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KU YEN-WU'S
'RECORD OF DAILY KNOWLEDGE'
II. NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Thesis prepared in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1991
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I. Abbreviations of Reference Works

CHC Cambridge History of China. The following volumes are listed under their editors:
vol 1 Ch'in and Han: ed Twitchett & Loewe
vol 3(i) Sui & T'ang: ed Twitchett
vol 7(i) Ming: ed Mote & Twitchett

CSKW Ch'üan Shang-ku San-tai Ch'in Han San-kuo Liu-ch'ao Wen

DMB Dictionary of Ming Biography ed Goodrich & Fang

ECCP Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period ed Hummel

ICCL Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature ed Nienhauser

LCC The Chinese Classics, in 5 vols, translated by James Legge

SB A Sung Biography ed Hervouet

SKCS Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu

SPPY Ssu-pu pei-yao

SPTK Ssu-pu tsung-k'an

SSCCS Shih-san ching chu-shu

TSCC Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng
II. Introduction

1. See for example de Bary's *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of Mind and Heart* p172 and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's *Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period* (trans I.C.Y. Hsiu) p29ff.


5. See translation in Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, op cit p30.


III Biographical Summary

1. The following biographical summary is based on several sources including the following: Chang Shun-hui’s *Ku Ting-lin hsüeh-chih* pp30-35, Hsieh Kuo-chen’s *Ku Ting-lin hsien-sheng hsüeh-p’u*, pp1-19; Huang Hsiu-cheng’s *Ku Yen-wu yu Ch’ing-chu ching-shih hsüeh-feng*, pp182-195 and the article by Peterson W.J. “The Life of Ku Yen-wu”, pts I & II. Details of nien-p’u concerning Ku are given both by Peterson and by Hummel, ECCP p425. That of Chang Mu (1843) is of particular importance.

2. SWC ch 2, pp29-31.


4. For a detailed consideration of this group, affiliated with the Tung-lin faction, see Atwell W.S. “From Education to Politics: the Fu She” in *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism* ed de Bary, pp337-67.


6. SWC ch 6, p131.


8. The four essays in question are as follows: “A Discussion of Military Systems” (軍制論); “On Geography” (Strategic Positions - 形勢論); “On Agriculture” (田功論) and “A Discussion of Monetary Systems” (錢法論). They are to be found in the SWC ch 6, pp122-127 and appear translated in full in section 4 of the translations.


11. ibid p208.

12. ibid p227.

13. ibid p233.

14. ibid p244.
IV Analysis of Sections

1. See ECCP p424.
3. ibid XIII, 22(1-3), LCC vol 1, pp272-3.
5. See for example de Bary's *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of Mind and Heart*.
6. Ch'en Ch'i-yüen: "Confucian, Legalist and Taoist Thought in Later Han" in CHC vol 1, p798ff.
7. ibid pp799-801.
8. For a detailed consideration of these developments see Fung Yu-lan's *History of Chinese Philosophy* vol II, pp434-476.
9. See chap 1 of the prolegomena to the *History* by Legge (LCC vol 3).
10. See also Legge's prolegomena, p27ff.
11. ECCP p910.
12. Mencius VIIB, 3(1), LCC vol 2, p479.
13. For biographical details of the Ming scholar, Feng Hsi ( 萬煦 - AD1468-1537) see DMB vol 1, pp449-50.
14. See the article by Cheng Tsui-fa on Ku Yen-wu in the ICCL pp 504-507. Information on Ch'en Ti ( 陳第 - AD1541-1617) may be found in the DMB vol 1, p180ff.
15. See chap 1 of the prolegomena to the *Odes* by Legge (LCC vol 4).
16. For a detailed consideration of the writings of Chen Te-hsiu ( 陳德秀 - AD1178-1235) see de Bary, *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of Mind and Heart* pp73-91, 98-126 and 158ff.
18. Ho I-hun ( 何怡焜), *Ting-lin hsüeh-shu shu-p'ing* ( 倪亭學術述評), Taiwan 1945.
19. ICCL p60.
20. *Lun Yu* VII, 8(1), LCC vol 1, p211.
21. ibid XVII, 9, LCC vol 1, p323.
22. ibid XV, 25, LCC vol 1 301.
26. These two essays are considered and referred to, in extenso, by Mote in his treatment of the Ch’eng-hua and Hung-chih reign periods of the Ming dynasty. See CHC vol 7(i), pp369-70.

27. Mencius IA 1(1-6), LCC vol 2, pp125-7.


29. de Bary W.T., *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of Mind and Heart* p171.


31. ibid p137.
V Translations
1. Section 1, ch 1-7

1/1/1

1. The three works, Lien-shan, Kuei-ts'ang and Chou I, referred to below of which only the last is extant. A common view is that the other two were different arrangements of the lineal symbols. (See Legge, J., The I Ching p4, note 1).

2. Pao Hsi Shih (包辛氏) better known as Fu Hsi (伏羲) was the first of the Five Emperors of the legendary period at the start of the 2nd millennium BC and is said to have been responsible for the construction of the 8 diagrams, deriving these from the markings on the shell of the tortoise.

3. Changes, Hsi tz'u chuan (pt 2) SSCCS vol 1, p173. The middle period of antiquity extended from the rise of the Chou dynasty to the Confucian era.

4. ibid p175. The Yin dynasty was superseded by the Chou dynasty in 1112BC. Chou, the last tyrannical ruler of the Yin dynasty, died in the flames of his own palace when finally overthrown by King Wu, the son of King Wen. See Legge, The I Ching p5.

5. King Wen, the putative author or compiler of the Changes in its present form. Traditionally four people are credited with the making of this work; Fu Hsi (see note 2 above), King Wen, The Duke of Chou and Confucius.

6. The Rites of Chou (Chou Li)) SSCCS vol 3, p370. The ta-p'u or 'Grand Diviner' was a Chou official (see Hucker 6008, p469).

7. The Lien-shan and Kuei-ts'ang (see note 1 above) are thought to be two earlier collections of the trigrams, the former linked with Fu Hsi himself and dating from the Hsia dynasty (2183-1752BC) and the latter attributed to Huang Ti and dating from the subsequent Shang (Yin) dynasty (1751-1112BC). Neither is extant.


9. The Ch'un-ch'iu or Spring and Autumn Annals chronicles the history of the state of Lu from 722 to 480BC. From the time of Mencius onward Confucius was considered to be the author of this work (see Mencius IIIB, 9).

10. A form of divination using plant stalks or bamboo. See Tso Chuan V, 15, LCC vol 5, p164.

11. The 18th diagram. See SS CCS vol 1, ch 3, p57.

12. Tso Chuan V, 15, LCC vol 5, pp164 & 167. "That fox in Ku must be the Marquis of Chin".

13. In the Spring and Autumn period a place in Cheng (楚)，corresponding to Yen-ling hsien in present day Honan province.

14. The 24th diagram. See SS CCS vol 1, p64.

15. Ch'u (楚).

16. Tso Chuan VIII, 16, LCC vol 5, p391.
1. The Chou-i pen-i (周易本義) published in AD1177. Chan Wing-tsit, writing in the Sung Bibliography, remarks as follows: "Feeling that Sung commentators on the Book of Changes had made too much philosophy out of the classic, Chu Hsi explained the text briefly and in simple terms considering that the Book of Changes was primarily meant for divination and should be allowed to speak for itself." (See SB p10 for details of the different editions of this work).

2. See notes to 1/1/1, note 2.

3. King Wen (文王) is credited with the present arrangement of the hexagrams and a brief commentary appended to each. He is said to have carried out this work during his imprisonment at the hands of Chou Hsin. Legge (The I Ching p21) writes: "I like to think of the Lord of Kau (Wen Wang), when incarcerated in Yu-li, with the 64 figures arranged before him. Each hexagram assumed a mystic meaning and glowed with a deep significance. He made it tell him of the qualities of various objects of nature or of the principles of human society or of the condition, actual and possible, of the kingdom. He named the figures each by a term descriptive of the idea with which he had connected it in his mind, and then he proceeded to set that idea forth, now with a note of exhortation now with a note of warning. It was an attempt to restrict the follies of divination within the bounds of reason."

4. The Duke of Chou (周公), King Wen's son took up and extended his father's work. According to Legge (The I Ching p21): "What had been done for the whole hexagram he would do for each line, and make it clear that all the six lines bent one way their precious influence and blended their rays in the globe of light which his father had made each figure give forth." The hexagrams themselves, together with the additional writings of King Wen and the Duke of Chou, are what constituted the classic proper.

5. Traditionally the ten wings are ascribed to Confucius although it seems very unlikely that he was the author of more than the 1st and 2nd wings as listed. Wilhelm (The I Ching, introduction plix) writes: "... it is probable that the Commentary on the Decision (T'uan chuan) is his work. The Commentary on the Images also goes back to him although less directly. A third treatise (ie part of the Wen yen and the Hsi-tzu), a very valuable and detailed commentary on the individual lines compiled by his pupils or their successors, in the form of questions and answers, survives only in fragments." According to Durrant (ICCL p311) a number of the wings come from the Warring States period and one, the Tsa-kua, almost surely from the Former Han dynasty. See also Legge (The I Ching, intro. p26ff) for a detailed consideration of the appendices.

6. Fei Chih (費直) the earliest of the Han commentators, and initiator of the tradition continued by Ma Jung (馬融) and Cheng Hsüan (程頥 vide infra). See Ku Chou-i reference in the Sung Bibliography p12 and Han Shu vol 11, ch 88, p3602.

7. Cheng Hsüan (程頥 - AD127-200): a noted commentator on the Changes and other classics and a pupil of Ma Jung.

8. Wang Pi (王弼 - AD226-249): he was noted for his commentaries on the Changes and the Tao te ching. The former appears in both the SPTK and SSCCS versions of the Changes.

9. The I-ch'uan i-chuan (易傳易傳) of Ch'eng I (程頥), published in AD1099 and covering "... the whole of the classic and those appendices scattered over it in the modern text, but not the five appendices which follow it." (SB p3-4).

10. See note 1 above.

12. Lü Tsu-ch'ien (呂祖謙 - AD1137-1181): a scholar and official of the Sung period and also a contemporary of Chu Hsi. See Chan Hing-ho's article on his *Ku Chou-i* (古周易) in the SB pp12-13.

13. See *Chou-i pen-i* p1.

14. See SB p11: "In spite of Chu Hsi's intentions his explanations are attached to Ch'eng I's in the *Wu-ching ta-ch'üan* (Great Collection of Commentaries on the Five Classics) which served as the standard for the civil service examinations for several hundred years."

15. These follow t'uan yüeh (団団) in the SSCCS edition and also in the edition of the *Chou-i pen-i* referred to above.

16. *Chou-i pen-i* p2 following the first section headed t'uan yüeh (see note 15 above).

17. *I Ching* under chien (乾), SSCCS vol 1, p10.

18. Indicated by hsiang yüeh (象団) in the editions referred to above.

19. *Chou-i pen-i* p2 following the first section headed hsiang yüeh (see note 18 above).

20. *I Ching* under chien (乾), SSCCS vol 1, p11.

21. The first two diagrams of the *I Ching*; chien (乾) and kun (坤). (See SSCCS vol 1, p8&18.)

22. Follows the characters wen yen yüeh (文言団) in both texts referred to above.

23. *I Ching* SSCCS vol 1, p12.

24. See note 14 above.

25. See SB p11 on the *Chou-i pen-i*.

26. See *Chu Wen-kung wen-chi* vol 2, ch 66, p1154ff. The remainder of the paragraph is largely taken from this work (p1154). Fei Shih is Fei Chih (see note 6 above). For Wang Pi see note 8 above. K'ung Shih is K'ung Ying-ta (共頞達) who was a distinguished scholar of the Sui and early T'ang periods responsible, inter alia, for a commentary on the *Changes*. For a discussion of this see Shchutskii I.K. *Researches on the I Ching* p60ff. Wang Fu-ssu is Wang Pi. Tu Yu was a noted scholar who rose to high office under the first emperor of the Chin dynasty. For a note on his commentary to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* see Legge prolegomena to the *Ch'un-ch'iu* (LCC vol 5, prolegomena, p140). K'ang-ch'eng is Cheng Hsüan (see note 7 above).

27. Ts'ao Mao (曹髦 - AD221-260?): the grandson of Ts'ao P'e (曹丕) and created Kao-kuei Hsiang-kung (高貴鄉公) at the age of 4. In AD254 he succeeded Ts'ao Fang as the 4th Wei emperor.

28. For this dialogue see *San Kuo Chih* vol 1, ch 4, p136.

29. See *Han Shu* vol 11, ch 88, p3602.

30. See note 26 above.
31. This is, for example, the arrangement in the SSCCS edition of the *I Ching*.

32. *I Ching* SSCCS p83. See also Chu Hsi's *Chou-i pen-i* p29 for a discussion of the use of i ( 日). The meaning of this is somewhat obscure. See also Legge, *I Ching* pp123 & 305 and Wilhelm, *I Ching* pp124 & 545.

33. The destruction of literature other than that pertaining to divination, agriculture and medicine following the edict of Ch'in-shih Huang-ti in 213BC.

34. Hu An-kuo ( 胡安國 ) prepared his commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* at the direction of the Emperor Kao Tsung.

35. In the commentary referred to in note 36 above Hu An-kuo related current events to those reported in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* in an attempt to learn from the lessons of history and thereby improve the administration of the day. See the article by Ueda Sanae in the SB p40 which also gives details of the editions of Hu's commentary.

36. A literary and word game in which a third word, relating to each member of a given pair of words, is sought.

37. Tan Chu ( 墨助 ) and Chao K'uang ( 趙匡 ) were T'ang commentators on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Their writings may be found in the *Ch'un-ch'iu chi-chieh* ( 春秋集解 ) compiled by Lü Pen-chung ( 吕本中 ) in the Sung period. See SB p40.

1/1/4

1. Traditionally King Wen and the Duke of Chou had been regarded as responsible for the creation of the hexagrams based on the trigrams attributed to Fu Hsi. Confucius is thought to have added a series of commentaries known as the 'Ten Wings'. More detailed consideration of this traditional 'Four Sage Theory' see Legge J., *The I Ching* ch 1, Shchutskii I.K., Researches on the *I Ching* part 1, and Wilhelm H., *The I Ching* intro. pxvii ff.

2. Representing the 8 original trigrams or kua of Fu Hsi. See Legge op cit, intro p11 ff.


4. ibid p134 and Wilhelm p705.

5. Commentators on the *I Ching* from the Later Han period. For detailed consideration of Hsün Shuang's ( 荀爽 ) interpretation of the classic see CHC vol 1, p797 ff.


8. Reference to the *I-ch'uan I-chuan* ( 伊川易傳 ) of Ch'eng I ( 程頤 ). See SB pp1-2 and Shchutskii p71 ff.

9. See *Jih-chih lu*, section 1, essays 5 & 6 (not here translated).

10. *Wen-chung tzu* ( 文中子 ): the posthumous title of the Sui scholar, Wang T'ung ( 王通 - AD583-616) and a work of the same name. The 'Nine Teachers' is a reference to nine men invited by the King of Huai-nan, An, to make clear the *I Ching* (see *Han Shu* vol 6, ch 30, p1703
under Huai-nan tao-hsün). The three commentaries are, of course, the Tso chuan, the Kung-yang chuan and the Ku-liang chuan. The present quote is from the T'ien-ti (天地) chapter of the Wen-chung tzu.

1/1/41

1. Changes, Hsi tz'u chuan (shang), SSCCS vol 1, p158.

2. ibid. This statement is the basis of an important concept in Neo-Confucianism, i.e. the distinction between the physical (形而下) and the metaphysical (形而上). See Fung Yu-lan History of Chinese Philosophy vol 2, p509 ff.

3. Hsiang (襄) who taught Confucius the lute. See Lun Yü XVIII, 9(5), LCC vol 1, p338.

4. See the Chia-yü (家語), Pien-yüeh chieh (辨業解) 35, ch 8 and also Shih Chi vol 6, ch 47, p1925.

5. Lun Yü IX, 6(2), LCC vol 1, p218.

6. ibid XIV, 37(2), LCC vol 1, p288. There are some variations in the English rendering of this rather terse statement. Thus Legge has "my studies lie low and my penetration rises high" while Waley (The Analects of Confucius p189) writes "But the studies of men here below are felt on high." It seems probable, as Legge suggests in his note on p289, that "... he contented himself with a study of men and things, common matters as more ambitious spirits would deem them, but from these he rose to understand the high principles involved in them." See also Chu Hsi in his Ssu-shu chi-chu (四書集註) p103.

1/1/51

1. Lun Yü VII, 16, LCC vol 1, p200.

2. ibid XIII, 22 LCC vol 1, p272. There is some variation in the translation of this sentence. Thus Legge (loc cit) has: "The Master said, This arises simply from not attending to the prognostication" while Waley (The Analects of Confucius p177) has: "The Master said, They (ie the soothsayers) do not simply read the omens." Legge in his note on p273, writes: "This is inexplicable to Chu Hsi. Some bring out from it the meaning in the translation. Chang K'ang-ch'ang says: "By the I (Ching) we prognosticate good and evil, but in it there is no prognostication of people without constancy."

3. Doctrine of the Mean XII, 4, LCC vol 1, p394.

4. This probably refers first to the Plan of the Yellow River and the Book of the River Lo and second to the study of numbers, forms and elements. See eg, Tso Chuan V, 15, LCC vol 5, p165 and translation p169 and also Fung Yu-lan, History of Chinese Philosophy vol 2, ch 3 (in particular pp89-92 & 101 as well as note 3, p8.)

5. Lun Yü VII, 17, LCC vol 1, p200.

6. Changes, Hsi Tz'u chuan SSCCS vol 1, ch 7, p146ff. Legge (The I Ching) translates the whole section as follows: "The expressions about good fortune and bad are used with reference to (the figures and lines as) being right or wrong (according to conditions of time and place); those about repentance and regret refer to small faults (in satisfying these conditions); when it is said 'there will be no error' or 'no blame' there is reference to (the subject) repairing an error by what is good." See also Wilhelm p291.
7.  
Ta hsiang ( 大 象 ): the name given to the explanation of the diagrams.

8.  
Changes, Hsi ts' u chuan (shang) SSCCS vol 1, ch 7, p146.  See also Legge, The I Ching p351 and Wilhelm, I Ching p290.  Fung Yu-lan (History of Chinese Philosophy vol 1, p394) has the following translation: "Therefore what the Superior Man peacefully rests in is the order shown in the I Ching and the study that gives him the greatest pleasure is that of the explanation of the lines.  Therefore the Superior Man when living quietly contemplates the emblems and studies their explanations.  When in activity, he contemplates their changes and studies their prognostications.  It is thus that there is help extended to him from Heaven, with good fortune and nothing that is not beneficial."  Fung observes that: "In these lines the importance of the Changes is made evident."

9.  
Changes, Hsi ts' u chuan (shang) SSCCS vol 1, ch 7, p156.

10. ibid SSCCS vol 1, ch 8, p166.  See also Legge (I Ching) p381 and Wilhelm (I Ching) p327.

11. ibid SSCCS vol 1, ch 7, p155.  See also Legge's extensive note on the numbers and the question of variations in order of the text of the Changes (p366 et seq.).

12. ibid SSCCS vol 1, ch 7, p156.  I have followed the translation given by Fung (op cit p384): "Great Ultimate".  Legge (op cit p373) speaks of the "Grand Terminus" and Wilhelm (op cit p318) of the "Grand Primal Beginning".  This was a concept extensively employed by the Sung Neo-Confucians, particularly Shao Yung ( 阙 雨 ) and Chou Tun-i ( 周 敷 頌 ). (See Fung Yu-lan, op cit vol 2, ch 11, p434ff).

13. ibid (hsia) SSCCS vol 1, ch 8, p174.  This is another fundamental statement about the Changes referring to the lines and rendered by Wilhelm (op cit p348) as follows:

"They move inward and outward according to fixed rhythms,  
Without and within they teach caution.  
They also show care and sorrow in their causes.  
Though you have no teacher,  
Approach them as you would your parents."

See also Legge's note (op cit p399) which states, in part, that this section "... describes the method of studying the I Ching as consisting very much in watching the changes that take place in the lines and reflecting on the appended explanations." Ku is quite orthodox in his application of this classic as with others.

14. Hsi I is Ch'en T'uan ( 傳 拊 ), a Sung philosopher and mystic who was a profound student of the Changes.  For details of his diagrams see Fung Yu-lan (op cit vol 2, p440ff).  K'ang Chieh is Shao Yung ( 阙 雨 ) also a Sung philosopher devoted to the Changes (see Fung op cit vol 2, p452ff).

15. Lun Yu XIV, 26(2), LCC vol 1, p286 and I Ching SSCCS vol 1, p92.

16. Lun Yu II, 2, LCC vol 1, p146.

17. Changes (no 32) SSCCS vol 1, p83ff.  See also Wilhelm op cit p548: "He who does not give duration to his character meets with disgrace, persistent humiliation."  Also Lun Yu XIII, 22(2), LCC vol 1, p272: "Inconstant in his virtue, he will be visited with disgrace."

18. Lun Yu VII, 25(2), LCC vol 1, p203: "The Master said, A good man is not mine to see; could I see a man possessed of constancy, that would satisfy me."
2. ibid I, 1, LCC vol 3, p15. Yao (尧) 2355-2255BC.
3. On the question of the division of these two books see Legge's note "Title of and disputes about, the Book"; Legge, The Book of History p30.
4. History II, I, 4(14), LCC vol 3, p41. As Legge notes on p41, on his accession to the throne Shun would go to the temple of his own ancestors.
5. Ssu Yüeh (虞): probably the leader of the feudal lords of the "Four Regions". See eg History I, III, 2, LCC vol 3, p24 and note on the same page.
6. ibid II, I, 5(17), LCC vol 3, p42. The use of "Shun said" probably marks the fact that he was now emperor. Subsequently Ti yüeh (帝) is used.
7. Immediately after the use of "Shun said" (see note 6 above) there is reversion to the usual form of "ti yüeh", the first instance being in the order to Yü (禹). Ta Yü (大禹) was Shun's successor reigning from 2205-2197BC. See History II, I, 5(17), LCC vol 3, p43.

1/2/5

1. History II, IV, 1(1) LCC vol 3, p78. There is some variation in the interpretation of the character mao (冒). Legge translates this "I urged" although according to the Shuo wen (説文) it also has the meaning "to exert oneself".
2. An original note draws attention to the fact that the characters hua (化) and huo (貨) were used interchangeably in ancient times.
3. T'ang-ti Yao (唐帝堯) 2365-2255BC and Yü-ti Shun (虞帝舜) 2255-2205BC.
4. Yin (殷), the latter part of the Shang (商) dynasty, ie 1401-1122BC. It may be that the jen (仁) should be taken with Yin here as in the Lun Yü III, 21(1), LCC vol 1, p162.
6. ibid IV, IV, 3(7), LCC vol 3, p196.
7. ibid IV, VII, 3(10), LCC vol 3, p247. See also Legge's note on the character chien (臣).
8. Hua sheng (華生) indicating in the first instance the transformation of birth (see Chuang Tzu 22, vol 3, p746) and in the second instance the transformation to completion (Changes, 恒) SSCCS vol 1, p83). See also Wilhelm, The I Ching p546: "The holy man remains forever in his course and the world reshapes itself to completion".

1/2/12

2. Referring to an area of Shansi to the east of the north-south flowing course of the Yellow River. See CHC vol 1, map 2, p41.
The "San Chin" refers to Chao, Wei and Han (趙, 魏, 韓). These states arose out of the division of Chin. See Mencius IA, 5, LCC vol 2, p134 and note 1, p125. Yen (燕) and Ch'i (齊) were situated to the east of the "San Chin" (see CHC vol 1, map 1, p39).

Fu Chien (符堅 -AD337-384). See Chin Shu vol 9, ch 113-4, pp2883-2908.

Yü-wen Yung (宇文邕 - AD542-578): The third emperor of the Northern Chou who annexed Northern Ch'i in AD577, extending his empire from Shensi east to the sea.

See History IV, 10, LCC vol 3, p272.

1/2/14

1. Chou Hsin (紂辛): the last emperor of the Yin or Shang dynasty who reigned from 1154-1122BC before being overthrown by King Wu, founder of the Chou dynasty.

2. Chou Hsin (see note 1 above) was renowned for his cruelty and depravity. See e.g. Shih Chi vol 1, ch 3, p105ff.

3. Kao Yang (高洋) canonised as Hsien-tsu Wen Hsüan-ti (顯祖文宣帝) was the first emperor of the Northern Ch'i dynasty established by him in AD550. See Pei Shih vol 1, ch 7, pp243-280.

4. The Shang or Yin dynasty extended from 1766 to 1122BC.

5. For this phrase see Lun Yu VI, 12, LCC vol 1, p192.

6. History IV, VII(i,ii & iii), LCC vol 1, p220-247.


8. ibid IV, XI, 6, LCC vol 3, p277.

9. ibid IV, X, LCC vol 3, pp268-271. His words to Chou Hsin (see notes 1 and 2 above) were: "Emperor, Heaven is now extinguishing the Yin mandate. Equally each man and the great tortoise do not dare to know good fortune. It is not that the former kings do not act as men of later times but that you, king, with your debauchery and sport, are effecting your own demise. Thus Heaven has abandoned us. There is darkness through lack of good, there is no recognition of the heavenly nature, no compliance with the statutes. Now our people all wish to perish saying; 'Why does Heaven not impose its majesty, why does the great mandate not take effect, what has the present King to do with us'"

10. Kao Wei (高緯) also known as Wen Kung (溫公) and Hou Chu (後主) was a later ruler of the Northern Ch'i dynasty from AD565-576. See Pei Shih vol 1, ch 8, p286.

11. Shen Wu (神武): the posthumous title of Kao Huan (高歡) who established the Eastern Wei dynasty. He was the father of Kao Yang (高洋) the first emperor of the Northern Ch'i dynasty (see note 3 above).

12. Yang Yin (楊愔 - AD511-560): a prodigy who later rose to high office under Kao Yang (see note 3 above). He was minister of state and president of the Board of Civil Office in Northern Ch'i. See Pei Shih vol 5, ch 41, p1500.
13. Yü-wen Yung (宇文邕 - AD542-578): the third emperor of the Northern Chou dynasty who in AD577 annexed the Northern Ch'i state. See Pei Shih vol 2, ch 10, p347 under Kao-tsu Wu-ti.

1/2/29

1. See History V, XIII, 12, LCC vol 3, p441. See also Legge's note on the same page. The translation given here differs somewhat from that of Legge particularly concerning the meaning of ching (呈文). Nevertheless the general purport is the same. I.e. the ruler must look to the genuineness of, and the motives behind, the various offerings he receives.

2. The hall used during the Chou period for sacrifices to Shang Ti and in which also the feudal princes had audience with the emperor.

3. The leaders of the nine ancient provinces. See History V, XX, 13, LCC vol 3, p530 and Legge's note on the same page.

4. See the preface to the History LCC vol 3, preface, section 43, p10. For further details see Legge's note on the same page.

5. For details of the imperial domain and surrounding areas see Legge's detailed note to the Tribute of Yu, History III, I, 18 et seq LCC vol 3, p143ff.


7. T'ang Hsüan Tsung who ruled from AD713 to 756.

8. This is a reference to the birthday of Ming Huang. See Ch'üan T'ang Shih vol 1, ch 3, p41 for the poem entitled 'Ch'ien-ch'iu chieh tsu ch'ün-ch'en ching (千秋賜臣臣鏡)'. Minister Chang is taken to be Chang Yüeh (張誦). See Chiu T'ang Shu vol 9, ch 97, p3049ff, Hsin T'ang Shu vol 14, ch 125, p4404ff and CHC vol 3(i), p376ff. The poem refers to the gift of the mirror on the emperor's birthday. Mr Yüan is Yüan Te-hsiu (元德秀) whose biography may be found in the Hsin T'ang Shu vol 18, ch 194, pp5563-6. The incident here referred to is recorded on p5564.


10. Kuang-ling (廣陵) is Yang-chou (揚州). See Tsu-chi'hs t'ung-chien (資治通鑑) 215, p6872. See also the Hsin T'ang Shu ch 76, p3494 where it is recorded that Chang Chiu-chang (張九章) and Wang I (王翼) of Kuang-ling presented precious objects and were promoted.


12. Wei Chien (方慶) and Wang Hung (王鎧) were both officials during the reign of Hsüan Tsung. For consideration of the activities referred to here see CHC vol 3(i), p420 & 424ff.


1/2/39

1. Han Shu vol 6, ch 30, p1705.
2. ibid p1706. (See also Legge in the History LCC vol III, prolegomena p15ff for a detailed discussion of K'ung An-kuo's and others' considerations pertaining to the Old and New Texts.

3. ibid p1705. See also vol 11, ch 88, pp3603-4 for details concerning Ou-yang Sheng and the two Hsia Hous (歐陽生, 大 小 夏侯).

4. ibid p1706. See also vol 11, ch 88, re Fu Sheng (伏生).

5. For a detailed consideration of the extraordinary events of 92-90BC see Loewe M, Crisis and Conflict in Han China ch 2, p37ff.

6. Han Shu p1706. See also Legge, op cit pp23-25.

7. See Legge, op cit prolegomena p24 note 5.

8. See Hucker 865, p150.

9. For this sequence see Han Shu vol 11, ch 88, p3607. K'ung An-kuo (孔安國 - 2nd century BC) was a descendant of Confucius who was involved in analysis of the text of the History found in the walls of the Master's house, as described in this essay. Detailed consideration of the nature and fate of his commentary is given by Legge in the prolegomena to his translation of the classic (see note 2 above). Liu Hsin (劉歆) was a noted scholar and son of Liu Hsiang, who rose to prominence during Wang Mang's interregnum. He was, in large part, responsible for the establishment of the "old learning" or Old Text school being described by Fung Yu-Lan with reference to the "old learning" as its "most illustrious protagonist". See History of Chinese Philosophy vol II, pp133-136 and also CHC vol 1, p760ff and Han Shu ch 36, p1967ff.

10. Han Shu vol 11, ch 88, p3607. Legge gives brief mention to Chang Pa (張霸) on p30 of the prolegomena of the History (see also his note 11 on the same page).

11. Hou Han Shu vol 9, ch 79a, p2560. Legge (prolegomena to the History p30, LCC vol 3) writes: "In the next reign and extending on to AD124 we meet with a K'ung He (K'ung Hsi - 孔僖), the then chief of the K'ung family in which it is said "the ancient text had been handed down from Gan-kwo (K'ung An-kuo), from father to son, without break."

12. ibid p2566. Tu Lin (杜林) is described by Legge (prolegomena to the History p27) as "a scholar and officer ..." who "... had been a fugitive having many wonderful escapes during the usurpation of Mang." He is said to have discovered a copy of part of the History on lacquered tablets in the ancient text. See also Legge op cit. for further consideration of Tu Lin's text and the commentaries thereon, referred to here.

13. ibid p2546.

14. ibid vol 7, ch 56, p1849. The three scholars, according to the note in the Hou Han Shu were Hsia Hou-chien (夏侯建), Hsia Hou-sheng (夏侯勝) and Ou-Yang Hsi-pai (歐陽和伯).

15. There is a textual error here as the I-wen chih is, in fact, in the Hsin T'ang Shu. See vol 5, ch 57, p1427 for the listing referred to. Ma Jung (馬融 - AD79-166) and Cheng Hsüan (鄭玄 - AD127-200) referred to here and elsewhere were both outstanding scholars of the Later Han period the latter being the pupil of the former. See eg ICCL p612ff and CHC vol 1, p813ff.

16. The work referred to here is the Ching-tien shih-wen (經典釋文) of the T'ang scholar Lu Te-ming (陸德明) which focuses particularly on "explanation of the pronunciation and meaning of characters ..." (see SB p369 and elsewhere).
17. This is a partial quotation from the *Sui Shu* vol 2, ch 32, p915.

18. For further consideration of Mei Che's (梅嘗) work on the *History* see Legge, prolegomena, to the *History* (in LCC vol 3), p27.

19. A discussion of the authenticity of the first section of the *Canon of Shun* (consisting of the twenty-eight characters beginning with 盤 若) may be found in Legge's *History*, LCC vol 3, p29ff. Wang Su (王受) was a commentator from Wei during the Three Kingdoms period.

20. Liu Hsuan (刘玄 - died AD613) was a Sui scholar of the period of the north-south division. For biographical details and his work on the classic see *Sui Shu* vol 3, ch 75, p1719ff.

21. *Mencius* VIIB, 3(1), LCC vol 2, p479. See also Legge's note on the same page.


23. The references given to the *Tso Chuan* (LCC vol 5) are as follows: III, 8, p81; V, 24, p190; V, 27, p200; VI, 7, p247; IX, 5, p426; IX, 21, p487; IX, 23, p500; IX, 26, p521; XII, 6, p808; XII, 18, p831.

24. Kuo-yü (Chou-yü shang), SPTK vol 14 (Kuo-yü), p10.

25. All the quotes listed in notes 23 and 24 appear in the *Councils of the Great Yu* ie Book II of Pt II under the Book of T'ang in the arrangement of the *History* which Legge follows (see LCC vol 3, pp52-67). The point at issue here is whether this book should be more properly considered a retrospective compilation (see note 26 below) and listed under the Books of Hsia as is indicated in the quotes from the *Tso Chuan* and Kuo-yü referred to.

26. These are the first words of the *The Counsels of the Great Yu* - see *History* II, II(1) LCC vol 3, p52. Ku Yen-wu takes this as further evidence to support his view that this book was a retrospective compilation and should be included in the Books of Hsia.

27. *History* II, IV(1), LCC vol 3, p76. See also Legge's note on the same page.

28. ibid V, XXII(29) and V, XXIII(1), LCC vol 3, pp560 & 562.

1/2/41

1. Feng Hsi (附 - AD1468-1537): a scholar and official of the Ming period who traced his ancestry back to the renowned official of the Northern Sung, Feng Chi. He wrote a number of works on the Classics including the *Shang-shu cheng-pen* discussed in the present essay. See DMB vol 1, pp449-50.

2. *The Shu* (History), *Shih* (Odes), I (Changes) Li (Rites) and *Ch'un-ch'iu* (Spring & Autumn Annals).

3. A measure said to have been ordered by the Ch'in statesman Li Ssu in pursuit of his Legalist policies. It may be that a more damaging conflagration was the burning of the Ch'in palaces at Hsien-yang by rebels in 206BC. See CHC vol 1, pp68-72 & 751-2.

4. Chi Tzu (季子): one of the nobles who served Chou Hsin, last emperor of the Yin (Shang) dynasty. Although imprisoned for remonstrating with his master he felt unable to serve King Wu and, on the overthrow of the previous dynasty, went to Korea. He is said to have been enfeoffed but not to have undertaken official duties. See *Shih Chi* vol 1, ch 3 and CHC vol 1, p447. See also Legge's notes on the *Great Plan* in the *History*, LCC vol 3, p320ff.
5. Hsiu Shih (徐市): a native of Chi’i who was commissioned, at his own request, to mount a sea expedition to search for the islands thought to be inhabited by the immortals. See CHC vol 1, p78. For Li Ssu’s further repressive measure see CHC vol 1, p72.

6. It is not clear whether Feng Ch’ing was Feng Hsi’s grandfather or great grandfather. see DMB vol 1, p449.

7. For a brief consideration of this term see Legge’s prolegomena to the History; LCC vol 3, prolegomena, p24.

8. Ou-yang Yung-shu is the renowned Sung scholar Ou-yang Hsiu (歐陽修 - AD1007-1072). For his Jih-pen tao-kuo see Ou-yang Hsiu ch’uan-chi vol 1, p207. A translation is given by Legge with reference to the idea of discovering a complete copy of the History in Japan, on p46 of his prolegomena to this work (LCC vol 3, prolegomena, p46).


10. The term hsing (興) is here used to refer to a poetic mode described by Kao as follows: “A hsing comparison always points to a co-presence of both phenomena or situations instead of a mere highlighting of the qualities and attributes (or foregrounding of certain semes) as in a metaphor.” See ICCL pp126 - 127.

11. Legge, in the prolegomena to the History (LCC vol 3), gives a detailed account of the compilations of Fu Sheng (伏勝) and Kuang An-kuo (匡安國). The former is said to have preserved a copy of the History in the wall of his house at the time of the burning of the books and later to have retrieved or, as some would have it, to have reproduced the original text from memory. The latter is reputed to have discovered a text of the History in the walls of the house of his ancestor, Confucius. See essay 1/2/39 for further consideration of these matters.

12. The three quotes are to be found in the 5th year of Duke Wen, in the 6th year of Duke Ch’eng and the 3rd year of Duke Hsiang respectively.

13. On the matter of the sequence of the Tribute of Yu (LCC vol 3, p92ff) see Legge’s extensive notes on p92ff and p128ff. See also Shih Chi vol 1, ch 2, p67ff.

14. History III, III, 1(5) LCC vol 3, pp158-9. The change is said to have been from "何不敬" to "可不敬乎". See Legge’s note on p159 for a source of discussion of rhymes in the History.

15. An alternative title for the stone classics of the Hsi-p’ing reign period of Han Ling Ti’s reign (i.e. AD172-177).

16. Ts’ai Yung (蔡邕 - AD133-192): A scholar during the reign of Ling Ti who was importantly involved in "... the erection in the capital of stone slabs inscribed with the correct texts of the classics". See CHC vol 1, p340 which includes references to his biography in the Hou Han Shu.

17. Tso Chuan X, 17, LCC vol 5, p666.

18. Yuan Hsing-chung (元行沖) was a scholar during the reign of Hsüan Tsung. Biographical details are given in the Chiu T’ang Shu vol 10, ch 102, p3176ff and the Hsin T’ang Shu vol 18, ch 200, p5690ff. Wei Cheng (魏徵 - AD580-643) was a scholar of the early T’ang period who was involved in the preparation of a new code of ritual (see CHC vol 3(i), p197). The matter referred to here together with Chang Yüeh’s (張嶽) comments, is recorded in the Chiu T’ang Shu p3178.
19. The cousins Tai Sheng (Tai Sheng) and Tai Te (Tai Te) of the Western Han period who worked on the editing of the Li Chi. See Li Chi: The Book of Rites, transl. Legge vol 1, p7.

20. Sun Yen (Sun Yen) is Sun Shu-jan (Sun Shu-jan) a scholar of the Later Han period, renowned for his work on the classics.

21. Tan Chu (Tan Chu) was a scholar of the mid T'ang period who published annotations on the Ch'un-ch'iu - see SB p40. The 'san-chia' presumably refers to the three early commentaries on this classic; the Tso Chuan, the Kung-yang chuan and the Kao-liang chuan.

22. Lu Yu (Lu Yu - AD1125-1210): a renowned scholar of the Sung period famed for his poetry and also a writer on a variety of subjects. See SB p418 et passim.

23. Hsü Fang (Hsü Fang) was a scholar and official of the later Han period who became minister of works in AD102. According to Loewe (CHC vol 1, p298 et seq.) "he was anxious to see that the literal meaning of the texts of the Five Classics was clearly expounded and he deplored the overfondness of some academicians for elaborating their own interpretations at the expense of the traditional interpretation." For the quote given see the Hou Han Shu vol 6, ch 44, p1501.

24. Chang Pa (Chang Pa) also a scholar of the later Han period compiled a false text of the Shang-shu in 102 books. For the events referred to here see Han Shu vol 11, ch 88, p3607. See also Legge's introduction to the History, LCC vol 3 (introduction), p30.

25. The book entitled Chia-ho (Chia-ho) which Legge, in his translation of the preface to the History says "set forth the changes of the sovereigns" (by the Duke of Chou) is now lost. See LCC vol 3, p10.

26. Wang Mang (Wang Mang - 33BC-AD23) assumed a regency in AD6 after the death of P'ing Ti and upon the accession of the very young child known as Ju Tzu Ying. For the quote given see Han Shu vol 12, ch 99(A), p4080.

27. This is a misquote by Ku. See Doctrine of the Mean ch 1.

1/3/1

1. Odes 208, LCC vol 4, p367. The full verse in Legge's translation is as follows:
   "His bells ring out k'in-k'in;
   His lutes, large and small, give their notes;
   The tones of his organs and sounding stones are in unison.
   They sing the yu and nan,
   Dancing to their flutes without error."

2. Lun Yü IX, 14, LCC vol 1, p221.

3. The first two sections of the Odes; the Chou nan and Chao nan.

4. The first poem of what are now classified as the Pin feng; Odes 154, LCC vol 4, p226.

5. From Lu ming (161) to Ching ching che o (176) and called elegantiae.

6. From Wen Wang (235) to Chüan o (252).

7. The final section of the Odes ie Pt. IV, (from Ode 266-305) comprising the Chou sung, the Lu sung and Shang sung.
8. There is an original note giving reference to the *Shih pu* (詩脯) of the Han scholar Cheng Hsiian (成玄) that the orthodox hsiao ya and ta ya consist of 16 and 18 verses respectively, as indicated above.

9. See 1/3/2, note 7 for discussion of the term feng.


13. The pien ya, both hsiao and ta, may be termed "Odes of a changed character" (Legge, *The Book of Poetry* p281) or "degenerate Odes" (Legge, *The Book of Poetry* p495). The first fourteen pien hsiao ya are related to the time of Hsüan Wang (宣王 - 826-781BC) and the next forty four to Yu Wang (厲王). See the extensive original note on this matter.


15. Tzu Hsia (子夏) is Pu Shang (卜商), born 507BC, a native of Wei and disciple of Confucius. He is said to have given Confucius texts of the *Odes* and *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

16. A ruler of Wei in the Warring States period. For biographical details see the *Shih Chi* vol 6, ch 44, p1835.


18. See Chu Hsi's *Shih chi-chuan* (詩集傳).

19. See note 3 above.

20. Parts I and II of the *Odes* in its current arrangement; divided into hsiao ya (verses 161-234) and ta ya (verses 235-265).

21. Part IV of the *Odes* includes the Chou sung (verses 266-296) and the Shang sung (verses 301-305).

22. See note 3 above.

23. Books 3 and 4 of Part I of the *Odes* in Legge's arrangement, ie the Pei feng and Yung feng.

24. Ch'eng Ta-chang (程大昌 - AD1123-1195): according to the original note he was author of a work entitled *Shih-lun* (詩論). See TSCC (new series) vol 56.

1/3/2

1. The first two books of the *Odes* are titled nan and not feng. See *Odes* 209, LCC vol 4, p368. In his note on p368 Legge states: "Maou and Ch'ing again take ya and nan as the names of certain dances or certain pieces of music but even the critics who generally defer to their authority do not agree with them here. The *nan* are the odes of the Chow-nan and the Shaou-nan. We need have no difficulty in admitting that they existed as a collection at the time of Yew."

2. In an original note reference is made to the *Chou Li* on this point: see 6.20b and 6.21a&b, SPTK vol 1, pp114&115. In the current arrangement of the *Odes* the Pin verses are entitled Pin feng and constitute Part 1, Book XV (*Odes* 154-160) in Legge's arrangement.
3. Nan is one verse form (see note 1 above) although not listed as such in the Chou Li. See 6.13a, SPTK vol 1, p110.

4. Pin is a verse form associated with the ancient flute or yo (⿰⿰). See note 2 above and also Legge’s note on p368 of the Book of Poetry.

5. Ya is one of six verse forms listed in the Chou Li (see note 3 above). The usual arrangement of the Odes includes 4 sections "... namely kuo feng (Songs), hsiao ya (elegantiae), ta ya (odes) and sung (hymns)". Further "The hsiao ya section (poems 161-234) includes some poems which overlap with the kuo feng in folk attributes and others which constitute celebrations composed for banquets and feasts. The ta ya section (poems 235-265) contains poems of greater scope, more grandiloquent in style and more sublime in theme than the hsiao ya." See ICCL p692-3.

6. Sung, listed as one of the six verse forms, constitute section 4 of the Odes (poems 266-305). "Most of these are formal ritual hymns that praise the ancestors envisioned in the rites." (ICCL p692).

7. Feng: see Legge’s note to the "Title of the Part" in the Book of Poetry, LCC vol 4, p2, including the following quote from Chu Hsi: "The pieces are called feng because they owe their origin to and are descriptions of the influence produced by superiors and the exhibition of this is again sufficient to affect men just as things give forth sound when moved by the wind and their sound is again sufficient to move (other) things."

8. Generally attributed to Confucius. See the Book of Poetry, LCC vol 4, prolegomena 1,1.

1/3/3

1. Tradition would have it that Confucius, in correcting and editing the Odes, made substantial changes in the material to bring the work to its present form. Thus Legge (The Book of Poetry LCC vol 4, prolegomena p2) quotes Chu Hsi as follows: "Poems had ceased to be made and collected and those which were extant were full of errors and wanting in arrangement. When Confucius returned from Wei to Loo he brought with him the Odes which he had gotten in other states and digested them along with those which were found in Loo, into a collection of 300 pieces." Legge himself concludes however (loc cit) that "... before the birth of Confucius the Book of Poetry existed substantially the same as it was at his death and that while he may have somewhat altered the arrangement of its Books and Odes, the principle service which he rendered to it was not that of compilation, but the impulse to the study of it which he communicated to his disciples."

2. Legge renders kuo feng (⿰⿰⿰⿰) as "Lessons from the States" and cites Davis’s translation "The Manners of the Different States". See 1/3/2, note 7.

3. See Legge’s quote from the Sui Shu (Book of Poetry, prolegomena 1,1, pp1&2): "When the Odes ceased to be made and collected, Che, Grand Music Master of Loo, arranged in order those which were existing and made a copy of them. Then Confucius expurgated them and going up to the Shang dynasty and coming down to the State of Loo he compiled altogether 300 pieces."

4. Chi Cha (⿱⿱⿳⿳⿱) the fourth son of Shou Meng, King of Wu.

5. Yao and Shun.

6. King Wen (⿱⿱⿱⿱) was the title of canonisation of Ch’ang (⿱⿱), Duke of Chou (1231-1135BC), the father of King Wu (⿱⿱⿱), first sovereign of the Chou dynasty.

7. See Legge, The Book of Poetry, prolegomena II, app 1, LCC vol 4, p38.
8. *Shih Chi* vol 1, ch 24, p1235.

9. *Odes* 48, LCC vol 4, p78. This verse which tells of one man's association with several women has been seen as an implied criticism of the lewd practices of Wei. (See the Little Preface, Legge, *The Book of Poetry*, prolegomena II, app 1, LCC vol 4, p44) or simply a description thereof. In the latter case this verse is hard to reconcile with Confucius' statement: "In the *Odes* there are 300 verses but all may be subsumed under one phrase - have no depraved thoughts." (*Lun Yu* II, 2, LCC vol 1, p146). See also Legge's discussion of the inclusion of this piece in his note in *The Book of Poetry* p79.

10. *Odes* 95, LCC vol 4, p148. As Legge describes it; "A festivity of Ch'ing and advantage taken of it for licentious assignations." See also his concluding note to Book VII, p149.

11. Ibid 77, LCC vol 4, p127.


16. *Odes* 76, LCC vol 4, p125.

17. Ibid 82, LCC vol 4, p134.

18. Ibid 93, LCC vol 4, p146.


20. See *Chiu T'ang Shu* vol 9, ch 86, p2828.


22. The *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou* (古詩十九首) is an early verse collection of disputed origin. See eg ICCL pp489-491. They have been translated, in part, by Arthur Waley in his *One Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems* pp39-48.

23. *Nineteen Old Poems* no 13 (for this and subsequent reference to these verses see *Shih-chiu shou chi-shih*).


27. See *Nineteen Old Poems* no 7 and *Odes* 203.

28. See *Nineteen Old Poems* no 8 and *Odes* 218.
29. Hsiao T'ung (萧统 - AD501-531), Crown Prince Chao-ming (昭明) of the Liang was the compiler of the Wen-hsuan. See ICCL p891ff.

30. The dynasties of the north-south division.

31. Hsü Ling (徐陵) and Yü Hsin (庾信): writers during the Six Dynasties period.

1/3/5

1. Pei, Yung and Wei (郟, 鄱, 衛) are the titles of Books III, IV & V of Part 1 of the Book of Poetry. Of the first two states little is known except that they were incorporated within the third, Wei. See Legge's note on p38 and also his brief note on Yung, in particular, on p73.

2. K'ang Shu (康叔) was the first Marquis of Wei and a younger brother of Chou Wu Wang (周武王) by the same mother. He was possibly responsible for the annexation of Pei and Yung. See also the History V, IX, and Legge's note on p381.

