與—是 to be taken as—to allow, ‘to grant to.’

P. 7. The severity of martial law. We are to understand that the prince of Yin here warns his troops, that if they do not do their duty, they must not expect him to deal with them on any principle of indulgence. As to their duty in the circumstances, the ‘Daily Explanation’ finds it in the concluding words 戒戒哉, the 戒 referring to p. 4, where they were urged to unite their strength for the imperial House, and the 戒 to p. 6, where it is laid down how their justice was to be tempered. It paraphrases:—懲勉于同力, 警戒于逸德, 以共濟弼承王命之功裁. This is finding a great deal of meaning in the terms. Yen Jô-ku’s argument is here, as in many other places, too eagerly pursued.

CONCLUDING AND CONNECTING NOTE. With this Book terminate Confucius’ selections from the monuments of the Hsia dynasty subsisting in his time. Seventeen reigns altogether are assigned to it. Chung-k’ang’s was the fourth. Of the twelve that follow, the Shoo gives us no intimation; but the name of the last emperor and his wickedness are often mentioned and dwelt upon in the Parts of the classic that follow this.

Sze-ma Ts’ien gives us little more than a catalogue of the emperors’ reigns, how they came to the throne and how they died. He has not a word on the length of their reigns; and only on Kung-kse, the 18th from Yu, and Kess, the last, does he give a few brief notices of their characters. His whole account is comprised in less than a page. The fragments of the history of those times that have been gathered from other sources, more or less trustworthy, and are found in Ch’o Hse’s ‘General Mirror of History’ (通鑑綱目), and in what may be called the ‘Standard Annals’ (歷代統紀表), may be related in brief space.

Chung-k’ang’s reign of 13 years terminated a.c. 2146. We should like to know the relations that existed between him and E, but all we are informed of is that this chief put to death Pih-fung, or the baron Fung (伯封), one of his ministers, a son of Kwel, Shun’s minister of Music. We are left in uncertainty as to whether the act was one of justice, the punishment of a criminal, or one of hostility, the cutting off a faithful adherent.

Chung-k’ang was succeeded, a.c. 2145, by his son Seang (后桓), who reigned for 27 years. In the first year of his reign he had to with-
draw across the Ho to Shang-k'ew (商邱), still the name of the principal district in the dep. of Kwei-tih, Ho-nan. He was driven to this step, we may well believe, by E, who now exercised the supreme authority in K'e-chow. In 2138 E was killed by a minister of his own, or at least on his instigation. The minister's name was Han-tsu, or perhaps we should rather say Tseh of the State Han (see the "T'ung-ch'iu""); and comp. Mencius IV, Pt. II. xxiv). He took to himself E's wife, and by her had two sons, Kaoou (考文) and He (何), the former of whom by his father's orders put the emperor to death in Shang-k'ew, B.C. 2118, he himself being only 20 years of age. Various 'punishments' of barbarous tribes are ascribed to Seang in the early years of his reign, which it is difficult to believe he was capable of in his circumstances. We may infer from the accounts, however, that the wild tribes, in and about the empire, took advantage of the weakness and confusion of the government to try and regain their independence or to make plundering incursions.

On the death of Seang, Tseh claimed the empire, and maintained himself on the throne for 39 years. When the emperor was killed, however, one of his wives, who was pregnant, made her escape to her native State of Jing (荊), of which her father was chief. There she gave birth to a son, known as Shaoou-k'ang (少康), who lead a perilous life for nearly 40 years. His existence was known to the usurper, who made various attempts to get him in his power. At one time he was chief herdman to the chief of Jing; at another he was chief cook to the prince of Yu. The latter chief recognized his worthlessness, and gave him his two daughters in marriage, and an establishment in the pres. dis. of Yang-ho, dep. of Ping-yang. There his capacity and character still more developed themselves. The old adherents of his House took heart. The people remembered Yu. An end was made of the usurping family, and Shaoou-k'ang was raised to the throne of his father in B.C. 2078.

Shaoou-k'ang's recovery of the throne (we might say K'ang the third; Chung-k'ang was K'ang the second, and T'ae-k'ang K'ang the first) was followed by the reverent acknowledgment of the chiefs of the empire, and the submission of the wild tribes. The only event of his reign which is recorded, however, is his appointment of one of his sons by a secondary wife to be the chief of Yu-tu (越). There to maintain the sacrifices at the tomb of Yu, who died, we saw, at Hway-k'e, in the pres. Chak-keang. The emperor's son was styled Woo-yu (無餘). He was the first feudal chief established in the regions of Woo and Yut, so slowly did the conquering Chinese firmly establish their rule over the country.

Shaoou-k'ang was succeeded, B.C. 2087, by his son Ch'ooou (后杼); and he was followed, after a reign of 17 years, in B.C. 2069, by his son Hwae (后槐).

After Hwae came his son Mang (后芒), B.C. 1823; then Mang's son, Sse (后泄), B.C. 1995; then, Sse's son, Puh-k'ang (后不降), B.C. 1979; then, Puh-k'ang's brother, Keung (后扃), B.C. 1920; then, Keung's son, Kin (后扃), B.C. 1889; then, a son of Puh-k'ang, called K'ung-k'ia (后孔甲), B.C. 1878.

Sze-ma Te'en pauses in his list of all but nameless sovereigns to dwell on the character of K'ung-k'ia, whom he pronounces to have been superstitious and dissipated, so as to alienate from him the hearts of all the princes. In the 27th year of his reign, B.C. 1851, there occurred an event, most important to the fortunes of the Hsia dynasty,—the birth of Le (履), son of the chief of Shang, who became in due time T'ang the Successful, the founder of a new line of emperors.

K'ung-k'ia was succeeded by his son Kaou (后考), B.C. 1847; and he again by his son Fa (后發), B.C. 1836. Fa died B.C. 1816, leaving the throne to his son Kwei (癸), with whom the sovereignty of the line of Yu came to an end.

Kwei is better known by his name of K'ii, 'the Invurer of men and Destroyer of many' (賊人多殺日桀). The first three and thirty years of his long reign are a blank. Possessing extraordinary strength, able to twist bars of iron about like ropes, he gloried in his vigour, and wearied out the people with expeditions of war. In B.C. 1785, he proceeded to attack the chief of She (施氏), in the neighbourhood of mount Mung in the present Shan-tung. The chief propitiated his anger by presenting him with his daughter Mo-he (妹喜), of surpassing beauty, but more depraved, if possible, than the emperor himself. All thoughts of prudence were lost amid the enjoyment of her charms. He gratified all her caprices. He made her a chamber of carnation-stone, with side apartments of ivory, a splendid tower, and a bed glittering with gems. Around this he heaped up, in their wild dissoluteness, mounds of flesh, hung dried meats on all the trees, filled a pond with wine till they could row
a boat on it, while three thousand people would make their appearance at beat of drum and drink up the liquor like so many oxen. All government was neglected. In the mean time the avenger was growing up. T'ang succeeded to his father's principality, B.C. 1788, and soon drew the regards of all thoughtful men to himself. The great officers who felt ashamed of K'ē's vices, and mourned the condition of the empire, betook themselves to Shang; the people who groaned beneath the oppression of their lords, too many of whom followed K'ē's example, sighed for the gentle rule of T'ang. The emperor was roused to fits of jealousy, and at one time got T'ang in his power, and imprisoned him. He let him go, however; and at last, B.C. 1765, after many misgivings, T'ang took the field against his sovereign. There could be no doubt as to the result. Heaven and earth combined with men to show their detestation of the tyrant. Two suns fought in the sky. The earth shook. Mountains were moved from their strong foundations. Rivers were dried up. K'ē was routed, and fled south to Ts'ao, which is still the name of a district in the dep. of Loo-chow (ăr ăr), in Ngan-hwuy, and there he was kept a prisoner till his death three years after. His son and some of his adherents made their way to the wilds of the north, and mingled among the barbarous tribes.

Thus miserably ended the dynasty of Hsia, having extended, including the usurpations of E and Tsuh, over 439 years.
THE SHOO KING.

PART IV. THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK I. THE SPEECH OF T'ANG.

The king said, "Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen all to my words. It is not I, the little child, who dare to undertake what may seem to be a rebellious enterprise; but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Hea Heaven has given the charge to destroy him.

1 I. The king said, "Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen all to my words. It is not I, the little child, who dare to undertake what may seem to be a rebellious enterprise; but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Hea Heaven has given the charge to destroy him.

NAME OF THE PART.—商書. 'The Books of Shang.' 商 (the reader will distinguish the character from 商, which is the title given to the whole of the Shoo. A Chinese scholar can discriminate them by their different tones) is the dynastic designation by which T'ang and his descendants possessed the empire, B.C. 1765—1122, a period of 644 years. The family traced their origin up to Hwang-te, through Sse (子), a son of the emperor Kuh, and minister of Instruction to Yaou and Shun. For his services at that time he was invested with the principality of Shang, a part or the whole of the territory now forming the small department of Shang in Shen-se, and received the surname of Tse (子). From Sse to T'ang were fourteen generations; and we find the latter at a considerable distance from the ancestral Kuei, and having his capital in the first place, before he dethroned Kuei, at the southern Pe, which seems correctly referred to the dis. of Shang-k'ew (商邱), dep. of Kwei-tih, in Ho-nan. The title of the dynasty, however, was derived from the original Shang to which Sse was appointed. We saw, on the 9th paragraph of the Preface, that more than one half the documents originally composing this Part of the Shoo were lost, while of the 11 Books which still claim to be received in it there are only 5 whose genuineness is not contested.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—湯誓. 'The Speech of T'ang.' We must regard 湯, not as the honorary posthumous title, but as the designation of the emperor during his lifetime;—see in the note on the Canon of Yaou, par. 1. His name, as we have it from himself, was Le (履). See-ma Ts'e'en says it was 天乙, of which I have not met with a satisfactory explanation.

誓.—see on 'The Speech at Kan.'
"Now, ye multitudes, you are saying, 'Our prince does not compassionate us, but is calling us away from our husbandry to attack and punish the ruler of Hea.' I have indeed heard these words of you all: but the sovereign of Hea is an offender, and, as I fear God, I dare not but punish him.

'The Speech of T'ang' is found in both the old and modern texts. It is now the first of the Books of Shang, though it was in the time of Confucius only the sixth. The five that preceded it have been lost;—see on the 'Preface of Confucius.'

Contexts. T'ang having summoned his people to the field with him against Kēē, and finding them backward in the enterprise, he addresses them, and sets forth his own reasons for attacking the tyrant, in order to remove their hesitation, and silence their murmurs, while in the end he uses both promises and threats to move them to obey his orders. The whole Book is very short; but I have divided it into two chapters,—the first containing three par., and giving T'ang's reasons for his course; and the second, in only one par., laying down his martial law. The speech must have been made at Pu, and in the year B.C. 1765.


1. 王曰，we have no introductory paragraphs as in the 'speech at Kang,' telling us the occasion of the speech. We can, however, supply the want from the preface, p. 12. The use of 王 to denominate T'ang, when he was not yet on the throne, has occasioned a good deal of criticism. Ts'ae says that it is a case of prolepsis by the recorder of the speech. Yet T'ang was the 天子, or 'minister of Heaven,' the moment that he took the field, he was the rightful sovereign of the empire, and Kēē was only an ordinary man.

称乱台 (read ci)—我的, the first personal pronoun. 小子, 'the little child,' is a frequent designation, humbly applied to themselves by the emperors. Ts'ae Peen 薛斐 says:—'In an announcement to the myriad regions, and in distinction from their multitudes, the emperor calls himself "the one man." Realizing his relation to God, and feeling as in His presence, he calls himself "the little child."

以天子告百万, 故称小子—人对上帝而言，故称台小子。称一以—'to raise up,' 'to undertake.' Keang Shing edits the character with之 at the side, on the authority of the 文. T'ang states very distinctly the reason of his movement. Kēē, 'the holder of Hea,' was a criminal condemned by Heaven which had given charge to cut him off. But how had Heaven done this? and how was the charge given to T'ang? The answer to both questions is the same:—'By the voice of the people.'

2. 准 to the view of Gan-kwō (and here he is followed by Keang Shing). T'ang addresses in this par, not his own people, but the subjects generally of Kēē. 我后, 'our sovereign,' is Kēē, and 舍我稽事而剑正—'he disregards our husbandry, and exercises a cruel government.' 剑 is explained by剑 with reference to cruel dismemberments inflicted by Kēē; and 正 is taken as 政, 'government.' Gan-kwō takes no notice of the 夏 after 政, and Keang Shing argues that the character is spurious. With the same critics, moreover, the clause 夏氏有罪 is the language of the people, the words which T'ang had heard from them.

This view has many difficulties,—is inadmissible, indeed. 夏 is here in the text, and we cannot throw it out. Nor can we take 正 in 剑正 differently from its mean in 不敢不正. No similar difficulties attach to the interpretation given by Ts'ae, which I have followed in the translation. 正—冶罪, 'to punish,' a well established meaning of the character. 夏氏,—this usage is much akin to our own of calling men by their estates and
THE SPEECH OF T'ANG.

3 "Now you are saying, 'What are the crimes of Hea to us?' The king of Hea does nothing but exhaust the strength of his people, and exercise oppression in the cities of Hea. His people have all become idle in his service, and will not assist him. They are saying, 'When will this sun expire? We will all perish with thee.' Such is the course of the sovereign of Hea, and now I must go and punish him.

4 "Assist, I pray you, me, the one man, to carry out the punishment appointed by Heaven. I will greatly reward you. On no account disbelieve me;—I will not eat my words. If you do not obey the words which I have spoken to you, I will put your children with you to death;—you will find no forgiveness.

possessions. 3 夏罪其如台—
Gan-kwó takes 如台 as 如我所
闻之言, 'according to the words which
we have heard.' Here Keang Shing rightly
decides to follow him, and follows Sze-ma
Ts'ên, who reads—有罪其奈何, which
he interprets as an explanation of despair.
More accordant with the tone of the whole
speech, and better warranted by usage is the
meaning given in the translation. The two
intensify the language;—see on Can. of
Yaou, p. 11. 率遇率割率怠—
in all these cases 率 is to be taken as —一切,
in every thing, 'universally.' Gan-kwó is
unable to think of any meaning for it but 'to
lead,' and labours hard, but unsuccessfully, to
explain the passages accordingly.

夏邑—here 夏 must be explained by
時—(是) 日曷喪子及汝皆
亡;—see on Mencius, I, Pt. II, iv. 4. Ching
would seem to make this passage the words of
Kēe himself. He says:—Kēe seeing that the
people wished to rebel, compared himself to the
sun, saying, 'Has ever that sun perished? If
that sun perish, then I and you will also all
perish.' He made use of the sun's security
from danger, to make the people dread himself;
—see the 后案, in loc. Mencius is a safer
guide as to the meaning of the text than Kâng-
shing. We may well believe, however, that
Kēe had compared himself to the sun. Different
traditions say it was in reply to the remon-
strances of E Yîn that he did so.

夏德若此,—this is a very evident instance of the use
of 德 for evil conduct.

Ch. II. P. 4. T'ANG'S DETERMINATION TO
HAVE HIS ORDERS OBHEED.—PROMISES OF RE-
WARD, AND THREATS OF PUNISHMENT. Comp.
Yu's speech in the 'Counsel of Yu,' p 20, and
'The speech at Kan.' 子其大賽—
賽—賜, 'to give to,' 'to confer gifts,' —to
reward.' Sze-ma Ts'ên has 理, which it is
difficult to account for. The here is strongly intensive. The usage approaches to that pointed out on Can. of Yaou, p. 12.

The want of such a clause as is felt in 'The speech of Kan,' p. 5. I say

is there so unconnected that Woo Ch'ing supposes it slipped in by mistake from the present passage.

CONCLUDING NOTE. Though Tang professed to have it in charge from Heaven to destroy Kēē, and the charge of Heaven was ascertained from the voice of the people, it is plain from this speech that it cost him some trouble to get the co-operation even of his own subjects. The will of Heaven is not always clearly intimated in providence. Even when it is so, it must be wrought out by those who perceive it amidst and against many conflicting interests and prejudices.

This speech was followed by the battle of Ming-t'eaou (Preface, p. 19), not far from the capital of Hsia, and by the defeat and downfall of the tyrant.
THE BOOKS OF SHANG

BOOK II. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF CHUNG-HWUY.

1. When T'ang, the Successful, was keeping K'ee in banishment in Nan-ch'ao, he had a feeling of shame on account of his conduct, and said, "I am afraid that in future ages men will fill their mouths with me."

NAME OF THE BOOK. - "Chung-hwuy" (仲虺) was one of the principal ministers of T'ang, descended from a He-chung (何仲), Master of the carriages (車正), under the Hsia dynasty, and who at first occupied the territory of Ssu (蘇), which was in the pres. dis. of T'ung (東), dep. of Yen-chow, Shan-tung. Ho-chung removed to the pres. sub. department of Pei (邳) in Kiang-soo, but Chung-hwuy appears still in Ssu;—see the 左傳 定元年 (near the beginning). The family traced their line up to Hwang-te; their surname was Hsiao K'e; and many other scholars have made Chung-hwuy the same as Lue-choo (黑丘), a minister of T'ang, mentioned by Mencius, VII, Pt. II, xxxviii. 2; but it is only by inferential reasoning that the point can be made out. 話-告 (to tell, 'to announce to.') "Announcements" form one of the divisions of the Shoo, and this is the first of them. They are distinguished from the 訊, which are speeches made to an army, as being made in a general assembly for the information of all (訊, 用之于軍旅, 訊, 用之于會同, 以喻衆). From this account of them, we must understand that the 'Announcement of Chung-hwuy' was not addressed to T'ang only, but was spoken or published for the general information.

On a reference to the Preface, it will be seen that there were originally four other Books, which are now lost, between the 'Speech of T'ung' and this. The time that elapsed between the Speech and the Announcement, however, could not have been long; and, indeed, the one follows the other in the arrangement of the Books, which we derive from Ch'ing Heuen and other scholars, who were not acquainted with Cao-k'wo's discoveries. According to the Preface, the Announcement was made at a place called Ta-keung, for which in the 'Historical Records' we find T'ae-keuen-t'ao (泰
II. On this Chung-hwuy made the following announcement:—
"Oh! Heaven gives birth to the people with such desires, that without a ruler they must fall into all disorders; and Heaven again gives birth to the man of intelligence whose business it is to regulate them. The sovereign of Hea had his virtue all-obscured, and the people were as if they were fallen amid mire and charcoal. Heaven hereupon gifted our king with valour and wisdom, to serve as a mark and director to the myriad States, and to continue the old ways of Yu. You are now only following the standard course,
honouring and obeying the appointment of Heaven. The king of
Heaven was an offender, falsely pretending to the sanction of supreme
Heaven, to spread abroad his commands among the people. On
this account God viewed him with disapprobation, caused our Shang
to receive His appointment, and employed you to enlighten the
multitudes of the people.

4 III. "Contemners of the worthy and parasites of the powerful,—
many such followers he had indeed, but from the first our country
was to the sovereign of Heaven like weeds among the springing corn,
sit in dust and ashes very strongly conveys the
idea of misery. 表正万国—表—
'to serve as a signal to,' i.e., by example and all
personal ways; 正— 'to correct,' i.e., by laws
and institutions. 續禹介服—續
禹旧服— 'to continue what Yu of
old time practised and did.' 兹率厥
典奉若— (a verb, as in Can. of Yen, p. 8)
天命—Gaubil translates—'en suivant ses
loix, c'est suivre celles de ciel,' making
let refer to Yu, and 枉厥典—'his laws.' Med-
hurst does the same. They are both wrong. If
we are to find an antecedent to厥, it must be
天和不否. Wang Ts'eaou says well:—
上言天意如此, 故此言天
王于此惟循其常道以顺天:
'Above it has been said that such is the mind
of Heaven, and hence it is here said, that the
king in this course is only pursuing its regular
way to be obedient to Heaven. 3. 矫誣
上天—矫 and 誣 are often found
together. They both denote, 'falsification,' but the
latter has the idea of 'slandering' as well.
帝用不藏—用, as in the 'Speech at
Kan,' p. 8, et al.,—'on this account;'
藏—善, here taken actively, 'to approve.' 帝,
the personal name, the Judge and Ruler, very
evidently, takes the place here of the vague
phrase—'high Heaven.' 式—用, 'to use,'
' to employ.' The 'Daily Explanation' uses 使用
'to cause,' for it. 穀厥師—穀
—明, 'to enlighten,' used probably with reference to the
有夏昏德 of last par.
Jao-kuo calls attention to the manner in which
this paragraph appears in Mil-hao, who has
quoted it in every one of his chapters, called
'Against prevailing views of the Decrees or
Appointments of Heaven' (非命篇). First
we have 聿于夏—我于
帝伐有夏之師, 帝用有夏
之師— is the third time we have
帝于夏—我于
帝. It seems absurd to argue from
these passages against the genuineness of the
present text.

Cn. III. Pp. 4—6. THE ANNOUNCEMENT con-
continued.—That Tang was called by men to
do as he had done. P. 4. It was necessary
for Tang to dethrone Kit in order to his own
preservation. 简賢附勢—實繁
有徒.—Medhurst translates:—'The sovereign
of Heaven condemned the wise and attached him-
self to the mighty, which substantially increased
his followers.' Gaubil has the same view. But
they are both wrong. The 'Daily Explanation'
and blasted grains among the good. Our people, great and small, were in constant apprehension, fearful though they were guilty of no crime. How much more was this the case, when our prince's virtues made them a theme eagerly listened to! Our king did not approach to dissolve music and women; he did not seek to accumulate property and money. To great virtue he gave great offices; to great merit he gave great rewards. He employed others as if their abilities were his own; he was not slow to change his errors. Rightly indulgent and rightly benevolent, from the display of such virtue confidence was reposed in him by the millions of the people.

6 “When the chief of Kô showed his enmity to the provision-carriers, the work of punishment began with Kô. When it went on

paraphrases:—夏之徳, 言足聽聞. — Gan-kwô read this passage without a stop. — How much more when our virtues and words became sufficient to attract attention! Choo He approved of putting a comma at 德, and making 言足聽聞 a clause by itself. I have followed this view in the translation.

5. A description of T'ang's virtues. Medhurst puts all this paragraph in the imperative mood. — Only let your Majesty not become too familiar with music and women, &c., &c.—this is wrong in grammatical construction, and not pertinent to the context. Gaubil translates in the indicative mood, which is correct, but in the present tense, which is wrong. Chung-huuy is describing the virtues of T'ang, which had attracted universal regard to him, and made the people long that he would dethrone Kâi. Wang K'ang-t'ung (王）堂） says:—此言湯德足人聽聞之實乃指為諸侯時言之. ‘This speaks of the virtues of T'ang when he was one of the princes of the empire.’

6. A reference to T'ang’s former exploits, to show how the people desired him. See Mencius, I. Pt. I., xi. 2.; II. Pt. II., iii. 2—5; and VII., Pt. II. iv. 3. Read also the notes on those
in the east, the wild tribes of the west murmured; when it went on
in the south, those of the north murmured:—they said, 'Why does
he make us alone the last?' To whatever people he went, they con-
gratulated one another in their chambers, saying, 'We have waited
for our prince;—our prince is come, and we revive.' The people's
honouring our Shang is a thing of long existence.

7 IV. "Show favour to the able and right-principled among the princes,
and aid the virtuous; distinguish the loyal, and let the good
have free course. Absorb the weak, and punish the wilfully blind;
take their States from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those
going to ruin. Thus overturning the perishing and strengthening
what is being preserved, how will the States all flourish!

passages. The Tain compiler, it is said,
made up this passage from Mencius, and Mencius
moreover, is one of the lost Books, the T'ang Ching or 'Punitive Expeditions
of T'ang.' Mencius, however, does not
particularize any Book, but only quotes gene-
 rally from the Shoo. I can well believe that
he does quote from the 'T'ang Ching, and also
that Chung-hwuy does the same,—if, indeed,
we need to suppose any quotation in Chung-
hwuy's 'Mencius.' He addsuce facts and speeches
which were flying about through the mouths of
the people at the time.

Ch. IV. THE SPEECH CONCLUDED.—COUN-
sels to T'ANG to HELP HIM TO PRESERVE THE
POPULARITY AND THE THRONE WHICH HE HAD
GAINED. Chin Leih (陳橋) says:—
'The shame of T'ang was the natural feeling of
his mind, when he thought of the position
which he occupied, as a minister who had
effected a revolution and taken the place of his
sovereign. Ch'ung-hwuy, in dissipating that
feeling, was at first led to praise T'ang, but then
he became anxious lest the feeling of shame
should give place to one of exultation and eri-
ode, and concluded by admonishing him;—such is
the way in which a great minister should lead on
his sovereign in the right path' (see the
集說 on the first par).

7 佐賢輔德—有才德兼備是謂賢者;
'those who are largely endowed both with
talents and virtue are the kees; 有積善
行仁是謂有德者,' those who have
accumulated good deeds and shown benevolence
are the tih.' 'Aid the virtuous,' i.e., reward
them, honour them, encourage them to virtue in
every way.

遂矢—奉公守法, is 謂良者, 'those who seek the
common weal and keep the laws, are the T'ang;'
遂 'to accord with,' 'to make to feel comfort-
able;' here it denotes every arrangement which
could encourage the good in their course.

兼弱—'the weak' are princes incapable of
managing their affairs. They are to be put
under a powerful neighbour, or have a 'resident'
located with them (after our Indian fashion)
from the court. 攻昧—the 'Daily Explana-
tion' says:—'Punish them, and strip them of
a portion of their territory.' 侮亡—see
Mencius, I, Pt. II, iv. 6. 樂酒無厭謂之亡. 'The 亡 are those who are utterly
lost to all virtue, and in the way to certain
ruin. 侮 is 'to contemn.' Such princes are
to be dealt with summarily and at once.

侮亡, the 亡 here has a slighter meaning
than in the clause above, and embraces the 弱
昧, 亂 and 亡; while the 侮 applies to
兼攻取, and 侮. Similarly 固存
extends to the first four clauses.
“When a sovereign’s virtue is daily being renewed, he is cherished throughout the myriad States; when he is full of his own will, he is abandoned by the nine classes of his kindred. Exert yourself, O king, to make your great virtue illustrious, and set up the pattern of the Mean before the people. Order your affairs by righteousness; order your heart by propriety:—so shall you transmit a grand example to posterity. I have heard the saying:—He who finds instructors for himself, comes to the supreme dominion; he who says that others are not equal to himself, comes to ruin. He who likes to ask becomes enlarged; he who uses only himself becomes small.’

This par. is partially and imperfectly quoted in the 左傳 three times. The first is under the 12th year of duke 宣; the second, under the 14th year of 襄; and the third, under the 30th year also of 襄. See the arguments that have been raised on the first quotation against the genuineness of this Book, in Ming-shing’s 後案, and the reply of Maou K’ė-ling, in the ‘Wrongs of the old Text of the Shoo,’ Book V., upon the Announcement of Chung-hwuy.’ The quotations certainly prove that we are not to look for verbal accuracy in passages adduced from the classics in the 左傳, and I will add other ancient Books. 8. The above paragraph contained counsels of administration; in this the minister becomes more personal, and tells T’ang what he must do in the government of himself. 德日新-----乃離，—these are general propositions, the personal application of which commences with the next clause—王懋昭大德。 Ts’e ingeniously suggests that the inscription about daily renovation on T’ang’s bathing-tub, ‘Great Learning,’ C., ii. 1, may have been in consequence of Chung-hwuy’s remark here—德日新。 建中于民，—comp. 允朝，—義制事，—義制心，—righteousness is what the judgment of the mind determines to be ‘right’ in reference to what is beyond ourselves; ‘propriety’ is the regulation of our own feelings and behaviour, in accordance with all the Heaven-established relations of society. 垂裕後昆,—in the Counsels of Yu, p. 18, we had 昆, in the sense of ‘afterwards.’ Here, joined with 昆, the phrase 昆—‘future futurity,’ ‘future ages.’ The ‘Daily Explanation’ paraphrases the clause:—且非特 可建中于民也，即垂諸後世，凡子孫之欲制事制心者，自相承而有餘裕矣。—this is intended to inculcate humility on T’ang. 王，—low. 3d tone, ‘to exercise, or come to exercise, the imperial authority;’—it often occurs in Mencius. 莫已若者，—莫若 已者，—an instance of the negative adverb attracting the pronoun to itself. In Seun-tze, 稠問篇, we find 其在 仲蜃 (must be for 仲蜃)之言也，日，諸侯自為，得師者王，得友者霸，得疑者存，自為謀而 莫已若者亡。 And in Lewn Puh-wéi, Lew Hséng, and other later writers, we have
9 "Oh! he who would take care for his end must be attentive to his beginning. There is establishment for the observers of propriety, and overthrow for the blinded and wantonly indifferent. To revere and honour the way of Heaven is the way ever to preserve the favouring regard of Heaven."

Chung-hwuy's words, much to the same effect. Of course the impugners of the 'Old Text,' seize on the discrepancy between this and what we read in the Shoo to discredit it. Maou K'eling contends that 得友者霸, &c., are Scoun-tac's own addition; and we may suppose have been quoted from him by subsequent writers. But in the text Chung is quoting from a saying common in his time. We need not suppose that he quotes the whole of it, but only so much as suited his purpose. It was easy to enlarge his couplet, and the whole might be ascribed to him. 9 Chung-hwuy concludes with words of warning. T'ang must at once attend to his counsels, and never intermit in the observance of them. 殖有禮

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THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK III. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF T'ANG.

1. The king returned from vanquishing Hea, and came to P'o. There he made a grand announcement to the myriad regions.

2. The king said, "Ah! ye multitudes of the myriad regions, listen clearly to the announcement of me, the one man. The great

THE NAME OF THE BOOK. — 湯誥, 'The Announcement of T'ang.' The characters have been already sufficiently explained. There is no difficulty in the use of 詥 here. The Announcement was addressed to the whole empire and delivered, no doubt, in the first place in an assembly of the princes and nobles. The Book is one of those whose genuineness in its present form is controverted.

