



Hsin-lun (New Treatise)
and Other Writings
by Huan T'an
(43 B.C.–28 A.D.)

An Annotated Translation with Index
by Timoteus Pokora

**KENNETH G. LIEBERTHAL AND RICHARD H.
ROGEL CENTER FOR CHINESE STUDIES**

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
CENTER FOR CHINESE STUDIES

MICHIGAN PAPERS IN CHINESE STUDIES
NO. 20

HSIN-LUN (NEW TREATISE)
and
Other Writings by Huan T'an
(43 B.C. - 28 A.D.)

An Annotated Translation with Index
by
Timoteus Pokora

Ann Arbor
Center for Chinese Studies
The University of Michigan

1975

*Open access edition funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities/
Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Humanities Open Book Program.*

Copyright © 1975

by

Center for Chinese Studies
The University of Michigan

Printed in the United States of America

ISBN 978-0-89264-020-1 (hardcover)

ISBN 978-0-472-03803-9 (paper)

ISBN 978-0-472-12744-3 (ebook)

ISBN 978-0-472-90139-5 (open access)

The text of this book is licensed under a Creative Commons
Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International
License: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe much to those who have worked on my manuscript since 1970. My sincere appreciation must be extended to Professors Chun-shu Chang, Donald J. Munro, and Rhoads Murphey for their contributions of time and expert advice through all stages of the manuscript preparation. I would also like to thank Christina Whitman and Leslie Swartz Shalen who edited the text for content and grammatical continuity. Finally, my thanks to Judy Dudley, the typist, and Lilly Chai, the calligrapher, for their excellent work.

CONTENTS

	<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Page</u>
Introduction		xi
Huan T'an's Work and Its Transmission		xxvii
I. <u>Hsin-lun</u> as Reconstructed by Yen K'o-chün, <u>Ch'üan Hou Han wen</u>		
Chapter		
1. Creation (<u>Pen tsao</u>)	1	1
2. Kings and Hegemons (<u>Wang pa</u>)	3	5
3. Searching for Counsellors (<u>Ch'iu fu</u>)	7	9
4. On Substance (<u>Yen t'i</u>)	32	25
5. Observing Evidence (<u>Chien cheng</u>)	42	37
6. Reprimanding Wrong (<u>Ch'ien fei</u>)	52	45
7. Awakening Insight (<u>Ch'i wu</u>)	67	65
8. Dispersing Obscurantism (<u>Ch'ü pi</u>)	79	71
9. Correcting the Classics (<u>Cheng ching</u>)	87	89
10. Recognizing Intelligence (<u>Shih t'ung</u>)	98	103
11. Encountering Affairs (<u>Li shih</u>)	105	111
12. Speaking on Rhyme-prose (<u>Tao fu</u>)	139	145
13. Discerning Error (<u>Pien huo</u>)	143	149

14. Explaining Plans (<u>Shu tz'u</u>)	159	165
15. Mourning for Friends (<u>Min yu</u>)	160	171
16. The Way of the Zither (<u>Ch'in tao</u>)	169	181
Comparative Tables of Fragments in the Editions by Yen K'o-chün and Sun P'ing-i		194
II. New Fragments of <u>Hsin-lun</u>		
On the Ming t'ang	175	203
Tung Yüeh's Ch'i-kuo k'ao	176	205
Fei-yen wai-chuan	188	210
<u>Wen hsüan</u> and Its Commentaries	189	212
<u>Cheng-i</u> Commentary	192	214
<u>T'ai-p'ing yü-lan</u>	193	214
<u>Wen-hsin tiao-lung</u>	194	215
K'ung P'ing-chuan, <u>Heng-huang Hsin-lun</u>	198	216
<u>P'ei-wen yün-fu</u>	199	217
Poets Wu Yün and Wang Pao	200	217
<u>Shuo-fu</u>	202	218
Commentaries to the <u>Tso chuan</u>	203	220
III. Other Writings of Huan T'an		
Rhyme-prose on Looking for the Immortals (<u>Wang hsien fu</u>)	205	231
Discussion with Fu Yen	206	232
Letter to Tung Hsien	207	233

Proposal on the Regulation Projects	208	234
Statement on the Duties of Contemporary Government	209	235
On Repressing the Ch'an Texts and Increasing Rewards	210	238
Memorial on What is Advantageous (<u>Shang pien i</u>)	211	241
Statement on What is Advantageous (<u>Ch'en pien i</u>)	212	241
Notice (<u>Ch'i shih</u>)	213	241
Letter in Reply to Yang Hsiung (<u>Ta Yang Hsiung shu</u>)	214	242
Esteeming Affairs (<u>Shang shih</u>)	215	242
Addenda		268
Bibliographies		
I. Editions of <u>Hsin-lun</u>		269
II. Studies on Huan T'an and his <u>Hsin-lun</u>		273
III. Sources		276
IV. Literature in Chinese and Japanese		286
V. Literature in Other Languages		298
Index		311

INTRODUCTION

Better known in his own times than later, Huan T'an was a scholar-official, independent in his thought and unafraid to criticize orthodox currents of his time. He and his more famous contemporaries Liu Hsin, Yang Hsiung, and Wang Ch'ung were scholars of the Old Text exegesis of the Classics.

Huan T'an (ca. 43 B.C.-28 A.D.) lived in the disturbed period around the time of the Han interregnum and witnessed political crises, uprisings, and civil war. He observed the reigns of the Emperors Yüan (48-33 B.C.), Ch'eng (33-7 B.C.), Ai (7-1 B.C.), and P'ing (1 B.C.-6 A.D.). He was close to Wang Mang during his quest for power and the establishment of his Hsin dynasty. Even at the court of the victorious Kuang-wu (25-56 A.D.), the first emperor of the restored Han dynasty, Huan T'an remained an honorary official and a well-known scholar. But he never belonged to the small group of decision-makers or highest advisors and this may account for his ability to retain a position in the court throughout these political changes.

Much of the information we have on Huan T'an comes from Fan Yeh, the author of the Hou Han shu. In addition, many important facts about Huan T'an and his times are found in the fragments¹ of his principal work, Hsin-lun.

The Hsin-lun differs from other books on political criticism in that it does not deal primarily with history but takes many examples from contemporary social and political life. Unfortunately, since the greater part of his writings is lost, a full evaluation of his ideas is rather difficult.

While belonging to the Old Text group of court officials and scholars, Huan T'an differed radically from them in his stress on direct knowledge, in his range of practical experience, and in his outspoken criticism of popular opinions. He was not a systematic philosopher, but his ideas were influential in the return to a more worldly conception of Confucianism.

*The author feels that his original considerably longer introduction provides a more adequate setting as well as additional helpful information. He will be glad to supply copies of this longer version on request, and may be addressed Care of Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan.

His Life

Huan T'an probably came from Anhwei province. His father was a Prefect of Imperial Musicians, and like him, Huan T'an spent many years as an official of music. But his unorthodox concept of music and his musical talents on the ch'in (zither) often involved him in conflicts with the emperor under whom he was serving. As a result, his career was frequently interrupted. It may have been Huan T'an's unsuccessful career that motivated his interest in the rise of Wang Mang. However, even if a modest new opportunity did open up for him around the time of Wang Mang's accession, he did not achieve any important post and certainly had no direct influence on Wang Mang.

By the end of Wang Mang's reign Huan T'an was sixty-five years old. He remained at the court but soon became embroiled in a conflict with the Emperor Kuang-wu. An experienced and courageous scholar-official, Huan T'an continued his criticism under the new Emperor. He finished his Hsin-lun and sent it to the Emperor, as it was written as a handbook on political science for a new ruler. From extant memorials and their replies we know that Kuang-wu found Huan T'an's political views incompatible with his own. In particular, Emperor Kuang-wu was infuriated over Huan T'an's criticism of the prognostication texts because the Emperor believed that it was by virtue of the guidance of these texts that he had ascended the throne. While Huan T'an "said again with insistence that the prognostications were contradictory to the canonical books,"² Emperor Kuang-wu claimed that their "reliability" was based on the Classics and on Confucius himself. Huan T'an was condemned to be beheaded immediately, but was pardoned later after lengthy kowtowing. He did not, however, go unpunished. He was exiled to Liu-an in Anhwei where he was to be an Assistant Administrator. The aged scholar was unable to endure the long trip and died on the way.

The case of Huan T'an established a precedent. For the first time the Emperor was directly informed that deceitful people may falsely praise the prognostication texts in order to mislead the ruler. Secondly, the furious reaction of the Emperor who had declared the prognostications authentic served as a warning to other scholars to be more cautious in their utterings on the subject. Some influential Old Texters did not

heed these admonitions and later succeeded in imposing their ideas on the Emperor Chang (76-88 A.D.). In 85 A.D., while on an imperial inspection tour of the East, Emperor Chang sent a messenger to make a sacrifice at Huan T'an's tomb. Thus the scholar's critical attitude towards the prognostication texts and his contribution to Han thought was officially, if posthumously, recognized and sanctioned.

His Thought

Huan T'an's ideas played a large role in the development of Han thought. It was Huan T'an who, together with his follower Wang Ch'ung, started the critical trend of thought by attacking the New Text school and by viewing with skepticism the idealized past. Along with Yang Hsiung, all three philosophers were Confucian but had some penchant for Taoism. Huan T'an's attitude towards Confucius was reserved, even critical. He rarely referred to Confucius as a sage. This anti-traditional tendency is illustrated in quotations from the Hsin-lun. Huan T'an said to Yang Hsiung: "If a sage should appear to future generations, people will merely realize that his talents are greater than theirs, but many will not be able to tell whether he is really a sage or not."³ Huan T'an said further: "A sage appears once in a thousand years."⁴ He questioned how people will know who is the proper sage.

In fact modern scholarship has shown that Confucius's reputation is out of proportion with the facts of his career. An early proponent of this view, Huan T'an stated: "Confucius was an ordinary man, but he became eminent and his hand became famous."⁵ Huan T'an had almost nothing positive to say about Confucius's merit, his ideas, or his contributions to scholarship and the Classics. He challenged the traditional praise bestowed upon the Ch'un-ch'iu, which was considered to be a work by Confucius. "I have written the Hsin-lun in order to examine and discuss the past and the present, but I also wish to promote successful government. How does this differ from the praise and blame of the Ch'un-ch'iu!"⁶ Excessive adoration of the past, the Classics and sages, was an object of his criticism: "When the literati read the account of success and failure in political affairs which is found in the Ch'un-ch'iu, they believe that the Ch'un-ch'iu will

again be written when a new sage appears. I said this would not be so. Why? Later sages need not necessarily continue the ideas of earlier sages."⁷ When Huan T'an clashed with Emperor Kwang-wu by pointing out that it was a mistake to attribute the prognostication texts to Confucius, he was the first philosopher to oppose the texts publicly. The Emperor's reaction was to say: "Huan T'an opposes the teachings of the sage'..."⁸, which was not accurate.

Huan T'an was something of a self-styled Confucian but, as Pan Ku tells in the Han shu, he had an interest in Taoism. Pan Ku informs us that Huan T'an wished to acquaint himself with the texts of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu. Although these texts did not have a deep influence on him, he was very well informed and impressed with what H. G. Creel calls "Hsien Taoism" or Religious Taoism. This is evidenced in the "Wang hsien fu" (Rhyme-prose on Looking for the Immortals), which frequently refers to retaining breath, seeking immortality, and other magico-religious practices.

On Literature

Huan T'an's attitude toward literature differed radically from that of most Han Confucians. While he criticized one of the Classics he also defended some books generally held in contempt. He praised the "unusual treatises" but criticized that which was "unreal" in Chuang-tzu. Thus, Huan T'an came close to supplying a theoretical basis for an independent, non-orthodox development in literature.

In contrast to his Confucian compatriots, Huan T'an noted some value in the hsiao-shuo genre (fiction). Comparing the hsiao-shuo with the tuan-shu (short books, often considered contrary to and inferior to the Classics), he characterized both as short and fragmentary writings but also acknowledged their value for moral education. "Now, the authors of the hsiao-shuo represent [those who make] only small and fragmentary utterings. The authors make these short books by clothing their messages in comparisons with things close at hand. But they contain words worth heeding on the subjects of self-control and the regulation of one's family."⁹ While other scholars of his day were far more cautious on the use of these genres, Huan T'an made

an important contribution by proposing the inclusion of the "heretical" genres in the closed and nearly sacred realm of literature.

Huan T'an composed at least two fu. He must have been fond of this genre, even a theoretician of it, because he devoted a chapter of the Hsin-lun, "Speaking on Rhyme-prose," to the fu. Unfortunately, we have only four fragments of this chapter. Huan T'an's interest in the fu genre did not excite substantial response among the Literati of his time or among later scholars. If the few extant samples of his rhyme-prose are representative of the whole work, we might conclude that Huan T'an was not concerned with the aesthetic problems of this kind of poetry. Rather, he stressed that the composition of a fu required extreme concentration and may be detrimental to one's health. However, Huan T'an stressed his intention to study the ars poetica by imitating the best specimens of poetry. "In my youth I studied and liked the Li-sao. Since I have read extensively in other books, I wish to repeat my studies ..."10

Of Huan T'an's rhyme-prose, Liu Hsieh said: "It is definitely shallow and lacking in talent." But he added: "Therefore, we know that he excelled in his satirical treatise [i.e., the Hsin-lun] but could not come up to [the necessary level of] polite literature."11

Liu Hsieh's evaluation of the Hsin-lun as a satirical or indirectly critical treatise (feng-lun) is very fitting. Huan T'an mocked Ch'in Kung, a specialist on the Book of Documents, because he needed more than a hundred thousand words to explain the two characters in the title Yao-tien.12 In a fictionalized caricature of the well-known dialectician Kung-sun Lung, Huan T'an discussed the thesis "a white horse is not a horse." He said: "People could not agree with this. Later, when riding a white horse, he wished to cross the frontier pass without a warrant or a passport. But the frontier official would not accept his explanations, for it is hard for empty words to defeat reality."13

Huan T'an was also critical and satirical of the bureaucracy. He told how the Great Administrator P'ang Chen examined the use of the meat remaining after

sacrifices. It was found that there were twenty catties of raw beef left over. Because P'ang Chen suspected that the meat was used illegally, he impeached the Prefect. The investigation proved that the meat was not stolen, but in the course of the investigation the officials consumed so much meat, rice, and wine that in the end the expenditure was far greater than the price of the original twenty catties of beef.¹⁴

The variety of literary devices at Huan T'an's command is impressive. He used parables, proverbs, and puns as tools of criticism and satire. He was fully cognizant of the emotional effect of both literature and music and mentioned it often. Many of the fragments have several levels of meaning. For example: "When the people hear the music of Ch'ang-an, they come out of the gates, look towards the west, and laugh. The smell of meat is pleasant, so they stand in front of a butcher's shop, chewing vigorously."¹⁵ On one level, Huan T'an is saying that many people are unable to recognize real values. On another, music can move the hearts and minds of people. Finally, both music and meat are inaccessible to common people.