3. In an original note reference is made to the Han Shu, Ti li chih vol 6, ch 28, p1523, to the following effect: 'Honei was originally Yin's old capital. When Chou destroyed Yin he divided the territory within the imperial domain into three kingdoms and the Odes in the Book of Poetry represented these kingdoms. Chou's son, Wu-keng (武庚), was enfeoffed with Pei, Kuan Shu (管叔) ruled Yung and Ts'ai Shu (蔡叔) ruled Wei. Thus they were overseers of the Yin people and (the regions) were called the Three Principalities.'

4. See Legge's discussion of the basis of the subdivision referred to in Note 1 above (p38).

5. Tso Chuan IX, 29, LCC vol 5, p544ff. Chi Cha (季札) was the son of the Wu king, Shou Meng.

6. ibid IX, 31, LCC vol 5, p559.


8. ibid 255, LCC vol 4, p506ff & 305, LCC vol 4, p643, for examples of the use of these combined terms. As Legge, in his note on p643 remarks, apropos of the combination Ching Ch'ü (刑叔): "... we have two names of the same state combined together just as we so often have the combination Yin-Shang as the name of the Shang or Yin dynasty.

9. The Western Chou ended with the death of King Yu (武王) and the transfer of the capital east under King P'ing (平王).

10. See eg Lun Yu XVIII, 9(1), LCC vol 1, p337 and Hsü Tzu, 9, p129.

11. The original note states that according to the Han Shu the people of Pei and Yung were moved to Lo-i (洛邑) so that at the time of King Ch'eng (成王) ie 1115-1079BC, Pei and Yung no longer existed.

12. Kuei (檇) was a small state in the present Ch'eng-chou. Its feng are to be found in the Odes 1, XIII, ie 146-149, LCC vol 4, p215-249). As Legge, in his note on p215, observes: "Some of the critics contend that the Odes of Kuei are really Odes of Ch'ing, just as those of P'ei and Yung belonged to Wei. It may have been so; but their places away from Book VII, instead of immediately preceding it as Books III & IV do Book V, may be accepted as an argument to the contrary." See also the original note on the use of 柘 for 檇 in the Tso Chuan.
13. The Chengfeng (貞風), Books VII of Section I of the Odes (ie Odes 75-95, LCC vol 4, pp124-149).

14. The Feifeng is the fourth and final ode in the Kueifeng section (see note 12 above) ie. Odes 149, LCC vol 4, p218. An original note refers to verse 3, line 3 and takes this to indicate that the ancient capital of Western Chou, Hao (鎬) was still in existence at that time. Cheng Hsüan, in his treatise (see SB p23) considered it to be related in time to the reigns of King I and King Wan (894-878BC & 878-827BC respectively). Su Shih considered the Kuei poems to be part of the Cheng poems - but this is not so.

15. See Han Shu (Ti-li chih) vol 6, ch 28, p1647, for discussion of the subdivision. The distances quoted are not given however.

16. Wu-keng (武庚), son of the last king of Shang. According to Legge's note (Odes p39): "When King Woo overthrew the dynasty of Shang the domain of the kings was divided by him into three portions. That north of the capital was P'ei; that south of it Yung; and that east of it was Wei. These were constituted into three principalities; but who among his adherents was invested with P'ei and Yung has not been clearly ascertained. Most probably they were assigned to Woo-kang k'ang, the son of the last king of Shang, and the three brothers of King Woo who were appointed to oversee him."


18. Ching (荆) was another name for the southern state of Ch'ü (楚): see Odes 300 (verse 5), LCC vol 4, p626 and Legge's note on p626 below.

19. Shih Chi vol 5, ch 35, p1564 (see also notes 1,2&4 on this page).

1/3/16

1. Odes, 212, LCC vol IV, p381.

2. ibid 154, LCC vol IV, p230.

3. For this phrase see Tso Chuan I, 8, LCC vol 5, p25.

4. See Odes 162, LCC vol IV, p247 and Odes 40, p66. Note there is a textual difference here.

1/4/1

1. The historical chronicle of the state of Lu covering the period from 721-480BC and attributed, by Mencius and others, to Confucius. See, eg, Mencius III B, 9(8), LCC vol 2, p281.

2. Duke Yin (恵公): the first of twelve dukes of Lu whose reigns are chronicled in the Spring and Autumn Annals. He was the son of Duke Hui (惠公) and ruled from 721 to 711BC.

3. Han Hsüan-tzu (韓宣子) or Han Ch'i (韓起) son of Han Chüeh (韓厥) and principal minister of Chin.

4. T'ai-shih (太史) characterised by Hucker (6212 p481) as 'grand scribe' in the Chou period.

5. The Duke of Chou (周公 - died 1105BC): the fourth son of King Wen (文王) and younger brother of King Wu (武王), the first ruler of the Chou dynasty, whom he aided as counsellor.
6. *Tso Chuan* X, 2, LCC vol 5, p582.

7. Po Ch'in (周公): the son of the Duke of Chou (周公) by whom he was enfeoffed with the state of Lu. See *Shih Chi* vol 5, ch 33, p1518.

8. The *Chou Li* is one of the three ritual texts in the Thirteen Classics and attributed by some to the Duke of Chou.

9. Duke Hui (惠公): the 13th Marquis of Lu in succession from the Duke of Chou who enfeoffed the first Marquis, Po Ch'in (see note 7 above). He was the father and predecessor of Duke Yin (see note 1 above) the chronicles of whose reign begin the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. See also Legge *Spring and Autumn Annals*, prolegomena p102 for the list of marquises.


1/4/2

1. *Lun Yu* XV, 25, LCC vol 1, p301. The term shih (史) which Legge translates as historiographer is rendered by Hucker (5199, p421) as scribe and is said to refer to a "...lowly or unranked post identifiable only by a prefixed agency name ..." Legge, in his note on p302, amplifies the point of the statement quoted thus; "...a historiographer, on any point about which he was not sure, would leave a blank, so careful were they to tell the truth."

2. *Spring and Autumn Annals* II, 17, LCC vol 5, p67. See also the note on p67, para 8 where Legge points out that this eclipse took place on Oct. 3rd, 694BC, on the 7th day of the cycle and, further, that "the day of the cycle is not given in the text, because, according to Tso-she, the officers had lost it."


5. *Tso Chuan* for the same year (Legge p164). In his note on p167 (para 5) Legge remarks that "...there was no eclipse in all this year visible in Lu. There was, indeed, an eclipse of the sun on Jan. 28th, 644BC; but it could not have been seen there."


7. The *Tso Chuan*, one of the three important early commentaries on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, dates from the Warring States period. Its origin, compilation and the identity of its author remain uncertain. Legge (see *Spring and Autumn Annals*, prolegomena, ch 1, sections 4 & 5) has addressed these questions in detail. See also ICCL p805ff.

8. In an original note it is remarked, with reference to a passage in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* for the 13th year of Duke Ch'eng (VIII, 13, LCC vol 5, p379) concerning the attack on Chin that "the writer of the classic relied on the records of the court historiographer" (see note 1 above). If there was a matter with which the historiographer did not deal it was omitted in the classic. Writers of commentaries made use of the "Chien-to so where a matter was first recorded here it was preserved in the commentary." Thus Tu Yu, a scholar of the Chin period, wrote in the preface to his analysis of the *Spring and Autumn Annals and Tso Chuan* "大事書之於策，小事簡讀而已."

9. There are five references to the burial of Duke Hui (惠公) in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* as follows: I,1(4), LCC vol 5, p1; VII, 10(10), LCC vol 5, p306; XI, 4(6), LCC vol 5, p749; XII, 4(3), LCC vol 5, p803; XII, 10(10), LCC vol 5, p820.
10. *Spring and Autumn Annals* III, 26(3), LCC vol 5, p110. In his note on p110, Legge writes as follows: "Tso she says nothing on this para. We do not know who the officer put to death was nor what was the offence charged against him; and the paragraph should be left in this obscurity."

11. *ibid* VIII, 15(9), LCC vol 5, p836: 宋殺其大夫山 In the note reference is made to the passage: 齊崔氏出奔衛 (VII, 10(5), LCC vol 5, p305). In the first example the clan name is omitted and the style used whereas, in the second, the opposite is the case.

12. *ibid* VI, 8(8), LCC vol 5, p250.

13. *ibid* IX, 7(10), LCC vol 5, p429. In the *Spring and Autumn Annals* it would appear that K'un Wan died a natural death whereas in the *Tso Chuan* it is said that he was murdered. Different views exist on this point but Legge, in his note on p432, concludes that he was murdered.


15. *ibid* XII, 10(3), LCC vol 5, p819. As in the previous two examples the issue is whether Yang Sheng died from natural causes or was murdered. Ku obviously concludes that they were murdered.

16. The final words of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* are: "In the spring of the 14th year some hunters in the west captured a lin." (XII, 14(1), LCC vol 5, p833). Tso Shih continued on from there to year 28 of Duke Ai as well as the 4th year of Duke Tao. See also Legge's note on p834.

17. For the origin of this phrase, here used in its derived meaning, see *Han Fei Tzu* (Wai-ch'u shuo), SPTK vol 18, HFT p56.


19. See Legge's note on p151 of the *Lun Yu*. Tzu Chang, one of the Confucian disciples, was studying "... with a view to official emolument."

20. *Tso Chuan* IX, 24, LCC vol 5, p505.

21. Chou-cheng (周正): this was the calendar of the Chou dynasty. See Legge's note (I,1,p4) in which he writes; "... in the denomination of the 1st month as the 'right' or 'correct' month we must acknowledge a recognition of what are called the three cheng (正); the three different months with which the dynasties of the Hsia, Shang, and Chou commenced the year. Hsia began the year with the first month of spring; Shang one month and Chou two months earlier.

22. Duke Hui (惠公) was the father and predecessor of Duke Yin (隱公). See the *Spring and Autumn Annals* I, 1(4), LCC vol 5, p1 and also Legge's note on p3. See also 1/4/1, note 9.

23. Hsia-cheng (夏正): this was the calendar of the Hsia dynasty. (see note 21 above).


25. *ibid* I, 3(2), LCC vol 5, p10: "In the third month, on the day keng-hsü, the king by heaven's grace died. In the *Tso Chuan* however it is stated that the King P'ing actually died on the day jen-hsü i.e. 12 days earlier but that the official communication gave the wrong date, which was therefore recorded."

26. *ibid* II, 5(1), LCC vol 5, p45 & *Tso Chuan* for the same date.

1/4/18

1. *Spring and Autumn Annals* III, 10, LCC vol 5, p85 (see also Legge's note to 5 on p86).
2. ibid III, 23, LCC vol 5, p104.
3. ibid III, 28, LCC vol 5, p113.
4. ibid V, 1, 4 & 21, LCC vol 5, pp132,138 & 179 respectively.
5. ibid V, 21, LCC vol 5, p179.

6. These three references to Tzu Yü (徳) are to be found as follows: (i) *Spring and Autumn Annals* and *Tso Chuan* V, 27, pp199&200; (ii) *Spring and Autumn Annals* V, 28(3), p202 and (iii) *Spring and Autumn Annals* V, 28(5), p202.

8. ibid IX, 5, LCC vol 5, p425.
9. ibid IX, 10(1), LCC vol 5, p442 and IX, 14(1) p459.
10. ibid IX, 25(10), LCC vol 5, p509.
11. ibid IX, 29(8), LCC vol 5, p544.
12. These references to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* are as follows (in sequence): Book X, 13(12) p642, 17(6), p665, 23(7) p695, 24(6) p700, 30(4) p732, 32(2) p738; Book XI 4(15) p749, 14(5) p785; Book XII, 6(3) p807, 6(5) p807, 7(3) p811, 8(3) p815, 10(2) p819, 10(11) p820, 11(4) p821, 12(3) p827.
13. *Spring and Autumn Annals* XII 13(3) LCC vol 5, p830.
14. Liu Yüan (度 - died AD310) and Shih Le (勒 - AD273-332): Two men of Turkic descent who achieved military success during the Chin period both assuming the title of king during the course of their careers.

1/4/52

1. Ch'eng-chou (成周) was established as the Chou capital at the time of King Ch'en (成 - 1115-1079BC). It was subsequently moved, in the time of King Ch'ing (敬 - 519-476BC), and in the Warring States period the name was changed to Loyang corresponding to the north-east of Loyang district in present-day Honan province. See the Preface to the History, 45-47: "King Ch'ing being in Fung, and wishing to fix his residence at Lo sent the Duke of Shaou in the first place to survey the localities. Then was made the Announcement of Shaou. The Duke of Shaou 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 moved to it. The Duke of Chow announced to them the royal will and the Numerous Officers was made." LCC vol 3, preface, p10.

2. Wei Shu (魏舒): an officer of Chin at the time of King Ch'ing (頒王 - 618-613BC). See also *Tso Chuan* IX, 22&25, LCC vol 5, pp493 & 510.

3. Han Pu-hsin (韓信) or Han Chi (韓起): a native of Chin in the Spring and Autumn period.
4. Ti-ch’tian ( retired) a spring situated in the capital Loyang district of present-day Honan province (see note 1 above).

5. Piao Hsi ( retired) a great officer of Wei during the time of King Ling.


7. Tso Chuan X, 32, LCC vol 5, p738.

8. ibid XI, 1, LCC vol 5, p742. (See also Legge’s note p744).

9. Shih Mi-mou (士彌牟): an officer of Chin in the Spring and Autumn period and son of Wen-po Shih-kai (文伯士苟).

10. Tso Chuan X, 32, LCC vol 5, p738 and note p741.

11. Tso Chuan XI, 1, LCC vol 5, p742.

1/4/56

1. Pi Tsao (裨 , ): an official of Cheng ( 鄭 ), was practised in the art of astronomy and divination. See Tso Chuan IX, 30 and Legge’s note pp557-8. See also Shih Chi vol 4, ch 27, p1343.

2. Tzu Shen ( 柴慎): a numerologist from the state of Lu in the Spring and Autumn period. See eg, Tso Chuan X, 7, 10, 15 et seq. LCC vol 5, p611ff.


4. Tso Chuan X, 18, LCC vol 5, p669. See also Pi Tsao’s words with Tzu Chan in the Tso Chuan for the previous year.

5. In response to Pi Tsao’s warning Tzu Chan’s reply was as follows: “The way of heaven is distant while the way of man is near. We cannot reach to the former; what means have we of knowing it? How should Tsaou (ie Pi Tsao) know the way of heaven? He is a great talker and need not wonder if his words sometimes come true.” (Trans. after Legge).

6. Spring and Autumn Annals X, 24(3), LCC vol 5, p700. According to Legge’s note this was at sunrise on April 1st, 517BC.

7. Tso Chuan X, 24, LCC vol 5, p701.


9. There is an original note here referring to the Tso Chuan X, 7, LCC vol 5, p612 which is an instance of Tzu Shen’s advice being ignored.

10. See the Wen Hsiuan (Chao-ming wen hsiuan vol 1, ch 2, p62).

1/4/58

1. Two forms of prognostication in ancient times. See Fung Yu-lan’s History of Chinese Philosophy vol 1, pp26-30 for consideration of these methods. For a comprehensive resume of the Five
Elements concept see vol 1 of Ronan's *Abridgement of Needham's Science and Civilisation in China*, pp142-159.

2. These are the five planets. See Knechtges' translation of the *Wen Hsüan* vol 1, p184 and note to lines 72-74.

3. Sui-hsing (歲星); Jupiter (see note 2 above).

4. There is an original note to the effect that Shao Tzu (Shao Yung - 邵雍), a Sung scholar and student of the Changes, considered the theory of the five stars to originate with two of the major figures of early Chinese astronomy, from the fourth and third centuries BC: Kan Te (甘德) and Shih Shen (石申). For a detailed consideration of the work of these two men see Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China* vol 3, p196ff. See also Shih Chi vol 4, ch 27, p1289ff.

5. See Yang Hsiung's (楊雄) Fa-yen (法言) ch 8, SPTK vol 18, p20.

1/4/59

1. This refers to the three worthies of Chin who were buried alive with Duke Mu (穆公). See *Odes* 131 (LCC vol 4, p198) and also *Tso Chuan* VI, 7, LCC vol 5, p242. Legge's notes on p198ff of *The Book of Poetry* and p244 of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* give details of the story. Tso's prophecy re Chin was not fulfilled.

2. *Shih Chi* vol 1, ch 5, p203. The full text reads: "In the 19th year the Son of Heaven had conferred on him the title of hegemon. In the 20th year the nobles (came to) pay their respects." See also Chavannes E., *Les Memoires Historiques de Se-Ma Ts'ien*, Paris, 1967, vol 2, p67. The years in question were 343 and 342BC.

3. Chi Cha (季札): a statesman of the sixth century BC who, in 543BC, was sent by the Viscount of Wu on a friendly mission to Lu. See *Spring and Autumn Annals* IX, 29(8), LCC vol 5, p544.

4. This incident is recorded in both the *Tso Chuan* (IX, 29, LCC vol 5, p545) and the *Shih Chi* (vol 5, ch 31, p1452). Predictions and statements were made about the various kingdoms on the basis of their odes. That regarding Ch'i is, in full: "They sang to him the Odes of Ch'i. He said, Admirable! How loudly sound these Odes of a great state! it was T'ai Kung who made such an object of distinction by the east sea. The destinies of this state are not to be measured!" (trans. after Legge, *Tso Chuan*, loc cit.).

5. Ch'en Heng (陳恒) a minister of Ch'i who slew his ruler, Duke Chien (簡公) in 481BC. See *Lun Yu* XIV, 26, LCC vol 1, p284 and the supplement to the *Tso Chuan* XII, 14, LCC vol 5, p836.

6. See note 4 above. The full statement, again following Legge, is: "They sang to him the Odes of Cheng. He said, Admirable! But the minutiae in them are excessive and the people could not endure them. It is this which will make Cheng the first to perish." See also Shih Chi, loc cit, notes 13&16 for Fu Ch'ien's comments.

7. These are the families of Han (韓), Wei (魏) and Chao (趙) who divided Chin during the early part of the Warring States period, in the 26th year of King An of Chou (周安王) i.e. 376BC.


9. Chi (姬) was the surname of the royal house of Chou.
10. Ts'ai (ǐ) is referred to in the Spring and Autumn Annals for the 4th year of Duke Yin (LCC vol 5, p16). Legge, in his note for this year on p16, writes: "Ch'in and Ts'ai were the most southern of the states of China proper in this period and exposed consequently to danger from the barbarous Ch'u by which they were ultimately absorbed." Ts'ai was situated in what is now Honan.

11. Ts'ao (шу) is referred to in the Spring and Autumn Annals for the 5th year of Duke Huan (LCC vol 5, p46). Legge, in his note for this year, wrote: "Ts'ao was an earldom held by the descendants of one of the sons of King Wen." Ts'ao was situated in what is now Ting-t'ao district of Hsipei province. Destruction came from the Sung king in the 8th year of Duke Ai (488BC).

12. T'eng (ㄆ) is first referred to in the Spring and Autumn Annals for the 7th year of Duke Yin (I, 7, LCC vol 5, p22). It was a small state held by the descendants of Shu Hsin (ㄆ) one of King Wu's brothers, and situated in what is now Shantung province.

13. Tso Chuan X, 4, LCC vol 5, p594 and note on p598.

14. Wei, a kingdom founded in Chou times and situated in what is now Honan province.


17. 209BC.

1/4/64

1. For this phrase see the Kung-yang chuan for the 2nd year of Duke Huan (SSCCS vol 7, p48 and vide infra).

2. The chronology of the rulers covered by the Spring and Autumn Annals is listed by Legge on pp102-103 of his prolegomena to this work (LCC vol 5).

3. These were bamboo tablets on which were kept historical records. See eg Shih Chi vol 6, ch 60, p2114.

4. Spring and Autumn Annals I, 1(7), LCC vol 5, p1 and Legge's note on p7. The issue here is whether recording of the day of death was omitted in implied criticism of I-shih (as claimed by the Kung-yang commentary), or simply that it was not known and because of the remoteness of the event could not be established at the time of writing.

5. For this discussion see Kung-yang chuan for the 2nd year of Duke Huan (SSCCS vol 7, p48) which includes Ho Hsiu's commentary.

6. ibid.

7. Han Shu vol 6, ch 30, p1715.

8. Li Chi (T'an-kung shang), SSCCS vol 5, p144.
1. *Spring and Autumn Annals* V 16(1), LCC vol 5, p170. Legge, in his note to the *Tso Chuan* (p171), observes that "Kung (Kung-yang), Kuh (Ku-liang) and the K'ang-he editors all write nonsensically on this point."

2. For the transmission related to these commentaries and the role of Tzu Hsia see Legge's prolegomena to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (LCC vol 5) p36ff.

3. See Ku-liang chuan, SSCCS vol 7, p84ff.

4. *Doctrine of the Mean* XX, 8, LCC vol 1, p406.

5. ibid XX, 12, p408.


1/5/1

1. Hun-jen (阍人): Door-keepers in Chou times. According to Hucker (2899, p264) "... four unranked personnel of the Ministry of State stationed at each door to the Royal Palace, each entrance to a royal park or garden, etc, ...". Ssu-jen (寺人): Chief stewards in Chou times. According to Hucker (5663, p449) "... five eunuch attendants in the Royal Palace specially responsible for overseeing and protecting the empress and other palace women." Both terms were subsequently applied in a general way to eunuchs. See also *Chou Li*, SSCCS vol 3, pp17-18 & 114-115.

2. Chung-tsai (諸事): "Minister of State in Chou times, i.e. Head of the Ministry of State (t'ien-kuan); the paramount organ of the central administration." (Hucker 1632, p194)

3. Chiu pin (九嫔): "Nine concubines, ... a generic term for palace women ranking below principal wives (fu-jen) and consorts (fei)." (Hucker 1314, p177 & *Chou Li*, SSCCS vol 3, p116.


5. Chu-ko Liang (諸葛亮 - AD181-234); a hero of the Three Kingdoms period who was adviser and chief minister to Liu Pei and subsequently to Liu Ch'an (vide infra).

6. Hou Chu (後主), the title of Liu Ch'an (劉禪), the second sovereign of the Minor Han dynasty and son of Liu Pei by his wife, the lady Kan. He assumed control in AD223 under the guidance of Chu-ko Liang. After the latter's death power fell into the hands of the palace eunuchs with the inevitable deterioration of the affairs of state. See *San Kuo Chih* vol 4, ch 39, pp984-986.
7. Yu Chih (攸之), a native of Nan-yang. See note in *San Kuo Chih* vol 4, ch 39, p986.

8. Fei Wei (費祎), a general of the Minor Han dynasty (AD221-265). For his biography see *San Kuo Chih* vol 4, ch 44, p1060.

9. Tung Yün (董允), an official (Huang-men shih-lang, Hucker 2847, p262) during the Minor Han dynasty who exercised a restraining influence on Huang Hao (vide infra). See *San Kuo Chih* vol 4, ch 39, p985.

10. Huang Hao (黃皓), the favourite eunuch of Hou Chu. See note 6 above.


12. Yang Fu (楊阜) was an official during the Wei dynasty. His biography is recorded in the *San Kuo Chih* vol 3, ch 25, pp700-708.

13. Shao-fu (少府): according to Hucker (5097, p414) an office in existence from the Ch'in to the N-S division and rendered as 'chamberlain for the palace revenues, an important post in the central government considered one of the prestigious nine chamberlains....'


15. For this memorial see *San Kuo Chih* vol 3, ch 25, p706.

16. For details of the eight officers under the Shao-fu (see note 13 above) see the following entries in Hucker in the order as listed: 1606, p193; 2841, p261; 3218, p281; 4992, p407; 8129, p589; 8097, p588; 4143, p343; 2822, p260. The additional officers are to be found as follows: 3739, p313; 4826, p394; 5413, p434; 1565, p190.

1/5/7

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1. This term yung (庸) is used to refer to a quack or incompetent physician.

2. For these concepts of medicine reference is made to the treatise *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* (本草綱目) by the renowned Ming pharmacologist and physician Li Shih-chen (李時珍).


4. Shun-yü I (淳于意), a native of Lin-tzu in Han times and a student of medicine. See *Shih Chi* vol 9, ch 105, p2817. Hsiao Wen is Han Wen Ti who ruled from 179-157BC.


6. This refers to Chang Yü (張禹 - died 5BC). See *Han Shu* vol 10, ch 81, pp3347-3352.

7. Li Lin-fu (李林甫): a major statesman of the T'ang period during the reign of Hsüan Tsung. For details of his political activities see *CHC* vol 3(i), pp409-447.

8. Hsü Yün-tsung (許胤宗) was a native of I-hsing (義興) in T'ang times and was skilled in medicine. The following quotation is a combination from both *Chiu and Hsin T'ang Shu*, predominantly the former. See *Chiu T'ang Shu* vol 16, ch 191, p5091 and *Hsin T'ang Shu*, vol 18, ch 204, p5800.
9. Hua T'o (~) was a famous physician and surgeon of the Later Han period who attended Ts'ao Ts'ao. See Hou Han Shu vol 10, ch 52, p2736.

10. See the Changes for the 7th diagram (shih), SSCCS vol 1 (Changes), pp35&36 and Wilhelm, op cit pp31-35 and pp420-425.

1/5/8


2. Yü Ti Shun (~): last emperor of the legendary 'Age of Five Rulers'. He has said to have ruled from 2255-2205BC.

3. Lung (~): appointed as minister of communication by Shun. To quote Legge (History, LCC vol 3, p49) "we are in ignorance of Lung just as we are of K'wei."


5. Ta ssu-t'u (~): according to Hucker (6052 p471) Grand Minister of Education. See also Chou Li, SSCCS ch 10, p149.

6. See note 1 above.

7. Chin-pao shih (~): according to Hucker (1137 p166) "... members of the ministry of justice charged with keeping people from harming one another."

8. Odes 183, LCC vol 4, p295:

"The talk of the people - is there no means of stopping it?"

Legge (in his note on p296) makes the following observation: "... 誹言 is the idle, baseless talk ... of the people, caused by the slanderous misrepresentations propagated by unworthy men in a higher position ..." and "( 訳停止 ) is equal to ( 止 ), i.e. to stop.

1/5/28

1. The 'San-shih' (~) may be used specifically to indicate service to the father, the master and the prince (see Li Chi, Tan-kung, SSCCS vol 5, pp109-110) but here is used generally to mean 'in three respects' or 'matters'.

2. Li Chi, San-nien wan, SSCCS vol 5, p961.

3. Li Chi, Tan-kung SSCCS vol 5, p151 and Legge The Book of Rites vol 1, p160.

4. Wang Su (~: AD464-501) was a celebrated scholar of the Wei dynasty who wrote commentaries on many of the Classics.

5. Li Chi, Tan-kung, SSCCS vol 5, p116 and Legge, op cit vol 1, p127.

7. Ch'un-ch'iu Kung-yang chuan, SPTK vol 2, p33. See also Legge's note in the Spring and Autumn Annals for the 2nd year of Duke Min, p128: "When the period of mourning for the king, or the prince of a state was completed, a period of normally three years, but actually only of twenty-five months, then his spirit tablet was placed in the ancestral temple."

8. In K'ung An-kuo's (孔安國) commentary; see SSCCS vol 1, p117. T'ai Chia (太甲) was a grandson of T'ang and was his successor. See also Legge's note in the History IV, V(ii), 1, LCC vol 3, p205.

9. Cheng Hsüan (程 fuer - AD127-200) a notable scholar of the Later Han period and one of the most important of all the commentators on the Confucian Classics.

10. See notes following reference in note 8 above (i.e. SSCCS vol 1, p117) for this difference of view.

11. Li Chi, San-nien wen, SSCCS vol 5, p962.

12. I Li, Sang-fu, SSCCS vol 4, p352.

13. ibid p354: ( 至尊 ) refers to the father and ( 私尊 ) refers to the mother.


15. Li Chi, Sang ta-chi, SSCCS vol 5, p772. This is an abbreviated quotation. For a full translation see Legge, op cit vol 2, p184.


18. There is the following original note with some comments theron appended here. The Fu-wen states: "After the sacrifice at the end of the first year, during the three year's rites and after the interment has taken place, during those of one year (occurring at the same time) the mourner puts on the old sash of dolychos cloth and the headband of one year's mourning wearing (at the same time) the sackcloth of the mourning for nine months." (Li Chi, Fu-wen SSCCS vol 5, p951 trans. after Legge, The Book of Rites vol 2, p381). The Ming commentator, Hsiü Shih-ts'eng, in his collective notes stated: "The three years' mourning is that of the father, the one year's mourning that of the mother." Chia Kung-yen, a T'ang commentator on the Rites said: "If the mother dies within three years of the father's death, still the one year's mourning dress (is used). Certainly if the mourning dress for the father has just been discarded and the mother's death is met with, then the mourning for her extends for three years."

19. I Li, Sang-fu, SSCCS vol 4, p358.

20. Wu Hou (武后): the Empress Wu (AD625-705), the child of humble parents who became a concubine of the second T'ang emperor, Li Shih-min (李世民). After a series of intrigues she gained control of the empire in AD684, which she retained until illness compelled her abdication in AD705. Here and subsequently there are original notes giving further details of the historical development of mourning practices.

21. I Li, Sang-fu, SSCCS vol 4, p355 & p365. For the term tsung-fu see the Li Chi, Ta ch'uan sect 16, SPTK vol 1, p104. Legge (op cit vol 2, p64) translates this term "affinity and external relationships."

22. Legge (op cit vol 1) in his note 4 on p129 says: "This must have been Nan Yung of the Analects." (Lun Yu V, 1(2) and note 1, LCC vol 1, p173.)
23. Li Chi, T’an-kung (shang), SSCCS vol 5, pp118-119.

24. Li Chi, Sang-fu hsiao-chi, SSCCS vol 5, p591. Legge (op cit vol 2) in his note on p42 states: “The others, according to Kang, must be understood of her own parents. She was now identified with a family of another surname; and her husband’s relatives were more to her than her own.”

25. Tsai Yü, one of Confucius’ less worthy disciples about whom the Master remarked: “Rotten wood may not be carved nor dung made into a wall.” See Lun Yü V, 9(1), LCC vol 1, p176, for the dialogue between Tsai Yü and Confucius on the former’s contention that one year’s mourning was sufficient, see Lun Yü XVII, 21, LCC vol 1, p327ff.


28. Li Chi, T’an-kung (shang), SSCCS vol 5, p119.

29. Li Chi, Sang ta-chi, SSCCS vol 5, p782.

30. Li Chi, T’an-kung (shang), SSCCS vol 5, p116. This is an abbreviated quotation. The full section following Legge’s translation is as follows: “There was a man of Lu who, after performing in the morning the ceremony which introduced the twenty-fifth month of his mourning, began to sing in the evening. Tzu Lu laughed at him, but the Master said: Yü, will you never have done with your finding fault with people? The mourning for three years is indeed long. When Tzu Lu went out the Master said, Would he still have had to wait long? In another month (he might have sung) and it would have been well.”

31. ibid p119.

32. Li Chi, San-nien wen, SSCCS vol 5, p961.

33. Li Chi, T’an-kung (shang), SSCCS vol 5, p154.

34. There is an error in attribution of the quotation. In fact it is from the Li Chi, Chien-chuan, SSCCS vol 5, p955.

35. In the original note the source of this divergence of view is seen to be in the interpretation of ‘chung-yüeh’. See Legge’s note on this (op cit vol 1, p130).

36. An appendix to the Classic of Filial Piety which is now lost.

37. From the Later Han period the son of Fei Fan (_BITMAP_ ) and an official in T’ang-i (vide infra).

38. An ancient district established in the Spring and Autumn period in the state of Ch’u and done away with in the Ch’in period. It corresponded to part of present day Kiangsu province.

39. Lun Yü VIII, 21, LCC vol 1, p215: “The Master said; I can find no flaw in the character of Yu. He used himself coarse food and drink, but displayed the utmost filial piety towards the spirits.” (trans. after Legge p215).

40. It is not clear who Fan Min (_BITMAP_ ) was. Pa-chün refers to a place in the ancient kingdom of Pa and established as Pa-chün in the Ch’in dynasty. It was situated in what is now Szechwan province (see, for example, Hou Han Shu vol 12, p3507).
41. References is made to the Tso Chuan for the 15th year of Chao (Tso Chuan X, 15) and Shu Hsiang's reply to Chieh Tan in which he says, inter alia; "When a death that should be mourned for three years has occurred, even the noblest should, according to rule, complete the mourning for it.

42. Po-yü ( 子貢, the eldest son of Confucius. See, for example, Lun Yu XVI, 13, LCC vol 1, p315.

43. Li ( 子路) was Po-yü's ming, given because at his birth the Duke of Lu sent a gift of carp (li). See also Lun Yu XI, 7(2), LCC vol 1, p239.

44. Li Chi, T'an-kung (尚), SSCCS vol 5, p125.

45. According to the note in the Li Chi (above) this was taken to indicate that Po-yü's mother was divorced from Confucius. Legge, in his note to this statement (op cit vol 1, pl31) concludes, as does Ku Yen-Wu, that "the passage does not prove that Confucius had divorced his wife, but the contrary."

46. Li Chi, Sang-fu hsiao-chi, SSCCS vol 5, p605.

47. Lu Yu ( 隱) - AD1125-1210) was a scholar and prolific author during the Sung dynasty. During the later part of his life he lived in seclusion in Shan-yin in what is now Chekiang province. It is not clear where this quote comes from. His collected writings were published in the Wei-nan wen-chi ( 魏南文集 ). See SB pp418-9 and 308 and SPTK vol 59.

48. See note 20 above.

49. Wei Hou ( 萬后) - died AD711) was the consort of the Emperor Chung Tsung whom she poisoned in AD710 attempting to gain control of the empire. Her bid was essentially unsuccessful.

50. The bonds between prince and minister, father and son, and husband and wife.

51. The five degrees of mourning: for husbands and parents twenty-seven months; for grandparents, etc. one year; for brothers and sisters etc, nine months; for uncles and aunts etc, five months; for distant relatives three months. For a detailed discussion of the terms used and the relative times associated with each see the Appendix to Book 2 in Legge's Book of Rites, vol 1, p202ff.

52. There follows a note recording some comments by the T'ang scholar, Lu Lü-ping on the question of mourning. See also the Hsin T'ang Shu vol 18, ch 200, pp5698-5699.

53. Designation of Pu Shang ( 卜商) one of the leading disciples of Confucius.

54. The original note indicates that this was established by the Empress Wu.

55. Presumably the Sang-fu chapter of the I Li, SSCCS vol 4, pp337-396.

56. Wei Tao ( 韋叡) a T'ang student of the Rites. See Hsin T'ang Shu vol 14, ch 122, p4357 for these observations.

57. AD827-835 and AD836-840 respectively.

58. For the use of this phrase see also Kuo Yu, Chou Yu (仲). "This is to defraud the officials of former kings."

59. The Empress Wu. (See note 20 above).

60. A form of enfeoffment for wives. See, for example, Po Chü-i chi vol 2, p411.
61. An-lo Kung-chu (安樂公主 - died AD710) was the favoured daughter of Chung Tsung who, in the shadow of her mother, the Empress Wei, held considerable power. It is said without much solid evidence, that she was instrumental in the death of her father. (See note 62 below).

62. In AD710 Emperor Chung Tsung died, allegedly as the result of poison administered in his favourite cakes through the agency of his wife (Wei) and daughter (see note 61 above). See CHC vol 3(i) p326 and C.P. Fitzgerald, The Empress Wu, Taiwan 1985, p204.

63. Ma Hou (馬后 - AD1332-1382): She was the wife of the first Ming emperor and regarded as a model of virtue.

64. Li Chi, Sang-fu hsiao-chi, SSCCS vol 5, p590.

65. See Cheng Hsüan's note immediately following reference 64 above.

66. Wu Ch'eng (吳澄 - AD1247-1331): a scholar and official during the Yuan period and author of a number of works on the Classics. His writings are collected in the Kuo-ch'ao wen-lei (see note 67 below).

67. See Kuo-ch'ao wen-lei (國朝文類 - note 66 above). SPTK vol 97, part 4, pp355-356. The remainder of Ku Yen-wu's essay is an extended quote from this writing of Wu Ch'eng.

68. Terms indicating mourning periods or degrees of mourning represented by forms and materials of clothing. See note 51 above.

69. The phrase ching wen (情文) is a little difficult to translate here. In the Hsün Tzu (op cit p313) it is used and is translated by Dubs (Dubs HH The Works of Hsün-tze p223, as "... men's emotions and sense of beauty." It may mean here the outward form or display of feelings.

70. Li Chi, Sang-fu hsiao-chi, SSCCS vol 5, p608.

71. There is an original note (not in the SPTK version of the original essay) to the effect that the mourning for "those who have eaten together at the same fireplace" should be ssu i.e. with coarse cotton cloth for three months. See Li Chi, Tan-kung (shang), SSCCS vol 5, p143. Legge translates this section as follows: "There are the husband of the maternal cousin and the wife of the maternal uncle; that these two should wear mourning for each other has not been said by any superior man. Someone says that if they have eaten together from the same fireplace, then three months mourning should be worn." (Legge, The Book of Rites vol 1, p146 and note 3 on the same page).

72. The essay by Wu Ch'eng, quoted at length here by Ku Yen-wu, has some final sentences not included in this quotation.

1/6/5

1. Chapters 2 and 5 respectively of the Li Chi.

2. Hsia-hou Sheng (夏侯勝) was from Lu, in Han times. Biographical details are given in the Han Shu vol 10, ch 75, p3155ff and vol 11, ch 88, p3604. The observation here referred to may be found on p3155 of the former.

3. This is recorded in Hsiao Wang-chih's (蕭望之) biography in the Han Shu (vol 10, ch 78, p3271). According to Yen Shih-ku's note Li fu is, in fact, the Sang-fu chapter of the Li Chi.

4. The list of commentators on the Sang-fu is given in the Chiu Tang Shu vol 6, ch 46, pp1972-3.
5. See both the *Sung Shu* (vol 8, ch 93, pp2292-4) and the *Nan Shih* (vol 6, ch 75, pp1867-8) for biographical details of Lei Tzu-tung (雷次宗), a scholar noted for his love of learning, particularly in relation to the *San-li* and *The Odes*. The statement here given is an almost direct quote from the *Sung Shu*.

6. Ho T'ung-chih (何終之), like Lei Tzu-tung above, was a scholar devoted particularly to the study of the *San Li*. Brief biographical information, including the circumstance here referred to may be found in both the *Nan Shih* (vol 6, ch 71, pp1734-5) and the *Liang Shu* (vol 3, ch 48, pp663-4).

7. Ch'en Hou-chu (陳後主) was the 5th and last emperor of the Ch'en dynasty (see *Ch'en Shu* vol 1, ch 6, p103ff) and the *Nan Shih* (vol 6, ch 75, pp1867-8). Wang Yuan-kuei (王元規) was a scholar of that period devoted to the classics. Biographical details may be found in both the *Ch'en Shu* vol 2, ch 33, pp448-50 and the *Nan Shih* vol 6, ch 71, pp1755-6. The sentence here quoted appears in both sources.

8. Hsiao Wen Ti (孝文帝) was the 5th ruler of the Northern Wei and held power from AD471-499. His chronicle may be found in the *Wei Shu* vol 1, ch 7, p135ff and the incident here referred to on p182.

9. The death of the King of Shih-shing, Tan (始興王懌) and the response of Chao-ming T'ai-tzu (昭明太子) as well as reference to the Ming Shan-pin (明山賓) and Chu I (朱異) are to be found in Chao-ming T'ai-tzu's biography in the *Liang Shu* vol 1, ch 8, p166-7. The text is not as found in Ku's essay however. Apart from Chao-ming T'ai-tzu, whose biography starts on p165 of vol 1 of the *Liang Shu*, details of the various people may be found as follows: Shihhsing Wang Tan, *Liang Shu* vol 2, ch 22, pp355-6; Ming Shan-pin, *Liang Shu* vol 2, ch 27, pp405-7; and Chu I, *San-kuo Chih*, ch 56.

10. Li I-fu (李義府 - died AD666) was a T'ang official who reached the rank of censor under the 2nd emperor. As the note indicated his comments referred to here may be found in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* vol 8, ch 82, p2768. The phrase here translated as 'national sympathy' may be found in the *Tso Chuan* IX, 4, LCC vol 5, p422.

11. The matter relating to the funeral of Sung Hsiao Tsung (宋孝宗) may be found in the *Sung Shih* vol 3, ch 37, p714. Hu Hung (胡統) was a Sung scholar for whom biographical details including his observations on the mourning for Hsiao Tsung are given also in the *Sung Shih* (vol 34, ch 394, pp12023-4). For the quotation see *Sung Shih* vol 9, ch 122, p2862.


13. Cheng Hsüan (鄭玄 - AD127-200) was, of course, the famed Han commentator on the classics. His notes to both the *Li Chi* and *I Li* are given in the SSCCS edition.

14. Tseng Ts'an (曾參 - 505-437BC) and Yen Yen (言偃 - born ca 510BC) were two of the most renowned of the Confucian disciples. For brief details see Legge, LCC vol 1, prolegomena pp117&116 respectively.

15. The *Ta-hsüeh* (大學) is the 42nd chapter of the *Li Chi*. Tseng Shih is Tseng Ts'an (see note 14 above).

1/6/14

1. *Wen Wang shih-tzu* is chapter 6 of the *Li Chi*. King Wen was the title of canonisation of Chi Chang, the Duke of Chou and father of King Wu, first sovereign of the Chou dynasty.
2. Wang Chi, or Chi Li, (1284-1185 BC), was the youngest son of King T'ai of Chou and father of King Wen.


5. Kuan Ning (軒閭): a scholar and teacher of the Later Han and early Three Kingdoms periods, who led a life of abstinence devoted to scholarship. See *San Kuo Chi* vol 2, ch 11, p354.

1/6/35

1. The term hsien ku (先吉) is taken as equivalent to hsien tsu (先祖). See references below and also the *Shih Chi* vol 1, ch 7, p298 (trans. Watson, vol 1, p40: "I have never heard of any of your ancestors who were noblemen").

2. Chi-i (the meaning of sacrifices) is the twenty-first chapter of the *Li Chi*.


4. Here the term hsien ku (先吉) is equated with hsien tsu (先祖) as in note 1 above. The term may also indicate remote antiquity or the way of sages and worthies.


6. ibid 196, LCC vol 4, p333.

7. ibid 252 (verse 2), LCC vol 4, p492.

8. ibid 237, LCC vol 4, p437. In his note Legge equates ku kung (公) and hsein kung (先公) as indicating 'the ancient dukes'.

1/6/38

1. *The Great Learning* (text 2 & 4) LCC vol 1, p356-358. See also Legge's note to para 2 on p356 and *Lao Tzu* 44.

2. *Great Learning* (commentary), III(2) LCC vol 1, p362 and *Odes* 235, LCC vol 4, p427: "(How) profound was King Wen. In continuity and brightness did his reverence rest." (trans. after Legge p429)

3. *Doctrine of the Mean* XXVII, 3, LCC vol 1, p422.


6. *History* V, IV, 1, LCC vol 3, p320. This was with regard to how the government of the empire should be conducted. He was informed of the 'Great Plan' with nine divisions which Yu obtained from heaven. (See Legge, *Book of History* note to chapter 1, LCC vol 3, p321-322.)
7. Chi Tzu (累子): one of the nobles under Chou Hsin, last emperor of the Yin dynasty and putative author of the Great Plan (History V, IV, LCC vol 3, p320ff). See Legge’s note on p320 and also Shih Chi vol 1, ch 3, p91ff.

8. Tseng Tzu (曾子) is Tseng Ts’an (曾參) and Tzu Yu (子游) is Yen Yen (言偃). Both were among Confucius’ leading disciples. For their dialogues with the Master see eg Lun Yu I, 4, (LCC vol 1, p139) and II, 7, (LCC vol 1, p148).


10. Changes (heng) SSCCS vol 1, p89.

11. Li Chi, Ai Kung wen, SSCCS vol 5, p851.

12. Lun Yu XVII, 9(7), LCC vol 1, p323.


14. For this phrase see Lun Yu, XII, 13, LCC vol 1, p257 and Great Learning (commentary) IV, LCC vol 1, p364.

1/6/39

1. Great Learning (commentary) I, 2, LCC vol 1, p361 and History, IV, V(i), 1, LCC vol 3, p199. This refers to Emperor T’ang’s religious observances at T’ai-chia. According to Legge (History, LCC vol 3, p199) Sung commentators took ming ming (明命) to indicate man’s nature seen as a gift from heaven. The implication is that T’ang assiduously cultivated his virtue.

2. Odes 270, LCC vol 4, p570.

3. ibid 235, verse 6, LCC vol 4, p427.

4. History V, XII, 19, LCC vol 3, p430. Education in the early years may be seen as establishing the basis of wisdom, although such wisdom may also be seen as ordained by heaven’s decree.

5. History V, XXVII, 11, LCC vol 3, p597. This passage refers to officials judging criminal cases in the reign of Shun. There is some doubt about the precise meaning (See History, Legge, pp597-598, note to para 11).

6. Duke K‘ang of Liu (劉康公), also called Wang Chi-tzu (王子) was the younger brother of the mother of Ting Wang. See Tso Chuan VII, 10, LCC vol 5, p306.

7. Tso Chuan for the 13th year of Duke Ch’eng (VIII, 13, LCC vol 5, p379).

8. Odes 80 (verse 2) LCC vol 4, p133.

9. ibid 80 (verse 1) LCC vol 4, p132. (In this context shih means to rest, or be content in).

10. ibid 51 (verse 4) LCC vol 4, p84.

11. History IV, VII(ii), 9, LCC vol 3, p237-8. This refers to Pan Kang’s moving of his people to Yin.

12. Changes (kou), SSCCS vol 1, p105. There is considerable discrepancy in the translation of these lines between Wilhelm op cit p612 and Legge op cit p322.
1. Doctrine of the Mean, II, 2, LCC vol 1, p386. Legge translates this as: "... a superior man ... always maintains the Mean" and also quotes Chu Hsi as follows, in support: "Because he has the virtue of a superior man and moreover is able always to manage the Mean." See also Mencius VB, 1(4), LCC vol 2, p372 for a similar use of shih ($
abla$). Here Legge creates the neologism timeous. The idea seems to be that the superior man acts at any time exactly as the circumstances (heaven) demand.


3. Changes (sun), SSCCS vol 1, p95.

1/6/45

1. This is the gate to the inner compartments. See for example Tso Chuan X, 1, LCC vol 5, p572.

2. Doctrine of the Mean XV, LCC vol 1, p396: "The way of the superior man may be compared to travelling to a distant place when a start must be made from a near place, or ascending to a height when a start must be made from a low place. In the Odes it is said a happy union with one's wife is like the music of lutes and harps. Where there is accord among brothers, this is delightful and enduring. One may regulate one's family and take pleasure in one's wife and children. There is obedience to one's parents." (See Odes 164, LCC vol 4, verses 7 & 8, p252). Note also that the section above, from the Doctrine of the Mean, is followed immediately by an observation on spiritual beings.

3. See also Doctrine of the Mean XIX, 6, LCC vol 1, p404.

4. For this phrase see Doctrine of the Mean XIII, 4, LCC vol 1, p394.

5. Mencius IVA, 2(i), LCC vol 2, p292.

6. Doctrine of the Mean XII, 4, LCC vol 1, p393. Legge translates as follows: "The way of the superior man may be found in its simple elements in the intercourse of common men and women; but in its utmost reaches it shines brightly through heaven and earth."

7. For the phrase (植木) see Odes 96, LCC vol 4, p150 and for (所) see the Wen Hsüan preface. See also the Li Chi, Wen-wang shih-tsu, SSCCS vol 5, ch 8, p391. Trans after Legge, The Book of Rites vol 1, p121.


9. ibid Chi-i, SSCCS vol 5, p807.

10. This is a paraphrase from the Odes 209 (verse 3), LCC vol 4, p371.

11. This apparent quote could not be located. There follows an original note with reference to the Lun Yu VIII, 21, LCC vol 1, p215: "(He used) coarse food and simple drink yet extended his filial piety towards spiritual beings."

12. Doctrine of the Mean XVI, 3, LCC vol 1, p397-8.

14. *Li Chi, Chi-i*, SSCCS vol 5, pp808-9. Trans (in part) after Legge, op cit vol 2, pp212-3. For the phrase 'days to be avoided' Legge has 'on the recurrence of their death day' (see also *Li Chi, T'ankung (shang)* SSCCS vol 5 - these are days of mourning for parents on which all pleasurable activities must be eschewed). The quote from the *Odes* is from *Odes* 196, LCC vol 4, p333.


17. ibid XX, 6, LCC vol 1, p406.