CONTENTS. — The notice in the Preface says that T'ang 'had put an end to the sovereignty of Hea, when he made this Announcement.' We may consider it a coronation speech on the inauguration of the new dynasty. The emperor first shows how he had assumed the dignity in reverent submission to the will of Heaven, and goes on to show the sense he had of the duties devolving on him, and the spirit in which he would discharge them, calling at the same time on the princes and people to co-operate with him. I have divided the whole into three chapters:—the first, in one par., stating the occasion of the Announcement; the second, in 4 parr., referring to the downfall of Hea, and his own elevation to the will of Heaven; and the third, also in 4 parr., announcing the sort of sovereign he meant to be, and asking for sympathy and co-operation.

CH. I. P. 1. THE TIME AND PLACE OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT. — We are led to conceive that T'ang was encouraged by the address of Chunge-hwa, and continuing his march from Ta-keung, he arrived at P'o his capital. We are still to think here of 'the southern P'o,'—see on the Name of Book I.

CH. II. Pp. 2-5. THE ANNOUNCEMENT. — That the overthrow of Hea and his own elevation were both the work of Heaven.

1. How the great God has morally endowed men, and what is the duty of the sovereign. — as at the commencement of the speech at Kan. 爾萬方有衆, 明聽子一人誥, On 子一人, see on the 'Speech of T'ang,' p. 1. T'ang summons all the people in all the empire to hear his announcement. They might be considered as all present with him by their representatives; and I suppose measures were taken to have his declaration of views made generally known.

惟皇帝降自下民, — 我们 have had the phrase 皇天, 'great Heaven,' in the 'Counsels of Yu,' p. 4, and it often occurs throughout the Shoo; here, and only
God has conferred even on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right. But to cause them tranquilly to pursue the course which it would indicate, is the work of the sovereign.

Here, I think, we have 皇上, though once, Part V, Bk. XII, p. 9, we find 天上帝. Medhurst translates here — the great Supreme; and Gauib — L'auguste Chang-ti, giving the meaning of the characters Chang and Ti in a note as ‘Souverain Maître.’ The predicate here, and the interchange of the name with ‘Heaven,’ sufficiently tell us that ‘the august sovereign Master,’ the ‘great supreme Ruler’ is. I always translate 上帝 and also 天上帝, when used with the same application, by ‘God,’ believing the radical idea in our word to be the same as that in the Chinese — the idea of supreme rule. Medhurst translates 眾 by ‘the due medium,’ after Ts'ae, who himself follows his master Choo He. He’s language is that ‘眾 just is 中’ (眾只是中). But what is conveyed in our word is not the due medium as something without man, but the mind that can appreciate such a standard and rule of duty; — see the remarks on the title of The Doctrine of the Mean, vol I, pp. 246, 247. Gauib translates the term by ‘a reason.’ ‘A moral sense’ appears to come nearer to the signification than any other term in English I can think of.

Gan-kw6 defined it simply by 善, ‘good,’ which Choo He rightly says gives no appropriating meaning. The word occurs not frequently in the 国语 in this sense of ‘good’ — happiness; and twice we have the phrase 随gun, but only — ‘sending down happiness’ — see the 国語,二 and the 吳語.若有恒性, — ‘according with — obeying — dia, they have a constant nature.’ By the ‘constant nature’ we are to understand what Mencius calls ‘the constant heart;’ — see his Works, I, Pt. I, viii., 20, and III, Pt. I, iii. 8. The meaning is as given in the translation. Mencius also enables us to understand why T'ang should specify ‘the inferior people,’ for he says that ‘they are only men of education who, without a certain livelihood, are able to maintain a fixed heart.’ T'ang has in his mind’s eye the millions of the people, all in contradistinction from ‘the one man,’ and he says that every one of them has a God-given nature, which, if he obeyed it, would lead him in the path of virtue.
“The king of Heaven extinguished his virtue and played the tyrant, extending his oppression over you, the people of the myriad regions. Suffering from his cruel injuries, and unable to endure the wormwood and poison, you protested with one accord your innocence to the spirits of heaven and earth. The way of Heaven is to bless the good and to punish the bad. It sent down calamities on the House of Heaven, to make manifest its crimes.

reign, and no account is taken of the fact that he is as prone to go astray himself as any of the inferior people; but it was not an ordinary mind which could thus conceive of what a sovereign should propose to himself. The lessons of T'ang here are the same which Mencius expounds at length, and vindicates in the first Part of his sixth Book. They have the same excellences and the same deficiencies.

P. 3. How the last ruler of Heaven had failed to fulfill his duty, and brought on himself the wrath of Heaven. 减德—comp. 母德 ‘Counsels of Yu,’ p. 20, and 順流席德. ‘Pan, Expedition of Yin,’ p. 4; but the phrase in the text is stronger than either of those passages. 㝏 had cast from him that ‘benevolence,’ which is the greatest of the virtues, and acc. to Mencius, the grand characteristic of humanity.

萬方百姓—see on the ‘Can. of Yaou,’ p. 2, where a distinction is made between 萬方 and 百姓, the former having a more extensive signification than the latter. In the text the phrases are co-extensive. 百姓 must = our ‘the people.’ We are not to lay stress on the ‘hundred.’ It is used indefinitely. When a people are surnamed, considerable progress has been made in civilization.

惡忍茶毒—茶 is the name of a bitter herb; 毒 is used for ‘poison.’ An old form of 毒 shows it formed from 虫 instead of 莫, so that its original meaning was probably ‘venom.’ The two terms together denote ‘smarting pain,’ ‘suffering.’ 告無辜于上下神祇—上下—天

Comp. ‘Can. of Yaou,’ p. 1, and ‘Counsels of Kaon-yaou,’ p. 7. 上下—天神地祇;—see the note on ‘Can. of Shun,’ p. 28. 神 and 祇 may be considered in themselves synonyms. The dict. defines 祇 by 地神; but in usage they denote the spirits of heaven and of earth respectively. In the text, the people appear before us crying out in distress to all superior powers. T'ang himself immediately represents ‘Heaven’ as responding to their cry. They called on them knew not whom or what. 爾 is a reflexive pronoun, which is a mistake. See the 8th Bk. of the ‘Historical Records’), which is worth giving at greater length than he does; 天者人之始也. 父母者人之本也. 人穷則反本, 故勞苦恤極. 末時不呼父母也."
"Therefore, I, the little child, charged with the decree of Heaven and the bright terrors, did not dare to forgive the criminal. I presumed to use a dark coloured victim, and making clear announcement to the spiritual Sovereign of the high heavens, requested leave to deal with the ruler of Heaven as a criminal. Then I sought for the great sage, with whom I might unite my strength, to request
5 the favour of Heaven on behalf of you, my multitudes. High Heaven truly showed its favour to the inferior people, and the criminal has been degraded and subjected. Heaven's appointment is without error;—brilliantly now like the blossoming of flowers and trees, the millions of the people show a true reviving.

6 III. "It is given to me, the one man, to give harmony and tranquillity to your States and Families; and now I know not whether I may not offend the powers above and below. I am fearful and trembling, as if I should fall into a deep abyss.

time of the 'Announcement' but to a time subsequent to both, towards the close of the seven years of drought which followed his assumption of the empire. If all the discrepancies tell against the genuineness of the 'Announcement,' they tell as much against the 'Speech,' as it is found both in Fuh-shang's text, and in that attributed to Gan-kwō. Keang Shing, aware of this, edits the 'Speech of Tāng' with the addition of the par. from the Analects, and of the sentence 事求元聖云 from Mih-taiz. But if he take one part from Mih, why should he not take the whole? We need not wonder that we should meet with such difficulties. Our course seems to be to state them, and where no satisfactory solution of them presents itself, to leave them, without reasoning from them against the modern text or the ancient.

P. 5. The righteousness of Tāng's dethronement of Kēi proved by the issue, and consequent prosperity. 乎一信. 'truly.' So 允 in the last clause. Hwang Too 黃度 puts the first clause very plainly: 天佑下民, 信矣—罪人, 'the criminal;' this of course is Kēi. 天命弗偽—偽, 'in error.' The appointment of Heaven is the withdrawal of its favour from Hea, and the conferring of it on Shang,—the calling Tāng to the throne in the room of Kēi.

賞若草木, 兆民允殖, this is a passage which has wonderfully exercised the ingenuity of the interpreters. 賞 (read pe) — 飾, 'to adorn,' 'to be ornamented.' What is it that the adorning is here predicated of? The two Kungs, Gan-kwō and Ying-ts, say—'the empire.' The language of the former is:—'The evil-doer being cut off from the empire, all is brilliantly adorned, and beautiful as flowers and trees, while the people truly enjoy their life.' Ch'oo Ho takes the clauses as exepegetical of the preceding 天命弗偽, and the whole = 'What Heaven appoints is entirely right;—the world of things and the world of men are made beautiful and happy by it.' The editors of Yung-ch'ing's Shoo give a great variety of views, several preferable, they say, to that of Gan-kwō, but none so good as that of Ch'oo Ho. I prefer to abide by the oldest view.

Ch. III. pp. 6—9. Tāng's feelings and purposes in possession of the throne, and wish for the co-operation of his princes and people. 6. 俾子一人, this clause and the next would seem to flow on from something preceding, and in some editions it is given as belonging to p. 5, in which case 天 would be the nominative to 俾. Whether we do so join it, or take the clause as I have done in the translation, the 'gift' must be understood as from Heaven. 兹朕未知獲戾于上下, 兹, 'now,' might very well be taken as beginning a new par. 彊—罪, 上下, as in par. 3. Gan-kwō makes the whole to be a humble expression of doubt in Tāng's mind whether he had really been right in dethroning Kēi,—'I do not know whether I may not have offended,' &c. But we must suppose Tāng to have now done with Kēi. The prec. chapter shows him sufficiently assured on the subject of his dealings with him. Mih-taiz, in the passage referred to on p. 4, has
Throughout all the States that enter on a new life under me, do not, ye princes, follow lawless ways; make no approach to insolent dissoluteness: let every one observe to keep his statutes:—that so we may receive the favour of Heaven. The good in you, I will not dare to conceal; and for the evil in me, I will not dare to forgive myself;—I will examine these things in harmony with the mind of God. When guilt is found anywhere in you who occupy the myriad regions, it must rest on me. When guilt is found in me, the one man, it will not attach to you who occupy the myriad regions.

7 We are to understand that here T'ang addresses the princes of the different States. This is clear enough from the Daily Explanation says that this phrase—newly established kingdoms, adding: The princes and their States were old, but the rule of Shang was new, and they were all with it making a new beginning;—hence the phrase "newly established Kingdoms.

In the translation, the following passage:—'the Daily Explanation says that this phrase—newly established kingdoms,adding:—The princes and their States were old, but the rule of Shang was new, and they were all with it making a new beginning;—hence the phrase "newly established Kingdoms.

8. This par. is closely connected with p. 2. There T'ang gives his very high estimate of the duties of the sovereign; here he says how he would try to come up to it. There he lays it down that the sovereign has to lead the people in the right path, and hence he says here that for all that is wrong among them he must be accountable. 'I will not dare to conceal it,'—the meaning is that virtue and talents will not go with him unrewarded.

惟簡在上帝之心. Medhurst translates this:—'I shall only submit to the inspection of the supreme mind.' In his 'Dissertation on the Theology of the Chinese,' however, he renders—'The inspection of these things rests with the mind of the Supreme Ruler.' Gaubil construes the same way:—'Tout est marqué distinctivement dans le coeur du Ch'ang-ti.' In the Analects I have translated:—'The examination of them is by Thy mind, O God,' which is not sufficiently definite. But the meaning is not exactly as thus represented; the present translation is more accurate.

惟簡 connects the clause closely with what has preceded, so that we must understand the, or 'examination,' as predicated of T'ang himself, and in the上帝之心 as laying down the rule by which he will be guided in it. Choo He says well:—'Heaven knows all our good and all our crimes. It is as if Heaven noted them down and numbered them up. Your good deeds are all before God, and my evil deeds will also be all before Him.' T'ang declares that he will judge himself and others righteously,—in harmony with the judgment of God.

無以爾方言於爾方何與焉. On the manner in which this par. appears in quotations, see on par. 4.
9 "Oh! let us attain to be sincere in these things, and so we shall likewise have a happy consummation."

P. 9. 乃時嘆克呼爾方爾　

should act as gods to us.' He said, 'Have no unprincipled ways in your kingdoms. If you have, and I punish you, do not murmur against me.'

Sze-ma T'aeen adds—'Thus he gave charge to the princes. It would be a waste of space to make any remarks on such a farrago.'

CONCLUDING NOTE. We here take leave of T'ang, the name, perhaps, of all the ancient princes of China who gets the strongest hold of our sympathies and esteem. Dr. Gutzlaff has said well:—'From his frequent invocations of Shang-te, we might be led to believe that he was a pious prince, who knew something of the true God.' (China Opened, Vol. I., p. 800). His mild but able remonstrances against his paternal state drew to him the attention of all the people suffering from the tyranny of Kias. The universal voice called him to do the work of the avenger, and to assume the sovereignty of the empire. He detributed the oppressor, but not without some misgivings, the natural workings of compassion in a high-toned generous mind. His conception of the imperial duties was high, and he bent himself with hearty earnestness to discharge them. Here the Shoo stops, and none of the lost Books contained anything of his history after his assumption of the throne.

According to the 'Standard Annals,' his reign terminated B.C. 1758, so that his sway over the empire lasted only 18 years. The first 7 of them were a season of trial and calamity. No rain fell. Famine was the consequence of the drought. The sufferings of the people were intense. The issues of the mint were freely distributed among them, but money was of little use when grain was scanty. It was suggested at last, we are told, that some human being should be offered in sacrifice to Heaven, and prayer for rain presented at the same time. 'It is for the people,' said T'ang, 'that rain needs to be sought. If a man must be the victim for such an object, I will be he.' He then fasted, cut off his hair and his nails, and in a plain carriage drawn by white horses, clad in white ruses, in the guise of a sacrificial victim, he proceeded to a grove of mulberry trees, and there prayed, asking whether the calamity was owing to any failure in his government, or misemployment of officers, or extravagance in palaces, or excessive devotion to beauty, or the practice of bribery, or allowance of calumniators. He had not done speaking when a copious rain fell over several thousand li.

This account is doubtless much embellished, but through the cloud of exaggeration we can see the generous sovereign sympathizing with the general distress, fasting, and praying for the removal of the calamity.

According to the current chronology, T'ang was succeeded by his grandson, T'ai-kis;—see on the next Book par. 1.
THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK IV. THE INSTRUCTIONS OF E.

1. In the 12th month of the first year, on the day Yu-ch'ow, E Yin sacrificed to the former king, and presented the heir to the throne reverentially before his ancestor. All the princes from the domain of the nobles, and the imperial domain, were present; the various officers also were in attendance with their several duties to receive orders from the prime minister. E Yin then clearly described the accomplished virtue of the meritorious ancestor for the instruction of the new king.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—伊訓, 'The Instructions of E.' E was the chief minister of T'ang, and was to him almost what Shun had been to Yao, and Yu to Shun, and Yih to Yu. Mencius gives him his place among sage ministers and counsellors as 'the one most inclined to take office' (V., Pt. II., 1). And this was from no facility of temper, or desire for the gains of office. He reasoned: 'Heaven's plan with mankind is that they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are slower in doing so.' He thought,' says Mencius, 'that if there were any of the common men and women who did not enjoy such benefits as Yao and Shun conferred, it was as if he himself pushed them into a ditch.'

Having this character of being so fond of employment, the romancers of the Chow dynasty embellished his history accordingly. He was a native of Sin (莘), the present Shen Chow of Ho-nan, and in Mencius' time the story went that when T'ang was marrying a daughter of the House of Sin, E Yin managed to go to Shang in her train, and got himself taken notice of by T'ang through his skill in cookery. Mencius denies the account, and says that E was a farmer on the lands of Sin, delighting in the principles of Yao and Shun, and ready to spurn an offer of the empire, if it were made to induce him to do anything contrary to those
principles. T'ang heard of his wisdom and ability, and sent messengers with costly presents, inviting him to his court. Twice their visit to him was fruitless, but when they came a third time, being satisfied of T'ang's sincerity, he said, 'Had I not better make this prince a prince like Yü or Shun, Ké, and the people like the people of Yen or Shun?"—see Men. V., Pt. I., vii. T'ang received him with great deference, and reposed in him entire trust. He sent him to the court of Ké, hoping that his counsels might move the emperor to change his evil course. It was in vain. Five times T'ang went backwards and forwards between Ké and T'ang, till, convinced that the former was incorrigible, he moved T'ang to raise the flag of rebellion, and take the empire for himself. After T'ang's death he continued the watchful guardian of his throne. Of the way in which he dealt with T'ae-ké he shall have to speak in treating of the next Book. The surname of T'ae was derived from the river E, near which he and his parents lived. Lou Puh-wei tells a story of a princess of Sin Shou who was pregnant, when she was picking mulberries, in a hollow mulberry tree. This was E. Her father gave him to his cook to bring him up, and on inquiry it was found that his mother had lived on the banks of the E. One might she dreamt, during her pregnancy, that a spirit told her that the son would discharge a flood of water, and that she must run off to the east. When she rose in the morning, she looked to the sun, and lo! it was as in her dream. Giving the alarm to her neighbours, she fled, and after running ten li, she paused to look back, when she saw the town overflowed with water, and that she must run off to the east. When she rose in the morning, she looked to the sun, and lo! it was as in her dream. Giving the alarm to her neighbours, she fled, and after running ten li, she paused to look back, when she saw the town overflowed with water, and that she must run off to the east.

The name of E is generally understood to have been Che (崔). Sse-ma Tse'en says it was O-hang (阿衡);—see next Book, p. 1. Yin (尹) was his writing or designation.

According to the Preface, p. 18, in the year that T'ang died, E Yin made three Books, of which these 'Instructions' were one. Of the other two only the names remain; and the genuineness of this is disputed.

Contents. T'ae-ké comes to the throne of his grandfather, young and of unstable character. T'ang's counsellor and friend used the privilege of his years and station to advise the young monarch,—warns him by the fate of Ké, and stimulates him with the example of T'ang. I have divided the Book into four chapters: the first, in one par., giving the occasion when E Yin delivered his 'lesson'; the second, parrs. 2—4, showing how the throne was taken; the third, parrs. 5—7, commemorating the example of T'ang; and the fourth, par. 7, warning T'ae-ké of the fate he would incur if he neglected the advice given to him.

CH. I. P. 1. The Occasion of E's Instructions.

惟元祀十有二月乙丑，—Hea had used 岁 for 'year' in the Shang dynasty, they preferred the char. 禹. 元祀 十有二月 meant the first year of T'ae-ké. The Hea dynasty had begun the year with the month 寅, the first of spring. The Shang removed the commencement of the year a month back, beginning it with 丙. In this way the 12th month of the text is understood to be the 12th month of the Hea year, and the first month of the Shang, so that these instructions of E were delivered in the first month of the year after the death of T'ang. This is the view of T'ae and the scholars generally of the Sung dynasty; and T'ae goes largely into the proof of what seems a strange thing,—that while the Shang and Chow dynasties differed from Hea, who to the commencement of the year, they yet often numbered the months as Hea had done. Maou Ke-ling denies the argument of T'ae, and maintains that the 12th month of the text is the 12th month of the Shang year,—the 12th month also of the year in which T'ang died. At the same time, 元祀 is with him the first year of T'ae-ké. According to him, under the Chow dynasty, the new sovereign succeeded of course to the throne immediately on the death of his predecessor, but his first year was reckoned only from the first month of the year which followed. The practice of the Shang sovereigns was different. A month after the death of an emperor, the style of the year was changed, and what remained of it was reckoned to the first year of his successor. This was the view of Gang-kwo and Ying-ta. According to it T'ang must have died in the 11th month of the year, and the Instructions of E were delivered in the month after. —I will not undertake at present to decide between these views; —see on the next Book, Pt. ii., 1. What day of the month 乙丑 was we cannot tell. Had it been the first, we should have read 春, instead of these two characters.

伊尹祠干先王，奉嗣王，祭見厥祖，祠一祭，to sacrifice. The term is used specially for the sacrifices offered in spring in the ancestral temple, but we cannot think of any such ceremony in the text. The 'heir-king' of course is T'ae-ké, and 先王 and 祖宗 are in the singular,—the former king, and 'his ancestor,' referring to T'ang.

This seems to be the place to notice the historical difficulty which there is respecting the succession to T'ang. The Shoo gives no hint of any individual's having interposed between him and T'ae-ké. Indeed the language of the Preface, the way the one door was shut down from the great Yü, and was now possessed by T'ae-ké, the son of another line; the third, parrs. 5—7, celebrating the example of T'ang; and the fourth, par. 7, warning T'ae-ké of the
II. He said, "Oh! of old, the earlier sovereigns of Hea cultivated earnestly their virtue, and then there were no calamities from Heaven. The spirits of the hills and rivers likewise were all in tranquillity; has been arranged accordingly. T’ang’s death is entered B.C. 1753, and the reign of T’ae-k’és commences the following year, B.C. 1752.

When we refer to the ‘Historical Records,’ however, it is said after the mention of the death of T’ang:—’His eldest son, T’ae-ting, died before he could come to the throne, and a younger son, Wae-p’ing, succeeded. He was the emperor Wae-p’ing (是為帝外丙). Wae-p’ing died after reigning three years, and was succeeded by a younger brother—a third son of T’ang’s,—called Chung-jin. He was the emperor Chung-jin (是為帝中壬). Chung-jin reigned four years, and on his death E Yin raised to the throne T’ae-k’és, son of T’ae-ting, and the eldest grandson of T’ang. He was the emperor T’ae-k’és, (是為帝太甲). Whatever other authority T’sen may have had for this account, there can be no doubt he took it chiefly from Mencius, V., Pt. I., vi. 5; and the interpretation which he gives of Mencius’ words is the most natural, though the passage is not unsuspicious of another interpretation—see the Works of Mencius, pp. 236, 287. Those who follow the natural reading of Mencius in preference to the natural reading of the Preface to the Shoo, hold, of course, that the mourning of T’ae-k’és, which the text supposes, was for Chung-jin and not for T’ang. There is a difficulty which must be admitted. For myself, I should follow the Preface, and the standard chronology, holding that T’ae-k’és immediately followed T’ang upon the throne.

What sacrifice E Yin performed to T’ang can hardly be determined. In the Books of the ‘Former Han’ (律曆志下), we find the first part of the paragraph, with the addition of 資有牧方明 after 先王. Possibly this clause may be an addition of Pan Koo, the Han chronicler, but the whole passage shows that he understood the sacrifice to be the solemn one to God, offered at the winter solstice. Be this as it may, and I do not think it unlikely, the conducting T’ae-k’és to appear before his ancestor was a different ceremony. The appearance was, I suppose, before the coffin of T’ang.

=Ch. II. Pp. 2–4. THE INSTRUCTIONS OF E.—LESSONS FROM THE DYNASTY; FROM THE RISE OF T’ANG; FROM T’AE-K’ES’S OWN POSITION AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS REIGN. 2. 有夏先后— the former emperors possessing Hea.” Lin Che-k’e says that we are to understand all the Hea sovereigns before K’ee. That cannot be. K’ang-k’és has been singled out for his wickedness; only Yu himself would fully answer to E’s description. It suits his purpose to speak of a line of good princes; and many of them would be considered so in com-
昭圣武
代虐
惟我商王
布朕哉自毫。
造攻自鸣條，手中我有命，
其子孫弗率，其魚鼈咸若，于
不寧，暨鳥獸亦莫

和the birds and beasts, the fishes and tortoises, all realized the happiness of their nature. But their descendant did not follow their example, and great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our ruler, who had received its favouring appointment. The attack on Hea may be traced to Ming-t'eaou, and our attack on it began in Pô. Our king of Shang had brilliantly displayed his sacred prowess. When for oppression he substituted his generous gentle-

parison with Kê. 方 is an adverb, and stress is to be laid on it. 'The dict. defines it by 今, 'now.' It = 'then,' 'so long as.' 我若—皆順適其性而得遂其 生, 'all quietly followed their nature, and had the enjoyment of their life.' From 山川 down to this describes fancifully, but not without a truth to which the mind responds, the happy condition of the well-governed empire. Ch'in Ta-yew (陳大猷) directs attention to the last par. of the 1st chap. of the 'Doctrine of the Mean,'—

皇天降災—Lin Che-kê illustrates this by saying that the spirits of the hills and rivers could no longer be in tranquillity. Hills fell; rivers were dried up; strange sounds were emitted. Birds and beasts, fishes and tortoises, no longer followed their nature, and many of them were changed into monstrous and prodigious things.' I quote this, as showing how the Chinese share in the feeling of a sympathy between the course of nature and the character and doings of men; so that 'the whole creation groans' and wishes to be delivered from the curse of human wickedness. 假手于我

[Up to this point the paragraph is found, but in a very different form, in the only remaining part of Mih-tzsu's 'Book on 鬼 (明鬼篇).']

下。He gives it as from the 'Boo<s of Shang': —鳴呼，古者有夏方未有禍之時，百獸蟲，無在人面，胡敢不和。甲骨文 is evidently corrupt; yet he could hardly have the 'Instructions of E,' as we now read them.

造攻云云，—compare Menciùs, V., Pt. I., vii. 3. There we have 'the palace of Muh' (牧宮) instead of Ming-t'eaou. But from the Preface, par. 12, we know that Ming-t'eaou was not far from the cap. of Kê. It was there probably that he had the palace of Muh, where his orgies alienated the people from him, and awoke the vengeance of Heaven. [There was another Ming-t'eaou towards the east, where Shun died, according to Menciùs, IV., Pt. II., i.] ‘Our attack commenced (载一始) in Pô，—the meaning is that the virtue of Tâng, pleasing to both Heaven and men, first displayed in Pô, marked him out as the punisher of Kê, and the successor to the empire.

P. 3. 聖武—'his sacred prowess.' 'It is not simply said,' observe the commentators, 'showed his prowess, but his sacred prowess. The expression intimates that his prowess came from the value of virtue and righteousness, by
ness, the millions of the people gave him their hearts. Now your Majesty is entering on the inheritance of his virtue;—every thing depends on how you commence your reign. To set up love, it is for you to love your elders; to set up respect, it is for you to respect your relatives. The commencement is in the family and State; the consummation is in the empire.

III. "Oh! the former king began with careful attention to the bonds that hold men together;—he listened to expostulation, and did not seek to resist it; he conformed to the wisdom of former people; occupying the highest position, he displayed intelligence; occupying an inferior position, he displayed his loyalty; he allowed the good qualities of others, and did not seek that they should have every talent; which he was able to destroy oppression, deliver the people, and give repose to the empire."

P. 4. 今王嗣厥德—T'sae-kei was inheriting the throne. But it was a throne that had been acquired by virtue, and E Yin therefore puts his succession before him in this way.

初即位之初: "the beginning of his reign." The other observations of the paragraph are the same as the lessons set forth at so much length in the concluding chapters of 'The Great Learning.'

Ch. III. Pp. 5—7. The Instructions continued.—The character and regulations of T'ang.

6. 聳修人紀—T'sae says that the 人紀 are 三綱五常, 'the three relations' [prince and minister, husband and wife, father and son] 'and five constant virtues' [benevolence, righteousness, propriety, d.c.]. Somewhat differently, Chang Kew-shing tells us:—"Sovereign and minister, father and son, elder and younger brother, husband and wife, elders and juniors, with friends—all these relationships are held together by propriety and righteousness which are called the "bonds of men" (有禮義以相維謂之人紀). We are to understand by 人紀 the fundamental relationships of society, and the moral virtues by which they are securely and happily maintained. Kê had disregarded these virtues and disorganized society; the first work of T'ang was—unconsciously to himself—to exhibit the virtues and reform society. All the rest of the paragraph is an expansion of this clause.

先民時若—先民是順, 'with the former people he was accordant,' By the 'former people' are intended sage men of ancient times, the lessons of whose wisdom had been transmitted. Ying-ts says that an民 is used to indicate that the wisdom was from 'the people.' But the character need not have that force;—compare Pt. V., Bk. XII, p. 11, —相古先民有夏. The sentiment is that T'ang did not consider that all wisdom was with himself, but was ever ready to learn. 爲下克忠—T'ang's dethroning Kê, and taking the empire to himself, would seem to be contrary to this affirmation of his loyalty, but it was not of his own will merely, nor till he had used every method of remonstrance and advice, that he took the field against his sovereign. 與人不求備—求備,—see Con. Ana., XIII, xxv.; 與人—與人之善, 'he allowed to men their good qualities.' 與許; the 檢身 in the parallel clause shows that we are to take 與 as a verb. 以至于萬方—this language well indicates how T'ang was
in the government of himself, he seemed to think he could never sufficiently attain.—It was thus he arrived at the possession of the myriad regions. How painstaking was he in these things!

6 He extensively sought out wise men, who should be helpful to you his descendants and heirs. He laid down the punishments for officers, and warned them who were in authority, saying, ‘If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your chambers,—that is called sorcerers’ fashion; if you dare to set your hearts on wealth and women, and abandon yourselves to wandering about or to hunting,—that is called the fashion of dissipation; if you dare to contemn the words of sages, to resist the loyal and

carried on, as by the force of circumstances, and not by any ambition of his own, to the supreme dominion.

The suggestion of the idea that the clause does not celebrate T'ang's surmounting all difficulties that opposed his possession of the empire, but his being able to display the virtues which insured his possession of it. Seun-teze, in his Book on the ‘Ways of a Minister’ (臣道篇), quotes a passage from the Shoo, which must be another form of the first part of this paragraph. He has:—書曰：從命而不拂，從諫而不倦，為上則明，為下則遜；'T'ang attained the empire with the greatest difficulty, and therefore his anxious thoughts about it went very far forward; it was right he should seek for men of talents and virtue to hand it down to his posterity.'