The extant fragments may not properly reflect Huan T'an's ideas on literature. This is because the compilers of encyclopedias selected factual statements or curiosities from the Hsin-lun to preserve while ignoring his general philosophy and observations on literature. However, we can say that Huan T'an encouraged independence of mind. He preferred reality, thoroughness, and simplicity. He stressed the utility and profit to be gained from literature. He summed up his liberal attitude toward literature: "Although there are unfounded and outrageous passages in Chung Chou and those other books, we must use what is best in them. How dare we talk of rejecting them completely?"¹⁶

On Music

The concept of "new music" as found in Huan T'an's work and in the work of a few other writers is very vague, and we cannot say for sure what it means. The cloud of Confucian phrases is barely penetrable despite J. P. Diény's serious study of the new music.¹⁷ Huan T'an spent all his life in musical circles. As

stated in his biography, he secured such a position as a Prefect of the Bureau of Music because he was "fond of the [musical] notes and the musical tubes and ... good at playing the ch'in.... By nature he was fond of singers and musicians."¹⁸ Immediately after the death of Emperor Ch'eng, Huan T'an's career as the Prefect of the Bureau of Music was interrupted because the new Emperor Ai (or his high dignitaries) were opposed to the new music. During the reign of Wang Mang, Huan T'an became a Grandee of Music,¹⁹ but this position was inferior to the one he had held previously. Huan T'an was also a theoretician of music under Wang Mang. For the most part he was concerned with musical measurements, but in addition to this musicological work he authored the Ch'in-tao in which he expounded on his concept of the music performed on the ch'in. The second interruption in Huan T'an's career as a dignitary of music occurred when he quarrelled with Wang Mang's Director of Music, Marquis Hsieh. As a result of the argument, both officials were dismissed.²⁰

Just as Huan T'an assumed an anti-traditional posture with regard to literature and the Classics, he advocated unorthodox music in direct contradiction to Confucian preferences. Among the three things hated by Confucius, the Analects say: "I hate the tunes of Cheng corrupting the court music."²¹ The "tunes of Cheng" referred to unorthodox and improper music. In opposition to Confucius's theory of "three dislikes" Huan T'an proposed his own "four not equal" (pu ju), of which the fourth was: "The k'ung and chieh [instruments] are not the equals of the flowing music of Cheng."²² The stress was on "flowing" in contrast to "static," "stagnant," and by implication, orthodox music. Both the k'ung and the chieh, used at the beginning and the end of a performance, belonged to a group of instruments which produced the kinds of music which were said to have resembled all things,²³ exhorted people to practice virtue,²⁴ and represented all things.²⁵ Thus, Huan T'an compared two musical instruments symbolizing virtuous and orthodox court music unfavorably with the unorthodox, flowing, vivid new music.

Huan T'an suffered as a result of his critiques of Confucius's theory of music. He endured public criticism and was accused of depravity. That turpitude was associated with the new music appears to have been

the rub, because it was the "lewd" and pleasurable aspects of the new music that made it incompatible with the traditional, proper, orthodox music. The new music was not invented by Huan T'an but we know that the Bureau of Music introduced it and that Huan T'an was its Prefect until it was abolished. Huan T'an's involvement with the new music is further testimony to his courageous anti-traditional activities and attitudes. However, the new music is not even mentioned in either the Lun-heng or the Hou Han shu.

On Natural and Strange Occurrences

At a time when supernatural speculation was popular, Huan T'an stood out as a scholar who insisted on rational approaches to the natural world. Huan T'an based his responses to the questions of his day concerning alchemy, immortality, health, life, and death on his keen observation of nature. The Hsin-lun is rich with reports of the Han weakness for magic. "[Wang Ken] ... accepted the services of Hsi-men Chün-nui, a gentleman versed in the arts of magic, to teach him the art of driving old age away. Chün-hui said: 'The tortoise is said to live for three thousand years and the crane for one thousand years. Considering the qualities of man, why is he not the equal of insects and birds?'"²⁶ But Huan T'an did not accept such musings, even from Hsi-men Chün-hui, an influential specialist in prophesies, and retorted with sarcasm: "Who could live long enough to learn how old a tortoise or a crane is?"²⁷

Knowing the ideas of Wang Ch'ung, we are not surprised that Huan T'an was critical of the supposed will of Heaven and of omens. "In the Empire there are cranes which are eaten in all the commandaries and kingdoms. Only in the Three Capital District does no one dare to catch them because of the custom that an outbreak of thunder will occur if a crane is caught. Could it be that Heaven originally favored only this bird? [No], the killing of the bird merely coincided with thunder."²⁸ In a similar vein, Huan T'an corrected the theory from the Tso chuan which stated that the protruding eyes of two dead men closed only after their corpses received some desired information. Huan T'an explained simply that the eyes might have been open at death but closed as the corpse stiffened. He concluded

that there is no relation between the closing of the eyes and the received information.²⁹

In Huan T'an's view, it is necessary to respect the interests and needs of the living while paying proper attention to people who have died. He saw death as inevitable and therefore minimized efforts to evade it. Huan T'an's ideas on the problems of the body and mind, life and death, the candle and flame are impressively described in the longest and most important extant fragment.³⁰ In addition to this he drew an analogy to demonstrate his point: "Liu Tzu-chün believed the vain speeches of the magicians who said that one may become a divine immortal through study. I saw that down in his courtyard grew a great elm, very old, worn, and broken. Pointing to it, I said, 'That tree has no feelings, but nevertheless it will decay and become worm-eaten. Although you may want to care for it and nurture its life, how can you possibly prevent its decline?'"³¹ Thus, according to Huan T'an, there is no reason to look for a way to immortality, as Liu Hsin and others during the Han dynasty did.

Huan T'an demonstrated an interest in and knowledge of medicine. He mentioned the dissection and inspection of the five viscera by Wang Mang.³² He discussed the magician Wang Chung-tu who could endure almost any heat and cold; cold and heat (han shu) was a name for a disease to which Wang was apparently immune.³³ In the fragment on breathing exercises, Huan T'an is concerned with keeping oneself in good physical and mental health. He seems at home with medical terminology and used it to draw analogies between physicians and rulers, and between medical and political practices. "Needles, moxa, prescriptions, and medicines are tools to help the sick, but without a skilled physician they cannot cure. Talent, ability, virtue and fine conduct are tools for ruling a country but without an enlightened ruler they are of no effect. If the physician does not own the needles and medicines, he may buy them in order to practice his trade. If the ruler has neither talent nor virtue, he may appoint wise counsellors and need not personally possess these qualities. Thus we can see that talent, ability, virtue, and fine conduct are the needles and medicines of a country. They are effective if used as aids to the ruler."³⁴ Thus, Huan T'an found medical wisdom similar to political wisdom.

Lest we categorize Huan T'an too neatly, he also related some strange occurrences. For example, there are several different versions of a story about the magician Tung Chung-chün, who "was once tried at law for a serious crime and put into prison. He feigned illness and death. Several days later he rotted and insects grew in him, but he revived."³⁵ Another fragment tells of an old woman who allegedly died but suddenly rose before being buried and drank wine. Elsewhere a female slave who died, was buried, and several times came to caress her orphaned child. The texts present only the "facts," while the usual critical remarks by Huan T'an are curiously absent. Perhaps all we can say is that in addition to his interest in natural occurrences, Huan T'an also liked to narrate strange stories. This is, I believe, what he had in mind when he spoke of "wonderful treatises and unusual texts."

On Politics, Law and the People

The Hsin-lun was written as a manual on political science for a ruler, probably for the first ruler of the Later Han dynasty. From Huan T'an's observations on politics, it is clear that he perceived a need for such a manual. One of the principal terms in Huan T'an's political deliberations was "Great Substance" (ta t'i). "Without great talent and deep wisdom, the Great Substance cannot be seen. The Great Substance includes all the affairs of the present and those that are to be."³⁶ In evaluating the shortcomings of such rulers as Emperor Kao and Wang Mang, Huan T'an pointed to their ignorance of the Great Substance.

A crucial question in Confucian political thinking was that of the relation of the House of Han toward other pretenders to the throne. Huan T'an was both realistic and daring enough to state that the abuse of power is bad, whether the ruler is legitimate or illegitimate. "The Way of the King is pure; his virtue is like that. The Way of the Hegemon is dappled and mixed (tsa); his achievement is like this. They both possess the Empire and rule over myriads of people. Their rule passes down to their sons and grandsons. They are the same in substance."³⁷ To identify the methods of Kings and Hegemons as the same represents a kind of heresy from an orthodox Confucian standpoint.

Huan T'an was not opposed to the study of antiquity, but he did mock those who paid too much attention to it or who accepted it as the only possible model for their times. For example, he said that Wang Mang wished "to imitate antiquity in everything he did.... He ignored things near and modern and chased after the remote past."³⁸ It is possible that Huan T'an became critical of the use of ancient models because of the way Wang Mang claimed to imitate the Chou dynasty and fancied himself another Duke of Chou.

Some of Huan T'an's political criticisms sound remarkably modern. "Also, to let the enlightened and the wise plan affairs and then bring them down to the masses will certainly be inadequate."³⁹ One of the reasons he cited for the fall of Wang Mang was that "...in all his acts and endeavors he only wanted to trust and rely on himself while he refused to share responsibility and authority with informed and experienced men."⁴⁰ Although Huan T'an did not mention Legalism or any Legalist philosopher and although there is no evidence that he was among those who proposed the blending of Confucianism with Legalism, many of his views on law may strike us as similar to a legalist standpoint. Law, he said, should be entrusted to high dignitaries who will guarantee its impartiality. "A wise government servant or an upright official should conduct affairs and uphold the law in a manner as clear as the red and green used [in painting].... If a crime is properly [defined] it should be possible to punish it.... If the High One happens to neglect the case, if he does not delay it and give it a hearing, then [the accused] is bound to suffer a violent death."⁴¹ There is a suggestion here of equality before the law. In the same fragment Huan T'an admonished officials that abuse of the law will invite dire consequences.

But in the end, Huan T'an had a mind of his own and juxtaposed these Legalist ideas with criticism of matters associated with Legalism. For example, he also warned against excessive severity and punishments disproportionate with the crime. Also, he described Ch'in Shih Huang-ti as follows: "He looked on the masses of people as milling flocks of sheep and as herds of pigs which must be driven with a rod. Therefore he was later overthrown."⁴² Huan T'an gave priority to the interests of the people. "...with respect to establishing laws and prohibitions, one cannot completely stop up the evil

in the world, but it is enough if the laws and prohibitions meet the wishes of the multitude."⁴³

Huan T'an's political discussions included many comments on the circumstances of the common people. In a dry, sarcastic statement he observed: "Since the consolidation of the Han dynasty, the taxes exacted from the people during one year represent more than four billion. Half is spent for the salaries of civil servants."⁴⁴ His advice to rulers was succinct: "When the stupid man makes plans, the only ones that are of benefit to government policy are these that are in harmony with the mind of the people and have a grasp of the real state of affairs."⁴⁵

The Translation

The two partial editions of the fragments of Huan T'an, dating from the nineteenth century, were used as basic references for the present translation. Both editions are entitled Huan-tzu Hsin-lun, one by Sun P'ing-i and one by Yen K'o-chün. Quotations from the Hsin-lun are also found in sixty-four sources, primarily encyclopedias and commentaries. Most are short references, mainly illustrating the meanings of words or providing bits of information totally unrelated to the body of Huan T'an's philosophy. Taken out of context, the short fragments are not easy to understand. To deal with this problem I have provided notes which comment on the text, refer to other texts and sources, and explain the people and facts in the fragment. A further complication was that in checking every quotation in the original sources I found many discrepancies, so there are several versions of many of the fragments included herein.

The reconstructed text has not been subject to commentary and its reliability has not been analyzed. Since this reconstructed text cannot pretend to correspond to the arrangement of the original, there is some unavoidable loss of inner coherence. I tried to meet this problem by providing a large index.

References to the previous editions and to the original sources are given in the caption of every fragment. Information on the editions of the Hsin-lun is given in Bibliography I. Bibliography II lists the

studies of Huan T'an's ideas and life. Bibliography III has the other sources of the fragments.

The present translation was begun in 1956 at Peking University. Without the use of that library the systematic checking of each fragment would not have been possible. In my studies on Huan T'an published in the early 1960's in Archiv Orientální in Prague, I had already translated some of the fragments; this is noted at the end of the respective fragment. The translation was completed during my stay at The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

With no reliable edition of Huan T'an's writings with commentary available, the present translation must be of a preliminary nature. New studies and translations of works by Liu Hsiang, Liu Hsin, Yang Hsiung, and others of Huan T'an's contemporaries will undoubtedly contribute to the understanding of the scattered fragments of Huan T'an. In many cases only the historical context will explain the meaning of a fragment. Still, I hope that my first steps will not be misleading to those who will follow them.

Timoteus Pokora
Prague
February, 1974

NOTES: INTRODUCTION

1. For an explanation of the fragments, see the section of the "Introduction" entitled "The Translation," page xxii.
2. Fragment 210.
3. Fragment 31.
4. Fragment 18.
5. Fragment 77.
6. Fragment 2B.
7. Fragment 95.
8. Fragment 210.
9. Fragment 189.
10. Fragment 139.
11. Wen-hsin tiao-lung 10, 47, p. 110, 2; cf. Shih, Literary Mind, p. 253 for a different translation. See also note 60 in the following chapter, Huan T'an's Work and Its Transmission.
12. Fragment 88.
13. Fragment 135B.
14. Fragment 66.
15. Fragment 79A.
16. Fragment 2B.
17. "Musique théorique et musique d'agrément," in the second chapter of J. P. Dieny, Aux origines de la poesie classique en Chine, Leiden, 1968.
18. Fan Yeh's biography of Huan T'an in Hou Han shu.
19. Fragment 82.
20. Fragment 43.