18. These comments by Ch'eng Tzu and Chang Tsai are to be found in reference to the *Doctrine of the Mean* XVI, 1 (LCC vol 1, p397): "The Master said, How abundantly do spiritual beings display the powers that belong to them." The comments of the two Sung Neo-Confucians are given in Chu Hsi's *Chung-yung chang-chi* which may be found in the SSCCS (*Chung-yung* p11). Legge gives detailed consideration to both comments in his note to the passage in the *Doctrine of the Mean* on pp397-8.

19. *Doctrine of the Mean* XVI, 2, LCC vol 1, p397.

20. ibid XXIX, 4, LCC vol 1, p426.


1/7/8

1. *Lun Yu* VII, 24, LCC vol 1, p202. Legge, in his note (p202), quotes the explanations of these terms in the *Ssu-shu pei-chi*:
   - wen (文) = 'letters'
   - hsing (行) = 'what is daily used in the relations of sages'
   - chung (忠) = 'not a single thought not exhausted'
   - hsin (心) = 'not a single thought without its reality'

Chu Hsi, in his *Ssu-shu chi-chu*, quotes Ch'eng Tzu on this matter (p46).

2. *Lun Yu* V, 12, LCC vol 1, p178. Chu Hsi (op cit p28) remarks that "when it comes to nature and the way of Heaven this was something which the Master seldom spoke of and his students could not hear."


4. ibid V, 12, LCC vol 1, p177.

5. ibid XVII, 19 (2&3), LCC vol 1, p326.

6. See *Mencius* IIA, 2(22), LCC vol 2, p194.

7. See *Lun Yu*, X, 1, LCC vol 1, p227. "The Master in his village was simple and unassuming as if he were not able to speak. In the ancestral temple or the court he was cautious and precise, but his words were exhaustive. When at court and speaking to the officers of a lower rank he was direct and to the point. While with the officers of a higher rank he was reserved and formal."

9. ibid VIIb, 33(1): "Mencius said, Yao and Shun were what they were by nature. T'ang and Wu returned to this."

10. See note 4 above.

11. *Lun Yu* XIV, 16, LCC vol 1, p281. Chu Hsi, in his note, (Ssu-shu chi-chu p97) states: "... the two dukes ... gave an oath to punish the barbarians as a means of venerating the Chou house."

12. *Mencius* IIIB, 9(11), LCC vol 2, p283: "Confucius completed the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror."


15. A commentary on the *I Ching* attributed to either King Wen or Confucius.

16. *Changes, Hsi Tz'u*, SPTK vol 1, p45.

17. ibid p49.

18. ibid p49.

19. ibid p51.

20. ibid p52 (Wilhelm p349).

21. *Lun Yu* XIII, 19, LCC vol 1, p271. Legge suggests that chü ch'u (居處) in opposition to chih shih (事事) means 'dwelling alone' or 'in retirement'.

22. ibid XII, 2(2), LCC vol 1, p251.

23. ibid XII, 1(1), LCC vol 1, p250.

24. Two of Confucius' leading disciples (two of the 'Four Associates of the Master'). Yen Hui (Tzu Yüan, BCS14-483) is said to have been the favourite disciple (see e.g. *Lun Yu* XII, LCC vol 1, p250). Tseng Ts'ao (Tzu Yü, BCS05-437) was esteemed especially for his filial piety and is said to have been involved in the composition of the *Great Learning* and the *Classic of Filial Piety* (see e.g. *Lun Yu* I, 4, LCC vol 1, p139 and note thereto as well as *Lun Yu* XIX, 16-18, LCC vol 1, pp344-345).

25. I am unable to locate the source of this quote. Chu Hsi's collected writings appear in the *Chu Wen-kung wen-chi*.

26. This is a reference to man's nature and the way of heaven (*Lun Yu* V, 12, LCC vol 1, p177).

27. The reference to the *Lun Yu* are as follows: I,1(1), LCC vol 1, p137; IV, 15(1), p169; XV, 2(3) p295. Legge renders the term i kuan ( 全 ) as 'all pervading unity'.

28. References to *Mencius* are as follows: I A, 1(3-6), LCC vol 2, pp126-127; I A, 3(11), LCC vol 2, p129.

29. See note 25 above.

30. A work by the Sung scholar Huang Chen (黃震). The full title is *Tz'u-ch'i Huang-shih jih-ch'ao* (慈溪黃氏日抄) - see SB p232.
31. The terms here are used for two schools of thought. Lien refers to Chou Tun-i (~tfJi) the Sung Neo-Confucian and Lo to Loyang indicating the Ch'eng brothers.

32. The initial four branches of study were morality (德行), speaking (言語), administration (政事) and literature (文學). See Lun Yü XI, 2(2), LCC vol 1, p237.

33. Five non-Han barbarian tribes from the north of China who caused considerable trouble during the Chin period. These were the Hsiung-nu, the Chieh, a tribe from present-day Shansi, the Hsien-pei from south-east Mongolia, the Ti from the region of the present Kansu province and the Ch'iang from the western regions. Note there is a text discrepancy here. I have followed the Yüan Ch'ao-pen edition.

34. Pure talk (ch'ing tan 清談) described by Bodde (see Fung Yu-Lan: History of Chinese Philosophy, vol 2, p206 footnote) as "... the art of conversing about philosophy and abstract topics only and avoiding all mundane matters. This was prevalent among the Neo-Taoists of the Chin period." See also Yen Yüan (~ 領) quoted by Fung Yu-Lan (above): "When the moderns preach their doctrines they mostly do so in the manner of pure conversation of the men of the Chin dynasty and great indeed is the (resulting) damage to affairs. The followers of Confucius, however, never made a single utterance without instructing people how to carry it out in actual practice."

35. A reference to the non-practical philosophy of the Neo-Taoists of the Chin period and the late Neo-Confucians of the Sung and subsequent periods. See Yen Yüan's remarks in note 35 above.

36. The I (Changes), Shu (History), the Shih (Odes), Ch'un-ch'iu (Spring and Autumn Annals), Li (Rites) and Yüeh (Music).

37. See note 28 above.

38. Lun Yü XVII, 19(1&2), LCC vol 1, p326.

39. Wang Yen (王軒 - AD256-311): a scholar of the Chin dynasty and cousin of Wang Jung (~). He was renowned as a talker, particularly on Taoism and during conversation was said to have waved a yak's tail set in jade. Subsequently, as a military leader under the Prince of Ch'eng-tu, he was defeated and put to death by Shih Lo. For the basis of the comparison see the Chin Shu vol 4, ch 43, p1236.

40. Tzu Kung (~): Tuan-mu Tzu, one of the foremost of Confucius' disciples. According to Legge (Lun Yü I, 10(ii), note on p142), he was conspicuous "... for his readiness and smartness in reply and he displayed on several occasions practical and political ability."

41. Shih Lo (~ 勳 - AD273-332): renowned for his physical strength and courage and a successful military commander. He seized the throne in AD318 on the death of Liu Ts'ung.

42. Chin Shu vol 4, ch 43, p1238.

1/7/10


2. Changes (chich), SSCCS vol 1, p132 and Wilhelm op cit p232.
3. See eg Hsieh Ling-yün's Ch'ou ts'ung-ti hui-lien, in the Wen Hsüan (Chao-ming wen-hsüan vol 2, ch 3, p36).

4. Li Chi, Tan-kung (hsia) SSCCS vol 5, p175 (trans. Legge, Li Chi, Book of Rites vol 1, p177).


10. The Shih-fa (§$\hat{z}$§%$\hat{T}$) is a chapter, no longer extant, from the Ta Tai Li-chi.

1/7/19

1. Lun Yu XV, 2(3), LCC vol 1, p295.

2. ibid VII, 19 & 27, LCC vol 1, pp201 & 203.


4. Lun Yu II, 2, LCC vol 1, p146.

5. ibid III, 4(3), LCC vol 1, p155.

6. ibid II, 23, LCC vol 1, p153.


8. See Lun Yu IX, 7, LCC vol 1, p219: "But if a mean person who appears quite empty asks anything of me, I set it forth from one end to the other and exhaust it" and ibid VII, 8, p197: "When I have presented one corner of a subject to anyone and he cannot from it learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson".

9. ibid V, 8(2), LCC vol 1, p176.

10. ibid I, 15(2), LCC vol 1, p144.

11. ibid III, 8(3), LCC vol 1, p157.

12. In each of the three instances above the Master follows the words of the disciples in question with the comment 'with one like - I can begin to talk about the Odes.'

13. For a consideration of the opposition between these two terms central to Sung Neo-Confucianism, see Yü Ying-shih, "Some Preliminary Observations on the Rise of Ch'ing Confucian Intellectualism" Tsing Hua J. of Chinese Studies, NS 11, 1975.

44
1. This is a statement by Confucius - see *Lun Yu* XVII, 5, LCC vol 1, p318 and Legge's note on the same page.

2. *History IV*, III, 2, LCC vol 3, p185. See also Legge's notes on pp184-5 re the terms here translated 'supreme being' and 'moral sense'.


4. For this anecdote see *Tso Chuan* VII, 4, LCC vol 5, p295.

5. *Mencius* VIA, 6, LCC vol 2, p401ff. In discussion with his disciple Kung-tu, Mencius here outlines his concepts of the essential goodness of human nature.

6. Two standard examples of extremely evil people: Chou Hsin (支成 - died BC1122), the last emperor of the Yin dynasty and Tao Chih (陶之) a renowned brigand of the Warring States period.

7. See *Mencius* VIA, 10(6), LCC vol 2, pp412-3, where he says with respect to a small basket of rice and a platter of soup, "if they are offered with an insulting voice even an itinerant will not accept them, or if you first trample on him even a beggar will not stoop to take them."

8. It is not entirely clear who this is. It may be Wei Chou-tsu (衛成), a native of Ch'ü-wu, an area initially established in the Spring and Autumn period and subsequently a district in Shansi province. Wei was a contemporary of Ku Yen-wu's who became a chin-shih at the end of the Ming period.

9. See *Mencius* VIIA, 30, LCC vol 2, p466: "Mencius said: Benevolence and righteousness were natural to Yao and Shun. T'ang and Wu made them their own. The five chiefs of the princes feigned them."

1/7/27

1. A concept examined by Mencius in Book IIA, 2, LCC vol 2, p185. See also Chu Hsi's comments in the *Ssu-shu chi-chu*, p36.

2. *Lun Yu* XVIII, 2, LCC vol 1, p331.


5. ibid IIA, 2(24), LCC vol 2, p194.

1/7/41


2. Shao Hao (少篁), Chuan Hsü (顓頊), Kao Yang (高陽), T'ang (唐) and Wu (虞) are the five emperors in question. The term Wu Tien is also applied to the five Canons (see *History II*, I, 2(2), LCC vol 3, p31. The five ceremonies, also referred to in the *History*, are listed in Legge's note on p37. The term wu-fu (五服) has several meanings (see eg *History* p45) but is taken
here to indicate the five degrees of mourning. The five punishments are also referred to in the *History* (II, 1, 3(11)) and are listed by Legge in his note on p38.


5. See the *Doctrine of the Mean* XX, 8, LCC vol 1, pp406-7.

6. *Mencius* IIA, 2(15), LCC vol 2, p190: "I (Mencius) therefore said; Kao has never understood righteousness because he makes it something external."

7. See Tung Chung-shu’s (*董仲舒*) Ch’un-ch’iu fan-lu (*春秋繁露*), ch 29.

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1/7/44

1. *Mencius* VIA, 8(2), LCC vol 2, p407. See also *History* V, XXIV, 10, LCC vol 3, p575 and the *Li Chi*, SPTK vol 1, p119. The concept is of an original mind or nature which is lost and must be regained by some active process. The original mind as indicated above has an innate goodness which is what is lost and must be recovered. See, for example, Legge’s note to *Mencius* VIA, 11, LCC vol 2, p414 and also Fung Yu-lan: *A History of Chinese Philosophy* vol 1, ch 6, part 4, pp119ff.


5. ibid VIA, 9(3), LCC vol 2, p410.

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1/7/46

1. *Mencius* VIIA, 11, LCC vol 2, p454. According to Chu Hsi’s commentary, fu (附) is equivalent to i (益), Han Wei (漢魏) is equivalent to chin ch’ing fu chia (堂卿富家) and k’an jan (欲然) is equivalent to pu tzu man chih i (不自滿之意). See *Su-shu chi-chu* p191 and Legge’s note on *Mencius* p454.


3. ibid VIIA, 11, LCC vol 2, p454. See note 1 above.

4. ibid VA, 7(5), LCC vol 2, p363. These are I Yin’s words. Chueh (刑) according to Chu Hsi is to call on those asleep and waken them. See *Su-shu chi-chu* p137. I have added in parentheses the sentence omitted from the quote.

5. ibid IIA, 8(4), LCC vol 2, p206. This refers to Shun (舜). See also Legge’s note on p206.

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1/7/47

1. This question is posed by Tien (田), son of the King of Ch’i, to Mencius. See *Mencius* VIIA, 33(1), LCC vol 2, p468. Legge has the following footnote which has some bearing on the subject matter of this essay. "How a scholar prepares himself for the duties to which he aspires. Tien was
the son of the King of Ch'i. His question probably had reference to the wandering scholars of the
time whose ways he disliked. They were no favourites with Mencius but he prefers to reply to the
prince according to his ideal of the scholar.*

2. In the Kuan Tzu, for example, there is consideration of those employed in office, those employed
in agriculture, artisans and traders. See Kuan Tzu 7, SPTK vol 18, p44.

3. The three ancient dynasties, Hsia, Shang and Chou.

4. See Mencius IIIA, 3(10), LCC vol 2, p242 for the establishment of educational institutions during
the Three Dynasties period.

5. Ssu-tu: rendered by Hucker minister of education, - a title of great prestige from high antiquity and
in the Chou period said to be responsible for "... the training in and enforcement of proper moral
and political values among the people with special responsibility for overseeing commercial
activities." (Hucker 5801, p458).


7. ibid, SPTK vol 1, p8.

8. History V, X, 6, LCC vol 3, p404. Legge, in his footnote on p404, indicates that in this excerpt the
Duke of Chou is addressing the people of Mei (媒) and warning them against the use of spirits
apart from certain particular circumstances. In this and the following two quotes from the History
(see notes 9 and 10 below) I have used Legge's translations verbatim.

9. ibid V, X(6), LCC vol 3, p404.

10. ibid V, X(7), LCC vol 3, p404.

11. Kuo Yu, Chi-ya ch 6, SPTK vol 14, p57.

12. The Warring States period extended from 403-221BC.


1/7/55

1. Tu Yu (杜佑 – AD735-812): a noted scholar of the T'ang period whose work here referred to
(the Tung-tien - 通 典 ) was a substantial treatise in eight sections published ca AD800, on
matters administrative and political. See CHC vol 3(i), p605 and ICCL p528.

2. Ho Hsin (贺循 – died AD320): a scholar and statesman who served in various roles under the
first Chin emperor. The memorial here quoted does not appear in his biography in the Chin Shu
vol 6, p1824.

3. The term t'ai-ch'ang (太常 ) which appears here and earlier is given by Hucker as a term in use
from the Ch'in to the N-S division and rendered chamberlain for ceremonials.

4. Hsin Sung (荀崧 ) was a scholar of the Eastern Chin period. His biography appears in the
Chin Shu vol 7, ch 75, p1975ff. The memorial here incompletely quoted may be found on pp1977-8.
A discussion of matters pertaining to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and its commentaries may be found in Legge’s introduction to that work.

5. Wang Tun (王子 - died AD324) was responsible for large-scale military activity during the reign of Yüan Ti of the Eastern Chin. For details see the *Chin Shu* ch 98, pp2553-65.

6. For details of this examination see Ku’s own essay (translated as 2(ii)/16/1) and references thereto.

7. The following statement by Li Yüan-hsueh (李元翬) entitled *Ch'ing chin kung-chü jen hsi Chou li teng ching chu* (請今責舉人習周禮等經疏) may be found in the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* ch 304 (vol 4, p3095).

8. Yang Yang (楊塘) was a T'ang official. Biographical details are given in the *Chiu & Hsin T'ang Shu* (vol 15, ch 185, p4819 and vol 14, ch 130, p4494 respectively). The substance of the memorial and the response to it may be found in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* vol 15, p4820.

9. See *Sung Shih* vol 11, ch 155, p3618.

10. See *Chu Wen-kung wen-chi* vol 1, ch 14, p150.

11. ibid vol 2, ch 76, p1336. This is here incompletely and somewhat inaccurately quoted. Hsieh Ch'ochen (施焯中) is Hsieh Yu (施谲 - AD1098-1143). See *Sung-jen chuan-chi tsu-liao so-yin* p4113.
2. Section 2(i), ch 8-12

2(i)/8/5

1. *Han Shu* vol 3, ch 19, p742.

2. The hsien (衙) or district is described by Hucker (2492, p240) as being "throughout imperial history the basic formal unit in the hierarchy of territorial administration, several neighbouring districts being clustered under the supervision of the commandary (郡) a region (州) or a prefecture (府)." The hsien-ling or district magistrate was an office with the rank indicated.

3. Chang (長): originally a Chou term for regional administrator but later a widely used suffix (see Hucker 84, p107).

4. See Note 2 above.

5. Cheng (成): a term commonly found as a component of composite titles and indicating a subsidiary or assisting role (see Hucker 457, p125).

6. Wei (衛): rendered by Hucker as commandant and said to be "throughout imperial history a common military title, sometimes honorific sometimes with administrative duties, not often suggesting active field command." (See Hucker 7657, p564).

7. There is an original note citing the *Sung Shu* (*Pai-kuan chih*) stating that in the Han system there was one assistant while for a large hsien there were two commandants and for a small hsien one commandant (*Sung Shu* vol 4, ch 39, p1217ff).

8. Tou-shih (度食) rendered by Hucker as "personnel paid in pecks" and "a rank indicator for petty subofficial appointees paid less than one hundred bushels a year, one grade higher than accessory clerks" (vide infra, note 9). (See Hucker 6796, p513).

9. Tso-shih (佐史): rendered by Hucker as "accessory clerk, a rank indicator for petty subofficial appointees at the very bottom of the officialdom, paid considerably less than one hundred bushels per year." (See Hucker 6989, p524).

10. Yen Shih-ku's (顏士腐) note to the original text (see Note 1 above) draws attention to the entry in the *Han kuan-ming chih-pu* (漢官名秩簿) to the effect that the monthly stipend for the tou-shih was eleven hu and for the tso-shih eight hu. For the tou-shih this was an annual stipend of less than one hundred piculs and a daily allowance of less than two pecks; hence the term tou-shih.

11. T'ing (亭): rendered by Hucker as neighbourhood; a unit in sub-district (hsien) organisation of the population theoretically comprising 1000 households; several such units constituted a township (see Note 13 below and see Hucker 6747, p511). There is an original note here, again referring to the *Sung Shu*, which gives further numerical details on the organisation described.

12. Chang (長): here a general term indicating head man or chief (see note 3 above). In the entry referred to in note 10 above Hucker states that the t'ing was "led by a non-official head (chang) and the unit performed local police functions and also maintained ... postal relay stations."

13. Hsiang (鄉): from Ch'in to Ch'ing times rendered by Hucker as "township, a sub-district (hsien) group of relatively self-governing families sub-divided into villages." (Hucker 2304, p231).

14. San-lao (三老): rendered by Hucker as elder, the term being said to indicate the "three stages of old age, presumably the fifties, sixties and seventies." A san-lao was described as "normally a man
of good character more than fifty years old responsible for providing moral leadership and discipline." (See Hucker 4876, p399)

15. Se-fu (黃夫): for the Ch'in period rendered by Hucker as "husbander, one of a group of personages chosen to deal with affairs of their home townships (hsiang) in the system of sub-district (hsien) organisation of the population; principally responsible for tax collections, but also listened to people's complaints." (See Hucker 4940, p404).

16. Yu-chiao (стоя): rendered by Hucker as "patroller, a local dignitary in the sub-district (hsien) organisation of the populace who was responsible for police work in a township (hsiang)." (See Hucker 8041, p585).

17. Han Shu vol 1, ch 1, p33.

18. Kuan Chung (菅仲): Pre-Ch'in statesman from Ch'i who became Minister of State under Duke Huan with notable success. Putative author of the Kuan Tzu (荀子).

19. Wei Ao (Wei 趙): a Ch'u (楚) statesman from the Spring and Autumn period. See entry in Tso Chuan for the 12th year of Duke Hsüan.

20. Tzu Chan (子晉): a Cheng statesman of the Spring and Autumn period. See, for example, Mencius IVB, 2, LCC vol 2, p317 and Lun Yu V,15, LCC vol 1, p178.

21. Chou Li, SSCCS vol 3, p182ff. A summary of the individual titles and their significance, based on Hucker, is listed below:

Chou-chang: ":... responsible ... for sacrifices, other rites, education and general administration in the township." (1334, p178)

Tang-cheng: head of a local self-government unit in the royal domain ":... who was reportedly popularly elected." (6282, p486)

Tsu-shih: ":... head of one hundred families constituting a precinct in local self-government organisation of the populace." (7054, p528)

Lü-hsü: "the actual head of a village responsible to one of the two supervisors of villages for such matters as census, taxes, state service assignments and public morality." (3884, p325)

Pi-chang: Head of a ":... five family unit in which residents of the royal domain were organised for local, sacrificial, fiscal and security purposes." (4570, p375)

Hsien-cheng: Head of a local self-government unit comprising five wards (pi) and ":... responsible for properly classifying people and lands, adjudicating disputes, promoting agriculture and morality and raising a local militia when called upon." (2492, p240).

Pi-shih: ":... responsible for maintaining peace, propriety and law among the five hundred families constituting his jurisdiction, a ward outside the royal domain." (4585, p376).

Tso-chang: the 'precinct' comprising four neighbouring villages (li) each with twenty-five households. The chang was responsible for ":... local ceremonial, military, agricultural and craft activities." (6845, p516).

Li-tsai: responsible for ":... promoting agriculture, collecting taxes etc in a village (li) of twenty-five households." (3643, p308).

Lin-chang: Head of a local self-government unit outside the royal domain. (3717, p312).
22. The Hsia, Shang and Chou.
24. Mu-po (牧伯): an ancient title used subsequently as "... an unofficial reference to such officials as the Han-Sui regional inspector, the T'ang-Sung prefect and the Ming-Ch'ing provincial administrative commissioner." (See Hucker 4064, p333).
25. Li Ch'ung (李冲): an official of the Later Wei period. See Wei Shu vol 4, ch 33, p1179ff for biographical details.
26. Lin-chang (鄰長): neighbourhood elder. (Hucker 3717 p312) writes: "N-S Division (Northern Wei): part of a three tier sub-district organisation called the three elders system; five households with a neighbourhood elder (鄰長), five of which constituted a village, five of which in turn constituted a ward, all units headed by Elders."
27. This is the end of the quotation from the memorial recorded in the Wei Shu vol 8, ch 110, p2855.
28. Hsiao Wen (孝文): Northern Wei emperor 471-500 AD. For the following proclamation see the Wei Shu vol 8, ch 110, p2855-6.
29. Su Ch'o (蘇绰 - AD498-546): he prepared his Six Articles (六條詔書) in AD544 at Yü-wen T'ai's (宇文泰) behest. It has been described by Wright as " a kind of epitome of statecraft and administration." (See CHC vol 3(i), p70 and Chou Shu vol 2, ch 22, p382ff).
31. For a discussion of the local government reforms see Wright A.F., The Sui Dynasty in CHC vol 3(i), ch 2, pp81-93.
32. Liu Tsung-yüan (柳宗元 - AD773-819): a celebrated scholar-official of the T'ang period. For biographical details see Hsin T'ang Shu vol 16, ch 168, p5132. The following quote is from his Feng-chien lun (封建論).
33. Se-fu (呂夫): for the Han period rendered by Hucker as "bailiff" an official ... of lowly status ... responsible principally for maintaining supplies." (Hucker 4940, p404 & note 16 above).
34. Yüan Yen (袁延): a scholar and official of the Later Han period. See CHC vol 1, p313.
35. Hou Han Shu vol 6, ch 48, p1618.
36. Chu I (朱邑): when young he was a 'bailiff' in T'ung township in the district of Shu. For biographical details see Han Shu vol 11, ch 89, p3635.
37. Ta ssu-nung (大司農): rendered by Hucker as "chamberlain for the National Treasury" for the period from Han to the North-South Division. (6042, p471)
38. Han Shu vol 11, ch 89, p3637.
39. Termed by Legge the "portcullis gate leading to the city". See Tso Chuan III, 28, LCC vol 5, pp113 & 115.
40. See Ming shih-lu (Tai Tsu shih-lu) vol 8, ch 232, p3396.
41. Liu Chang-ch’ing (劉昌卿) was a poet and scholar from Ho-chien (河間) in the T’ang period. He was a chin-shih in the K’ai-yüan reign period (AD713-741). The verse quoted may be found in the Ch’üan T’ang Shih vol 5, ch 149, p1541.

42. Hsi (僖) and Chao (昭): the last two emperors of the T’ang dynasty.

43. For the phrase ming-chin (鳴琴) see Shuo-yüan, cheng-li and for tai-hsing (戴星) see Li-shih ch’ün-ch’iu, cha-hsien. They have been used with reference to the rule of Tan Fu (宣父 - or 宣公) ruler of the state of Pin and grandfather of King Wu. The meaning is respectively non-action (wu-wei) and diligent work.

44. Ho Wen-yiian (何文児): a Ming official. See the biography of his son Ho Ch’iao-hsin (何喬新) in the Ming Shih vol 16, ch 183, p4851.

45. The first emperor of the Ming dynasty, ruling from AD1368-1399.

46. See note 14 above.

47. Han Shu vol 1, ch 1, p34. See also Records of the Grand Historian of China, transl. Watson, vol 1, p96 and footnote re the san-lao.

48. Han Shu vol 9, ch 63, p2744. (See also the note by Yen Shih-ku on p2745).

49. Heir-apparent to Han Wu Ti.

50. Liang-chang (糧長): a position originating in the Ming period in which the incumbent was responsible for the collection of tax grains. Rendered by Hucker (3658, p309) as ‘Tax Captain’ and said to have been ‘... designated by district magistrates, one from each area, whatever its size or population, on which an aggregate annual land tax of 10,000 bushels of grain was assessed.”

51. Chien-ch’a yü-shih (監察御史): rendered by Hucker investigating censor and described as ‘... the most concentrated broad ranging investigative and impeaching officials, members of the censorate ... generally empowered to gather complaints from the people, to review the handling of prisoners, to impeach any official for misconduct (and) from Yuan on, also authorised to submit remonstrances or suggestions about the emperor’s conduct or policies.” (See Hucker 795, p145).

52. Li An (李安): for biographical details see Ming Shih vol 13, ch 145, p4090.

53. See Ming shih-lu (Hsiian Tsung shih-lu) vol 20, ch 78, p1818. I can find no other information on Chang Cheng (張政).

54. There is a difference in the second character of this title in the different texts. Hsün-chien (巡按) is rendered by Hucker as police chief (2724, p254). An original note referring to the Yüan Shih indicates that this was a position of the ninth rank.

55. See note 16 above.

56. Ming Shih vol 13, ch 132, pp3861-2.

1. This term, written 養史 has been rendered by Hucker as sub-official functionary to indicate "... a class of personnel who performed the more menial tasks in all government units and had no ranked civil service status..." (2648, p249).
2. A term indicating all officials or officialdom in general. (See Hucker 4739 p388).

3. See e.g. Mencius IIIB, 13(5), LCC vol 2, p232 and Hsin Tzu 23, p395. The term p’ing chih is translated by Legge as ‘tranquillity and good order’ and by Dubs as ‘just government’.


5. ibid II, III, 3(5), LCC vol 3, p73.


8. This is a composite quotation from the Chiu and Hsin T’ang Shu. See Hsin T’ang Shu vol 16, p5060 and Chiu T’ang Shu vol 13, p4164. Hsien Tsung was the T’ang emperor from AD806-820. Hua Huan (滑 滹) was a minor official of the period and Liu Kuang-ch’i ( 刘 光 筠) a eunuch.


10. This has been identified by Hucker as ‘.. a whole clerk’s office, headed by a chief clerk, within the secretariat.” (See Hucker 3503 p297)

11. This incident is recorded in the Hsin T’ang Shu vol 15, ch 142, p4675 and, according to a note in the text, also in the Ts’e-fu yüan-kuai.

12. For these two phrases see the Changes, SSCCS vol 1 Chou I, pp59 & 85.

13. Hsieh Chao-che (謝肇淪): a Ming period official and scholar (AD1567-1624). See DMB vol 1, p546. I have been unable to locate the source of these observations.

2(1)/8/10

1. Lun Yü VI, 1, LCC vol 1, p184.


3. Shih Chi vol 1, ch 6, p258. (See also note 4 p259)

4. ibid vol 10, ch 122, p3131.

5. From the ‘Shu-ku’ (poem 2) by Tu Fu. See Tu-shih yen-chih ch 21, p1818.

6. From the ‘Hsieh-huai’ (poem 2) by Tu Fu. See Tu-shih hsiang-chu vol 4, ch 8.

7. San-lao (三老): called by Hucker, elders (Hucker 4876, p399) and described as ‘... one of three appointees from among the resident population in the quasi-official sub-district (hsien) administration of a township (hsing); normally a man of good character more than fifty years old responsible for providing moral leadership and discipline.” (see also note 14, p48).

8. Han Wen Ti and his son Ching Ti who ruled from 179-156BC and 156-140BC respectively.
9. The Chou (周) kings, King Ch'eng (成王) and King K'ang (康王), the second and third emperors of the Chou dynasty who ruled from 1115-1078BC and 1078-1052BC respectively. This, as stated in the Shih Chi (vol 1, ch 4, p134), was a time of great peace during which "punishments were not used for forty-odd years."

10. Chu-ko Liang (諸葛亮 - AD181-234). While leading a simple life of withdrawal from affairs his assistance was twice sought by Liu Pei (劉備) whom he aided to rise to assume the throne of Shu (modern Szechwan) and whose fortunes prospered under the guidance of his revered minister.

11. Ts'ao Ts'ao (曹操 - AD155-220) who, at the time of Chu-ko Liang's prominence in Shu, ruled in Wei and Sun Ch'uan (孫權 - AD181-252) who, at the same time, ruled in Wu.

12. Shu Hsiang (叔向) was Yang She-hsi (羊舌肸) of Ch'in in the Spring and Autumn period. Tzu Chan (子產) was Kung-sun Ch'iao of Cheng also in the Spring and Autumn period. For the exchange here referred to see the Tso Chuan X, 6, LCC vol 5, p607.

13. Tu Yuän-k'ai (or Tu Yii - 杜元凱 or 杜預 - AD222-284) was a noted commentator on the Tso Chuan. His comments here are with reference to the 12th year of Duke Hsüän. See Tso Chuan, SSCCS vol 6, p329.

14. Yeh Shih (葉適 - AD1150-1223): a noted scholar of the Sung period who defended Chu Hsi on his impeachment by Lin P'iao. See also SB pp426-427. For biographical details see Sung Shih vol 37, ch 434, pp13889-94. The first quote is from his Shih-lun (2) (始論) and the second and third quotes from his Shih-mou (實謀). For both these essays see the Shui-hsin hsien-sheng wen-chi (水心先生文集) ch 4, SPTK.

15. Ch'en Liang (陳亮 - AD1143-1194): a noted Sung scholar and contemporary of Yeh Shih. His collected works, entitled Lung-ch'uan wen-chi (龍川文集) may be found in the SPPY. See also SB p426 and, for biographical details, see Sung Shih vol 37, ch 436, pp12929-43. For the memorial here quoted (Shang Hsiao Tsung Huang-ti ti san shu) see Ch'en Liang chi (shang) ch 1, p13.

16. Hsiao Tsung (孝宗) of the Southern Sung who ruled from AD1163-1190.

17. Sung T'ai Tsu (太祖), the first Sung emperor who ruled from AD960-975.

18. For this edict see the Ming shih-lu vol 4, ch 85, pp1510-11.

2(i)/8/11

1. The time of the establishment of the Later Han dynasty, AD25.

2. T'ai-shou (太守): a term used from Ch'in to Sui to designate the "governor of the territorial unit of administration ... a commandary (chün) normally with both civil and military responsibilities." (Hucker 6221, p482) The term later came to be used for prefects. Ling-chang (令長): a term used "... throughout history" as a "... common combined reference to ling (director) and chang (magistrate)." (Hucker 3737, p313)

3. Chang-li (長吏): rendered by Hucker (153, p110) as senior subaltern and defined as a term "... referring vaguely to the higher grades of subofficial functionaries, but may be encountered as an equivalent of ... senior official."
4. The source of this apparent quote is unclear. The term su wang (素王), or 'unsceptred king' is taken to refer to Confucius in his role as creator of the Ch'un-ch'iu. See the Han Shu vol 8, ch 56, p2509 and also Legge's comments in the prolegomena to the Ch'un-ch'iu (LCC vol 5, prolegomena p5) as well as Tu Yu's Ch'un-ch'iu Tso chuan hsü.

5. Hou Han Shu vol 1, ch 1, p62.


7. Hsiao Ho (萧何) and Ts'ao Ts'an (曹参): both were associates of Liu Pang (刘邦) and, in succession, chief ministers of the Former Han dynasty. See CHC vol 1, p113ff, the Han Shu ch 39, pp2005-2022 and the Shih Chi reference below.

8. Shih Chi vol 6, ch 54, p2031.


2(i)/8/12

1. For the use of the term hsüan (sites) in this phrase see the Li Chi, SSCCS vol 5, p1015. (text and accompanying note).

2. Chang Ch'ang (張敞 - died 48BC): a distinguished official of the Former Han period. As an official in Shantung he was called upon to deal with brigandage and rebellion, common at the time. Later, in 61BC, he was promoted to be governor of the metropolitan district. See the Han Shu vol 10, ch 76, pp3216-26.

3. A district (hsien), established in Shantung during the Han period.

4. San-fu (三輔); a Han term rendered by Hucker as the three guardians which he describes as "...collective reference to the three officials who from 104BC administered the metropolitan area in which the dynastic capital was located: they were the metropolitan governor, the guardian of the left and the guardian of the right." (Hucker 4854, p397)

5. Lun Yu VIII, 6, LCC vol 1, p210.

6. Yü Shen-hsing (于慎行 - AD1545-1608): He was a scholar and official of the later Ming period. His Ku-shan pi-chu (蔚山筆塵) in 18 chapters was printed first in AD1613, the year of Ku Yen-wu's birth. I have been unable to obtain a copy of this work. See DMB vol 2, p1614ff. See also Ming Shih vol 19, ch 217, p573ff.

7. T'ai-tsai (太宰): rendered by Hucker (6225, p483) as great steward and probably here being an "unofficial reference to a minister of personnel."

8. Sun P'ei-yang (孫丕揚 - AD1532-1614): an official of the late Ming "$...born in to a family of the military category of Fu-p'ing prefecture in Shensi (DMB vol 2, pp1219-1221). See this reference for some consideration of his method of selecting officials by drawing lots.

9. An i (驛) was a postal or courier relay station (see Hucker 2926-2927, p265)


11. See CHC vol 3(i), p278.
12. Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang. For the transfer of the capital during Kao Tsung's reign see CHC vol 3(i) pp257-258.

13. Chiu T'ang Shu vol 1, ch 5, p102.

14. The preceding information from the T'ang period is from the T'ang hui-yao ch 75.

15. Li Hsien (李 達): an official and member of the imperial clan in the middle years of the T'ang period. At one point he was governor of the metropolitan district. See Chiu T'ang Shu vol 10, ch 112, p3345. (See also CHC vol 3(i), p451)


17. See Sung Shih vol 11, ch 159, p3722.

18. Lun Yü XIII, 2(2), LCC vol 1, p263.

19. This is taken from the Ming shih-lu (Ying Tsung shih-lu) vol 23, ch 24, pp484-5.

20. Lu Chün (呂 鈞): a T'ang official during the reign of Wen Tsung. For biographical details see Chiu T'ang Shu vol 14, ch 177, pp4591-4593 and Hsin T'ang Shu vol 17, ch 182, pp5367-5369. I have been unable to locate the text of this memorial.

21. Shao-chou (韶州): established in T'ang times and corresponding to what is now part of Kwangtung province. Kwang-chou (廣州) has referred to different areas at different times but probably here indicates the southern region as established in the Three Kingdoms period corresponding to parts of what are now Kwangtung and Kwangsi province.

22. Ch'ao-chou (肇州): established in Sui times and corresponding to what is now Ch'ao-an district of Kwangtung province.


24. Kuan-ch'a shih (觀察使): rendered by Hucker (3269, p283) as surveillance commissioners - "originally ... one of many delegates from the central government to province-sized circuits (tao), from the late 700's sharing regional authorities as civil government .... ."

25. T'ang Chiao (唐校): For biographical details see the Chiu T'ang Shu vol 9, ch 85, p2813 and the Hsin T'ang Shu vol 13, ch 113, p4184.

26. See Ming shih-lu (Tai Tsu shih-lu) vol 3, ch 60, p1174. For Hsü Lin (許林) see Ming shih kao ch 136. Kuang-ch'i (廣 濟) was variously the name of a ch'uan and a hsien in the Hopeh in Honan regions. Ch'i-chou ( 新州) was established initially in the Three Kingdoms period and corresponding to what is now the north-western part of Ch'i-ch'un district in Hupeh province.

27. Ku Ta-shao (顧大韶): a Ming scholar and in particular a student of the classics. See Ming Shih vol 21, ch 244, p6342.

28. An essay by Han Yü (韓愈): see Han Ch'ang-li wen-chi chiao-chu ch 8, p566.

29. For the reference to Ch'u Wang see Shih Chi vol 5, ch 40, p1709. P'en-tzu is Liu P'en-tzu (劉 彭祖). For biographical details see Hou Han Shu vol 2, ch 11. The incident referred to is recorded on p480.
30. P'ei Hsing-chien (裴行儉 - AD619-682): a T'ang official and military commander under Kao Tsung. For reference to his contribution to rules governing the selection examinations see CHC vol 3(i), p276. The translation of his official title at that time follows Hucker (5704, p451 & 5086, p414).

31. Sung Po (宋伯 - AD936-1012): a Sung scholar and contributor to the Wen-yüan ying-hua. (See SB pp442-443)


33. Li I (李義 - died AD713): a statesman and poet who served under Ju Tsung. He rose to the position of president of the Board of Punishments.

34. Lu Ts'ung-yüan (盧從愿): a high official at the T'ang court during the 720's (see CHC vol 3(i), p385).

35. Sung Shih vol 3, ch 33, p631.

2(i)/9/1

1. Yeh Shih (葉適 - AD1150-1223): see note 15, 2(i)/8/10. This idea is expressed in his Chi-kang (2), in the Shui-hsin hsien-sheng wen-chi ch 5, SPTK. The quote is not exact.

2. Ch'en T'ang (陳湯): a Han official noted for his love of literature from an early age. See Han Shu vol 9, ch 70, p3007 et seq.

3. Mei Sheng (?-140BC - 枚乘): a Former Han scholar. His writings may be found in CSKW vol 1 (Han), ch 20. See also Han Shu vol 8, ch 51, p2359ff. Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju (司馬相如 - died BC117): a noted poet and scholar-official of the Former Han period. See Han Shu vol 8, ch 57, p2529ff.

4. Kuan Chung (管仲 - or Kuan I-wu, 管夷吾): Minister of State to Duke Huan of Ch'i and putative author of the Kuan Tzu (管子). Sun Wu (孫武 - 6th century BC): also from Ch'i and author of the treatise on warfare (Ping fa - 兵法).

5. See Tso Chuan XII, 15, LCC vol 5, p842.


7. See Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu ch 14, SPTK ed.


9. Situated south of the eastern gate of the forbidden city in old Peking.

10. Yang P'u (楊溥 - AD1372-1446): a renowned statesman and scholar who was recalled to the court after a somewhat chequered early career to become a major advisor to Jen Tsung. See DMB vol 2, pp1525-1528 and CHC vol 7(i), pp277-284.


12. Ming shih-lu (Hsüan Tsung shih-li) vol 19, ch 69, p1623. The quote from Tung Chung-shu is to be found in the Han Shu vol 8, ch 56, p2512.
Regional inspectors (pu tz'u-shih) were established by Han Wu Ti first in 106 BC. They were, as Loewe (CHC vol 1, p157) describes, "... responsible directly to the central government and each one was charged with inspecting a specified region of the empire that included a number of commanderies and kingdoms. They investigated the manner in which the emperor's government was being conducted and reported back directly if they observed evidence of oppression, inefficiency or corruption." They were, as Loewe has also noted "... ranked considerably lower down the scale than the governors whose work they were invited to control." See also Han Shu vol 3, ch 19A, p737ff, Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times p70, Hucker 7567, p558 & 4764, p390, Dubs, The History of the Former Han Dynasty vol 2, p96ff & CHC vol 1, pp475 & 530.

2. Erh-ch'ien shih (二千石): rendered by Hucker (1828, p205) as, "Two thousand bushel officials" - "... a generic reference to the highest-ranking officials of government below the Three Dukes (san kung) notably including commandery governors (chün-shou, t'ai-shou) because in Han they received annual salaries in money and various commodities reckoned to approximate the value of 2,000 bushels of grain."

3. See Yen Shih-ku's note in the Han Shu vol 3, ch 19A, p742. This is said to be a quote from the Han kuan-tien chih-i (漢官典職儀).

4. Shih Chi vol 1, ch 6, p239.

5. Chai Fang-chih (蔡方進): a high official under Han Ch'eng Ti. See Han Shu vol 10, ch 84, pp3411-3424. Ho Wu (何武): a high official under Han Ch'eng Ti - see Han Shu vol 10, ch 86, pp3381-3488 and also CHC vol 1, p110.

6. Han Shu vol 10, ch 83, p3406.

7. Chu Po (朱博): a high official at the end of Han Ch'eng Ti's reign. See Han Shu vol 10, ch 83, p3398-3410 & CHC vol 1, pp221-222.

8. According to Hucker (4041, p336) the mu (牧) were "regional governors of one of the national areas called regions (chou) as a co-ordinator and supervisor representing the central government; originating in 7BC with a rank status of seven thousand bushels, superseding less prestigious regional inspectors (tzu-shih - see note 1 above); thereafter the two titles alternated irregularly."

9. Chiu ch'ing (九卿): according to Hucker (1296, p176) "Nine Chamberlains, a collective reference to the heads of the top echelon service agencies ...."

10. For this memorial see Han Shu vol 10, ch 83, p3406.

11. Liu Chao (劉昭): a scholar of the Liang period and student of the Hou Han Shu. For these comments see the Hou Han Shu vol 12, ch 28, pp3619-21 (note i).

12. Li Chi (Wang-chih), SSCCS vol 5, p221. See also Legge, Li Chi vol 1, p214 and note 1 on the same page.

13. Ying T'ing-yü (應廷育) a native of Yung-k'ang in Chin-hua prefecture. He was the author of the work Chin-hua hsien min chuan (金華先民傳) which appears in the TSCC (old series) vol 257. I have been unable to locate the quote given in that work.

15. Ch'u Sui-liang (崔遂良 - AD596-658): a renowned scholar and calligraphist who rose to very high office under the first Tang emperor. See Chiu T'ang Shu vol 8, ch 80, pp2729-2739 and Hsin T'ang Shu vol 13, ch 105, pp4024-4029. See also CHC vol 3(i), pp195-199 etc. For his official title in this instance seeucker 2847, p262.

16. Mu-shou (牧守): an official designation not listed in Hucker. See for example Han Shu vol 10, ch 84, p3417.

17. For these two official titles see respectively Hucker 12, p103 (an-ch'a shih) and 2731, p255 (hsün-fu).

18. Chiu T'ang Shu vol 1, ch 9, pp219-220. For Hsi Yii see Chiu T'ang Shu ch 190, p5035 and Hsin T'ang Shu ch 128, p4467.

19. See Chiu T'ang Shu vol 1, ch 8, p200 and CHC vol 3(i) pp353, 404 & 468. See also Hucker 15, p104 & 6825, p515.

20. See Hucker 12, p103 and 3716, p312.

21. For these official titles see respectively Hucker 334, p119; 8167, p592; 2687, p252 & 4990, p407. Lu Hsian (呂貞 ) I cannot identify.

22. Yu Wen-ting (于文定) is the posthumous title of the Ming scholar, Yu Shen-hsing (于慎行 - AD1545-1608). See DMB pp1614-1616 and 2(i)/8/12 note 6.

23. Chin Shih vol 3, ch 73, p1681. For a discussion of the term lu (route - 路) see Hucker 3839, p322.
1. The title is an abbreviated combination of the terms chūn-shou (춘수) which I have followed Hucker (1785, p202(2)) in translating as prefect, although it was also the designation of the commandery governor and hsien-ling (현령, p242) or district magistrate. Both are officials seen by Ku Yen-wu as, under ideal conditions, closely associated with the people and particularly aware of, and sensitive to, local issues.

2. The term li-tsai (里宰) has been rendered by Hucker as village head (3643, p308). His usage here probably indicates local officials in general, particularly those referred to in the title. (See note 1 above)

3. I-ming (乙命) represented the lowest grade of official ranked from i-ming to chiu ming in Chou times. See e.g. Hsün Tzu 27, p447.

4. Wan-chi (萬機) may be taken to indicate the origin of affairs. For example, in the History it is written "let him be wary and fearful remembering that in one day or two days there may occur ten thousand springs of things." See History II, III, 2(4), LCC vol 3, p73. See also Legge's note (p73) on the equivalence of and 機.

5. This is Hucker's term for hsū-li (or li-hsii) "... a class of personnel who performed the more menial tasks in all governmental units and had no ranked civil service status." (2648, p249 & 3609, p304). They are the subject of essay 2(i)/8/9.

6. History II, IV, 3(11), LCC vol 3, p90. The head is presumed to indicate the emperor and the members his officials.

7. The Chi-chiu chang or Chi-chiu p'ien (急就章/篇) was a Han work compiled by Shih You (史游). See Ssu-k'ü ti-yao no 41. There is a Chou-ming chi-chiu chang (州名急就章) in the collected works of Ou-yang Hsiu (歐陽修) but no writing of the name given. Wu Yüan-ying is Wu Lai (吳萊) but I am unable to find the writing referred to in his Yüan-ying chi, TSCC (new series) vol 71.

8. This is a reference to the introduction, in AD780, of the two-tax system (liang-shui fa) which according to Peterson (CHC vol 3(i), p499) is "considered one of the major events in Chinese economic history." Within the system there was a tripartite allotment of revenue; a portion for local expenditure (liu-chou), a portion sent to the provincial administration (sung-shih) and a portion despatched to the central treasury (shang-kung). See CHC vol 3(i), pp498-499, 526 & 617-618.

9. Ch'en Chiu-lu (陳求義 - AD1183-1253) was a Sung scholar for whom brief biographical details may be found in the Sung-jen chuan-chi tsu-liao so-yen vol 3, p2578. I am unable to locate the source of the quote given.

10. Hsia-hou Hsüan (夏侯玄): described by Giles (BD681 p272) as "a man of great probity". He rose to high office in Wei at the time of the Three Kingdoms. See San Kuo Chih vol 1, ch 9, p295ff.

11. This refers to the reign period from AD424-453, i.e. Wen Ti's reign during the Sung of the North-South Division.

12. Sung T'ai Tsu who ruled AD960-975.


15. Heng-hai (横海): a province created by the division of Hopei during the reign of T'ang Te Tsung. For its position see CHC vol 3(i), map 17, p539.

16. An Lu-shan (安禄山 - died AD757): leader of the temporarily successful uprising against T'ang Ming Huang (see CHC vol 3(i), p453f). He was killed by his son who, in turn, was killed by Shih-ssu Ming (史思明 - died AD761) a collaborator of An Lu-shan's who continued the rebellion in Hopei province. (See CHC vol 3(i), p480-483)

17. For this memorial see Chiu T'ang Shu vol 13, ch 161, p4223. It is translated in part in the CHC vol 3(i), p536.

18. Corresponding to Heng-hai (see note 15 above). See also CHC vol 3(i), map, 12, p454.

19. The first Ming emperor who ruled from AD1368-1398.

20. Lien-chou was established in T'ang times and corresponded to what is part of Kwantung province. Chi-an was a city in Kiangsi. Different months are given in the Huang Ju-ch'eng (7th) and Yuan Ch'ao-pen (6th) editions. No entry is to be found for this matter in either month in the Ming shih-lu.