7. Lin Che-ke says:—Although T'ang had sought out wise men to be a help to his descendants, he was still afraid lest the men whom they employed should only think of securing themselves in their offices, and not attend to their duty to monstrosely with and guide their sove-

reign. He therefore instituted these punishments for officers to admonish them.' E Yin, calling the young emperor's attention to such ordinances, had regard, no doubt, to the vices and errors into which he saw that T'se-k'in was prone to fall.

巫風—Ying-t'a observes that the wizard is called 巫 and the witch 巫; but the 巫 is applicable both to men and women. These persons had intercourse with spiritual beings, and hence the service of spirits is called 巫 (巫). We have only to think of the frenzied excitement of the ancient sibyls to see how strong and contemplative is the language of T'ang in reference to the officers of this fashion. 風 is here — 'ways,' 'fashion.' Properly it denotes 'the wind;' thence it is applied to what is exciting and influences others.

殉 is here in the sense of 求, 'to desire,' 'to seek for.'
upright, to put far from you the aged and virtuous, and to be familiar with profligate youths,—that is called the fashion of disorder. Now if a high noble or officer be addicted to one of these fashions with their ten evil ways, his Family will surely come to ruin; if the prince of a country be so addicted, his State will surely come to ruin. The minister who does not try to correct those vices in the sovereign shall be punished with branding.' These rules were minutely enjoined also upon cadets in their lessons.

and keep company with.' 頑 is paraphrased by 頑鈍無恥, 'obstinate, stupid, and shameless.' The case of Rehoboam with the counsellors of Solomon and his own young companions will occur to most readers. 三風十愆—the 'three fashions' are those just mentioned, and the 'ten vices' are the evil ways enumerated in connection with them:—two under the sorcerers' fashion; and four under each of the other two fashions.

必壤,家 is here very evidently used for the whole establishment of the noble or officer.

臣下不能匡其刑墨, the 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases this as "In any of those evil ways without remonstrating with him should be punished with branding. With this the words of T'ang terminate. We are to understand the concluding clause as from E Yin himself.

具訓于蒙士— the dict., with ref. to this passage, explains蒙 by 蒙童卑小之稱, 'the designation of the young and little.' 蒙士 are the sons of officers and nobles being trained in schools to fit them for the duties of mature life. 'They were minutely instructed,' says Ts'e, 'in these duties, that when they entered on office they might know to administer reproof.'

[Mih-taze has a passage in his only remaining chapter 'Against Music' (非樂篇), where he quotes part of this par. and the next, but evidently his text is very corrupt. He says:—先王之書,湯之官刑之有之風,其刑君欲出諷言也。其風人呂出巫, 腦二子言了孔上, 帝不崩。帝之為風, 有臣王言, 呂九不奉之。]

From this corrupt and mutilated passage we perceive there was a book in Mih's time known as 'The Penal Laws of T'ang.' Of course if such a book was really made by T'ang, we can suppose that E Yin should be quoting from it here. Yen Jō-keu contends that such a book was made towards the close of the Shang dynasty, and not by T'ang, and concludes, therefore, that our present 'Instructions of E' bear upon them in this place the manifest stamp of forgery. But he has no direct evidence to show that we should refer 'The Penal Laws of T'ang' to a period several hundred years later than that emperor. All his reasoning on the point is singularly weak.]
IV. “Oh! do you, who now succeed to the throne, revere these instructions in your person. Think of them!—Sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly displayed. The ways of God are not invariable;—on the good-doer He sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer He sends down all miseries. Do you be but virtuous, without consideration of the smallness of your actions, and the myriad regions will have cause for congratulation. If you be not virtuous, without consideration of the greatness of your actions, they will bring the ruin of your ancestral temple.”

CH. IV. P. 8. THE INSTRUCTIONS CONCLUDED.—A SOLEMN ADMONITION TO T'ANG-KHE TO FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF T'ANG, AND TAKE HERED TO HIS WAYS. 祇厥身.—we might translate this—'be reverent of his person,' but the commentators generally prefer to make the lessons of the last par. the object of 祇 and expand the passage by 敬之于身, 'respect them in his person.' 洋洋—'vast;' comp. 'Doctrine of the Mean,' xvi, 3. 孔—大, 'great,' or 'greatly.' 爾惟德 云云.—Lin Ch'e-ku has said on this passage:

Kung of Han says, "Cultivate your virtue, and not on a small scale; then the whole empire will have cause for congratulation. Do what is not virtuous, and that not on a great scale, and you will overthrow your ancestral temple. These are the instructions of E, showing his true royalty." The meaning of Kung was that the emperor's virtue must be extremely great, and then he would make the myriad regions happy, while for the overthrow of his ancestral temple it was not necessary that his want of virtue should be great; and this advice showed the true devotion of E. Yin. Kung of T'ang lost this meaning of Gan-kwö, and explains it thus:—為善無小, i.e., all states will rejoice in your little virtue, and how much more will they do so if it be great! 爰無大, i.e., a little wickedness will overthrow your ancestral temple, and how much more will great wickedness do so! These two expressions—罔小罔大—are antithetic, but their meaning is the same. Lin then endeavours to show that Gan-kwö's interpretation is the only one admissible. The antithetic phrases are certainly somewhat perplexing. I consider that the one of them supposes also the other. 罔小 is equivalent to—'be it small or large,' and 罔大 to—'be it large or small.' The tendency of virtue and vice, without reference to their amount or degree, is as severally represented.
THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK V. T'AE KEA. PART I.

1. The king, on succeeding to the throne, did not follow the advice of A-hâng. He, that is, E Yin, then made the following writing:—'The former king kept his eye continually on the bright requirements of Heaven, and served and obeyed the spirits of heaven and earth, of the land and the grain, and of the ancestral temple;—all with a reverent veneration. Heaven took notice of his virtue, and caused its great appointment to light on him, that he should soothe and tranquillize the myriad regions. I, Yin, then gave my assistance to my sovereign in the settlement of the people. And thus it is that your Majesty, inheriting the crown, have become charged with the line of the great succession.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—太甲, 'T'ae-kē.'

This was the name, we saw on the 1st par. of the last Book, of T'ang's grandson and successor. The names of all the Shang emperors after T'ang are made up of the first series of the cyclical characters, called the 'Heavenly Stems' (天干), with another distinguishing character added. This was the fashion of the dynasty. The Book is divided into three Parts, each of which is called a p'ê (篇). The first Part might stand very well by itself; the second and third have nothing in their contents specially to require a separation of them from each other. Lin Che-k'ê observes that the division of several of the Books of the Shoo into Parts arose from their length. Being written or engraved originally on tablets of wood or bamboo, very many of these could not be kept together so as to be read with comfort. A book
was therefore tied up in two bundles, marked 

\( \text{上} \), \( \text{下} \), or in three, marked \( \text{上} \), \( \text{中} \), and \( \text{下} \), as the case might be. The division was made for convenience' sake, rather than from regard to any difference in the matter. This is only partially correct. There are some Books that are not divided, which yet are longer than others. The Sez-ma T'een gives the name as '太甲訓.' The Instructions delivered to Ta-'kā. It may have been current during the Han dynasty under that title. It does belong to the division of the Shoo which embraces 'Instructions.' The genuineness of the Book is called in question.

Contents. E Yin finds the young sovereign disobedient to his counsels, and insensible to repeated remonstrances. On this the minister takes a high-handed measure, removes the emperor from his palace and companions, and keeps him in a sort of easy confinement, near the grave of his grandfather, all the period of mourning. Ta-'kā becomes penitent and truly reformed. This is the subject of the first Part. Delighted with the change, E Yin brings Ta-'kā back, finds him converted to the cause, and congratulates him on his reformation, and the emperor makes a suitable reply; after which E again proceeds to his favourite work of counselling and advising. This first Part is divided into ten parts, which are again arranged in three chapters. The first, containing 3 parts, tells of Ta-'kā's waywardness, and how E Yin called him in a letter to follow the example of his grandfather. The second, in 4 parts, tells of Ta-'kā's continued misconduct, and how E Yin by word of mouth expostulated with him. The third, in 3 parts, shows the emperor's patience worn out, with the bold measure which he took, and its happy effects.

Ch. I. Pp. 1—3. Ta-'kā's WAYWARDNESS. E Yin REMONSTRATES with him in writing.

1. 不恆于阿-衡-惠-順, 'to accord,' 'to be obedient.' Compare its use in Pt. II., Bk. I., 17; Bk. II., 5; Bk. III., 8.

阿-衡, 'this is said by Sez-ma T'een to have been the name of E; and it saves the translator considerable trouble to follow this view. The more common opinion, however, and that followed by T'ae, is that the characters were the title of an officer—the prime minister in fact—under the Shang dynasty. 阿 is taken as '倚,' and the name is then 'support and steelyard.' 'butress and director.' Others make 阿-'保, which gives the same result. The name, it is said, was given to E Yin, because of his services to Ta-'kā and to the empire. 2. E Yin processes in writing the example of Ta-'kā's religious reverence upon Ta-'kā.

伊尹作書, 'this is the first time that we read in the Shoo of any communication addressed otherwise than by word of mouth. Ch'in Leih suggests that perhaps the presenting written or engraved memorials commenced at this time. We are not to think of E Yin as using pencils, ink, and paper. His memorial was on one or more slips of wood or bamboo, lightly engraved, or described perhaps with some colouring matter on the plain surface. Lin Che-k'e observes that down to the Han dynasty the memorials were all upon such slips, and were presented tied up in black bags.

原王顧諧天之命命, 《see 'The Great Learning,' C. i. 2. The meaning of 諧 is not well ascertained. It evidently serves to give emphasis to 諧. Choo He and the Sung school generally take 命 as referring to 'man's nature,' the bright gift conferred on and entrusted to him by Heaven, and the statement is that 'Ta-'kā assiduously cultivated his virtue.' This is twisting the Shoo to support the dogma of a school. T'ang had regard to the will of Heaven in reference to the whole course of his life and duty. That led him to cultivate his personal virtue, but it took him out of himself also, to do what his circumstances called him to; more especially did he feel it was required of him by Heaven that he should be reverent and devout, religious, according to his lights. We may believe that Ta-'kā was glaringly neglectful of all religious worship.

承-奉, 'to serve.' 以承 'so as to serve,' 'i.e., his regard to the requirements of Heaven did actually make him a regular and reverent worshipper. 天監厥德, 用集大命, 'commentators call attention to the manner in which the first of these clauses responds to 命之命. T'ang looked up to Heaven, and Heaven looked down on him. 用-'and so;—we have had several instances of this usage. 集, 'to collect;' here 'to make to light upon.' Compare the Shoo-king, Pt. III., i., Ode II., 4.—天監在下, 有命既集, 惟尹躬克右厥, 厩寓宅師, 尹躬, 'Yin's self,' 'Yin himself.' According to Leu Puh-wei and others, E's name was Che (葽), but he here speaks of himself as Yin. We must suppose that he was styled 尹, because of his services, and better known among the people as the Regulator, 'the Corrector,' than by his name. Here he accepts the designation. 師, 'the multitude,' 'the people.' Wang Te-sou says:—'The phrase 宅師 follows from the preceding 撫綏. What is meant by settling—locating—the people, is that after their oppressions were taken away and a gentle rule exercised, they were arranged so that every man was in his proper place' (虛之各得其所). 丕承基緯, 緯, comp. III., Bk. III., p 8; 基 is 'a foundation,' that on which any thing rests. Joined with 謀, it denotes 'an inheritance,' 'a transmitted property.' The phrase in the text has the same meaning. Te-sou says on the
3 "I have seen it myself in Hea with its western capital,—that when its sovereigns went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same; but afterwards when their successors could not attain to such a consummation, neither did their ministers. Take warning, O heir-king. Reverently use your sovereignty. The sovereign, if you do not play the sovereign, you will disgrace your ancestor.'

4 II. The king would not think of these words, nor listen to them.

5 On this E Yin said, "The former king, before it was light, sought to have large and clear views, and then sat waiting for the morn-

expression of their approval of this emendation, and I have translated accordingly. 有終.—comp. Bk. II., 9.

The king would not think of these words, nor listen to them. In the Book of Rites, 坡記, p. 22, we find the two last clauses,— 周辟不辟, 周辟不辟. 陶祖, quoted from the Shoo, with an interpretation and application, different from their meaning in E's writing.

Ch. II. Pp. 4—7. T'AE-KEA CONTINUES CARELESS, AND E YIN EXPOSTULATES WITH HIM, AND TRIES TO WIN HIM ON TO WHAT WAS RIGHT.

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ing. He also sought on every side for men of ability and virtue to instruct and guide his posterity. Do not frustrate his charge to me, and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be careful to strive after the virtue of self-restraint, and cherish far-reaching plans. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the spring, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets go;—reverently determine your end, and follow the ways of your ancestor. Thus I shall be delighted, and be able to all ages to show that I have discharged my trust.

不显，'was greatly clear.' Kin Le-ts'ang says well, that the whole clause shows how T'ang kept his eye continually on the requirements of Heaven (此是先王顧龍之功). 俊—see on 'Counsels of Kaou-yau,' p. 4. 彦—美士，'admirable officers.' The 說文 defines it—美士有文人所言也. 侯求——後人—this shows how T'ang's anxieties were not merely for himself and for the time being. 无越 厥命—無—母; 越 is here not 'to transgress,' but 'to let fall,' ‘to bring to nought;' 厥命 is the charge of Tae-k'i-a which E supposes to have been specially committed to himself by T'ang. 6. Tae-k'i-a was losing all self-restraint, plunging into extravagance, and thinking only of the day before him;—hence the two admonitions in this par.

乃—汝—儒德, 检身若不及—。2. Gau-kwô takes 處 in the sense of 'settled,' 'to consider,' 'to calculate,' and 處機張 as 'when you calculate the adjusting the spring of your cross-bow.' This is admissible; but Choo IIC prefers, and I think rightly, to take 處 in the sense of 處人, or 'forester.' 處機, is defined by 勿牙, 'the tooth of the cross-bow.' We are to understand the spring by touching which the instrument was discharged.

括—矢末—'the end of the arrow,' which was placed against the string, and on the correct placing of which—its being 合於法度—depended the success of the archery. 欽厥止—compare 'The Great Learning,' C, iii., 3. 萬世有辭—T'ae explains 賜 by 'praise,' and makes the clause refer to Tae-k'i-a, 'all ages will celebrate you.' Lin Che-k'e makes it refer to E Yin, and 'through all ages be able to say that I have discharged my trust,' i.e., be able to give an account of myself. The editors of Yung-ch'ing's Shoo rather approve of this view of Lin's. I have followed it, because it retains the proper signification of 賜. I do not know that the meaning which T'ae puts on it can be supported by other examples—comp. 汝永有賜.

In the 'Record of Rites,' and the Book called 續, p. 16, we have quite an array of quotations from the 太甲, more or less agreeing with the received text.—太甲曰，無越厥命，以自覆也，若厥機張， 往省括于厥度，則釋。 Here par. 6 is omitted.

尹吉曰，惟尹躬天見于西邑夏，自周有終，相亦維終。 Here 吉 is perhaps an error.
III. The king was not yet able to change his course. E Yin said to himself, “This is real unrighteousness, and is becoming by practice a second nature. I cannot bear to be near such a disobedient fellow. I will build a place in the palace at T'ung, where he can be quietly near the remains of the former king. This will be a lesson which will keep him from going astray all his life.” The king went accordingly to the palace in T'ung, and dwelt during the period of mourning. In the end he became sincerely virtuous.

for 伊尹, and 天 may be for 先]

Ch. III. Pp. 8—10. T'ae-kea continuing vicious, E sends him from the palace, and keeps him in confinement,—which ends in his reformation. 8. 伊尹曰日 is the reflection in E’s mind. It is better to take it thus than to expand it with Ying-ťá,—‘E Yin announced to all the ministers in the court, saying,— 必乃不義習與性成,—Gan-kwô explains this:—習行不義将成其性, the practice of unrighteousness will become his nature. This is no doubt the meaning, but it gives us no explanation to account for the use of the 與. T'ae avoids the same difficulty by expanding:—伊尹指太甲所為乃不義之事, 訖惡而性成者也. If we had in the text instead of 與, the whole would be easy. The ‘Daily Explanation’ tries to bring out the force of the 與 thus:—習為不善, 若天生性成者然, ‘he is practising what is not good as if his nature from his birth were so constituted.’ Lin Che-ke treats it substantially in the same way; and I do not see that anything better can be done.

子弗狎于弗順.—‘I will not be near the disobedient.’ There is no reason why we should strain the text to avoid the very decided expression of his opinion which E gave, and to maintain in him the Chinese ideal of a hero-sage. He spoke evidently under strong provocation. 矛子氡宮.—‘T'ung’ was the place where T'ang’s tomb was. It was, probably, in the pres. dis. of Yung-ho (榮河), dep. of P’oo-chow (蒲州), in Shan-né. The site or supposed site of the grave there was washed away by the Fun (汾河), under the Yuen dynasty, when a stone coffin was removed to another position, near which, under the Ming dynasty, an imperial tomb was built. [The sub. dep. of P’s (東), in Gan-hwuy, likewise prefers a claim to include the place of T'ang’s grave.] From Mencius, V., Pt. I., vi. 5, we are led to infer that T'ung was the name of a city or district;—nothing is said of it as the place where T'ang had been buried. T'ae manipulates the text to 矛子氡宮, built a palace in T'ung; and Ying-ťá had done the same 矛於 棕幕立宮. But why should we use such violence with the language, when we are not compelled to do so in order to make any meaning out of it? The text leads us to suppose that there was already a palace in T'ung. E Yin determined to build or fit up some apartment in it, where T'ae-ke might reside.—be confined in fact,—till he gave proof of reformation.

密邇先王其訓—all the commentators take 密邇 as 密邇 as 親近. We get a better meaning, it seems to me, by taking 密邇 as ‘secretly,’ ‘silently.’ We do not know what to do with the 其訓. Lin Che-ke ro-
presents E's idea thus:—'I will make him dwell there, to be near the former king, and think of his instructions.' Te'ae has:—'I will make him be near the grave of T'ang, where thinking mournfully morning and night, he may rouse up the good that is in him:—thus I will instruct him.' My translation is more after Te'ae's view.

10. 居憂.—Gan-kwô has 居憂位: 'dwell in the place of sorrow.' There Tse-kêa could not help himself, and had to observe all the established customs of mourning.

Concluding Notes. [i.] The action of E Yin in dealing with his sovereign has been much canvassed. Mencius was bound on his principles to defend it, and he did not scruple to do so. When Kung-sun Ch'ow asked him whether worthies, being ministers, might indeed banish their vicious sovereigns in this way, he answered, 'If they have the same purpose as E Yin, they may; if they have not the same purpose, it would be usurpation' (VII., Pt. I., xxxi.). This doctrine is startling, but sound. A man in the position of E Yin must be a law to himself, wherever his actions will not clash with the moral laws of God.

[ii.] According to the Shoo, the confinement of Tse-kêa in T'ung took place during the period of mourning, and lasted only to the end of it,—we may say, in round numbers, for three years, as Mencius does. Sze-ma Ts'êen gives a different account. We read in the 'Historical Records':—'When Tse-kêa had been on the throne three years, he proved unintelligent and oppressive, paying no regard to the laws of T'ang, and being guilty of all sorts of disorderly conduct. On this E Yin confined him in the T'ung palace for three years, while he himself administered the government of the empire, and gave audience to the princes. When Tse-kêa had been in T'ung for three years, he became repentant, reproved himself and returned to good, on which E Yin brought him back to the capital, and resigned the government into his hands. The emperor then cultivated his virtue; the princes all signified their allegiance; the people enjoyed tranquillity; and E Yin, in admiration, made the "Instructions to Tse-kêa," in three Parts, in his praise.' We cannot say positively from Mencius that Ts'êen's account is incorrect, but we must set it aside, if on no other ground, yet certainly on the authority of the Preface to the Shoo.
I On the first day of the 12th month of the 3rd year, E Yin took the imperial cap and robes, and escorted the young king back to

Contents of the Second Part. The confinement of Tse-kê in Tung having produced the desired effect, E Yin brings him back with honour to Pô, to undertake the duties of the government, and presents him with a congratulatory address on his reformation. Tse-kê responds with a proper acknowledgment, and asks the continued assistance and guidance of the minister, who on his part is happy to resume his favourite work of delivering instructions.

The first two par. form a chapter, describing the emperor’s return, and giving the address on his reformation. Tse-kê’s penitent reply, in par. 3, forms a second chapter. The remaining 3 paragraphs, in which E resumes his lessons and counsels, on the example of T’ang, and the duties of Tse-kê, conclude the part with a third chapter.

Ch. I. The Young King is Brought Back with Honour to Pô. E Yin Congratulates Him and the Empire on his Reformation.

惟三祀十有二月朔— this note of time follows from that in the "Instructions of E," par. 1. Two years have elapsed from that time. The same question arises.—Is the 12th month the 12th month of the Hea year or of the Shang? I am more inclined to believe that in both passages we have nothing to do with the Hea year. T’ang having died in the eleventh month, Tse-kê had immediately commenced the formalities of mourning for him,—with no sincerity indeed, but yet nominally. It was now the 26th month since T’ang’s death. Tse-kê was entered into the third year of mourning. At the end of the 24th month it was competent for him to lay aside his sad apparel, array himself in his ordinary robes, and go about all the duties devolving on him. The period of mourning for parents and grandparents is indeed said to be three years; but as the Chinese say that they are three years old, not when they have completed three years of 12 months each, but when they have lived in three years, so Tse-kê might now, in the 12th month of the 3rd year in which he had been on the throne, be considered to have fulfilled the duties of mourning for his grandfather, and take the administration of affairs into his own hands.

Jo-keu argues that two years are not enough for all the events that are supposed to have taken place,—the repeated remonstrances with Tse-kê, his proving himself insensible to advice, his banishment to Tung, his reformation, and his proving its sincerity. We have not sufficient information to enable us to solve all the difficulties that may be raised; the view of the time which I have followed seems to me more likely than any other;—see the 台 of Wang Ming-shing, on the one side, and the 會書廣聰錄, on the other.

冕服,—the distinctive name of the ceremonial bonnet or crown under the Yin or Shang
2 Pô. At the same time, he made the following writing:—"Without the sovereign, the people cannot have that guidance which is necessary to the comfort of their lives; without the people, the sovereign could have no sway over the four quarters of the empire. Great Heaven has graciously favoured the House of Shang, and granted to you, O young king, at last to become virtuous. This is indeed a blessing that will extend without limit to ten thousand generations."

3 II. The king did obeisance with his face to his hands, and his head to the ground, saying, "I, the little child, was without under-

Dynasty was 諸 (see the Record of Rites, 王制. Pt. V. p. 11). Here, however, the general term 祀 is used. Under the Chow dynasty, the emperor had six dîff. crowns, with robes appropriate to each. In sacrificing to Heaven, he used one kind of crown and robes, in sacrificing to his ancestors, a different kind; &c., (see the Rites of Chow, 卷二十一. 春官司服). Whether the practices under the Shang dyn. were the same, we have no means of knowing. The crown was always in the form of a student’s cap, with tassels on which pearls were strung hanging down before and behind, except on the occasion of sacrificing to Heaven, when it is said there were no tassels; on the other occasions the number of pendants and pearls and gems varied, and perhaps the colour. As the text does not say for what particular ceremony Tâe-kēa’s becoming virtuous was to be ascribed to the influence of Heaven exerted on him. Tâe says that "Heaven secretly drew on his better nature" (隠誘其衷). Shin She-hing (申時行) says: "In the matter of his thoughts, it was as if Heaven awakened him; in the matter of his actions, it was as if Heaven helped him" (其思也, 若啟之, 其行也, 若啟之).

Ch. II. P. 3. Tâe-kēa’s Penitent Reply. He confesses his faults in the past, and asks E Yin to continue his guidance to him.

自底不類—不類—不肖—see Doctrine of the Mean. iv. 1. The ‘Daily Explanation’ has:—以自入于不肖, ‘and thereby entering among the unworthy.’ 欲敗度, 縱敗禮— these words are quoted in the left 傳昭十年. 欲—多欲, ‘many desires,’ or ‘lusts;
standing of what was virtuous, and was making myself one of the 
unworthy. By my desires I was setting at nought all rules of 
conduct, and by my self-indulgence I was violating all rules of pro-
priety:—the result must have been speedy ruin to my person. 
Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities 
brought on by one's self there is no escape. Heretofore I turned 
my back on the instructions of you, my Tutor and Guardian;—my 
beginning has been marked by incompetency. May I still rely on 
your correcting and preserving virtue, keeping this in view that 
my end may be good!"

4 III. E Yin did obeisance with his face to his hands, and his head 
to the ground, and said, "To cultivate his person, and by being 
sincerely virtuous, bring all below to harmonious concord with 
him;—this is the work of the intelligent sovereign. The former 
king was kind to the distressed and suffering, as if they were his 

For the sovereign to pay it to the minister as in 
the last paragraph, and as we shall see it here-
after often rendered to the duke of Chow, was 
an act of extreme reverence and condensation.

On 修厥身 She-hing has well said 
that it implies two things:—‘the ordering one's 
affairs by righteousness’ (Bk. II., p. 8), in which 
there will be no ‘setting at nought, through 
lusts, the rules of conduct;’ and ‘the ordering 
one's heart by propriety,’ in which case there 
will be no ‘violating the rules of demeanour.

允德協于下，‘and to have sincere 
virtue harmonizing in the sphere beneath.’ The 
‘Daily Explanation,’ paraphrases this:—出乎 
身而加乎民，將誠實之德， 

5. How T'ang by his kind-
ness and sympathy with the distressed drew the hearts 
of all the people to himself.
children, and the people submitted to his commands, all with sincere delight. Even in the States of the neighbouring princes the people said, 'We are waiting for our sovereign; when our sovereign comes, we shall not suffer the punishments which we now do?'

6 "O King, zealously cultivate your virtue. Regard the example of your meritorious ancestor. At no time allow yourself in pleasure and idleness. When honouring your ancestors, think how you can prove your filial piety; in receiving your ministers, think how you can show yourself respectful; in looking at what is distant, try to get clear views; have your ears ever open to listen to virtue:—then shall I respond to the excellence of your Majesty with an untiring devotion to your service!"

子—'son-ned,' i.e., treated as his children.

並其有邦厥鄰，乃曰，Gan-kwé explains this:—湯俱與鄰並有國，鄰國之人乃曰，'T'ang and his neighbours were equally possessors of kingdoms, but the people of the neighbouring kingdoms said.' Choo He's representation of the construction is the same:—湯與彼皆有土諸侯，而鄰國之人乃曰，'T'ang and those were all princes possessing States, and yet the people of the neighbouring States said.' They have both caught the meaning. We read 並其有邦厥鄰 without a stop.—'Compeers with him were those possessed of States, his neighbours.'

乃曰 = 'but it was said,' i.e., it was said in their States by their people. 云云,—see the quotation of this by Mencius, III., Pt. II., v., 4. 6, 7. E Yin exhorts T'ae-kâ to cultivate his virtue after the example of T'ang; calls his attention to several important points in which he might make his profiting appear; and promises his own untiring aid.

朕承王之休無敟—I will receive the excellence of the king without satiety.' The paraphrase in the 'Daily Explanation' is:—尹承王之休美益思左右匡救，而不避其力矣，其何敢厭哉.
THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK V. TAE-KEA. PART III.

1. I. E Yin again made an announcement to the king, saying, "Oh! Heaven has no affections;—only to those who are reverent does it show affection. The people are not constant to those whom they cherish;—they cherish only him who is benevolent. The spirits

Contents of the third Part. In the first three paragraphs E Yin dwells on the high and difficult charge to which the emperor is called; points out how good government is to be secured; and concludes by once more exhibiting T'ang as a model. The next five paragraphs contain various counsels and cautions addressed to Tae-keā. In the last part, a lesson is given at once to sovereigns and ministers.

This portion of the Tae-keā was perhaps delivered at a later period than the previous one. There is no allusion in it to the emperor's early follies and vices; there is supposed to be an allusion in the close to E's desire to withdraw from public life. In this way we find a reason for its separate from the previous Part. The compiler arranged his documents according to the knowledge which he had of the date of their contents. To the same effect with these remarks are the observations of Chin Tae-yew, which we find in the 集說:—"The "Instructions of E" were made before the faults of Tae-keā had shown themselves, and the minister, wishing to guard against his tendency to self-indulgence, used language stern and severe. The first Part of the "Tae-keā" was made when the emperor's faults were showing themselves, and then E, not wishing to provoke him, slightly changed his plan, and made his language gentle and insinuating. The second Part was made when Tae-keā had begun to repent, and E, full of joy and consolation, made his language bland and encouraging. The third Part was made after Tae-keā had reformed, and then E, anxious lest perhaps the change should not hold out to the last, fashioned his language so as to convey profound and stimulating exhortation. The consummate words of the great minister, now shallow and now deep, are all to be accounted for in this way.'

Ch. I. pp. 1-3. The difficulty of rightly occupying the imperial seat; the rules of good government; the example of T'ang.