21. Analects XVII, 18.
22. Fragment 75.
23. Wan wu; Hsün-tzu XX, 11 p. 255, a treatise on music.
24. Li-chi XVII, 14, a treatise on music.
25. Po-hu t'ung VI, 51 d, a treatise on music.
26. Fragment 146A.
27. Fragment 146A.
28. Fragment 133; cf. the 47th chapter of the Lun-heng, "A Last Word on the Dragons."
29. Fragments 203 and 204.
30. Fragment 84A.
31. Fragment 156.
32. Fragment 38B; cf. fragment 116, note 40.
33. Fragment 151 and notes.
34. Fragment 13.
35. Fragment 152B.
36. Fragment 32A.
37. Fragment 3B.
38. Fragment 32D.
39. Fragment 28.
40. Fragment 32C.
41. Fragment 65.
42. Fragment 11B.
43. Fragment 209.

xxvi

44. Fragment 55.

45. Fragment 210.

Huan T'an's Work and Its Transmission

Huan T'an, like his contemporary Wang Ch'ung, was a prolific writer. In his biography of Huan T'an in Hou Han Shu 28A, the historian Fan Yeh describes Huan's work in some detail:

In the past¹ [Huan] T'an wrote a book of twenty-nine fascicules, in which he discussed the action which should be taken in his time. He called this the Hsin-lun (New Treatise).² When he submitted this work to the Emperor, the Epochal Founder³ approved it. As the chapter "Ch'in-tao" (The Way of the Zither) was not yet finished, Su-tsung⁴ commanded Pan Ku to expand and complete it.⁵ In all, Huan T'an has written twenty-six fascicules of rhyme-prose, eulogies, letters and memorials.⁶

Although Fan Yeh suggests that the Hsin-lun is concerned only with "actions which should be taken" in Huan T'an's time, the work in fact covers both contemporary and historical matters. Its great value rests in its adaptation of historical anecdotes as tools for the solution of modern problems.

To this end Huan T'an presented his work for the edification of the Emperor. His purpose is clearly stated in the introduction:⁷ "In compiling the New Treatise I have examined and discussed the past, as well as the present age, but I also wish to promote fruitful rule."⁸ Huan T'an places his work in the tradition of Lu Chia's Hsin-yü (New Words),⁹ which has been called a "Fürstenspiegel,"¹⁰ or treatise on statecraft. Huan T'an's classification was accepted by the early T'ang writer Wei Cheng (581-643 A.D.), who presented a handbook of political science, Ch'ün-shu chih-yao (Essentials of Government From All Books), to the throne in 631 A.D.

It is likely that Huan T'an presented his work to Emperor Kuang-wu. It is unlikely that the Emperor would "approve" the Hsin-lun after his argument with Huan T'an in 28 A.D. over the meaning of the prognostications texts. Sung Hung first recommended Huan T'an to Kuang-wu in 26 A.D. as an eminent scholar (see note 60 below). Subsequently, he received two rather insignificant offices¹¹ and apparently pleased Kuang-wu with

his zither performances at state banquets. These very performances may have caused a falling out, however, for they aroused criticism so severe as to force the Emperor to recant publicly his "improper behavior." Huan T'an's status at this time was not helped by his critical memorials to the throne (see fragments 209 and 210). Thus, it is most likely that the Hsin-lun was presented in 26 or 27 A.D., towards the end of Huan T'an's life. Of course, work on the book must have begun much earlier.

Fan Yeh credits Pan Ku with having completed, or edited, the "Ch'in tao" chapter of the Hsin-lun. Since that chapter has been frequently attributed to Huan T'an,¹² it is unlikely that Pan Ku added much of substance to the text. In any case, "Ch'in tao" existed in some form before the Hsin-lun was sent to Kuang-wu. Perhaps it formed a separate book, since Liu Hsin quotes from it in Part 17 of his Ch'i-lüeh, which discusses the principles of court music.

Pan Ku, in his chapter on drains and ditches (Han shu 29), relied heavily on Huan T'an's account (see fragment 208). Apparently, there may have been a sort of personal connection between the two court scholars, although they never met. Pan Ku's father, Pan Piao, taught the young Wang Ch'ung, who greatly admired Huan T'an. The fact that Pan Ku includes the story of Huan T'an's vain attempt to borrow Taoist writings from the Pan family library¹³ in the last chapter of the Han shu, which is devoted to the Pan family, may indicate that Pan Ku associates Huan T'an with the history of his own family. It should also be noted that they were both adherents of the ancient text school.

Fan Yeh also notes that Huan T'an left over twenty-six fascicules of rhyme-prose, eulogies, letters and memorials. This approaches the number found in his Hsin-lun, which is composed of twenty-nine fascicules. In his commentary, the T'ang prince Li Hsien (posthumous name, Chang-huai) reports that the Hsin-lun contained sixteen chapters. Three of these (Chapters 1, 15, 16) were short, while the remaining thirteen were divided into two parts each,¹⁴ in accordance with the wishes of Kuang-wu. Twenty-nine parts or fascicules were created from the sixteen chapters originally compiled by Huan T'an.

Li Hsien's commentary gives the titles of these sixteen chapters. By following Yen K'o-chün's organization of the fragments and comparing the titles given by Li Hsien with similar chapters in the works of other philosophers, we can ascertain the contents of each chapter with some certainty. For instance, the fifteenth chapter, "Mourning a Friend," appears to be devoted to Yang Hsiung, although some eulogies may also have been included in it. The ninth chapter, "Correcting the Classics," discusses the various versions of these ancient texts, and the twelfth chapter, "Speaking on Rhyme-prose," deals, of course, with the fu form. The reconstructed first chapter, which is quite short, gives some background on prominent literary personalities.

Chapters 2 and 3, "Kings and Hegemons" and "Searching for Counsellors," are both concerned with politics and the perennial problem of Chinese administration, how to select eminent advisors. The bulk of Huan T'an's book is devoted to criticism, as is suggested by the titles of five chapters (Chapters 6, 7, 8, 10, 13), "Reprimanding Wrong," "Awakening Insight," "Dispersing Obscurantism," "Recognizing Intelligence," and "Discerning Error."

Efficient criticism presupposes a distinction between right and wrong. Therefore, Huan T'an, like Wang Ch'ung was fascinated by the theory of knowledge. His interest can be seen in the fourth, fifth, and fourteenth chapters, "On Substance," "Observing Evidence" and "Explaining Plans." The eleventh chapter, "Encountering Affairs," is rather informative, dealing with affairs which do not necessarily have any political importance but are of special interest to Huan T'an. This chapter includes, according to Yen's reconstruction, thirty-four fragments, or approximately one-fifth of the entire book.

Several titles in the Hsin-lun are quite similar to those in the Lun-heng: "Reprimanding Wrong" (Ch'ien-fei, Hsin-lun 6) and "Reprimands" (Ch'ien-kao, Lun-heng 42); "Correcting the Classics" (Cheng-ching, Hsin-lun 9) and "Statements Corrected" (Cheng shuo, Lun-heng 81); and "Recognizing Intelligence" (Shih-t'ung, Hsin-lun 10) and "On Intelligence" (Pieh-t'ung, Lun-heng 38). Wang Ch'ung's adaptation of some of Huan T'an's titles is not solely due to chance. Similarly, Huan T'an

adopted Lu Chia's Hsin-yü as one of the models for his own work. In fact, the titles of these two works also demonstrate some similarities: "Mastering Affairs" (Shu shih, Hsin-yü 2) and "Encountering Affairs" (Li shih, Hsin-lun 11); and "Counselling the Government" (Fu-cheng, Hsin-yü 3), and "Searching for Counselors" (Ch'iu fu, Hsin-lun 3).¹⁵ One title, "Discerning Error" (Pien-huo, Hsin-yü 5 and Hsin-lun 13) is common to both works. The words, pien huo are derived from the Analects of Confucius. In drawing from the Classics, both Han philosophers stress "...How virtue was to be exalted and errors discerned,"¹⁶ an emphasis which many later scholars share with these sober, rationalistic Han Confucians.¹⁷ It should also be noted that the 11th chapter of Hsin-tzu bears the same title as Hsin-lun 2, "Kings and Hegemons."

Although most of Huan T'an's life was spent under the rule of the Former Han dynasty and Wang Mang, the Hsin-lun was not included in the bibliographical chapter, Han shu 30, because he died in the Later Han. (However, his musicological work, "Ch'in-tao" was included in the Ch'i-lüeh catalogue.)

The bibliographical chapters of the Chiu and Hsin T'ang-shu¹⁸ tell us that the Hsin-lun was first mentioned some six hundred years later in the bibliographical chapter, Sui-shu ching-chi chih (p. 71),¹⁹ as being a work of seventeen chüan. This number, seventeen, corresponds neither with the sixteen nor the twenty-nine given elsewhere. It is unlikely that the seventeenth chüan was the introduction. Sun's suggestion (Introduction 1a) that the seventeenth chüan was a table of contents is unconvincing. The Hsin-lun subsequently disappears from the bibliographical records of dynastic histories, which indicates that it was no longer part of the Emperor's library. In fact, a Korean source tells us that the Emperor Che-tsung sought to obtain this work from the Koreans in 1091 or 1092 A.D.²⁰

The fact that the work was not in the Emperor's library does not necessarily mean that it had been irretrievably lost. Rather, the library's copy of the Hsin-lun, along with many other books, may have been destroyed during the turmoil after the fall of the T'ang dynasty. Although a printed edition of Wang Ch'ung's Lun-heng was issued in 1045, almost fifty years before

the Chinese asked the Koreans for the Hsin-lun, Huan T'an's book had not been printed. At the end of the T'ang, the Japanese possessed a copy of the work; it was cited in the catalogue, Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku,²¹ written by Fujiwara no Sukeyo (died 898 A.D.), some time before 891.²² However, neither a collection of lost Chinese texts, which was published in Japan in 1797 A.D. under the title I-ts'un ts'ung-shu 佚存, nor a similar collection found in Japan around 1880 A.D.²³ included the Hsin-lun. This suggests that the Hsin-lun in Japan, as in China, was never printed and was probably lost some time after the T'ang.

However, there are quotations from the Hsin-lun in works by authors from the Sung and subsequent dynasties who could not have had access to a printed edition or to the manuscript, which is said to have been lost in either the tenth century (according to Yen) or the Southern Sung (according to Sun). Three Sung writers include quotations: fragment 108 by Wu Shu (947-1002 A.D.), fragment 83 by Yüeh Shih (930-1007 A.D.), and fragment 198 by K'ung P'ing-chung (ca. 1045-1105 A.D.). This last fragment is not included by either Sun nor by Yen. Much of the K'ung P'ing-chung quotation appears to be derived from fragment 104, as is the small fragment 86B quoted by Fang I-chih (1611-1671 A.D.).

New fragments found in later sources are usually included in the second part of the present translation: fragments 188 and 202 from Shuo-fu (end of the Yüan period), fragments 176-187 from Tung Yüeh's (1620-1686 A.D.) Ch'i-kuo k'ao, and fragment 199 from P'ei-wen yün-fu (compiled in 1711 A.D.).

The newly found fragments probably have several origins. Some may have come directly from the Hsin-lun or were quoted in some other source, while others were simply invented. The authenticity of each of the later fragments should be examined individually. Even one of Yen's fragments (78) is unreliable, but only because Yen misread "Ku T'an" for "Huan T'an."²⁴ The authenticity of these fragments is important for some of them represent critical historical information. Tung Yüeh, for instance, relies on Huan T'an for his information about Li K'uei's Canon of Laws, a possible source of ancient Chinese law.²⁵ It is also essential to determine whether Huan T'an's work was available to later philosophers if we are to evaluate his impact on them.²⁶

The existence of quotations from the Hsin-lun in other compilations of the lei-shu type has led some to say that the work must have been extant in the Ming period.²⁷ These compilations include: Wu Shu's "Shih-lei fu" (fragment 108 has been discussed above); Shih-wen lei-chü, compiled by various Sung and Yüan authors; Hsieh Wei-hsin's [Ku-chin] ho-pi shih-lei [pei-yao] (1257 A.D.); Ch'en Yao-wen's T'ien chung-chi (1610 A.D.); Tung Yüeh's Ch'i-kuo k'ao (see fragments 176-187).²⁸ Since these bulky compilations contain no quotations not found elsewhere, I perused only the Ch'i-kuo k'ao.

The theory that the Hsin-lun was in existence during the Ming was also suggested by Ch'üan Tsu-wang²⁹ (1705-1755 A.D.), who cites Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (1582-1664 A.D.) as his authority. Unfortunately, the catalogue of Ch'ien's library, Chiang-yün-lou shu-mu (ed. TSCC), contains no mention of the Hsin-lun. Moriya Mitsuo (Bibliography IIA 14) points out that Ch'ien's ability to refer to the Hsin-lun precisely may have been due to his good friend Chao Ch'ing-ch'ang (1563-1624 A.D.). According to Sun Ts'ung-t'ien (fl. 1759 A.D.) and Ch'en Chun, whose catalogue Shang-shan-t'ang Sung Yüan pan ching-ch'ao chiu-ch'ao shu-mu is found in the Ch'iu-liao-chai ts'ung-shu,³⁰ Chao collated a Sung text of Huan-tzu Hsin-lun in seventeen fascicules. Although the contemporary bibliographer Wang Chung-min, also quoted by Moriya, does not believe the information in this catalogue to be reliable, this particular problem, as well as the compilation of catalogues in the Ming period, should be studied more closely. There may have been much unfounded speculation on the riches of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i's library. It is also said, for instance, that an extremely rare Sung edition of Ou-yang Hsün's encyclopedia, I-wen lei-chü (submitted to the Emperor in 624 A.D.) could be found there, but this too is not listed in the Chiang-yün-lou shu-mu catalogue.³¹ If we were to accept the information given by Sun Ts'ung-t'ien and Ch'en Chun at its face value, we would have to believe that there was a Sung print (pen 本?), collated in the 16th and 17th centuries and known to Sun and Ch'en in the 18th century, which was never seen again. This is hardly possible. (For more detailed discussion, see the studies listed in Bibliography IIA 14 and B 19.)