8. Both men were leaders of provinces pursuing an independent course, Chu Tzu’u (车 组 ) in the capital and Li Hsi-leh ( 李希烈 ) in Huai-hsi. Details of their activities may be found in the CHC vol 3(i), pp506-7 & 505-9 respectively. See also pp583-4.

9. T’ien Yüeh ( 田 悦 ) was governor in Ho-pei during Te Tsung’s reign. Wang Wu-chün ( 王 武俊 ) was a senior military commander who assassinated Li Wei-yüeh in AD782. The former styled himself King of Wei whilst the latter, who usurped the governorship of Ch’eng-te and styled himself King of Chao, early submitted to the throne. See CHC vol 3(i), pp500-507.

10. Shu (蜀): Szechwan
Hsia (夏): Hsia-su, a north-western province
Ts’ai (蔡): A small state in what is now Honan
Yün (準): A city in what was Lu, now part of Shantung. For Hsien Tsung’s campaign against these places see CHC vol 3(i), pp522-538.

11. T’ien Hsing (田 心), a general, was installed as governor of Wei-po by the Wei-po mutineers in AD812. He attempted to restore relationships with the court (see CHC vol 3(i), p530ff). Wang Ch’eng-tsung (王 容宗 ) succeeded his father as governor of Ch’eng-te in AD809 and was involved first in negotiations and subsequently in armed conflict with Hsien Tsung on the issue of central control of the province (see CHC vol 3(i), p527ff).

12. Liu Chen (劉 稷) attempted to take control of Chao-i on the death of his uncle, Liu Ts’un-gchien, in AD843. He was the subject of a successful military campaign initiated by Wu Tsung and was subsequently murdered in AD844 (see CHC vol 3(i), pp665-6)

13. Liu Jen-kung (劉 仁恭 - died AD912): a military commander who, in AD896, joined Chu Wen, the founder of the Liang dynasty, by whom he was raised to high office. See Hsin Wu Tai Shih vol 2, ch 39, p423ff. Lo-shih is Lo Shao-wei (洛 紹威 ), Hsin Wu Tai Shih vol 2, ch 39, p415ff. Wang Jung (王 銘 ) is mentioned on p425.

14. The last two emperors of the T’ang dynasty apart from Chao Hsüan Ti. Hsi Tsung (AD874-888) and Chao Tsung (AD889-904).

15. Ch’ao is Huang Ch’ao (黄 赞 - died AD884): the leader of a major rebellion in the declining years of the T’ang dynasty. See CHC vol 3(i), pp723-747 and note 5 above. Ts’ai refers to Ch’in Tsung-ch’üan ( 秦 俊權 ) who was governor of Ts’ai-chou (蔡州 ). For biographical details see the Chiu T’ang Shu ch 200B, p5398ff and the Hsin T’ang Shu ch 225B, p6464ff. Details of the activities here referred to may be found in the CHC vol 3(i), pp759-765.

16. T’ien Ch’eng-ssu (田 承嗣): leader of a provincial regime in Hopei (Wei-po) during the reign of Tai Tsung (AD763-779). See CHC vol 3(i), pp493,497 & 500.

17. Wang Wu-chün ( 王 武俊 ): a senior military officer who assassinated Li Wei-yüeh in AD782 and thereupon usurped the governorship of Ch’eng-te (see CHC vol 3(i), pp503-507). Chu T’ao (朱 澶): governor of Yü-chou in the 780’s - this being one of the rebel provinces. For the geography of these provinces see CHC vol 3(i), map 14, p502 and, for Chu T’ao, pp501-507 and note 7 above.

18. This marks the end of the quote from Yin Yuan’s T’ang-shuo (see note 7 above).
19. Wang Ying-lin (王應麟 - AD1223-1296): a noted scholar and writer of the Sung period. For details of his numerous writings see SB pp27, 64, 71, 176, 189, 231, 261, 329 & 432. The source of the present quote is not clear.

20. Liu Ping (劉平): a Sung official for whom biographical details may be found in the Sung Shih vol 30, ch 325, pp10499-10504. The following memorial is on p10501.

21. Li I-hsing (李彝興): a Sung official at the time of T'ai Tsu who was enfeoffed as Hsia Wang (夏王). Shuo-fang (朔方) is a place name with varying applicability. Here it is taken to refer to part of Ninghsia province to the north of Ling-wu district which was established in Han times and also occupied what was part of the present Ninghsia province. Feng Chi-yeh (馮繼業) was also a Sung official (see Sung Shih vol 25, ch 253, pp8868-9 for biographical details).

22. This is She Te-i (折德儀). See Sung Shih vol 25, ch 253, p8861ff. Chi may be Feng Chi-yeh (see note 21 above), although this is not entirely clear.

23. Chia Ch'ang-chao (夏昌朝 - AD998-1065): a distinguished scholar and philologist of the Sung period who rose to be minister of state. See Sung Shih vol 27, ch 285, pp9613-9621. The request referred to may be found on p9617.

24. The Lu shih (路史) was a work written by Lo Pi (樂普) during the Sung period as a privately compiled history modelled on the style and form of the dynastic histories. See SB pp87-88. For the following extensive quotation see Lu-shih, (Kuo-ming chi), vol 12, pp28-29.

25. Fan Chen (范鎮 - AD1008-1089): A Sung scholar who was Duke of Shu. For biographical details see the Sung Shih vol 31, ch 311, pp10783-10790. The quote here given does not appear in the Sung Shih. It may be in Fan's geographical work the Tung-chai chi-shih (東齋紀事), see SB p154, but I have been unable to locate it. The chien-yüan or Remonstrance Bureau was established around AD1020 and became "... an autonomous agency of the central government charged to scrutinise documents flowing to and from the throne and to criticise proposals and policy decisions considered improper." (Hucker 882, p151)

26. Ma Huai-te (馬懷德): see Sung Shih vol 30, ch 323, pp10466-10467. Hsiung-chou was established in the Five Dynasties period in what is now the Hsiung district of Hopei province. Liu Huan (劉漢): see Sung Shih vol 30, ch 324, pp10493-10494. En-chou was the name of two regions: one established in the T'ang period, part of what is now Kwangtung and one in the Liao period in Jehol province. It is not clear who Wang Te-kung (王德清) was. Chi-chou also had various areas of applicability in north-eastern China.

27. She (折) is She Te-i (note 22 above) and Li (李) is Li I-hsing (note 21 above). For Feng Hui (馮輝), the father of Feng Chi-yeh (note 21 above) see the Chiu Wu Tai Shih vol 5, ch 125, pp1644-6 and the Hsin Wu Tai Shih vol 2, ch 49, pp554-5. It is not clear who Yang Ch'ung-hsün (楊重勳) was.

28. Feng I (馮翊): this appears to be the name of Feng Hui's son but there is no mention of a son of this name in either of the biographies referred to in note 27 above. It seems probable that Feng Chi-yeh is here being referred to. See the Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien (續資治通鑑長編) ch 13, p289.

29. Details of the people here listed may be found as follows in the Sung Shih.

Li Han-ch'ao (李漢超): ch 273, pp9333-4.
Kuo Chin (郭進): ch 273, pp9334-6.
Ho Wei-chung (霍惟忠): ch 273, pp9343-4.

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Yao Nei-pin (姚內斌): ch 273, pp9341-2.
Han Ling-k'un (韓令坤): ch 251, pp8831.
Tung Tsin-hui (童遵惠): ch 273, pp9342-3.
Wu Shou-ch'i is possibly Wu Hsing-te (武行德): ch 252, p8855-7.
Ho Chi-Yin (何繼珍): ch 273, pp9326-7.

30. For Chang Mei (張美) see Sung Shih vol 26, ch 259, pp8997-8. Ts'ang-chou corresponded to what is now part of Hopei and Ching-chou also.

31. Yuan Hao (元昊) was the original name of Li Nang-hsiao (李囊霄) of Western Hsia. See Sung Shih vol 40, ch 485, p13992ff.

32. The two people referred to here are Wei Cheng (魏徵 - AD581-643) and Chao P'u (趙普 - AD916-992). The former allied himself to Li Yuan, later to become the first Tang emperor. Wei then became a trusted counsellor. See CHC vol 3(1), p193ff. For Wei Cheng's opposition to feudalism see pp210-11. Chao P'u occupied a similar position with Chao K'uang-yui, founder of the Sung dynasty. See Sung Shih ch 256.

33. This marks the end of the quote from the Lu Shih.

34. This is the Tzu-chi huang-shih jih-ch'ao (慈溪黄氏日鈔), a work compiled by Huang Chen (黃澄) in the Sung period being a miscellany of essays on various philosophical and historical topics. See SB p232.

35. See note 29 above.

36. Sung Shih vol 28, ch 293, p9798 where these events are recorded. I am unable to locate any further information on these two men Wang Shou-hsin (王守信) and Wang Chao-tu (王昭度).

37. Wang Yü-ch'eng (王禹偁 - died AD1001): a precocious scholar of the Sung period who graduated as chin-shih in AD988. He rose to high office where according to Giles (BD p854) "... he distinguished himself by boldness and freedom of speech." See also Sung Shih vol 28, ch 293, pp9793-9800.

38. I Ching no 29, SSCCS vol 1, p72. See also Wilhelm I Ching p 532 and Legge I Ching p237 noting the differences in translation.

39. The five dynasties of the immediate post-T'ang period occupying the 53 years from AD907-959. They were the Liang, T'ang, Chin, Han and Chou all with the added epithet 'posterior'.

40. For these three titles Hucker has the following: ch'ang-ts'ung - attendant-in-ordinary: "throughout history a generic reference to personal servants authorised for officials on a regular basis ..." (273 p116); ch'ang-li - senior subalterns: "throughout history a generic term referring vaguely to the higher grades of sub-official functionaries ..." (153 p110); lü-jen - functionary: "throughout history one of several terms used for unranking subofficials in government service." (3382, p325)

41. This marks the end of the memorial which is here reproduced in part only. See Sung Shih vol 28, ch 293, pp9798-9.

42. This refers to Sung T'ai Tsu. For an extended consideration of the use of the term I Tsu (義祖) see Jih-chih lu vol 2, ch 24, p554.
43. Lu Chi (陸機 - AD261-303): the son of a Wu dynasty official who served first under Prince Lun of Chao and later under Price Ying of Ch'eng-tu by whom he was subsequently put to death. His writings are collected in the Lu Shih-heng chi (陸士衡集) in vol 30 of the SPTK. The quote here given may be found in the Wu-teng lun (五等論) on p47 of that text.

2(i)/9/19

1. Teng Hou (騰后) was Teng Sui, granddaughter of Teng Yu. She entered Ho-ti's harem in AD96 and became his second consort. For her views on education see e.g. CHC vol 1, p299ff and also p283 with reference to the Hou Han Shu.

2. Fu Chien (符堅 - AD337-384). He assumed control of the empire after the assassination of his cousin Fu Sheng (符生) who had, as Giles puts it (BD p239), "instituted a reign of terror." Giles elsewhere (BD p230) describes Fu Chien as "... a wise and earnest man" who "... set himself to purify the administration and consolidate his power paying special honour to Confucianism and prohibiting Taoism and divination."

3. Odes 200, LCC vol 4, pp346-349. In his note on p347 Legge describes this ode as follows: "A eunuch suffering from slander complains of his fate and warns and denounces his enemies. The title of this ode, Hsiang Po, is not taken from any of the stanzas but is nearly equivalent to the s-su-jen (寺人) or eunuch of stanza 7. Hsiang (巖) was the name of a passage in the interior of the palace of which the writer had the superintendence - as is denoted by po (primaryKey). He was, perhaps, the chief of eunuchs.

4. Shih Yu (石遇) was a director of eunuchs (huang-men ling; see Hucker 2844, p261) during the reign of Han Yuan Ti (48-32BC). He wrote the Chi-chiu which is still extant (see SB p329 under Wang Ying-lin's 余卨). For the listing in the I-wen see Han Shu vol 6, ch 30, p1720.

5. For some discussion of T'ai Tsung's policy with regard to eunuchs as well as subsequent developments see CHC vol 7(i), p364ff.

6. This volte-face in the treatment of eunuchs is documented in Hucker's entry on the Eunuch School (Nei shu-t'ang - 4257, p352) which was founded in AD1426. Twitchett & Grimm, writing in the CHC, (vol 7(i), p306), state that the Eunuch School was founded "... in direct contravention of the founders (i.e T'ai Tsung's) policy of preventing both the education of eunuchs and their participation in politics."

7. Ts'ai Yun-kung (蔡元恭) was a eunuch in the Sui period. For Yang Ti's attempts to make him teach the palace women see Chiu T'ang Shu vol 15, ch 190, p4988. Imperial diarist is Hucker's rendering of ch'i-chü (she-jen 622, p135).

8. Chia Ch'ang-chao (賈昌朝 - AD998-1065) was an historian of the Chin dynasty and also a distinguished writer on philology. He graduated as chin-shih in AD1017. Expositor-in-waiting is Hucker's term for shih-chiang (5215, p422): "an attendant skilled in explaining classical text." The Tzu-shan T'ang (School for the Heir Apparent, Hucker 7538, p557) was the place for the education of "... all the sons of the reigning emperor." Chia's work, done in conjunction with Wang Tsung-tao, on the editing of the Tzu-shan T'ang compilation is recorded in his biography in the Sung Shih (vol 27, ch 285, pp2613-2621).

9. Sung Shih vol 27, ch 285, p9620. Wu Yu (武琚) was an opponent of Chia's. (See Sung Shih vol 28, ch 291, pp9727-9732 for his biography).

10. This is Hsüan Tsung (宣宗): Ming emperor AD1426-1435.
11. Nei-ko ( 内閣 ): Grand Secretariat. See Hucker's extensive entry (4193, pp.346-347) in which he discusses the necessary collaboration between the officials of the Secretariat and the eunuchs during the Ming period. See also CHC vol 7(i), pp.286-288.


13. Nei-shu ( 内署 ): 'junior eunuchs' - according to Hucker (4254, pp.351-352) the "designation of castrated boys who had not yet reached maturity."

14. See CHC vol 3(i), p.571 and notes 20 and 21 on the same page.

15. For discussion of this status of eunuchs under Hsüan Tsung see CHC vol 3(i), pp.369-371, 391-395, 406 and 452-453.

16. These two sentences appear as a note in the Huang Ju-ch'eng edition. Sung Lien ( 東霖 ) was a noted Ming scholar and official (see DMB vol 2, pp.1225-1231). His Ta Ming jih-ji hsü ( 大明紀序 ) appears in the Ming wen ts'ai ( 明文在 ) edited by Hsüeh Hsi. See CHC vol 7(i), p.849 for bibliographical details.

17. Wang Shih-chen ( 王世貞 - AD1526-1590): a prominent Ming official and prolific writer. For biographical and bibliographical details see DMB vol 2, pp.1399-1405.

18. Kou Erh ( 故兒 ) is mentioned briefly in the Ming Shih vol 26, ch 304, p.7766.


20. Wang Chen ( 王振 - died AD1449): the son of a Confucian teacher, he was made a eunuch and was one of the first selected for training at the Palace School for Eunuchs (nei-shu t'ang - Hucker 4257, p.352). Initially constrained by the prohibition against eunuchs holding office he rose to great power under Ying Tsung (AD1436-1450). He was held responsible for the Tu-mu debacle during which he was killed and as a consequence was disgraced. When Ying Tsung was restored in AD1451 Wang was posthumously 'rehabilitated'. See DMB vol 2, pp.1347-1349 & CHC vol 7(i), pp.306-309, 315-316.

21. Li Chin ( 李進 - 字時勉 ) was a eunuch from Ch'ü-fu in Shansi during the Yung-lo reign period. Li is mentioned several times in the Ming Shih (vol 8, ch 92, p.2267, vol 15, ch 175, p.4667, vol 18, ch 205, p.5422 & vol 26, ch 304, p.7789). The incident here referred to is recorded in the Ming shih-lu ( 大明宣宗實録 ) vol 11, ch 68, p.961.

22. See Ming shih-lu ( Hsüan Tsung shih-lu ) vol 16, ch 2, p.35.

23. Yüan Ch'i ( 楊琦 ): a eunuch who, in the reign of Hsüan Tsung, "had organised a large scale network for graft" (See DMB vol 1, p.285). He and ten eunuch associates were put to death in AD1431.

24. See CHC vol 7(i), pp.530-532.


26. Fei Huan ( 費瓊 ): see Ming Shih ch 155, pp.4253-4.

27. Feng Kuei ( 馮貴 ): see Ming Shih ch 154, p.4230. Chiao-chih was the name given to Annam by the central government (see note 31 below).
28. Ma Ch'i ( 马静): a eunuch who was army inspector in Annam (Chiao-chih) from AD1410-27. See DMB vol 1, p655 & CHC vol 7(i), p231.

29. See Ming shih-lu (Hsinan Tsung shih-lu) vol 16, ch 15, p395-6. Li Li ( 李利 - pronounced Le Lo'i) was the founder of the Annamite Le dynasty. Shan Shou ( 山秀) was an eunuch sent to him from court. For details of these events see DMB vol 2, p793ff and CHC vol 7(i), pp282 and 290-291.

30. Fang Cheng ( 方政) was a Ming commander involved in the attempted pacification of Annam (see DMB vol 1, pp147 & 281) and Chiao-chih was the name given to Annam when it was incorporated into the Ming empire in July AD1407. As Chan writes (CHC vol 7(i), p230): "The pacification of Annam presented major and intractable problems (to the Ming court)." His attack on Le Lo'i is briefly recorded in the Ming Shih vol 1, ch 9, p116.

31. For the loss of Chinese control of Annam (Chiao-chih) at the start of Hsüan Tsung's reign see CHC vol 7(i), p205-206, 229-231, 289-91 et passim.

32. T'u-mu ( トム ): a place west of Peking where the Ming forces inadvisely and disastrously engaged the Mongol forces under Esen, the emperor having followed the advice of Wang Chen (see note 20 above). For a discussion of the 'T'u-mu Debacle' see Twitchett & Grimm, CHC vol 7(i), pp322-325 and also DMB vol 1, p416ff and Mote FW, "The T'u-mu Incident of 1449" in Chinese Ways of Warfare, ed Kierman and Fairbank, pp 243-272.

33. See notes 31 and 32 above and CHC vol 7(i) pp205-206, 229-231, 289-91 et passim.

34. Lu Hsiang ( 盧祥 ): a Ming official who was a chin-shih during the Cheng-t'ung period. Although he is mentioned twice in the Ming Shih (vol 8, ch 91, p2250 & vol 15, ch 164, p4455) the incident here referred to is not recorded.

35. I Ching, SSCCS vol 1, p36 and Wilhelm, I Ching p35.

36. Ch'eng Tsu ( 成祖): the 3rd Ming emperor who reigned during the Yung-lo period (AD1403-1424). See CHC vol 7(i), pp205-276. For his expansionist policies see p221ff.

37. See Tso Chuan V, 2, LCC vol 5, p135. Trans. after Legge p137. See also Tu Yu's Ch'un-ch'iu ching-chuan chi-chieh SPTK vol 2, p40.

38. I Ching, SSCCS vol 1, pp104-5.

39. For brief details of this four-part military endeavour in which each military commander was accompanied by a eunuch supervisor see DMB vol 1, p971.

40. Wang Chen ( 王振): See note 20 above. For his role in the T'u-mu debacle see particularly CHC vol 7(i), p1446ff.

41. Yang-ho ( 阳和) was situated west of T'u-mu and was the site of a disastrous defeat of a Chinese force led by one of Wang Chen's protégés, Kuo Ching ( 郭敬) at the hands of the Mongol forces of Esen in AD1449. See CHC vol 7(i), pp322-324 & 328 and also DMB (under Esen) vol 1, p416ff. Kuo Ching (郭敬) was a eunuch of the 15th century. For his association with Wang Chen see note 41 above. He was also associated with the eunuch Ch'en Ch'eng (陈敬) in embassies to non-Chinese people. See DMB vol 1, p145.

42. This forms part of a memorial by Hsü Chen ( 徐真) to be found in the Ming shih-lu (Ying Tsung shih-lu) vol 31, ch 188, pp3830-1. I cannot find any biographical information on Hsü Chen.
43. Biographical details for Tuan Chien (段堅) may be found in Ming Shih vol 24, ch 281, pp7209-7210 and for Liao Jang (柳讓) in the Ming Shih vol 15, ch 164, pp4447-8. I am unable to trace Hsiao Min (萧敏) in the historical or biographical literature. The references to the Ming shih-lu (永通志書) are as follows: for Tuan Chien, vol 31, ch 193, p4044; for Liao Jang, vol 31, ch 193, pp4063-4; for Hsiao Min, not located.

44. Wang Hui (王微 - ca AD1407-1489): a Ming official. See Ming Shih ch 180, pp4767-8 for biographical details and part of what were two memorials. See also CHC vol 7(i), pp369-70 for a consideration of these events. The official designation 'Executor Assistant' for chi-shih and 'Six Offices of Scrutiny' for liu-k'o are to be found in Hucker 583, p132 and 3793, p317 respectively. There follows a long quotation from the Ming shih-lu, see note 47 below.

45. Ts'ao Chi-hsiang (曹吉祥 - died AD 1461): a eunuch and protege of Wang Chen. He was instrumental in the restoration of Ying Tsung in AD1457 having risen to power during the time of control of Ying Tsung's younger brother. According to Twitchett & Grimm (CHC vol 7(i), p338) he "... saw himself as a new Wang Chen ..." and "... was to prove extremely corrupt and untrustworthy in years to come." See DMB pp1298-9 and CHC vol 7(i), pp338-42.

46. Niu Yü (牛玉): also a Ming eunuch who was demoted and punished as a consequence of the writings of Wang Hui and his associates. See CHC vol 7(i), p369.

47. This marks the end of the long quotation for the memorial by Wang Hui and others. See Ming shih-lu (永通志書) vol 39, ch 11, p241ff.

48. A euphemistic reference to usurpation of the Prince of Yen who established himself as the 3rd Ming emperor in AD1402. For details of the civil war from AD1399-1402 see CHC vol 7(i), pp196-202.

49. This is Hucker's term for officials he describes as being "... commissioned on an ad hoc basis to accompany an army on campaign, monitor its activities and independently report to the throne." (815, p147).

50. For consideration of the Yung-lo emperor's use of eunuchs in secret and other surveillance work see CHC vol 7(i), pp212-4.

51. Tso Chuan IX, 18, LCC vol 5, p476. See also Legge's translation on p478.

52. AD780. For Te Tsung's policies towards the eunuchs see CHC vol 3(i), pp512-514, 580-581, 587-588 & 598-601.

53. For biographical details concerning Chang She (張涉) see the Chiu T'ang Shu vol 11, ch 127, pp3577-8.

54. It is not clear what is being referred to here.

55. Tso Chuan VI, 3, LCC vol 5, p235. This phrase also appears in the Odes No 244(8), LCC vol 3, p463.

56. The term chin-shih (近侍) is rendered by Hucker (1147, p167) 'court attendant' from the N-S division to the Chin period. It is probably the eunuchs that are being referred to here although there is an original note to the effect that in Chin times court attendants were not necessarily eunuchs.

57. The term feng-yü (奉御) is rendered by Hucker (2026, p215) 'chief steward'. The translation of hsing-lu yü-shih (行路御史) is a compound of several entries in Hucker (2561, p244; 3839, p322; 8167, p592).
Liu Ch'i (刘斅) was a Yuan scholar and author of the Kuei-chien chih (归潜志). For biographical details see Chin Shih vol 4, ch 126, p2734. The quotation here given may be found in the Chin Shih vol 4, ch 111, p2447. The terms huang-lu yu-shih may be rendered acting censor for a lu (see Hucker 2561, p244, 3839 p322 & 8165 p592). According to Hucker, feng-yu was a term applied, during the period Sui to Chin, to heads of services constituting the palace administration (2026, p215).

For these terms see Hucker 786, p145 and 1674, p197.

Here and subsequently this refers to the first Ming emperor, Chu Yuan-chang (朱元璋) or T'ai Tsu, who restricted the involvement of eunuchs in government business. (See CHC vol 7(i), pp150 & 287).

I am unable to find any record of this for the year in question in the Ming shih-lu fu-lu.

Chiang Te-ching (蒋德璟): a Ming official during the last period of the dynasty (chin-shih in AD1622). For his biographical details see the Ming Shih vol 21, ch 251, pp6500-3. It would appear that the remainder of the essay is from Chiang's memorial but I have been unable to locate the source.

See Chou Li (Hsiao-tsai), SSSCCS vol 3, p43.

Nieh Ching-tung (聂慶重). For biographical details see the Ming Shih vol 6, ch 74, p1826.

See Hucker (5393, p433) who writes, with reference to the term shou-pei (守備): "(In the) Ming period Grand Commandant, from the 1420's the senior of three dignitaries who constituted a military regency council in control of the auxiliary capital, Nanking; normally a duty assignment for a marquis or an earl but early became an assignment for favoured eunuchs."

Hucker 390, p122.

This should read Ching-t'ai (程泰 - AD1450-1456).

For the development of ying in the Ming period see CHC vol 7(1), p244ff and also Hucker 8009, p583. I am unable to trace the use of the term chien-ch'iang which means, literally, 'supervisor of spears'.

Yü Ch'ien (于謙 - AD1398-1457): described by Francke (DMB vol 2, p1608ff) as a 'statesman and military man'; he was responsible for the military reorganisation referred to above (see note 70). See also CHC vol 7(i), pp326-8, 332-4 & 338-40.

The first Ming emperor, whose policy was to limit the power of eunuchs. See note 5 above.

Chu Hou-ts'ung (朱厚熜): the Chia-ching Emperor (AD1522-1566). For his policies regarding eunuchs see CHC vol 7(i), p447ff.

Wang Chen (王振): a Ming eunuch (see notes 20 and 41 above).

Wei Chung-hsien (魏忠賢): an infamous and powerful eunuch of the late Ming period (AD1568-1627). See CHC vol 7(i), pp596-9, 601-2, 606-7 & 608-14. For consideration of the matter of the temples see p609.

See Mencius IA, 4(6), LCC vol 2, p133.
1. See Chiu T'ang Shu vol 1, ch 9, p218.


4. Kuan-ch'a shih (観察使): “Surveillance Commissioner, originally one of many delegates from the central government to province-size circuits (t'ao), from the late 700's sharing regional authority as civil governors with military commissioners (chieh-tu shih) as military governors.” (Hucker 3269, p283).

5. See Ch'üan T'ang shih vol 10, ch 343, p3850.

6. A form of tax termed 'selective impositions' by Twitchett, *(Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty* p30, 147 et seq.) and mentioned several times in Han Yu's writings.

7. Reference is made to an edict concerning 'drawing money in advance' in Honan, in the Chiu Wu Tai Shih vol 2, ch 34, p474 although there is no mention here of the inadequacy of army provisions.

8. The death of Chuang Tsung (Li Ts'un-hsü) occurred in the 4th month of the 4th year of T'ung-kuang. See Chiu Wu Tai Shih vol 2, ch 34.

9. An encyclopaedic work compiled by Ma Tuan-lin (馬端臨) and completed around AD1308. See SB pp174-5.

10. This is, in part, referred to in the Chiu Wu Tai Shih vol 6, ch 146, p1947.


12. Hsich Chün-chih (謝君直) is Hsich Fang-te (謝枋得 - AD1226-1289). For biographical details see the Sung Shih vol 36, ch 425, pp12687-9. I have been unable to find the quote here given.

13. See also *Odes* 113 as for note 12 above.

14. Yü Ch'ien (虞兼): a Ming official. For biographical details see Ming Shih vol 24, ch 150, p4167ff.

2(i)/11/16

1. Chi-nan (濟南): a ch'un established in Han times in the area of the old kingdom of Chi and corresponding to what is now the eastern part of Li-cheng hsien in Shantung province.

2. *Han Shu* vol 1, ch 5, p148. During Ching Ti's reign the method of numbering of the years underwent a transition (see CHC vol 1, p687). For details of the changes in the monetary system as this time and the penalties attendant upon counterfeiting see CHC vol 1, pp585-590.
3. *Shih Chi* vol 4, ch 30, p1439. (See also Watson, B. *Records of the Grand Historian of China* vol 2, pp101-102). For Ju Shun's note see *Shih Chi* loc cit, p1440.

4. *Sung Shih* vol 1, ch 2, p33.

5. *Chiu T'ang Shu* vol 2, ch 17(i), pp531-532.

6. Shui-heng tu-wei (水衡都尉): described by Hucker (5497, p438) as being, in Han times, "from 115BC a major official of the central government ... in general supervisory in control of the Imperial Forest Park and many revenue-producing and manufacturing activities associated with it; his subordinate directors (ling) controlled such disparate things as coinage, granaries, stables and steel manufacturing."

7. The office of Chih-chin (藏金) in Chou times, rendered by Hucker (962, p157) 'Oversee of Treasures'.

2(i)/12/2


3. This exchange is recorded, slightly differently, in the *Ming Shih* vol 1, ch 3, p39.


5. ibid p4567. The quote from *Mencius* is from IA, 1(4), LCC vol 2, p126. Consideration of the schemes of Yü-wen Jung and the others may be found in the CHC vol 3(i), p382ff and p420ff.


7. Hsia, Yin and Chou dynasties.

8. The *Kuan Tzu* and the *Shang Tzu* - see SPTK vol 18.


2(i)/12/9

1. See *Shih Chi* vol 4, ch 25, p1243. T'ai-shih Kung is, of course, Ssu-ma Ch'ien.

2. See *Hou Han Shu* vol 9, ch 76, p2478. Biographical details of Liu Ch'ung are to be found on p2477ff.

3. This refers to the years of Hsüan Tsung's reign after AD713. Yao is Yao Ch'ung (姚崇) and Sung is Sung Ching (宋誼). For details of their periods of pre-eminence see CHC vol 3(i), p345ff and for Liu Fang's judgement see p376.

4. Yüan Chen (元稹 - AD779-831): a renowned poet of the T'ang period who also rose to high office. These lines come from the poem 'Tai ch'u chiang lao-jen pai-yün'. See *Ch'üan T'ang shih* vol 22, ch 405, p4516.
5. Yuan Chieh (元结 - AD723-772): a T'ang writer of prose and verse who wrote on the topic of the people's sufferings. For biographical details see Hsin T'ang Shu vol 15, ch 143, p4681-6. For the quote here given see the T'ang Yuan Tzu-shan wen-chi, shih-i (唐元次山文集), SPTK.

6. The reference here is to those who had fled from their lands and were presumably engaged in some form of brigandage from places providing ease of concealment and defence. See eg Mencius VIIB, 23(2), LCC vol 2, p488.

7. For the phrase i-pien (by one change) see Lun Yü VI, 22, LCC vol 1, p192.

8. Shen Tsung was Chu I-chün, the Wan-li emperor who reigned from AD1573-1619. For details of his administration see CHC vol 7(i), p514 et seq.


2(ii)/13/1

1. Named Kai (~), son of King Ching of Chou (~) he ruled for 44 years from 519-476BC.

2. The final sentence in the *Spring & Autumn Annals*; XII, 14, i.e. the 14th year of Duke Ai (~) of Lu (~). For consideration of the lin see Legge, *Spring & Autumn Annals*, LCC vol 5, p834.

3. Named Chieh (~), son of King Yuan (~) he ruled for 28 years from 468-441 BC.

4. *Tso Chuan* XII, 27: The final paragraph reads: "The duke (Ai Kung) was distressed and annoyed by the arrogance of the three Hwans and wished for the help of the other princes to take them off. The three Hwans were in like manner distressed and annoyed by the rudeness of the duke and thus there arose many differences between him and them. The duke had been rambling in Ling-fan and met Mang Woo-pih in the street of Mang-she. 'Let me ask you' said he to him, 'if I shall (be permitted to) die (a natural death)'. Woo-pih replied that he had no means of knowing. Thrice the duke put the question till the minister declined to give any answer. The duke then wished, with the help of Yueh, to attack Loo and take off the three Hwans. In autumn, in the eighth month, he went to Kung-sun Yew-bing's and thence he withdrew to Chao from which he went onto Yueh. The people attributed the blame of this to Kung-sun Yew-shan" (Legge, LCC vol 5, p861). The three Hwans were Chung Sun, Shu Suo and Chi Sun, high officials in Lu.

5. Re Duke Ai, the *Shih Chi* states: "... the people of the kingdom welcomed his return and he died in (the house of) Yu Shan Shih" (vol 5, ch 33, p1545). According to the note Duke Ai reigned from Chi-chen (497BC) to Keng-wu (471BC) although this does not tally with the chronology given in the *Tzu Hai*. Yu Shan Shih was an official in Lu.

6. i.e. 468BC.

7. Named Wu (~), son of King Kao (~) he reigned for 24 years from 425-402BC.

8. Also known by the posthumous titles, Wen Hou (~), Lieh Hou (~) and Ching Hou (~).

9. Named Chiao (~), son of King Wei-lich (~) he reigned for 26 years from 401-376BC.

10. T'ien Ho (~), a descendant of the ruling house of Chi. See Legge's note in the *Tso Chuan* XII, 14, LCC vol 5, p840.

11. Named Chiung (~), son of King An, he ruled for 48 years from 368-321BC.

12. Chi (~), Ch'u (~), Yen (~), Chao (~), Han (~) and Wei (~).

13. Su Ch'in (~): a native of Loyang whose initial attempts to gain official employment in Ch'in were unsuccessful. He later conceived the idea of federating the six states in an alliance against the rapidly growing power of Ch'in in the west. He achieved great power but after the breakdown of the alliance was disgraced and later assassinated.

14. An alliance on a north-south geographical basis of six kingdoms (Yen, Chao, Han, Wei, Chi and Ch'u) against the burgeoning power of Ch'in (see note 13 above).

15. From 467-334BC.
16. 722-484BC.
17. 403-221BC (the Warring States period).
18. There is an original note referring to the following passage in the *Shih Chi* (vol 1, ch 5, p203): "Duke Hsiao (Ch'in) sent Kung-tzu Shao-kuan to lead the feudal lords to a meeting at Feng-tse to visit the king." This was in the time of Hsien Wang (368-321BC).
19. The creation of the Ch'in dynasty in 221BC.
20. King Wen of Chou, named Ch'ang (陳) and his son King Wu, named Fa (武), who overthrew the Shang to assume control of the empire.
22. Tung Chung-shu (董仲舒); a renowned Confucian scholar of the former Han period. See Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy* vol 2, ch 2, sections 7-9 incl., pp32-46.
23. The first three emperors of the later Han, ruling from AD25-57, AD58-75 and AD76-88 respectively. See also *Lun Yü* VI, 22, LCC vol 1, p192.
24. AD1041-1086.

Notes to 2(ii)/13/2

1. Kuei-chi shan (郭之山) was situated in Chekiang province and is mentioned in several ancient texts including the *Ch'in-shih Huang pen-chi* (see *Shih Chi* vol 1, ch 6, p233).
2. First emperor of the short-lived Ch'in dynasty (221-206BC), the creation of which resulted from the defeat and annexation of the seven states of the Warring States period under the Ch'in hegemon.
3. *Shih Chi* vol 1, ch 6, p243.
4. ibid p252.
5. ibid p262.
6. Kou Chien (高詹); a prince of the Yüeh state. For biographical details see *Shih Chi* ch 41, p1739.
7. *Kuo Yü, Yüeh-yü shang* SPTK vol 14, *Kuo Yü* p146. This also appears in the *Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu* ch 10, (SPTK vol 15, p68).
8. Tzu-hsi (赵姬) is Wu Yüan (呉越) a native of Ch'u in the sixth and fifth centuries BC who served Prince Liao of Wu and was involved in war with Yüeh. See *T'ai-ping yü-lan* ch 47. See also *Shih Chi* vol 7, ch 66, p2171ff.
9. Yen (鸞) existed as northern and southern states in Chou times, corresponding to parts of present day Hopei and Honan. Ch'i (齐) was also an ancient Chou period state corresponding to north-eastern Shantung and part of Chihli. Yüeh (越) itself, in Chou times occupied the present Fukien and Chekiang.
10. Presumably referring here to King Yü of Hsia, King T'ang of Yin and King Wen of Chou.
Notes on 2(ii)13/3

1. Han Wu Ti ( 漢武帝 ) 140-87BC: a noted patron of Confucian scholarship. For his decree with respect to the classics see CHC vol 1, pp74,154 & 769-770.

2. The Changes, Odes, History, Rites, Music and the Spring and Autumn Annals.

3. Wang Mang ( 王莽 - 33BC to AD23): he was a nephew of the consort of the Emperor Yuan. During the declining years of the Former Han dynasty he gained increasing political power, finally assuming the regency in AD6, after the death of the Emperor P'ing. In his endeavours he was greatly encouraged by sycophants and flatterers.


5. In the later part of the Eastern Han, particularly under the reign of Huan Ti (AD147-167) the power of the eunuchs greatly increased. This trend was somewhat restrained by the actions of upright officials such as Li Ying ( 李儀 ) but fortunes were later reversed and the faction was proscribed. See Hou Han Shu vol 8, ch 67, p2183.

6. Odes No 90, LCC vol 4, p143. See also Legge's note on p143 of the different views as to the significance of this verse. Ku Yen-wu obviously subscribes to the view that it represents "..... a longing for superior men to arise and settle the disturbed state of Ch'ing (ie Cheng), men who would do their duties as the cocks in the darkest and stormiest night."

7. Hsia, Shang and Chou.

8. Fan Yeh ( 范晔 - AD398-446): A Sung (N-S division) scholar and author of the Hou Han Shu.

9. Hou Han Shu vol 9, ch 79, p2589.

10. ibid vol 7, ch 61, p2043.

11. Meng-te ( 孟德 ) was Ts'ao Ts'ao ( 曹操 -AD155-220). Chi-chou ( 翟州 ) was one of the nine divisions of ancient China, but subsequently the name was given to a region from Han times onward. See Han Shu vol 6, ch 28, p1541 and the map of the Han Empire at AD140 in CHC vol 1, map 12, pp252-253.

12. Tung Chao ( 東曹 ); a Wei official who served under the second Wei emperor (Ming Ti). This quote is part of a memorial sent up in the fourth year of the T'ai-ho reign period (AD230). See San Kuo Chih vol 2, ch 14, pp436-442 for Tung Chao's biography and p442 for the memorial.

13. This refers to the rise of what has been termed Neo-Taoism, following the end of the Later Han dynasty. See e.g. Fung Yu-lan's History of Chinese Philosophy vol 2, ch 5 & 6.

14. The first three emperors of the Later Han; Kuang Wu Ti ( 光武帝 - AD25-57), Ming Ti ( 明帝 - AD58-75) and Chang Ti ( 章帝 - AD76-88). See reference to CHC vol 1 in note 4.

15. Teng Yu ( 鄭禹 - AD1-58): an official and general of the early part of the Later Han period who served the Emperor Kuang Wu. For his biography, which includes the subsequent sentence see Hou Han Shu vol 3, ch 16, pp599-607.


17. Ts'ai Yung ( 蔡邕 - AD133-192): an important scholar of the Later Han period and one of those
primarily concerned with the preparation of the 'Han Stone Classics'. According to Mansvelt Beck (CHC vol 1, p346) he was one of the "great scholars" who were "... intimidated into joining his (i.e. Tung Cho's) government." See Hou Han Shu vol 7, ch 60, p197ff. In relation to the episode described Giles (BD p754) writes: "He had just been ennobled as Marquis when Tung Cho himself fell, and for words of regret which he thoughtlessly uttered he was once more thrown into prison where he died, in spite of great efforts to obtain his release."

18. Tung Cho (董卓 - died AD192): a general of the Later Han period who gained briefly what was, in effect, supreme power during the reign of Shao Ti (少帝) and Hsien Ti (獻帝) from AD189 when he entered the capital to his death in AD192. He coerced Ts'ai Yung among others into serving him (vide supra). See Hou Han Shu vol 8, ch 72, p2319ff and CHC vol 1, pp341-350.


Notes to 2(ii)/13/4

1. Wei Ming Ti (魏明帝) ruled from AD227-239 (see San Kuo Chih vol 1, ch 3, p91ff). On his death Shao Ti (少帝) i.e. the Prince of Ch'i - (see San Kuo Chih vol 1, ch 4, p117ff) assumed the throne. A note in the San Kuo Chih (p117) refers to the Wei-shih ch'un-ch'iu (魏氏春秋) as recording that some say Shao Ti was the son of Jen-ch'eng-wang (Ts'ao) K'ai. The Prince of Ch'i ruled from AD240-253. The Cheng-shih reign period extended from AD240-248.

2. Su-sha (司馬懿), who initially served under Ts'ao Ts'ao (曹操) was subsequently in command of the army under three successive emperors. Ts'ao Shuang (曹爽), a close associate of Ming Ti, later gave himself to a life of debauchery and was, in AD249, put to death for conspiracy. See San Kuo Chih vol 1, ch 4, p123.

3. Wei (魏) Shu (蜀) and Wu (吳).

4. Loyang (洛陽), the ancient name of Honanfu, was also known as Lohsia (洛下) or Lohsia (雒下).

5. Chin Shu vol 4, ch 36, p1067. Wang Tun (王敦), died AD324, was a son-in-law of Chin Wu Ti and rose to high office under Yuan Ti. Wei Chieh (魏介), renowned for his beauty, was the son of Wei Huan, a high official under Chin Hui Ti.

6. For biographical details of Chih Tun (支遁) and some account of his writings see Fung Yu-lan's History of Chinese Philosophy vol 2, pp249-252.

7. Sung Shu vol 5, ch 54, p1536. T'ai Tsu (太祖) was the Sung Emperor, Wen Ti (文帝) who reigned from AD424-453. Yang Yuan-pao was a high official of that period. The bamboo grove refers to the 'Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove'.

8. Indicates the Taoist thought of dwelling in quiescence and non-activity.


10. Nan Chi Shu vol 2, ch 33, p600.


12. The home of Confucius.

13. Chin Shu vol 8, ch 91, p2346.

15. Cheng Hsüan (蜻蜓 - AD127-200): a pupil of Ma Jung and one of the most celebrated commentators on the classics. Wang Su (王肅 - died AD256): another noted Confucian scholar and classical commentator and editor or putative author of the K'ung-tzu chiu-yü (子家語).

16. Lao Tzu (老子) and Chuang Chou (莊周).

17. Wang Pi (王弼 - AD226-245): a scholar noted for his commentaries on the I Ching and the Tao-te ching. Ho Yen (何晏): a scholar of the third century AD particularly noted for his work on The Changes. Also known as a keen student of Lao Tzu and Chuang Chou who, with Hsia-hou Hsüan (夏侯玄) and others of the Wei period, indulged in ‘pure talk’.

18. Here and subsequently the term t'ien-hsia must be taken as indicating the moral foundation of the empire.


20. ibid, LCC vol 2, p282.

21. Chi Shao (嵇紹 - AD253-304): The son of Chi K'ang (see note 22 below) who rose to be imperial librarian under the Emperor Wu Ti of the Chin dynasty. He fell in battle bravely defending the Emperor Hui Ti whose robes were spattered with Shao's blood. It is said that the emperor refused to allow the blood to be washed off the garments. See Chin Shu vol 8, ch 89, pp2298-2301.

22. Chi K'ang (嵇康 - AD223-262): one of the ‘Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove’ described in Fung Yu-lan's History of Chinese Philosophy (vol 2, p205) as "... a group of taoisticaUy minded men who used to meet in a bamboo grove for convivial and often bibulous conversation" and "somewhat devoted to alchemy". He was denounced to the Emperor Wen Ti and condemned to death.

23. Ssu-ma Chao (司馬昭 - AD211-265): son of Ssu-ma I and minister to the third emperor of Wei. Canonised by his son, the first emperor of the Chin dynasty as T'ai Tsu Wen Huang Ti.

24. Ssu-ma Yen (司馬炎 - AD236-290): the eldest son of Ssu-ma Chao (see note 23 above). In AD265 he deposed the Wei emperor, Yuan Ti, and founded the Chin dynasty with its capital at Loyang.

25. Shan T'ao (山濤 - AD205-283): an official who rose to high office under Wu Ti of Chin (Ssu-ma Yen, see note 25 above). He was one of the 'Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove'. See Chin Shu vol 4, ch 43, pp1223-1228.


27. Tang-ying (蕆隴): an ancient place name situated in what is now Honan province and the place of Chi Shao’s death defending the Emperor Hui Ti.

28. Wang P'ou (王裒): a man of the Chin period and one of the twenty-four examples of filial piety. He, like Chi Shao, had a father put to death but unlike Shao he thenceforth lived in retirement and refused to serve the Chin house. See Chin Shu vol 7, ch 88, pp2279-2280.

29. Liu Ts'ung (劉聰) and Shih Le (石勒) combined on behalf of Liu Yuan (劉淵) who, in AD308, had proclaimed himself the first emperor of the new Han dynasty, and attacked the imperial armies, gaining control over a large area of land. Subsequently both men sought, and
relatively briefly attained, great power. The Han state at one point occupied the whole of Shansi.

2(ii)/13/5

1. The term shih ta-fu (士大夫) refers generally to the official class and according to Hucker (5315, p429) was "... throughout history a collective reference to all those who were entitled to be, or had been, officials (kuan) in government service."

2. The Later Liang, the Later T'ang, the Later Chin, the Later Han, and the Later Chou. The period extended from AD907-960.

3. Fan Chih (范质 - died AD954): A noted official who served the Later T'ang, the Later Chou and finally Sung T'ai Tsu. He rose to be minister of state. See Sung Shih ch 249.

4. Wang P'u (王溥 AD922-982): A renowned scholar who rose to be minister of state in the Later Chou period and subsequently served the first two Sung emperors. See Sung Shih ch 249.

5. Sung T'ai Tsu (宋太祖).


7. Wei Jung (衛融): an official in the northern Han state who, when Sung T'ai Tsu overran the state, proclaimed his readiness to die but was released by the victor as a tribute to his loyalty. See Sung Shih ch 482.

8. Chen Tsung (真宗 - AD998-1022) and Jen Tsung (仁宗 - AD1023-1063): the third and fourth Sung emperors.

9. All worthy officials of the Sung period.

10. Chin-shen (申紳): According to Hucker (1145, p167) "... throughout history a generic reference to a member of the official class, particularly referring to members of the class not serving in office but residing at home and wielding great local influence."

11. Refers to the overthrow of the Sung by the Jurchen (Tartars).

12. See Sung Shih vol 38, ch 446, p13149.

13. This refers to the transition from the Western to Eastern Han. Ai (哀帝 - 6BC-AD1) and Ping (平帝 - AD1-6) were the last two emperors of the Western Han prior to Wang Mang's usurpation.

14. See Changes, SSCCS vol 1, Chou I p64. Also Wilhelm, p96 and Legge op cit, p106; in particular see Legge's note on pp96-97.

15. AD1023-1064.

16. See I Ching for t'ai (大) and Wilhelm op cit, p441.

17. Wang An-shih (王安石 - AD1021-1086); he became particularly influential during the reign of Shen Tsung and instituted a series of radical reforms.

18. The men listed were among the followers of Wang An-shih. See Sung Shih vol 30, ch 329, p10612. For biographical details of the individuals listed see as follows:

20. I am unable to identify the author of this apparent quote, Li Ying-chung (李應中).

21. *Odes* 223 (verse 6), LCC vol 4, p406. See also Legge's note on the same page.


25. See *Lun Yu* XI, 5, LCC vol 1, p238. Nan Yung was frequently repeating the lines about a white sceptre stone. See also Legge's note.

26. The *Tung-hsüan pi-lu* (東軒筆錄): a work by the Sung scholar Wei T'ai (魏泰) published around AD1090. (See SB pp102-103).

27. Lü Hui-ch'ing (呂惠卿 - AD1031-1110): Described by Menshikoff (SB pp365-366) as "... an important high official of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries, a scholar learned in ancient Confucian philosophy, one of the active supporters of the reforms of Wang An-shih and a prominent military leader who was especially successful in the wars against the Tangut state ..." See also *Sung Shih* vol 39, ch 471, pp13705-13709.

28. A renowned archer said to have lived in the 3rd millennium BC. For his intentions see *Mencius* VIA, 20 & VIIA, 41.

29. Teng Wan (滕端): A Sung scholar and official. See note 18 above.

30. Much of this paragraph is a direct quote from the later part of ch 5 of Wei T'ai's *Record of the Eastern Pavilion* (see note 26 above).


32. The *Ta-tai li-chi* (大戴禮記): A work attributed to the Han scholar Tai Te (戴德) writing in the 1st century BC. See ICCL pp313 & 342.

33. *Ta-tai li-chi* ch 10 (SPTK vol 3, p54). The excerpt quoted is not identical with the original.

34. *History* IV, V, 1 LCC vol 3, p201.