1. 惟天無親—天無所親

'Heaven has none whom it loves.' We may supply 常 before 親, after the analogy of the clauses below,—常懷常亨; and then the meaning will be that 'Heaven is not invariable in its likings;' and we find this idea expressed very many times in the Shoo and other classical books. There must be a reason, however, why we do not have 常 before 親 in the text, and I conceive it is this.—Heaven stands out to the mind of E as the head of all government, the supreme Power and Authority in the world. To rule, as ruler, reverence is due from the ruled; from the ruler we look for justice, not love. He has to do with men not simply as men, but as good men or as bad men, to reward the former and to punish the latter. Hence in the text we have it barely and broadly affirmed that 'Heaven has no affections.' This is not the whole truth, which was held by the ancient
do not always accept the sacrifices which are offered to them;—they accept only the sacrifices of the sincere. A place of difficulty 2 is the Heaven-conferred seat! Where there are those virtues, good government is realized; where they are not, disorder comes. To maintain the same principles as those who secured good government will surely lead to prosperity; to pursue the course of disorder will surely lead to ruin. He who at last, as at first, is careful as 3 to whom and what he follows is a truly intelligent sovereign.—The former king was always zealous in the reverent cultivation of his

Chinese, about Heaven, as it is not the whole truth which is held by us about God; yet as it is proper for us to speak of God as ‘the Lord of hosts that judgeth righteously,’ so the affirmation in the text is properly put forth without any qualification. 鬼神無常享。

—享 is ‘to enjoy,’ i.e., to accept the sacrifices and oblations of the worshipper. We can hardly make a distinction between 鬼 and 神. Medhurst calls them here—‘the demons and spirits.’ Giaubil simply has—‘les esprits.’ The spirits of dead ancestors, which might be styled 鬼, and all other spirits from the highest to the lowest, which might be called 神, are embraced in the phrase. E's lesson is that the emperor as the subject of Heaven has to be reverent; as the sovereign of the people, he has to be benevolent; as the head of all religious worship, he has to be sincere. If he be not reverent, Heaven will punish him; if he be not benevolent, men will reject him; if he be not sincere, no spirits will regard him. Well might he add—天位

艱哉. Compare on 詰惟艱哉, Bk. III. p. 5.

[Chin Tih-sew observes that here for the first time we have the virtues of reverence, benevolence, and sincerity, announced distinctly and in their connection and references,—a step in the development of the doctrine of Yaou and Shun, Yu and T'ang. The observation is correct. In later times, Confucius, Mencius, and others, made much of E’s lessons.]

2. 德惟治, the 德 is to be taken in close connection with the reverence, benevolence, and sincerity of the prec. par. 治 (3d tone) is good government realized. In 德惟治 with 德 the 德 has a verbal force. This appears from the 德惟治 which follows. T'ai-tse observes that the 事 or principal course of good government is spoken of, because though there may be differences of administrations and ordinances, required by different times, a common principle will be found underlying all variations. On the other hand we have only the 事 or courses of disorder, princes who are going to ruin doing so as they are hurried on and away by their several hearts’ lusts. 惟德治, —be careful of his concuring.” She Lan says ingeniously, but with an over refinement:—’what is intended by 德 is something very subtle;—it is the concurring tendency of the mind.’ 惟明明后,—here again is the redoubled adjective, —a superlative.

3. 先王, —this of course is T'ang. 懇敬德, —T'ai-tse makes this “strive to make his virtue reverent,”—with special reference to the reverence towards Heaven mentioned in the first par., and the one of the virtues there specified being added here as inclusive of the other two. This seems to be straining the language too much.
II. "Your course must be as when in ascending high you begin from where 'tis low, and when in travelling far you begin from where 'tis near. Do not slight the occupations of the people;—think of their difficulties; do not yield to a feeling of repose on your throne;—think of its perils. Be careful for the end at the beginning. When you hear words against which your mind sets itself, you must inquire whether they be not right; when you hear words which accord with your own mind, you must inquire whether they be not contrary to what is right. Oh! what attainment can be made without anxious thought? what achievement can be made without earnest effort? Let the one man be greatly good, and the myriad regions will be rectified by him.

has two meanings. It is spoken of the virtue of a sovereign, so admirable in the present or the past that he can be described as the mate of God, —as a sovereign upon earth, the one correlate of the Supreme Sovereign above. It is spoken also of the kowssaw of a departed sovereign, exalted to association with God in the great sacrificial services rendered to him by the reigning emperor. We are to take the phrase here in the first meaning. 配上帝 occurs again and again in the She King; in the Shoo we have it only in the text, though below we shall meet with 配天 配皇天, in several places.

Ch. II. Pp. 4–8. VARIOUS COUNSELS.
4. How Tae-kid's progress in virtue should be persistent and progressive. Comp. in the 'Doc-

trine of the Mean,' xv. 1. 君子之道辟 如行遠必自遙 云云。陟

has commonly the signification of 升, 'to ascend.' We must take it here in the general sense of 'to advance.'
6. The emperor should sympathize with the people's toils, and think of the perils of his own position.

民事,—the affairs of the people,' i.e., their toilsome occupations of husbandry, &c. 慘
難:—T'sao expands this by 'but think of their toilsomeness.'

On this use of 慘, compare 慘幾 慘康, in the 'Yih and Teelh,' p. 2.

To end right the best plan is to begin right.
7. Tae-kid should judge what he hears not by his own liking or dislikeings. Palatable advice is probably bad; unpleasant, good.

Wang Ta'sou observes well that this is an expansion of 順德惟聰 in Part ii., p. 7. Compare Con. Ana., IX., xiii.
9 III. "When the sovereign will not with disputatious words throw the old rules of government into confusion, and the minister will not for favour and gain continue in an office whose work is done;—then the country will lastingly and surely enjoy happiness."

and Mencius, II., Pt. I., ii., 17. 8. An appeal to T'ao-k'ē-t's down the importance of his influence to be anxiously thoughtful, and earnest in his doings.

Ch. III. P. 9. E Yin expresses his hope that the emperor will hold on in the imitation of T'ang, and intimates his own intention to withdraw from public life.

The meaning is as in the translation. Ying-t'sh says:—'That E Yin addressing his sovereign should turn to speak of the duty of a minister, though his words are general, and announce a great principle, shows that he had himself formed the purpose of retiring.' Soo Tung-po says:—'The disorders of the empire arise from division between the sovereign and his ministers. When the sovereign proceeds disputatiously to change the old rules of government, the minister becomes afraid; and when the minister, for the sake of favour and gain, presumes on the service he has done, the sovereign comes to doubt him. It is thus that disorder begins.' See the 集說.
I. E Yin, having returned the government into the hands of his sovereign, and being about to announce his retirement, set forth admonitions on the subject of virtue.

II. He said, "Oh! it is difficult to rely on Heaven;—its appointments are not constant. But if the sovereign see to it that his virtue

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**NAME OF THE BOOK.**—成有一德

"Both possessed pure virtue." This is part of a sentence in the Book itself, and as the object of the whole is to inculcate the cherishing and maintaining of virtue pure and unchanging, the words are taken to form the name or title.

The author of the Book was E Yin, excepting of course the first paragraph, which is merely a note by the historical compiler. There is a controversy, as will be seen from the next note but one, as to whom E Yin was addressing, but the style is of a piece with that of the last two Books. The Book comes under the head of "Instructions."

**CONTENTS.** E Yin having returned the government into the hands of T'ae-kéa, and wishing to withdraw from public life, addresses some cautions to the emperor on the subject of virtue. This is told us in the first par., forming the first chapter. In four parrs. E shows how the possession or loss of the empire depends on the virtue of the sovereign or his want of it, and illustrates his theme by reference to the downfall of Kéa and the rise of T'ang. This forms a second chapter. In the next four parrs., forming the third chapter, E dwells on the nature and results of pure virtue, and urges the cultivation of it on T'ae-kéa. The two last parrs., which form the concluding chapter, tell how this virtue will surely be acknowledged, and how the sovereign may find help to it even among the people.

**TO WHOM THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THIS BOOK WERE ADDRESSED.** There can be no doubt on this point, if we receive the Book, as we now have it, as genuine. The "Instructions" in it were delivered to T'ae-kéa. And this is confirmed by the position of the note on this Book in the Preface to the Shoo, as printed at the beginning of this volume. It follows immediately the note about the "T'ae-kéa." In the "Historical Records," however, the same note appears in a different place. Though placed it immediately after the note of "The Announcement of T'ang," and before the death of that emperor. This order is followed by all who impugn the genuineness of the present "old text." The "Both possessed pure virtue"—must, they say, have been addressed to T'ang;—that the present copies all make it addressed to T'ae-kéa is a clear evidence of their being forged.

The note itself is one of those in the Preface which give no account of the occasion on which the Book or Books that they refer to were
be constant, he will preserve his throne; if his virtue be not constant, the nine provinces will be lost by him. The king of Heaven could not maintain the virtue of his ancestors unchanged, but corrupted the spirits and oppressed the people. Great Heaven no longer extended its protection to him. It looked out among the myriad regions to give its guidance to one who might receive its favour, fondly seeking a possessor of pure virtue, whom it might composed. It says nothing but 'E Yin made the Both possessed pure virtue.' It so happens that there is only one sentence in the present text whose genuineness is beyond dispute. All the rest of the Book may be forged, but this one sentence was in the original 'old text.' It is the part of the 3rd par.-

Ch. I. P. 1. Occasion when the 'Both possessed pure virtue' was spoken.

These instructions were delivered when E Yin was about to announce his retirement from public life;—in what year, we cannot tell. The returning of the gov't. into the hands of Tae-kès took place B.C. 1758, and E Yin may very reasonably be supposed to have announced his intention to retire from all toils of administration. So far as the language of this par. is concerned, however, years may have elapsed between the two events. Par. 8 below would rather connect the two things closely together, but in opposition to this is a statement in the

II. 2. 天心不可信，無 有 以 亡，九 有 "the nine possessions,"—

the nine provinces." This clause is held to prove that the Shang dynasty continued to retain Yu's division of the empire into nine provinces.

3. The fall of Kès and rise of T'ang,—proving the doctrine just affirmed.

夏王—this of course is Kès. 弗克庸德—Gan-kwè explains this by "could not make his virtue constant." Lin Che-ke adopts his language, and the 'Daily Explanation' says more explicitly— 弗能有此 純 常 之 德，"could not have
make lord of all the spirits. Then there were I, Yin, and T'ang,
both possessed of pure virtue, and able to satisfy the mind of
Heaven. He received in consequence the bright favour of Heaven,
and became master of the multitudes of the nine provinces, and

this pure and constant virtue.' The translation
shows that I take a different view of the phrase here. There was no virtue at all about
Kee; it seems absurd to make E speak of him
as if there could have been expected from him
virtue of the highest style.

—comp. last Book, Pt. iii., p. 1. 神 here is
equivalent to 鬼神 there.

有命—Gan-kwo says for this—有天
命者開導之, 'to guide on the possessor
or of the decree of Heaven.' Lin Che-k'e, more
correctly and as in the translation, expands—

奉其將有天命而開導之，

曰：一德——德 is not 'one virtue,'
but 'virtue alone.' Ts'uee says that it means—

純一之德不雜不入之義，

即所謂常德也，'virtue pure
and one, unmixed, incessant, what is called
above "constant virtue." It is the

誠，the singleness or sincerity, of the 'Doctrine of the
Mean,' by which the three virtue of knowledge,

magnanimity, and energy are called into effect.

神主—lord of the spirits.' Ts'uee
says:—神主，百神之主，'By 神
主, is meant lord of the hundred (all the)
spirits.' It is a name for the emperor as chief of
the religion of the empire—in our phrase,

'Head of the Church' of China. Cheang Kew-
shing observes:—'The sovereign is lord of all the
spirits. Thus we read in the She K'ing (Pt.
III., Bk. II., Ode viii., st. 8), "May you be
the lord of all the spirits!"' Being lord of the
spirits, it follows that he is lord of the people.
On the other hand we read in the "Many
Regions," (Pt. V., Bk. XVIII., p. 6)—'Heaven
on this sought a lord of the people.' Being lord
of the people, it follows that he is lord of the
spirits.' This is to the effect that the

'Head of the Church' is the 'Head of the State,'
and that either of the designations
must be understood as inclusive of the other.

The term 主, however, cannot be taken with
the same force exactly in both the phrases.
The 'lord of the people,' is high above them,
their ruler; the 'lord of the spirits' is only the
president and director in their worship.

[A passage in the Record of Rites, Bk. 祭
法, par. 8, makes this modified meaning of
the term 'lord,' as applied to the emperor in his
relation to 'spirits,' very plain. It is there said

有天下者祭百神，諸侯在其地則拜之。'The possessor of the
empire sacrifices to all the spirits; the princes
only sacrifice to those that are within their
territories.' As sacrificing to the spirits, the
emperor is their host (主人). In this pass-
page of the 'Laws of Sacrifice,' I know that the
hundred 神 are the 神 of the hills, rivers,
forests, valleys, &c., and do not embrace the
spirits of heaven or those of men. It was probably
this prerogative of the emperor to sacrifice to all of these which first originated
the designation of him as 百神之主.

But the phrase has now a wider application.
Gan-kwo says that the 神主 in the text—

天地神祇之主，'lord of the spirits
of heaven and the spirits of the earth.'

克亨天心—享 is taken here as—

當，'to be suitable to,' 'to correspond to.'

 Ying-ts'a says:—When one's virtue corresponds to
the mind of the spirits, then they accept his
offerings (德當神意，神乃享
之); hence 享 is to be taken as—當. This
is beating about for a meaning.

受天明命—there can be no doubt as to the
meaning of 明命 here. Compare last Book,
Pt. i., p. 2. 父受 夏正—父受
於是，'and thereupon.' The dict. calls the
char. 引 詞，'a connective conjunction.'

T'ang made the year commence in 丑,
the last month of winter, instead of the beginning
of spring, after the practice of the Hoa dyn.
Lin Che-k'e says that from the language here
we may infer that the alteration of the commen-
tence of the year began with T'ang, and
was unknown before the Shang dyn. Whether
this practice began with T'ang or not is a
proceeded to change Hea's commencement of the year. It was not that Heaven had any partiality for the ruler of Shang;—Heaven simply gave its favour to pure virtue. It was not that Shang sought the allegiance of the lower people;—the people simply turned to pure virtue. Where the sovereign's virtue is pure, his movements are all fortunate; where his virtue is wavering and uncertain, his movements are all unfortunate. Good and evil do not wrongly befall men, because Heaven sends down misery or happiness according to their conduct.

III. Now, O young king, you are newly entering on your great appointment;—you should be making new your virtue. At last as at first have this as your one object, so shall you make a daily renovation. Let the officers whom you employ be men of virtue and ability, and let the ministers about you be the right men.

Choo Ho explains this by:—"This principle (way of proceeding) must be connectedly kept up without stopping, and there will be a daily renovation. If there be any intermission, this cannot take place." Chin Tih-sew says:—"Former scholars have observed, that, if men be not daily going forward in their learning, they will be daily going back. So virtue must be daily renewed." See the 集說. 7. Right officers and ministers; and how to make them helpful to the sovereign's virtue.

新服厥命—newly invested with your appointment.

4. The rise of T'ang was altogether to be ascribed to his pure consistent virtue; and such virtue is ever the sure way to prosperity.

5. "Virtue two and three." It is said of a man who is unstable, that his character is "unsaturated," and "in the morning he is for two, and in the evening for three." He is a double-minded man, unstable in all his ways.

6. "Virtue one and four." 賢材—賢 often embraces 材. The 材 or 'ability' being here expressed, we must confine 賢 to the idea of 'virtue.'

7. 轉弼大臣;—see on the 'Yih and Tauch.'
The minister, in relation to his sovereign above him, has to promote his virtue; and, in relation to the people beneath him, has to seek their good. How hard must it be to find the proper man! what careful attention must be required! Thereafter there must be harmony cultivated with him, and a one-ness of confidence placed in him!

8 "Virtue has no invariable model;—a supreme regard to what is good gives the model of it. What is good has no invariable characteristic to be supremely regarded;—it is found where there...

—all the here are in the low 8th tone, and have a verbal force, "to be for." Tae says that we have 为德 instead of 为君, to show that to be virtuous is the course for the sovereign, and, I may add, that to promote his virtue is the great business of the minister with him. 其难其慎慎惟一, it is not easy to satisfy the mind as to the connection and meaning of these brief, emphatic expressions. Gankwo made them all refer to the duty of ministers whose business has just been described. Ying-ta thus expounds his view—"This passage expands the business of ministers. Since what they have to do is so difficult, let them not deem it easy; and since it demands so much care, let them not make light of it. Ministers are thus warned not to slight their duties or consider them easy. Since their duties are not to be deemed light, they ought harmoniously to serve their sovereign; the whole body of ministers should have one heart in serving him, and so his government will be good. The 心德, so that ministers also are required to have this pure and constant virtue.' In the 语类 Choo He makes 其难其慎 an instruction to the sovereign, while 惟和惟一 are addressed to the ministers. He says—'The meaning of 其难其慎 is that, since his officers should be thus virtuous and able, and his ministers just the proper men, the sovereign should feel the difficulty in getting them, and the necessity of his being cautiously attentive. The meaning of 惟和惟一 is that, since ministers are charged with such duties, to promote the virtue of their sovereign above them, and the welfare of the people below them, they must be harmonious and united in discharging them.' A third view is that which I have followed in the translation. According to it, each expression contains a counsel to the sovereign in his relation to his officers and ministers. To suppose, with Gankwo and Ying-ta, that E is speaking here of ministers and for them very much breaks the continuity of his discourse. To suppose, with Choo He, that part is spoken to the sovereign, and part to his ministers, is liable to the same objection, and is like guessing out the meaning rather than reasoning it out. The 'Daily Explanation' thus paraphrases at length the view which I have followed:

国也，不用则，官，又，以此，可，初，不，德，之，而，而，得，也，待，可，不，惟，于，其，轻，其，及，而，其，之，为，遂，其，可知，，及，之，也，其，善。
is conformity to the uniform decision of the mind. Such virtue will
make the people with their myriad surnames all say, 'How great
are the words of the king!' and also, 'How single and pure is the
king's heart!' It will avail to maintain in tranquillity the great
possession of the former king, and to secure for ever the happy life
of the multitudes of the people.

IV. "Oh! to retain a place in the seven-shrined temple of ances-
tors is a sufficient witness of virtue. To be acknowledged as chief
by the myriad heads of families is a sufficient witness of one's govern-
ment.

of all good actions. By what model shall a man
order his conduct that it shall always be
virtuous? No invariable model can be supplied
to him. But let him have a chief regard to this
point—that his actions be good, and he will
not go far wrong. 主, as in Ana. I., viii., 2.
But what is to be the decisive characteristic of
what is good? The answer to this question is in
the last clause,—協于克一, 'harmony in
attaining to the one.' It is not easy to say
precisely what is meant. Ts'ae says the idea is
not far different from that of Confucius in his
famous saying,—吾道一以貫之
(Ana. IV., xvi.) The — has reference to the —
德, which is in the title of the Book. Man has
a monitor in regard to what is good and what
is evil in his own breast. Let him only give a
uniform obedience to the voice of this monitor,
and his whole conduct will be ordered virtuously.
9. The happy and great results of such
a virtuous course.

倖—使, 'will cause.'
A nominative is to be brought on from the last
paragraph. 大哉王言, the 'words
of the king' are those published in his ordi-
nances of State.

克綏先王之禪.
—the same nominative is to be supplied to
克. 禪 is the 天禪, 'Heaven-
conferred revenues,' of the 'Counsels of Yu,'
par. 17.
Ch. IV. Pp. 10, 11. THE CHARACTER OF
ONE'S GOVERNMENT AND VIRTUE WILL COMMAND
ACKNOWLEDGMENT IN THE PRESENT AND THE
FUTURE. THE GOVERNOR SHOULD BE PREPARED TO
ACCEPT HELPS TO HIS VIRTUE EVEN FROM THE
LOWEST OF THE PEOPLE.

王之廟
—the ancestral temple of seven generations.'
"The sovereign without the people has none whom he can employ; and the people without the sovereign have none whom they can serve. Do not consider yourself so enlarged as to deem others small in comparison. If ordinary men and women do not find the opportunity to give full development to their virtue, the people's lord will be without the proper aids to complete his merit."

instance of what is good not provided, i.e., not provided to be an example to him. E Yin's idea was that the emperor could and ought to learn good from all, however far they might be beneath him. It must be allowed that there is a falling off in these two concluding paragraphs. They are but an impotent conclusion to the Book.

CONCLUDING NOTE. [1.] About E Yin. E Yin had certainly played a most important part in the overthrow of the Han dynasty, and the establishment of the Shang. Whether he spent his last years in retirement as he wished to do, or was persuaded to continue to be prime minister to his death, we do not know; but he survived Tse-k'ê, and died, according to the preface to the Shoo, and to Shé-ma Tse'en, a.c. 1712, more than 100 years old, in the 8th year of Yuh-ting, Tse-k'ê's son and successor. He was buried with imperial honours, and a narrative of the transactions of his life was drawn up by another minister called Kaou Shen, which formed one of the documents of the Shoo, but is unfortunately lost.

No credit can be given to the statements in the 'Bamboo Books,' that E was keeping Tse-k'ê in confinement, while he reigned in his stead, and that Tse-k'ê, having escaped in the 7th year of his imprisonment, put him to death, when Heaven put the emperor in such terror by a dense mist of three days' duration that he invested E's son with his honours and possessions.

[11.] About Tse-k'ê. History is silent on the events of Tse-k'ê's reign after his reformation. He must have held on, however, in the course of virtue, for he earned for himself the shrine in the ancestral temple, and occupied it with the title of Tsz'ung. His reign ended a.c. 1720.
THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK VII. P Wan-kang. PART I.

I. Pwan-kang wished to remove to Yin, but the people would not go to dwell there. He therefore appealed to all the discontented, and made the following protestations.

INTRODUCTORY HISTORICAL NOTE. T'ae-kē's reign ended B.C. 1720, and Pwan-kang's commenced B.C. 1400. More than three centuries of the Shang dynasty is thus a blank in history, so far as the documents of the Shoo are concerned. They were filled up by the reigns of 14 emperors, of whom we know from other sources little more than the names. Originally there were 7 other Books between the 'Both possessed pure virtue,' and the 'Pwan-kang;' but hardly a shred of any of them can now be collected.

The names of the intervening emperors, with all the information that can be brought together about them, are as follow:

[i.] Yuh-ting (沃丁). He was a son of T'ae-kē; succeeded to his father, B.C. 1719; died, B.C. 1691. We have seen that E Yin died in his reign, and was buried by him magnificently in Pō. Soon after this there was made the lost Book, called 'Yuh-ting.'

[ii.] T'ae-kang (太庚). He was a brother of Yuh-ting. He died, B.C. 1666.

[iii.] Sēou-kē (小甲). He was a son of T'ae-kang. He died, B.C. 1649.

[iv.] Yung-ke (雍已). He was a brother of Sēou-kē. He died, B.C. 1637. During his reign, the government became very weak, and many of the princes did not think it worth their while to appear at court.

[v.] T'ae-mow (太戊). He was a brother of Yung-ke. His primo minister was E Chih, the son of E Yin. In his time there occurred at Pō an ominous appearance of a mulberry tree and a stalk of grain growing together. According to T'seen, T'ae-mow in great alarm consulted his minister about it, when Chih replied, 'I have heard that portents do not overcome virtue. May there not be defects about your government? Let your Majesty cultivate your virtue.' This advice was taken. The emperor became greatly virtuous. The strange growth withered away, and the affair was commemorated in a Book, which is now lost, by a worthy minister called Woo Heen. T'ae-mow reposed great confidence in Chih; the dynasty revived; the princes acknowledged their allegiance; and when the emperor died in B.C. 1562, after reigning 75 years, he received, in the ancestral temple, the title of 中宗. [We might be inclined to doubt the length of this reign. Chow-kung mentions it particularly, in Pt. V., Bk. XV., par. 5.]

[vi.] Chung-ting (仲丁). He was the son of T'ae-mow. He transferred the capital from Pō to Gaou (亳; Szoo-ma T'seen writes the name 阷), in the pres. dis. of Ho-yin (河阴), dep. of K'ae-fung, Ho-nan.—There was a Book in the Shoo, giving an account of this
removal; but it is lost. His reign was marked by insurrections and incursions of wild tribes, and by 'internal disorders.' It ended B.C. 1549.

[vii.] Wae-jin (外壬). He was a brother of Chung-ting. His reign ended B.C. 1534, amidst a renewal of 'internal disorders.'

[viii.] Ho-tan-kš (河亶甲). He was a brother of Chung-tsing and Wae-jin. An overflow of the Ho made him remove the capital in his first year from Gaou to Shang, a place in the pres. dep. of Chang-tih (彰德), Ho-nan. His reign was a feeble one, and the fortunes of Shang began again to wane. A Book, which is now lost, commemorated the transference of the seat of govt. The addition of Ho (河) to the emperor's name must have been somehow connected with this. He died B.C. 1525.

[ix.] Tsoo-yih (祖乙). He was a son of Tan-kš. He was obliged to remove the capital from Seng to Kang (耿), in the pres. dist. of Ho-tain (河津), in Kiang Chow (絳州), Shan-se. The Book of the Shoo commemorating this is lost. Subsequently he made another change from Kang to Meng (邢), in the pres. dist. of Hsiing-tae (邢臺), dep. Shun-tih, Chih-le. [It may be doubted, however, whether Meng and Kang were not identical. See Sze-ma T's'en.] He had for his chief minister Heen (賁), a son of Woo Heen of Tae-mow's reign, and his govt. displayed a vigour which anew commanded the submission of the princes. He died B.C. 1506.

[x.] Tsoo-sin (祖辛). He was a son of Tsoo-yih. He died B.C. 1490.

[xi.] Yuh-kš (沃甲). He was a brother of Tsoo-sin. He died, B.C. 1465, amid confusion and disorder.

[xii.] Tsoo-ting (祖丁). He was a son of Yuh-kš. He also died in the midst of troubles, B.C. 1433.

[xiii.] Nan-kš (南庚). He was another son of Yuh-kš. It is the same story; he died amid troubles, B.C. 1408.

[xiv.] Yang-kš (陽甲). He was a son of Tsoo-ting. The fortunes of the House of Shang seemed to be at a low ebb in his time. He died in B.C. 1401, and was succeeded by his brother Pwan-kš.

Name of the Book.—Pwan-kš, 'Pwan-kš.' This was the name of the 17th emperor of the Shang dynasty. It is sometimes written 彦庚. He is by some reckoned the 19th emp., two reigns—of Wue-ping and Chung-jin—being interposed between Tæg and Tae-kš. The 左傳 refers to the Book as the 'Announcement of Pwan-kš;' and it is properly placed in the division of the Shoo which embraces 'Announcements.' The Book is found both in the old text and the modern. There are many passages in it difficult of interpretation. As edited by Confucius, it was in three Parts, which arrangement is retained in the old text, while Pue-shang had either forgotten, or did not mark it.

Contents.—The whole Book centres round the removal of the capital from the north of the Ho to Yin on the south of it. The emperor saw that the removal was necessary, but he was met by the unwillingness of the people and the opposition of the great families. The first Part relates how he endeavoured to justify the measure. It contains two addresses, to the people and to those in high places respectively, designed to secure their cordial co-operation. The second Part brings before us the removal in progress. They have crossed the river, but there continues to be dissatisfaction, which the emperor endeavours to remove by a long and earnest vindication of his policy. The third Part opens with the removal accomplished. The new city had been established, and the plan of it laid out. The emperor makes a third appeal to the people and chiefs to forget all their heart-burnings, and co-operate with him in building up in the new capital a great destiny for the dynasty.

The first Part has been divided into 17 paragraphs, which may be divided again into 2 chapters. The former, parr. 1—4, contains, after an introductory reference to the occasion of its delivery, an address, by Pwan-kš, chiefly to the people, vindicating his measure on the authority of precedents, and the advantages it would secure. The other, parr. 5—17, is an address, to those in high places chiefly, complaining of the manner in which they misrepresented him to the people, and consulted only their own selfishness, and threatening them with his high displeasure, if they did not change their ways.

Ch. I. Pp. 1—4. Occasion of the Addresses in this Part. Necessity and Duly of Removing the Capital; the Measures Vindicated by Precedents; Advantages to be Gained by It.

1. 瓜庚遷殷殷—'Pwan-kš was removing (the past incomplete tense, = wished to remove) to Yin.' The removal must have been from Kang, or from Meng, if Tsoo-yih made a second change of his capital; and it was probably necessitated by an overflow of the Ho. The site chosen for the new capital was殷, called殷肖 in the prefatory note on the Book, which I have translated—Pô, the cradle of the Yin.' Gau-kwo says here that 殷 is another name of 殷肖. Others say that Pô was the name of the territory, and Yin that of a particular place in it. The site of Pwan-kš's new capital was what is called the western Pô, in the pres. dist. of Yen-sze (偃師), dep. of Ho-nan, Ho-nan. This was not the Pô where Tæg had his capital, when he commenced his work of punishment among the princes with the chief of Fu (Bk. II., p. 6). He had, however, probably dwelt previously in this Yin-pô, as intimated in the 9th notice of the preface.
2 He said, "Our king came, and fixed on this settlement. He did so from a deep concern for our people, and not because he would have them all die, where they cannot now help each other to preserve their lives. I have examined the matter by divination, and obtained the reply—'This is no place for us.' When the former kings had any business, they reverently obeyed the commands of Heaven. In

[After this removal of Pwan-käng to Yin, the name of the dynasty appears to have been changed from Shang to Yin. Pwan-käng and his successors all appear in the 'Kang-muh' as kings of Yin, in contrast to the distinction from his predecessors, who are entered as kings of Shang. It is there stated also that he changed the title of the dynasty.]

適有居，適往或之，'to go to.'
The 'Daily Explanation' has for the whole—往適安居之地，'go to the place of tranquil dwelling.'
率籑眾感，率統，(the dict. says should be without the 竹—'to call; 吴—'dread.'
Gan-kwo took 率
as—'led,' and 營 as—'help.'
Ying-ts' expands his view—'首领和諸衆憂之人'—'He conducted and tried to harmonize all the grieving.' The view given in the translation ismuch to be preferred.

2. The necessity and the sanction of a change of capital.

'Our king came,—the king here must be Ts'o-yih.

2. The necessity and the sanction of a change of capital.'

xī 無 無

3. Precadents of removal in the histories of former reigns.

'In such a matter as this transference of the capital. The 言 is well expressed by 'especially.'