It should be clear that the existence of a quotation from Hsin-lun in a post-T'ang or a post-Sung work does not mean that the text still existed as a complete book at that time. I have, for instance, translated

fragment 52 from the 18th century dictionary P'ei-wen yün-fu, but we know that the fragment comes from the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan, rather than from a full text of Hsin-lun. The T'ai-p'ing yü-lan is not a primary source. Its editors merely copied, sometimes in a most disorderly fashion, old quotations from earlier encyclopedias. The fact that it was not compiled under the best of circumstances has been indicated by J. W. Haeger in his study, The Significance of Confusion: The Origins of the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan.³² Moreover, the sources of the editions of the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan were earlier lei-shu such as the Hsiu-wen yü-lan (360 chapters) or the Wen-ssu po-yao (1200 chapters), which are now unknown but may have been used by some of those who later quoted from the Hsin-lun. As we have seen, errors are often made in transfers from one edition to another, and the quotations often vary among compilations made throughout the centuries.³³

Therefore, the occurrence of any fragment in texts of this sort between and after the T'ang or Sung periods did not necessarily mean that they came from a full text of the Hsin-lun. However, the fact that after the wide use of printing during the Sung there was a sharp decrease of quotations from the Hsin-lun indicates that something of importance happened to the full text at that time. If it did not disappear completely, it became very rare.

Since some late quotations might have actually, if indirectly, come from the original text of the Hsin-lun, we cannot suspect them in general. At the same time, we cannot ignore the widespread tendency of amending texts which have been lost. Remember, for example, the fate of the text of the Chu-shu chi-nien which disappeared for several centuries before it was rediscovered in 279 A.D., only to disappear again sometime during the Sung to be later supplanted by a Ming fake. Fakery is not uncommon in Chinese literature³⁴ and historical writings.

As for the authenticity of Huan T'an's fragments, the most suspect case is fragment 188, quoted from the introduction to the Fei-yen wai-chuan, where literary motifs were undoubtedly at work. Fragment 202, an anecdote on Kuang-wu, is also highly suspect. In both cases, personalities from the Han history were used--or misused--by two unknown authors who referred

to Huan T'an to lend support to their stories. Only in the second case, that of Chu Yu, did the personality really exist. The second category of fakes, where the history is being elaborated on merely to give it more fullness and detail, is represented by many of the quotations by Tung Yüeh (see especially fragment 176, his large quotation on the Canon on Laws). The fragments on the Ming-t'ang (175) probably fall into the same category. There do not seem to be any such problems with the other recently discovered fragments.

There is also the possibility, however faint, that Huan T'an's Hsin-lun may, in some cases, have been mistaken for some other Hsin-lun, since works by that name were numerous. As mentioned in the note 26 to fragment 84A, T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 375.2b quotes some Hsin-lun, but it is not clear which one is meant. Huan T'an's Hsin-lun was the first. A survey of the other works may be relevant for some future study of the transmission of ideas and attitudes.

The commentary to Wen hsüan 17.13b and 27.12b refers to a Hsin-lun by Chia K'uei (30-101 A.D.), who, like Huan T'an, was an astronomer and adherent of the ancient texts school.³⁵ T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 265.10b and 739.12a quotes another Hsin-lun, by Ying Chü (190-252 A.D.). During the Chin dynasty, there were four authors of such texts--Chou Hsi,³⁶ Hsia-hou Chan (ca. 247-295 A.D.),³⁷ Mei-tzu,³⁸ and Hua T'an (died ca. 320 A.D.). The books by these last three authors, of which we now have only a few fragments, were reconstructed by Ma Kuo-han. A later Hsin-lun is attributed to Liu Hsieh (ca. 465-522 A.D.), the author of the Wen-hsin tiao-lung. The same book is also attributed to Liu Chou (ca. 516-567 A.D.). Wang Shu-min convincingly demonstrated that the author was Liu Chou. The title Hsin-lun was given to the book quite late, during the Sung; the original title was simply Liu-tzu.³⁹

The difference of one character between the names of Huan T'an and Hua T'an has given rise to another important question--who was the author of fragment 84A? This fragment Hsing-shen, included into the Hung-ming chi, was attributed to "Huan T'an of the Chin period." This is clearly impossible; either the "Chin" or the "Huan" must be wrong (see Bibliography IIA 7 and 9). To complicate the matter, these two authors of very similar names both produced a Hsin-lun. Hua T'an

also compiled, among other works, a Han shu,⁴⁰ which indicates his interest in the Han period.

Kung P'ing-chung (ca. 1045-1105 A.D.) was among the Sung authors who quoted Huan T'an. Although K'ung entitled his book Heng-huang Hsin-lun, its contents have nothing to do with Huan T'an's thought. During the Ming period, the philosopher Chan Jo-shui (1466-1560 A.D.),⁴¹ who used the style name of Kan-ch'üan ("Sweet Springs"), wrote, among other things, two works entitled Kan-ch'üan Hsin-lun ("Joyful Treatise of the Sweet Springs") and Yang-tzu che-chung ("Discriminating Sincerity of the Yang-tzu"). There are several references in those titles: Kan-ch'üan clearly refers to the Sweet Springs Palace of the Han; another hsin in Hsin-lun indicates "New Treatise of Huan T'an," and finally Yang-tzu refers to Master Yang or Yang Hsiung.

The abundance of books entitled Hsin-lun (or using "Hsin" as part of their title), as well as the similarities in the names of their authors created confusion even among the medieval bibliographers. Emperor Yüan of Liang (reigned 552-554 A.D.) said in his Chin-lou tzu: "There is a Hsin-lun by Huan T'an and another by Hua T'an. There is a T'ai-hsüan ching by Yang Hsiung and another by Yang Ch'üan. When one deliberates upon it, one sees many mistakes in the form of the characters and in their pronunciation. Someone said, 'If there is a Hsin-lun by Huan T'an, why should there be another by Hua T'an? If there is a T'ai-hsüan ching by Yang-tzu, why should there be another T'ai-hsüan ching?' All [questions like that] originate in improper study."⁴²

Wang Yin-lin (1223-1296 A.D.), in his Yü-hai 62.4a-b, an encyclopedia written for examination candidates, added the following note to a short biography of Huan T'an: "Among Confucian [texts] there is also a Hsin-lun by Hsia-hou Chan in ten chüan, a Hsin-lun by Hua T'an in ten chüan; a Hsin-yen by Ku T'an of Wu in ten fascicules,⁴³ and eight fascicules entitled Hsin-i by Hsüeh Ying;⁴⁴ as well as Chia I's Hsin-shu, Lu Chia's Hsin-yü, Liu Hsiang's Hsin-hsü and P'ei Yüan's Hsin-yen."⁴⁵

The Ch'in-ts'ao and the Ch'in-tao

As mentioned above, our information on the Ch'in-ts'ao is somewhat contradictory. According to

the Tung-kuan Han chi, it originally consisted of one introductory section. This and Fan Yeh tell us that Pan Ku must have been the one to complete it. In the present translation, which is based upon Yen's reconstruction, the Ch'in-ts'ao is found in fragments 169-174. The first of these, based primarily on Li Shan's commentaries to the Wen hsüan, is probably the introductory part mentioned by the Tung-kuan Han shi, since it focuses on the remote past. It is rather improbable that Pan Ku composed all the remaining parts of this "booklet on ch'in ideology," to use the term created by R. H. van Gulik.⁴⁶ It is clear, however, that he was conversant with at least the official court music since Chapter 22 of the Han shu includes a "Treatise on the Rules for Ceremonious Behavior and Music."

Ch'in-tao is not mentioned specifically in the bibliographical chapters of the dynastic histories, perhaps because it was not considered to be a separate book but merely a chapter of the Hsin-lun. Both of the T'ang-shu attribute another work of a similar title, Ch'in-ts'ao,⁴⁷ of two fascicules to Huan T'an. The bibliographies in both of the T'ang histories also refer to another of Huan T'an's musicological books--Yüeh yüan ch'i,⁴⁸ which is also in two fascicules.⁴⁹

Although the titles of the Ch'in-tao and the Ch'in-ts'ao are similar, the content of these books certainly differed. While Ch'in-tao may be translated as "The Way of the Zither" or "The Doctrine of the Zither,"⁵⁰ Ch'in-ts'ao most probably means "Music Performed on the Zither." The Ch'in-ts'ao is generally attributed to Ts'ai Yung (133-192 A.D.), the well-known Late Han scholar. However, his biography in the Hou Han shu does not mention any Ch'in-ts'ao, but refers instead to another music treatise--Hsü yüeh 敘樂 ("Explaining Music").⁵¹ Ch'in-ts'ao by Ts'ai Yung is not cited in any dynastic bibliography nor in the commentaries to the Hou Han shu.

There have been several explanations of these discrepancies. Hou K'ang⁵² quotes Ma Jui-ch'en (1782-1853 A.D.), who suggests that Ch'in-ts'ao might have been a chapter in Ts'ai Yung's Hsü yüeh, just as Ch'in-tao was a chapter of the Hsin-lun. In his view both those works on the ch'in were not cited in dynastic histories because they were merely chapters of larger works. Ma Jui-ch'en also points to some contradictions

between both Ch'in-ts'ao and Ch'in-tao which establish that they were not composed by the same author.⁵³ Finally, Ma Jui-ch'en points out that a commentary to Wen hsüan quotes from Hsin-lun the same lines that Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao quotes from Ch'in-ts'ao⁵⁴ and suggests that such identical quotations might represent a contamination of the works. Hou K'ang feels that Ma's explanation is ingenious but believes that it does not establish Huan T'an's authorship. We might add (see note 48 above) that the Chiu T'ang-shu does not attribute the Ch'in-tao to anyone. The author of the Hsin T'ang-shu, who must always differ with the Chiu T'ang-shu, may have included the information on its authorship merely out of contrariness.

The problem of the authorship of Ch'in-ts'ao, however, is even more complicated. The bibliographies in Sui shu, the two T'ang-shu, Sung-shih and some Sung catalogues attribute the Ch'in-ts'ao (in one or three fascicules) to the Chin author K'ung Yen (268-320 A.D.).⁵⁵ This attribution is supported by forty quotations from the Ch'in-ts'ao in the commentaries to the Wen hsüan. K'ung Yen's work disappeared, as did Huan T'an's Hsin-lun, after the Sung dynasty.

Huang Shih collected the fragments of Ch'in-ts'ao in his great work, Han-hsüeh-t'ang ts'ung-shu, the part I-shu k'ao (Lost Books) 49.1-43a. A reconstruction of Ch'in-ts'ao which followed Sun Hsing-yen's (1753-1808 A.D.) edition in the P'ing-chin-kuan ts'ung-shu was republished in the collection Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, along with a detailed introduction (dated 1805 A.D.) by Ma Jui-ch'en. Ma, who believed that Huan T'an was not the author of the work, also says that K'ung Yen was not the author but only a continuer of the work of Ts'ai Yung. Ma finds that the Ch'in-ts'ao contains ideas identical to those in Ts'ai Yung's "Rhyme-prose on the Ch'in" as quoted in the Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao; this coincidence, he feels, is proof of Ts'ai Yung's authorship. It should be pointed out, however, that the range of ideas and information in literature on the ch'in was rather limited by the orthodoxy inherent in the subject. There are many coincidences, but only some of them are meaningful in proof of shared authorship.

Ma Jui-ch'en's arguments are ingenious, but the fact remains that no bibliographical chapter in the

dynastic histories attributes the Ch'in-ts'ao to Ts'ai Yung. On the contrary, two other authors--Huan T'an and K'ung Yen--are cited.

Whoever wrote the Ch'in-ts'ao--it may not have been any one single person--it is clear that the Ch'in-tao and the Ch'in-ts'ao were two distinct books despite some confusion that created by their similar titles. The aim of the Ch'in-tao has been discussed above.⁵⁶ According to R. H. van Gulik, the existing Ch'in-ts'ao is a collection of approximately fifty ancient melodies; the work contains no musical notation.⁵⁷ It is possible that Huan T'an was associated with the Ch'in-ts'ao. For instance, on page 26a, the Ch'in-ts'ao mentions a "Song on Dragon and Snake" by Chieh Tzu-sui, whom Huan T'an mentions in fragment 132 (see also note 77 ibid.). A relatively old source, the Ch'in-shih (History of the Lute) by Chu Ch'ang-wen (1041-1100 A.D.), says: "Both Huan T'an and K'ung Yen collected zither melodies, while Ma Yung and Ts'ai Yung, following in the footsteps of the great Confucians, in their time loved the art [of playing the zither] greatly."⁵⁸ Chu Ch'ang-wen clearly differentiates between the two pairs of ch'in devotees. He links Huan T'an with K'ung Yen--three centuries apart--and Ma Yung (79-166 A.D.) with Ts'ai Yung--near contemporaries. Because of Huan T'an's unorthodox activities in the Bureau of Music, disbanded in 7 B.C., which, among other things, collected tunes, Chu Ch'ang-wen's description of Huan T'an's activities (chi ch'in-ts'ao 集琴操) is not surprising.

Although there is no definitive proof that Huan T'an wrote the Ch'in ts'ao, it is probably not too far-fetched to suggest that he had some share in this book, considering the slow process by which such folklore collections come into being.

Other Works by Huan T'an

According to Huan T'an's biography, in addition to his Hsin-lun he "wrote twenty-six fascicules of rhyme-prose, eulogies, letters and memorials."⁵⁹

One of Huan T'an's fu, "Rhyme-prose on Looking for the Immortals," translated in fragment 205, reveals an unorthodox and Taoist spirit, but it does not contribute much to our understanding of Huan T'an and Chinese poetry.⁶⁰ The other fu is mentioned only in Pei-

t'ang shu-ch'ao 102.3b: "Huan T'an of Later Han, whose style name was Chün-shan, criticized and scorned all Confucianists. At seventy years of age, he was appointed to fill a vacancy as Assistant Administrator of the [distant] Commandery of Liu-an. Affected [by his exile], he wrote a short fu contemplating the Great Tao. Later he fell ill..."⁶¹ The Ch'ing scholar Ku Huai-san reported, that as of his time, "one may now examine" two of Huan T'an's fu.⁶² Evidently, he meant that the Ch'ing scholars had information on the "Ta-tao fu," not that it was still in existence at that time.