35. This is an almost complete quotation from the later part of ch 6 of Wei T'ai's work (see note 26 above).

36. For details of the *Su shih i-chuan* (蘇氏易傳) see SB pp4-9. The quote here given may be found in ch 6, TSCC edition (vol 2, pp137-8).

38. *Lun Yu* II, 10, LCC vol 1, p149.

39. ibid XII, 20, LCC vol 1, pp259-260.

40. Lu Yu (陸羽 - AD1125-1210): One of the leading poets of the Sung period. See ICCL pp609-611.

41. See *Lu Yu chi* vol 2, ch 31, p833.

2(iii)/13/7


2. A T'ang writer (Chung Chang-ao - 仲長敟教): I have not been able to trace the writing here referred to.

3. *Nan Shih* vol 6, ch 74, p1851.


5. Li Ling (李陵) was a grandson of the renowned general of the Former Han period, Li Kuang (李廣) the family being from Ch'eng-chi (成紀) in Lung-hsi province (龍西). The chronicle of the family is given both in the *Shih Chi* (vol 9, ch 109) and the *Han Shu* (ch 54). For Li Ling's surrender to the Hsiung-nu see *Shih Chi* vol 9, ch 109, pp2877-2878. Watson has a translation in the *Records of the Grand Historian of China* vol 2, pp153-154. See, in particular, his note 4 on p154 for the relationship of Li Ling's surrender to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's castration.

6. This is Tuan Kan-mu (段干木). See *Shih Chi* vol 6, ch 44, p1839 and the cheng i on the same page for details.

7. The Seven Kingdoms of the Warring States period: Ch'in, Ch'u, Ch'i, Yen, Han, Wei and Chao.

8. A phrase from *Mencius* (VII A 26, LCC vol 2, p464): "The philosopher Mo loves all equally. If by rubbing smooth his whole body from the crown to the heel he could have benefited the kingdom he would have done so!" (Trans. after Legge).

9. See Hucker 1682, p197. A term variably used to denote recommendee (N-S division to T'ang), prefectural graduate (Sung) or provincial graduate (Yüan - Ch'ing). See also essay 2(iii)/16/3.

10. Huang Hsien (黃憲). His tzu was Shu-tu (叔度). He was a man of the later Han period known for his virtue. See *Hou Han Shu* ch 53, p1744.

11. Ch'in Chia (秦嘉): A man of the Later Han period from Lung-hsi who retired because of the illness of his wife Hsü Shu (徐謝). See *Chou Li*, SSCCS vol 3, p279 for reference to the term san ming (三命). The term refers to official rank.

12. This marks the end of the excerpt from Hsieh Ch'ien-kuang's memorial. See *Chiu T'ang Shu* vol 10, ch 101, pp3137-3139 and note 4 above.
14. Fan Chung-yen (范仲淹 - AD989-1052): A renowned scholar and administrator of the Sung period. See Sung Shih vol 29, ch 314, pp10267-10276 and SB p117. Yen Shu (晏殊 - AD984-1046): A poet and official of the Sung period. See Sung Shih vol 29, ch 311, pp10195-10198. Yao (姚) and Shun (舜) were, of course, the last emperors of the legendary period and renowned for their good works. Chieh is Chieh Kuei (桀 - died BC1763): The last emperor of the Hsia dynasty whilst Chou is Chou Hsin (纣 - died BC1122) the last emperor of the Yin dynasty. Both are renowned for their cruelty, lust and extravagance which brought to an end their respective dynasties. For the 'Eight Good Ones' and the 'Four Wicked Ones' see Tso Chuan VI, 18, LCC vol 5, p280 and Legge's translation pp282-283. They were, in brief, descendants of early emperors who manifested good and bad characteristics respectively.

15. Kung-sun Hung (公孫弘 - died BC121): He "... is remembered in the annals of Chinese history as the classic case of a man who rose from the humblest circumstances of a keeper of pigs to the office of chancellor, highest in the land, which he held from 124-118BC." (Loewe M, in CHC vol 1, p109. See also pp769-770). For the reference to his being recommended for office by his state of Tzu-ch'uan for the second time see Shih Chi vol 9, ch 112, p2949.

16. Sun-shu Ao (孫叔敖): a man of Ch'u who, according to Giles (BD p694), "... thrice became prime minister without feeling joy and thrice suffered dismissal without feeling resentment ...." See also Tso Chuan VII, 12 LCC vol 5, p311ff and Shih Chi vol 10, ch 119, p3099. For the reference to the matter here alluded to see Shih Chi vol 10, ch 126, p3201.

17. The two place names, Fu-feng (扶風) and Cho-chün (酂郡) represent two Han officials, Yin Weng-kuei (尹翁歸) and Han Fu (韓福) respectively. See Han Shu vol 10, ch 76, pp3206-3210 and ch 72 p3083ff. Details of these allusions may be found on p3209 and 3083 respectively.

18. Han Shu vol 9, ch 58, p2624.

19. These three men, Hsü Mo (徐邈), Hu Chih (胡賀) and T'ien Yü (田豫) were of the Wei period. For their biographies see San Kao Chihi vol 3, ch 27, pp739-741, pp741-743 and ch 26 pp726-729 respectively. The proclamation is referred to in part on p729 and in detail on p740 although the wording differs somewhat from that in Ku Yen-wu's text.

20. Li Mi (李繇 - 5th century AD): A scholar of the Northern Wei period so devoted to study that he eschewed all official appointments. For his biography see Wei Shu vol 6, ch 90, pp1932-1939. The proclamation quoted may be found on pp1938-1939. It is not clear who Hui (惠) and K'ang (康) are. Hui is possibly Hui of Liu-hsia (柳下惠) - see Mencius II(A), 9(2), LCC vol 2, p207 while K'ang may refer to Chi K'ang (竇康), one of the 'Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove', although the latter was a contemporary of Huang-fu Mi (vide infra). Hsüan-yen (玄晏) or Yüan-yen (元晏) Hsien-sheng was the sobriquet of the Chin scholar Huang-fu Mi (崔府) - AD215-282) whose biography may be found in the Chin Shu vol 5, ch 51, p1409ff.

21. The T'ang liu tien was a work compiled by the Emperor Hsüan Tsung.

22. Ming officials. See Ming Shih as follows: Chi Piao-chia (崔彪佳) vol 23, ch 275, pp7051-7055; Kuei Tzu-mo (歸子慕) vol 24, ch 87, p7383.

23. See Hsin T'ang Shu vol 17, ch 174, p5229. Niu Seng-ju (牛僧孺) was an important statesman of the T'ang era. Detailed consideration of his significance may be found in the CHC vol 3(i), p639ff.

24. Hu Ying (胡濙 - AD1375-1463): A particularly long-serving Ming official whose family home was in Wu-chin (吳進). See Ming Shih vol 15, ch 169, pp4534-4537 and DMB vol 1, p643.
1. *Hsin Wu Tai Shih* vol 2, ch 54, pp612-615. Feng Tao ( Feng Shao ) served as a high official under several of the Five Dynasties emperors. See also *Chiu Wu Tai Shi* vol 5, ch 126, pp1655-1666.

2. See *Kuan Tzu* ch 1. STPK, vol 18 (Kuan Tzu) p4.

3. *Hsin Wu Tai Shih* vol 2, ch 54, p611.

4. *Lun Yu* XIII, 20 LCC vol 1, p271. The whole paragraph reads: "Tzu Kung asked, saying, 'What qualities must a man possess to entitle him to be called an officer?' The Master said, 'He who in his conduct of himself maintains a sense of shame and when sent to any quarter will not disgrace his prince's commission, deserves to be called an officer'."


6. ibid VIIA, 7, LCC vol 2, pp451-452.

7. Hucker's rendering of the term shih ta-fu ( 士大夫 ); see 5315, p429.

8. Hsia ( 夏 ), Shang ( 商 ) and Chou ( 周 ).

9. The sources of these three quotations are as follows: *Lun Yu* IX, 27, LCC vol 1, p225; *Odes* 90, LCC vol 4, p143 and *Ch'u Tzu*, Yu-fu (*Ch'i-fu hsien pien* vol 2, p535).

10. Yen Chih-t'ui ( 顏之推 ); A scholar and official who saw service under several emperors of the north-south division and finally the Sui period. See *Pei Chi Shu* vol 2, ch 45, pp617-626. His work, the *Yen shih chia-hsün*, was published during the Jen-shou reign period of the Sui dynasty (AD601-604).

11. The Hsien-pei ( 鲜卑 ); A tribe which occupied south-east Mongolia.


13. *Odes* 196, LCC vol 4, p333ff. In his notes to this poem Legge writes: "Some officer in a time of disorder and misgovernment urges on his brothers the duty of maintaining their own virtue and of observing the greatest caution."


15. Lo Ts'ung-yen ( 羅從彦 - AD 1079-1135): A prominent Neo-Confucian thinker and follower of Yang Shih ( 楊時 ). See *Sung Shih* vol 36, ch 428, pp12743-12745. For details of his writings (*Tsun yao lu* - 尊堯錄 ) see SB pp91-92. I have been unable to locate the exact source of this quote.

16. *Wu Tzu* ( 吳子 ): A work of the art of war in one chapter compiled by Wu Chi ( 吳起 ) in the Chou period. For the quoted passage see *Wu Tzu*, Tu-kuo 1, TSCC.

17. *Wei Liaotzu* ( 佐卿子 ): Also a work on warfare compiled by Wei Liao, probably of the Wei state in the period of the Warring States. The quote is from ch 1(4), TSCC.

18. This is a summary of T'ai-kung's statement which may be found in the *Liu Tao* ( 六韬 ) ch 3, (SPTK vol 18 (Liu Tao), p12).

19. *Odes* 7, LCC vol IV, p13ff. Legge in his note (p13) states: "The generally accepted view is that the
ode sets forth the influence of King Wan (acc. to Choo) or of T'ai-sze (acc. to Maou) as so powerful and beneficial that individuals in the lowest ranks were made fit by it to occupy the highest positions."

20. Chang Huan (張典): A general of the Later Han period. His biography is in the Hou Han Shu vol 8, ch 65, pp2138-2145. The reference is to p2138. See also CHC vol 1, p428ff.

21. Liao-tung (遼東): Established as a chün in Ch'in times corresponding to part of what is now Liaoling province.

22. Lien Po (廉頎) was a renowned general of the Chao state in the Warring States period. He was said to have been overtly jealous of Lin Hsiang-ju, a minister of that time who was ranked above him. He was however made to feel shame by Lin's courteous and deferential attitude towards him. It is presumably this shame which is referred to here. See Tu-shih yin-te vol 1, p74.

23. Wang Pi (王弼): A T'ang official. For this quotation see Chiu T'ang Shu vol 11, ch 123, p3686.

24. This phrase (師書燕説) is a reference to the Han Fei Tzu (Wai ch'u shuo) ch 11, (SPTK vol 18, Han Fei Tzu p56). According to this story Ying, while writing to Yen, called upon his attendant to raise the light higher. Unthinkingly he incorporated the instruction in his writing. This was interpreted by the recipient as a guide to conduct with beneficial effect.

2(ii)/13/13

1. Li Chi, T'an-kung, SSCCS vol 5, p174.

2. Hou Han Shu vol 8, ch 68, p2234. Hsü Shao (許劭) was an official of the later part of the Eastern Han dynasty renowned particularly for his outspoken opposition to Ts'ao Ts'ao. For the term kung-ts'ao see Hucker 3489, p296. Yüan Shao (袁紹 - died AD202) was also an official of the later part of the Eastern Han and an opponent of Ts'ao Ts'ao. See San Kuo Chih vol 1, ch 6, p188ff. For the incident involving Yüan Shao see San Kuo Chih vol 3, ch 23, p658 note 1.

3. Although the texts show some difference this incident is described in the Chin Shu vol 7, ch 77, p2033.

4. Li Te-lin (李德林 - AD530-590): A most distinguished scholar from Po-ling. He was assigned to the preparation of the Pei Chi Shu. For biographical details see the Sui Shu vol 4, ch 42, pp1193-1209 and Pei Shih vol 8, ch 72, pp2504-2508. The incident described may be found in the former, pp1193-1194.

5. Yüan Shu-te (袁叔德) is Yüan Yü-hsiu (袁嘉修) who was at one time prefect of Po-ling. Li Seng-chia (李僧伽) is said to have been a local worthy who declined to take office although his elder brother was an official. The incident here described is not recorded in the entries for Yüan Yü-hsiu in either the Pei Chi Shu (ch 42) or the Wei Shu (ch 85).

6. Mao Chieh (毛玠): An official in Wei during the Three Kingdoms period. See San Kuo Chih vol 2, ch 12, pp374-377. For the quoted descriptions see p375. The official titles given may be found in Hucker 6931 p521.

7. Yüan Tsai (袁載): A man of undistinguished family background who rose to become chief minister in AD762. He was compelled to commit suicide in AD777. See CHC vol 3(i), pp496-497 & 576-579 and also the Hsin T'ang Shu vol 15, ch 145, pp4711-4714.

8. Yang Wan (楊鑑): Also a T'ang official who rose to high office. See Chiu T'ang Shu vol 10,


15. Tzu Chan of Cheng (子產): Described by Legge as "... the ablest and perhaps the most upright of all the statesman among Confucius' contemporaries." See Lun Yu V, 15, LCC vol 1, p178 and Legge's note on the same page. See also Mencius IVB, 2, LCC vol 2, p317 and VA, 2, LCC vol 2, pp347-348.

16. Lo-i (趙邑 or 濟邑): Presumably this is the city completed by the Duke of Chou to which the Yin people were moved. It is not clear to what the present statement refers.

2(ii)/13/14

1. Li Chi (Li-yun ch 9), SS CCS vol 5, p440. Trans. after Legge (Li Chi - Book of Rites vol 1, p391).

2. Wang Yang (王陽) is Wang Chi (王子), a man of the Former Han period noted for his extravagance. See Han Shu vol 10, ch 72, pp3058-3066.

3. Kung-sun Hung (公孫弘 - died 121BC): A man who rose from the humblest beginnings to serve in the highest office of the land (see note 15, 2(ii)/13/7).

4. See the Ch'un-ch'iu and the Tso Chuan IX, 5, LCC vol 5, p426-7. Chi Wen-tzu (季文子) was Chi-sun Hang-fu (季孫行父), an officer of Lu who died in the 5th year of Duke Hsiang.

5. Chu-ko Liang (諸葛亮 - AD181-234): One of the most renowned of all Chinese statesman. He was ultimately prevailed upon to serve Liu Pei who gained control of Ssu-ch'uan with the assistance of Kung-ming, as Chu-ko Liang was popularly known. The Tzu-piao Hou chu may be found in the CSKW vol 3, ch 58.

6. Chu-ko Liang. See note 5 above.


8. Lu Huai-shen (盧懷慎): A T'ang official under Hsüan Tsung. See Chiu T'ang Shu vol 9,
1. The region south of the Wu-ling; the five mountain ranges which formed the southern border of the empire at the time of the Ch'in dynasty.

2. This term is rendered by Hucker (1431 p183) as: "Examiner, a generic term for officials who supervised civil recruitment examinations." I have taken it to have a somewhat different meaning here. See also Chiu T'ang Shu vol 1, ch 7, p159.

3. For details of these matters see Chiu T'ang Shu vol 1, ch 7, pp160ff and Hsin T'ang Shu vol 1, ch 5, pp116ff.


5. History IV, IV, III, 7 LCC vol 3, pp196-197. The king referred to is T'ang. For the preceding phrase see History IV, VII, II, LCC vol 3, p240.

6. Tso Chuan X, 14, LCC vol 5, p654.

7. The Hsia, Shang and Chou.

8. 'The Epoch of the Five Dynasties' covered a 53 year period from the end of the T'ang dynasty in AD927. They were in chronological order, Liang, T'ang, Chin, Han and Chou, all prefixed by the term 'posterior'.


10. Ying-chou (英州): Established during the Posterior Han period in an area to the east of Ying-te district in Kuang-tung province.

11. Ling-piao (嶺表): This term probably represents the same region as Ling-nan (see note 1 above).

12. These are as follows: fan (反) to rebel or oppose; ta-ni (大逆) rebellion and sedition; pan (叛) to rebel or revolt; o-ni (惡逆) to be unfilial, rebellious or refractory; pu-tao (不道) not to follow the Way; pu-ching (不敬) to be irreverent; pu-hsiao (不孝) not to be filial; pu mu (不睦) not to promote peace and be harmonious; pu i (不義) not to be righteous; nei luan (內亂) to bring about civil war or anarchy.


14. Yii Shen-hsing (于慎行 - AD1545-1608): A Ming scholar and high official. For biographical and other details see Ming Shih vol 19, ch 217, pp5737-5739 and DMB pp1614-1616. He is the author of four extant works which I have been unable to obtain (for details see DMB p1615), hence my inability to locate the source of the quote given.

15. For this phrase see Odes 57, LCC vol 14, p95.

16. A famous sword here taken to indicate power. For the background story see Shih Chi vol 7, ch 69,
p2251 and note 16, p2252.

17. For this phrase see Han Shu vol 8, ch 48, p2245 and note 23 on p2246.

18. The Pei-meng so-yen (北夢瑣言): A work compiled by Sun Kuang-hsien (孫光憲).

Reference to the above examples, for the most part minor officials of the Five Dynasties period, may (apart from the work quoted) be found as follows, (the majority being in the Ming Tsung pen-chih):

Tao Chi (陶紀) and Ch'eng Kuei-jen (程歸仁) - Chiu Wu Tai Shih vol 2, ch 36, p497 and ch 38, p526. For the official titles liu-hou (留後) ans ssu-ma (司馬) see Hucker 3790, p317 and 5713, p452.

Wang Wei-chi (王惟吉) not identified.


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Wang Wei-chi (王惟吉) not identified.

Li Yeh (李節), Chiu Wu Tai Shih vol 2, ch 38, p52 and ch 97, pp1189-1190.

Shih Yen (史彦) not identified.

Shih Ching-t'ang (石敬塘), Chiu Wu Tai Shih, in the Ming Tsung pen-chih (ch 35-44) and the Kao Tsu pen-chih (ch 75-80).

Wang Chien-li (王建立), Chiu Wu Tai Shih in the Ming Tsung pen-chih (ch 35-44) and ch 91, pp1198-1199.

20. Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei (冊府元龜): an encyclopaedic work of 1000 chapters compiled by Wang Ch'in-jo (王欽若) and others under the direction of Chen Tsung of the Northern Sung. (See SB pp320-321).

I am unable to locate this quotation. There is no entry for a Li Shang (李商) nor indeed for Hsi-p'ing or Ts'ai-chou in the index to the Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei. Further, Li Shang is not identifiable in any of the biographical dictionaries or lists.

21. There is no record in the Chin Shih for this event under the 12th year of Ta-t'ing.

22. Hou Han Shu vol 8, ch 63, p2095. Li Ku (李곳) and Tu Ch'iao (杜喬) were officials at the time of Shun Ti. See Hou Han Shu vol 8, ch 63, pp2073-2098 and CHC vol 1, p306ff for Li Ku. Both ultimately died in prison (see Hou Han Shu vol 2, ch 7, p291).

23. Ibid vol 2, ch 7, p288.

24. Yüan Shih vol 1, ch 12, p246.

25. Hou Han Shu vol 8, ch 63, p2095. Li Ku (李곳) and Tu Ch'iao (杜喬) were officials at the time of Shun Ti. See Hou Han Shu vol 8, ch 63, pp2073-2098 and CHC vol 1, p306ff for Li Ku. Both ultimately died in prison (see Hou Han Shu vol 2, ch 7, p291).

26. An Lu-shan (安祿山): of Turkic origin he became a favourite of Hsüan Tsung and ultimately led what was an unsuccessful rebellion being assassinated by his own son (see CHC vol 3(i), pp561-585. Chu Tz'u (朱泚 - AD742-784): he also led a rebellion after initially serving as an official (in command of a garrison in the north-west). See CHC vol 3(i), pp506-507 and 583-584.


29. Hou Han Shu vol 6, ch 45, p1518.
30. Fan Chung-yen (范仲淹 - AD989-1052): a noted administrator and military leader of the Sung period particularly famous for his filial piety. See *Sung Shih* vol 29, ch 314, pp10267-10276. There is a compilation of memorials to the throne presented by him over the three years from AD 1043-1045 entitled *Fan Wen-cheng kung cheng-fu tsou-i* (范文正公政府奏議) - see SB pp117-118.

31. Chu Hsi (朱熹): a major figure in the Neo-Confucianism of the Sung period.


33. Liu Pi (柳玭 - died AD864) who was the son of Liu Chung-yang (柳仲郢 - died AD864), a T’ang official who rose to high office but later retired to devote himself to the copying out of classics. See *Chiu T’ang Shu* vol 13, ch 165 and *Hsin T’ang Shu* vol 16, ch 163. I have been unable to locate his Chia-fa.

34. Pao Cheng (包拯 - died AD1062): a famous judge who rose to the office of sub-chancellor in the Lung-t’u secretariat. He was renowned especially for his integrity. See *Sung Shih* vol 30, ch 316, pp10315-10318.

2(ii)/13/16

1. Kung Yii (貢禹 - 1st century BC): A Han statesman who was appointed as imperial counsellor in 44BC under Yuan Ti, a post in which he gave excellent service. The major part of this essay consists of a section of a memorial sent up by Kung Yii after his appointment (see CHC vol 1, p202ff). Kung Yii’s biography may be found in the *Han Shu* vol 10, ch 72, pp3069-3080. The memorial is to found on p307ff.

2. See *Shih Chi* vol 4, ch 30, p1433 and Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China* vol 2, p95 for this phrase.

3. A division effected by Han Kao Tsu.

4. This marks the end of the quotation for Kung Yii’s memorial (see note 1 above).


6. For these two titles see Hucker 1119 p165 and 5229 p423. Chin-ch’en (臣命) is a "...categorical reference to the emperor’s most intimate attendants, especially palace eunuchs" whilst shih-chung (侍中) was a term applied to palace attendants "...chosen by the emperor as his confidential advisors."

2(ii)/13/28

1. Lü Ta-lin (呂大臨 - AD1044-1093) was a noted scholar of the Sung period and student of Ch’eng I. His biography may be found in the *Sung Shih* vol 31, ch 340, pp10848-9, in which this exchange with Fu Pi is quoted.

2. Fu Pi (傅霖 - died AD1085) was also a noted Sung scholar who gained renown for his dealings with the Tartars. He was unable to reconcile himself to the doctrines of Wang An-shih and retired on the grounds of old age in AD1068.
3. On the matter of the san kung (three dukes) Hucker (4871, p399) writes: "From antiquity a collective reference to dignitaries who were officially considered the three paramount aides to the ruler and held the highest possible ranks in the officialdom ... ."


5. *Doctrine of the Mean* XXV, 3, LCC vol 1, p418.

6. This marks the end of the excerpt from the *Sung Shih*.

7. This incident is not recorded in either the *Chiu and Hsin T'ang Shu* under Hsüan Tsung nor does there appear to be a biography of either of the administrators here mentioned.

2(ii)/14/10

1. I am unable to locate this in the *Tso Chuan*. There is no such entry in the Concordance. Moreover some texts give Ch'i Ching Kung and others Chin Ching Kung. Chou P'u is mentioned in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* VIII, 18 but not in the context given here and not in the *Tso Chuan* for that year.

2. *Shih Chi* vol 6, ch 43, p1812.

3. *Annals of the Bamboo Books* Pt III, (Hsia dynasty) XI & XII. See Legge's *History* prolegomena p123. In his note on this matter Legge writes: "In the period of the three dynasties there was only one resignation of the throne - that of Puh-keang (Pu-chiang). He must have had the virtue of a sage."

2(ii)/14/12

1. The first sentence of this essay is quoted in the explanation of the term feng-kuo in the *Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien* (vol 3, p686) making the point that from T'ang and Sung onward it became an 'empty' term since no land was involved.

2. For the use of the term fu (府) see Ku Yen-wen's essay on the subject (vol 1, ch 8, p179). Chiang-ning (江寧), Li-yang (濟陽), Chü-yung (句容) and Kao-shun (高淳) all corresponded to parts of what is now Jiangsu province which is difficult to correlate with Chao (趙), Tai (代), Liao (遼) and Han (韓) which, in ancient times, occupied parts of what are now Shansi and Shensi provinces.

3. Brief information on these examples (where identified) is as listed. All are from the Ming period.

   Yang Hung (楊洪) see *Ming Shih* vol 15, ch 173. His enfeoffment as Chang-ping po is recorded on p4609.

   Shi Heng (石亨) ibid vol 15, ch 173. His enfeoffment as Wu-ch'ing po is recorded on p4614.

   Li Wei (李偉) ibid vol 25, ch 300. His enfeoffment as Wu-ch'ing po is recorded on p7680.

   Chang Ni (張倪) not identified.

   Ts'ao I (曹義) ibid vol 15, ch 174. His enfeoffment as Feng-jun po is recorded on p4434.

   Shih Chü (施蠻) ibid vol 15, ch 174, pp4634-4653. He is recorded as having been enfeoffed but no place is given.

   Chin Shun (金順) ibid vol 14, ch 156. His enfeoffment is recorded on p4273.

   Lo Ping-chung (羅秉忠) ibid vol 14, ch 156. His enfeoffment as Shun-i po is recorded on p4283.

   Ku Ta-liang (谷大亮) was the younger brother of Ku Ta-yung (谷大用) ibid vol 26, ch 304, p7749 and was enfeoffed as Shui-ching po.
Chiang Lun (蔣輪) not identified.

4. Wen-hui T'ai-tzu (文惠太子) named Chang Mou (長懋) was the eldest son of Wu Ti (武帝) the second emperor of the Southern Chi. For biographical details see the Nan Chi's Shu vol 2, ch 21, p397ff. One of Chang Mou's concubines, Ch'en Shih (陳氏), gave birth to Fa-ling Wang and Chao Hsiu his third son (see Nan Chi's Shu vol 3, ch 50, p861).

5. Hucker lists the title, t'ung-chih san-chi ch'ang shih as senior recorder for comprehensive duty a "... common designation for officials who, in addition to their regular functions, were especially assigned to participate in compilation of the imperial diary." (7474, p554)

6. The term san-fu (三輔) is rendered by Hucker the "Three Guardians .... a collective reference to the three officials who from 104BC administered the metropolitan area in which the dynastic capital was located." (Hucker 4854, p397)

7. For this memorial see Nan Chi's Shu vol 3, ch 50, pp861-862.

8. Nan Chi's Shu vol 3, ch 50, p862.

9. Lin-hai (臨海) here probably refers to the hsien established in the later Wei period corresponding to part of Kiangsu province. Yang-chou (揚州) was one of the nine ancient divisions corresponding to part of present-day Kiangsu.

10. Lu Wu-kuan (陸務觀) is Lu Yu (陸羽 - AD1125-1210); he was a Sung scholar. For details of his writings see SB pp308-309. Tseng Tzu-k'ai (曾子開) is Tseng Chao (曾肇). See Sung Shih vol 30, ch 319, pp10392-10396. His enfeoffment as Viscount of Chü-fu is not mentioned in the History. Hsieh Jen-po (謝仁伯) cannot be identified.
9. Lu Hsiang-shan (陸象山) was the literary name of Lu Chiu-yüan (陸九淵) the Sung philosopher (AD1139-1193) described by Fung Yu-lan (History of Chinese Philosophy vol 2, p572) as "... the real founder of the rival idealistic (hsin hsüeh) school (of Neo-Confucianism)." See Fung (loc cit) for Lu's response to Yu Jo and subsequently (pp572-592) for a discussion of his thought.

10. In the Lun Yu, I, Yu Jo is thrice referred to as Yu Tzu (Philosopher Yu; I, 2, 12 & 13) while Tseng Ts'an (曾參) is mentioned once in like manner (I, 9). As Legge observes (LCC vol 1, p138 note to I, 2) (Yu) and Tseng Ts' an are the only two of Confucius' disciples who are mentioned in this style in the Lun Yu.

11. Shih Chi vol 6, ch 47, p1945.

12. Li Chi (T'an-kung hsia), SSCCS vol 5, p166.
Kung's burial mound and site of a lavish funeral. It was at Chang-tung hence the name.

16. As with note 15 above there is an original note stating that Chuang Kung was Hsi Kung's father and ruled for 64 years.

17. This marks the end of the second excerpt from the Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu.

18. This is also quoted from the Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu and is the final section of the An-ssu pien (see note 14 above). Chi Sun (季孫) is Chi P'ing-tzu (季平子) or Chi P'ing-tzu Ju-i (季平子如意).
4. Section 2(iii), ch 16-19.

2(iii)/16/1.

1. According to Hucker (4007, p333) this term, in T'ang and Sung times, indicated "...one of several degrees awarded to men nominated by local authorities to participate in the regular civil service recruitment examination system ... who passed an examination with the same name." The prestige of the examination according to Hucker (loc cit) declined in early Sung times. For different meanings at other times see also Hucker, loc cit. Elsewhere (as in the present essay) this examination is identified as testing "...the candidate's mastery of a specific classical work." (Wright A.F., CHC vol 3(i), pp86-87). For a detailed analysis of the examination system providing additional information on a number of these titles see also Miyazaki I, China's Examination Hell, trans Schirokauer.

2. Rendered by Hucker (3467, p294) as tribute students ie the "...designation of students under the Directorate of Education ... who had been admitted as nominees of local Confucian schools ... for advanced study and subsequent admission to the civil service."

3. Cultivated Talent (see essay 2(iii)/16/2 below and Hucker 2633, p248). According to Hucker this was "...an unofficial reference to all men qualified to participate in provincial examinations in the civil service recruitment examination system."

4. Initially referred to as presented scholars but according to Hucker (1148, p167) after the Sung period is best rendered "Metropolitan graduate ... a degree or status compared to the academic doctorate in the modern West, conferred on the successful candidates in the highest level regular civil service recruitment examinations."

5. A law examination or law graduate during the T'ang-Sung periods. According to Hucker (4009, p333) it was "... in T'ang one of the five examinations given regularly" and was "... narrowly focussed on the dynastic law code and did not attract many good candidates."

6. This was presumably an examination in calligraphy and equivalent to the ming-tzu listed in note 8 below.

7. An examination in mathematics; identified as ming-suan (see note 8 below).

8. An original note refers to the Ta-t'ang hsin-yu as indicating that Sui Yang Ti (AD605-616) established the two classes of ming-ching and chin-shih. This system was followed by later dynasties and augmented with the following four categories; hsiu-ts'ai, ming-fa, ming-tzu and ming-suan.

9. Reference is made in an original note to the Chin Shih, I chih-li chuan (vol 3, ch 95, p2100) which states, in essence, that the chin-shih examination originated in the Sui period utilising questions (tse 題 ) but subsequently became concentrated on fu ( 题 ) and shih ( 答 ), and later still, in the time of Wen Tsung (AD827-840), on fu alone.

10. An original note states that in T'ang times both examination categories, chin-shih and ming-ching, were used but at the beginning of the Ming there was only the chin-shih it being unclear when the ming-ching was done away with. It was restored by Jen Tsung (AD1425) as a consequence of his dissatisfaction with the insubstantial nature and lack of a classical basis of the chin-shih examination.

11. See the Hsin T'ang Shu vol 4, ch 44, p1166. The term t'ieh-ching ( 誕經 ) was also used.

12. Ch'üan Te-yü ( 萊德興 ). For biographical details see Chiu T'ang Shu vol 12, ch 148, p400ff and Hsin T'ang Shu vol 16, ch 165, p5076ff. I am unable to trace the source of his comment here.

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According to Hucker (2633, p248) this term, which he renders as cultivated talent, was "From antiquity a categorical rubric under which talented men were nominated to be considered for official appointments." From T'ang times, it became the designation of a specific degree ranking first in the list of such examinations (see Hsin T'ang Shu vol 4, ch 44, p1159). Subsequently, again according to Hucker (loc cit), it became the "... unofficial reference to all men qualified to participate in provincial examinations." Wright, in the CHC vol 3(i), p86 states that: "The first mention of a degree and of a written examination is, I believe, for AD595 when the examination of candidates for the hsiu-ts'ai degree is mentioned."

There is a discrepancy in the Ku Yen-wu text, which has T'ang, and the Chiu T'ang Shu as quoted, which has Sui.

Chiu T'ang Shu vol 8, ch 70, p2541. Writing on the period of the reign of Empress Wu, Twitchett and Wechsler (CHC vol 3(i), p252) say of Tu Cheng-lun that he was then "... an elderly scholar from a Ho-pei family who, like Hsü Ching-tsung, had been a hsiu-ts'ai under the Sui and had a notable career in central government under T'ai Tsung."

A listing of successful examination candidates, particularly for the chin-shih degree.

Tu Yu (杜佑 - died AD812): A native of Shensi who rose to become president of the Board of Works. He was the author of the Tung Tien (通典), a treatise on the constitution, divided into eight sections, one of which was entitled "Examinations and Degrees". For consideration of this work see CHC vol 3(i), p605 and also Chiu T'ang Shu, vol 12, ch 147, p3976ff.

See Wright, CHC vol 3(i), p86 who states: "Miyazaki's opinion is that the ranking of the three examination degrees was first, hsiu-ts'ai, then ming-ching then chin-shih."

Wright, loc cit p86, writing of the hsiu-ts'ai examination, says: "The conduct and content of the examination is nowhere specified in detail, but from one biography we get a glimpse of how it was conducted. A certain Tu Cheng-hsüan was nominated as a hsiu-ts'ai. The president (presumably of the Board of Civil Office) examined him on modes of action to be taken in certain situations. Cheng-hsüan's responses were quick as an echo. He no sooner put his brush to the paper than his essay was complete."

An original note refers to the Hsin T'ang Shu as indicating that the hsiu-ts'ai examination first came to an end in AD651.

An office during T'ang times prior to AD662 and intermittently thereafter. The term previously had other meanings (Hucker 2847, p262).

Liu Hsiang-tao (劉祥道): A scholar and official of the T'ang period. Biographical details, and some of his observations on the degree system can be found in the Hsin T'ang Shu vol 13, ch 106, pp4048-4051.

The 8th T'ang emperor, ruling from AD713-756.

A T'ang compilation attributed to T'ang Hsüan Tsung. See CHC vol 3(i), pp354 & 415 for some information on the importance of this work.

Chiu T'ang Shu vol 15, ch 190a, p4995. Similar details are given in the Hsin T'ang Shu vol 18, ch 201, p3734.
14. Wen-yüan ying-hua (文苑英華) was a Sung collection of which the *pan* was one section. For this statement see the edition by Peng Shu-hsia (彭叔夏) in 12 volumes, vol 7, ch 514, p3151. There is a textual difference in the Ku Yen-wu text. I have followed the Yuan ch'ao-pen edition.

15. According to Hucker (2307, p231) "... a scholar presented by the provinces."

16. See Chao Chieh's (趙紫芝) Tui-hsiang kung-chin shih p'an (對鄉貢進士判), Ch'üan T'ang-wen ch 398 (vol 4, p4065).

17. Sheng-yüan (生員). See Hucker (5193, p420) and also Ku Yen-wu's essay on the subject (4/SC1/6). According to the former, the term was in use from the Sui to the Ch'ing periods as "... a generic description of students entitled to State stipends" and "... in Ming and Ch'ing normally referred to fully subsidised students in Confucian schools at prefectural and lower levels of territorial administration, hence a common variant of cultivated talent (hsiu-ts'ai)."

18. The references to the Ming shih-lu for T'ai Tsu are as follows: vol 3, ch 64, p1219; vol 4, ch 111, p1845; vol 6, ch 147, p2320 and vol 6, ch 180, pp2726-7. For the terms ying-feng and hsiao-lien see, respectively, Hucker 8013, p583 and 2418, p237.

2(iii)/16/3

1. Chü-jen (籍人): A term with a changing connotation over the course of history. Hucker (1682, p197) identifies the following divisions; N-S Division to T'ang, recommendee; Sung, prefectural graduate and Yuan-Ch'ing, provincial graduate. In Ku Yen-wu's time these were men who had passed the provincial examination and were entitled to proceed further in the examination sequence. See also Miyazaki, China's Examination Hell p56.

2. Pei Chi Shu vol 2, ch 41, p539. The official titles are taken from Hucker. (See 4563, p375 for pen-kuan; 4436, p364 for pan-shih; 5053, p412 for shang-shu sheng; 4826, p394 for p'u-yeh and 3630, p306 for li-pu.) Yüan Yü-hsiu's (袁_oriented) biography is in the Pei Chi Shu vol 2, ch 42, p564.

3. Chiu T'ang Shu vol 1, ch 4, p79.

4. ibid p105. I have taken the phrase yüeh mu as mountains and provinces presumably indicating that the emperor examines scholars from all quarters. See History I, iii, 2, II, i 16, and V, xx, 3 and Legge's notes LCC vol 3, pp24, 42 and 526. See also Hucker 8268, p598.


6. There follows an original note listing a series of notables from the T'ang and Five Dynasties period who were chin-shih pu-ti.

7. In an original note referring to the 6th year of the Hsüan-ho reign period of Hui Tsung (AD 1124) it is stated that of the 15,000 men presenting for the chin-shih examination only 805 were ranked (see Sung Shih vol 2, ch 22, p14).

8. An original note refers to the Chiu T'ang Shu (Wen Tsung chi) vol 2, ch 17, p574 where it is written that in the 3rd year of the K'ai-ch't'eng reign period of Wen Tsung (AD838) the examination office of the Ministry of Personnel, with reference to chin-shih and chü-jen, set a limit to those ranked for the year to 300. It is suggested that the term chin-shih-chü-jen was equivalent to chü-chin-shih.
9. Chen Sheng (沈升 - AD1376-1446): A Ming scholar from Hai-ning who was a chin-shih graduate during the Yung-lo reign period (see the Ming-jen chuan-chi tsu-liao so-yin p169).

10. Hsiang-chien (向謙): According to Hucker (2306, p231) this was the term used during the Ming and Ch’ing periods applying to a scholar "... recommended by the provinces"; an unofficial reference to a provincial graduate (chii-jen) in the civil service recruitment examination system. The term kung-shih, rendered by Hucker as tribute student, had a different meaning (see Hucker 3467, p294).

11. I have been unable to locate the source of this memorial.

12. K’ung Yu-liang (孔友謙): A chin-shih during the Yung-lo reign period. For biographical details and some of his other comments on the examination system see the Ming Shih vol 15, ch 164, p4441.

13. This is Hucker’s rendering of hsün-an yü-shih (2713, p253). He states that during the Ming-Ch’ing period such an inspector was on "... a one year assignment to tour all localities in his defined jurisdiction observing all governmental activities ... ."

2(iii)/16/4

1. Chin-shih (進士): Rendered by Hucker (1148, p167) as presented scholar (into early Sung) or metropolitan graduate (from Sung on) and described as "... a degree or status often compared to the academic doctorate in the modern West conferred on successful candidates in the highest level regular civil service recruitment examinations qualifying them for appointment to government office". See also Miyazaki (pp 83-93, 110-122 et passim.)

2. See Hucker 1682, p197 and previous essay (2(iii)/16/3).

3. The Ministry of Rites. According to Hucker (3631, p306) "... from AD 736 on (responsible for) managing the civil service examination recruitment system."

4. Chin-shih chi-ti (進士及第): Metropolitan graduate with honours (Hucker 1149, p167 and Miyazaki p85). This was the highest category of successful candidate.

5. These two categories rendered by Hucker (1150, p167 and 7475, p554) as regular metropolitan graduate and associate metropolitan graduate represented the second and third classes of successful candidates. See also Miyazaki loc cit.


7. Ch’eng-i lang (承議郎): A term used in Sui, T’ang and Sung periods and rendered by Hucker as gentleman for discussion (498, p128). I am unable to identify the person here referred to (Hsü Yen - 侯假期).

8. Presumably a term to indicate graduation from the same college. See Hucker under shang-she (5034, p410).

2(iii)/16/5

1. The term k’o-mu probably originates from the Hsiian-chü chih of the Hsin T’ang Shu (vol 4, ch 44, p1159) from which the first paragraph of the present essay is taken. In the entry for the term in the Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien Ku Yen-wu’s present essay is quoted in extenso.
2. Details of the meaning and significance of these categories may be found in the *Hsin Tang Shu* as referred to above (vol 4, pp1159-1181). Hucker has entries for the following terms: hsiu-ts'ai (cultivated talent - 2633, p248); ming ching (classicist - 4007, p333); chin-shih (presented scholar or metropolitan graduate - 1148, p167); ming-fa (law graduate - 4009, p333) and tao-chii (taoist recruit - 6311, p489). The first three terms are the subjects of essays 1, 2 and 4 of the present section.

3. Amplification of the subcategories of the ming-ching is also to be found in the *Hsin Tang Shu* as referred to above. See also Hucker's entry for ming-ching (4007, p333).

4. This term, used from T'ang to Ch'ing times and rendered by Hucker (969, p157) ‘special recruitment’, was "... a designation for civil service recruitment examinations given by decree irregularly in search of extraordinarily talented men from within or without the service." See also *Hsin Tang Shu* loc cit, p1169.

5. *Yao Ch'ung* (姚崇): a prominent official who rose to high office under Hsüan Tsung and is described by Twitchett (CHC vol 3(i), p337) as "... a pragmatic statesman adept at dealing with practical affairs." The phrase hsia-pi ch'eng-chang is used with reference to Yao in the *Hsin Tang Shu* (vol 14, ch 124, p4381). For further discussion of his activities in relation to the examination system see CHC vol 3(i), pp327, 331-354 & 375.

6. *Chang Chiu-ling* (張九齡 - AD 673-740): He was a major political figure during the reign of T'ang Ming Huang. For some consideration of his observations and recommendations on the examination system see CHC vol 3(i), pp352 & 404-405. The phrase 'way like I and Li' is seen applied to his own examination success (*Hsin Tang Shu* vol 14, ch 126, p4424). I is I Yin (伊尹): A legendary figure said to have aided the founder of the Shang dynasty, Ch'eng T'ang (成湯). Li is T'ai Kung (太公) or Lü Shang (呂尚) who is said to have been, in his last years, counsellor to King Wen and subsequently King Wu.


8. This term (k'o-chü - 科舉) applicable from the T'ang to Ch'ing periods, is rendered by Hucker (3193, p279) as recruitment by examination or regular recruitment as distinct from special recruitment by irregular special examinations.

2(iii)/16/6.

1. This term (制科) refers to special examinations held irregularly by imperial decree and designed primarily to lure into the ranks of officialdom extraordinary scholars who, for one reason or another, did not follow the regular examination system. See Hucker (1011, p159) and, in particular, Miyazaki (pp107-110) where he refers to Ku Yen-wu in relation to the "(special) examination for great scholars" held in 1678 by decree of K'ang Hsi.

2. Rendered by Hucker (969, p157) as 'special recruitment', a designation for civil service recruitment examinations given "by decree irregularly in search of extraordinarily talented men from within and without the service; distinguished from regular scheduled examination recruitment (k'o-chü)." Similar to chih-k'o (see Note 1 above).

3. For this phrase used here and subsequently see *Shih Chi* vol 2, ch 10, p422.

4. *T'ai Shan* (泰山): The same as T'ai Shan (泰山) in the west of Shantung and a sacred mountain. *Liang Fu* (梁父): Also a mountain in Shantung in the southern part of T'ai-an district.

6. The meaning of this term is not entirely clear. It may indicate those without office.

7. Ta-k'o (大科): An examination for those with special talents conducted by the emperor himself who was also responsible for selection of the examination topics. It was therefore similar in intent to the chih-k'o of the title. The Chung-wen ta tsu-tien has, in fact, an extensive quote from this essay in explication of this term (vol 2, p1461).

8. The palace examination or tien-shih (殿試) was, according to Hucker (6640, p506), "... the final stage in any sequence of civil service recruitment examinations beginning in AD975." He also states that "in Ming and Ch'ing times the degree metropolitan graduate (chin-shih) was awarded only after completion of the palace examination."

9. Hsü Tu (徐度) published his Ch'üeh-sao pien (却掃編) around AD1130, (see SB pp105-6). There follows now a long quotation from this work; see note 14 below.

10. For consideration of these special examinations see Miyazaki pp107-110.

11. The Chuan-yin ssu (轉運司) was according to Hucker (1492, p186) the Transport Commission in the T'ang period and the Fiscal Commission or Tax Transport Bureau in the Sung period being, in the latter case, "... created in a reorganisation of the Salt and Iron Bureau, one of the three principal agencies in the State Finance Commission of the early Sung."


13. Hsien-liang fang-cheng (賢良方正): rendered by Hucker (2516, p242) "worthy and excellent, straightforward and upright" was in the Sung period "the most common term for men within and without the civil service who were promoted or appointed on the basis of guaranteed recommendations from eminent officials and success in subsequent special examinations (chih k'o) presided over by the emperor."

14. This marks the end of the quotation from Hsü Tu's Ch'üeh-sao pien, TSCC edition, ch hsia, pp150-3.

15. Erudite Literatus; a category first established in the T'ang period. See Hucker (4732, 388) and Miyazaki (pp108-110).

2(iii)/18/1

1. Liu Hsin (劉歆) son of Liu Hsiang (劉向) was a scholar active during the Han transition and the Wang Mang usurpation who was particularly involved in the classification and categorisation of literary works. He compiled the Ch'i léih (based on his father's bibliography - see note 5 below) a version of which survives as the Han Shu, I-wen chih (ICCL p584). See CHC vol 1, pp649-653 and also Han Shu ch 36, pp1967-1974. In addition see CSKW vol 1 (Han), ch 40 for Liu Hsin's writings and ch 52, pp6-10 for Yang Hsiung's reply referred to in the original note.

2. The t'ai chang (太常) rendered by Hucker (6137, p476) as chamberlain for ceremonial was "... in charge of great state sacrificial ceremonies." The t'ai-shih (太史) identified by Hucker (6212, p481) as a variant of t'ai-shih ling or grand astrologer (see Note 7 below), was "... associated with the recording and interpreting of celestial and other remarkable natural phenomena etc." The term po-shih (博士), rendered by Hucker erudite (4746, p389), is a general term applied to "... an official of special broad skill and knowledge" who might be attached to the departments of the two officials mentioned above.

3. See Han Shu vol 6, ch 30, p1702.
4. Ssu-ma Ch’ien (司馬遷 - ca 145-85BC), after the obligatory three year mourning period succeeded his father, Ssu-ma T’an (司馬談) as Grand Astrologer in 105BC so gaining access to the stored books.

5. Liu Hsiang (劉向 - 80-9BC): He, like his son, Liu Hsin, (see note 1 above) was involved in the classification of literature and compiled the Pi-hu an annotated catalogue which is no longer extant. For his biography see the Han Shu ch 36, pp1928-1966. See also CHC vol 1, p651.


7. The name of a pavilion built in early Han times by Hsiao Ho used for the imperial book collection.

8. Pan Yu (班訢) was one of three sons of Pan Kuang (班況). For biographical details see the Han Shu vol 12, ch 100, p4203 where this sentence occurs. A note indicates that this was a reading before the emperor. See also CHC vol 1, p811 where Demieville describes him as playing "... an active part in the work of collection and classification of the imperial library that took place at the end of the former Han."

9. Pan Ku (班固) son of Pan Piao (班彪) and a renowned historian, being the major author of the Han Shu.

10. Fu I (傅毅): A scholar of the Later Han. For this passage see Hou Han Shu vol 9, ch 80(i), p2613.

11. Lan-t’ai (蘭臺) or orchard pavilion was, according to Hucker (3560, p300), "... originally a palace archive or library..." which "... was headed by a clerk (ling-shih) and, because the noted later Han historian Pan Ku at one time held this post, lan-t’ai was subsequently used as an unofficial reference to historiographers."

12. Ts’ao Pao (曹豹) was renowned as a student of the rites in the Later Han period. In AD86 he suggested "... that the principles and practices of Han protocol should be set out in revised form." (See Loewe M. in CHC vol 1, p296 and also Hou Han Shu ch 35, pp1201-1206.

13. An imperial library in the southern palace of Lo-yaog (see CHC vol 1, p224, note 3).

14. This term is rendered by Hucker (7908, p577) as "receptionist, designation of officials with functions resembling those of butlers, masters of ceremonies, ushers, messengers, stewards etc."

15. Liu Chen (劉珍 - died AD126) was a scholar of the Later Han period who rose to high office during the reign of An Ti.

16. Tou Chang (鮑章): A great great-grandson of Tou Jung (see Hou Han Shu ch 23, pp821-826).

17. Huang Hsiang (黃香 - died AD122): In early life a noted example of filial piety, he later rose to high office. See Hou Han Shu ch 80(i), pp2613-2615.