3. Precadents of removal in the histories of former reigns.'
a case like this especially they did not indulge a constant repose,—they did not abide ever in the same city. Up to this time the capital has been in five regions. If we do not now follow the practice of the ancients, we shall be refusing to acknowledge that Heaven is making an end of our dynasty here;—how little can it be said of us that we are following the meritorious course of the former kings! As from the stump of a felled tree there are sprouts and shoots, Heaven will perpetuate its decree in our favour in this new city;—the great possession of the former kings will be continued and renewed; tranquillity will be secured to the four quarters of the empire."

II. Pwan-kang, in making the people, aware of his views, began with those who were in high places, and took the constantly recur-

now, there have been five regions.' We must understand as in the translation. There is some difficulty in making out the five capitals. They are commonly enumerated as—Tang's capitals in Shang K'ew and P6, Chung-ting's in Gaou, Ho-tan-k'ei's in Sêang. Tsao-yi's in Kung. But Shang-kw and the P6 of T'ang—the P6 where he first appears in the Shoo—were identical. If he had previously moved from the 'western P6,' that was anterior to the commencement of the dynasty;—only our capital can be counted to him in the enumeration. Reckoning from T'ang's eastern P6, and including the present change to Yin, or the western P6,—which is the way of many,—we have five capitals; but to include the change which was only in contemplation seems forbidden by the clause which follows—今不承于古. The number of five may be made out by allowing two movements to Tsao-yi. The point is really of little importance; and to suppose that Pwan-kang is speaking of five changes which he had made himself, though it is the view of Sze-ma T'ien, is inadmissible.

The meaning of 县 I know is very much determined by the 永命 in the next par., which is in contrast with it. 知 corresponds to 猜 above. 猜—'how much more'; 猜—'how much less.' The commentators all explain 县 by 疑. We get a much better meaning by taking it as 功—as in Bk. IV., p. 1.

4. How a reviving and prosperity would come with a change of capital. 若顛木之有由葉。葉 (see the dict. on the form of the character) — 於木餘，'the remains of a tree that has been cut down.' This justifies — requires, indeed—the translation which I have given of 頜木，which is simply 'a fallen tree.' 由 is defined by 木生條，'the sprouts and shoots of a tree;' see the dict. on this use of the character.

Ch. II. Pp. 5—17. Pwan-kang's address to those in high places. He expostulates with them, and threatens them, because of their opposition to the proposed removal of the capital.

5. Lin Che-k'eu and T'iao preface this chapter in the following way:—The site of Kang, being low and liable to inundations, was particularly unhappy for the poorer people, who were driven from their homes and
scattered about. It had advantages, however, for the large and wealthy families, who were therefore unwilling to leave it, and contrived by unsubstantiated statements to bring many of the lower orders to resist the proposed movement along with themselves. They could not blind the minds of all, but they came between those who wished to represent the grievances of their situation and the emperor, preventing the interchange of their views. These were the circumstances, which occasioned Pwan-kang his difficulties, and to deal with which is his object in this chapter. These observations seem to be correct, and by keeping them in mind, we can better understand the whole of the chapter.

敘于民敘教：‘to teach,’ or, better, 覚悟, ‘to awaken, make aware.’

由此乃在位以常服正法度—this is difficult passage, as appears from the diff. views that have been taken of it. Gian-kwo, taking 由此 and 乃 as 卜, supposed the words to be spoken to the people. Ying-ta thus paraphrases his interpretation:—‘Pwan-kang instructing the people, said, “You ought to follow the orders of your superiors, and use the constant practice of former times to rectify the law.” He wished to charge the people to remove in obedience to the orders of the ministers.’ It is added—‘He also cautioned the ministers, saying,’ &c. This is hardly intelligible, and we cannot admit the interposition of a 日 after the first clause.

Keang Shing, Sun Yen, and other interpreters of the present dynasty, take 由此 and 乃 in the same way as Lin and Ta’an, but view the whole differently. Their interpretation is:—‘Pwan-kang, wishing to make the people aware of his views, would do so by means of those in places of authority, and would use the constant practice of former times to lay down the correct way of proceeding. He therefore said to the officers,’ &c. On this construction, the constant practice of former times (常服) is not the practice of removing the capital, but that of calling a general assembly of the people to deliberate on such an important measure. 正法度, also, does not mean, as in the translation, to lay down the law of proceeding in what was already determined on, but to consider whether such a proceeding should be taken or not. An insuperable objection to this view is the address which follows, in which no proposition is laid before the assembly, but the ministers and officers simply are sharply spoken to. I append the paraphrase of the ‘Daily Explanation’:—

敘于民敘教：‘to teach,’ or, better, 覚悟, ‘to awaken, make aware.’
6 The king spoke to this effect:—"Come, all of you; I will announce to you my instructions. Take counsel how to put away your selfish thoughts. Do not with haughty disregard of me follow after your own ease.

7 "Of old, our former kings had it as a principal object in their plans to employ the men of old families to share in the government. When they wished to proclaim and announce what was to be attended to, those did not conceal the imperial views, and on this account the kings greatly respected them. They did not exceed the truth in their communications with the people, and on this account the

gathered to 'the hall;' congregated, I suppose, all about the royal residence. The meeting, however, was not for deliberation. We may suppose that the people would enjoy the school of the officers.

[If we will not be satisfied without a reason for the change of style from 'Pwan-kang' to 'the king,' and think that the inartistic manner in which the compiler did his work does not sufficiently account for it, I see no course but to resort to the theory of different documents, which certain critics make so much use of in accounting for the change from one name of the Supreme Being to another in the Book of Genesis].

6. Reproof of the insolence and selfishness of the officers. The 若曰. 若曰 intimates that what follows is not all in the exact words of the king, but the substance of what he said. Others will have it that the 若 is appropriate in the mouth of a minister speaking in the name of the sovereign, as we shall find it several times in the next Part; but even there the 若—substantially thus.

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people became greatly changed. Now, however, you keep clamouring, and get the confidence of the people by alarming and shallow speeches. I do not know what you keep wrangling about. In this movement I am not myself abandoning my proper virtue, but you conceal the goodness of my intentions, not standing in awe of me, the one man. I see you as clearly as one sees fire; but still by my undeclared plans I have produced your error.

"When the net has its line, there is order and not confusion; and when the husbandman labours upon the fields, and spends his great deal of meaning in the clause—不匿厥指, saying it—'they proclaimed the favour of the sovereign to the people, and reported the remonstrances of the people to the sovereign.' I cannot see more in it than I have expressed in the translation.

Some say "逸言" = 'words going beyond' the truth. Today, to talk about the 謂意 quotes this passage not under 謂, but under 謂, which seems to have been the reading of Ch'ing K'ang-shing. The meaning of the phrase is given variously. We have—

'多言之意', 'clamorous' (the 目講 and 集傳): '無知之貌', the appearance of stupidity (Gan-kwô); 句善自用之意, 'self-opinionated, resisting what is good' (Ma Yung and the 事文); '難告之貌', the appearance of being difficult to be spoken to (Ch'ing).

The translation of 起信兼膚, the connection shows that by 起信, the speeches of the officers are characterized. 起信, 'precipitous, hazardous,' = 'alarming.' 肅, 'the skin,' here = 'shallow,' words not more than skin deep.

The translation of 起信兼膚 is after Lin Che-k'ê and Ts'ê. K'êang Shing has a different view, and takes 甲, the two together = 'you raise and put forth.'

8. While reviving the perverse opposition of his ministers, Pwan-kâng acknowledges his own weakness. The meaning of this part, given in the translation is again after the 集傳. 肅, comp. its use in Pt. III, Bk. III, p. 8. 肅德, 'this virtue,' i.e., the virtue proper to the sovereign, to love the people. 肅德, 'conceal the virtue,' i.e., the virtue of the emperor proposing the removal of the capital with a view to the benefit of the people. 肅若觀火, 我視汝情明明若觀火. 'I see your feelings and ways as clearly as if I were looking at fire.'

9. The officers are exhorted to put away their selfishness, and to do real good to the people. The good effects of their doing so are illustrated.

9, 10. The officers are exhorted to put away their selfishness, and to do real good to the people. The good effects of their doing so are illustrated.

9. 若網在橋, 'if the net be on the rope.' The rope, going round the mouth or edge of the net, keeps it in order, and affords the means of handling it easily. 有條, 'there are the separate divisions or parts;' = there is order. What the rope is to the net, that the sovereign is to the ministers; and they must allow to him a control over them and
strength in reaping, there is then the abundant autumn. If you can put away your selfish thoughts, you will bestow real good upon the people, reaching to your relatives and friends, and may boldly venture to make your words great, and say that you have accumulated virtue. You do not fear the great evils which are far and near. You are like the husbandman who yields himself to ease, and is not strong to toil and to labour on his acres, and who in such a case cannot have either rice or millet. You do not use friendly and good guidance of them. This portion of the par. is understood to have reference to the haughty disregard of him shown by Pwan-kang's ministers,—their傲(par. 6).若農云云。服田—服勞子田畝；力穂—盡力于稼穡。The 'reaping' is to be taken as inclusive of the 'sowing.' This portion is understood to be directed against the officers seeking their ease,—the 從康 of par. 6.

10. 實德——'real, substantial, virtue.' The meaning is that if they would put away their selfishness (see par. 6), and cordially co-operate with the emperor in promoting the removal to Yin, they would be really benefiting the people. It is not easy to show how the dist. parts of the paragraph depend on one another. No commentator that I have examined has succeeded in doing so. 'They all, from Gan-kwô downwards, have lost the clue to a fair and consistent interpretation, by making the two clauses—汝克黜乃心施實德于民 run on as if they were connected by an and, whereas we should take施實德云云, as the results that would flow from their putting away their selfishness. The two first clauses must be joined by a 而, or the 及 of a looser style. 至于婚友—'reaching—which will reach—to relatives and friends.' 婚 properly denotes 'the kindred of the wife;' here it = 'relatives,' generally. The great families were opposed to the contemplated movement, as Käng was sufficiently advantageous to them. Pwan-kang here tells them that they likewise, as well as the people generally, would be benefited by it. 若乃敢大言。「great(=bold) may be your venturing to magnify yourselves and say,' ——. The straits to which the commentators are put by the language here may be seen in Gan-kwô and Keang Shing. The placing of a 而 between the two first clauses makes the interpretation much more easy.

11. 乃不畏戎毒于遠邁—戎—大「great;」毒—害，‘injuries,' 'evils.' Pwan-kang has reference to the desolation wrought by the overflowing waters, of which the wealthy families hardly seemed to be conscious. Keang Shing says he can get no meaning from the sentence thus construed, and places a stop at 毒, and explains于遠邁 by 徒計枝于遠近,'you vainly calculate, and compare the distant and the near.' This does not make the meaning more intelligible or the construction more easy. 不畏作勞—眾—顧, Pt. V. Bk. IX., p. 15, 'to be strong,' energetic.' 顾 is defined by Ying-tâ by 越於斯; but then it must be taken as an adverb, 乃至於，‘thereupon.' Keang Shing gives卒 for it, = 'the result is.'
words to the people, and are only producing suffering for yourselves. As destroyers and calamities, villains and traitors, the punishment shall come on your persons. You set the example of evil, and must feel its smart,—what will it avail you then to repent? Look at the poor people;—they can still consult together about remonstrances which they wish to address to me, but when they begin to speak, you are ready with your extravagant talk:—how much more ought you to have me before your eyes, with whom it is to make your lives long or short! Why do you not report their

不……生・毒・吉・善・'good.' 和 吉言, are 'soothing and good words,' by which the officers might have ailed the excitement of the people, and led them to fall in with the emperor's wish to remove to Yin. 慰汝自生毒, is the self-inflicted injury below. Pwan-kâng begins to take a higher tone with the officers, and threatens them. Gan-kâo supposes the 百姓 here to be the 百官, 'the various officers,' and the lesson to be administered to the 公卿, or 'high nobles' above them. It is a strange and inadmissible interpretation. 乃 敗寓——麻身,—the 'Daily Explanation' has for this:—敗寓鑫先之刑亦且災于汝之身矣. The 乃 may be taken either as 汝, or as a conjunction. 敗寓 are co-ordinate with 鑫先, and are designations applied to the officers, opposing the emperor as they did. Among all the commentators only Sun Yen has attempted to grapple with the difficulty of these terms, and he only partially and unsuccessfully. 乃 既……何及——汝, 先惡——恶之先, the precedents of wickedness; —so, T'ae'se. 慰痛, 慰身無及——the occasions a difficulty here. It is to be joined to 慰身無及. Gan-kâo says:—悔之而于身無所及, 'you may repent, but that will not avail your persons.' 檢時檢民……之命。[crown]視 'to look at;' 時, 'these;' 檢民, 'the lower people,' 檢 (the original form of the char. is disputed) properly means 'sharp-mouthed,' 'litigious,' 'flattering.' This meaning is retained in the phrase, in Pt. Y., Bk. XIX, p. 20. It would be inappropriate here, and therefore the signif. of 檢民, or at least 檢民 is accepted in its stead. 猶顧云云,—I have translated after the paraphrase of the 'Daily Explanation.' T'ae'se seems to interpret after Lin Che-k'e, who says:—Look at those poor people;—they can still regard one another in their remonstrances, fearing lest, in the words which they utter, they should transgress with their mouths, and bring misery on themselves. So are the poor people in awe, with reference to the remonstrances which they would speak, and yet you, with regard to me who have the power of life and death over you in your hands, do not stand in awe of me, but haughtily disregard me, and follow your own
words to me, but go about to excite one another by empty speeches, frightening and involving the multitudes in misery? When a fire is blazing in the plains, so that it cannot be approached, can it still be beaten out? Thus for you to cause dispece in this way:

---it is not I who am to blame.

13 "Ch'e Jin has said, 'In men, we seek individuals of old families;

The 'Daily Explanation' says:—

Pwan-käng seeks to stimulate his officers by reminding them of their fathers, for whose sakes he would deal justly and even kindly with them. Ch'ing says he was an ancient historiographer. A Chow Jin (周任) is quoted in the same way in the Analects, XVI, i.

Perhaps Ch'e Jin may have intended 'old, experienced men,'—the wiser for the length of their experience,—but Pwan-käng applies the
14 in vessels, we do not seek old ones, but new.' Formerly, the kings, my predecessors, and your forefathers and fathers, shared together the ease and labours of the State;—how should I dare to lay undeserved infictions on you? For generations the toils of your families have been approved, and I will not conceal your goodness. Now when I offer the great sacrifices to my predecessors, your forefathers are present to share in them. They observe the happiness I confer and the sufferings I inflict, and I cannot dare to reward virtue that does not exist.

phrase in that other sense. 14. 賜及逸勤。—相與同其勞逸。The
'Daily Explanation' has it—君臣一德,
無事則同享其逸;有事則
共任其勤。「sovereigns and ministers
possessed a common virtue. In times of quiet,
they enjoyed the ease in common; in times of
trouble, they shared the burden of the toil
 altogether.' 于敢云云,—we may take
this interrogatively, or supply a 不 before 敢
after the analogy of 子亦不敢 in the
last clause. 世選爾勞—generations have selected your toils.' The meaning is
as in the translation. 彊子——享之
—under the Chow dynasty, as we learn from the
‘Rites of Chow,' Bk. XXX. (夏官司
馬. 第四之三), there was a 'Recorder
of merits' (司勳), who entered the names of
meritorious ministers and officers among the
imperial kindred when alive, and regulated the
arrangement of their spirit-tablets at the
sacrifices in the ancestral temple, when they were
dead. The text shows that the practice of giving
a place to worthy ministers at imperial sacrifices
had descended from the Shang dynasty. The
從 intimates that the spirits of the min-
isters were supposed not to be present as
principals, but as assessors. 作福作
災, 云云,—the 亦 is to be explained
from the relation of the sentence to the preced-
ing. Ts'wave has expressed it:—作福作災;
皆簡在先王與祖之心,—'in
my rewards and punishments, I seek to be in
harmony with the judgment of my predecessors
and of your forefathers.' Their judgment is
just, and Pwan-kâng wishes that his may like-
wise be so. 動用,—'to move and use';
i.e., he would not of his own motion do anything
contrary to what was just.

[Choo He has a note on this passage which is
worth referring to. He observes that Pwan-
kâng speaks of his predecessors and the forefa-
thers of his ministers, as if they were real
existences above them (若有真物在
其上), observing his proceedings from day
to day. The meaning, he says, is that Pwan-
kâng in his proceedings felt himself, as it were,
in the presence of spiritual beings, and no
doubts about their justice arose in his mind
(質諸鬼神而無疑; see the 'Doc-
trine of the Mean,' xxx. 8). But the common belief
of the Yin dynasty venerated spirits (殷俗
尚鬼), and therefore he wanted to guide his
ministers by what they profoundly believed in.
Were there then those beings as real existences
after their death? 'The sages,' answers the
critical philosopher, 'felt a difficulty in speaking
about the spirits of the dead (鬼神之理,
聖人難言之). To say that they
were really existing, would be wrong, and to
say that they were not really existing, would
also be wrong. The subject, being beyond our
sensible understanding, may be put on one side.'

See the 朱子全書 Bk. xxxiv. Was there
15 "I have announced to you the difficulties of the present enterprise. My will is that of an archer. Do not you despise the old and experienced, and do not make little of the helpless and young. Seek every one long continuance in your new abode; exert yourselves to listen to the plans of me, the one man. There is with me no distinction of distant and near. The criminal shall die the death; and the good-doer shall have his virtue displayed. The prosperity of the country must come from you all. If it fail in prosperity, that must arise from me, the one man, erring in the application of punishment. All of you be sure to make known this announcement. From this time forward attend respectfully to your business; have the duties of your offices regularly adjusted; bring your mouths under the rule of law:—lest punishment come upon you, when repentance will be of no avail."

15. P'wan-k'ang intimates his settled purpose to remove the capital, and summons the officers to cooperate with him. 子告汝于難 ‘about the difficulties,’ i.e., the difficulties of the contemplated movement. 若射之有志—the archer thinks only of hitting his mark. Everything else is forgotten. So was P'wan-k'ang bent to carry out his purpose. 汝無老成人 無老成人. Such was the reading of K'ang-shing, who says both 老 and 孤 have the meaning of 'despising.' This we might allow, but there is then no proper contrast between 侮 and 孤. 弱孤有幼—Keang Shing would read the first clause 弱孤有幼 as ‘being in the 8th tone, 侮老成人. There were old people who wished to signify their approbation of the removal, but the officers would not hear them, nor represent their views to the emperor. The young were the greatest
sufferers by remaining at Kang, but the officers made no account of them. 16. How Pwan-kang would exercise a strict justice. The great responsibility which he felt to be devolving on himself.

遠親—‘distant and near’; here spoken with reference to kindred and others, and to the various ties by which officers might think they had a claim on the emperor's regard. 用罪—‘the doer of evil’; 用德—‘the doer of good.’ The meaning of 伐厥死 is plain enough, but the terms do not severally correspond with the corresponding clause—彰厥善善 and 死 don’t match each other.

云云—‘to mistake,’ ‘to err.’ Compare the whole sentiment with Tsang's in Bk. III., p. 8. It is by no means so noble, and yet the first part of it might call forth the sympathy of the higher classes. 17. Concluding counsels to the officers to co-operate with himself; and avoid the consequences of continuing to oppose him. 凡爾衆其惟致告—‘the announcement here has its strongly hortative force,致告—‘carry out the announcement.’ Leu Tsoo-heen observes:—Only those who were in the hall could hear what he said. He charges them therefore to transmit his words, and make them generally known.” If they ‘attended respectfully to their business,’ there would be no more ‘haughty disregard’ of their sovereign; if they ‘regularly adjusted the duties of their offices,’ they would no longer ‘follow their own ease’; if they ‘brought their mouths under the control of law,’ they would no more give utterance to their ‘unsubstantial and exaggerated speeches.’
THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK VII. Pwan-kang. Part ii.

I. Pwan-kang arose, and crossed the river with the people, moving them to the new capital. By and by he addressed himself to those of them who were still dissatisfied, and made a full announcement to their multitudes, to induce a sincere acquiescence in the measure. They all attended, and being charged to take no liberties in the royal

Contents of the second Part. Pwan-kang has commenced the carrying out of his resolution. They have just crossed, or are about to cross, the river on their way to Yin. But dissatisfaction still exists among a portion of the people, and he calls a great assembly to his hall or tent, and argues at length the wisdom of the movement in which they were engaged. First, he insists on his only acting after the example of former kings, and strives to bring the people to see the measure in its proper light as intended for their good, so that they should entirely sympathize with him in it. This brings us to the 10th par., and may form a chapter by itself. Next, he threatens them with the anger of their forefathers, who would punish them for their disobedience to him, as the founder of his House would punish him, if he did not move from a site now all-unsafe to be occupied by the people. This subject forms a second chapter, and brings us to par. 14. In the remaining three parrs., he calls them to obedience and sympathy, threatening them with severe punishment, if they continued to murmur at the removal or to resist it.

Ch. I. Occasion of the Address. The Removal of the Capital was not a new thing; it was altogether intended for the good of the State; the dissatisfaction of the people was short-sighted and blame-worthy.

1. 盤庚作 惟
涉河 以民遷— Gan-kwô and Ch'ing read the first six characters here without a stop, and made the meaning—'Pwan-kang prepared the vessels, or arranged the measures, for crossing the Ho.' The 惟 ought on this view to have a substantive meaning, which Wang Suh has endeavoured to express.— 盤庚为此思南渡河之事，'Pwan Kâng did this thing,—the thinking on the south to cross the Ho.' All this is very harsh. It is much better to put a stop at 作, and take that character as 'to arise,' 'to put one's-self in motion,' which is a common use of it. 惟 涉河 will then have the meaning in the translation, 惟 having the slightest possible independent signification. The clause taken in this way describes a fact,—
2 hall, he called them before him, and said, "Listen clearly to my words, and do not disregard my commands.

3 "Oh! of old time my royal predecessors cherished every one and above every thing a respectful care of the people, who again upheld their sovereign with a mutual sympathy. Seldom was it that they were not superior to any calamitous time sent by Heaven.

crossing of the river.

The royal hall come forward that he might consult them." But the meaning he would give to the text cannot be sustained.

Letting the text stand as it is, we must supply something equivalent to the "being charged" of the translation before the term "commissioned". Leu Tsoo-heen observes that as they had left the old capital, and had not arrived at the new, we can only understand the king's tent by the "royal hall" (王庭蓋道行宮). I have dropped 廬民 to the translation.

3. The kindly sympathy between former emperors and their people, and its happy effects.

The "daily explanation" puts a stop at the synonymy of 惟 and 保. The Daily Explanation puts a stop at 倭, so that 倭告用誠 = "he made a full announcement with sincerity." Gan-kwo read on to 其有, before putting a stop; that is, "he made a great announcement, using sincerity with his multitudes." Keang Shing points in the same way, but takes 誠 actively, "to make sincere"; and I have pointed and translated accordingly to this view.

Ma Yung would carry the sentence on to 造, before putting a stop. That character he defines by 爲, "to make," so that the meaning is, "he addressed them that it might bring them all with sincerity to make-get ready-boats to cross the Ho." This again is too harsh.

We must stop at 造 and then 造 (shou, 3d tone) = 至. "勿亵在王庭"—this passage has wonderfully exercised the ingenuity of the critics. Keang Shing takes 亵 in the sense of "flags," and would change 造 into 造, making the meaning "flags were set up to collect the people in the royal hall." But this is too violent. Sun Yen makes 未, and 王庭 = 近, and runs the sentence on to what follows, makes out—P'wan-kang made the people who were not near to
4 When great calamities were coming down on our empire of Yin, the former kings did not fondly remain in their place. What they did was with a view to the people's benefit, and therefore they moved their capital. Why do you not reflect that I, according to what I have heard of the ancient kings, in my care for you and your actions toward you, am only wishing to rejoice with you in a common repose? It is not that any guilt attaches to you, so that this movement should be like a punishment. When I call you to cherish this new city, it is simply on your account, and as an act of great

不浮于天時，鮮罕，‘seldom.’

Gan-kwo takes 漂 in the sense of 行，‘to go,’ ‘to do.’ ‘A boat’s floating along,’ says Yeng-tse, ‘is its movement on the water, and hence may be used for ‘to go.’’ In this way 天時 is made out to mean—‘They acted according to the times of Heaven,’ i.e., as we should say, ‘the requirements of Providence.’

Tse, after Soo Tang-po, takes 漂 as ‘勝，to overcome,’ ‘get the better of.’ It often means ‘to overflow,’ ‘to go beyond,’ and hence this significaation is evolved. But why need we feel so much difficulty with the term? If we say that 天時—they floated over—tided over—the times of Heaven, we are brought to an interpretation substantially the same.

I have said above that Keang Shing reads 高 for 漂; he also takes 漂 in the sense of ‘great hills in distinction from little ones’ (see the dict.), and makes the whole to mean—‘The sovereigns ascerned where the high hills were, and removed to them.’ The interpretation is so far-fetched, that we can only laugh at it.

4. The people could not but approve of the measures of the former kings;—why should they disapprove of the present measure, which was conceived in the same spirit as those?

降大虐—we think at first that 降 must be the nominative to 降, but that would give no meaning. 降 stands absolutely, 言 in our dynasty of Yin. Then 天 must be understood as the nominative to 降, or that character may be taken passively. The ‘Daily Explanation’ says:—昔我殷邦，河川為灾，大降大害，云云，慎—安全，‘to dwell at ease.’

汝曷弗念我古后之聞，康共，—the interrogation reaches on to 康共, and古后之聞 is parenthetic. It might be as well perhaps to end the interrogation at 降, ‘Why do you not think of what you have heard about the former kings, my predecessors?’

Then, however, we must understand a 为 as the nominative to 降 and 降. 降 as in last par.; 降，—‘give to you,’ ‘do to you, ’call you to do.’

非汝有過，比于罰—there is some difficulty here with the 比, which is read with the 3d tone, and —‘to be near to,’ ‘equivalent to.’ The 于 following makes it necessary to tone and interpret it thus. The whole —‘It is not that you have any fault, so that I should be, as it were, punishing you, and banishing you by this removal.‘ 5. The movement might be considered as in accordance with the people’s wishes.

子若—— 汝故——懷

順襲
accordance with your wishes. My present undertaking to remove with you, is to give repose and stability to the State. You however, have no sympathy with the anxieties of my mind; but you all keep a great reserve in declaring your minds, when you might respectfully think by your sincerity to move me, the one man. You only exhaust and distress yourselves. The case is like that of sailing in a boat;—if you do not cross the stream at the proper time, you will destroy all its cargo. Your sincerity does not respond to

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6. The people are reproved for their want of sympathy, and the folly and fruitlessness of their

opposition to the movement pointed out.

今子將試—my present experiment;—my present undertaking.

凡子憂朕心之攸困—you do not sorrow with my sorrow, i.e., you do not enter at all into my trouble of mind about the calamities which threaten us in the old capital.

咸大不宜乃(汝)—you all greatly do not declare your minds.

欽念以忱動子一人——these two clauses are to be read closely together.

自鞠—abject;—we must supply 以時 before 瓶;—absolute.

臭—to ruin;—comp. Con. Ana., X., viii. 2. The removal from Kang to Yin was like crossing a stream in a boat. If they delayed, the calamity of inundation would be upon them.

汝忱不屬—属 is read 如, 'to be connected with.' It seems most natural to understand the meaning to be as in the translation. From this to the end, the 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases:—

從誠有終, 沈名利在, 以早決從.
mine, and we are in danger of going together to destruction. You notwithstanding will not examine the matter:—though you anger yourselves, what cure will that bring?

7 "You do not consult for a distant day, nor think of the calamity that must befal you. You greatly encourage one another in what must prove to your sorrow. Now you have the present, but you may not have the future. What deliverance can you look for from above? Now I charge you to have but one mind. Do not let wicked thoughts arise to ruin yourselves. I am afraid that men bend your persons, and pervert your minds."

8 Pwan-kang reproves the short-sightedness of the people, and warns them against being misled. 7, 8, of those princes who

Bk. VII. Pt. ii., 7, 8. THE PWN-KANG. 237

I., viii.) of those princes who 安其危而

[Text continues]
9 "My measures are forecast to prolong your lease of life from Heaven. Do I force you by my majesty? My object is to support and nourish you all. I think of the toils of my predecessors, who are now the spiritual sovereigns, for your ancestors; I would in the same way greatly nourish you, and cherish you.

11 "Were I to err in my government, and remain long here, my High sovereign, the founder of our House, would send down great punishment for my crime, and say, 'Why do you oppress my people to show his contempt for the injurious speeches by which the people were led astray.'

Keang Shing reads 丕丕 instead of 丕克, and makes the sentence at the close stand by itself, connecting the whole with the next par.—I think how my predecessors removed their capital, and escaped from the evils threatening them. And I cannot get you to go to this land of enjoyment, where I could give you repose. If indeed it prove so, I shall be failing in my government,' &c.

Ch. II. Pp. 11—14. Spiritual sanctions. How former emperors and the people's forefathers would punish from heaven both emperor and people, if they did not remove to Yin.

11. 陳子弘. 陳一久, 'long.' 陳和龎, it is said, were anciently interchanged, and as 'dust' accumulated on any thing shows it must have been for some time undisturbed in its place, there grew up the meaning of 'long,' 'long continuance.' However the meaning arose, we must acknowledge it in this passage.

11. Che-k'e insists that this phrase here should be taken in the plural, and with the same general reference as 丕克 before and after. His reasoning on the subject is not without weight, but I prefer, on the whole, with Ts'e to understand the 'high sovereign' as being T'ang.

11. 罪疾 - 'the pain of—suffering for—crime.'