All the other works referred to in the biography may have been part of his "Literary Works" (T'an-chi), mentioned by Li Shan⁶³ at the beginning of the T'ang. It is, therefore, surprising that the bibliographical chapter of the Sui shu⁶⁴ tells us that the five chüan of Huan T'an's chi 種 譯 集 are lost (wang 亡). The same bibliography⁶⁵ does mention a Huan-tzu in one chüan, but it probably has no connection with Huan T'an, since "Huan-tzu" is used only to refer to the man Huan T'an and never to his work. The Ch'i-lu by Juan Hsiao-hsü (479-536 A.D.)⁶⁶ also credits the "Literary Works of Huan T'an" with five chüan,⁶⁷ but both of the T'ang shu mention only two.⁶⁸ This may indicate that part of Huan T'an's writings had been lost by the time of the T'ang shu.

It is still unclear whether some fragments related in Huan T'an's biography (see fragments 206-210) belong to his Hsin-lun or to his "Literary Writings" or are quoted by the historian Fan Yeh from some other source. The fragments 211 and 212 (pien-i 便宜), like fragments 209 and 210, appear to be actual proposals made to Kuang-wu. The last fragment, 215 (Shang-shih 上事), may also be such a proposal, but the word shih ("affair") indicates that it had an informational, rather than an admonishing purpose. The fragments 211-213 and 215 might have come from Huan's memorials (tsou 奏), mentioned by Fan Yeh. Of the letters (shu 書), only two short fragments still exist--one from Huan T'an's answer to a letter from Yang Hsiung (fragment 214) and another from a letter to Tung Hsien.⁶⁹

Finally, it should be made clear that another work, Ch'i-shuo 七說, was not written by Huan T'an. The commentary to Wen hsüan 4.29a quotes a very short fragment (five characters) of "Huan T'an's Ch'i-shuo." Another fragment from the Ch'i-shuo is mentioned

in the commentary to Wen hsüan 60.35a, but in this case the work is attributed to Huan Lin 桓麟. There is a short biography of Huan Lin (ca. 130-170 A.D.) (apparently the same man with a slight graphical variation in his name) in Hou Han shu 27 (p. 1338) which includes some shuo in a list of his works. Li Hsien's commentary quotes a more precise source, which calls them Ch'i-shuo ("Seven Explanations" or "Seven Persuasions"). This is corroborated by the Wen-hsin tiao-lung 3:14 (Shih, p. 75), in which Huan Lin's work is compared with other writings in groups of seven.⁷⁰ Thus, the Wen hsüan 4.29a reference is clearly a mistake and should be read Huan Lin instead of Huan T'an.

Summary of Works

Hsin-lun 新論 (New Treatise), 16 chapters divided into 29 parts. Lost after the T'ang or Sung dynasties.

"Ch'in-tao" 琴道 (The Way of the Zither), last chapter of the Hsin-lun, completed and edited by Pan Ku.

"Ch'in-ts'ao" 琴操 (Music Performed on the Zither), in two chüan, referred to only by the Hsin T'ang-shu. Also attributed to Ts'ai Yung and K'ung Yen.

Yüeh-yüan-ch'i 樂元起, in two chüan, lost.

T'an chi 譚集 (Literary Works), five, and later two chüan.

"Wang-hsien fu" 望仙賦 (Rhyme-prose on Looking for Immortals), in existence; "Ta-tao fu" 大道賦 (Rhyme-prose on the Great Way), known only by title.

Reports quoted in Huan T'an's biography.

"Shang pien-i" 上便宜, "Ch'en pien-i" 陳便宜, "Ch'i-shih" 啓事, "Shang-shih" 上事.

Two letters.

Erroneous attributions: Huan T'an pieh-chuan 桓譚別傳, post-Sung fragments; Ch'i-shuo 七說.

Special case: "Hsing-shen" 形神.

NOTES: HUAN T'AN'S WORK AND ITS TRANSMISSION

1. Before Huan T'an's clash with Kuang-wu in 28 A. D.
2. Lun 論 is a literary term which, in the Han dynasty, acquired a special, emphatic meaning stressing the actuality of the text and the importance of its words. The original meaning of the character, as in the title of the Lun-yü of Confucius, was "to discuss, to reason, to argue." The term lun might have had a pointedly Confucian connotation, as Ho Liang-chün pointed out in his Ssu-yu-chai ts'ung-shuo (first published in 1567 A.D.): "From the Eastern Han there came Huan T'an's Hsin-lun, Wang Chieh-hsin's (or Wang Fu) Ch'ien-fu lun, Ts'ui Shih's Cheng-lun, Chung-ch'ang T'ung's Ch'ang-yen, and Wang Ch'ung's Lun-heng. From the Wei there came Hsü Kan's Chung-lun. Even if everyone of (those authors) had his own point of view, not one resembles the various Taoist philosophers. Their works were called lun and (were thus) distinguished from other philosophers." (Shanghai: 1959, p. 185) This work was republished in the series Yüan Ming shih-liao pi-chi ts'ung-k'an. By mentioning Chung-ch'ang Tung's Ch'ang-yen, Ho Liang-chün includes books like the Fa-yen (Model Words) by Yang Hsiung, a "hard-line" Confucian. The word hsin in the title Hsin-lun has its own meaning. See the explanation of the chapter titles below.
3. I.e., Kuang-wu.
4. I.e., Emperor Chang.
5. Tung-kuan Han chi 69b: "Only "The Way of the Zither" was not yet complete; there was only one introductory section of it." Emperor Chang probably ordered Pan Ku to complete the Ch'in-tao in the year 85 A.D., since it was in that year that he decided to reorganize the ritual and music. See his edict on the subject in Hou Han shu 35, p. 1269. Emperor Chang must have been very pleased by this chapter for in that same year he gave Huan T'an posthumous honors during his imperial tour in the East by ordering sacrifices at Huan T'an's tomb (cf. Huan T'an's biography, p. 1018). This show of respect, almost sixty years after Huan T'an's death, was probably not bestowed on the man so much as it was an indication by the Emperor's interest in re-establishing Huan's conception of music which had been in

disrepute for almost 100 years. (The Bureau of Music, of which Huan T'an was the Prefect, had been abolished in July 7 B.C.)

6. Hou Han shu 28A, p. 1018; T. Pokora, "The Life," pp. 33-34.

7. The poet Yü Hsin (513-581 A.D.) mentions that Huan T'an wrote a postface (hsü). Perhaps fragment 2B may be interpreted in this sense. See fragment 204, comm. and note 80.

8. Fragment 2B.

9. Ibid. Note the significance of the word hsin ("new").

10. A. Gabain, "Ein Fürstenspiegel: Das Sin-yü des Lu Kia," MSQS 33 (1930), pp. 1-82.

11. Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 21 and note 39.

12. See the section below on the "Ch'in-tao" and the "Ch'in-ts'ao."

13. See fragment 81, note 15. It should be specified that the 100th chapter of the Han shu mentions not Huan T'an, but Huan Sheng 桓生 (100A, p. 5819). Yen Shih-ku was the first to identify Huan Sheng with Huan T'an. However, in the time of Huan T'an, there did exist one Huan Sheng who is mentioned in Han shu 88, pp. 5170, as a specialist in ritual; he is also referred to in Liu Hsin's biography in Han shu 36, p. 3423, as Huan Kung 桓公 from Lu. Clearly, he was a typical Confucian scholar. Nevertheless, Yen Shih-ku's opinion was generally accepted; see, for example, Ch'ien Mu, "Liu Hsiang Hsin fu-tzu nien-p'u," Ku-shih pien 5 (1935), p. 133. In view of the personal relations discussed above, I believe Yen's suggestion to be correct. Perhaps Pan Ku did not give the name correctly because he did not want to ridicule Huan T'an as Pan Ssu had done.

14. Tung-kuan Han chi, as quoted by Li Hsien, says: "When Kuang-wu read it, he decreed that the scrolls were too long and should all be divided into two parts..."

15. Translation of A. Gabain: Die Methode, Die Regierung stützen.

16. See Analects XII:x:l; Legge, p. 256.
17. My paper, "The Necessity..." in ArOr 30 (1962), pp. 247-250, points out at least two philosophers who entitled their works Pien-huo. These were Hsieh Ying-fang (ca. 1300-1397 A.D.) and Ku Liang (15th-16th century A.D.). Other philosophers of the Sung and Ming periods are also discussed in this connection.
18. T'ang shu ching-chi i-wen ho chih (Shanghai: 1956), p. 170.
19. The separate edition of the chapter (Shanghai: 1956).
20. The list of the 118 books which he sought is given in Koryŏ-sa 10 (P'yongyang: 1957), p. 151. For background information on the Chinese mission, see M. C. Rogers, "Sung-Koryŏ Relations: Some Inhibiting Factors," in Oriens, No. 11 (1-2) (1958), pp. 194-202, especially p. 200.
21. Ohase Keikichi (1865-1944 A.D.), ed., Nihonkoku genzaisho mokoroku kaisetsukō (Tokyō: 1956), p. 11, mentions a Hsin-lun in 17 fascicules.
22. For information on this catalogue, see P. Pelliot, BEFEO, No. 2 (1902), p. 333; BEFEO, No. 9 (1909), p. 401; TP, No. 13 (1912), p. 495; and especially, P. van der Loon, TP, No. 41 (1952), p. 369, note 3.
23. P. Pelliot, BEFEO, No. 2 (1902), p. 315.
24. A similar mistake of Ku T'an for Huan T'an is made by the Harvard-Yenching indices to the TPYL (p. 234) and to the bibliographical chapters (I-wen chih erh-shih chung tsung-ho yin-te, p. 212), as well as by Yao Chen-tsung in his Hou Han shu i-wen chih (who refers to Chang Tsung-yüan, Sui-shu ching-chi chih k'ao-cheng; see Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien, II, p. 2371). These three works refer to a Huan T'an pieh-chuan. Chang Tsung-yüan wonders why this work is not mentioned in the bibliographical chapters of the Sui and T'ang shu. Moreover, the Huan T'an pieh-chuan, as quoted in TPYL 775.3b-4a, says that Huan T'an went to Chiao-chih, as well as to the state of Wu; no such trip is mentioned in his biography in Hou Han shu 28A. In fact, the earliest reference to Chiao-chih appears in Hou Han shu 1B, p. 63, which concerns the year 40 A.D. The explanation is

simple: the character "Ku" has been mistaken for "Huan." For Ku T'an, see the fragment 78.

25. See Bibliography, IIIB 7 and IIA 15. In my article, "The Canon of Laws by Li K'uei--A Double Falsification," pp. 113-16, I discuss the date of the disappearance of the Hsin-lun.

26. See my article, "The Necessity," ArOr, No. 30 (1962), pp. 246-50.

27. For example, according to Huang Hui, Lun-heng chiao-shih (p. 1025), the [Ku-chin] Shih-wen lei-chü 21 quotes Huan-tzu Hsin-lun, as follows, "There is a proverb of Kuan-tung: 'When the people hear the music of Ch'ang-an, they come out of the gates, look towards the west and laugh.'" These lines are actually a small part of fragment 79A, which is frequently quoted in pre-Sung sources.

28. See Chung-kuo che-hsüeh-shih tzu-liao hsüan-chi: Liang Han chih pu (Peking: 1960), p. 207.

29. Chi-ch'i t'ing wai pien, 40. 15a-16a (ed. SPTK).

30. See the 1929 edition, p. 260. Another, shortened title of the work is used: Shang-shan-t'ang shu-mu.

31. This edition was republished in Peking in 1959. See D. Holzman, RBS 5, No. 586. For Wang Chung-min's short study of the catalogue, see his "Chiang-yün-lou shu-mu pa" ("Postface to the Catalogue of Chiang Yun Lou, the Library of Ch'ien Ch'ien-yi"), Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan yüeh-k'an (Bulletin of the National Library of Peking), No. 3 (5) (1929), pp. 577-79.

32. JAOS, No. 88 (3) (1968), pp. 401-10. The haphazard editing of the TPYL resulted in the inclusion of several different versions of a single Hsin-lun fragment.

33. Wang I-t'ung described this phenomenon, using the example of the Tzu-hai dictionary in his article, "Tz'u-hai k'an-wu" in Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, No. 2 (1960), pp. 131-42.

34. The influence of falsely attributed works and imitations was studied by Liang Jung-jo in "Chung-kuo

wen-hsüeh-shih shang ti wei-tso i-tso yü ch'i ying-hsiang," Tung-hai hsüeh-pao, VI (1) (1964), pp. 41-53.

35. Chia K'uei's Hsin-lun is not mentioned in the Hou Han shu, but Chia K'uei's biography discusses him with Huan T'an and Cheng Hsing (Hou Han shu 36, p. 1316).

36. See Wen T'ing-shih (1856-1904 A.D.), Pu Chin-shu I-wen chih, p. 3754 (in Er-shih-wu shih pu-pien III), quoting from PTSC 63 (9b). TPYL 241.9b gives the name as Chou Shao.

37. Hsia-hou Chan was a friend of the poet P'an Yu. For P'an Yu, see note 23 to fragment 84A. For Hsia-hou Chan, see note 26 to fragment 84A.

38. As early as the time of the bibliographical chapter of the Sui shu, p. 72 (see note 19 above), nothing was known of Mei-tzu.

39. Wang Shu-min, "Liu-tzu chi-cheng," introduction to the Monographs of the Institute of History and Language, XLIV (T'aipei: 1961), particularly p. 6a-b.

40. Wen T'ing-shih (see note 36 above), p. 3717, quotes this work from PTSC 62 (9b), but he feels that Hua T'an may have been confused with Hua Ch'iao (died 293 A.D.), who compiled a Hou Han shu.

41. Ming-shih 288.3b-4b.

42. Chapter "Tsa chi," 13B, p. 16b, in the Chih-pu-tsou-chai ts'ung shu edition. See also the introduction to Sun's edition, 4a.

43. Ku T'an lived in the 3rd century A.D. The reconstruction of his work is entitled Ku-tzu hsin yü: see fragment 78.

44. Hsüeh Ying died in 282 A.D. See San kuo chih, Wu chih 8.

45. P'ei Yüan is known as P'ei Hsüan 裴玄. He was a contemporary of Hsüeh Ying.

46. See R. H. van Gulik, The Lore of the Chinese Lute: An Essay in Ch'in Ideology, Monumenta Nipponica Monographs (Tokyo: 1941).