19. Wang Chien (王儉 - AD452-489): A scholar and official of the Liu Sung period who was involved in the cataloguing of the imperial library.

21. An original note here gives further information about the literary works and other activities of Tso Ssu, Wang Chien and Chang Tsuan.


26. Ch'ǔ Sui-liang (褚遂良 - AD596-659): A scholar and renowned calligrapher who rose to high office under the first T'ang emperor.

27. Yen Shih-ku (顏師古 - AD579-645): A scholar who served during both the Sui and early T'ang periods. According to Giles (BD, p939) he was "... employed upon a recension of the classics and literature and also on a new and annotated edition of the history of the Han dynasty for which purpose he was installed as keeper at the imperial library." See also CHC vol 3(i), p215.

28. For the term pi-shu chien (秘書監) see Hucker's extensive entry (4558, pp376-377).

29. Nei-k'u (内庫): Palace storehouse (Hucker 4202, p347) "... a common collective reference to all storehouses or vaults under the direct control of the imperial palace ..."

30. Hung-wen kuan (弘文館): Institute for the Advancement of Literature (see Hucker 2911, p265).


32. Yang Ch'eng (陽城 - AD735-805): A renowned scholar and official of the T'ang period. See Hsin T'ang Shu vol 18, ch 194, pp5569-5572. See also Ku's original note.

33. These three institutes are listed in Hucker as follows: Chi-hsien yüan (Academy of Scholarly Worthies) (554, p131); Shih-kuan (Historiography Institute) (5272, p426) and Chao-wen kuan (Institute for the Glorification of Literature) (307, p118). They were the most important academic agencies in the early Sung period.

34. See Hucker 1670, p197 (Institute for the Veneration of Literature) and 4578, p376 (Imperial Archives). The former was built in AD977 to house the Chi-hsien yüan, Chao-wen kuan and the Shih-kuan.

35. See Hucker 6872, p517.

36. A place for book storage established in the Sung dynasty (see Sung Shih vol 1, ch 11, p218). One of the palace libraries, located in the palace grounds, it served as a place of relaxation for the emperor where he would hold banquets for officials.

38. The first three works require no annotation. The T'ang Li (唐律) was a work in 40 sections compiled by Liu Fang (柳芳) a scholar in the later K'ai-yüan reign period (AD713-741). See Hsin T'ang Shu vol 15, ch 132, p4536. The T'ang ch'un-ch'iu was compiled by Wu Ching (吳兢, -died AD742) a renowned T'ang historian (see eg CHC vol 3(i), pp240 & 349). The Sung ch'ang-pien was a substantial work prepared by Li Tao (李澹) and appearing in AD1183. It has been described as 'one of the two primary sources for the study of northern Sung institutions'. (SB pp70-72)

39. The other major sources of information about the northern Sung (in addition to the Ch'ang-pien (note 45 above). See SB (pp177-178).

40. T'ai-yeh pool (太液池) was in T'ang times situated behind the Ta-ming palace. It is referred to in Po Chü-i's "Ballad of the Long Sorrow". The huang-shih ch'eng was the Imperial Historical Archives.


42. The Shih (Odes), Shu (History), I (Changes), Li (Rites), Yüeh (Music) and Ch'un-ch'iu (Spring and Autumn Annals).

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1. The compilation by this name comprises the Shang Shu (History), I Ching (Changes), Shih Ching (Odes), Chou Li (Rites of Chou) I Li, Li Chi (Book of Rites), Tso Chuan, Ku-liang chuan, Kung-yang chuan, Erh-ya, Lun Yü, Meng Tzu and Hsiao Ching with various commentaries (vide infra).

2. These are the I Ching, Shih Ching, Shu Ching, Li Chi and Ch'un-ch'iu with the Tso Chuan.

3. The above five classics with the addition of the Chou Li, the I Li, the Kung-yang chuan and the Ku-liang chuan.

4. The renowned Sung Neo-Confucians Ch'eng Hao (程頤 - AD1032-1085), Ch'eng I (程頫 - AD1033-1107) and Chu Hsi (朱熹 - AD1130-1200). See, for example, Fung Yu-lan's History of Chinese Philosophy vol 2, ch 12 & 13.

5. Chu Hsi's Ssu-shu chang-chü chi-chu (四書章句集注) and the discussion thereof by Chan Wing-tsit in SB (pp44-45), which describes the pre-eminence that Chu attached to what he called the Four Masters or the Four Books.


7. Mao Chang (毛萇): The lesser Mao. See the Odes, LCC vol 4, prolegomena pp 10-12.

8. Cheng Hsüan (鄭玄 - AD127-200): The noted Han commentator on a number of the classics. See CHC vol 1, pp 813-814. His chien are included in the current edition of the SSCCS.

9. See note 9 above. These notes (chu) are likewise included in the current edition of the SSCCS.

10. Ho Hsiu (何休 - died AD182): A Han scholar with a particular liking for the Kung-yang chuan. His Ho-pen hsüeh is included in the current edition of the SSCCS. See Hou Han Shu ch 109(B).
11. Chao Ch'i (趙岐): A Later Han scholar and artist who prepared a commentary on *Mencius*, dividing the work into sections, chapters and paragraphs. For further details see Legge's "Ch'ao Ch'i and his labours upon Mencius" (LCC vol 2, prolegomena section 2, pp 4-7). Again these notes are included in the current SSCCS.

12. Wang Pi (王弼 - AD226-249): A native of Shanyang in the Wei period who, in his short life, achieved lasting fame as a commentator both on the *Changes* and the *Tao Te Ching*. See Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy* vol 2, p179ff. His notes are included in the current SSCCS.


14. Ho Yen (何晏): Also of the Wei period he died in the same year as Wang Pi. He wrote on the *Changes* and the *Lun Yu*. See Fung Yu-lan's *History of Chinese Philosophy* vol 2, pp 188-189 and Legge, LCC vol 1, prolegomena pp 18-20. Ho Yen's chi-chich are incorporated in the current SSCCS.

15. Tu Yü (杜預 AD222-284): A noted student of the *Tso Chuan* (commentary included in the current SSCCS). Giles (BD pp 785-786) has the following anecdote: "On one occasion he (Tu Yü) was telling the emperor that Wan Chi had the horse disease and that Ho Ch'iao had the money disease. 'And what disease have you?' asked the emperor. 'Oh, I have the Tso-chiu's Commentary disease' he replied."

16. Kuo P'o (郭璞 - AD276-324): A noted diarist of the Chin period who, inter alia, edited the *Erh-ya*.

17. Fan Ning (范甯 - AD339-441): A scholar and official of the Chin period noted chiefly for his work on the *Ku-liang chuan*, his chi-chich being included in the current SSCCS edition.

18. The sixth T'ang emperor, Hsiang Tsung, noted for his interest in scholarship prepared a commentary on the Chin-wen edition of the *Hsiao Ching* (See SB p48).

19. *Chiu T'ang Shu* vol 15, ch 189, p 4941. Yen Shih-ku (任師古 - AD579-645) was a scholar who rose to high office under the first T'ang emperor. In addition to his work on a recension of the classics he was also involved in the preparation of a new edition of *The History of the Han dynasty*. K'ung Ying-ta (孔穎達 - AD574-648) was another noted early T'ang scholar employed by Tai Tsung to work on the official commentaries of the classics. He was also involved in the preparation of the *Sui History*. See also CHC vol 3, pp 214-215 on the preparation of the *Wu-ching cheng-i*. For the official titles of the two scholars referred to see Hucker 1606, p 193, 5278 p 426 for the former and 3540, p 299 for the latter.

20. *Chiu T'ang Shu* vol 1, ch 4, p 71.


22. *Sung Shih* vol 26, ch 266, p 9177. See Hucker (3541, p 299) for information on the Directorate of Education.

23. *Hsin T'ang Shu* vol 18, ch 198, p 5644. The three national institutes were; The Historiography Institute, The Institute for the Glorification of Literature and The Academy of Scholarly Worthies (see Hucker 4867, p 398).
1. The term pieh tzu is used to indicate characters wrongly written in place of the correct character. The Chung-wen ta tsu tien defines the term by reference to this essay which is there reproduced in full (vol 1, p165).

2. Hou Han Shu vol 9, ch 79(i) p2558. This is part of I Min's reply to the emperor.

3. There is a note by Shen Shih quoting an example of the erroneous interchange of the characters for ch'a: 查, 捕.

4. Chao Ming-ch'eng (趙明誠 -AD1081-1129) who originated from Chu-ch'eng in Shantung province.

5. Chin-shih lu (金石錄): The work compiled by Chao Ming-ch'eng (note 4 above) and described by Katsumura Tetsuya (SB p201) as "... a classified collection of engravings on bronze wares and stone monuments collected and classified after the pattern of Ou-yang Hsiu's Chi-ku lu."

6. Li I-an (李易安 - Li Ch'ing-chao 李清照) who was both wife and assistant to Chao Ming-ch'eng. She continued his work after his death, adding the postface referred to.

2(iii)/18/9

1. These two terms, tso-chih (左史) and yu-shih (右史) refer to imperial diarists (see Hucker 6990, p924 & 8072, p586 respectively).

2. Su Mien (蘇冕) was the compiler of the T'ang Hui-yao (Essential Regulations). For biographical details see Hsin T'ang Shu vol 189 and Hsin T'ang Shu ch 103. For reference to the work see SB p176 and CHC vol 3(i), p673. I have not been able to locate the source of the quote.

3. Hsü Ching-tsung (許敬宗) and Li I-fu (李義府) were both supporters of the Empress Wu and rose to power during her period of ascendancy (see CHC vol 3(i), p251ff). Here the authors remark, regarding Hsü, that he "... was not a simple opportunist like the empress's other supporter, Li I-fu, although the historians have treated him equally harshly."

4. The remainder of the essay is a quotation from Yao Shou's biography in the Chiu T'ang Shu vol 9, ch 89, p2902.

5. For these terms I have followed Hucker's translation, see respectively 7692-94, p566; 1998, p214; 3867, p324; 4703, p386.

6. A chronicle of daily affairs kept by the chief minister (see CHC vol 3(i), pp40,42 & 662).

2(iii)/18/13

1. I have followed de Bary's translation of the term hsin-hsiieh (心學). See Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart ed. de Bary, W.T., in particular the preface and pp168-175 where he discusses Ku Yen-wu's analysis of the term, including a partial translation of the present essay.

2. The Tzu-ch'i Huang-shih jih-ch'ao (慈溪黃氏日鈔) was a work compiled by the Sung scholar, Huang Chen (黃震). For details see SB p232.
3. *History* II, II, 2(15), LCC vol 3, p61 and note on the same page. See also *Lun Yu* XX, 1, LCC vol 1, p350 and Legge's note on the correspondence of the first section of this book (entitled *Yao Said*) to the *History*.

4. ibid II, II, 2(17), LCC vol 3, p63.

5. ibid II, II, 2(16), LCC vol 3, p62.


7. de Bary (op cit p8) also use the term moral mind for *tao-hsin* (道心).

8. Ts'ai Chiu-feng (蔡九巢) is Ts'ai Ch'en (蔡沈 - AD1167-1230), a Sung scholar who retired early and devoted himself to a life of scholarship. His commentary on the *History* (*Shang-shu chi-chuan* - 史記集傳) is an important text on the ancient work. See SB pp22-23. For the quote in question see *Shang-shu chi-chuan*, p14.

9. Yao (尧), Shun (舜) and Yu (禹).

10. For the relationship between Taoism and Buddhism and particularly the place of Chuang Tzu, see Fung Yu-lan's *History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol 2, p240ff.

11. The lines from the commencement of the present paragraph to this point are omitted from the Huang Ju-ch'eng edition.

12. This sentence is also omitted from the Huang Ju-ch'eng edition.


15. ibid VI, 5, LCC vol 1, p186.

16. ibid XVII, 22, LCC vol 1, p329. Waley (*The Analects of Confucius* p215) here has "The Master said, those who do nothing all day but cram themselves with food and never use their minds are difficult."

17. *Mencius* VIA, 9(4), LCC vol 2, p409. This statement is attributed to Confucius.

18. ibid VIA, 8(2), LCC vol 2, p408.

19. T'ang Jen-ch'ing (唐仁謹, ming Po-yüan - 明波煥): A Ming scholar and a chin-shih in the second year of the Wan-li reign period (AD1574) who had a particular aversion to the works of Wang Shou-jen. See *Ming-Shih* vol 24, ch 282, p7257. I am unable to locate the text of this letter.

20. This refers to the sentence which appears in the first form in the *History* II, II, 2(15), LCC vol 3, p67 and note thereto and in the second form in the *Hsün Ts'au* (*Hsün Ts'au hsin chu* p356). There is a noticeable variation in the English translation. Legge (loc cit) has: "The mind of man is restless - prone to err; its affinity for the right way is small." Dubs, (*The World of Hsün Tse* p271) has: "The carnal mind is anxious; the virtuous (tao) mind is subtle." Watson (*Hsün Ts'au, Basic Writings* p131) has: "There should be a fearfulness in the mind of man; there should be a subtlety of vision in the mind of tao."


22. ibid XII, 1, LCC vol 1, p250.

24. This is a tripartite comparison between Yen Hui, the most favoured disciple (Lun Yu, VI, 2, LCC vol 1, p185 and XI, 6, LCC vol 1, p239), the other disciples and other people in general.

25. The expression wai-hsin (外心) may be found in the Li Chi; see Li Chi, SSCCS, vol 5, p456. Legge (Li Chi, Book of Rites, vol 1, p401) translates the sentence as follows: “That in the (instituting of) rites the multitude of things was considered a mark of distinction arose from the minds (of the framers) being directed outwards.” I have taken a different emphasis here.

26. See Lun Yu, XII, 1, LCC vol 1, p250. See also Legge’s discussion of the conversation with Yen Yüan and its bearing on the question of jen-hsin (仁心) as opposed to tao-hsin (道心).

27. Mencius (VIIA, 25, LCC vol 2, p464) contrasts the disciple of Shun, diligent in the pursuit of virtue with the disciple of the robber Chih, diligent in the pursuit of gain. Legge in his note (idem) opines that the point here is the distinction between the public mind and the selfish mind and the slightness of the separation between them.

28. ibid VIA, 13(4), LCC vol 2, p414: “The great end of learning is nothing else but to seek for the lost mind.”

29. Lun Yu IV, 2, LCC vol 1, p165.

30. The quote is from Hsieh Liang-tso (謝良佐) a disciple of Ch'eng Hao (程颢). I have been unable to find the precise words in his Shang-ts'ai yü-lu (上蔡語錄), TSCC (new series) vol 22, p12.


32. Doctrine Of The Mean, VIII, LCC vol 1, p389. Translation is after Legge.

2(iii)/19/3

1. Meng K'o (孟軀) and Hsün Ch'ing (荀卿) were the two most important immediately post Confucian philosophers of the school writing in the third and second centuries BC respectively. The other authors listed, Lao Tzu (老子) Chuang Tzu (莊子), Kuan Chung (管仲), Shang Yang (商鞅), Shen Pu-hai (申不害) and Han Fei Tzu (韓非子) were, apart from Confucius himself, the major pre Ch'in philosophers. For detailed analysis of their writings see Fung Yu-lan, History of Chinese Philosophy, vol 1.

2. A compilation of various schools of thought said to have been made under the direction of Li Pu­wei (李不韜) in the second century BC.

3. Also a compilation of various schools said to have been made by the guests attached to the court of Liu An (劉安) Prince of Huai-nan (淮南) who died in 122BC. See Fung Yu-lan, History of Chinese Philosophy vol 1, p412.

4. The Tzu-chih t'ung-chien (資治通鑑) of Su-ma Kuang (司馬光) is an extensive work compiled with the aid of other scholars and covering the history of the period from 403BC to AD959. See SB (p69ff).

5. Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao (文獻通考) compiled by Ma Tuan-lin (馬端臨 - AD1254-1325) is a general collection of important writings from the pre-Ch'in period to the time of the Southern Sung (SB pp174,175).
6. A work in 4 chapters by the Sung Neo-Confucian, Ch’eng I (程頤) published in AD1099 (SB pp 3, 4).
7. See the Erh Ch’eng ch’üan-shu (二程全書), Ts’-yen (雜言).
8. See Li Chi, Piao chi, SS CCS vol 5, ch 54, p 911.

2(iii)/19/4
1. Chang Tsai (張載 - AD1020-1079): The renowned Sung Neo-Confucian philosopher and uncle of the Ch’eng brothers. He was a strong opponent of the views of Wang An-shih, a fact which led ultimately to his retirement from office. For the sentence quoted see the Chang Tzu ch’üan-shu (張子全書) SPPY edition, vol 1, ch 1.
2. Lun Yu XVI, 2(3), LCC vol 1, p 310.
5. Yüan Te-hsiu (元德秀): A abstemious scholar and official of the T’ang period. Lushan (呉山) was a district (hsien) in the north east of Honan province.
6. For this incident see the Hsin T’ang Shu vol 18, ch 194, p 5564.
7. T’ang emperor from AD713-755 with the interruption due to An Lu-shan.
8. Po Chü-i (杜甫): One of the greatest poets of the T’ang period who was recalled from a premature retirement and subsequently raised to high office during the reign of Mu Tsung. See Waley A, The Life and Times of Po Chü-i.
9. Chou-chih (酬理): A hsien in what is now the Kuanchung region of Shensi province.
10. Ruled AD806 to 820.
11. See Waley op cit pp 46-48. This also refers to the ancient custom of feudal lords presenting songs from their region to the emperor, designated feng (風).
12. Odes 191(2), LCC vol 4, p 310. In this and the following the translations follow Legge.
13. ibid 192(8), LCC vol 4, p 318.
14. ibid 193(4), LCC vol 4, p 322.
15. ibid 199(1), LCC vol 4, p 344. See also Legge’s note on the same page.
16. Ch’ü-fu hsin-pien, (Li Sao) vol 1, pp 262-263. See also Hawkes D, The Songs of the South p 77 who has the following translation:

"I thought the orchid was one to be trusted
But he proved a sham bent only on pleasing his masters."
17. Wang I ( 王逸 - AD89-158) was, as Hartmann describes (ICCL p 62), “The compiler of the Ch’ü-te’u and its first and most famous commentator.”
18. For Hawkes' comments on Wang I's statements see the *Songs of the South* (op cit p94).

19. *Ch'ü-fu hsin-pien*, (Li Sao), vol 1, p263 and note following on the identity of Chiao ( ).

20. Tzu Chiao ( ) is probably Chiao Chü ( ) or Wu Chü ( ) a Ch'u high official in the Spring and Autumn period. See *Tso Ch'uan* IX, 26, LCC vol 5, p521. The term ling-yin (vide infra) is the designation of an official in Ch'u. See, for example, *Lun Yü* V, 18, LCC vol 1, p79 and Legge's note on the same page.

21. Hung Hsing-tsu ( ) He was a Sung scholar who also prepared a commentary on the *Ch'u-tzu* entitled *Ch'u tzu pu-chu*.

22. See *T'ang shih hsüan* vol 1, pp228-230. These two lines are quite separate in the poem. See notes 9 and 20 on the pages indicated. Kuo and Ch'in were the elder sisters of Yang Kuei-fei.

23. *Odes* 193, LCC vol 4, p320. Part of this poem is quoted earlier (see note 18 above).

24. *CSKW* vol 6, *Ch'üan Ch'i wen* ch 19.

25. ibid vol 7, *Ch'üan Liang wen* ch 57.

26. For the exchange between Tsung Ch'u-ke and Wei Yuan-chung see the *Chiu T'ang Shu* vol 9, ch 92, pp2954-2955.

27. See *Han Ch'ang-li wen-chi chiao-chu* ( ) p103.

2(iii)/19/6.

1. Han Yü ( ) He was, apart from his political career, one of the most noted of Chinese poets and essayists, having, in the early T'ang period, a profound influence on literary thought and style. For a full translation of this long poem and reference to the original see Owen S, *The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yü*, pp271-273.

2. Liu Chih ( ) A scholar and official from Tung-kuang. See *Sung Shih* vol 31, ch 340, pp10849-10858.


4. Yang Tzu-yin ( ) A scholar and official who rose to prominence at the end of the Former Han period and subsequently served under Wang Mang. He was a major force in the Old Text school of Han Confucianists (see Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy* vol 2, p136ff).

5. See Yang Hsiung's (note 4 above) *Fa-yen, wen-ming* ( ), SPTK vol 18 (*Fa-yen*), p45.

6. Huang Lu-chih ( ) An official who rose to a high position in the Imperial Academy and a noted poet of the Sung period. See *Sung Shih* vol 37, ch 444, pp13109-13111.

8. Lu Wen-yii (陸文裕) was the posthumous title of the Lu Shen (陸深 - AD1477-1544). He was a chin-shih during the Hung-shih reign period (AD1488-1505) and author of several works including the Ting-ts'an lu (停壽錄) and the Nan-hsün ji-lu (南巡録). See DMB vol 1, p999.

9. Liu Wen-ching (劉文靖) was the posthumous title of Liu Chien (劉健 - AD1433-1526), a somewhat older contemporary of Lu Shen from Loyang. See DMB vol 1, p938 and Ming Shih vol 16, ch 181, p4810ff.

10. K'ung-t'ung (空同) is Li Meng-yang (李夢陽) a Ming scholar. See Ming Shih vol 24, ch 286, p7346 ff.

11. Ou-yang Yung-shu (歐陽永叔 - Ou-yang Hsiu - 歐陽修 - AD1007-1072): A renowned scholar of the Sung period who also rose to high office. In AD1071 he retired in protest against the policies of Wang An-shih.


Odes 198, LCC vol 4, p342. Trans. after Legge.

Lun Yu I, 3, LCC vol 1, p139.

ibid XV, 26, LCC vol 1, p302.

ibid I, 2(1), LCC vol 1, p138.

ibid I, 3, LCC vol 1, p139.

Mencius IIIA, 7(4), LCC vol 2, p277.

ibid IIIA, 7(4), LCC vol 2, p277.

Lun Yu XVII, 15(2), LCC vol 1, p325.

Wang Mang (王莽), in AD9, set aside Ju Tzu-ying (孺子嬰), for whom he was acting as regent, and himself assumed the position of emperor with the dynastic title of Hsin Wang (新王). Yang Hsiung (楊雄), a noted scholar of the day, also renowned for his composition of fu, accepted office under the usurper.

Ts'ao Ts'aо (曹操): A famous militarist and statesman of the Later Han period who assumed control of the empire under the last Han emperor, Hsien Ti (獻帝) and whose son, Ts'ao P'ei (曹丕) was the first emperor of the Wei dynasty. P'an Hsu (潘勖) was an officer of the Later Han period (see San Kuo Chih vol 3, ch 21, p612). The ninehsi were the nine marks of imperial favour. See eg Kung-yang chuan for the 1st year of Duke Chuang, SSSCCS, vol 7, p73.

History II, III, 1(2), LCC vol 3, p70 and II, III, 2(20), LCC vol 3, p64. See Legge's note on p64 for the use of yu (有) in this context.

Wei Chung-hsien (魏忠賢): A scheming eunuch of the late Ming period who rose to a position of great power under the Emperor Hsi Tsung (AD1621-1628). See CHC vol 7(1), p596ff.

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13. Hou Han Shu vol 5, ch 34, p1178. Liang Chi (梁紀) was the eldest son of Liang Shang (梁商) father of Emperor Shun Ti's consort, Liang Na (梁娜) and assumed the regency on his father's death in AD141 (CHC vol 1, pp285-6). Li Ku (李圖) was a Later Han official who rose to become governor of Ching-chou. He opposed the Liang family on the basis of their undue influence and was put to death after being implicated in some intrigue associated with the accession of Huan Ti. Ma Jung (馬融) was a renowned scholar and official who served under several emperors of the Later Han period.


15. ibid vol 20, ch 224b, p6396.

16. Ku Yü (顧野) was a T'ang official. For his writings and brief biographical information see Ch'üan T'ang wen ch 815 (vol 9, p857ff).

17. For Chang Tun (章惇) see Sung Shih vol 39, ch 471, p13709ff. The words recorded here are not an exact quote from the biography.
9. Hung Mai (洪邁 - AD1123-1202): See SB p292ff for details of his works. The Jung-chai sui-pi (容齋隨筆) is available in a modern two volume edition. For the following quote see the essay entitled Chi'fa, vol 1, p88.

10. The following are references to the CSKW:
    Fu I (傅毅) vol 2, ch 43, p4.
    Chang Heng (張衡) vol 2, ch 55, p1.
    Ts'ui Yin (崔繁) vol 2, ch 44, p7.
    Wang Ts'an (王粲) vol 2, ch 91, p1.
    Chang Hsich (張駱) vol 4, ch 85, p8.
    Ma Jung (馬融) has his work collected in CSKW vol 2, ch 18 but there is no Chi'kuang.
    Ts'ao Chih (曹植) has a Chi'ai (七哀) in Ts'ao Tzu-chien shih-chu (曹子建詩注) but no poem of the name given.


13. Tung-fang So (東方朔) CSKW vol 1, Han ch 25, p9ff.
    Yang Hsiung (楊雄) CSKW vol 1, Han ch 53, p1.
    Ts'ui Yin CSKW vol 2, ch 44, p3.
    Pan Ku (班固) CSKW vol 2, ch 25, p3ff.
    Chang Heng CSKW vol 2, ch 54, p8ff.

14. Han Yu (韓愈 - AD768-824): His essay entitled Chin-hsüeh chieh (進學解) may be found in the Han Ch'ang-li wen-chi chiao-chu pp44-49.

15. CSKW vol 1 (Han), ch 52, p3ff.

16. Ibid vol 1 (Han), ch 59, pp1-2.

17. Li Chi, SSCCS vol 5, ch 2, p35.
8. Liu Ch'i-chih (劉繼之): There is little biographical information available. Further I am unable to locate the quote given. None of his writings appear to be included in the CSKW.

9. Changes hexagram 59, SSCCS vol 1, p131 and Wilhelm op cit p228.

10. See Hsin T'ang Shu vol 20, p6472.

11. The full title of this work is Te'cu-chi Huang-shih jih-ch'ao (虞振黃氏日鈔): A work compiled by the Sung writer Huang Chen (黃震), a Confucianist of the Chu Hsi school (see SB 232).

12. One of the works of Su Ch'e (蘇轍) described in the Sung Bibliography as "... a study of antiquity in criticism of Ssu-ma Ch'ien" (SB p400). It is listed as being in the SKCS, Shih-pu pieh-shi lei.

13. Shih Chi vol 7, ch 71, p2307. See also the extensive note on the term hua-chi.

14. See note 12 above.

15. Shih Chi vol 7, ch 71, p2310.

16. See note 12 above.

2(iii)/19/12.


2. The histories of the Former and Later Han dynasties.

3. Hsin T'ang Shu vol 16, ch 165, p5061. The first of the quoted phrases may be found in the Han Shu vol 4, ch 24B, p1161; for the second see Shih Chi vol 10, ch 129, p3272.

4. Lu Yu (陸游 - AD1125-1210): For details of his collected works see SB p493 and also ICCL pp609-611. The piece here referred to may be found in the Lu Yu chi vol 5, ch 28, p2255.

5. T'ao Tsung-i (陶宗儀 - AD1316-1403): A Chinese scholar during the period of Mongol rule. See ICCL pp769-770 for details of his works including the Cho-keng lu (Records Compiled after Retiring from the Farm).

6. Ho Meng-ch'un (何孟春 - AD1474-1536): a Ming scholar and disciple of Li Tung-yang (李東陽). His work here referred to, the Yü-tung hsü-lu (繡序錄) is a collection of miscellaneous notes. I have been unable to locate the quote here given in the TSCC edition of this work. For biographical details see the Ming Shih vol 17, ch 191, pp5065-70.

7. Sun Kuang-hsien (孫光憲): initially an official at the end of the T'ang period and later during the Five Dynasties period, he was the author of the Pei-meng so-yen (北夢瑣言), a collection of historical anecdotes on the late T'ang and Five Dynasties period (see SB pp96-7). Chang-yüeh (張樂) is a place name of varying applicability. It is not clear who Feng Ch'uan was. The Leng-chai yeh-hua (冷齋夜話) was also a Sung work, being a collection of notes on literature and poetry by P'eng Te-hung (彭德洪) better known as Monk Hui-hung. See SB pp335-6. T'ao Ku (陶謙 - AD903-970) was a writer and official of the Five Dynasties period and author of the Ch'ing-i lu (清異錄), a short work published between AD960 and 970. See SB p320.
Yü Shen-hsing (于慎行): a Ming scholar and official from Shantung province. The work referred to here is the *Ku-shan pi-chu* (菴山筆麈) in 18 ch first printed in AD1613. For bibliographical details of this and other of his works see DMB p1614ff. I have been unable to obtain copies of these writings.
For the phrase 'li yen' (to establish one's words or teachings) see the Tso Chuan IX, 24, LCC vol 5, p505: "I have heard that the highest meaning of it is when there is established (an example of) virtue; second when there is established (an example of) successful service and a third when there is established (an example of) wise speech." (Trans. after Legge p507).

1. Odes 301, LCC vol 4, p633.

2. See Ch'eng I's I-ch'uan I-chuan in the Erh Ch'eng ch'üan-shu, SPPY edition, vol 12, ch 4. The diagram is number 64. See Wilhelm's comments on the positions of the lines (pp248, 362 & 714).

3/21/1

1. History II, I, 5(24), LCC vol 3, p48. See also Legge's note on chih ( ), p48. In the Odes (Great Preface) it is written: 'Poetry is the product of the will. What is in the mind is the will, what is brought forth (given form) as words, is poetry.' See also Li Chi, Yüeh-chi, SPTK vol 1, p115.

2. According to Hucker (6213, p481), "... one of the eminent court dignitaries known as the three preceptors (san shih) or the three dukes (san kung)."


5. Mencius, IVB, 21(I), LCC vol 2, p327.

6. Yüan Chen ( - AD779-831) was a child prodigy who subsequently became a poet of renown and originator of the Yüan-ho style ( ). He was befriended by Po Chü-i.


8. ibid p959 ff. Liang Hung ( - AD234-363) was a scholar of the Later Han who, during his travels, composed the poem Wu-i ko ( ). This poem was said to have offended the emperor to such a degree that he ordered Liang Hung's arrest, although this was not effected (see the Hou Han Shu ch 83, p2765).

9. ibid p963. I could find no trace of Teng Fang. T'ang Chu is said to have been a man given to easy weeping and to have wept on listening to Po Chü-i's verse.

10. idem

11. Ko Hung ( - AD234-363) was a native of Chu-yung. He was something of a recluse who loved learning and was particularly interested in the supernatural and the pharmacological aspects thereof. He styled himself Pao-p'ü tzu ( ). See Chin Shu ch 72, p1910 and, for the quote, Pao-p'ü tzu wai-pien ch 40, SPTK vol 27, p224.

3/21/3

1. The three hundred poems of the Odes (LCC, vol 4).
2. *Odes* 263, LCC vol 4, p555. This piece records and celebrates a military expedition of Hsiian Wang. According to the preface it was attributed to Mu Kung of Chao who wrote it in glorification of King Hsilan (see preface, Legge p77). As Legge points out (see note to *Ode* 263, p556) this title, which may be translated "constantly martial", has occasioned much speculation as to its significance.

3. *Odes* 293, LCC vol 4, p606. See also the preface (prolegomena p80). Legge in his note on p607 considers the above to be 'far-fetched' and takes the piece as an announcement in the temple of King Wu of the completion of the Wu dance by the Duke of Chou. See also his observations on the character of the title.

4. *Odes* 295, LCC vol 4, p608. The character lai means to bestow or confer (See *Lun Yu* XX, 1[4], LCC, vol 1, p351). The ode itself appears to be in praise of King Wen. Legge, in his note on p609, refers to the *Tso Chuan* as indicating that this was the third of the pieces sung to the dance of Wu and in the preface (reference 2 above) as indicating that "... it contains the words with which Wu gave his grant of fiefs and appanages to the chief of his followers in the ancestral temple."

5. *Odes* 296, LCC vol 4, p609. This piece records "the greatness of Chou and its firm possession of the kingdom as seen in the progresses of the reigning sovereign." The meaning of the title is obscure.

6. *Odes* 200, LCC vol 4, p346. This poem, written by a eunuch designated Meng Tzu, is also titled using words not included in the verse. It embodies complaints about, and denouncement of, his slandering enemies. Legge (see note on p341) has suggested that 徙 "... is nearly equivalent to 害人." Hsiang (巖) was the term applied to a passage within the palace.

7. The *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou* (古詩十九首) are "traditionally considered the earliest examples of pentasyllabic verse which became, for several centuries, the dominant form of Chinese poetry." See ICCL pp489-490.

8. These were verses written in connection with the state sacrifices and worship established by Han Wu Ti. There were nineteen pieces in all (see *Han Shu* vol 4, p1045 and pp1052-1070).

9. A form of ancient military song. See e.g. *Nan Shih* vol 5, p1308.

10. Wang Ts'an (王子 - AD177-217): He was one of the seven scholars of the Chien-an period (AD196-220). A noted poet he also wrote a work on the art entitled *Shih-fu lun-i chiui*.

11. Ts'ao Chih (曹植 - AD192-232): Another of the seven scholars of the Chien-an period famed for his facility in poetical composition.

12. A poem title used by several authors including Wang Ts'an and Ts'ao Chih above.

13. This is a reference to six of the seven masters of the Chien-an period. See e.g. Ts'ao Chih in ICCL p790-1.


3/21/5


3. ibid vol 1, p9.
1. Li T'ai-pai or Li Po (李太白) and Tu Fu (杜甫).

3/21/17

1. For a discussion of the range of application of this term see Legge History II, I, 4 LCC vol 3, p41 (note) in which he states in part that: "Anciently the territories occupied by the nine E (戸), the eight Teih (曳) the seven Jung (戎) and the six Man (曼) 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 etc. ..." In this sense the phrase obviously has nothing to do with an actual sea although Legge, later in the same note, states: "The phrase must have had its origin in some idea of the habitable territories bounded on every side by water."

2. See Shang-shu, SSCCS vol 1 (Shang-shu), p42.

3. Tsou Yen (司馬 行 - 4th cent. BC): A pre-Ch'in philosopher of the Five Elements school. For details of his doctrines see Fung Yu-lan's History of Chinese Philosophy vol 1, p159ff. His geographical observations here referred to may be found on p160ff.

4. An original note refers to the Li Chi (SSCCS vol 5, p821) where mention is made of the Northern, Eastern, Southern and Western Seas, as indeed occurs in other works.


6. Chou Li, SSCCS vol 3, p496.


8. Li Chi, SSCCS vol 5, p1008.


10. ibid, III, I(ii), 2, LCC vol 3, p132. See also Legge's extensive note on pp133-134.

11. ibid, III, I(ii), 5, LCC vol 3, p150.

12. Hung Mai (洪邁 - AD1123-1202): A noted scholar and writer of the Sung period. His comments given here are to be found in the Jung-chai sui-pi (岑廬隨筆五集) in the essay entitled Ssu-hai i-yeh vol 1, ch 3, p33.


14. Li Sao, Ch'u-tzu hsien-pien vol 1, p268.

15. Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang (程大昌 - AD1123-1195): A Sung scholar from Hsiu-ning in Hui-chou. For biographical details see Sung Shih vol 37, ch 433, pp12858-61. His work, the Yung-lu (雍錄) may be found in the (Ching-ming k'e-pen) Ku-chin i-shih - 古今薈史 vols 22-26. (See also SB p152). I have not been able to locate the quotation given. T'iao-chih is the name of an ancient
16. Pan Ch'ao (-AD31-101): The younger brother of Pan Ku, the historian. He travelled widely beyond the confines of the kingdom achieving major military successes in central Asia. Kan Ying was a subordinate of Pan Ch'ao who was appointed as envoy to Rome but actually reached Tiao-chih, a country on the shores of the Persian Gulf. See also CHC vol 1, p579.

17. Ho Ch'u-ping: A military man of the Former Han period who rose to the rank of president of the Board of War and gained a number of victories over the Hsiung-nu. Lang Ch'u-hsi mountain was situated in the north-west of Wu-yüan district of Suyen province on the northern bank of the Yellow River. Han hai or the northern sea refers to the Gobi Desert.

18. Su Wu: An official under the Emperor Han Wu Ti who was despatched on a mission of peace to return the Hsiung-nu envoys who had been detained by the Chinese but was himself imprisoned by the Hsiung-nu. See also CHC vol 1, p579.

19. I am unable to locate this quote. There is no mention of the Northern Sea in the Tu-chüeh chapter of the Hsin Tang Shu. The Ku-li kan were an aboriginal people (see Hsin Tang Shu vol 19, ch 217a, p6112).

20. Chü-yen hai: The name of a lake. See Shih Chi (Hsiung-nu chüan) ch 110.

3/22/2

1. The term chou is defined in the Erh-ya as "inhabitable ground in the midst of water." The term had various meanings at different times, Hucker listing region, township, prefecture and subprefecture (1332, p178). The nine regions referred to here were those created by Yu and described in the History III, 1a, LCC vol 3, pp93-127.


3. Chou Li, SSACS vol 3, p501. The term 'overseer of feudatories' is Hucker's translation of chih-fang shih (980, p158). The commentary is that of Chia Kung-yen of the early T'ang period.

4. The argument here appears to be that Shen-chou or Chi-hsien Shen-chou constituted China proper and was divided into nine regions whilst the land beyond Shen-chou was also divided into nine regions. See Shih Chi vol 7, ch 74, p2344, a text referred to in an original note.

5. Han Shu, Ti-li chih, vol 6, ch 28a, p1523. Yin Keng was a Ming scholar. I have been unable to locate his Liang-chen chih.

6. A mountain in present-day Hopei province. An original note relates it to Pao-an chou.

7. A mountain situated, according to the original note, to the north of Huai-lai ch'eng. The area is now partly in Hopei and partly in Shansi. See Shih Chi vol 1, ch 1, p6 and, particularly, note 7, p7. The Yellow Emperors capital was on the plain beneath Cho-lu mountain (see note 6 above).
8. Two double-character surnames of non-Chinese people. The Erh-chu (ㄦ ㄜ) tribe was of Tartar origin and was closely involved in the ruling of the Later Wei and Northern Ch'i dynasties. The Yü-wen (ㄤ 文) tribe was a branch of the Hsien-pi connected with the Huns and of Turkish origin. They became the ruling family of the Northern Chou.

9. Ch'ang-i (ㄔ ㄑ): was the second of the Yellow Emperor's sons. Ku has a note here attempting to clarify this situation in which he states that according to the Wei Shu, Chou Shu and other (historical) writings of the time the people of Wei took their origin from Huang-ti Hsiian-yüan. The younger son of Chang-i (second son of Huang Ti) was enfeoffed with Northern China. At this time the Erh-chu were unknown. See Shih Chi vol 1, ch 1, p10.

10. This occurred during the reign of Yao. See History I, III, 2(11), LCC vol 3, p24 and also Shih Chi vol 1, ch 1.

11. See note 2 above and the map facing page 1 of the prolegomena in Legge's translation of the History. Chi, one of the nine regions, embraces modern Chihli, Shansi, part of Honan and part of Manchuria.

12. It is probably Tsou Yen being referred to here. See Shih Chi vol 7, ch 74, p2344 and essay 3/22/1 note 3. A detailed summary of his views may be found in Fung Yu-lan's History of Chinese Philosophy vol 1, p159ff.

13. Yu (ㄩ): corresponding to the northern part of modern Hopei Ping (ㄆ): comprising part of modern Hopei and extending west to include part of Shansi Ying (ㄧㄥ): corresponding to what is now in part Hopei, Liaoning and part of Korea.


15. Liao Shih vol 2, ch 37, p437.

16. Ibid vol 2, ch 31, p361. Hsia (ㄕ 亞) is "... the dynastic designation under which Yü (ㄕ 旭) and his descendants possessed the empire (2204-1766BC)." See History III, 1, LCC vol 3, p92ff and Legge's note on p92 from which the above description is taken.

17. Liu San-wu (劉 三 魽 - AD1312-1399) was a Ming scholar employed in the Hanlin Academy. His work, the Shu-chuan hui-hsuan (書傳會選) was a revision of the elucidation of the Book of Documents by Ts'ai Ch'en on the basis of the commentary by Chu Hsi (DMB vol 1, pp956-8). In 6 ch it may be found in the Ching-pu shu-wei section of the SKCS.

18. For the establishment of the nine regions see note 1 above. Shun (i.e. Yü and Hsia - ㄕ 亞, 亞 ) is credited with having added three additional regions by dividing Chi (ㄖ 甾 ) into three provinces of Chi (ㄖ 甾), Yü (ㄕ 旭) and Ping (ㄆ ): and Ch'ing (ㄕ 甾 ) into Ch'ing (ㄕ 甾) and Ying (ㄧㄥ). (See History II, I and Legge's note LCC vol 3, p38). Further information on the subdivision is given in the Han Shu quoted in an original note (Han Shu vol 6, ch 28(a), p1523.)


21. See note 1 above.

22. Chou Li, SCSCS vol 3, p159.

23. Ibid p182.
24. Tso Chuan V, 15, LCC vol 5, p165.
25. ibid VII, 11, LCC vol 5, p309.
26. ibid X, 22, LCC vol 5, p691.
27. ibid XII, 4, LCC vol 5, p803.
28. ibid XII, 17, LCC vol 5, p849.
29. Kuo-yü 16 (Cheng-yü), SPTK vol 14 (Kuo-yü), p119.
30. Ch'en Hsiang-tao (陳祥道 - AD1053-1093): A Sung scholar and author of the Li Shu (禮書), a work on the Chou Li, in 150 ch included in the SKCS.

3/23/4

1. Three clans of ancient origin: K'ung (呉) originating in the state of Sung in the early Chou period, (see Shih Chi vol 6, ch 47, p1905 and Legge's Life of Confucius ch 5, section 1 in the prelomena to the Analects); Yen (薀) from Lu; Meng (孟) also from Lu.

2. Yen (薀), the smallest of the nine divisions of Yü, which corresponded to parts of later Shantung and Chihli.


4. Mencius VA, 8(2) LCC vol 2, p365.

5. A note is here appended referring to the Shih Chi, Huo-chih chuan as follows: "The ancestors of the K'ung family of Yüan were men of Liang who made their living by smelting iron. When Ch'in overthrew the state of Liang, the K'ung family was moved to Nan-yang ... " (vol 10, ch 129, p3278 trans. after Watson, Records of the Grand Historian of China vol 2, p496) and to the Ping-chun chuan as follows: "K'ung Ch'in (was) a great iron smelter from Nan-yang (vol 4, ch 30, p1428).

6. This is Yen Chen-ch'ing (顔真卿), a T'ang official (AD709-785), who graduated chin-shih around AD730 and subsequently rose to high office. See Chiu T'ang Shu vol 11, ch 128, p3589ff and Hsin T'ang Shu vol 16, ch 153, p4854ff). Chuan-hsi (顔邃) was a legendary emperor whose dates are given as 2513-2436BC. See also The Annals of the Bambo Books in Legge's History, prelomena ch IV, p110 and Shih Chi vol 5, p1689ff.

7. This is Ch'i-tiao T'fu (滕雕徒父) of Lu. See Shih Chi vol 7, ch 67, p2221.

8. Tso Chuan IX, 19 Legge p481. Note the translation here differs somewhat from that of Legge.


10. This occurs in Chao XXXI, in the Kung-yang chuan; see SSCCS vol 7 (Kung-yang chuan) p307. There is a note in the original quoting the relevant section of the Kung-yang chuan.

11. For reference to Duke Li Pi of Chü (季梁) see Tso Chuan IX, 16 & 31 (LCC vol 5, pp471 & 561). For Li Mi (季彌) see Tso Chuan XI, 9 & 10 (LCC vol 5 pp771-6). There is no reference to a possible relationship in these entries.

12. Mencius, Meng K'o (孟軻).
1. The *T'ung-tien* (通典) was a work compiled by the T'ang scholar Tu Yu (杜佑) being an extensive treatise on matters of government. See CHC vol 3 (1), p604ff and SB pp173 & 176.

2. *Pei Shih* vol 5, ch 36, p1326.

3/24/26

1. On the title Han-lin (翰林) Hucker (2141, p222) writes: "... from the seven hundreds on occurs as a prefix to numerous titles of literary and editorial workers and even other specialists such as physicians, most commonly but not solely members of the Hanlin Academy." See also Bischoff F.A., *La Forêt des Pinceaux*, Paris, 1963.

2. *Chiu T'ang Shu* vol 6, ch 43, pp1853-1854. What follows is not an exact quotation but is obviously largely taken from this source.

3. A note quotes the Sung work, Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang's *Yung-lu* (see SB p152) as giving the site of the Hanlin Academy. It was to the right of the Ta-ming palace within the Yin-t'ai gate. Slightly to the north there was the gate to the Academy.

4. Chung-shu she-jen (中書舍人); Rendered by Hucker (1618,p193) as: "Drafter in the secretariat .... principally a handler of central government documents .... ."

5. Pei-men hsüeh-shih (北門學士). According to Hucker (4527,p372) this was, from AD666-667 "the collective designation of a group of litterateurs entitled 'Academicians of the North Gate' who were charged with drafting imperial pronouncements and composing literary works on imperial order." See also CHC vol 3 (1),p310.

6. Officials of the T'ang period. The following references to the CHC vol 3(1) give some indication of their roles in the T'ang administration:

   Lu Chien (陸堅): p386.
   Chang Chi (張垍): pp449-450.

7. Described by Hucker (2150, p222) as " ... a duty assignment in the T'ang Institute of Academicians for officials of literary talent holding substantive posts elsewhere in the central government."


9. Ch'eng-chih (承制): "Recipients of Edicts; "... a title and duty assignment granted as a supplement to one's regular position enabling one to become a secretarial confidante of the emperor and possibly later a grand councillor; most commonly granted to academicians." (Hucker 463,p126).

10. See note 2 above.
11. A compilation initiated by Hsiian Tsung and finally completed in AD738, the T'ang liu-tien (~:t") provides, according to Twitchett, "... much of our detailed knowledge of T'ang administrative law." See CHC vol 3(1), pp354 & 415.


13. Lu Chih ( 隆 寶 ): A Hanlin academician who became a most influential adviser to Te Tsung. See CHC vol 3(1), p384 et seq.

14. Wu T'ung-Hsiian ( 大 通 云 ): A Hanlin academician and official. For details of his disagreement with Lu Chih see the Chiu T'ang Shu vol 15, ch 190(b), pp5057-5058.

15. See Chiu T'ang Shu vol 15, ch 129b, p5057.


17. Han Ying ( 韓 禮 ) gave prognostic advice to Hsiian Tsung. He held a position of attendant at the gate to the heir-apparent. I am unable to identify Liu Hsüan ( 劉 煽 ).

18. Wang Shu-wen ( 王 敦 ) and Wang Pi ( 王 佐 ): The former a lowly official, the latter a scribe who was appointed a Hanlin academician in AD805, were both closely involved in the clique who, disaffected with Te Tsung's administration, gathered around the heir-apparent Shun Tsung. See CHC vol 3(1), pp601-607. See also Bischoff, op cit, pp42 & 60-62.

19. For reference to Liu Mi ( 柳 泣 ) and Ta T'ung ( 大 通 ) see Chiu T'ang shu vol 11, ch 131, p3642 and Hsin T'ang Shu vol 16, ch 167, p5114.

20. Likewise I am unable to identify these two men, Wang Chi ( 王 傅 ) and Sun Chun ( 孙 源 ).


23. Ibid, vol 2, ch 17(a), p524.

24. Chao Lin ( 趙 濛 ) was a T'ang scholar who became a chin-shih during the K'ai-ch'eng reign period. His Yin-hua lu ( 因 話 録 ) appears in the Shuo-fu ( 說 輯 ) ch 15 but I could find no mention of Wen Tsung therein.

25. Details of these events, including part of the text of the memorial in which the three Hanlin compilers took the occasion of the lantern festival to voice a protest against Chu Chien-shen's preoccupation with pleasure may be found in the Ming Shih vol 1, ch 13, p164 and vol 16, ch 179, pp4751-4755. Details of their punishment, demotion and subsequent re-instatement are also to be found therein.

3/25/1

1. Chung Li ( 重 梨 ): Supposedly a descendant of the legendary emperor, Chuan-hsü ( 頌 榮 ). In the section in the Chung-wen ta zuo-tien (vol 9, p540) reference is made to the present essay for clarification.