11. 虐朕民—not that Pwan-käng oppressed the people; but his sin of omission in not removing them from Käng would be reckoned to him
If you, the myriads of the people, do not attend to the perpetuation of your lives, and cherish one mind with me, the one man, in my plans, my predecessors will send down on you great punishment for your crime, and say, 'Why do you not agree with our young grandson, but go on to forfeit your virtue?' When they punish you from above, you will have no way of escape. Of old, my royal predecessors toiled for your ancestors and fathers. You are equally the people whom I nourish; but your conduct is in-

as a sin of commission.

Wang Shih and Gan-kwö both explained 生生 生生: 'an earnest joyfulacracy;' i.e., in adopting the proposal to transfer the capital. Che-k'e adopted the explanation of Soo Shih as being preferable, in which he was wrong.

by Ts'e: we have in the 集傳—樂生 興事,其生也厚,是謂生生: 'a joyous life, with vigorous enterprises,—a life strong and rich; this is what is meant by 生生.' Much better than either of those views is that in the 'Daily Explanation,' which I have followed: 生生者,生養不窮之意. "one sacrifice per person;" —it has had, and, a conjunction simply; here and below, it is 同. Keang Shing reads 養 for 納, and takes it in the sense of give, but I cannot construe the sentence so.

故有爽德: this clause is joined with the preceding, in the 'Daily Explanation,' which also takes 爽 in the sense of 灰. Gan-kwö joined the clause with what follows, and took 爽 as 明: 'therefore he who has the brilliant virtue (i.e., T'ang) from above will punish,' &c. This is inadmissible. Keang Shing, following 黃達: in an explanation of the same phrase in the 國語, gives it by 貳德, which comes to much the same with 失德. 汝能迪道, Ts'e says: 'You have no way to make your escape.' 18. 故我先后......耆民: see on parr. 10 and 9.

汝有戕則在乃心. —I hardly know what to make of this passage. The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases it: 汝不法汝祖父而從我以遷,是即戕害生民矣. 若有戕害在汝之心,我先王云云, 'you do not imitate your ancestors by falling into my view of removing. In this you prove yourselves hurtful to the life of the people, and since you have such an injurious object in your hearts, my.
jurious—it is cherished in your hearts. Whereas my royal predecessors made happy your ancestors and fathers, your ancestors and fathers will cut you off and abandon you, and not save you from death. Here are those ministers of my government, who share with me the offices of the State;—and yet only think of hoarding up cowries and gems! Your ancestors and fathers urgently represent to my High sovereign, saying, 'Execute great punishments on our descendants.' So they intimate to my High sovereign that he should send down great calamities.

predecessors,' &c. Keang Shing would take—

in the Canon of Shun, par. 5. 'What sort of mind does your resistance to my commands betoken? But if you occasion injury to any, my predecessors will examine your hearts. I am afraid they will punish you.'

As much difficulty is found with what follows, the 'Daily Explanation' continues the paraphrase which I have just quoted:—'My predecessors, thinking of the great and real toils of your forefathers, will soothe them till there is awakened the thought of punishing you.'

Keang Shing takes 統-'stop' and says:—'My predecessors will stop your forefathers, and require them not to save you.' The view which I take will be seen in the translation. Gan-kwó interpreted 統 differently, but his view of the argument, so to speak, was similar. He says:—'My predecessors repose in the loyalty of your forefathers; and now that you are disloyal, your forefathers will cast away your lives, and not save you from death.'

Ts'ae observes on this par. that 'former scholars had taken it as addressed in reproof to Pwan-kang's ministers, but that, on looking closely at the style, we see that it is a reproach of the ministers indeed, but spoken not directly to them, but of them to the people.' Ts'ae is right in saying that the first portion—'兹子有亂政同位具' 乃祖乃父—must be understood as spoken about the ministers, but I do not see my way to interpret 乃祖乃父—'their ancestors and their fathers,' as he does. Here is the difficulty:—why should the ancestors of the people ask their descendants to be punished for the evil conduct of the ministers? A reason can be given, and we may suppose that it was indicated by the tone of voice, though it was not expressed in words. It was that the people by listening to the speeches of such men, and in obedience to them disobeying their sovereign, greatly aggravated their guilt.
Ah! I have now announced to you my unchangeable purpose:—do you perpetually respect my great anxiety; let us not get alienated and removed from one another; share in my plans and thoughts, and be prepared to obey me; let every one of you set up the true rule of conduct in his heart. If there be bad and unprincipled men, precipitously or carelessly disrespectful to my orders, and taking advantage of this brief season to play the part of villains or traitors, I will cut off their noses, or utterly exterminate them. I will leave none of their children. I will not let them perpetuate their seed in this new city.

Go! preserve and continue your lives. I will now transfer you to the new capital, and there for ever establish your families.

Wang Shu and Gan-kwo read 易 in the 3d tone, and interpreted—'I have now announced to you what is not easy,' so that the meaning is the same as that of the first clause, p. 15, Pt. i. Tw'e adopts this view: but that in the translation, which was originally proposed by Kang-shing, is followed by Lin Che-ke and Keang Shing. 大 Educación, 'the great sorrow.' Pwan-kang thus characterizes the movement which had occasioned him so much anxiety.

Kang Shing reads 分 for 分; but the meaning is the same. 設中于乃心, 'set up the middle in your hearts.' 中, 'the great exact, and perfectly correct rule.'
for doing so is that so much is quoted in the 左 傳, 哀十一年. But because only so much is quoted, it is absurd to conclude that there never was any more.] 我乃 聶 云 云.—we may compare this with the conclusion of 'The Speech at Kan,' and of 'The Speech of T'ang.' 'Cutting off the nose' was one of the ancient regular punishments;—see on the 'Canon of Shun,' p. 11.

易 種.—易 移. 17. 往 崇;—comp. 'Can. of Shun,' p. 17, et al. 生 生.—see p. 12.

今 子 云 云.—see p. 6.
THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK VII. PWAN-KANG. PART iii.

1. Pwan-kang having completed the removal, and settled the places of residence, proceeded to adjust their several positions, and then he soothed and comforted the multitudes, saying to them, "Do not play or be idle, but exert yourselves to build here a great destiny for us.

Contents of the third Part. The removal has been accomplished. Emperor, officers, and people are all at Yin, when he once more addresses them. First, in 7 parr., he goes over much the same ground with the people as he had done before, justifying the measure which he had taken; and then, in the remaining 6 parr., he charges all the chiefs and officers to labour with him in a common sympathy for the good of the people.

There should be entire confidence between sovereign and people. The removal of the capital was in accordance with former precedents; required for the good of the people; approved by God.

Occasion of the Address. 燮癸之居。乃正厥位。Ch'ing supposed that the former of these clauses described the settlement of the people, and the latter the laying out the official residences and public buildings, such as the ancestral temple, the court, &c. Gan-kwó takes the second clause in the same way, and naturally extends the former to the settlement of the officers as well as of the people. Lin Che-k'e argues against this view of the second clause, and says that Pwan-kang would have had the city laid out, before moving from Käng, as Chow-kang did afterwards, when he wished to make Lô the capital of the Chow rule. To my mind the style corroborates this reasoning. The parties interested in 'the dwellings' (居) are the same as those concerned in the 'positions' (厥位); but the 乃 intimates an interest of a diff. kind. I am prepared therefore to agree farther with Lin Che-k'e in taking 正厥位 of the arrangements made for the positions of the various classes at a public assembly, where Pwan-kang gave the address that follows. Woo Ch'ing follows this view. Ts'ê, dissatisfied with that of Gan-kwó and Ch'ing, makes the positions to be those of 'sovereign, ministers, high, and low;' but the relations of all these were determined before. 燮癸有衆，—both Gan-kwó and Ch'ing again agree in def. 爲 by 于, and explain the clause by 安於有衆，and 安隱于其衆. The construction would be easier, but the symmetry not so good, without the 爲. 2. The great object to be kept in view by them all at their present crisis. 無一母。The comment of Woo Ch'ing on this par. is very good:
3 "Now I have disclosed my heart and belly, my reins and bowels, and have fully declared to you, my people, all my mind. I will not treat any of you as criminals; and do not you any more help one another to be angry, and form parties to defame me, the one man.

4 "Of old, my royal predecessor, that his merit might exceed that of those who had gone before him, proceeded to the hill-site. Thereby he removed our evils, and accomplished admirable good for our country.

'When Pwan-käng tells them "not to play," he requires that they should reverently attend to their duties (欲其敬事); when he tells them "not to be idle," he requires them to attend diligently to them. By "a great destiny" he intends the destiny of themselves and of the kingdom; and he speaks of "building" this, just as Mencius speaks of "establishing it" (諸子言立命: see Men. VII., Pt. I., 1, 8). Our destiny depends, indeed, on Heaven, but the establishing it is our own work, by which the people may be made to have the enjoyment of their life, and the happiness of the kingdom be prolonged. At that time a disregard of the emperor and a seeking of their ease, with an addiction to sport and idleness, were characteristics of the Yin people. Before the removal of the capital, they were afraid of the trouble; after the removal, they thought they had done enough, saying now their lives would be perpetuated, and they need not exert themselves any more. It was to meet all this that the emperor cautioned them as in the text.'

3. The openness of Pwan-käng with the people and his kindness should make them respond to him with entire confidence. 今子其敷— the is strongly intensive. 敷—布, or 布露—歷告— 盡告— I think the verbs here should be translated in the present complete tense, with reference to all that the emp. had said to them. 百姓— the people; including also the 'various officers,' says Ta'ase, 'and their clans.'

'The reading of the first part of this par. adopted by Kang Shing is peculiar, and he is put to great straits to make any sense of it. What he does make is not in harmony with the tenor of the Book. He has:—今我其敷.
5 Now you, my people, were by your position dissipated and separated, and obliged to leave your dwellings, so that you had no abiding place. And yet you asked why I was troubling your myriads by removing you here. But God being about to restore the virtue of my High ancestor, and secure the good government of our empire, I with the sincere and respectful of my ministers felt a reverent care for the lives of the people, and have made a lasting settlement in this new city.

7 "I, a youth, did not slight your plans;—I only used what were

Men. Bk. VI. Pt. I. vii.), where as T'ang removing the people to a location which required industry and rewarded it, greatly improved their moral tone. 嘉績—another reading is 繼績. It will be seen that Pwan-kang throws himself and his people a long way back, to identify themselves with their fathers in the time of T'ang, nearly 400 years before.

5. How Pwan-kang had emulated T'ang's proceeding, against the general sentiment, but having the approval of some, and, as he thought, the sanction of God. 用—以: 以其居處, 'in consequence of their position.' 極—止.

岡有定極, 'had no fixed place of rest.' 談言云云, 'we must understand, as preliminary to this, something equivalent to 'a removal was urgently called for.' The 'Daily Explanation' has 乃陷于凶德而宜急圖嘉績之時. [Keang Shiu reads 今 for 談, making the interpretation still more difficult.] 6. 肆上帝, 'as 'an introductory particle indicating a change in the thought (更端辞), is defined in the dict. by 故, 'therefore,' and 今, 'now.' Neither of these terms, however, expresses exactly what seems to be its force here. 'But' comes nearer to it, and Tse's idea explains it by 乃. Pwan-kang evidently ascribes the movement to an influence exerted by God on the mind of himself and some of his ministers. 亂越我家—亂—治; 越—及; 家—國家. The meaning of the clause is as in the transal. The only critic who takes a diff. view is Lin Che-k'ew, who would retain the common meaning of 亂, 'to confound.' He says:—'God, being about to restore the virtue of T'ang, and make the empire flourish anew under his descendant, brought about the disorder and calamities in Káng, to lead Pwan-kang to move to Yin;' and then he goes on to speak of the uses of adversity. This is too ingenious. 談及篤敬—'we can only understand that the emperor is speaking here of some of his ministers who were of the same mind with himself. Tse's says:—我與一二篤敬之臣. Keang Shiu would make 及—汲汲, so that the discourse is only of Pwan-kang, himself. —I roused to earnest reverence,' &c.

7. Forgetting their past differences, the emperor is willing to suppose there had been a substantial agreement between the people and himself. The paragraph is hardly intelligible. Ch'iu Lin Leih has said:—Choo He doubted the
the best of them. And you did not presumptuously oppose the decision of the tortoise:—so we are here to enlarge our great inheritance.

8. "Ah! ye chiefs of regions, ye heads of departments, all ye, the hundreds of officers, would that ye were animated by a true sympathy! I will exert myself in the selection and guiding of you;

I am not sure but it would be well to interpret the par. after him—'I did not slight your plans; but as the best rule felt it right to follow the intelligent tortoise. And you, did not venture to resist the divination,' &c.

Ch. II. Pp. 8–18. CHARGE TO THE NOBLES AND OFFICERS TO SYMPATHIZE WITH HIMSELF, AND ASK THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE. 8. By 邦伯, Lin Che-ke and Ts'ae understand 邦之諸侯, 'the princes of regions;' by 師長, 羣官之長, 'the heads of all the officers,' the six high nobles (六卿 and 公卿); and by 百執事之人, 'all the officers,' subordinate to these last. Gan-kwô and Ying-tâ differed only in their view of 邦伯, by which they understood all the princes of the nine provinces, and two superior princes who exercised a control over them. But the institution of those two princes belonged to the next, or Chow dynasty. And we can hardly suppose that the princes of all the provinces were collected on this occasion. The 邦伯 must be restricted to those within the imperial domain,—the 何服. Much more must we restrict the 師長, which we should otherwise be inclined to understand according to Yu's use of the terms in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 8. 隱一痛, 'to feel pain,' —to look with sympathy upon the condition of the people. [Keang Shing for 隱, read 拝, which he explains by 治職].

9. 簡-擇, 'to select'; 相-導, 'to lead.' Others take 簡-問, 'to examine,' and 範-視, 'to see,' giving the meaning,—'I will assiduously examine, and see whether you think reverently of my people.' This meaning is as
10—do ye think reverently of my multitudes. I will not employ those who are fond of wealth; but those who are rigorously yet reverently labouring for the lives and increase of the people, nourishing them and planning for their enduring settlement, I will use and respect.

11 "I have now brought forward and announced to you my mind, whom I approve and whom I disallow;—let none of you but reverence my will. Do not seek to accumulate wealth and precious things; but in fostering the life of the people seek to find your merit.

13 Reverently display your virtue in behalf of the people. For ever maintain this one heart."
THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK VIII. THE CHARGE TO YUE. PART i.

I. The king passed the season of sorrow in the mourning shed for three years, and when he had ceased mourning, he still did not speak. The ministers all remonstrated with him, saying, “The man of quick knowledge is said to be intelligent; and the intelligent man forms a model. The emperor rules over the myriad regions, and all the officers depend on and reverence him. When the king speaks, his words form the commands for them; if he do not speak,
NAME OF THE BOOK.—The Charge to Yüe.” This is the first of the ‘Charges’ which form one of the divisions of the Shoo. They relate the designation by the emperor of some officer to a particular charge or office, with the address delivered to him on the occasion. Here the charge is to Yüe on his appointment to be prime minister. The name, however, is not happily chosen. It does very well for the first Part of the Book, but in the other two Paras Yüe is the principal speaker, and not the king. They would be classified properly among the ‘Counsels.’ Yüe was a recluse, living in obscurity, on account, we may suppose, of the disorder of the times. Wouting’s attention was drawn to him in the manner related in the Book, and he was discovered in Foo Yen, or the crags of Foo, from which he was afterwards known as Foo Yüe, as if Foo had been his surname. The Book is only found in the ‘old text.’ It has been alleged against its genuineness that Shoo Yen does not mention the name of Yüe, but it is better, and can be done in this way. The Preface to the Book, and many references in other books, leave no doubt as to the fact of there having originally been a ‘Charge to Yüe’

CONTENTS. The first Part tells us how the emperor was led to meet with Yüe, and appointed him his prime minister, with the charge, which he then delivered to him, and Yüe’s response to it. In the second Part, Yüe appears counselling the emperor on a variety of points, and the king responds admirably. In the third Part, the king presents himself first as a pupil at the feet of Yüe, and is lectured on the subject of study, or enlarging his knowledge. Finally, the emperor says he looks to Yüe to be another E Yin, to make him another Tung

CONTENTS OF THE FIRST PART. The whole is edited in 11 paragraphs. The first three form a chapter, relating the peculiar circumstances in which Wou-ting found Yüe. The next 7 para. relate the elevation of Yüe to the premiership, and the charge which was then given him. The last part, contains Yüe’s dutiful reply, and expresses his confidence in the emperor’s wisdom.

Ch. I. Pps. 1–3. OCCASION OF THE CHARGE. Wou-ting excites the surprise of his ministers by his protracted silence, which leads them to request him with him. He explains the reason, telling them of a dream in which a sage minister was presented to him, who is found and proves to be Yüe. 1

王宅憂亮陰三祀宅憂居喪，to occupy—to abide during mourning. 亮陰—this is a phrase which has occasionally much speculation as to its meaning. The characters are variously written. In Pt. V. Bk. XV. p. 5, they are the same as here. In the Analects, XIV. xiii., we have 諒陰; and in other places we have 諒閤. However we write them, the first should be pronounced in the low, 1st tone, and the second is read on or yin, up. 1st tone. To the mean, Choo He, on the Analects, says he does not know it. 伽蘭 made it out to be 信默一trusted the premier, and silent himself. In this sense we should have to read 隱 in the usual way; but the explanation is most unlikely. We are indebted to Ching for the view that we are to understand by the phrase the 勝 or what is called in the 儀禮喪服. Pt. I. 倚盧, the mourning shed which the emperor was supposed to occupy during the period of mourning. Here Wou-ting spent the prescribed period of three years, or 25 months, without speaking (see the pass. in the next Part, Bk. XV.). Not that we are to suppose he preserved an absolute silence; but he abstained from speaking of governmental matters, and left them in the hands of his prime minister.

At the end of this time, he still kept silence. We must understand that the 惟不言 in this way. The ‘Daily Explanation’ has:—及大祥後喪服已除猶未發號令裁決庶務。有先知之德。 he who has the ability of earlier apprehension. There was probably a reference in the minds of the speakers to the language of E Yin about the duty of ‘those who are first informed, and first apprehend principles,’ to instruct and enlighten others. They compliment the emperor with being such a man, ‘knowing,’ says Kin Le-ta-šang, ‘his extraordinary natural gifts’ (天資之不凡。明哲—Shin She-hing (申時行) explains ‘the man of brightness (明者 as one whose large comprehension embraces all principles (方寸虛靈無一理之不具), and the man of wisdom, (哲者) as one who has examined the minute and knows the displayed, as if a light were thrown on every principle’ (察微知著. 百官承式—T‘ie seems to take 作為 a noun—rules. gov. by 乗—to receive. It is better to take 乘 absolutely. The officers represent themselves as receiving every thing from the emperor. 乘—儀—to respect, ‘to reverence. The ‘Daily Explanation’ says:—百官之所仰承而欽式者 禱 (pia; 2d tone)—受命—to receive commands. (The question of Tsze-chang in the Analects, in which he quotes the Shoo as saying that ‘Kou-tsung, while mourning in the usual imperial fashion, was for three years without speaking,’ was founded probably, not on the text, but on Pt. V. Bk. XV., p. 5.)
2 the ministers have no way to receive their orders." The king on this made a writing, and informed them, saying, "As it is mine to secure what is right in the four quarters of the empire, I have been afraid that my virtue is not equal to that of my predecessors, and therefore have not spoken. But while I was respectfully and silently thinking of the right way, I dreamt that God gave me a good assistant, who should speak for me." He then minutely described the appearance of the person, and caused search to be

2. 王庸作書以詔庸一用。It emphasizes the use; see on Bk. V., Pt. l. p. 4. 正于四方, comp. 表正萬邦。Bk. II., p. 2. 德非類—Gan-kwö makes 聯=s, 'good.' It is better to take it as in the translation. Tse'e says:—恐德不類于前人。思道; 'thinking of the way.' By 道 we are to understand 'the principles and course of good govt.' (治道) 餅=與, 'to give. 弱, —see the 'Yih and Tsêih, parr. 2 and 4. 審厥象。—'to discriminate.' Woo-ting brought back the dream to his mind, till he could distinguish and make out the lineaments and form of the man whom he had seen. The 'Daily Explanation' says:—乃追夢中之所見而謹審其象。繪畫成形, 乃求遍求, 'to search everywhere,' on all 'sides.' 詣云云—Tse'e takes 筆 as 居, 'to dwell,' and is foll. by the 'Daily Explanation;' —I know not upon what authority. We ought not to depart from its common signification, sanctioned as that is by Mencius, who tells us that 'Yuè was called to office from the midst of his building frames' (傳說載於板築之間; Men., VI., Pt. II., xv.). 傳巖之野—Mih-taze (尚賢下篇) speaks of 'the city (® wall) of Foo-yen' 傳巖之城). Gan-kwö calls the place—the crag of the Foo family' (傳氏之巖), and says that the public road went by it, and was injured by a mountain stream. It devolved on a convict in the place to repair it, when Yuè, who was living a recluse life in that quarter, and was in great poverty, undertook to do the work, 'in order to get food' (以供食). Sse-ma Ts'een for 傳巖 has 傳險. Whether we call the place Foo-yen, or 'the crag of Foo,' it is agreed that it was 26 ½ miles north-east from the pres. dis. city of P'ing-luh (平陸, lat. 34° 47', N., lon. 5° 25', W.), in K'aö Chow (解州), Shan-se. Mih-taze tells us that Yuè wore coarse clothes of hair cloth, with a rope for a girdle; and Seun-taze says that 'his person was like a fish standing up' (傳說之狀身如植鱗, 'like a perpendicular dorsal fin,' but see the gloss in loc. 荀子, 非相篇). These are merely the stories floating about in the Chow dynasty.

[As we might expect, this dream of Woo-ting has given rise to no little speculation among Chinese critics. Some have said that the emperor in his wanderings through the empire, to which he alludes at the commencement of Part iii., had become acquainted with the worth and ability of Yuè, and knew very well where to find him, so that his telling the courtiers about a dream, and sending through the country to look for Yuè, was only an expedient to make them readily acquiesce in his elevation of him to the highest dignity. This view, however, is rejected, as it would subject Woo-ting to a charge of hypocrisya n falseshood.
made for him by means of a figure throughout the empire. Yuē,
a builder in the country of Foo-yen, was found like.

II. On this the king raised and made him his prime minister,
keeping him also at his side.

Choo He observes that, according to the account
in the Shoo, God did really appear to
Woo-ting in his dream, and say to him—'I
give you a good assistant.' But now people,
when they speak of God, intend only the idea
of Rule and Government, and say that He has
no form, which, it is to be feared, is not a correct
mode of expression. If we should say, on the
other hand, that the common representations
of God as like the Great God, Yuh-kwang,
are right, this would also be improperly.
What are we to say in the matter? He leaves this
question unanswered. See 朱子全書, Bk.
XXXIV.

[It may be as well to refer to a passage in
the 國語, 晉語, 上, where we find a
great deal of what we have in the 'Charge to
Yuē.' A minister of king Ling of Ts'oo (憲
王, n.o. 559-528), remonstrating with his
king, says:—]

昔明, 以是之言, 是恐不為之政, 以是之為, 以是之為政, 以是之為政, 以是之為政, 以是之為政, 以是之為政, 以是之為政,

The above passage contains most of the 1st
Part, and some sentences of the third. It is
not quoted as from the Shoo, but there can be
doubt it really was taken from the classic,
known both to king Ling and his minister. The
historical portions are condensed, and brought
together to serve the purpose of the speaker.
The whole appears, as it would naturally do, if
drawn—not quoted—from our present text.
To contend that the text was plagiarized
and 'made up' from the 國語 is a strange turn-
ing of the tables. Even if it were so, we still
have in it so much of the original 'Charge to
Yuē.'

Ch. II. Pp. 4-10. THE ELEVATION OF YUĒ,
AND THE EMPEROR'S CHARGE TO HIM. 4. I
have translated 柙 by 'prime minister,' though
I am not sure that the term had, in the Yin
dynasty, more than the general meaning of
'assistant.' The proper name for prime minister
was then 宰相—see Ana., XIV., xiii. It
was to this office that Yuē was raised—總百
官, as it is expressed in Pt. II., p. 1. Yuē be-
came to Woo-ting what E Yin had been to
T'ang. 王置諸(於)左右—
'in these words,' says Ts'ao, 'is intimated Yuē's
appointment to be 'tutor and guardian' as
well as prime minister' (以宰宰兼師
保也). I do not know, however, that we
should find any appointment to offices in the
language,—anything more than the emperor's
wish that Yuē should always act as his most
intimate counsellor.

We find in Ma Twan-
lin (Bk. XXXIX, 職官,宰相) that T'ang
appointed two 宰相—E Yin and Chung Hwuy,
the Seang of the right and left respectfully, and
that Yuē was called to discharge both of their
offices. But we cannot pronounce positively, it
seems to me, on the offices of so early a time.

愛 at the beginning of the par., 一於
是, 'on this,' 'hereupon.' See ma Ts'e'en
says that Woo-ting conferred with Yuē, and made
proof of him, finding that he was really a sage,
before he raised him to these dignities; and
Ts'e says that not to have done so would have
been unreasonable. We can well suppose that
the emperor entered at once into conference with
the strange man, but the Shoo leads us to
think only of the dream as the cause of Yuē's
He charged him, saying, "Morning and evening present your instructions to aid my virtue. Suppose me a weapon of steel;—I will use you for a whetstone. Suppose me crossing a great stream;—I will use you for a boat with its oars. Suppose me in a year of great drought;—I will use you as a copious rain. Open your mind, and enrich my mind. Be you like medicine, which, if it do not distress the patient, will not cure his sickness. Think of me as one walking barefoot, whose feet are sure to be wounded, if he do not see the ground.

Do you and your companions cherish all the same mind to assist your Sovereign, that I may follow my royal predecessors, and tread in the steps of my High ancestor, to give repose to the elevation.

5. 鴻鴻-鴻-進, 'to present,' 'to bring forward;' 謝, 'instructions,'—including both teachings and remonstrances. 'The emperor,' says Wang Yen, 'speaks here of instructions and not of remonstrances, in his humility, showing his anxiety to be taught.'

6. Various illustrations of the advantages of Yueh's teaching. 若金, and the other commencement of the clauses, are descriptive of the emperor himself. 霧雨, = 'a copious rain.' 霧 is defined as 'rain continuous for at least three days,' 'rain unceasing.' The three clauses rise, it is said, in intensity of meaning, one above the other. The first shows how Yueh would help the king to accomplish himself (成器); the second has reference to the overcoming of difficulties; the third to the dispensing benefits to the people. 沃联心, —to enrich my mind.' The figure of a copious rain is here continued. The 說文 defines 沃 by 灌溉, 'to moisten,' 'to irrigate.'

5. Illustrations of the advantages of Yueh's remonstrances. 若藥 and 若跳 are here also descriptive of the emperor—in the first place as under medical treatment, and in the second place, as walking in a thoughtless and unguarded manner, needing to be warned of his danger.

5. 轸 (read mên, 3d tone.) Keang Shing edits 軸 (軸) are understood to be descriptive of the violent operation of medicine. So decided, and regardless of their immediate effect on himself, would Woo-ting have Yueh's words to be. 轸 is defined in the 說文—足親地, 'the foot close to the ground,' i.e., 'barefoot.' This illustration requires Yueh to point out boldly whatever dangers the emp. might be heedlessly going into.

9. Yueh must get all under him to have the same mind with himself. 時暨乃時—we must understand 汝 before 時, and then the clause = 'you and your associates.' Whether we take 時 = 及 or = 與, it stands awkwardly at the beginning of the
10 millions of the people. Oh! respect this charge of mine;—so shall you bring your work to a good end.”

11 III. Yuè replied to the king, saying, “Wood by the use of the line is made straight; and the sovereign who follows reproof becomes sage. When the sovereign can thus make himself sage, his ministers, without being charged, anticipate his orders;—who would dare not to act in respectful compliance with this excellent charge of your Majesty?”

clause. 以匠 nec split—匠 may be taken as in the translation, or as—救 or 正, ‘to save,’ or ‘to correct,’ ‘to keep right.’ The are all former wise kings of the Shang dy.n.; 率 is 循 其道, ‘to follow their path;’ 逐 is 踐 其迹, ‘to tread in his footsteps,’ 10, 時命—是命. 其惟有終—有終, see Bk. II., p. 9; Bk. V., Pt. i., p. 8; et al. Ts'ae takes 惟 in the sense of 思, ‘to think.’—1 Respect this charge, thinking from the first upon the issue. Ch. III. THE DUTIFUL REPLY OF YUÉ TO THE ABOVE CHARGE.

復, see on Men., I., Pt. I., vii., 10. 后 克 聖.—M'ehurst translates this—‘When the sovereign is a sage;’ but we must lay stress on the 了, and connect the clause with the preceding. When ministers see that the sovereign yields himself to be moulded by them,—is like wood in the hands of the carpenter,—they are encouraged to all assiduity in doing their duty. 臣不命其承—“Daily Explanation” expands this:—凡為臣者，爭欲承德意，進獻謙言，雖不命之言，猶且先意承之。若王之休命，若—‘such an’; ‘an excellent charge like yours.’
I. Yuš having received charge to take the presidency of all the officers, he presented himself before the king, and said, "Oh! intelligent kings act in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven. The founding of States, and setting up of capitals; the appointing of sovereign kings, of princes and dukes, with their great officers..."

Contents of the second Part. It has already been observed that this Part should be called 'The Counsels of Yuš.' In answer to the charge which he had received, Yuš presents his advice on various points, all connected with the duty of the sovereign, and the successful conducting of government. In the two last paras., the emperor and the minister give expression to their confidence and complacency in each other.

1. Yuš, having received charge to take the presidency of all the officers, he presented himself before the king, and said, "Oh! intelligent kings act in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven. The founding of States, and setting up of capitals; the appointing of sovereign kings, of princes and dukes, with their great officers..."