47. P. 31 (see note 18 above). Chiu T'ang-shu does not mention the author of the Ch'in-ts'ao. It is surprising that none of the works attributed to Huan T'an is mentioned in the bibliographical chapter of the Sui shu.
48. Ibid.
49. Tseng P'u (1871-1935 A.D.), in his Pu Hou Han shu i-wen chih p'ing k'ao (Er-shih-wu shih pu-pien II, p. 2581), proposes that the title should read Yueh-yuan yü and refers to a book written by King Hsien of Ho-chien (155-130 B.C.). Tjan Tjoe-som, Po-hu t'ung I (p. 105), however, says that Yueh-yüan yü is a wei appendix to the Book of Music.
50. R. H. van Gulik, "The Lore," p. 34 (see note 46 above), explains that Ch'in-tao means, "...the inner significance of the Lute, and how to apply this in order to find in the Lute a means for reaching enlightenment."
51. Hou Han shu 90B, p. 2169.
52. Pu Hou-Han shu i-wen chih (Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien II, p. 2110).
53. Ibid.
54. Wen hsüan 31.4b and PTSC 132.6b--fragment 171; quoted only partially in some sources.
55. For a detailed account, see Juan Yüan (1764-1849 A.D.), Ssu-k'ü wei-shou shu-mu t'i-yao (Shanghai: 1955), p. 12.
56. See note 50.
57. P. 167 (see note 46 above).
58. Ch'in-shih 6, according to the Chinese text reprinted by van Gulik (pp. 55-56); my translation differs in some points from his.
59. See note 6 above.
60. Liu Hsieh was critical of Huan T'an's "Wang-hsien fu." Wen-hsin tiao-lung 10:47, p. 110.2, states: "[The owner of] Huan T'an's works is said to be as rich

as I Tun, and Sung Hung has praised and recommended him. But, in comparison with [the rhyme-prose of Ssu-ma] Hsiang-ju and other rhyme-prose written in the Palace of the Assembled Spirits, Huan's is definitely shallow and lacking in talent. Therefore, we know that he excelled in his satirical treatise [i.e., the Hsin lun] but could not come up to [the necessary level of] polite literature." This cryptic statement by Liu Hsieh was misunderstood by V. Y. C. Shih, The Literary Mind, p. 253: "Huan T'an's works have been acclaimed as being as rich as I Tun, and Sung Hung has compared him to [Ssu-ma] Hsiang-ju in his recommendation. However, judged on the basis of his own 'fu on the Palace of Chi-ling' and other works, he is definitely shallow and lacking in talent...." In note 27, Shih refers to Sung Hung's biography where Huan T'an is compared to Yang Hsiung, Liu Hsiang and to Liu Hsin, but not to Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju.

In fact, Liu Hsieh's text paraphrases Wang Ch'ung's Lun-heng (20:61, p. 862; Forke, II, p. 274), which compares Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's invitation from Emperor Wu with Yang Hsiung's participation in the imperial hunts of Emperor Ch'eng. The point of similarity is the fact that Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, Yang Hsiung and Huan T'an served their rulers both as officials and as poets. Forke misunderstood the text in translating the name "I Tun." For I Tun, see Watson, Records II, p. 483; for a correction of Forke, see P. Pelliot, in JA, XX (1912), p. 165; for Sung Hung, see Hou Han shu 26, p. 956. In any case, Huan T'an wrote no "Fu on the Palace of Chi-ling." Sung Hung is evidently Sung Chung-weng of the fragment 45.

61. PTSC 102.3b is probably based upon Hsieh Ch'eng's Hou Han shu, quoted by Yao Chih-yin in Hou-Han-shu pu-i 4a; see also Hui Tung's commentary in Hou-Han shu chi-chieh 28A, p. 1018, and Huan T'an's Fu (bibliography IIB 48), p. 355, notes 10-11.

62. Pu Hou-Han shu i-wen chih, Er-shih-wu shih pu-pien II, p. 2270.

63. See the beginning of the commentary to fragment 190.

64. P. 112 (cf. note 19 above).

65. P. 78. "Huan-tzu" is also listed in the third part of the Sui-shu bibliography, which is devoted to

the philosophers, as "Huan T'an's Hsin-lun;" although the Hsin-lun belongs to the category of Confucian writings, "Huan-tzu" is listed among the miscellany. Ch'en Te-yün, Ku chin jen-wu pieh-ming so-yin (1937), pp. 82-83 (reprint, T'aipei: 1965), lists four men from the Ch'un-ch'iu period, one from the Warring States period and one from the Chin dynasty who used Huan-tzu as a second name.

66. The reference to Ch'i-lu is from Tseng P'u, Pu Hou Han shu i-wen chih p'ing k'ao, Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien II, p. 2542, which does not give the name of Juan Hsiao-hsü, who lived during that dynasty.

67. Ku Huai-san (note 62 above), p. 2270, states that during the Liang dynasty there were also five chüan. He does not give his source for this statement but he evidently means Juan Hsiao-hsü who lived during that dynasty. See preceding note 66.

68. P. 291 (see note 18 above).

69. For two letters from Yang Hsiung to Huan T'an, see note 12 to fragment 80C and note 123 to fragment 214. For another letter to Tung Hsien, see fragment 207.

70. See also Hervouet, Sseu-ma Hsiang-jou, p. 157, note 2.

List of Abbreviations

- AM Asia Major.
- Ar Or Archiv Orientální.
- BEFEO Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- BMFEA Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.
- BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
- DKJ Morohashi Tetsuji, Dai Kan Wa Jiten, Vol. 1-13, Tokyo, 1960.
- ECCP A. H. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period. Vol. 1-2, Washington, 1943-44.
- HFHD H. H. Dubs, The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku. Vol. 1-3, Baltimore, 1938, 1944, 1954.
- HJAS Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.
- IWLC I-wen lei-chü. See Bibliography IIIA 23.
- JA Journal Asiatique.
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- JAS Journal of Asian Studies.
- Liang Han pu-fen Chung-kuo che-hsüeh-shih tzu-liao hsüan-chi. Liang Han pu-fen. Peking, 1960. See Bibliography I 7.
- MH E. Chavannes, Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien. Vol. I-V. Paris, 1895-1905; reprinted with VIth additional volume, Paris, 1968-69.
- MSOS Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen.

- PTSC Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao, see Bibliography IIIA 37.
- Pu-pien Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien. See Bibliography IV 3, 32, 54, 75, 90.
- PWYF P'ei-wen yün-fu. See Bibliography IIIA 38.
- RBS Révue bibliographique de sinologie.
- SPPY Ssu-pu pei-yao.
- SPTK Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an.
- Sun Sun P'ing-i, Huan-tzu Hsin-lun. See Bibliography I 1.
- TP T'oung Pao.
- TSCC Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng.
- WYWK Wan-yu wen-k'u.
- Yen Yen K'o-chün, Huan-tzu Hsin-lun. See Bibliography I 2.
- ZDMG Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

I. HSIN-LUN (New Treatise)

As Reconstructed by Yen K'o-chün

Chapter 1. Creation

1

Commentary to the Wen hsüan 40.17b. Yen 13.2a. Sun 14a.

The Ch'in chancellor¹ Lü Pu-wei encouraged his noble and excellent scholars to compose the Spring and Autumn of Mr. Lü. The King of Huai-nan [Liu An] of the Han dynasty enticed his brilliant and penetrating scholars to write sections and chapters [of the book Huai-nan-tzu]. When they were finished,² both books were put on display at the market place in the capital, and a reward of one thousand catties of gold was publicly offered to attract scholars to criticize the books. Nevertheless, no one was able to propose any change. Their contents were concise and captivating, their substance full and language subtle.

2

A TYPL 976.5b

Yen 13.2a. Sun 26a.

Tung Chung-shu concentrated all his spirit on handing down the past. Before he reached the age of sixty he did not glance at the greens in the garden.³

B TPYL 602.3b

Yen 13.2a. Sun 23a.

I have written the New Treatise in order to examine and discuss the past and the present, but I also wish to promote successful government. How does this differ from the praise and blame given in the Ch'un ch'iu! There are now people who doubt everything. They say that the oyster is not a bivalve, that two times five is not ten.

I, Huan T'an, wrote my New Treatise, after having consulted Liu Hsiang's New Arrangement, and Lu Chia's New Words.⁴ In his parables⁵ Chuang Chou mentions that Yao questioned Confucius; Huai-nan-tzu says that the

boundaries of earth were smashed when Kung-kung was fighting to become Emperor.⁶ Everyone believes that these are ridiculous statements, and therefore many people now say that these are deficient books which cannot be used. But nobody understands the space under Heaven better than a sage. Although there are unfounded and outrageous passages in Chuang Chou and those other books, we must use what is best in them. How dare we talk of rejecting them completely?⁷

NOTES: CHAPTER 1

1. The edition by Yen K'o-chün (hereafter Yen) does not give the title hsiang 相 ("chancellor").
2. Yen's text has shu 書 ("book").
3. The story of Tung Chung-shu may be found in his biography in the Shih chi (121, p. 26; O. Franke, *Studien zur Geschichte*, p. 91): "For three years Tung Chung-shu did not look at his cottage and garden. Such was his spiritual force!" Wang Ch'ung also relates this story in his Lun-heng (26 p. 370; A. Forke, I, p. 504) but, in his usual skeptical way, he adds that three years is an exaggeration. Later, this anecdote, which praises Tung Chung-shu's zealous study of the Ch'un ch'iu while revealing a rather ironical attitude towards his bookishness, was adopted by Han Yü, who, in turn, was criticized for it by Chu Hsi. Cf. T. Pokora, "The Need for a More Thorough Study of the Philosopher Wang Ch'ung and of his Predecessors," pp. 238-239.
4. An autobiographical fragment by Lu Hsi, which is quoted in his biography (Chin shu 54.11b), says, "Liu Hsiang examined [Lu Chia's] New Words and wrote his New Arrangement. Huan T'an studied the New Arrangement and wrote his New Treatise."
5. Yü-yen ("parables") is the title of Chuang-tzu Chapter 27, translated by J. Legge as "Metaphorical Language" and by J. R. Ware as "Symbols." But the discussion between Yao and Confucius is mentioned neither there nor in the other chapters of the existing text of Chuang-tzu. Huan T'an apparently was speaking, not of the title of Chapter 27 nor of metaphors in general, but of fiction (hsü 虛) as opposed to fact (shih 實):
 Huan T'an's use of the term yü-yen can best be understood in the context of the analyses by Ju. L. Kroll, who offered much helpful advice on this manuscript, especially on those sections derived from Huan T'an's biography (fragments 206-10). Kroll writes in his letter of June 5, 1965:
 When studying the Shih chi I came upon an interesting device, a Han term denoting fictive speech put into the mouth of a fictive personality. This term, yü-yen 寓言, has usually been translated as "allegory." At the beginning of Chuang Tzu's Chapter 27,

entitled Yü-yen, the term is explained as words put into the mouth of an outsider (according to the commentary, "a fictive personality") in the hope that those words will be more readily believed because the outsider is not interested in the matter.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien uses the expression (Shih chi 63, p. 10) as a ready-made term for a certain literary device. (He believes that everything written by Chuang Tzu is just yü-yen.) Liu Hsiang, in his Pieh lu (*ibid.*, quoted in the So-yin commentary), also explains the term: "Again, [Chuang Tzu] created the surnames and personal names of people, having them talk with one another. This means he put words in [the mouths] of these people. In Chuang-tzu there is, therefore, a chapter entitled "Words put [into the mouths of others]." Liu Hsiang felt that such an approach had also been used in Lieh-tzu. Finally, Pan Ku applied the term of the rhyme-prose by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju (Han shu 100 B, p. 5866).

Thus we have before us the tradition of "fiction," including invented dialogue, which reaches from the philosophers of the Warring Kingdoms period to the Han rhyme-prose. There is an opposed tradition, centered upon "real facts" (shih-shih 實事) and represented by Ssu-ma Ch'ien. As a matter of fact, Ssu-ma Ch'ien systematically evaluated the works of Chuang-tzu and Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju with the terms shih 實 and hsü 虛, and states that they contain much "fiction" (hsü, k'ung-yü 空語) and exaggeration.

Also see Kroll's book on Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Syma Czjan-istorik, pp. 43-45.

6. This legend is explained in detail in Chapter 31 ("T'an t'ien") of Wang Ch'ung's Lun-heng.

7. It is difficult to explain why Yen combined these two quite different fragments. However, this is typical of his approach in editing Huan T'an.

Chapter 2. Kings and Hegemons

3

A The Cheng-i commentary to Shih chi 5, p. 54;¹

TPYL 77.5a.

Yen 13.2a-b Sun 11a.

In the distant past Three Sovereigns and Five Supreme Rulers were established. Later, there were Three Kings and Five Hegemons. These were the highest rulers in the world. Therefore, it is said that the Three Sovereigns regulated² by using the Way, while the Five Supreme Rulers achieved moral transformation through virtue. The Three Kings followed benevolence and righteousness, while the Five Hegemons used authority and knowledge.

It has been said: When there were no laws, regulations, chastisements or punishments, the ruler was called "Sovereign." When there were laws and regulations but no chastisements or punishments, the ruler was called "Supreme Ruler." When the good were rewarded, the bad punished, and the feudal rulers came to court to perform their duties, the ruler was called "King." When armies were raised, alliances pledged, and sincerity and righteousness used to reform the age, the ruler was called "Hegemon."

B I lin 3.7a.

Yen 13.2b. Sun 4b-5a.

The Three Sovereigns ruled by using the Way. The Five Supreme Rulers achieved moral transformation through virtue. The Three Kings followed benevolence and righteousness. The Five Hegemons used authority and knowledge. When there were no regulations, chastisements or punishments, [the ruler] was called Supreme Ruler. When the good were rewarded, the bad punished, and the feudal rulers came to court, [the ruler] was called King. When huge armies were raised and alliances and vows pledged,³ [the ruler] was called Hegemon.⁴

King [wang 王] means "to go towards" [wang 往]. This means that, because his kindness and favor are great, the Empire comes to the King. The Way of the King is pure; his virtue is like that. The Way of the Hegemon is dappled and mixed; his achievement is like this. They both possess the Empire and rule

over myriads of people. Their rule passes down to their sons and grandsons. They are the same in substance.