2. Tso Chuan X, 29, LCC vol 5, p729. Shao Hao ( 少 懦 ) was a legendary emperor said to have
ruled in the 3rd millennium BC (2597-2513 BC according to Matthews). In the part of the quote omitted from Ku Yen-wu's essay which reads; "... able to regulate the kingdoms of metal, wood and water" there is indication of the significance of the titles.

3. Chu-yung (祈年): Also identified as the God of Fire (Giles BD p179) where he is described as "a legendary being said by some to have been a minister under Huang Ti, by others to be identical with Chung Li, a descendant of Chuan-hsü, while a third account makes him contemporary with Fu Hsi. He is the God of fire and rules over the south... ."

4. Shih Chi vol 5, ch 40, p1689. See also Shih Chi vol 1, ch 1, p11 and, with reference to the identity of Chung Li, vol 5, ch 40, p1689 note 2.

5. ibid vol 10, ch 130, p3285. Hsiu Fu (休甫) was Earl of Cheng. See also note 2 p3285 for further discussion of the identity of Chung Li.

6. Chin Shu vol 1, ch 1, p1.

7. I am unable to find the reference to the Sung Shu. The biographies of the individuals concerned all appear in the Chin Shu (vol 4) as follows: Wei Kuan (衛康) ch 36, pp1055-60; Shan T'ao (山濤) ch 43, pp1223-31; Wei Shu (魏舒) ch 41, pp1185-8; Liu Shih (劉熙), ch 41, pp1190-98 and Chang Hua (張華), ch 36, pp1068-77 with instances of collective action (e.g. p1186). There is no mention of Chung Li.

8. There is a concluding original note giving reference to the observations of Liu Chao (劉操) on the issue of Chung Li's identity in his writings on the Hou Han Shu.

3/25/5

1. The issue here is the precise meaning of the term kung-ho (共和) which I have translated as 'harmonious joint rule'.

2. Shih Chi vol 1, ch 4, pp142-144. See also the note on p144.


6. Chuang Tzu vol 4, ch 28, p983. See, in particular, notes 1 and 2, pp982-984. Translation after Watson B., Chuang Tzu p319. According to the note in Ku Yen-wu's text kung-shou is a particular mountain called, at that time, kung-shan. Hsü Yu (許由) was one of the Four Philosophers of Miao-ku-she mountain. When offered the throne by Yao he is said to have washed his ears to cleanse them of the defilement of the offer. He features a number of times in the Chuang Tzu. According to Watson's note (loc cit) Kung Po occupied the throne for fourteen years (842-828BC) but then resigned it and retired to Mount Kung.

7. See Tso Chuan I, 1, SSCCS vol 6, p36 where the note referred to immediately follows the statement about T'ai-shu's flight. See also LCC vol 5, p2.

8. This statement, in fact, is to be found in the Shih Chi, Wei shih-chia (vol 6, ch 44 p1862). There is nothing resembling this entry in the Ch'un-shen ch'un chuan.

9. Shih Chi vol 6, ch 46, p1903. See particularly notes 1,2 and 3 on p1903.
10. The entry actually reads: Kung Yen Hou, Lu Pa Shih (共兼侯將旅師); Han Shu vol 2, ch 16, p591.


3/26/2

1. Ssu-ma Ch'ien (司馬遷); Author of the Shih Chi who was sometimes referred to as Tai-shih Kung (太史公) or 'Grand Astrologer', an office which he inherited from his father in 110BC. See Hucker 6217, p482.

2. Ping chun shu (平準書): Rendered by Watson (Records of the Grand Historian of China, vol 2, pt 1, p79) as 'The Treatise on the Balanced Standard.' See Shih Chi vol 4, ch 30, pp1417-1444. Pu Shih's words appear on p1442: "The district officials are supposed to collect what taxes they need for their food and clothing and that is all! Now Sang Hung-yang has them sitting in the market stalls buying and selling goods and scrambling for a profit. If your Majesty were to boil Sang Hung-yang alive then I think heaven might send us rain." (translation Watson op. cit. p104)

3. Wang Chien (王褒): A renowned general who served Ch'in Shih Huang-ti and played a significant role in his subjugation of the other states to unify the empire. See Shih Chi vol 7, ch 73, pp2338-42. The guest's words appear on pp2341-2.

4. Ching K'o (荆軻 - died 227BC): He travelled from Yen ostensibly to tender that state's allegiance to Ch'in but, in truth, to attempt, unsuccessfully as it transpired, the assassination of the Prince of Ch'in. See Shih Chi vol 8, ch 86, pp2526-2538. The words of Chü Chien of Lu appear on p2358.

5. Ch'ao Ts'o (趙廣 - died 155BC): He became a tutor to the heir apparent under Emperor Wen Ti and on accession of his charge, Ching Ti, became privy councillor. See Shih Chi vol 8, ch 101, pp2742-2748. For the dialogue between him and Teng Kung see pp2747-8. In this Lord Teng is critical of the emperor's decision to punish Ch'ao Ts'o with death, a criticism which the emperor accepted. See also Watson, op cit, vol 1, pp530-531.

6. T'ien Fen (田蚑): The Marquis of Wai-an, was a younger brother of Empress Wang, the consort of Ch'ing Ti and mother of Wu Ti. See Shih Chi vol 9, ch 107, pp2841-2856. See also Watson op cit vol 2, pt II, p109ff, who records the words of Wu Ti (p2855, Shih Chi) as follows: "(The Emperor) declared, if T'ien Fen was still around today I would have him and his whole family executed."

7. Pan Meng-chien (班孟堅) or Pan Ku (班固): He was the son of Pan Piao (班彪) of the Eastern Han and on the death of his illustrious father continued the compilation of the Han Shu.

8. Han Shu vol 9, ch 68, p2952. Huo Kuang (霍光 - died 68 BC) rose to high office under Wu Ti assuming the regency on this emperor's death. Huo Yu (霍禹) was his son.


10. Han Shu vol 11, ch 89, p3627. The memorial of Chang Ch'ang is recorded on pp3362-3. Huang Pa (黃霸 - died 51BC), like Huo Kuang (see note 8 above) was also a high officer under Han Wu Ti. Chang Ch'ang (張敞 - died 48 BC) came to prominence under Wu Ti's successor, Yuan Ti. He became governor of the metropolitan district but was subsequently disgraced prior to a later reinstatement.

121
3/26/12

1. *Han Shu* vol 7, ch 35 p1904. See also note on the same page.

2. *Hou Han Shu* vol 1, ch 1(a), p25 and note on the same page.

3. ibid vol 8, ch 67, p2210.

4. ibid vol 2, ch 10(b), p445.

5. ibid vol 9, ch 79(a), p2545. In the *Hou Han Shu* text quoted the character mao (毛) is omitted.

6. ibid vol 9, ch 79(a), p2546.

7. ibid vol 9, ch 79(b), p2569.

8. ibid vol 12, ch 25, p3572.

9. ibid vol 2, ch 8, p344.

3/27/9

1. *Hsün Tzu, SPTK* vol 17, ch 10, p102. See also *Hsün Tzu hsün-chu*, pp231-232. I have followed Dubs (*The Works of Hsün Tzu* 1973, p160) in the translation. Watson (*Hsün Tzu: Basic Writings*, 1963, p58) has "... it will be smashed, crushed, broken, defeated and forced to fall back" adding a note as follows: "This last clause contains seven characters that are quite unintelligible. Commentators generally agree that they must have the meaning in their translation though efforts to interpret or amend the individual characters are scarcely convincing." The note on p232 of the *Hsün Tzu hsün-chu* states that the intention is to convey the impression of an army defeated and fleeing in panic.

2. *Chiu T'ang Shu* vol 10, ch 61, p2366.


3/27/14

1. *Chao-ming wen-hsüan*, vol 1, p245. The poem is by Juan Chi (AD210-263) one of the 'Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove'. Hsiien-yang (咸陽) corresponds to what is now Chang-an district in Shensi province. Yen Yen-nien (顏延年 - AD385-456) was a noted author of the Sung period (during the North-South division) and commentator on the *Wen-hsüan*. The two ladies referred to are Chao Fei-yen (趙飛燕) who became the favoured concubine of Emperor Ch'eng Ti displacing Pan Chieh-yü and Li Fu-jen (李夫人), the favourite concubine of Han Wu Ti.

2. *Han Shu* vol 11, ch 85, p3465.

3. ibid vol 12, ch 97(b), p3984. Pan Chieh-yü (班婕妤) was, for a long period, the favourite concubine of Ch'eng Ti. The term Chieh-yü is rendered by Hucker (780, p144) "Lady of Handsome Fairness." Note the discrepancy in the texts, the *Han Shu* having: "The attendant of concubines, Li P'ing obtained the imperial favour ...". The story is not found in the ‘hsü-chuan’ but in the *Biographies of the Imperial Relations by Marriage.*
4. ibid vol 12, ch 100(a), p4200. The general-in-chief referred to is Wang Feng (王鳳 - died 26BC) who was Ch'eng Ti's maternal uncle. For some account of the decline of Ch'eng Ti's reign see CHC vol 1, pp213-215. See also notes to Han Shu p4200, as above.

3/27/15

1. The Hsi-ch'i ts'ung-yü (西漢稗語) is a work compiled by Yao K'uan (姚寬) of the Sung period. Among the variety of topics covered there are writings on the words used in poems and the biographies of poets. See SB, p228.

2. From the Ni-ku chiu-shou of Tao Yuan-ming (see Davis, vol 2, p109 for the text). Translation after Davis, Tao Yuan-ming vol I, p122)

3. Han Shu vol 7, ch 35, pp1900-1901. There appears to be a deficiency in the Ku Yen-wu text. I have followed the current edition of the Han Shu.

4. ibid, p1901, note 1. See also notes 2-6, pp1901-1902.

5. From the Ni-ku chiu-shou. See note 2 above.

6. San Kuo Chih vol 2, ch 11, p340. See also Davis' note II,5, op cit vol 2, p112.

7. Ching-chieh (令) the posthumous private title of Tao Yuan-ming.

8. From Yin chiu (飲酒), no 19. See Davis op cit vol 2, p89 and note regarding textual differences in the 2nd line. See also Davis, op cit vol 1, p101 for translation. I have followed the Ku Yen-wu text hence the variation in translation.

9. Hou Han Shu vol 2, ch 13, p520. It is a little difficult to correlate the apparent meaning of the quotation of the Hou Han Shu with Davis' translation of the phrase chieh-jan (介然).

10. From the poem "To Chief of Staff Yang"; Davis op cit vol 2, p63 (see also notes p64) and translation alter Davis, op cit vol I, p73. His note describes Ch'i-li Chi and Lu-li Hsieh-sheng as "... two to the 'four white-heads' who withdrew from the world and became recluses on Mount Shang at the time of Ch'in Shih Huang-ti."

11. Han Shu vol 10, ch 76, p3203 and notes thereafter. Note the omission of the character hsieh (謝) from the Ku Yen-wu text which is, presumably, an error.

3/28/1

1. This term, hsi-ti (席地) indicates the use of some sort of cotton or calico mat placed on the ground for sitting or reclining. See e.g. Nan Chi Shu vol 2, ch 22, p417.

2. There is a difference in the text here between the Huang Ju-ch'eng edition and the Yuan ch'ao-pen Jih-chih lu. The latter appears to be the more consistent so I have, in this instance, followed it.

3. The Ta ming hui-tien (大明會典) was a compilation in 180 chapters prepared by Li Tung-yang and others and first completed in AD1509.

5. Li Chi, SSCCS vol 5, p488. Translation after Legge (see Legge Li Chi, The Book of Rites vol 1, p423).

6. Tso Chuan V, 23, LCC vol 5, p185. The ode in question is no 177 (LCC vol 4, p281) which Legge (LCC vol 5, p187) describes as celebrating "... the services of an ancient noble, in the course of the kingdom ... ."

7. ibid IX, 3, LCC vol 5, p418.

8. ibid IX, 24, LCC vol 5, p505.

9. ibid XII, 17, LCC vol 5, p849.

10. Kuo-yü, Chou-yü I, SPTK vol 14 (Kuo-yü) pp9-11. There are some discrepancies between the two texts.

11. Biographical details for both Li Ling (李陵) and Su Wu (蘇武) may be found in the Han Shu, vol 8, ch 54, pp2450 & 2459 respectively. Exchanges between them are given on p2464ff, although not as quoted. Also both are said (in the Chung-hua ta tzu-tien) to be referred to in ch 17 of the Lang-yeh tai-tsu pien (琅琅代醉篇) which may be found in the Shuo-fu (說符) ch 8, but again the exchange referred to cannot be located.

12. Ch'en Hsiang-tao (陳祥道 - 1058-1093): One of the many commentators on the Chou Li. His work, the Li Shu (禮書) in 150 ch, is included in the SKCS.


14. ibid V, XII, 8 LCC vol 3, p424 and see particularly note on the same page.

15. Although the quote is not exact this probably is from the I Li 8, SSCCS vol 4, p254.

16. See Tso Chuan VI, 7, LCC, vol 5, p246.

17. See the Hsüan Tzu in Hsüan Tzu hsìn-chü ch 27, p447 and note thereto.

3/28/13

1. An official government institution established during the reign of Han Wu Ti and aimed at the revitalisation of poetry. The Bureau existed from 114-7 BC under the aegis of the chamberlain for the palace revenues. According to Hartman (ICCL p64) the staff of the Bureau "... collected popular songs, adapted and orchestrated these songs, orchestrated song-texts composed by famous poets and composed song-texts for existing times - all for use at court functions." See also Hucker 8262, p598 and Loewe M, "The Office of Music c114-7 BC", BSOAS vol 36, pp340-351, 1973.

2. These titles are translations of the terms ling (令 - patroller), yin-chien (音謳) and yu-chiao (遊徼 - patrol) and follow Hucker in each case (8262, p598; 7974, p581 and 8041, p585 respectively). In his discussion of 'patroller' Hucker makes no reference to the Music Bureau nevertheless I have used the same translation.

3. Han Shu vol 9, ch 59, p2655.

4. ibid, vol 9, ch 68, p2940. Huo Kuang (霍光) who died in 68BC, was a Han official who rose to high office under Han Wu Ti. Prince of Ch'ang I (張邑王) was the name given to Liu Ho (劉蒴), grandson of Han Wu Ti.
5. Hou Han Shu vol 11, p3000.

6. Ku Yen-wu's objection is clearly to the use of the term yûeh-fu to apply to the works rather than the institution.

3/29/12

1. This term embraces China proper and the four barbarians, the five regions being the central area and the four points of the compass.

2. Lun Yü XI, 17(4), LCC vol 1, p243.


4. I am unable to locate this reference in the Sung Shu. No mention of Kao Tzu's speech is made in his chronicle in this work.


6. ibid ch 13, p595. The general referred to is Wang Tun ( 王敦 ) of the Chin period (died AD324).

7. ibid ch 26, p848.

8. Pei Shih vol 4, ch 29, p1047.

9. Kung-Yang Kao (公羊高): One of the major early commentators on the Spring and Autumn Annals was from Ch'i. The Huai-nan Tzu ( 淮南子 ) was supposedly compiled by Liu An ( 劉安 - died 122BC), the son of Liu Pang ( 劉邦 - Han Kao Ti).

10. Liang Shu vol 3, ch 48, p678.

11. Li Yeh-hsing ( 李業興 ) was a native of Ch'ang-tzu in the later Wei period who was noted for his learning. He was subsequently enfeoffed as Earl of Chang-tzu. See Pei Shih vol 9, ch 81, pp2721-2725.

12. Yen Chih-tui ( 顏之推 - AD 531-595) was a scholar and high official in the Northern Ch'i and subsequently the Sui periods. His writings included a treatise on family education ( 鳳氏家訓 ). See Pei Ch'i Shu vol 2, ch 45, pp617-626.

13. This reference is to the New Text version of the classics. For some considerations on the controversy between Old and New Text schools see Feng Yu-lan, History of Chinese Philosophy vol 2, ch 2 & 4 and CHC vol 1, p760ff. For the Chin Shu reference see vol 4, ch 135, p2891.

14. The character an (案) is frequently used in the Hsûn Tzu (37 entries in the Harvard-Yenching Concordance); for the more usual an (按). See e.g. Hsûn Tzu hsin-chu ch 3, p30.

15. Ch'iang ( 充): A commonly used particle in Ch'u writing. See e.g. Ch'ü-fu hsin-pien vol 1, p223, section 15 and note below.

3/30/1

1. Shang, Hsia and Chou.
3. ibid 118, LCC vol 4, p179 (and note on p180 for the three stars).
4. ibid 232, LCC vol 4, p422.
5. *Tso Chuan* V, 5, LCC vol 5, p144.
6. Fan Shen: See *Ming Shih* vol 18, ch 207, pp5481-2. I am unable to locate details of this work.
7. The *Lü-shu* is ch 25 of the *Shih Chi* (vol 4, pp1239-1254).
8. Yang Shih-chi: A noted Ming scholar (see *Ming Shih* vol 14, ch 148, p4131, DMB vol 2 pp1535-1538 and CHC vol 7, pp277-284, 302ff). It is not clear who Jen Miao is, although Yang first served under Jen Tsung. Several exchanges are given in the *Ming Shih*.
9. This was a work by Chu Kao-chih who later became, for one year only, the Emperor Jen Tsung. See note 7 above and Needham J. *Science and Civilisation in China* vol 3, p475.

3/30/15

1. A writing of mystic revelation attributed to the Taoist monk, Huan Fa-ssu of the Wei period (see note 4 below).
2. Ch'in Shih Huang Ti met his death at Sha-ch'iu (沙丘 ) a place in present day Hopei province. Mao Chin was the secret name of the Han house, Liu (劉 ).
3. *Wei Shu* vol 1, ch 7a, p155.
5. The *Tui-pei tu* (推背圖 ) was a work attributed to Li Ch'un-feng (李淳風 ) and Yuan T'ien-kang (袁天綱 ) of the T'ang period.

3/30/26

1. Erh-shih ( 貓師 ) is a place - in Han times a city in Ferghana but here indicating Erh-shih Chiang-chün, or Li Kuang-li (李廣利 ), a renowned Han general and frequent opponent of the Hsiung-nu who captured the city in one of his campaigns. Biographical details of Li Kuang-li are to be found in the *Han Shu* vol 9, ch 61, p2699ff and the incident referred to also in the *Han Shu* vol 11, ch 94A, p3781. See also CHC vol 1, pp168-9 and 175ff.
2. The beheading of Jan Min (任閔 ) by Mu-jung Chün (慕容嶽 ) at Lung-ch'eng is recorded in the *Chin Shu* vol 9, ch 110, p2833. See also the *Chin Shu* ch 107.
3. *Wei Shu* vol 2, ch 28, p682. The text in Ku Yen-wu differs slightly from that in the *Wei Shu*. I have
followed the latter in the use of "The Duke of Chien-hsing, Ku Pi" whereas Ku Yen-wu has yu-pi (upaten) which Hucker (p586) renders supporter on the right. (The SPPY edition of the Jih-chih lu has Ku Pi).

4. Po-yu (伯有) is a style and refers to Liang Hsiao (良霄) of Cheng (程) in the Spring and Autumn period. See e.g. Spring and Autumn Annals IX, 30 (LCC vol 5, p551) which records the death of Liang Hsiao. For Po-yu as an evil spirit see Tso Chuan X, 7, LCC vol 5, p613 and Legge's translation p618.

3/31/1

1. The river is the Yellow River and the mountains T'ai-hang (太行). The point of this essay is that a particular place may be defined equally with reference to the Huang-ho or the T'ai-hang. The name Hotung (河東) has been variously applied to a prefecture, circuit, district etc.

2. Kuan-chung (關中) was situated in what is now Shensi province to the west of the Yellow River. The capital, in T'ang times, was Ch'ang-an which was in Kuan-chung.

3. Chi-men (衛門) also known as Chi-chiu (衛丘) was situated in what is now Hopei (河北) province and is equivalent to the modern T'u-ch'eng (土城). It is therefore east of the T'ai-hang mountains.

4. Kuan-chung was west of the T'ai-hang mountains which are on the eastern border of Shansi.

5. Shi Chih vol 10, ch 130, p3311. Hsiao Ho (蕭何) was friend and adviser to Liu Pang at the time of the transition from the Ch'in to the Han dynasties.


7. Wang Po-hou (王伯厚 - AD1223-1296) was Wang Ying-lin (王應麟) a noted official, scholar and writer of the Sung period. The work here referred to is the Tung-chien ti-li tung-shih (通鑑地理通釋) which is also included in Wang's Yu-hai (玉海). See SB pp70 & 529.

8. As stated in note 4 T'ai-hang mountains are to be found in what is now the eastern border of Shansi province.

9. This refers to the commentary immediately following the excerpts from the Shih Chi referred to in note 5 above. It relates to the use of Hua-shan as the reference point rather than T'ai-hang.

3/31/37

1. Tai (代): An ancient kingdom destroyed in the Warring States period by Chao Hsiang-tzu (see note 2 below). It was situated in what is now Yang-kao district of Shansi province.

2. Shih Chi vol 6, ch 43, p1789. Details of Chao Hsiang-tzu are given in this chapter.


4. Shih Chi vol 1, ch 7, p321.
5. Ibid vol 2, ch 8, pp 369, 385 and 389. Chin-yang (_filenames_1 阳) was a hsien established during the Ch'in dynasty and corresponding to what is now T'ai-yiian hsien in Shansi as Ku Yen-wu points out. See also _Han Shu_ vol 1, ch 4, p 105.

6. Ibid vol 2, ch 10, p 413.

7. Ibid vol 2, ch 10, p 425. Note discrepancy in the number of years in the two texts and see also the same entry in the _Han Shu_ vol 1, ch 4, p 119 and note on fu (_filenames_2 安) p 120. See also the original note referring to Ju Shun's (_filenames_3 徐) contention that Chin-yang was the first capital with a subsequent move to Chung-tu.

8. Ibid vol 2, ch 10, p 423.

9. _Han Shu_ vol 7, ch 46, p 2200.

10. In Ch'ing times this corresponded to Chih-hsia chou in Shansi province.

3/32/2

1. Nai ho (_filenames_4 何) is a phrase with a several meanings thus: "how", "to no avail", "what remedy or alternative is there?" "what shall I do then?" "for what reason".


3. _Tso Chuan_ VII, 12, LCC vol 5, p 315 and translation p 321.

4. _Li Chi_ (Ch'ü Li). See SSCCS vol 5, ch 4, p 78. See also Legge's translation in _Li Chi - Book of Rites_ vol 1, p 107.

5. _Ch'u Tzu_ (Chiu ko, Ta Ssu-ning): see _Ch'ü-fu hsin-pien_ vol 1, p 325 and Waley, _The Nine Songs_ p 38.

6. _Ch'u Tzu_ chiu-pien: see _Chü-fu hsin-pien_ p 139.

7. _Tso Chuan_ VII, 2, LCC vol 5, p 288 (translation after Legge p 289). For details of Hua Yüan see Legge's note on p 289.

8. Na (_filenames_5 相) has several meanings being used as a demonstrative pronoun/adjctive and as an interrogative particle. Read as nai it may also be used interchangeably with nai (_filenames_6 何). See note 1 above.

9. _History_ II, 1, 3(8), LCC vol 4, p 36 and see note on p 39.

10. Cheng Hsüan (_filenames_7 夏 - AD 127-200): a noted and prolific Han commentator on the various classics. The point of his comment here appears to be that he considers the use of ju (_filenames_8 言) to be equivalent to nai (_filenames_9 何).

11. _Lun Yü_ IX, 23, LCC vol 1, p 224.

12. There is an original note here to the effect that the ancients considered the characters ju (_filenames_10 言), jo (_filenames_11 約) and nai (_filenames_12 何) to have the one meaning although not necessarily the one pronunciation.

13. This includes the following six dynasties: Wu (_filenames_13 吴) AD 222-277; Chin (_filenames_14 楚) AD 265-419; Sung (_filenames_15 梁) AD 420-478; Ch'i (_filenames_16 齊) AD 479-501; Liang (_filenames_17 梁) AD 502-556 and Ch'en (_filenames_18 陳) AD 557-
587, all with the capital in Nanking.

14. See *San Kuo Chih* vol 3, ch 28, pp766-7 for the text of the letter in which this observation is included.

15. *Sung Shu* vol 5, ch 47, p1410. Hsüan is Huan Hsüan (桓玄 - AD369-404) the son of Huan Wen. After military successes he established himself as Emperor of Ch’u in AD403 but his reign was shortlived and his end violent.

3/32/10

1. Several meanings of the phrase pu tiao (不平 ) are listed in the *Chung-wen ta tzu-tien*. In this brief essay Ku Yen-wu focuses particularly on the meaning ‘without pity’ or ‘without condolence’.

2. *Tso Chuan* VIII, 13, LCC vol 5, p380. Here and below the translations follow Legge. Note there is an error in the Huang Ju-ch’eng edition which refers to the 30th year of Duke Ch’eng. There is no 30th year for this duke. The entry is correct in the Yüan Ch’ao-pen edition.

3. ibid IX, 13, LCC vol 5, p457.

4. ibid IX, 14, LCC vol 5, p461.

5. ibid X, 7, LCC vol 5, p614.

6. ibid X, 26, LCC vol 5, p714.

7. ibid IX, 23, LCC vol 5, p499.


9. ibid 264 (verse 2), LCC vol 4, p562.

10. *History* V, 14(2) and V, 16(2) LCC vol 3, pp454 & 474.

11. The reference here is to Tu Yü’s (杜預) commentary on the *Tso Chuan*.

1. For the phrase "rewarded them with territory" see Tso Chuan I, 8, LCC vol 5, p25.

2. An office (chien-ssu - 上司 ) particularly established in the Sung time and rendered circuit supervisor by Hucker (864, p150).

3. Tu-fu ( 督撫 ) is an abbreviated reference to tsung-tu ( 總督 - supreme commander, Ming) and hsün-fu ( 巡撫 - grand co-ordinator, Ming). See Hucker 7227, p539; 7158, p534 and 2731, p255.

4. Shou-ling ( 封令 ) is an abbreviated reference to t'ai-shou ( 太守 - prefect) and hsien­ling ( 行令 - district magistrate). See essay 27/11.

5. See Odes 249, LCC vol 3, p482: "to observe and follow the old statutes."


7. The term chih-hsien ( 刺史 ) was, according to Hucker, applied to a government official who "took charge of the affairs of a district." The rank is said to have ranged from 6b to 7b in early Ming then "... through Ch'ing with some variations up to 6a in especially prestigious districts." (Hucker 993, p158) Ku Yen-wu is clearly proposing an upgrading of this position as part of his general thesis of decentralisation.

8. Shih ( 式 ) indicates the probationary nature of the initial appointment.

9. The term hsi-shu ( 審書 ) referred originally to a sealed letter (see Tso Chuan IX, 29, LCC vol 5, p544), but after Ch'in and Han times became restricted to letters with the imperial seal.

10. The term chi-chiu ( 祭酒 ) was initially applied to an elder among the guests at an imperial banquet who was selected from among these guests to make a sacrificial offering of wine. (See I Li 5, in the I Li cheng-i, vol 1, sect 5, p19.) It then came to indicate respect accorded to age and virtue and was subsequently employed from Han onward as an official designation either as "... an honorific designation for a distinguished older minister (libationer)" or as "the head of the top echelon educational agency in the domestic capital" (chancellor). See Hucker 542, p130.

11. Tu-fu-ssu-tao ( 督撫司道 ): Defined by Hucker as "... a combined abbreviated reference to the governor-general, governor and heads of the provincial administration commission, provincial surveillance commission, the salt distribution commission and the grain tax circuit; i.e. the provincial authorities ....." (See Hucker 7229, p539.)

12. Pu ( 甫 ): According to Hucker "an occasional variant of the term chu-pu ( 主簿 ), recorder or assistant magistrate" (see Hucker 4762, p390).

13. Wei ( 尉 ): "... a common military title, sometimes honorific, sometimes with administrative responsibilities ....." (see Hucker 7657, p564).

14. Po-shih ( 博士 ): Rendered by Hucker "Erudite, an official of special broad skill and knowledge." For a detailed examination of this term see Hucker 4746, p389.

15. I-ch'eng ( 丞 ): An office introduced in Ming times for officials in charge of the postal relay stations (see Ming Shih, Chih-kuan chi).
16. Ssu-ts'ang (司倉): Rendered granary master or director of granaries by Hucker (5789, p457). The latter, probably as used here, described an official responsible for grain storage at a district level.

17. Yu-chiao (䵼徽): "Patroller, a local dignitary in the sub-district organisation of the populace who was responsible for police work in a township." (Hucker 8041, p585).

18. Se-fu (食夫): A term established in the Ch'in period and rendered by Hucker functionary or husbander, "...one of a group of personages chosen to deal with affairs of their home townships in the system of sub-district organisation of the population." (4940, p404)

19. Wu Shih (烏氏): Is Lo (侯) of Wu Shih (Wu Shih Lo). He was enobled by Ch'in Shih Huang for his work in animal husbandry. See Shih Chi vol 10, ch 129, p3260.

20. Ch'iao Yao (橋姚): From the Han era and renowned also for the rearing of domestic animals. See Shih Chi vol 10, ch 129, p3280 and Jih-chih lu (Ma cheng) vol 1, ch 10, p244.

21. Ch'ii-fu (曲阜): A present day district (hsien) situated to the east of Tzu-yang hsien in Shantung province. In the Spring and Autumn period this was the area of the capital of Lu and the birthplace of Confucius.

22. This refers to Yang Ying-lung (楊應龍) a minority leader who undertook rebellion against the Ming administration (see CHC vol 7(i), p564ff). Po-chou (播州) was a region established in the T'ang period and equivalent to Tsun-i hsien in Kweichow at the present time.

23. This refers to the fu (府) and chou (州) under the central control of the southern capital and therefore of the six ministries, i.e. Personnel (吏), Rites (禮), Revenue (戶), Justice (刑), Works (工) and War (兵).

24. Here and subsequently I have used the term sub-prefecture to translate chou (州), following Hucker (1332 p178). The term chou has had, of course, a variety of meanings throughout history but, according to Hucker, sub-prefecture was the Ming application.

25. Jung (戎) refers to the various tribes or races of the western region. See eg Li Chi (Wang-chi), SPTK vol 1, Li Chi p42. Ti (帝) is equivalent to ti (大) and indicates tribes or races of the northern region.

26. Liu Yuan (劉淵 - died AD 310) was the descendant of a Turkic chief who declared himself the first emperor of a new Han dynasty. His area of influence included Shansi and part of Shantung. Shih Lo (石勒 - AD273-332) was a one-time slave noted for his great strength who rose to a high position under Liu Yuan. (See CHC vol 1, p370-1). Wang Hsien-chih (王仙芝) was a bandit leader of great notoriety during the reign of T'ang Hsi Tsung (AD874-888). According to Sommers (CHC vol 3(i), p726) he "...led no highly organised military machine, but rather a confederation of individual bandit gangs or clusters of gangs, each with its own leader ... (his) own bandit confederation totalled three thousand men and was made up of smaller groups ranging in size from twenty or thirty men upwards." Huang Ch'ao (黃巢 - died AD 884) was a confederate of Wang Hsien-chih and was initially a member of the official class who turned to banditry. He became a leader of the rebel movement on the death of Wang Hsien-chih. For a detailed consideration of the activities of both Wang and Huang see CHC vol 3(i), pp722-750.

27. Lun Yu XX, 2, LCC vol 1, p351. For the first phrase Legge has "by his justice all were delighted" and for the second "by his sincerity he made the people repose trust in him."

28. Horses constituted the main commodity of the tribute to the Ming Court from Mongolia. See CHC vol 7(i), p264ff.
29. Yeh Shih (葉適 - AD1150-1223) was a scholar and official of the Sung period. His collected works, the Shui-hsin wen-chi (水心文集), contains material discussing government, institutions and politics (see SB pp426-427). For this quote see Li-hsi ch 3.

30. Lang (郎): Rendered by Hucker court gentleman. For a consideration of the history of the usage of this term see Hucker 3563, p301.

31. San-fu (三府): An unofficial reference to the san-kung (three dukes). See Hucker 4871, p399 and also CHC vol 1, pp493-502 for details of the three dukes and the nine ministers. Bartlett (pp 189-190) also provides discussion of these officers.

32. Yen Yüan (顏淵 - Yen Hui): Confucius’ favourite disciple who died young and presumably did not serve. (See Lun Yü VI, 2, LCC vol 1, p185). Min Tzu (Min Sun 子貢 - T’zu-ch’ien) refused to serve the Chi. (See Lun Yü VI, 7, LCC vol 1, p187). Chi-tiao K’ai (漆雕開) was also a disciple of Confucius who considered himself not able for official employment. (See Lun Yü V, 5, LCC vol 1, p174 and Legge’s note on the same page). Tseng Hsi (曾皙) was another of the Confucian disciples who chose differently from the others when asked how he would conduct himself in office. (See Lun Yü XI, 25(7), LCC vol 1, p248).

4/SWC 1/5 (pt 1)

1. Yü (禹): Founder of the Hsia dynasty, traditional date, 2206BC
   T’ang (湯): Founder of the Shang dynasty, traditional date, 1766BC.

2. Ku Yen-wu is said to have first travelled to Shantung in AD1657 and subsequently to have spent some time there. See Peterson W.J., “The Life of Ku Yu-wu” II, HIAS 29, 1969, p212 et seq.

3. Both fu established in Han times in Tung-lai prefecture corresponding to what is now Shantung province. Ku Yen-wu lived in Shantung from AD1657-1659 and owned a farm there (see Peterson W.J., op cit, p202.

4. Hu and Chi’-hsia (Chi’-shan) were both districts in what is now Shensi province.

5. See Hucker 185, p112 for the significance of the term chang-li (長吏) which is probably here used as equivalent to chang-kuan (senior official).

6. For the ancient term for miner see the Chou Li, SSCCS vol 3, pp249-50.

7. Yang Yen (楊炎 - AD727-781) was a prominent T’ang official. For his introduction of the ‘two-tax’ system see CHC 3(5), pp580-2.

8. See Han Shu vol 4, ch 24B, p1152.

9. Chiao-chih (交趾) a prefecture established in Han times in what is now Annam and Kwangtung.

10. See Sung Shih vol 1, ch 10, p200.


12. There follows an extensive note, an extract from the Chiu Tang Shu (vol 2, ch 16, p480) which reads as follows: "In the 8th month of the 15th year of the Yuan-ho reign period (AD820) the officer of the Ministry of War, Yang Yü-ling summarised the important aspects of his fellow officials'
discussions of money and goods, that in taking the tax system throughout the empire, for liquor and salt monopolies and suchlike there should, in all cases, be taken cotton and silk, allowing that which was locally produced to complete the tax requirements, and that money should not be collected. If this were done then commodities would gradually assume greater importance and cash money less. Farmers then would be able to avoid selling off their rolls of cloth cheaply. He requested that the secretariat-chancellery (Hucker 1617, p193) and the censorate, through their administrative associates, discuss these matters fully and put them into effect. This recommendation was followed.

13. Hsü Chih-kao (俁知 謠) was the assumed name of Li Pien (李 翳) an orphan brought up initially by Yang Hsing-mi and subsequently by Hsü Wen (俁 恆) whose name he took. He became emperor of the Southern T'ang with his capital at Nanking. Sung Ch'i-ch'iu (宋 章 丘) was an official in his service. See Chiu Wu Tai Shih vol 6, ch 134, pp1784-7.

4/SWC 1/5 (pt 2)

1. Ku also passed through Te-chou (which corresponds to what is now the Ling district of Shantung province) on a number of occasions.

2. There follows here an extensive note comprising quotations from the three T'ang writers mentioned. In the first, taken from the second part of Lu Chih's Shang chün-ch'ieh ts'ai-fu liu-shih (上 均 財 分 六事), the author rails against the two-tax system (liang-shui fa) introduced in AD780 (see CHC vol 3(i), p496ff). In the second, taken from an essay entitled Shu-kai shui-fa (疏 改 稅 法 ) in Li Ao's Collected Writings, the author argues against the collection of taxes as money reflecting on the burden that this imposes on farmers. In the third, from Po Chü-i's poem entitled Tseng-yü (贈 予), the writer makes a similar point. The farmer produces grain but is taxed in cash. Each year the price of money increases and the value of grain diminishes. Po, as do the other writers quoted, looks back to earlier times when the system was more equitable.

4/SWC 1/6 (pt 1)

1. Sheng-yüan (生 元): A term in use from Sui to Ch'ing times and rendered by Hucker "government student" (5193, p420) "... (a) generic designation of students entitled to state stipends ..... " which ".... in Ming and Ch'ing (times) normally referred to fully subsidised students in Confucian schools at prefectural and lower levels of territorial administration ....." The term has also been translated as "licentiate." See e.g. Chaffee JW. The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China, pp31-32 & 83; des Rotours, Le Traité des Examens, pp159 & 179 and Miyazaki, China's Examination Hell pp30-38.

2. See the History I, III, 9, LCC vol 3, p23 for this phrase.

3. Wu-sheng (武 生) or military students are not listed as a separate category by Hucker but are presumably those attending the military school (See Lee T.H.C., Government Education and Examinations in Sung China, p59.

4. Feng-ssu (奉 祀) are listed by Hucker (2017, p215) as "Sacrificers", "... appointed at each major altar and temple and at each imperial mausoleum to maintain appropriate ceremonials and head the local sacrificial office ....".

5. The last two emperors of the legendary period, Yao (堯) ruling from 2356 to 2256BC and Shun (舜) from 2255 to 2205BC (traditional dates).
6. The Ssu-hsiung (四恶), "or four great criminals of the empire" are considered in the History, Canon of Shun II, I, 3(12), LCC vol 3, p39 (see also note on the same page). The criminals were Kung Kung (共工), Huan Tou (轘:`~~` ), Kun (鲧) and San Miao (三苗), the last being a place name. The first three are mentioned in the History, Canon of Yao.

7. Pu (뮤 ) is used here invariably to indicate the various ministries. See Hucker 4764, p390.

8. Hsiang (鄉): A term used from Ch'in to Ch'ing times and rendered by Hucker 2304, p231 "township" which was "... a sub-district (hsien) group of relatively self-governing families subdivided into villages (li)."

9. Hsien (縣): Rendered by Hucker as "district" (2492, p240) which was "... throughout imperial history the basic formal unit in the hierarchy of territorial administration ....".

10. Li-hsii (里): or "village functionaries" (see Hucker 3609, p304). These men were "... commoners chosen or designated to bear responsibilities of leadership in sub-district (hsien) organisations."

11. Han Kao Ti (漢高帝): The first Han emperor who ruled from 206-195BC.

12. Han Shu vol 1, pp54-55. See also notes 16 and 21 on p56.

13. Han Hui Ti (漢惠帝): The second Han emperor, ruling from 194-188BC.

14. Mencius IA, 7 (16 and 17), LCC vol 2, pp145-146.

4/SWC 1/6 (pt 2)

1. The Hsii-li (吏吏) termed by Hucker (2648, p249) "sub-official functionaries" are described by him as "... a class of personnel who performed the more menial tasks in all governmental units and had no ranked civil service status ...."

2. This refers to Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. See Wen-hsian (Kung-an kuo), vol 2, ch 4, p222.

3. Ming Shih vol 8, ch 93, p2284.

4. The term i-jen (邑人) I have here translated as "people of the district". Hucker (2925, p265) notes that I (邑 ), while generally taken to indicate a fief, was also used as "an occasional unofficial reference to a district (hsien)."

5. For discussion of several of these terms see Hucker 1392, p181 and Miyazaki, China's Examination Hell pp40, 56, 57 & 66.


7. See e.g. Ou-yang Hsiu's Chi Chiu-pen han-wen hou in Ou-yang Hsiu ch'uan-chi vol 1, ch 3, p136 for the use of this term which Bartlett (op cit p199) translates as 'model essay'.
2. The two categories referred to are those promoted annually from local Confucian schools (variously referred to as kung-sheng or sui chin-shih; Hucker 3467, p294 & 5863, p462) and those recommended by local authorities (chü-jen, Hucker 1682, p197).

3. For discussion of these two titles see, respectively, Hucker 4762, p390 and 7657, p564.

4. T'í-hsiieh (提學) presumably refers here to officials of what Hucker calls the supervisorate of education (6416, p494). For a more detailed consideration of this office see Lee, op cit pp118-124.

5. Hucker describes the term chün-shou as an unofficial reference to a prefect or provincial administration commissioner (1785, p202).

6. The term t'ung-sheng (童生), rendered by Hucker (7501, p555) as "Confucian apprentice" is described by him as a "... quasi-official designation of a candidate for the civil service recruitment examination who had never been a student in a state school."

7. Lun Yu II, 11 LCC vol 1, p149. Legge's translation of the section in full is: "The Master said, 'If a man keeps cherishing his old knowledge so as continually to be acquiring new, he may be a teacher of others.'" See also Legge's note on page 149.

4/SWC 2/9

1. A work by Ku Yen-wu's contemporary, Chang Erh-ch'i (張爾岐 - AD1612-1678). The author was a scholar who never sought office but devoted himself to study. This work, the I-li Cheng-chu chü-tou (儀禮鄭註句讀), ranks, according to Wilhelm, as 'one of the best treatments of that classic.' See ECCP pp34-36.

2. Doctrine of the Mean XXVII, 3, LCC vol 1, p422.

3. Lun Yu XVI, 13(3), LCC vol 1, p316. (See also VIII 8(2) & XX 3(2)).

4. Book X of the Lun Yu. Legge, in his introductory note, writes: "This book is different in its character from all the others in the work. It contains hardly any sayings of Confucius, but is descriptive of his ways and demeanour in a variety of places and circumstances." (LCC vol 1, p227). See also Mencius VIIB, 33(2): "When all the movements in the countenance and every turn of the body are exactly what is proper that shows the extreme degree of the complete virtue." (Trans. after Legge LCC vol 2, p495).

5. Tso Chuan VIII, 13, LCC vol 5, p379.

6. Cheng Hsüan (鄭玄 - AD127-200): A disciple of Ma Jung and noted commentator on the classics in the Later Han period. Demieville (CHC vol 1, p813) describes the teacher and his pupil as "... the last great exegetes of the classics before the Confucian revival of Sung...."

7. Wang An-shih (王子安 - AD1021-1086), the controversial reformer of the Sung period who was the author of the Hsin-fa (新法) or new regulating system. For a detailed consideration of his policies see Liu J.T.C., Reform in Sung China: Wang An-shih (1021-1086) and His New Policies.

8. Lu Chiu-ling (陸九齡) and his younger brother Lu Chiu-yüan (陸九淵 - AD1139-93). The latter was a major figure in Sung Neo-Confucianism and is seen as the founder of the idealist wing, in opposition particularly to Chu Hsi. See Fung Yu-lan, History of Chinese
Philosophy vol 2, pp572-579. Chin-ch'i was in Fu-chou which corresponds to what is presently Lin-ch'uan hsien in Kiangsi province.

9. See Li Chi, Chung Ni yen-chu, SSCCS vol 5, p855. Legge's translation in full is as follows: "The Master said, 'The determinant measures are according to the rules and the embellishments of them are also so; but the carrying them into practice depends on the men'." (See Legge Li Chi vol 2, p275).

10. Reference to the six Sung scholars whose names are associated with Lien-hsi and Lo-yang i.e. Chou Tun-yi, Shao Yung, Ssu-ma Kuang, Ch'eng I, Ch'eng Hao and Chang Tsai.

11. See note 1 above. Biographical details are given by Wilhelm (ECCP pp34-36). Chi-yang was in Shantung province.

12. Wilhelm (ECCP p35) writes, apropos of Chang Erh-ch'i, that "Among the Han scholars he feels a kinship primarily with Cheng Hsian .... whom he follows, particularly in the renewed emphasis on ceremonies and their metaphysical implications."

13. Chia is likely to be Chia Kung-yen ( ) of the early T'ang period who wrote a sub-commentary on the I Li (I-li shu or I-li chu-shu) included in the SPTK and SPPY (see SB p34). It is less clear who Ch'en and Wu were although this possibly may be reference to Ch'en Hsien-chang ( - AD1428-1500) and his teacher Wu Yü-pi ( - AD1391-1469).

14. Ku Yen-wu was himself interested in the stone carvings of the classics and wrote on this topic in his Shih-ching k'ao. For a comment on the T'ang Shih-ching with reference to the I Li see SB p32.

15. According to Wilhelm (ECCP pp34-35) the work, in 17 chüan, was first printed in AD1743 some sixty-five years after the author's death.

16. See Tso Chuan V, 22, LCC vol 5, p181.

4/SWC 3/1

1. For this phrase see Lun Yu XI, 25(2), LCC vol 1, p246.

2. See Lun Yu IX, 1, LCC vol 1, p216. Here ming ( ) and jen ( ) are bracketed with li ( ). See also Legge's note on the same page.

3. ibid V, 12, LCC vol 1, pp177-8.

4. ibid XIII, 20(1), LCC vol 1, p271.

5. ibid VII, 19, LCC vol 1, p201.

6. History II, II, 2(15), LCC vol 3, p61. Legge's translation is as follows: "The mind of man is restless, prone to err; its affinity for the right way is small. Be discriminating, be undivided, that you may sincerely hold fast to the Mean."

7. Lun Yu XX, 1(1), LCC vol 1, p350. The phrase 'sincerely hold fast to the Mean' is also to be found in the History (see ref. 6 above).

8. ibid XIV, 37(2), LCC vol 1, p289.

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9. ibid IX, 10(2), LCC vol 1, p220.

10. See Doctrine of Mean XX (LCC vol 1, p404ff) which comprises the Master's response to Duke Ai's request for information about government. In particular see XX, 17, pp412-3.

11. Lun Yü XIX, 6, LCC vol 1, p341.


13. See Lun Yü XV, 2(1-3): 'The Master said: 'Tzu'Gu, you think, I suppose, that I am one who learns many things and keeps them in memory?' Tzu Kung replied, 'Yes, but perhaps it is not so.' 'No' was the answer; 'I seek an all-pervading unity.' Trans. after Legge, LCC vol 1, p295.

14. Tzu Kung (于貞) is the designation of Tuan-mu Tz'u (段木貞), one of the Master's foremost disciples. See Legge's note on p142 of the Lun Yü.

15. All disciples of Mencius.

16. I Yin (伊尹) was a minister under Ch'eng T'ang, first of the Shang emperors. He is thought to epitomise the wise administrator and counsellor. For this reference to him see Mencius VA, 7(2), LCC vol 2, p362.

17. Po I (尹喜): Elder brother of Shu Ch'i and son of the Prince of Ku-chu. The story is told that Shu Ch'i, nominated by his father to succeed him, fled rather than deprive his elder brother of his birthright. Po I thereupon followed Shu Ch'i into retirement leaving the throne to a third brother.

18. For the comparison of Confucius with the other sages see Mencius IIA, 2(22), LCC vol 2, pp193-4 and VB, LCC vol 2, p369ff.

19. For Confucius' discussion of this question see Lun Yü V, 18 (1&2), LCC vol 1, pp179-80.

20. ibid IX, 26(2), LCC vol 1, p225 and Odes 33, LCC vol 4, p51 (verse 4).

21. ibid IV, 9, LCC vol 1, p169.

22. Mencius VA, 7(6), LCC vol 2, p363.

23. ibid, VIIA, 4(1&2), LCC vol 2, p450-1.

4/SWC 3/2.

1. Changes, Hsi Tz'u, SPTK vol 1, p47.

2. Tso Chuan V, 15, LCC vol 5, p165.

3. Changes, Hsi Tz'u, SPTK vol 1, p46.

4. ibid, Li lüeh, SPTK vol 1, p62.

5. Liu Hsin (劉歆): The son of Liu Hsiang (劉向) and a scholar at the time of transition from Western to Eastern Han and the interregnum of Wang Mang. He worked with his father on the restoration of the classical texts, especially the Changes. See CHC vol 1, p761ff. For his I t'ai-chang po-shih shu see CSKW vol 1(Han), ch 40.
6. These are Shih Chou (施雠), Meng Hsi (孟喜), Liang-ch‘iu Ho (梁丘賀) and Ching Fang (京房), all scholars of the Han period. See Han Shu vol 11, ch 88, p3589ff and Hou Han Shu vol 9, ch 79, p2548.


8. These are the four texts of the Odes extant during the Han period: The Ch‘i (齊) text, attributed to Yuan Ku (袁固); the Lu (魯) text, attributed to Shen P‘ei (申培); the text of Han Ying (韓嬰) and the text of Mao Heng (毛亨), which displaced the three earlier texts. See Han Shu, Ju-lin chuan, as in note 7 above and also the Odes, LCC vol 4, prolegomena chap 1, sect 2, pp8-13.