2. 傳子王-進 may be taken as in the translation, or we may we understand as the object of the verb. With regard to what follows—鳴呼，明王云云，there is considerable difficulty. 明王 would seem to be the subject of all the verbs that follow，-奉若，建設，and 樹，後王，‘sovereign king,’ is understood to be a designation of the emperor (天子)，and 君公 to stand for 諸侯 all the feudal princes under him. In this way, 明王 must be taken as singular, and to have reference to the first sovereign, the founder of the Chinese empire. This was the view of Gaubil. He translates:—'Le roi intelligent, qui autrefois se conformait avec respect à la loi du ciel, fonda l'empire et établit une cour. Il assigna des lieux où devaient resider le roi, les grands vassaux, et les grands officiers. Ce prince intelligent ne s'occupa pas des plaisirs; il n'eut que le gouvernement du peuple en vue.' To this translation he appends the following note:—'Here Yuš speaks of the first king of China, but what follows does not give us any light on the time when he reigned. One might still translate, it appears to me, in the plural, and say—intelligent kings, the..."
and heads of departments—were not designed to minister to the idleness and the pleasures of one, but for the good government of the people.

3 "It is Heaven which is all-intelligent and observing. Let the sage king take it as his pattern:—then his ministers will reverently accord with him; and the people will consequently be well governed.

founders of the empire. Yu spoke of the first king as of a known personage. In the commentaries on the Yi-hi-king, Confucius speaks of Yu and the first king; and on this subject the authority of Confucius is preferable to that of others.

I have not attempted to turn Gaull's French version of the text into English, that the reader may see it as from his own hand. An intelligent comparison of it with the original will show that it gives the meaning of hardly a single phrase correctly. Several of the renderings are made in order to harmonize the whole with his view that 明 is in the singular, and denotes the founder of the Chinese empire; but independently of this, the translation is inadmissible. Medhurst takes 明 as indefinitely, and renders it by an intelligent king. His version is better than Gaull's in the several phrases; but upon the whole it is not satisfactory.

For myself, I must construe the paragraph differently from any critic, native or foreign, that I have read. 明 cannot be, as Gaull supposes, 'the intelligent king,'—the founder of the Chinese State,—it must be translated—'intelligent kings,' or 'an intelligent king.' 后 is to be understood, with Tr'se and other scholars, as denoting 'the emperor,' or 'emperors.' To speak of 'intelligent kings' as appointing emperors (明王是后王) is absurd, and therefore 明王 cannot be the nominative to 建 and the other verbs. I put a stop at 豫; and take 建邦, &c., as clauses in the nominative, the verb of which they are the subject being found in 不惟 逸豫. By whom States were founded, and capitals set up, emperors, princes, and dukes, appointed, with all sustaining offices under them is indicated in the phrase 天道, and the term 天, with which the next par. commences. It was by Heaven or God, constituting such a social order with a view to the benefit of the people. This construction may appear rather harsh, but it gives a consistent meaning to the whole paragraph, which we fail to get from any other interpretation. It is confirmed in so far as by a passage in Mi-ha-ze (尚同中), where he seems to be partly quoting, and partly commenting on, the text. He says:—

先王之書相年之道，建國設都，乃作后王大辟也。使帝君以立其族，去其邪，而利除其害。《史記》

主長貴民，其使為萬民。《史記》

The imitation of Heaven by the supreme earthly power is the first step, and surely leads, to good government.

惟天聰明，——see the ‘Counsels of Koou-yon,' p. 8. 時畫，——is 畫法, 'to imitate.' 快若，——see 'Can. of Yon,' p. 8. The four clauses of this par. are like pearls, lying side by side. We must take them, and string them together in the manner indicated in the translation. But how is 'the sage king' to imitate Heaven, all-intelligent and observing? The commentators labour to answer this question. The 'Daily Explanation,' for instance, says:—'Heaven sits on high, without prepossession, entirely just, most spiritual and intelligent, needs not to hearken, and yet hears every thing; needs not to look, and yet sees every thing. The excellences and defects of govt., the happiness and suffering of the people, do not escape its observation. And not only this,—of all that is done in darkness and in privacy, where there are neither ears nor eyes, nothing escapes its notice. Such is the intelligence and observation of Heaven;—it is for the wise sovereign to take this for his pattern. When his likings and dislikings are free from the boudings of
4 "It is the mouth which gives occasion for shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet which give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments for reward should not be lightly taken from their chests; before shield and spear are used, one should examine himself. If your Majesty will be cautious in these things, and believing this about them, attain to their intelligent use, your government will in every thing be excellent.

5 "Good government and bad depend upon the various officers. Offices may not be given to men because they are favourites, but only to men of ability. Dignities may not be conferred on men of evil practices, but only on men of worth.

partiality, and his rewards and punishments are all in accordance with right,—like the all-seeing and all-hearing of Heaven; then he can give the law to the empire; &c. All this is not without truth and force; but Yü's lesson is too vaguely expressed to be of much practical use. Gaudil, however, observes justly that those who have affirmed that the ancient Chinese only understood by Heaven the material heavens have not paid sufficient attention to such passages as the present.

4. *Instances of things in which the endeavour to imitate Heaven will be seen; and the happy effect of doing so.* From the commencement of this par. to 貢官, is found in the Le Ke, Bk. 繼衣, p. 16, quoted as from the 其命. Choo He says that the clauses beginning with 貢 are independent of one another.

Lin Che-k'6, on the other hand, finds in the third clause the complement of the first, and in the 4th that of the second. It is not worth our while to enter on this question. The tongue is man's glory, but very easily abused; and then it turns out to his shame. The coat of mail and helmet are weapons of defence, but the confidence of strength often leads to insolence and quarrels. The robes in the imperial stores are intended to reward the good and meritorious; but, if distributed carelessly, they are productive of evil effects. Shield and spear are the weapons with which one goes to punish offenders;—but woe to him who undertakes this duty, while his heart condeems himself! The four things are of great importance and easily offended in; and Yü Therefore calls the attention of Woo-ting to them. 起戎—戎—兵, 'an offensive weapon.' 被裳—see the 箇 篇 is defined as 'an article of furniture for holding food or clothes' (飯及衣之器). Its figure was square.

We may translate it by 'chest.' 戒兹, 元兹, the former of these 元 seems to 'these,' the things, namely which had been spoken of; the latter = 'this,' and indicates what had been said or implied about the mouth, &c.

5. *How the imitation of Heaven should be seen in conferring offices and dignities.* Ying-ta says: 'The performance of duties is called 官; the receiving of rank is called 爵; 許其官, 受其位謂之爵.' We are not to think, however, here of the different dignities among the feudal princes, but of the ranks among the officers in the imperial domain. 私昵—昵—近, or 親近, 'near to,' 'familiar with,' 私昵 are the emperor's 'private intimates,' his favourites. 應德—包藏凶惡之人, 'men who cherish all evil in their bosoms,'
6 "Anxious thought about what will be good should precede your movements. Your movements also should have respect to the time for them.

7 "The indulged consciousness of goodness is the way to lose that goodness. Boasting of ability is the way to lose the merit it might produce.

8 "For all affairs let there be adequate preparation. With preparation there will be no calamities.

9 "Do not open the door for favourites, from whom you will receive contempt. Do not be ashamed of mistakes, and thus make them crimes.

10 "Let your mind rest in its proper objects, and the affairs of your government will be pure.

11 "Officiousness in sacrifices is called irreverence; ceremonies when

The clause 萬四及惡德 is found, like most of the last par., in the Le Ke, Bk 簾衣, quoted in the same way from the 兌命.

6. How the same should be seen in thoughtful and timely action. 善 is here defined by 當乎理, 'that which is agreeable to right reason or principle.'

7. And in expressing all prideful thoughts. 有其善, 'having his goodness to one's self,' thinking of it, resting in it.

8. And in preparation for all undertakings, and against emergencies. On 事事 Gán-kwö says 非一事, 'not in one affair merely,' == 'in all affairs.' This seems to take the first char. as a verb—惟事其事. 乃其有備, 'in doing his affairs there should be preparation.'

This par. would seem to have been at one time somewhat different. In the 左傳, 十一年, we find—書曰，居安思危思則有備，有備則無患. This quotation, however, may be from some other Book of the Shoo, among those that are lost.

9. And in avoiding favouritism and persistence in mistakes. 無(貪)敢寵 — 'do not open favouritism.' The 'contempt,' it is understood, will be from the favourites themselves, bred to it by the familiarity to which they are admitted.

無心失理謂之過. 有心背理謂之非, 'an unintentional failure to do what is right is called a mistake; an intentional violation of what is right is called a crime.'

In the 左傳, 定元年, we read—敢寵納侮其此之謂矣.

10. And in the keeping of the heart. 惟厥攸(所)居—居—止. The clause is quite elliptical, and 惟厥其所止. Comp. 'The Great Learning,' Comm., ch. 3.

醇—粹清. "pure and clear," unmixed. There will be no evil thoughts and bad objects to disturb the Govt. 11. On the service of spirits.
burdensome lead to disorder. To serve the spirits in this way is difficult.”

12 II. The king said, “Excellent! Your words, O Yuè, should indeed be carried out in the conduct. If you were not so good in counsel, I should not have heard these things for my practice.” Yuè did obsequience with his head to the ground, and said, “It is not the knowing that is difficult, but the doing. If your Majesty knows this, however, there will not be the difficulty, and you will become really equal in complete virtue to the former king. Wherein I, Yuè, do not express myself, the blame rests with me.”

子祭祝—騫, means ‘to soil,’ ‘dirty.’
The phrase Sin &asymp; is used, with reference to spiritual beings, in the sense of ‘to defile,’ ‘to profane.’
Wherein the profanity which Yuè wanted to guard the emperor against consisted, we cannot say precisely. One meaning of 騫, given in the dict, is 色, ‘frequently,’ ‘forwardly.’
Now from the next Bk. we shall see that Woo-ting was prone to be officious in the worship of the spirits of the departed, and we have seen how later times charge the Shang dynasty with being superstitious. Officiousness—sacrificing unnecessarily to certain spirits, and at unnecessary times,—and the attempt to please them by the multitude of observances, would seem therefore to be the things here condemned by Yuè.

時—. The last clause—事神則難 would seem to be co-ordinate with the preceding. All the critics, however, understand it as in the translation. [This par., with some alterations and additions, appears in the Le-ko, Bk. 繪衣, p. 25, referred to already under p. 5. We have:—呉命曰,

爵無及穀德民立而正事
純而祭祝是為不敬事煩
則亂事神則難.]

Ch. II. Pp. 12, 13. THE COMPLACENCY OF
Woo-ting and Yuè in Each Other.

12 當哉—言—美, ‘admirable.’ Tsze says that the ancients, in eating and drinking, when any thing particularly pleased their palate, pronounced it 當; and Woo-ting thus characterizes Yuè’s words as if they had a flavour.

乃(一汝)言惟服—服—行, ‘to practise.’

13. 王忱不難—王忱信之亦不為難, ‘If your Majesty sincerely believes this,—the difficulty of action,—it likewise will not prove to be a difficulty.’

In the conclusion of the first Part, Yuè says that the sovereign’s giving heed to his advisers would encourage them to do their duty. His concluding words here show how the ready ear the emperor yielded to his lessons was spurring him on.
THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK VIII. THE CHARGE TO YUE. PART iii.

The king said, "Come, O Yue. I, the little one, first learned with Kan Pwan. Afterwards, I lived concealed in the rude country, and then I went to the inside of the Ho, and lived there. From the Ho I went to P'o;—and the result has been that I am...

CONTENTS OF THE THIRD PART. The emperor tells Yue of his early disadvantages, and begs him now to instruct him, enlightening his ignorance, and supplying his deficiencies. To this Yue replies by enlarging on the subjects most important to be learned, and the spirit of the learner. From the 8th paragraph to the end, the emperor praises Yue for what he had already done for him, and expresses his hope that the minister would prove a second E Yin, and frame of him a second T'ang; to which Yue suitably responds.

Ch. I. Pp. 1-7. Woo-ting depletes the disadvantages of his early years, and begs Yue to instruct him. Yue speaks of the subjects of learning, and the spirit required in the learner.

The Early Life of Woo-ting. 史小子舊學於甘 盘— we saw before that小子, 'the little child,' was appropriately used by the emperor as a humble designation of himself in relation to God. It came, however, to be employed, as in the text, where we can hardly suppose any reference in the mind to that relation. 既, 'of old;'—we may render it by 'first.' From this clause we should suppose that Kan Pwan had been a learned master, who imparted to Woo-
2 unenlightened. Do you teach me what should be my aims. Be to me as the yeast and the malt in making sweet spirits; as the salt and the prunes in making agreeable soup. Give your help to cultivate me; do not cast me away:—I shall attain to practise your instructions."

3 Yuë said, "O king, men seek to hear much, having in view to establish their affairs. But to learn the lessons of the ancients is the way to attain this. That the affairs of one, not making the ancients his masters, can be perpetuated for generations, is what I have not heard.

宅于河 as "inhabit the river," understanding "in the inside of the Ho" as a designation of Ke-chow generally. From the north of the Ho he removed again to Po,—the capital as re-established by Pwan-kang:—and the end was (咎無) that he was, or thought himself, little versed in the subjects necessary for him to know as emperor. 2. He asks Yuë to instruct him.

王人求多 富—Gan-kwo joins 王人 together as 王者 'royal men,' 'kings.' It is better to take 王 in the vocative. Yuë addresses Wooning—"O king," as Yu, in the "Yih and Tsiih," p. 7, addresses Shun, 'O Emperor."

古训—"ancient lessons," such as are contained in the Canons of Yson and Shun, and the Counsels of Yu and Kaou-yaun. Ming-shing calls attention to a passage in T'een's history of the founder of the T'ain dynasty—事物不师古而能长久者，非所闻也, from which he thinks the last part of the par. was taken. Much more likely
In learning there should be a humble will, and a striving to maintain a constant earnestness. In such a case the learner’s cultivation will surely come. He who sincerely cherishes these things will find all truth accumulating in his person. To teach is one half of learning. When a man’s thoughts from first to last are constantly fixed on such learning, his virtuous cultivation comes unperceived.

Survey the perfect pattern of the former king;—so may you for ever be preserved from error. Then shall I be able reverently to meet your views, and on every side to look out for men of eminence to place in the various offices.”

The king said, “Oh! Yuē, within the four seas, all look up
9 to my virtue:—all through your influence. As his legs and arms form the man, so do a good minister form the sage king.

10 "Formerly there was the premier of our dynasty, Paou-hâng, who made my royal predecessor. He said, 'If I cannot make my sovereign like Yaou or Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart, as if I were beaten in the market place.' If any one common man did not find all he should desire, he said, 'It is my fault.' Thus he assisted my meritorious ancestor, so that he became equal to Great Heaven. Do you give your preserving aid to me, and not let O-hâng engross all the good service to the House of Shang.

11 The sovereign should share his government with none but worthy ministers. The worthy minister should accept his support only from the proper sovereign. May you now succeed in making your prince a successor of my royal ancestor, and in securing the
lasting happiness of the people!’” Yuè did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, “I will venture to respond to, and display abroad, your Majesty’s excellent charge.”

爾—We might invert the order of these characters; 其 has its hortatory force. 對—答, ‘to answer,’ ‘to respond to.’

[Choo He observes:—‘The lessons of E Yin to T'ae-kê are different from those of Foo Yuè to Kaou-tsung. The words of E Yin are repeated again and again, as the small natural comprehension of T'ae-kê required. This was not necessary with Kaou-tsung. His natural ability was good, and he was not chargeable with many faults.’]
THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK IX. THE DAY OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY SACRIFICE OF KAOU-TSUNG.

1 I. On the day of the supplementary sacrifice of Kaou-tsung, there appeared a crowing pheasant. T'oo Ke said, "To rectify this affair, the king must first be corrected.

2 Accordingly he lessoned the king, saying, "In its inspection of men below, Heaven's first consideration is of their righteousness; and it bestows on them accordingly length of years or the contrary. Heaven does not cut short men's lives;—they bring them to an end.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—高宗彤日, 'The day of the Supplementary Sacrifice of Kaou-tsung.' Kaou-tsung, I have already observed, was the title given to Woo-ting in the ancestral temple. See-ma Te'en says that it was conferred on him by his son and successor Tsoo-k'ang, with reference to the circumstances commemorated in this Book,—his being taught to be virtuous by the appearance of a pheasant in the manner described. He says also that it was on occasion of this canonization, so to term it, that this Book, and another which is lost,—the 'Instructions to Kaou-tsung' (高宗之訓)—were composed. That the Book was not composed in the reign of Woo-ting is sufficiently proved by the use of the sacrificial title which was given to him; that that title was conferred on him with reference to the occurrence here related is extremely improbable. 形日—彤

(Keang Shing has 融. See the note in the "case on the history and form of the character) was the name of a supplementary sacrifice, offered on the day following the regular and more solemn service (祭 明日 又祭). I have not been able to find any precise account of the reason and manner of such an observance. K'ang-shing says it was common to all sacrifices,—'those to Heaven and Earth, to the spirits of the land and the grain, of the hills and rivers, and of ancestors.' It was continued under the Chow dynasty, and was called 繙. Subsequently, it seems to have fallen into disuse.

The words—高宗彤日 may be translated 'The day of the supplementary sacrifice to
Kaou-tsung, and this rendering of them has its advocates, who are few. By De Mailla in his "Histoire Generale de la Chine." This view seems to have prevailed in the Yuan dynasty. The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo say that Kin Le-te-t'ang and Tsao Kwai-yew (崔裔) both thought that the reproach of Tsao Ke must have been addressed to a young emperor, to Tsao-kang, and that it is not conceivably as addressed to Woo-ting. They say themselves that the words of the 4th par. -乃日其

如台 are not to be thought of as addressed to Woo-ting after his character had developed under the councils of Foo-yu. They therefore suppose the appearance of the pheasant to have taken place in the first year of Woo-ting, and advert to the 11th par. of the second Part of "The Charge to Yut," as showing that there was a superstitious element in his character, which might have then given occasion to the remarks of Tsao Ke. The Precace to the Shoo must be held as conclusive that the sacrificer was Woo-ting, and not Tsao-kang. We there read, note 25, "Kaou-tsung was sacrificing to T'ang the second year, when a pheasant flew up, and lighted on the ear of a tripod, and there crowded. Tsao Ke lessoned the king, &c." The Book is found both in the 'old text and in the modern.' It is classed among the 'Instructions.' Fuh-shang appended it to the 'Pwan-kang,' so that it was not a separate Book in the 'modern text.'

Contexts. A pheasant suddenly makes its appearance and crowes, while Kaou-tsung is engaged in the supplementary sacrifice to T'ang. This is understood to be indicative of something wrong in the service, and Tsao Ke, a worthy minister, proceeds to lecture the emperor on the subject, whose particular fault is intimated in the last par.

Par. 1. The appearance of a pheasant. 高宗彤日, see the note on the name of the Book. 越有雉雉—we cannot translate 越. The 'Daily Explanation' calls it 發語雉, 'an introductory, or initial particle.' Ying-ta defines it by 於是, 'on this.'

The 説文 says that 雄 is the cry of the male pheasant. The preface to the Shoo and Szse-nya tse'en, after it, say that the pheasant lighted on the ear—one of the handles—of a tripod. Such an event would of course be understood to be ominous, and the older writers wearied themselves in endeavours to explain the meaning of it, some supposing it a good omen, and some a bad one. Mao K'e-ling ridicules their varying conjectures; see the 尚書備論錄, in loc. The only explanation of it I will mention here is that of Fuh-shang (尚書大傳), which is peculiar to himself, and the more strange because it is inconsistent with the tenor of the Book. He says: "We are sacrificing to T'ang when a pheasant flew up on the handle of a tripod, and crowed. Woo-ting asked Tsao-ke what it meant, who replied, "The pheasant is a wild bird, and

ought not to mount the tripod. Its doing so now shows that it wants to be employed (今升鼎者欲為用也). Shall we not have people from distant regions coming to the court?" On this Woo-ting examined himself, and reflected on the ways of the former kings; and in three years envows, with twisted hair, who needed an interpreter, came to court from six kingdoms (三年編著重譯來朝者六國). Confucius said, "I have observed how speedily virtue is rewarded in what is related of Woo-ting and the day of his supplementary sacrifice.""

2. Remark of Tsao Ke on the subject. Tsao Ke was evidently a worthy minister of Woo-ting; but we know nothing of him more than is here related. I suppose 祖 to be the surname. 惟先格王—王 is here 正 to correct,—see Men, IV., Pt. I., xx; 惟大 人為能格君心之非. Gau-kwo takes it as an adj., —至, and says—a sovereign of the highest style of principle, when he meets with extraordinary events, corrects his affairs, and the prodigies of themselves pass away.' The 先 before 格 is sufficiently decisive against this view. 正唯事, 'to rectify this affair.' I understand the reference to be to the affair or circumstance, which, in Tsao Ke's opinion, had occasioned the ominous appearance of the pheasant. This remark was not made to the emperor, but to Tsao Ke's companions, or perhaps we should understand it simply as the thought in his mind.

3. Tsao Ke's attempt to rectify the emperor's mind. 3. Men's prosperity does not depend on the arbitrary will of Heaven, but on their own conduct. 民, comp. the 'Announcement of T'ang,' p. 2. There, however, I have translated the phrase—the 'inferior people,' the people being spoken of in contradistinction from the sovereign. In the text the people and sovereign are all comprehended, and 'men below' seems to give the meaning. 典—主, 'to put first,' 'to make the principal consideration.' 永—長, 'long.' 天 means 'to die prematurely' (不盡天年謂之 夭, 妖 is more common). It is used here actively, 'to cause to die prematurely.' Ta'ne observes that it would appear from this language that Woo-ting had been praying in connection with his sacrifice for length of years. The conclusion is not unnatural—it is more natural than the view of K'ang-shing that shortness of life is here as a specimen of the calamities which men dread, being the one most readily apprehensible by even stupid persons. All calamities are the consequence of men's unrighteous actions, and Woo-ting understand this, by bringing home to his thoughts the one calamity of premature death. Ying-ta follows Ch'ing in this exposition, which
4 in the midst themselves. Some men may not have complied
with virtue, and will not acknowledge their crimes, but when Hea-
ven has evidently charged them to correct their conduct, and they
still say, 'What is this to us?'—

5 'Oh! Your Majesty's business is to care reverently for the
people. And all your ancestors were the heirs of the empire favoured
by Heaven;—attend to the sacrifices to them, and be not so excessive
in those to your father.'

seems to me very far-fetched. 4. When
men are dast to the special warnings of Heaven,
their case is desperate. According to the
translation, this paragraph is not complete. It
was not easy for Tsoo Ke to speak out plainly
and fully what was his meaning. He fancied
that the emp. was thinking but little of the
omen of the pheasant, and wished to warn him
against heedlessly pursuing his own course, re-
gardless of the admonitions of Heaven. The
trans. is in acc. with the paraphrase of the
'Daily Explanation,' which I subjoin. It will
be seen how the meaning is completed in it.

interpretation is not by any means so apt to the
occasion as that which I have followed.

Gan-kwō gives still another view of the clause
乃曰其如日; see the 註疏, in loc.

5. How Tsoo Ke tried to correct the special
error of Woo-ting.
司 is taken in the
sense of 主, having the same meaning as 舍,
in par. 3. Ts'ae says:—'Your Majesty's office
is to reverence the people; to be looking, on a
peradventure, for happiness from spirits is not
your business' (王之職主於敬民
而已, 微福於神). 舍: 'to inherit,' 'heirs.' 舍
supposes a subject in the thoughts, which
is most naturally expressed by 祖宗, 'your
ancestors.' 主; 典礼 'attend to the
sacrifices, i.e., the sacrifices prescribed to
all your ancestors. The 'Daily Explanation'
has:—吾王承此後, 而主其
祭, 只當一體孝敬, 'your Majesty,
succeeding to them, and presiding over the
sacrifices to them, should cherish an equal
filial reverence for them all.'

 Miscellaneous Note. Woo-ting had a very
long reign of 59 years, and died b.c. 1265. It
is mentioned of him, in the 63rd diagram of the Yih King, that he 'attacked the demon-land, and subdued it in three years' (高宗伐鬼方，三年克之) This 'demon-region' seems to have been the country of the wild tribes in the north, who never ceased to press upon the more civilized Chinese, till they made themselves masters of the empire, about 2,500 years after Woo-ting's time. A note in the 綱鑑易知 says that in the Hsia dynasty they were called 鬼方; in the Yin, 鬼方; in the Choo, 獻狁; under Ta'in and Han, 匈奴; under the T'ang, 突厥; and under the Sung, 契丹.

The last of the Praise-songs of Shang, in the She King, is understood to celebrate the martial prowess of Woo-ting against the wild tribes of King-teoo, and Choo He supposes that they were the people of the 'demon-regions.' In this case we should have to look for those regions on the south of Po, which is not at all likely. If there was a strong effort by the northern hordes against the Chinese supremacy, we may suppose that the half-subdued tribes within the boundaries of the empire took advantage of the opportunity to rise against the government. The movement, however, whether from within or without, was effectually quelled. Woo-ting subdued rebellion, and made peace within all his borders. He arrested the decline of the Shang dynasty, but he could not turn it back. There is duly chronicled in the 41st year of his reign, B.C. 1282, the birth of Lei-h (季歴), the father of king Wan, the founder of the dynasty of Chow.
THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK X. THE CHIEF OF THE WEST'S CONQUEST OF LE.

The chief of the West having subdued Le, Tsoo E was afraid, and hastened to report it to the king. He said, "Son of Heaven, Heaven is bringing to an end the destiny of our dynasty of Yin; the wisest of men and the great tortoise equally do not venture to know anything fortunate for it. It is not that the former kings do not aid us, the men of this after time; but by your dissoluteness

INTRODUCTORY HISTORICAL NOTE. Woo-ting's reign terminated in B.C. 1265, and 'the Conquest of Le by the Chief of the West' took place B.C. 1129. Here, therefore, there is again a gap in the history of the Shang dynasty, so far as it might be collected from the documents of the Shoo. Nor is the gap owing to the insensate measure of the founder of the T'ien dynasty in burning the ancient Books. In the Shoo as it came from the hand of Confucius, the 'Conquest of Le' immediately followed the 'Instructions to K'ou-tung.'

The conquest of Le took place in the 31st year of Chou-sin, the last emperor of the House of Shang, who succeeded to the throne B.C. 1163. The time between him and Woo-ting was filled up by the reigns of seven sovereigns.

[i.] Woo-ting was succeeded by his son Tsoo-kang (祖庚). Nothing is related of him. He appears to have been a weak ruler, and died, after a reign of seven years, B.C. 1238.

[ii.] Tsoo-kang (祖甲) followed his brother Tsoo-kang. One account says that Woo-ting, knowing Tsoo-kang to be worthier and abler than his brother, had wished to leave the empire to him, but that he himself, not to be charged with supplanting Tsoo-kang, withdrew and kept himself concealed for some time. In B.C. 1227 the people called him to the throne, which he occupied for 33 years.

The standard chronology chronicles no events of his time in which he bore a part. It is noted that in his 28th year, B.C. 1229, Ke-leih the youngest son of Tan-foo, 'the old duke' of Chow, had a son, Ch'ang (昌), by his wife T'ae-jin (大任), whom Choo He delights to celebrate for her many virtues. Ch'ang is known in history as 'king Wan,' and his father as 'king Ke.' It would appear that Tan-foo died in the same year, but not till he had seen something remarkable about the infant Ch'ang,
which made him say that he would greatly advance the fortunes of their House. In consequence of this, his two eldest sons, Tae-pih (太伯; see Con. Ana., VIII, 1.) and Chung-yung, (仲雍; aia, 鄧仲) both declined the dukedom of Chow in favour of Ke-leib, the first year of whose rule, as duke of Chow, dates in b.c. 1228.

Sze-ma Tse'en says that Tsoo-kiâ was lewd and disorderly (淫亂), and reigned only 16 years.

[iii.] Lin-sin (龔辛) succeeded to his father Tsoo-kiâ, b.c. 1224, and died after a short reign of six years. That is all history records of him.

[iv.] Lin-sin was followed by his brother Kang-ting (康丁), who occupied the throne 21 years.

[v.] Woo-yih (武乙), the son of Kang-ting, commenced his brief reign of 4 years in b.c. 1157. On the 1st year of his reign, or the year after, he removed the capital from Pê five times more to the north of the Ho, somewhere in the dep. of Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. He may have done this to be nearer the eastern part of the empire, which was disturbed in his time by risings of the wild tribes between the Hwa and mount Tâe. Woo-yih occupies an enviable place in the annals of China, many attributing to him the first making of idols in China;—see Morrison's 'View of China for Philological purposes,' and De Mailla's History, Vol. I., p. 217. The action on which the charge is based, however, was more that of a madman than of a devotee, a freak of licentious folly, and not the birth of any religious feeling, however perverted. Sze-ma Tse'en simply tells us:—武乙無道, 謂天神興災, 不勝人之命, 日射天.

'Woo-yih was without any right principle. He made the image of a man, and called it 'the Spirit of Heaven.' Then he gamed with it!' (博—'played dice, or at chess'), causing some one to play for the image. "The spirit of Heaven" was unsuccessful, on which he disgraced it, and made a leather bag, which filled with blood, and then placed aloft and shot at' (the image probably was in the bag as well), calling this "shooting at Heaven."' This is all the account we have in the 'Historical Records.' De Mailla, I imagine, is making for himself the narrative which he gives, that the emperor 'required all the people to adore the image, and address their vows to it.'

In the 4th year of his reign, while hunting between the Ho and the Wei, Woo-yih suddenly died. Tse'en says that he was struck dead by lightning; and people recognize in that event the just and appropriate vengeance of Heaven which he had insulted.

[vi.] Woo-yih was succeeded by his son Tae-tsing, whose brief reign of three years ended b.c. 1191.