This fragment can also be found in Chao Jui's (8th century A.D.) Ch'ang-tuan ching 3.27a (in the "Shih pien" 通變 chapter); in edition Tu-shu chai ts'ung-shu. It is a short mixture of 3A and 3B. A very short version of 3B can be found in T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 403.3b.

Cf. Liang-Han chih pu II, p. 351.

4

Commentary to the Wen hsüan 48.25b. Yen 13.2b. Sun 14b.

For a long time T'ang and Wu dwelt as chiefs of the region among the feudal lords. Their virtue and kindness reached the hundred families.

5

Ch'u-hsüeh chi 9.17b.

Yen 13.2b. Sun 18a.

The virtue of a ruler who follows the Way of Kings supports and encompasses, and thus unites with Heaven.

6

A TPYL 77.5a.

Yen 13.2b-3a. Sun 20a.

One of the literati might say, "If one unsuccessfully aspires to become a true king, he may yet become a hegemon."⁵ This statement is incorrect. Tradition says, "Among Confucians even boys five cubits tall⁶ do not discuss the affairs of the Five Hegemons because they oppose the hegemons' disregard of benevolence and righteousness and for might and deception."⁷

B I lin 3.7a.

Yen 13.2b. Sun 5a.

If one unsuccessfully aspires to become a true king, he may yet become a hegemon.⁸

NOTES: CHAPTER 2

1. The text of the Shih chi to which the Cheng-i commentary is attached refers to the year 343 B.C. (the nineteenth year of the Duke Hsiao of Ch'in) and says, according to Chavannes' translation: "Le dix-neuvième année, les Fils du Ciel conféra [au duc Hsiao] le titre d'hégémon," (in the nineteenth year, the Son of Heaven gave the title of Hegemon to Duke Hsiao); MH II, p. 66 (and I, p. 304).
2. "Regulate" is li 理. Yen's text has chih 治 ("to rule"), taken from 3B.
3. Again, Yen adds two characters from 3B.
4. The 3A text has po 伯 for "hegemon," while 3B has pa 霸. Huan T'an's terminology is also used by Wang Ch'ung. Cf. Lun-heng I, p. 3; Forke, Lun-heng II, p. 32 and note 4.
5. Hsü Yüeh makes a similar statement at the end of his memorial to Emperor Wu. Cf. Shih chi 112, p. 20; Watson, The Records II, p. 231. Hsü Yüeh says that he has heard this statement, but neither he nor the commentary refers to a specific source. Later, the very text used here is quoted by Wang Ch'ung as a proverb. Cf. Lun-heng 4, p. 29; Forke, I, p. 315. Wang Ch'ung adds, "Hegemons are frustrated pretenders to the King's throne."
6. This term is used in Mencius III:I:IV:17; Legge, p. 256. A similar term, "of six cubits" is used in the Analects VIII:6; Legge, p. 210, translated this as referring to a child of about fifteen years. See also Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu 10:5, p. 103; Wilhelm, p. 129.
7. The traditional statement is a paraphrase of Tung Chung-shu. See Tung's biography in Han shu 56, p. 4020. Franke, Studien zur Geschichte, p. 96 and note 2.
8. The meaning of version B differs somewhat from A, but this is evidently due to its having been shortened.

Chapter 3. Searching for Counsellors

7

I lin 3.7a.

Yen 13.3a. Sun 5a

Ruling a country is at the root of being a counsellor. Those who are so employed all possess great talent. Those of great talent are the legs and arms, the feathers and pinions of the ruler.

8

TPYL 187.8a.

Yen 13.3a. Sun 20b.

The kings, dukes and high officials are happy to receive excellent teachers and brilliant counsellors. The common people and the masses are pleased to cultivate benevolent worthy men, as well as wise gentlemen. All of these are the pillars and beams of the country, the feathers and wings of all men.¹

9

Jen-tzu,² quoted in I lin 5.7b, suggests Huan T'an.

Yen 13.3a.

It is easy to support a king, but it is difficult to help a hegemon.

10

TPYL 404.8a.

Yen 13.3a. Sun 21a.

In former times, although I Yin of the Yin dynasty, T'ai-kung of the Chou, and Po-18 Hsi of the Ch'in all had Heavenly³ talents, they rose to become teachers of kings and hegemons only after the age of seventy.

A Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 44, p. 763 Yen 13.3a-b. Sun 20a.

The king of Ch'in saw the ruling house of Chou lose its power and might to the feudal lords. ... He, therefore, relied only upon himself and did not enfeoff others or allow them to become feudal lords. Later, Ch'en Sheng, and the rulers of Ch'u⁴ and Han, all rose from the common people and were never enfeoffed as rulers with land. Together they annihilated Ch'in.

When Emperor Kao conquered the Empire, he remembered that King Hsiang Yü had come through the Han-ku pass, while he himself had come from the Wu pass.⁵ He ignored the passes and erected and strengthened the defenses. He filled the inner area with his three armies and organized frontier garrisons on the outside. He established a penalty of relentless punishment⁶ for the formation of bands, and posted heavy rewards for information on subversives.

But, later, when Wang Weng [i.e., Wang Mang⁷] usurped the throne he did not break through the passes, bridges and strategic defenses, but won everything sitting down. Wang Mang saw how he himself won the Empire by taking the government into his own hands, so he suppressed the great ministers and took to himself all the powers of his subordinates. Once he obtained the power, he personally handled all matters⁸ whether they were great or small, deep or shallow. But later when he lost his throne, it did not come about through the great ministers.

The Keng-shih Emperor saw that Wang Mang's Empire perished because he lost the affection of the people. Therefore, when he came to the western capital,⁹ he trusted in the people's joy and happiness and allowed himself to enjoy peace and contentment. But he would not listen to the criticism and proposals of the ministers and counsellors. The Red Eyebrows surrounded him without, while the ministers rebelled within. Then the city fell.

From this we can see that calamities and perils are strange and uncanny things, never of the same kind. How can one successfully overcome them, by building defenses or by planning preventive measures? The best defense and prevention is to assess the wise, intelligent and greatly talented, to foresee and forestall, and then perhaps be saved.

B TPYL 86.7a.

Yen 13.3a. Sun 20a.

The First Sovereign Emperor of the Ch'in saw how the house of Chou had lost its power. He believed that it was necessary to keep the Nine Provinces in his own hands. He looked on the masses of people as milling flocks of sheep and as herds of pigs which must be driven with a rod. Therefore, he was later overthrown.

12

I lin 3.7b.

Yen 13.3b. Sun 5a.

The clear mirrors are the tortoise and straws of divination. The regulations and rules are the bushel and peck. The scales and measures are the yard and the foot.

13

Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 44, pp. 763-764.

Yen 13.3b-4a.

Needles, moxa, prescriptions, and medicines are tools to help the sick, but without a skilled physician they cannot cure. Talent, ability, virtue and fine conduct are tools for ruling a country, but without an enlightened ruler they are of no effect. If the physician does not own the needles and medicines, he may buy them in order to practice his trade. If the ruler has neither talent nor virtue, he may appoint wise counsellors and need not personally possess these qualities.

Thus we can see that talent, ability, virtue and fine conduct are the needles and medicines of a country. They are effective if used as aids to the ruler.

Tradition says, "Better have one Po-lo than ten fine horses. Better have one Ou Yeh than ten sharp swords."¹⁰ Better have a few who know good things than have many good things. When he who knows good things brings out the excellent and the precious [in them], precious things multiply and are not limited to a mere ten.

PTSC¹² 11b.

Yen 13.4a.

To face the descendants of the Nine Provinces.¹³TPYL 212.6a.

Yen 13.4a. Sun 9a.

Yao once tested Shun at the foot of a great mountain. The people of the mountain directed him to record the affairs of the empire,¹⁴ as the officials of the Office of the Masters of Writing do today. Only when one finds great worthies, as well as men of knowledge, is it possible to make a decision and still be fair.

The same, somewhat shortened, text is found in IWLC 48.17a and PTSC 59.2a. The last sentence is missing in the text quoted in the commentary to Hou Han shu 34, p. 4137.

Commentary to Wen hsüan 56.17a. Yen 13.4a. Sun 15a.

The Duke of Chou clarified and respected the Way of Chou, and brought benefits to all within the four utmost limits.

PTSC 44.2a.

Yen 13.4a. Sun 15a.

Run the prison like water.

Commentary to Wen hsüan 60.27b. Yen 13.4a. Sun 14a.

A sage appears once in a thousand years. Worthy and superior men think of him but cannot see him.

See also the commentary to Wen hsüan 37.35b. The first sentence of the fragment is repeated in the commentaries to Wen hsüan 57.35 and 52.24a.

19

Commentary to Wen hsüan 36.27b. Yen 13.4a. Sun 14a.

He who is perfectly straight, loyal and upright dares to criticize and protest as did Chi An.¹⁵

20

I lin 3.7b. Yen 13.4a. Sun 5a.

The eminent men of past generations secured their merit and left their names to posterity. Their pictures are in the imperial palaces and inner apartments. They are the great invaluable treasures of the nation. One could gather the jade of Pien Ho,¹⁶ pile up the jade ornaments of the Hsia, hoard the pearls of the Marquis of Sui,¹⁷ store pearls which shine in the night--but even that would not sufficiently compare.¹⁸ What age lacks ministers like I Yin or Lü Shang, Chang Liang or Ch'en P'ing? But the rulers of men do not recognize them, and the lower ministers are not employed.

21

Ch'ang-tuan ching 3.16b. Yen 13.4b.

When a person is capturing wild animals, he does not allow a beauty to raise her hands.¹⁹ When a person is fishing for a giant fish, he does not allow a boy to make careless preparations. It is not that he dislikes them, but that their strength is inadequate for the task. Now, what about a ruler of [a country with] ten thousand chariots who does not select the best men?

22

TPYL 684.5b-6a. Yen 13.4b. Sun 24a.

Tradition says that Prince Mou of Wei met the King of Chao in the north. The King had just commanded

his hat-maker to put the official hats in order and bring them forward.

He asked Mou how to govern his country. Mou replied, "Great King, if you could sincerely treat the country as seriously as you treat that two-foot strip of silk,²⁰ then the country would be well-governed and at peace." The King said, "I received this country from my ancestors. The ancestral temple and the gods of soil and grain are very serious matters. How can you compare them to a two-foot strip of silk?"

Mou said, "When you, Great King, order your hats to be made you do not call on your relatives or those close to you to do the job. Instead, you invariably seek out skilled craftsmen. Don't you do this because you fear that the silk would be ruined and the hats not be made? Now, if those who govern the country are not skilled, then the gods of soil and grain will not be at peace and the spirits of the ancestral temple will not accept blood offerings. Great King, you do not seek out skilled men, but you consult your personal favorites instead. Doesn't this practice take the country less seriously than a two-foot piece of silk?"

The king said nothing in reply.

PTSC 127.2b has a short version of this fragment. Huan T'an's anecdote appears to be based on Chan-kuo ts'e, "Chao ts'e" 3, 15.

23

Commentary to Wen hsüan 45.28b and 46.37b.

Yen 13.4b. Sun 14b.

Human nature is difficult to fathom, difficult to know. Therefore, those of an extraordinary and strange nature are often ignored by the vulgar.

24

A TPYL 897.2b and IWLC 93.10b. Yen 13.4b-5a. Sun 17b.

The old man of Hsieh,²¹ who lived at Ch'ang-an, was an expert in judging horses. In the frontier

outposts he found a noble horse. The old man rode into market on the horse, but no one noticed him coming or going. Later, someone complimented him on the horse and asked to see it.

The old gentleman said, "All these officials have no eyes. They are not worthy to see it."

B The commentary to Wen hsüan 4.30a (Sun 12b) gives a short quote which Yen has interpolated into the one above: A horse expert said, "The Duke of Hsieh bought a horse which looked ugly but had a proper gait. He called it Chi-tzu."²²

25

A IWLC 93.3b.

Yen 13.5a. Sun 17b.

Domestic animals are quite common, but all of them which were especially fine have been recorded in the texts. Thus there are horses named Hua-liu²³ and Chi-lu,²⁴ and the oxen Kuo-chiao and Ting-liang²⁵ are praised.

B The subcommentary to Li chi 35.7b (edition Shih-san ching chu-su, Shanghai, 1926) has a version given by neither Yen nor Sun: Domestic animals are quite common, but all of them which were especially fine have been recorded in the texts. The best are called Han-lu²⁶ and Sung-ts'u.²⁷

26

I lin 3.7b.

Yen 13.5a. Sun 5a-b.

Is there any period which has no men like I Yin or Lü Shang, Chang Liang or Ch'en P'ing? The ruler of men does not recognize them, so many worthy men are not employed.²⁸

Worthy men are of five classes.²⁹

Some are careful and diligent in their family affairs, and honor their elders when in social groups. These are the gentlemen of the villages.

Some do their work with energy. They understand profit, writing, and the [Work of] Shih [Chou].³⁰ These are the gentlemen of the districts and the courts of justice.

Some are trustworthy and sincere, respectful in their demeanor, incorrupt and honest, and fair and reasonable. When in a lowly position, they devote their attention to those above. These are the gentlemen of the prefectures and the commandaries.

Some have mastered classical scholarship. Their name is eminent and their behavior skilled. They penetrate so deeply as to participate in governing. They are broadminded, as well as persistent. These are the gentlemen among the dukes and counsellors.

Some of high and excellent talents rise above the multitude as does a mountain. They have many ideas and great plans, make plans for the age, and thus establish their great merit. These are the gentlemen of the Empire.

27

Commentary to Wen hsüan 50.10a. Yen 13.5a. Sun 14b.

The man who follows principle when living at home, who is peaceful and obedient in his village, who is respectful and reverent in his comings and goings, whose words are serious and modest--that man is a perfect gentleman.

28

Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 44, p. 764. Yen 13.5a-6a.

Once counsellors and assistants have been found, there remain three great difficulties and two bars to excellence.

Among those now in charge of affairs, many are mediocre men, and only a few have great talent. Those few cannot overcome the many; one mouth cannot argue against an entire nation. To hold a solitary and individual opinion against the consensus,³¹ to argue from a viewpoint which disdains what is petty against minds which prize what is petty will never create cooperation. This is the first difficulty.