9. Han Shu, Ju-lin chuan, p3615. See also Legge, The Book of Rites, vol 1, introduction, sections iv and v.


11. K‘ung Ying-ta (孔穎達 - AD579-648) was a distinguished scholar of the T‘ang period who prepared a commentary on the Changes. See the Hsin T‘ang Shu vol 18, ch 198, p5463.

12. Chia Kung-yen (賈公頤) was a T‘ang scholar and official most noted for his writings on the I Li. See Chiu T‘ang Shu vol 15, ch 189, p4950.

13. The Chou I Ch‘eng-shih chuan (周易程氏傳): A commentary by Ch‘eng I (程頤) published in AD1099. See SB, p3. It is better known as the I-ch‘uan I-chuan (伊川易傳).

14. There were two works on the Changes by Chu Hsi (朱熹): The Chou I pen-i (周易本義) and the I-hsüeh ch‘i-meng (易學啓蒙) - see SB p11.

15. The Shang-shu chi-chüan (尚書集傳), in six chapters by Ts‘ai Shen (蔡沈), published in AD1210. See SB p22.


17. These were the three earlier commentators on the Spring and Autumn Annals. Tso-ch‘iu Ming (左丘明), Kung-yang Kao (公羊高) and Ku-liang Ch‘ih (穀梁赤). See The Spring and Autumn Annals, LCC vol 5, prolegomena, chap 1, sect 4, pp22ff.


20. Ta-ch‘üan (大全): A work commissioned by Chu Ti (the Yung-lo or third Ming emperor) whose declared aim was to preserve all known literature.

21. Ch‘eng Hao (程颢) and Ch‘eng I (程頤) were both, of course, major figures in Sung Neo-Confucianism. The later prepared a detailed commentary on the Changes entitled I-ch‘uan I-chüan (伊川易傳). See SB pp1-2.

22. Changes SPTK vol 1, p44.
23. Ch'eng I (see note 21 above).

24. Ts'ui Ching (崔憬), a T'ang commentator on the Changes. See Li Ting-tso's (李鼎祚) Chou I chi-chiēh (周易集解), SB p10.

25. Changes SPTK vol 1, p43.

26. ibid, SPTK vol 1, p2. See also, for commentary, Wilhelm op cit, p380.

27. ibid, SPTK vol 1, p40 and Wilhelm, p701.


29. Odes 218, LCC vol 4, p393 and note on p394.

30. Odes 39, LCC vol 4, p63 and note on p64.

31. Lun Yu VII, 8, LCC vol 1, p197.

32. Changes, under ch'ien (乾), SPTK vol 1, p1 and Wilhelm pp9&381.

33. Shun (舜), emperor in succession to Yao (尧), who passed over his unworthy son, Tan Chu (丹朱) in favour of Shun. The latter is said to have ruled from 2255-2205BC. Yü or Ta Yü (大禹), successor to Shun and ruler from 2205-2197BC. As the first emperor of the Hsia (夏) dynasty he was renowned particularly for his labours during the 'Great Flood'.

34. I Yin (伊尹) was a minister under Ch'eng T'ang (成湯), the first emperor of the Shang (商) dynasty. He is said to have been summoned to court five times before finally accepting his position.

35. The Duke of Chou (周公) was the fourth son of King Wen (文王) and younger brother of King Wu (武王). He was counsellor and assistant to his elder brother and subsequently instrumental in the establishment of the Chou (周) dynasty (1122-255BC).

36. Changes under pi (比), SPTK vol 1, p7.

37. ibid, under ch'ien (乾), SPTK vol 1, p1 and Wilhelm, p9.

38. See Wilhelm, p636.


40. The Ta hsiang (大雅): A commentary on the Changes. See Wilhelm, p257.

41. Shih Chi vol 6, ch 47, p1937.

42. Lun Yu VII, 17, LCC vol 1, p200.

43. The Ch'un-ch'iu (春秋): A chronicle of political events in the state of Lu from 722-480BC.

44. Changes, Hsi Tz'u, SPTK vol 1, p46 and Wilhelm, p314.
1. Also known as Yen Ping-i (彦秉義). See SWC p197.
2. See Ch’ü-fu hsien-pien vol 1, p220 and Hawkes, Songs of the South, p69.
3. Shih Chi vol 7, ch 68, p2234.
5. See Han Ch’ang-li shih hsi-nien chi-shih (韓昌黎詩集年集釋), vol 2, p1038.

4/SWC 3/16
1. This is Shih Jun-chang (施閏章 - AD1619-1683): He is described by Hummel (ECCP p651) as a "poet, scholar and official" and "a native of Hsüan-ch'eng, Anhwei."
2. Wei-nan (惟南) originally referred to the land south of the river but was subsequently applied to a district in what is now Shensi province.
5. Reference to the Sung Neo-Confucians, Chu Hsi and the Ch'eng brothers amongst others.
6. T'ieh-kua (帖括) refers to a form of examination answer in relation to the classics, introduced in T'ang times. See Hsin Tang Shu vol 4, ch 44, p1166.
7. The Kuang-yün (廣韻 - Expansion of Rhymes) was a work compiled by Ch'en P'eng-nien (陳彭年) which first appeared as a dictionary of rhymes early in the 11th century. See SB pp55-57.
9. The Pei-yu shih here referred to as the Pei-yu shih-chi (沛游詩集) in 1 ch compiled by the Sung scholar, Chu Meng-tou (注夢斗). It appears in the Chi-pu p'ieh-chi lei section of the SKCS.
10. For Ku Yen-wu’s travels to, and living in, Hua-yin (Hua-hsia) see Peterson, “The Life of Ku Yen-wu - Pt II” HJAS 29, 1969, p202ff.

4/SWC 4/18 (1-24)
1. Li Chi (Liieh Chi), SSCCS vol 5, p653.
2. For this phrase see the Doctrine of the Mean LCC vol 1, p413. Legge's translation is as follows: "To this attainment there are requisite the extensive study of what is good, accurate enquiry about it ...."
3. For this phrase as indicative of a man of narrow view see *Lun Yu* XVII, 10, LCC vol 1, p323 and *History* V, XX, 19, LCC vol 3, p532.

4. Both Confucian disciples. Kao Ch’ai (高柴) was noted for his benevolence and filial piety as well as his sense of justice (see *Lun Yu* XI, 17(1), LCC vol 1, p243). Yuan Hsien (原憲) was noted for his pursuit of truth and disregard of worldly benefits (see *Lun Yu* VI, 3(3), LCC vol 1, p185).

5. *Lun Yu* V, 27, LCC vol 1, p183. As Legge remarks: "Confucius thus did not claim higher natural and moral qualities than others, but sought to perfect himself by learning."


8. *Chuang Tzu* and Lieh Tzu.

9. I Yin (伊尹) was said to have been a minister under Ch’eng Ts’ang, first emperor of the Shang dynasty and renowned for his good works. T’ai Kung (泰公) is Lu Shang (魯桓), who acted as chief councillor to both King Wen and King Wu.

10. *Shih Chi* vol 10, ch 130, p3297. For the term kung-yen (空穀) see note 4, p3298.

11. Shen Yüeh (沈約) - AD441-513 was a scholar and writer of the Liang period who compiled the Ssu-sheng p’u, a work now lost, in which characters were first classified into four groups. See the *Liang Shu* vol 1, ch 13, p232 and *Nan Shih* vol 5, ch 57, p1403.

12. Shen Kung (沈共) was a shaman from the western regions (Hsi-yu) in T’ang times who compiled a work entitled Ssu-sheng wen-ye shih-iang fan-mo tu. Fan-ch’ieh was an ancient pronunciation system.

13. Hsia, Shang and Chou.

14. Yen Shih-kü (顏聖甫) - AD579-645 was a scholar of the Sui and early T’ang periods who was commissioned by T’ang Tai Tsung to carry out a resension of the canonical books and who prepared a new, annotated edition of the *Han Shu*. See CHC vol 3(i), p215, *Chiu T’ang Shu* ch 73, p2594 and *Hsin T’ang Shu* ch 198, p5641.

15. Chang-huai T’ai-tzu was the younger brother of T’ang Kao Tsung. See *Chiu T’ang Shu* ch 86, p2831 and *Hsin T’ang Shu* ch 81, p3590.

16. A dictionary compiled during the later Han period.

17. Li (方正): Square plain style or script. K’ai (楷書): Regular style or script.

18. One of Ku Yen-wu’s works; see bibliography.

19. For the phrase ‘li yen’ (立穀) meaning ‘to create a lasting record of essential thoughts’ or ‘to expound one’s ideas in writing’ see *Tso Chuan* IX, 24, LCC vol 5, p505.

20. Yang Huo (陽貨) - 6th cent. BC), also known as Yang Hu (陽貨), was the chief of the Chi family, one of the leading families in Lu. Details of Confucius’ meeting with him may be found in the *Lun Yu* XVII, 1(i), LCC vol 1, p317 and also in the *Shih Chi* vol 6, ch 70, p1917 et seq. For the reference to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* see XI, 8(16), LCC vol 5, p766: ‘A robber stole
the precious jade and the great bow." In his note on p770 Legge writes: "From the narrative it
appears that by 'robber' in the text we are to understand Yang Hu."

21. Spring and Autumn Annals XII, 6(6), LCC vol 5, p807.


23. It is not clear who this is there being no listing as a name in any of the major sources. The term 'ch'ih pao' (赤豹) is found in the Odes (261), LCC vol 3, 7, p551 and in the Nine Songs (Ch'iu-fu hsien-pien vol 1, p340 and Waley, Nine Songs, p53). It is translated variously as 'red panther' or 'red leopard'.

24. Lun Yu V, 21, LCC vol 1, p181: "When the Master was in Chen he said: Let me return, let me return. The disciples of my school are unrestrained and careless. They are perfecting themselves with outward accomplishments but do not know how to form and restrict themselves." As Legge points out, in his note on p181, the Master, on the occasion of his visit to Chen, was over sixty so being convinced that he would not see his principles prevail in his lifetime, he was increasingly concerned about their transmission. He is seen, therefore, as maintaining his concern for the empire.

25. P'u (蒲) as a place name dates from the Spring and Autumn period referring either to a region in what is now Hopei province or a Chin city in what is now Shansi province. Tzu Lu (鄹) is Chung Yu (邹), one of the most noted of the Confucian disciples who became magistrate at P'u-i (蒲邑). Chü-hsin (uintptr) was K'ung Chü-hsin, governor of P'ing-lu, a city on the southern border of Ch'i corresponding to what is now part of Shantung. See Mencius IIB, 4, LCC vol 2, p217.

26. A waterway and tributary of the Yellow River. It was originally called Shao-shui (少水) - see Tso Chuan IX, 23, LCC vol 5, p498. It arose in Shansi and ultimately flowed into the Yellow River in Shantung.

27. A water transport route on the border of Shantung province opened up during the reign of Yüan Shih Tsu (AD1260-1294).

28. Shao-yu (少遊) is Ch'in Kuan (欽 - AD1042-1101): He was a noted litterateur of the Sung period and associate of Su Shih. He achieved high rank and was involved in the preparation of the dynastic history, but later fell from grace after accusations of falsifying records and having Buddhist leanings. See Sung Shih ch 444, pp13112-3. Fu-po (伏波) is Ma Yüan (馬援 - 14BC-AD49): He was a renowned general and official who first saw service under Wang Mang. He was known as the 'Wave-quelling Commander' (Fu-po Chiao-chun) and was noted for his 'boundless ambition'. See also Hou Han Shu ch 24, pp827-54.

29. Mencius IIA, 2(9), LCC vol 2, p188. The statement is: "The will is the leader of the passion-nature." The translation follows Legge who has a note on the connotations of the word 'ch'i' (氣) which is used extensively in this section of Mencius.


31. Chuang Tzu ch 17, p598.

32. The Pei-p'ing (Peking) incident refers to Chu Ti's (朱棣) usurpation of the throne in AD1399 (see CHC vol 7(i), pp193-210 & p748ff). The Nan-ch'ang incident refers to the rebellion of the Prince of Ning in AD1459 (see CHC vol 7(i), p428ff). Nan-ch'ang, in what is now Kiangsi province, was the provincial capital of Lung-hsing.

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34. Briefly these three examples are as follows: Liu Ch'ung (劉寵) was an upright official of the later Han period; see Hou Han Shu vol 9, ch 76, pp2477-79. Li Ssu-chou (李嗣周) and Chieh-p'i (戎丕) were both T'ang officials of limited ability.

35. Fang Kuan (房琯) was a T'ang official initially during the reign of Hsiian Tsung who subsequently became prime minister under Su Tsung. See Chiu T'ang Shu vol 10, ch 111, pp3320-6 and Hsin T'ang Shu vol 15, ch 139, pp4625-30.


37. Lun Yu VII, 21, LCC vol 1, p202. The phrase 'san jen hsing' has been taken to mean 'three men walking' implying that Confucius was one of them.

38. ibid XIV, 30, LCC vol 1, p287. The remark is ironical as Legge points out. Tzu Kung (子貢) was the designation of Tuan-ma Tz'u (端木賜) one of the leading Confucian disciples. Generally the Master spoke approvingly of him; see, eg, Lun Yu I, 15, LCC vol 1, p144.

39. Book V of the Lun Yu (LCC vol 1, p172), titled after Confucius' son-in-law, Kung-yeh Ch'ang (孔治長). There are several references to Tzu Kung in this book which is particularly concerned with the Master's judgements on his disciples and others.

40. Lun Yu V, 26, LCC vol 1, p183.

41. ibid V, 27, LCC vol 1, p183.

42. Shou-ling (壽陵) is a place name. The reference is to Chuang Tzu (vol 3, ch 17, p601), where a young boy of Shou-ling attempted to learn the Han-tan walk from the people of Han-tan but, before he could master the new method, forgot his old way of walking and had to crawl home.

43. The people referred to are: Tu Fu, Han Yü and Ou-yang Hsiu. This brief letter is quoted in Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period, trans. Hsu, p31, to indicate that Ku "... highly resented imitation and dependence."

44. Sung Shih vol 31, ch 340, p10858. Liu Chung-su was Liu Chih (劉轍).

45. Li Yung (李顥) was a noted scholar of the early Ch'ing period and a contemporary of Ku Yen-wu. See ECCP pp498-9.

46. Han Yü (韓愈) (AD768-824) was a renowned scholar and prose stylist of the T'ang period who sought to restore the ancient traditions of prose style and eradicate what he saw as the adverse modern developments stemming from the p'ien-wen of the Six Dynasties. See ICCL, p397ff. Two of the five essays listed are translated in Shih Sun Liu's Chinese Classical Prose. All may be found in Ma Ch'i-ch'ang's edition of Han Yü's writings; Han Ch'ang-li wen-chi chia-chu (韓昌黎文集校注), Taipei, 1967. For this statement see Su Shih's Han Wen-kung miao-pei.

47. Hsin T'ang Shu vol 17, ch 176, pp5268-9.

48. Cheng K'ang-ch'eng (鄭康成) was Cheng Hsüan (鄭玄) (AD127-200): A noted Confucian scholar of the Later Han period and disciple of Ma Jung (馬融). After the Yellow Turban rebellion he retired from official life but in AD200 was summoned by Yuan Shao
(曹 - died AD202) who, at about this time, had declared his opposition to Ts'ao Ts'ao. The details of the incidents referred to may be found in the *Hou Han Shu* vol 5, ch 35, p1211.

49. This is Ts'ao Ts'ao (曹操 - AD155-220), the noted soldier, scholar and statesman of the later Han period.

50. This is Yeh Feng (葉封), a scholar of the early Ch'ing period. For biographical details see *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan*, ch 70.


52. For the sequence of teacher-pupil see Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy* vol 2, p533.


54. ibid XII, 20(4) & VII, 2, LCC vol 1, pp259 & 195.

55. For this phrase see *Odes* 45, LCC vol 4, p74 and Legge's note on the same page regarding the orthodox view of a second marriage.

56. This is the reference to the wife of Liu Chang-ch'ing (劉長卿). See *Hou Han Shu* vol 10, ch 84, p2797.

57. The reference is to a widow named Ch'ing (程) whose conduct led to her being honoured by the first Ch'in emperor. See *Shih Chi* vol 10, ch 129, p3260.

4/SWC 4/19.

1. This letter appears in part as the last of the immediately preceding twenty-five letters to friends.

2. Two chou; the first in Kiangsi, the second in Anhwei.

3. A lake, situated in the south-west of Wu-hu hsien in Anhwei. The hsien, which may be what is being referred to her, was first established in Han times with the name Wu-hu. For reference to Ku's journey to Wu-hu see Peterson W.J., "The Life of Ku Yen-wu, part 1," *HIAS* 26, 1968, p153.

4. Presumably a reference to the chi of Tao Yuan-ming and indicating here a hermitage away from the troubles of the world. See Davis, A.R., *Tao Yuan-ming* vol 1, p195ff.

5. The Yellow River and the Fen River in Shansi.

6. Fang Hsuan-ling (方玄齡 - AD578-648) and Tu Ju-hui (杜如晦 - died AD630): Both were officials under T'ang T'ai Tsung and worked in close concert. Wechsler (CHC vol 3(i), p196), writes: "Tu Ju-hui and Fang Hsuan-ling were complementary characters and worked smoothly together. Between them they staffed and set in operation the whole executive side of government. Unfortunately Tu died of an unspecified illness in AD630, at the very peak of his power." Biographical details may be found for both in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* ch 66, pp2459-69 and the *Hsin T'ang Shu* ch 96, pp3853-60.

7. These are the Yin lun (Discussion of Rhymes); Shih pen-yin (Original Rhymes of the History); I yin (Rhymes of the Changes); T'ang-yun cheng (Correction of T'ang Rhymes); Ku-yin piao (Table of Ancient Rhymes). They are collected in the *Yin-hstieh wu-shu*.
8. Elsewhere the phrase chih-ku (古) is translated as 'ancient rulers'. See Bartlett, op cit p5, note 15.

9. Hua-hsia (華下) is Hua-yin (華陰), a hsien north of Hua-shan in Shensi province where Ku lived for a period around AD1657 and where, in conjunction with Wang Hung-chuan (王宏撰) he erected "... a shrine and academy to commemorate the visit of Chu Hsi to that hsien in AD1185." See Peterson, W.J., "The Life of Ku Yen-wu pt II", p216.

10. It is not clear which of Ku's friends is indicated here.

4/SWC 6/1

1. Kao Huang Ti was the first Ming emperor. He established the wei-so military system. Dreyer (see 'The Military Origins of Ming China' in CHC vol 7, pp58-106) writes: "During the wars of dynastic founding, the Ming armies had expanded by enrolling troops of defeated enemies. The AD1364 re-organisation that created the wei-so system arose from the need to establish regular procedures for processing the large numbers of troops gained this way." (p104) I am unable to identify the precise source of the quote attributed to Kao Huang Ti.

2. See Hucker 1730, p200 & 4665, p382 for these two terms and the distinction between them. He writes (p382) with reference to ping, that it was "throughout history, one of the most common terms for soldiers, contrasting with chün (army) although they were sometimes used almost interchangeably."

3. See Hucker 3997, p332 for min-ping (民兵) and 4063, p337 for mu-ping (募兵). Wei-ping (衛兵) is not listed as a separate term.

4. Kao Tsu (高祖): The first emperor of the Former Han (206-195 BC) and Kuang Wu Ti (光武帝): The first emperor of the Later Han (AD25-57).

5. For a consideration of the Ming military organisation and its relationship to earlier systems see CHC vol 7(i), pp104-106, 248ff, Hucker p75ff and the entries for the individual titles (the translation of which follows Hucker in all cases except for pai-hu so which is not listed). See also the Ming Shih ch 89-92, pp2175-2278.

6. Both Yung (雍) and Yu (豫) were numbered among the nine ancient chou, Yung corresponding to parts of Shansi and Kansu whilst Yu corresponded to part of Honan.

7. T'un-wei (屯衛): A term applied to the 'elite military units at the capital' (see Hucker 7418, p550).

8. The wei-so (衛所) system (see note 1 above) was developed during the early years of the Ming period. See CHC vol 7(i), pp104-106, 248ff and 319ff.

9. This term, chih-chi (籍), is translated here as military register. Apparently its derivation is from application to a foot-long wooden board on which military matters were recorded. See Shih Chi vol 9, ch 102, p2759 and vol 10, ch 119, p3101.

4/SWC 6/2

1. Wu (吳 - AD222-278), Eastern Chin (東晉 - AD317-419), Sung (宋 - AD420-478), Ch'i (齊 - AD479-501), Liang (梁 - AD502-556) and Ch'en (陳 - AD557-588) were all either of the Three Kingdoms or the North-South Division. Southern T'ang (南唐 - AD937-975) and Southern Sung (南宋 - AD1127-1280) followed the collapse of the major dynasties of the same name.
2. Pa-chiu (巴 城): A district established in Wu times in what is now part of Kiangsi province. 
Wan-ch'eng (安 城): A principle city of the district of the same name established in Han times in part of what is now Anhwei province. Ju-hsū (濡 頓): A river, also in Anhwei province, which flows into the Yangtse.

3. In AD280 the ruler of Wu was deposed by Ssu-ma Yen (司馬炎 - AD236-290) and the territory annexed to Chin which had been founded in AD265.

4. The three people referred to here are Liu Yüan (劉 濤 - died AD310), Shih Lo (石 勒 -AD273-332) and Li Hsiung (李 雄 - died AD334). Details from the dynastic histories are as follows: Liu Yüan, Chin Shu ch 101, Shih Lo, Chin Shu ch 104&105, Wei Shih ch 95 and Li Hsiung, Chin Shu ch 121.

5. The three people referred to here are Fu Chien (符 賢 - AD337-384), Yao Ch'ang (姚 充 - AD330-393) and Mu-jung Chui (慕容 昌 - AD326-396), all again militarists and statesmen of the turbulent north-south division period. Fu Chien, employing an army which successfully combined cavalry and infantry, had widespread military success in northern China, gaining possession of both Ch'ang-an and Loyang. Yao Ch'ang served under Fu Chien as governor of various districts and was also, in part, involved in his military campaigns. Mu-jung Chui was a general with Fu Chien and served with him in his southern campaign. He later proclaimed himself Prince of Yen. For further details see the relevant sections in the dynastic histories as follows: Fu Chien, Chin Shu ch 113-4; Yao Ch'ang, Chin Shu ch 116, Wei Shu ch 10; Mu-jung Chui, Chin Shu ch 123, Wei Shu ch 95.

6. For this northern campaign, that of Wang Hsüan-mo (王 玄 謙 - AD386-467) see the Sung Shu vol 1, ch 5, p99ff. Pi-li is Toba Tao (see note 7 below).

7. Toba Tao (拓跋 素 - died AD452): He succeeded his father to become the third emperor of the Northern Wei dynasty. He subsequently annexed Liang, subdued Yen and controlled much of central China. See Eberhard, *A History of China* ch VIIID, pp138-149.

8. The several events referred to here are as follows: In the third year of the T'ai-ching reign period of the Liang dynasty (AD549) Hou Ching (侯 景 - AD502-552) seized Liang Wu Ti in the capital and put him under house arrest. In the Ch'eng-sheng reign period of the Liang dynasty (AD552-554) Hsiao Cha (蕭 恭 - AD538-562), whose claim to the throne had been set aside, gathered a large force around him while military superintendent of the territory north of the Yangtse and, after the capture of Chiang-ling by the Western Wei, he became emperor of the Minor Liang dynasty. Huai-nan was a prefecture in what is now Anhwei province. Wei's taking of Shu-han concerned events involving Yü-wen T'ai (宇 文 泰 - AD506-557) founder of the Western Wei dynasty while Chiang-ling was a district in what is now Hupeh and was seized by Ch'en Pa-hsien (see note 9 below) prior to the overthrow of Liang Yüan Ti by Hsiao Cha (vide supra).

9. Ch'en Pa-hsien (陳 霸 先 - AD503-559): A general and statesman who initially served the Liang dynasty but subsequently (in AD557) compelled the abdication of the last Liang emperor and established the short-lived Ch'en dynasty. See the Ch'en Shu ch 1&2 and the Nan Shih ch 9.

10. The Nan T'ang was one of the ten kingdoms of the Five Dynasties period and had its capital at Nanking. Its existence extended from AD937 to AD975. See Hsin Wu Tai Shih ch 62.

11. The Nan Sung was established by Kao Tsung in AD1127 and extended through twelve emperors to AD1278, co-existing in part with the Chin and Yüan dynasties. The description of the emperor's surrender is taken from the Tso Chuan V, 7, LCC vol 5, p146.

12. These places are as follows: Ching-chou (荆 州) referred through history to different areas but in Ming times corresponded to ten districts in Hupeh province. Hsiang-yang (襄 阳) has
also indicated different areas at different times, but corresponded to part of what is now Hupeh province. Shu indicates modern Ssu-ch’uan. Liang-huai refers to the division of Huai-nan into eastern and western lu.

13. In the Three Kingdoms period the two southern kingdoms of Shu-Han and Wu co-existed while later, during the Eastern Chin period, Liang-Hsiung ( ) established a separate kingdom (the Ch’eng dynasty) in an area occupying much of Ssu-ch’uan. (See note 4 above).

14. Wang Chün ( ) was a Western Chin general. See Chin Shu ch 42, p1207. Liu Cheng ( ) was from Ho-fei in Wei during the Three Kingdoms period. See San Kuo Chih ch 4.

15. Three soldiers and statesman of the Southern Sung period. Biographical details are as follows: Chao Ting ( ) : Sung Shih vol 32, ch 360. The remarks here quoted are on p11286. Ch’en Liang ( ) : Sung Shih vol 37, ch 436. The statement in the essay does not appear verbatim in the history but something very similar may be found on p12937. Meng Kung ( ) : Sung Shih vol 35, ch 412. The remarks here quoted are on p12576.

16. For Hsiang-yang see note 12 above. Fan-ch’eng ( ) was situated in Hupeh, north of Hsiang-yang district. O-ch’eng ( ) was in the south-east of Hupeh on the southern bank of the Yangste. Lin-an ( ) was situated in the Kang-chou region of Chekiang province and was where Sung Kao Tsung established his capital after the southern crossing. For details of the Mongol conquest see China and the Barbarians: The Mongol Emperor in Fairbank and Reischauer, China: Tradition and Transformation, pp152-176.

17. See note 13 above.

18. This refers to events of the pre-Ch’in period when, in 241BC, the southern state of Ch’u moved its capital to Shou-ch’un ( ) which was in what is now the Shou district of Anhwei province.

19. These are reign titles of the respective dynasties. The Ch’en dynasty was briefly established in the lower Yangste valley in AD557. Chen-ming (AD587) was the final reign period before it was overthrown by the Sui. Pao-ta was the reign period of Li Ching ( ) 1st emperor of the Southern T’ang (AD943-957) which was overrun by the Later Chou.

20. Hsü-chou ( ): This was one of the nine ancient regions. It corresponds to what is now the north-western part of Kiangsu province. Ssu-chou ( ) corresponds to part of what is now Anhwei province.

21. See note 12 above.

22. Ming T’ai Tsu, the founder of the Ming dynasty. For details of his military successes see CHC vol 7(i), p44ff.

23. Pi ( ): An ancient place name. It was situated in what is now the Ch’eng district of Honan province and was, in ancient times, the site of a battle between Chin and Ch’u.

24. For details of the military events leading up to the establishment of the Han dynasty see CHC vol 1, p110ff. There appears to be an error in the text here as there is no verb. In the Shih Chi vol 2, ch 8, p360, relating to these events, there is the phrase, ‘chiang Hsi and Li’ (降析 )

25. Kuang Wu Ti ( ): Founder of the Later Han dynasty.

27. See Sun Wu's *Art of War* (*Sun Tzu, Ping-fa, chiu-ti*). This phrase is used to indicate skill in the deployment of military forces.

28. Fu Chien. See note 5 above.

29. Wan-yen Liang (宛 essere) - died AD1161: The fourth emperor of the Chin dynasty, he held sway in northern China for twelve years until AD1161 when he launched a large-scale, but unsuccessful, attack on the Sung.

4/SWC 6/3

1. Ch'in and Yang ( 秦 楊): From the early Han period, renowned for their agriculture. See *Shih Chi* vol 10, ch 129, p3282 and *Han Shu* vol 11, ch 91, p3694.

2. Ch'iao Yao (桥 姚) was from the Han period and renowned for the rearing of domestic animals. See *Shih Chi* vol 10, ch 129, p3280. See also *Jih-chih lu* ch 10, p244 and SWC, Discussion of the Prefectural System - 3, p14. Wu Shih is Lo of Wu-shih ( 魯氏 傑 ). He was enabled by Ch'in Shih Huang for his work in animal husbandry. See *Shih Chi* vol 10, ch 129, p3260.

3. Ch'i (秦) was a minister of agriculture under Emperor Shun. See *History*, II, I, 5 LCC vol 3, p43 and note on the same page.

4. Fei Tzu ( 非子 ): A man of the Chou state also noted for his animal husbandry. See *Shih Chi* vol 1, ch 5, p175ff.

5. Wei Liao-weng (魏 亮): A Sung Neo-Confucian scholar of note who rose to high office. For biographical details see *Sung Shih* vol 37, ch 437, pp12965-12971.

6. I am unable to locate the exact source of this extensive quote from Wei Liao-weng. His collected works, entitled *Ch'ung-chiao Ho-shan hsien-sheng ta ch'uan-chi* (重校 鶴山先生 大全集 ) appear as vol 60 of the SPTK. See also SB p428 & p318 for his short work entitled *Miscellaneous Reading Notes* (*Tu-shu tsa-ch'ao* - 書籍隨抄).

7. For this phrase see *San Kuo Chih* vol 4, ch 38, p972.

8. Yang-chou ( 楊州 ): The title of one of the nine ancient divisions corresponding to part of what is now Jiangsu province. Ying ( 彰 ) and Shou ( 酋 ) are presumably Ying-chou and Shouchou, the former originally established in the Eastern Wei period in an area corresponding in part to Honan province and the latter corresponding to part of present day Anhwei. Yang and Tu are presumably Yang Hu ( 楊祜 ) - died AD278 and Tu Yu ( 杜預 ) - AD222-284 both officials of the Chin dynasty. See *Chin Shu* vol 4, ch 34, pp1013-1025 and 1025-1034.

9. Ta-nung or Minister of Agriculture (see Hucker 6001, p469).

10. Ho Ch'eng-chu (何承矩) was from the Sung period. For details of his activities see the *Sung Shih* vol 27, ch 273, p9327ff.

11. On the question of speaking about profits see *Mencius* IA, 1, LCC vol 2, p125ff.


3. CHC vol 3(i), p.177. The k'ai-yüan t'ung-pao remained the standard coinage through the T'ang dynasty.


5. Kuan Tzu 22 (72), SPTK vol 18 (Kuan Tzu), p.128.

6. See Hucker 4876, p.399 for the significance of this term.

7. It remains unclear who it is being referred to here. The term kung-chu (公主) has been, as Hucker (3408, p.291) states: "... throughout history the standard designation of daughters of emperors." Lung-lu (隆慮) was both the name of a district established in Han times, in what is now Honan province, and also the name of a mountain in the west of Sheng-lin district in Honan.

8. In AD317 the Chin was overrun in the north by invading Huns and compelled thereby to establish itself (as the Eastern Chin) in the south, with a capital at Nanking.


10. These were taxation methods introduced by Wang An-shih.

11. I am unable to locate the exact source of this quote. Chang Fang-p'ing's collected writings appeared as the Le-ch'ilan chi (樂全集) first published around AD1100. See SB pp.385-6.

12. Chia Shan (恥山 - 2nd Cent BC): A Han scholar who presented his ideas on government to the Emperor Wen Ti in a document entitled Chih Yen (治隱) from which the following excerpt is taken. See Han Shu vol 8, ch 51, pp.2327-2337 and CSKW vol 1 (Han), ch 14.

13. Chia I (恥一 - 2nd Cent BC): A Han scholar of 'precocious talents'. For the quote given see CSKW vol 1 (Han), ch 16, p.3. For the 'Seven Blessings' see also Han Shu vol 4, ch 24 (pt 2), p.1156.

4/SWC 6/8

1. An extensive work, in 120 chüan, and one of Ku's major contributions to what may be called 'historical geography'. According to Hummel (ECCP p.424) the compilation was begun in 1639 and the preface written in AD1662.

2. On Ku's change of direction following a further examination failure in 1639 see Peterson, HJAS vol 28, 1968, p.131 which includes an excerpt from the preface here translated.
VI Conclusion


3. See Ch'ien, E.T., *Chiao Hung & The Restructuring Of Neo-Confucianism In The Late Ming* p2ff.


8. See Chung-kuo che-hsueh k'ao, (中國哲學考), Sun Shu-p'ing (孫叔平), 1981, ch 10.


13. For Ch’ien Mu’s assessment see his *Chung-kuo chin san-pai nien hsueh-shu shih*, pp137-139.


1. Works by Ku Yen-wu

Ku Yen-wu was a prolific writer whose works reflect the breadth of his interests covering philosophy, phonetics, philology, textual criticism, historical geography and verse. Within these broad categories there are further subdivisions so the range of topics is indeed extensive. The Jih-chih lu is, in a sense, a paradigm of his works as, within its sections, is represented the complete range of Ku's prose writings. There are no pre-1644 writings extant, although according to Peterson (HJAS 28, p.131) the collection of data for his first two important works on historical geography with strategic implications i.e. the Chao-yü chih and the Tien-hsia chin-hou li-ping began in 1639. The following list is subdivided according to the categories given by the Tsu-k' u ch' uan-shu.

I Ching ( 易經 )

(i) Chiu-ching wu-tzu ( 九經 論字 ), 1 ch: This short work examines textual inaccuracies in the 'Nine Classics'. In his own preface Ku draws attention to the numerous errors and omissions in the then current editions of the classics put out by the Imperial Academy. The purpose of the work was to correct these errors by comparison with old texts, including stone engravings, seeing this exercise as being of benefit to later scholars.

(ii) Tso-chuan Tu-chieh pu-cheng ( 左傳 杜解補正 ), 3 ch: A short work in which Ku examines this classic particularly through the commentary by the Chin scholar, Tu Yü ( 杜預 ), looking predominantly at errors and omissions in this work.

(iii) Wu-ching t'ung-i ( 胡沖 童義 ), 3 ch: This work is concerned mainly with textual criticism relating to the 'Five Classics' ( I, Shu, Shih, Ch'un-ch' u and San-i ). Its purpose is somewhat different from the sections on the classics in the Jih-chih lu being focussed primarily on the commentaries of Sung, Yüan and Ming Confucianists.

(iv) Yin-hsiu wu-shu ( 五行 論書 ), 38 ch: This constitutes one of Ku's most important works and is listed in the Tsu-k' u ch' uan-shu in the classics section under the philology subdivision. In this work Ku continues the method established by his Ming predecessor, Ch'en Ti ( 陳第 ). As Hummel (ECCP p.424) writes: "Ku Yen-wu adopted Ch'en's method in his own more extensive phonetical researches and, by adducing still more examples to show its applicability, he so popularised it that it became one of the most effective tools of Ch'ing scholarship." This work, which first appeared in 1667, being printed at Shan-yang in Kiangsu with the collaboration of Chang Shao ( 張弨 ), is subdivided into the following five sections: Ku-yin piao ( 古音嘗 - 2 ch), a catalogue of ancient sounds; I-yin ( 易音 - 3 ch), a study of phonetics in the Changer; Shih pen-yin ( 詩本音 - 10 ch), an examination of rhymes in the Odes; T'ang yin cheng ( 唐韻正 - 20 ch), a comparison of T'ang sounds with those used in ancient times and Yin-lun ( 音論 - 3 ch) which is a general discussion of the subject.

(v) Yin-pu cheng ( 音補正 - 1 ch): This short work, written after Ku had compiled the T'ang yin cheng section of the Yin-hsiu wu-shu, was based on the work entitled Yin-pu ( 音補 ) by the Sung scholar Wu Yü ( 吳棫 ). It concerned errors in ancient rhymes and irregularities in the contemporary use of rhymes. This work was also included in the philology division of the classics section of the Tsu-k' u ch' uan-shu and is also included in the Ting-lin i-shu.

II Shih ( 史 )

(i) Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui chi ( 昌平山水記 ) 2 ch: This short work consisted of miscellaneous notes on the establishment of the thirteen Ming lu and on the nature of the land near the capital. For the most part the writings were based on close personal observation. Wang Hung ( 王宏 ) in his Shan-chih ( 山志 ) attests to the detail of Ku's observations.
Chao-yü chi (肇域記), 100 ch: An extensive work on historical geography which Ku started (at least as far data collection was concerned) in 1639 but which was never published in a completed form. Ku, in his own preface, indicates the breadth of the background reading done in the preparation of this work. He writes: "This book was begun in Ch'ung-ch'en chi-mao (i.e. AD1639). First I took the general gazetteers of the empire then the gazetteers of each of the preparation of this work. He writes:
and hsien. Then I took the given by chi-yao geography were works. The works
of his study of over three hundred post-Han stone inscriptions, compiled during his travels. For one thousand 1695 Chin-shih ling lu (類書), 5 ch: A collection of official documents including imperial edicts, memorials and official despatches for the later part of the Ming period. The work was published in the T'ing-lin i-shu and Ming-chi pai-shih.

Chin-shih wen-tsu chi (金石文字記), 6 ch: This work, printed by P'an Lei around 1695 in the T'ing-lin shih-chung (亭林十種), continued the epigraphical tradition of Ou-yang Hsiu and Chao Ming-ch'eng to whom Ku acknowledges his debt in the preface of his own work. The works in question were Ou-yang Hsiu's, Chi-ku lu (集古錄) and Chao Ming-ch'eng's Chin-shih lu (金石錄) (see SB pp199 and 201 respectively). Ku's work is a record of his study of over three hundred post-Han stone inscriptions, compiled during his travels. For each inscription there is a commentary, an account of the origin and other details along with a discussion of textual errors. This work was also published in the T'ing-lin i-shu (亭林遺書).

Ching-tung k'ao-ku lu (京東考古錄), 1 ch: This brief work concerning place names and antiquities east of the capital was published by Wu Chen-fang (吳融方) in his Shuo­ling (說 鈴). According to several sources all the material is included in either the Jih-chih lu or the Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui chi.

Ch'i'u-ku lu (求古録), 1 ch: This work is a record of stone inscriptions extending from the Tsao-ch'üan pei of the Han period to the Chien-wen Huo-shan pei of the Ming period, in all fifty-six inscriptions. The writings are given with Ku's notes and textual criticisms.

Chüeh-ku shih-shih (諸學十事), 1 ch: This brief work on geographical matters has been said to have been prepared in collaboration with Li Huan-chang (李煥章) of Yüeh-an but this is probably not so. The material is said to be included in the Jih-chih lu.

Ku Shih p'u-hsi k'ao (顧氏譜系考), 1 ch: This brief work concerns the history of the surname Ku of the Ku family and is included in the historical biographies section of the SKCS.

Li-tai ti-wang chai-ching chi (歷代帝王宅京記), 20 ch: This is the third of Ku's major topographical studies (after the Chao-yü chih and T'ien-hsia chü-kuo li-ping shu). The work was, according to Hummel (ECCP p424-5) completed towards the end of Ku's life and first printed in AD1808. It is a record of the establishment of cities through successive dynasties. The first two chapters are in the form of a general introduction, while the remaining eighteen record in detail the establishment of cities and suburbs, palaces and mansions, capitals, monasteries and temples etc.

Ming-chi shih-lu (明季實錄), 1 ch: A collection of official documents including imperial edicts, memorials and official despatches for the later part of the Ming period. The work was published in the T'ing-lin i-shu and Ming-chi pai-shih.

Shantung k'ao-ku lu (山東考古錄), 1 ch: A brief work, said to have been compiled in AD1661, which examined errors in the recording of Shantung's ancient place names, names of people and historical biographies. It was included in the T'ing-lin i-shu and is similar in scope to the Ching-tung k'ao-ku lu (see II(iv) above).
(xi) *Sheng-an chi-shih* (聖安紀事), 2 ch: This work, also titled *Sheng-an Huang-ti pen-chi* concerns events surrounding the establishment of the Hung-kuang emperor in Nanking after the fall of the Ming in 1644.

(xii) *Shih-ching k'ao* (石經考), 1 ch: This work was essentially one of textual criticism of the stone carvings of the classics from various periods. It included examination of sources and details, as well as textual errors and also compared previous opinions and criticisms. According to Hummel (ECCP p425) the work itself was corrected and criticised by Hang Shih-chun. It was included in the *T'ing-lin i-shu*.

(xiii) *T'i-en-hsia chün-k'ao ti-p'ing shu* (天下郡國利病書 - 120 ch): This substantial work was a collection of material from historical records, veritable records, local records, collected works and various other official documents, supplemented and corrected by Ku's own observations made during his extensive travels. It is said that whatever had a bearing on the nation's economy and the people's livelihood was thought worthy of observations made during collected works and various other official documents, supplemented and corrected by Ku's own observations made during his extensive travels. The collection of data was begun in 1639 and the preface (translated in section 4) was written in 1662. It is said that the original draft, particularly in Ku's own hand, was reproduced in 1936 in the third section of the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'uan* (四部叢刊).

(xiv) *Ying-p'ing erh-chou ti-ming chi* (營平二州地名記 - 1 ch): It is said that Ku who, during his northern sojourn, repeatedly visited these two chou was asked by the people to remedy the topographical records and in response collected materials concerning the histories of the two ancient chou, compiling and preparing a work entitled *Ying-p'ing erh-chou shih-shih* in 6 ch. The *Ying-p'ing erh-chou ti-ming chi* was apparently part of that work, and records the ancient palace names of the two chou up to the Five Dynasties period. It is an incomplete work.

### III

**Tzu (子)**

(i) *Ch'ing-shih p'ien* (經世論 - 12 ch): There appears to be little information about this work. According to Chang Shun-hui (*Ku T'ing-lin hsüeh-chi* p7) it consisted of a series of sections devoted to examination topics and its purpose was to assist in the taking of the examinations. In the SKCS it was listed in the category of miscellaneous reference works but was apparently unpublished.

(ii) *Ch'iu-wen ko-lun* (求文格論 - 1 ch): A brief work devoted to the ancients' recording of matters related to times, seasons, reign titles, official names, place names etc and questions relating thereto. Despite the name it is said to have been directed at the correction of historical writings. In the SKCS it was listed under the works of miscellaneous scholars and its contents are said all to be included in the *Jih-chih lu*.

(iii) *Jih-chih lu* (日知録 - 32 ch): Probably Ku's best known and most influential work, this book was first published in 1670 in eight chüan and finally, after numerous revisions and amplifications under the editorship of P'an Lai, was published in the present form of thirty-two chüan in Fukien in 1695. The topics covered were broad indeed. The following list is taken from Chang Shun-hui (op cit p6): sections 1-7, questions concerning the classics; sections 8-12, discussions of administrative matters; section 13, customs; sections 14 and 15 consider ritual; sections 16 and 17 concern the imperial examinations; sections 18-21 deal with literature and art; sections 22-24 are about names and titles; section 25 consists of old matters; section 26, discussions of historical methods; section 27 is of notes and commentaries on writing; section 28 is a miscellany; section 29, military topics and questions relating to foreign countries; section 30, astronomy and magical calculations; section 31, geographical issues; section 32 is of miscellaneous textual criticism. Within the thesis I have followed the broad subdivision given by Hummel (ECCP p424) ie 1-7 Classics, 8-12 government and economics, 13-15 ethics and social relations, 16-19 civil service examinations and the writing of essays, 20-32 literary historical and philological matters. To quote Hummel (loc cit) the work is a "collection of carefully written notes on a great variety of topics ..." the notes being "...
the result of thirty years of wide and thoughtful reading and the observations he made in the course of his long journeys on horseback. Not one of these notes, he (i.e. Ku) says was written without long meditation and many of them were revised again and again. I have used two currently available editions for the present translations: the two volume edition edited by Huang Ju-ch'eng and the one volume edition entitled the Yuan ch'ao-pen jih-chih lu (原抄本日知錄). The former has appended to it the Jih-chih lu chih-yü in four chün (vide infra), the Jih-chih lu chiao-chi (日知錄校記) consisting of notes prepared by the modern scholar, Huang K’an (黃侃), the Ku-chung sui pi (vide infra), two sections devoted to errors in the Jih-chih lu k'an-wu and the Jih-chih lu hsü han-wu also in two parts. There are, in all, over one thousand titles in the Jih-chih lu itself.

(iv) Jih-chih lu chih-yü (日知錄之餘): In the 1795 edition there were four chuăn of supplementary notes not included in the original 1695 edition, which were given the above title. These four sections concern calligraphy, legal restrictions, Buddhism and Taoism and miscellaneous theories. As above this work is appended to Huang Ju-ch’eng’s edition of the Jih-chih lu.

(v) Ku-chung sui pi (溪中隨筆) 1 ch: Described by Chang Shun-hui (op cit p7) as containing “miscellaneous notes from Ku Yen-wu’s daily readings.” He goes on to say “although it is slight and defective and of a trilling nature yet it has material bearing on textual research.” Like above it is appended to the Huang Ju-ch’eng edition of the Jih-chih lu. According to Hummel (ECCP p425) this collection of miscellaneous notes was never printed “... but a manuscript copy once owned by Lu Hsin-yuan is in the Seikado Bunko, Tokyo. Apparently a work bearing the same title and printed in the ... T’ing-lin i-shu hui-chi is not authentic.”

(vi) Tsa-lu (雜錄) 1 ch: A brief work of miscellaneous notes all of which are now included in the Jih-chih lu.

IV Chi (集)

(i) Ku T’ing-lin hsien-sheng chien-chu (顧亭林先生詩集注) 17 ch: A collection of Ku’s verse annotated by Hsü Chia (徐嘉) from Shan-yang and printed in 1897. This work also contains a chronological biography.

(ii) T’ing-lin i-shih (亭林默詩) 1 ch: A short collection of Ku’s verse published by Chu Chi-yung of Wu-hsien.

(iii) T’ing-lin shih-chi (亭林詩集) 5 ch: The most complete collection of Ku’s verse initially published as part of the T’ing-lin i-shu. This collection is currently available both in the Ku T’ing-lin shih-wen chi (顧亭林詩文集) and (in six ch) in the Ku T’ing-lin shih-chi hui chu (顧亭林詩集彙注) with detailed annotation.

(iv) T’ing-lin wen-chi (亭林文集) 6 ch: A miscellaneous collection of Ku’s writings which contains some of his most influential pieces including the four discussions on current affairs (geographical, military, economic and agricultural) prepared in 1645 after the fall of the Ming. The sections are, broadly, as follows: 1, exposition and argumentation; 2, prefaces and postscripts; 3 and 4, correspondence; 5, narratives, tables and inscriptions; 6, addenda (miscellaneous). This collection is currently available in the T’ing-lin shih-wen chi.

(v) T’ing-lin yü-chi (亭林餘集) 1 ch: A collection of twelve essays originally prepared during the early years of the Chien-lung reign period by P‘eng Shao-sheng (彭紹升) of Ch’ang-chou from a copy of out-of-print essays which he came across in a market shop in K’un-shao. This collection is also currently included in the T’ing-lin shih-wen chi.
The following writings are also listed by Hsieh Kuo-chén in the Chu-shu k'ao section of his Ku T'ing-lin hsüeh-pu (p137ff).

(i)  Shih-lu meng-kao (詩律蒙考) 1 ch.
(ii)  Jih-chih lu chiao-chi (知錄校記) 1 ch: A collection of notes on the Jih-chih lu published by Huang K'an in 1933. This appears in the current two volume edition of the Jih-chih lu edited by Huang Ju-ch’eng.
(iii)  Chiang-shan yung ts'an-kao (蔣山僊稿) 3 ch: A partial collection of Ku’s poems in three chüan, a copy of which is said, by Hummel (ECCP p425), to be in the Osaka Prefectural Library. This collection is also included in the T'ing-lin shih-wen chi.
(iv)  Hsi-miao liang-yin chi-shih (熹廟謚陰記事) 1 ch: Also in the T’ing-lin shih-wen chi.
(v)   Chiang-shan yung shih-hsüan (蔣山儔詩選) 1 ch.
(vi)   T’ang-sung yün-pu i-t’ung (唐宋韻補異同).
(vii)  Shih-chiu ling-t’u chih (十九陵圖志).
(viii) Erh-shih-i shih nien-piao (二十一史年表).
(ix)   Wan-sui shan k’ao (萬歲山考) 1 ch.
(x)    I-t’ung chih an-shuo (一統志案說).
(xi)   Hsiao-ling t’u (季陵圖).
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