[vii.] Te-yih (帝乙), the son of Tae-tsing, succeeded to his father, and reigned for 37 years, dying in b.c. 1154. During his time the House of Chow greatly increased in power and grew in favour with the people throughout the empire. In the previous reign duke Ke had signalized himself by repelling the incursions of certain wild bands in the north. Having performed several similar exploits in the first year of Te-yih, the emperor gave him the title, first of 'Master of the Pastors' (命為牧師), and subsequently invested him with the dignity of 'Chief of all the princes' (侯伯).

In b.c. 1154, duke Ke-leih died, and was succeeded by his son Ch'ang, who thereupon appears in history under the style of the 'Chief of the West' (西伯). The benevolence which he displayed in the govt. of his own principality made the people everywhere long to be under his rule, and the mirror of greatest virtue and ability began to collect around him. In b.c. 1168, according to the generally acknowledged chronology, his son Fa (發), afterwards King Woo, the first emperor of the Chow dynasty, was born.

Chow-sin (紂辛) succeeded to the empire, b.c. 1153. He had two brothers older than himself,—Ke, known as the viscount of Wei (微子启), and Chung-yen (仲衍); but when they were born, their mother had only a secondary place in the harem. Before the birth of Chow-sin, however, she was raised to the dignity of empress, and she and Te-yih were persuaded, against their better judgment, to name him on that account successor to the throne, in preference to Ke. He appears in history with all the attributes of a tyrant. His natural abilities were more than ordinary; his sight and hearing were astonishingly acute; his strength made him a match for the strongest animals; he could make the worst appear to be the better reason, when his ministers attempted to remonstrate with him; he was intemperate, extravagant, and would sacrifice everything to the gratification of his passions. He was the first, we are told, to use ivory chopsticks, which made the viscount of Ke (箕子) sorrowfully remonstrate with him. 'Ivory chopsticks,' said he, 'will be followed by cups of gem; and then you will be wanting to eat bears' paws and leopards' wombs, and proceed to other extravagancies. Your indulgence of your desires may cost you the empire.' Such admonitions were of no use.

In b.c. 1146 in an expedition against the prince of Soo (有蘇氏), he received from him a lady of extraordinary beauty, called Ta-ke (妲己), of whom he became the thrall. It is the story of Keâ and Me-he over again. Ta-ke was shamelessly lustful and cruel. The most licentious songs were composed for her amusement, and the vilest dances exhibited. The court was at a place in the pres. dis. of Ke (淇縣), dep. of Wei-hwuy, and there a palace was erected for her, with a famous terrace or
tower, two le wide, and the park around stocked with the rarest animals. This expenditure necessitated heavy exactions, which moved the resentment of the people. At Sha-k'ew (沙丘), in the pres. dis. of P'ing-heang (平壤), in Chih-le, there was still greater extravagance and dissipation. There was a pond of wine; the trees were hung with flesh; men and women chased each other about, quite naked. In the palace there were nine market-places, where they drank all night. The princes began to rebel, when T'ak-ke said that the majesty of the throne was not sufficiently maintained; that punishments were too light, and executions too rare. She therefore devised two new instruments of torture. One of them was called 'The Heater,' and consisted of a piece of metal, made hot in a fire, which people were obliged to take up in their hands. The other was a copper pillar, greased all over, and laid on the pectoral of the victim. The culprit had to walk across the pillar, and when his feet slipped, and he fell down into the fire, T'ak-ke was greatly delighted. This was called the punishment of 'Roasting.' These enormities made the whole empire groan and fume with indignation.

Chow appointed the Chief of the West, the prince of K'ew (九侯), and the prince of Gō (鄂侯), his three principal ministers (三公). The two last met a sad fate. The prince of K'ew added his own daughter to the harems, and when she would not enter into its doxboucheries, Chow put her to death, and made minced meat of her father. The prince of Gō ventured to remonstrate, and was sliced to pieces for his pains. Ch'ang fell at the same time under suspicion and was put in prison (囚于羑里), in a place called Yaw-le.

These events are recorded to B.C. 1148. Ch'ang, it is said, occupied himself, in prison, with the study of Fuh-he's diagrams, and composed a considerable portion of the present Yih King. In 1141, his sons and subjects prostituted the tyrant with immense gifts; the exigencies of the empire were likewise pressing, in consequence of the wars and incursions of the wild tribes; Ch'ang was released, and invested with greater authority than before. If he had raised the flag of rebellion, he could easily have dethroned the emperor, but he preserved his allegiance, obtained the abolition of the punishment of Rosating, and drew the hearts and thoughts of princes and people more and more to himself and his House. History tells us of his exploits, virtually regent of the empire, till his death in B.C. 1134, when he was succeeded by his son Fa, who inherited his authority and his virtues. Ten years pass over the events of which nothing important is related, till we come to B.C. 1129, to which the conquest of Le is referred.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—西伯戡黎, 'The Chief of the West's conquest of Le.' In the details of the preceding note I have followed the account of the closing years of the Shang dynasty, which is now generally received, and acc. to which the chronology in the 西伯戡黎 is arranged; and the Chief of the West who subdued Le is said to have been Fa, the subsequent king Woo. Ta'n, on the contrary, ascribes the conquest to Chung or king Wan, agreeing with Fuh-shang, Sze-ma Ts'e'en, Ch'ing, and all the older critics. The question is discussed at length in the 通鑑纲目, under the 31st year of Chow-sin. It hardly appears to me capable of a clear determination. Choo He was appealed to about it by one of his disciples who said, 'Most of the old interpreters thought that the Chief of the West here was king Wan; but Ch'ín Shao-nan (陳少南), Lêu Pih-kung (呂伯恭), and Sê Ke-lung (薛季隆), have given their opinion that it was king Woo. Woo T'ae-lao (吳才老), also says that the conquest of Le must have closely preceded the attack on Chow himself.' The questioner then proceeded to indicate his own conclusion in favour of the more recent opinion, and asked for the master's decision. Choo He wisely replied, 'We may as well put on one side such questions where the evidence is so scanty' (此等無證據可且闕之).

By the 'West' in the designation 'Chief of the West,' we are to understand the province of Yung on the north, with those of Leang and King on the south,—the western part of the empire in fact. Sze-ma Ts'e'en has Ke (餕), for Le, and Fuh-shang had Ke (耆). It is agreed, however, that the country designated extended over what are now the two districts of Le-shing (黎城) and Ping-shun (平順), dep. of Loo-ngan (路安) in Shan-se. This was only about 100 miles from Chow's capital, and within the boundaries of the imperial domain. The Chief of the West was no longer confining himself to the west. It was this approach of the army of Chow to the neighbourhood of the emperor which filled with alarm all who continued to cherish any attachment to the House of Shang. What provocation the duke of Chow may have had to attack Le, or by what motives he was actuated, we cannot tell; but it now became plain to all, that however loyally inclined he might be, there was a tide of affairs carrying Chow on to the supremacy of the empire. This is the meaning of the expression in the place, that 'Yin's first hatred of Chow was occasioned by the conquest of Le.' The Book is found in both the texts.

It is referred, not very satisfactorily, to the class of Announcement. Contents. The Chief of the West having overthrown the prince of Le, Ta'o E filled with alarm hurries away to inform the emperor. He sternly sets the truth before him,—that the rule of Yin is hastening to a close through his own evil conduct. The tyrant gives no heed to his
and sport, O king, you are bringing on the end yourself. On this account Heaven has cast us off, so that there is distress for want of food; there is no consideration of our heavenly nature; there is no obedience to the statutes of the empire. Yea, our people now all wish the dynasty to perish, saying, 'Why does not Heaven send down its indignation? why does not some one with its great decree make his appearance? what has the present king to do with us?'

The king said, 'Oh! is not my life secured by the decree of remonstrances, but returns an absurd reply; on which Tsoo E withdraws, and signs over the ruin which he sees cannot now be averted.

P. 1. Introductory paragraph. The occasion of Tsoo E's address. 西伯截黎—see on the Name of the Book. The 爾雅 defines 戟 by 'to kill;' but the meaning of 賢 or 克, 'to overcome,' 'to subdue,' is to be accepted here.

Tsoo E was probably a descendant of Tsoo Ke, the worthy minister of Woo-ting. He hurried away, i.e., from his own city, probably between Le and the capital, to give information to Chow.

Pp. 2–5. Tsoo E's address. 2. That the dynasty of Yin was about to be extinguished, entirely through the wickedness of Chow. 天 既詐我殷命—詐—絕，'to extinguish,' 'to bring to an end.' 我殷命—殷之王命—'Yin's appointment to the sovereignty' (Gan-kwō).

格人元龜—格—'perfect,' 'of the highest class,' '元—great.' The tortoise employed for divination at the imperial court was so called by way of eminence, and supposed to measure, length-ways and across, a cubit and two inches. Sze-ma Ts'e'en has 假人 for 格人, and Keang Shing edits 假爾, reading 假 in the up, 2d tone, 'to avail of.' He compares the text with the language of the Le Ke, 曲禮.

Bk. I, Pt v., p. 24. 假爾泰龜; but the interpretation is intolerably forced and harsh.

惟王淫 戲自絶—Sze-ma Ts'e'en has 虢, 'oppression,' instead of 戲 'sport.' The meanings are both appropriate.

The paraphrases supply 天 after 絶—'you cut yourself off from Heaven.' This does not seem to be necessary.

3. Evidences of Heaven's abandonment in the miserable and demoralized condition of the people. 不有康食—'we have no eating in comfort.' Famine was stalking abroad. 不虞天性—虞—度, 'to consider;' 'to act upon consideration of.' Demoralization followed upon want.

不迪率典—典—國家之常典, 'the regular statutes of the empire.'—'We do not tread in and follow the statutes.' Social disorder followed hard on demoralization. Such is the interpretation of this paragraph, and it is the most likely which I have seen. See others in the 註疏 in Keang Shing, and in the 後案.

4. How the people were openly declaring their longing for the end of the dynasty. 固弗欲喪—無不欲 王之喪, or 殷之喪, 'the ruin of your Majesty,' or 'the ruin of the dynasty.'

大命不播—播—'to come.' The 'great decree' is the appointment of Heaven to the sovereignty of the empire. Sze-ma Ts'e'en has—大命胡不至—大命胡不至—

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6 Heaven?" Tsoo E returned, and said, "Ah! your crimes which are many are set above;—and can you speak of your fate as if you give it in charge to Heaven? Yin will very shortly perish. As to all your deeds, can they but bring ruin on your country?"

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7. I have translated here after the 'Daily Explanation' supposing the sentence complete, "Generally speaking, 多参 in the sentence above means "arranged in order." 鼎 (Chair of the West) makes not a single reference to the Emperor of Shang; T'ao supposes that he knew the loyal feeling of Ch'ing and Fa—that neither of them was prompted by an ambition to gain the empire, and that even now, if the emperor could only be got to reform, the regent would sustain the dynasty of Shang. We can only note the singularity of the fact;—our hypotheses to account for it may be right or wrong.

7. I have translated here after the 'Daily Explanation' supposing 殷之喪亡 直在旦夕, 不能久延矣. The interpretations of the paragraph, however, are very various. I will only give that of Keang Shing, which is 'When Yin soon comes to ruin, shall not the destroyer declare your deeds, and put you to death in your kingdom?'

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THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK XI. THE VISCOUNT OF WEI.

1. The viscount of Wei spoke to the following effect:—"Grand Tutor and Junior Tutor, the House of Yin, we may conclude, can no longer exercise rule over the four quarters of the empire. The great deeds of our founder were displayed in former ages, but by our being lost and maddened with wine, we have destroyed the effects...

HISTORICAL NOTE. The conversation recorded in this Book is referred in the chronology to B.C. 1122, the year immediately following the conquest of Le, and that in which the dynasty of Shang perished. The chron. does not make mention, indeed, of this document; but it places in the above year the events mentioned in the 18th Bk. of the Con. Ana.; Ch. 1, how the viscount of Wei withdrew from Chow-sin's court, and the viscount of Ke became a slave, while Pe-kan was put to death; and those events are supposed to have followed almost immediately after the conference between the worthies which is here related. Difficulties might be raised against this view; but it is not worth while arguing a point of little importance, and where absolute certainty cannot be attained. The conversation between the viscount of Wei and his friends must have taken place near the time assigned to it,—in one of the closing years of the Shang dynasty.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—微子, 'The Viscount of Wei.' This name seems to have been given after the fashion of the Books of the Confucian Analects. The characters begin the Book and are therefore adopted as its name. The Preface speaks of the viscount of Wei making his announcement to the Tutors, and the Book is accordingly placed in the division of 'Announcements.' Like that of the last Book, this arrangement is convenient rather than satisfactory.

Wei (微) was the name of a principality of the 4th order (Men. V., Pt. ii. 3), the holder of which had the title of 子, which some have translated by 'viscount,' others by 'count,' and others again by 'marquis.' It was within the limits of the imperial domain, in the pres. dis. of Loo-shing (路城), dep. of Loo-gan (臨縣).
安), Shan-se. It has been stated in the introductory note to the last Book, that the viscount of Wei was named K'e (啟), and that he was an elder brother of the emperor, by the same mother, who was, however, only a concubine when K'e was born, and subsequently raised to be empress before the birth of Sin. Such is the account of Sze-ma Ts'e'en, and other old writers. The authority of Mencius is pleaded in favour of the view that K'e was an uncle of the emperor;—see Men. VI., Pt. I., vi., 3. But Mencius does not allege this himself;—it only appears as an opinion current in his time. As K'e is in this Book addressed as 王子, ‘son of the king,' and still more is called 殷王子, ‘the eldest son of the king of Yin,' in the 8th Book of the next Part, par. 1, the account in the 'Historical Records' ought not to be called in question. The Book is found in both the texts.

Contents. Saddened with the thought of the impending ruin of their dynasty, the viscount of Wei seeks the counsel of two other nobles, and after pourtraying in lively colours the mad dissoluteness of the emperor, and the demoralization of the people, asks them to tell him what was to be done. One of them,—the Grand Tutor—replies to him, describes in still stronger language the sad condition of the empire, and the unavoidable overthrow of the dynasty, and concludes by advising the viscount to make his escape, declaring that he himself would remain at his post and share in the unavoidable ruin. We may make a separate chapter of the language of each of them.


父師少師—父 is here = 太師,'great,' 'grand.' Under the Chow dyn., we find from the next Part, Bk. XXV., there were the 'three Kung' (三公) one of whom was styled 太師, and the 'three Koo' (三孤), one of whom was the 少師 the highest officers of the empire, and who seem to have formed a sort of privy council to the sovereign. There were inferior officers of the same titles, mentioned by Fuh-shang (大傳),—retired magistrates and scholars who afterwards exercised something like the duties of schoolmasters in the villages, and were called 父師 and 少師. There were also the grand and the assistant musicmasters, who were styled 太師 and 少師;—see Ana., XVIII., ix. The terms in the text must be understood as having the first of these three applications,—as designations of the highest officers about Chow's government. We do not know that there were, in the Shang dyn., the three Kung and three Koo, as subsequently in the Chow, but the 'grand Tutor' and 'junior Tutor' were of the class of those dignitaries. The individuals thus designated are said to have been 'the viscount of Ke' and 'Pe-kan,' who are both classed with the viscount of Wei in the Analects, XXIII., 1.; all the other commentators say so; and though Sze-ma Ts'e'en has some expressions both in the 殷本紀 and in the 宋微子世家, which seem inconsistent with it, it is hardly worth while to discuss the subject.

殷其弗或 亂正四方,—治亡,治亡四方,—comp. 治正四方,—Charge to Yue, Pt. i., p. 2. Woo Ch'ing says that 其 and or are both expressions expressive of uncertainty (皆非必然之辭). This is true of 或, but not true of 其, though it belongs to the peculiar usage of it, which has been more than once pointed out, to intimate the meaning of the speaker.

我祖庶遂 陳子上.—T'ang is intended by ‘our ancestor.' Ts'e'en gives 段德 instead of 敗殷德 immediately below. We must take 遂 in the sense of 成, 'to accomplish,' and then 遂 is equivalent to what we call a verbal noun, —his carrying to the utmost his achieving; == 'his great deeds.' 陳—列, 'to arrange.' 上, and 下 in the end of the par., are used with reference to time.

我 用沈酗于酒.—Sze-ma Ts'e'en has 而 instead of 我. Chow is no doubt intended, but K'e deliberately takes the blame of his vices to all the descendants of T'ang;—compare the use of the pronoun in the 'Songs of the five Sons.' Ts'e'en also omits the 用, which adds emphasis to the verbs 沈 and 醉. The dict., defines 沈 醉, 'the anger or fury of drunkenness.' Luk Tiu-ming (陸德明) explained the char. by 以酒為凶, 'the practice of malignant wickedness under the
of his virtue in these after times. The people of Yin, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws; and for criminals there is no certainty that they will be apprehended. The lesser people consequently rise up, and make violent outrages on one another. The dynasty of Yin is now sinking in ruin;—its condition is like that of one crossing a large stream, who can find neither ford nor bank. That Yin should be hurrying to ruin at the present pace!'—

2

influence of spirits.'  

2. How the people, high and low, were demoralized and lawless, so that there was no hope for the dynasty.

—Gan-kwò explains this by 'steal and rob in the grassy wilds,' making one think of the notoriety in former days of Hounslow heath in England as a place for robberies. Keang Shing takes 草 in the sense of 'hurtful weeds,' so that it is used adverbially and metaphorically. I prefer the old explanation.

師師非度，師師互相做效，‘imitate one another.’

凡有辜罪，‘crime,’ or ‘criminals.’ Woo Ch'ing supposes that this clause follows from the prec. He says:—‘The nobles and officers are the model of the people, but instead of using the regular laws to apprehend criminals, they bear with and allow them (卿士為民表，凡有辜罪之人反容縱之，無常法捕獲者). This is the most natural exegesis, and I have followed it. The old interpreters took the passage diffiltly. Gan-kwò interprets:—‘They are all’ (taking 凡—皆 and referring it to 卿士) ‘criminals, and there is not one who can regularly hold fast the due Mean’ (皆有辜罪，無秉常得中者). Still more absurd is the view given by K'ang-shing:—‘All the ministers are thus criminals, and as to their dignities and emoluments, they do not always get them. The meaning is that the ministers attacked and plundered one another' (群臣皆有是罪，其爵祿又無常得之者，言雖相攻奪，相為敵讙，相檮相警，‘fight with one another, revenge themselves on one another.’

今殷其淪喪—Sze-ma Ts'e'en has 典 instead of 溢, so that the meaning is:—‘The statutes of Yin, every bond of order and government, are now gone to ruin, and the dyn. is in a condition like that,' &c. This would give a good enough meaning, but we cannot, because we find in Ts'e'en, conclude that the 溢 in the text is erroneous. One crossing a great stream where there was neither ford nor bank could only sink in the waters.

越至于今，—like the same char. in Bk. IX., p. 1, can hardly be translated. Ma Yung and Gan-kwò both try to bring out its meaning as 于是—but unsuccessfully.

See the 前案 and the 註疏. I consider the clause to be incomplete. The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases it:—‘豈意我殷之盛，一至昏亡相及，至于如此之甚乎，How could it have been supposed that on our Yin, once so flourishing, ruin would have suddenly come upon ruin, to such a degree as at the present time?’
He added, "Grand Tutor and Junior Tutor, we are manifesting insanity. The venerable of our families have withdrawn to the wilds; and now you indicate nothing, but tell me of the impending ruin; what is to be done?"

II. The Grand Tutor made about the following reply:—"'King's son, Heaven in anger is sending down calamities, and wasting the country of Yin. Thence has come about that lost and maddened condition through wine. He has no reverence for things which he ought to reverence, but does despite to the aged elders, the old..."

P. 8. Ke represents their sad condition still more vividly, and begs his friends to give him counsel. 我其發出狂,一Chow is intended here by 我, as in par. 1. 父,—a person 90 years old is called 父;—see Pt., Bk. II., p. 9. 顚隕—Ying-tâ defines and distinguishes these terms, saying that 顚隕 means 'to fall from a height,' and 隕, 'to fall into a ditch.' Nothing can be made of the 者 at the end. We must be content to take it as a mere exploitive. These notes and the translation are all after Ts'ae Ch'in. Gan-kwô interprets differently;—thus:—'When I think of this ruin of Yin, I feel as if unwell and become maddened. In my heart, my heart is wearied and confused, and I wish to withdraw to the wilds. Now you do not inform me of your views, but tell me of the downfall of the country, and ask what is to be done.' Sze-ma Ts'ien's text is a good deal diff.,—曰, 太師少師, 我其發出狂, 一家保于喪, 今女無故告子顚隕如之何其, 'I will arise and go forth away. My family will be preserved in the ruin. Now you tell me nothing ( ?). I may fall into a wrong course;—what should I do?' Keang Shing's text nearly agrees with Ts'ien's, but not quite. I believe the received text is the most correct, and that Ts'ien's interpretation is to be preferred to all the others.

Ch. II. Pp. 4—9. Reply of the Grand Tutor. 4. He enlarges on what Ke had said about Chou's drunkenness. 王子,—see the note on the Name of the Book. 毒降—'is poisonously sending down.' It is difficult to know how to interpret 方興, and connect it with what precedes. We want a nominative expressed to 方興, as in par. 2;—to suppose one in 邦, as Gan-kwô does is too violent. The meaning given by him, as expanded by Ying-tâ, is——Heaven, sending down cruel and poisonous calamities, gave birth to this insensate and oppressive sovereign, to waste and confound the kingdom of Yin. Chow having proved a drunkard, the people throughout the four quarters are all acted on by him, and addicted to the same vice, so that nothing can be done.' It would appear that the Grand Tutor attributes the ruin of the dynasty to Heaven, and that not in permission or retribution merely. 'He puts it upon Heaven,' says Ts'ue, 'his loyalty and reverence for the emperor not permitting him to put it on him!' If the crimes through which the dynasty was going to ruin were produced by Heaven, that ruin certainly could not be arrested. Ts'ieen omits altogether the second part of the par. and gives the first—太師曰, 王子, 天篤下災, 亡殷國. 5. He illustrates what Ke had said on the madness of Chow, and the withdrawal of the old and experienced.
6 official fathers. Now the people of Yin will even steal away the
pure and perfect victims devoted to the spirits of heaven and earth;
and their conduct is connived at, and though they proceed to eat
the victims, they suffer no punishment. On the other hand, when I
look down and survey the people of Yin, the methods of government
to them are hateful exactions, which call forth outrages and hatred;
—and this without ceasing. Such crime equally belongs to all
in authority, and multitudes are starving with none to whom to
appeal. Now is the time of Shang's calamity;—I will arise and
share in its ruin. When ruin overtakes Shang, I will not be the

耆長—老成之人, 'old, accomplished
men.' 耆 denotes 'the appearance of a frosted
pear.' Such-like are the faces of old men, and
hence the char. is used for 'old.' 6. He
intensifies what had been said of the robberies and
villanies of the people of Yin. The people were
guilty not of ordinary robberies only;—they
committed sacrilege, and were allowed to do so
with impunity.
歆 is 'to steal upon occasion
offered,' to appropriate, for instance, a neigh-
bour's sheep trespassing on one's ground; but
we cannot here insist on that peculiar meaning
of the term. 犧, 'victim,'—ox, sheep, or
pig. 犧 is the victim 'uniform in colour.'
牲 is the same, 'complete,' without blemish.

用以容,—Ts'e supposes that this
clause speaks of 'the officers.'—有司用
相容隱。Keang Shing makes Chow
himself to be the subject of it. Gan-kwō in-
geniously joins the 用 to the clause above, and
explains it as meaning 'the offerings of fruit
and grain.' Maou K'e-ling says that in his
earlier years he could not get away with this in-
terpretation, but was inclined to adopt it on
maturer thought;—see the

尚書廣聽
錄 Bk. II., in loc. 7. He describes the
outrages and misery of the people in consequence
of the oppressions of those in authority.

下, 'down,' 'descending.'
用以警敟

專上所用以治之者,無非
警敟之事, 'all the methods used by
their superiors to govern them are only ex-
tactions of enemies.' Ma Yung read 黔 for 警;
but the meaning is substantially the same.
召鵠警, —'which call forth outrages and
hatred.' This is understood to have reference
to 達鵠警 in paragraph 2. It would
seem to be so; and we may understand the outrages there spoken of as further described
here as done in defiance despite to the
government. 罪合於一, —the 'crimes' are
those of the emperor and of the officers gene-
really. 就詔,—詔—告, 'to tell,' 'to
appeal to;'—comp. the use of 告 in the phrase
無告者, Mencius, I, Pt. II., v., 8.

The Grand Tutor declares his own intention to
abide all risks at his post, but he advises K'e to
withdraw and save himself.

今臣僕—the reader who has Lin Che-k'e's com-
mentary will be amused by reading his view of
this passage. I do not introduce it here, be-
cause, though ingenious, it does not show Lin's
usual soundness of judgment.

詔王子

出迪,—the 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases
this:—我告王子, 惟出而遠去,
乃合于道, 'I tell you, O king's son,
that to quit and go far away is the right course
for you.'
servant of another dynasty. But I tell you, O king's son, to go away as being the course for you. Formerly I injured you by what I said, but if you do not go forth now, our sacrifices will entirely perish. Let us rest quietly in our several parts, and present ourselves to the former kings. I do not think of making my escape.

日所言，適以害子，'what I formerly said served to injure you.' It has been mentioned that Te-yih and his empress wished to leave the throne to K'e, and not to Chow-sin, but were dissuaded from the purpose. It is supposed that the text refers to the advocacy at that time by the Grand Tutor of K'e's claims to the throne, which had made him all along an object of jealousy and dislike to Chow.

Gan-kwò takes 我作一病 for;—see the 註琉 loc. Keang Shing, always ready to reject the received text, adopts from Wang Ch'ung (王充) the reading of 孩子; but the meaning which he ingeniously brings out of 舊云孩子 comes in effect to the same thing that as usually followed.

我乃顧崩— it must be understood that the Grand Tutor speaks here of the sacrifices offered to the founder and all the departed emperors of the House of Shang. He must himself have belonged to the imperial line. If, as is most likely, he was the viscount of K'o, he was an uncle of the emperor;—so the relationship between them is commonly represented. Te'ae expands the text:-

They must, each of them, do what they felt to be right. 自靖—靖安, as in Bk. VII., Pt. i., p. 12. Te'ae says:—各安其義之所當盡, 'let each man rest in the performance of what his circumstances require him to do.' Gan-kwò, and here for a wonder Keang Shing is at one with him, takes 靖 課, so that 自靖—take counsel with yourself.' It is difficult, to say what is the precise idea in 'presenting themselves to the former kings.' I think it is this,—that if they did what was right, they should have consciences void of offence, as now beheld by their ancestors, or as hereafter to appear before them. 顧 is used as in the T'ae-kē,b, Pt. i., p. 1, 顧誕天之明命.

FATES OF THE MEN MENTIONED IN THIS BOOK.

The viscount of Wei appears to have acted on the advice given him by the Grand Tutor, and to have withdrawn from the court of Yin. The expression in the Ana., XVIII., i.—徵子去之, may be considered as proving this. When and how he withdrew, however, it is not possible to ascertain. According to a description in the 左傳, 僖六年, and the account given by Shao-ma T'ween, after the death of Chow, he went out to meet king Wou at the head of his army, having with him the sacrificial vessels of the House of Shang. He presented himself in miserable plight, almost naked, with his hands bound behind him, and moving forward on his knees, when king Wou received him honourably, and restored him to his former office, whatever that was. This legend has been called in question. In the next Part of the Shoo we shall meet with the viscount again, and see him finally enfeoffed with the principality of Sung, there to continue the representative of the House of Shang.

If the viscount of K'o, whose name was Seu-ru (齊武), was indeed the Grand Tutor of the text, he did not die with the dynasty, as he seems to have expected. The passage of the Analects referred to says: 'he became a slave.' According to T'WEEN, he reproved Chow in the first place, and when his friends urged him to make his escape, he refused, and feigned himself to be mad, allowed his hair to hang about uncared for. King Wou found him in prison, and set him free, when he fled away to Corea. We shall meet with him also again in the next Part.
The Junior Tutor is supposed to have been Pekan, also a member of the imperial House, though his precise relationship to Chow is uncertain. Mencius calls him 王子, 'king's son' (Book II., Pt. I., i. 8); Tse'en says no more than that he was 'a relative' (親戚); Ch'ing and others say he was 'an uncle.' He does not appear as a speaker in the text; but the part which he chose was a harder one than the parts of his friends. When he saw how the reproofs of the viscount of Ke were received, he brought the truth before the tyrant with still sterner vehemence. 'I have heard,' said Chow, 'that the heart of a sage has seven apertures;—let us see if it be so.' With this he made Pekan be put to death, had his heart cut out, and gluttoned his eyes with the sight of it.

**[Final overthrow of the Shang dynasty.**

The dynasty closes, in the chronology, in B.C. 1122, the same year to which the conference between the viscount of Wei and his friends is referred. It was in the year after, however, that Chow-sin died, and for the contest between him and the duke of Chow we must look to the commencing Books of the next Part. The duke of Chow after many delays at last took the field against the tyrant. We are surprised to find that Chow-sin, notwithstanding the general detestation with which he was regarded, was able to bring together an immense host, vastly outnumbering that of the other side. The two armies met in the plain of Muh, in the south of the pres. dis. of Ke, dep. of Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. Chow-sin's troops failed him in the hour of need. He was totally defeated, and fled to the palace which had been the scene of so many debaucheries with Ta-ke. Arrayed in his most gorgeous robes, and covered with gems, he set fire to the 'Stag Tower,' which he had built for her, and perished in the flames;—yet not so but that his body was found by the duke of Chow, now king Woo, who cut off the head, and had it exhibited on a pole. Ta-ke apparelled herself splendidly, and went out to meet the conqueror, thinking he might be conquered by her charms. She was made prisoner, however, by a detachment of his troops, and put to death by his order, without having the opportunity to present herself before him.]