The creation of something strange and remarkable, the making of something extraordinary, cannot be understood by vulgar men. Also, to let the enlightened and the wise plan affairs and then bring them down to the masses will certainly be inadequate. This is the second difficulty.

If at the moment when the plan which has been heard and accepted is about to be put into action but is not yet completed, carping men take an instant dislike to it, then the half-complete plan will meet suspicion and the voice which proposed it becomes the butt of accusations. This is the third difficulty.

Wise men exhaust all their minds and voices in the service of the nation, but the masses watch them with malice, and they become the objects of suspicion. If one is not accepted as a conformist, he is slandered.³² His virtue may be ten times perfect, but a single fault will do him in. This is the first bar to excellence.

Gentlemen of talent and ability are the envy of the world. When they meet a wise ruler they rise at once, rejoicing. But once the ruler has been lucky enough to find men of talent, he insists that they follow the masses and not the men of wisdom. Though they be Yu Jo or Chung-ni, they are still dismissed. This is the second bar to excellence.

Therefore, unless the relations between a ruler and his ministers are most intimate and stable, unless they have such great trust that they would tear out their hearts for each other, unless their actions are above suspicion and doubt--as when I Yin and Lü Shang were employed when Fu Yüeh was discovered in a dream,³³ or when Kuan Chung and Pao Shu-ya were appointed with trust--it is difficult to carry out an act and bring an idea to fruition.

Again, the arguments of ministers have too many angles. When they wish to see someone employed, they pressure the ruler with quotes from the ancient sage counsellors; when they wish to remove someone from the ruler's favor, they call him a usurper who endangers the country.

Now, father and son are the closest of kin, but in the ruling families there was the matter³⁴ of Kao-tsung and Hsiao-i³⁵ and, later on, during the reigns of

the Emperors Ching and Wu, the affairs of the crown-princes Li³⁶ and Wei.³⁷ There are loyal ministers with lofty ideals, but over the years there have been the unhappy affairs of Kuan Lung-feng, Pi Kan, Wu Yüan, and Ch'ao Ts'o.³⁸ There are so many similar cases they cannot be fully listed. So, how can matters be accomplished? How can they be simply learned? However, by analyzing what has happened in the past we may get a good look at the problem and be forewarned.

Noble and excellent men of great talent prize the opportune moment.³⁹ They all want to reach the heights of the sages and shine their light down through the ages. Why would they ruin their names, turn from righteousness and indulge in wild and vile behavior? Lu Chung-lien refused gold and the kingdom of Ch'i.⁴⁰ The kingdom of Chao gave gold and titles to Yü Ch'ing, but he laid aside his fief of ten thousand families and his position as chancellor of the country.⁴¹ Then they rejoiced that they had made a name for themselves and were also free to do what they pleased. Did they beg again? Did they curry favor or hasten after wealth?

The depraved, disobedient, and rebellious ministers, when closely observed, are all greedy men, arguing over trifles. None of them had great talent. Thus we can come to fully understand, during our lifetimes, the behavior, the feelings, and the sense of responsibility of eminent gentlemen of extraordinary talent and ability. If we don't⁴² regard this as being of the greatest importance, then we begin to suspect them. If we find it impossible to acknowledge, accept, and effectuate their plans, then these plans, although born of broad knowledge and past success, will be useless.

I lin 3.7b.

Yen 13.6a. Sun 5b.

Had Chia I not been degraded and disappointed, his literary elegance would not have been produced.⁴³ Had Liu An, the Prince of Huai-nan not been noble, successful, and wealthy, he could not have employed a host of eminent scholars to compose a book.⁴⁴ Had the Grand Historian [Ssu-ma Ch'ien] not been responsible for keeping records, he would not have been able to put them into order and come to know both the past and the

present.⁴⁵ Had Yang Hsiung not been poor, he could never have written his Mysterious Words.⁴⁶

Previous translation of the last part: T. Pokora, "The Life" II, p. 546.

30

I lin 3.8a.

Yen 13.6a. Sun 5b.

The three virtuous men of the Yin dynasty⁴⁷ were all obscure in their own time but shown forth brilliantly in later times. What good is that to [our] time?⁴⁸ What is their help for the ruler?

31

Wang Ch'ung, Lun-heng, 16, 50, p. 720.

Yen 13.6a.

Huan Chün-shan said to Yang Tzu-yün,⁴⁹ "If a sage should appear to future generations, people will merely realize that his talents are greater than theirs, but many will not be able to tell whether he is really a sage or not."

Tzu-yün replied, "This is true indeed."

Previous translation by A. Forke, Lun-heng, p. 361.

NOTES: CHAPTER 3

1. In his commentary, Sun 20b mentions a very short text by Huan Chieh, as quoted in PTSC 29.3a: "A great minister [is like] a beam." Yen 13.3a is skeptical about attributing this statement to Huan Chieh (whose biography can be found in San-kuo chih, Wei chih 22). Another quasi-biography of Huan Chieh, the Huan Chieh pieh-chuan, is quoted six times in the TPYL, but there is no mention of a book by him. The commentary to the PTSC 29.3a says that Ch'en Yü's edition of the same work attributes this statement to Huan Chieh, while Ma Kuo-han in his Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu says this fragment is from Huan Fan's Shih-yao lun. Ma puts Huan Fan in the category of Legalists (fa chia 法家). Although Yen had some doubts, he included the quotation under Huan T'an. Nevertheless, the Huan Chieh pieh-chuan, as quoted in TPYL 431.7a, just says that Huan Chieh is a "great minister [is like] a beam" (liang-tung ta ch'en 棟棟大臣). Thus the four characters apparently have nothing to do with Huan T'an's Hsin-lun.

2. Jen-tzu is a book in ten ch'üan by Jen I, according to the commentary to the I lin. However, the bibliographical chapter of the Sui history, the "Sui shu ching-chi chih" 3 (p. 74) mentions a Jen-tzu tao-lun, also in ten ch'üan, which is attributed to Jen Ku 假 of Wei. Chung-kuo jen-ming ta tz'u tien (p. 224, 3), says that Jen I, who lived during the Later Han, wrote a Jen-tzu, but the authority for this assertion is unknown. Jen I may be Jen Shuang 爽, who is mentioned in the San-kuo chih, wu chih 12. Jen-tzu tao lun, as reconstructed by Ma Kuo-han, can be found in Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu, vol. 78.

3. Yen proposes ta 大 ("great") instead of t'ien 天 ("heavenly").

4. The leaders of Ch'u, like Hsiang Yü, who fought against Liu Pang after the death of Ch'en Sheng, were mostly heirs of noble families.

5. See, for example, HFHD I, pp. 6 and 54.

6. For this meaning of ch'iuung-chih 窮治 see Chavannes, MH III, p. 558 and note 4 ("punir jusqu'au bout").

7. Here, and in other fragments by Huan T'an, quoted in the Ch'ün-shu chih-yao, the text has Wang Weng (or Wang weng 王翁). The commentary to the I lin 2.8a correctly states: "'Venerable old Wang' [Wang weng] refers to Wang Mang. Since Huan T'an had served under Wang Mang, he could not abuse him, nor could he call him ruler." For further arguments on this point, see T. Pokora, "Life" I, pp. 62-64 and notes 38, 45, 46. Henceforth, the term Wang weng will be translated as Wang Mang.

8. The same is said of the First Emperor of Ch'in in the Shih chi 6, p. 56; Chavannes II, p. 178. Both statements appear to be historically correct, but they undoubtedly reflect the attitude of officials who did not like to be pushed from their own spheres of authority, even by the Emperor, and were also afraid that the ruler's authority would be undermined by his involvement in trivial affairs.

9. The capital referred to is Ch'ang-an.

10. Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu 24:2, p. 309; Wilhelm, p. 420. Ou Yeh, a famous smith, and Po Lo, a legendary judge of horses, are referred to in Han Fei Tzu 50 (translated by B. Watson as "Eminence in Learning").

11. For another perspective on the value of knowledge, see fragment 138.

12. The quotation in PTSC is attributed to Hua T'an's Hsin-lun and does not belong to Huan T'an. Nevertheless, the term "Nine Provinces" (chiu chou 九州) is also found in fragment 11B.

13. Instead of hou 後 ("descendant"), Yen has chiün 俊 ("eminent").

14. This information reflects Han ideas on the origin of Chinese historiography.

15. Chi An was a morally upright official who dared to criticize even Emperor Ching.

16. For an explanation of this famous treasure see Shih chi 87, p. 8; Bodde, China's First Unifier, p. 18 and note 3.

17. Cf. note 16 above.

18. This is the end of the text of the Sung edition of the I lin, as reprinted in the collection Ssu-pu pei-yao. Nevertheless, both Yen and Sun add the two following sentences which, according to the Sung edition, belong to the beginning of fragment 26.

19. "Raise her hands," i.e., take part in the hunt.

20. Instead of ts'ung 縱, I read shih 綾.

21. This probably refers to the famous T'ien Wen, Lord of Meng-ch'ang. T'ien Wen, according to Shih chi 75, p. 12, returned to Hsieh in his old age. He is also known as Wen of Hsieh. In the account appended to Shih chi 96, p. 22, T'ien Wen is described almost as Huan T'an pictures the old man in the fragment above.

22. Chi was a legendary horse who could run one thousand li in a day. Confucius mentioned the horse in Analects XIV: 35; cf. the explanation by Legge, p. 288, sub 35.

23. Hua-liu is mentioned in Yang Hsiung's Fan Li-sao, quoted in Han shu, 87A, p. 5060. According to Yen Shih-ku's commentary, Hua-liu was of a sorrel color

24. For Chi, see note 22 to fragment 24A. Lu was one of the horses of King Mu of Chou, as was Hua-liu. Sometimes the names of Chi and Lu are combined.

25. Both oxen are only mentioned in this fragment. For Kuo-chiao, see PWYF 771.2 and DKJ 39474.146; for Ting-liang, PWYF 4040.1 and DKJ 2.214.

26. Han-lu, a very great dog, is mentioned in Shih chi 79 (p. 16) and defined in the So-yin commentary, which refers to the Chan-kuo Ts'e. The name may be literally translated as "the hound of Han."

27. Evidently Sung-ts'u is "a dog of Sung." This term can also be found in PWYF 3896, 3. Both "Han-lu" and "Sung-ts'u" were first used by Huan T'an. They cannot be found together in early texts, but are only used in later lexicons. Even the origin of the terms is not clear, for in K'ung-ts'ung-tzu, 17, 20 b, ed. SPTK, it is pointed out that all other animal names reflect either the shape or the color of the animal.

28. For the first two sentences, see note 18 to fragment 20.

29. Wu p'in 五品 ("five classes"). See the Book of History, II:i:19; Legge, p. 44.
30. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, in Tung-fang Shuo's biography in Han shu 65 (p. 4380), explains wen-shih 文史 ("writings") as referring to the different ways of writing. For the Work of Shih Chou (or "Historian Chou"), see D. Bodde, China's First Unifier, p. 147.
31. The term lei-t'ung 雷同 is used in a memorial to Huan T'an which is quoted in his biography in the Hou Han shu 28A, p. 1016; Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 31, note 108.
32. In accordance with an anonymous commentator of the Ch'ün-shu chih-yao, I prefer su 愬 ("to slander") for hsiang 想 ("to consider").
33. Shih chi 3, p. 22; Chavannes, MH I, p. 195.
34. The text, which I have followed, has she 設. The commentary to the Ch'ün-shu chih'yao proposes ch'an 讒 ("to slander"), while Yen gives shih 失 ("to lose," "to miss," "to err").
35. Hsiao-i is said to have been a crown prince, son of Kao-tsung (or Wu-ting, ca. 1324-1265 B.C.). Although Hsiao-i was a paragon of filial piety, his father mistreated him after the death of his mother. Hsün-tzu (17:23, p. 295; Köster, p. 310) briefly mentions Hsiao-i with Confucius' disciples Tseng Shen and Min Tzu-ch'ien.
36. Shih chi 11, p. 8; Chavannes, MH II, p. 511; Watson, Records I (p. 370) says that Li was deposed in 150 B.C. His name was Liu Jung according to Han shu 5; HFHD I, p. 316.
37. The crown prince Liu Chü, with his mother, the Empress Wei Tzu-fu, mobilized an army on September 1, 91 B.C., for an attack on the Lieutenant-Chancellor. After their defeat, both mother and son committed suicide. Cf. HFHD, II, p. 114. The revolt was brought about by the disgrace of Wei Tzu-fu. Huan T'an also mentions Wei Tzu-fu at the beginning of his own biography in the HHS; cf. Pokora, "The Life," I, pp. 18-19.
38. "Unhappy affair" (p'ien 變) is a euphemism for the execution of ministers. In Chuang-tzu (10, p. 55; Legge I, p. 283), three of these virtuous counsellors are mentioned: "Formerly Lung-feng was

beheaded; Pi Kan's heart was torn out; Ch'ang-hung was ripped open; and Tzu-hsü was reduced to pulp." Kuan Lung-feng was a minister to Chieh of Hsia; Pi Kan, to King Chou of Shang; Wu Yüan (or Wu Tzu-hsü), to Fu-ch'ai of Wu; Ch'ao Ts'o, to Emperor Ching of Han. Ch'ao Ts'o, who is also mentioned in a memorial by Huan T'an (cf. "The Life," I, p. 25 and fragment 209, note 58) proposed the abolition of fiefs in 154 B.C. This proposal led directly to the Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms. The Emperor Ching tried to save the situation by sacrificing Ch'ao Ts'o.

39. The commentary prefers ho 合 ("agreement," "the opportune moment," i.e., "the right time for action"). Chiu 咎 ("calamity") is found in other versions.

40. Shih chi 83, pp. 14-18; Kierman, Four Late Warring States Biographies, pp. 44-47, especially p. 44. The Lord of P'ing-yüan wished to give a fief and gold to Lu Chung-lien, who adamantly refused them.

41. The biography of Yü Ch'ing, a wandering politician of the third century B.C., can be found in the second part of the Shih chi, Chapter 76 (pp. 11-22), but the source of Huan T'an's statement is Shih chi 79, p. 32. Yü Ch'ing is the reputed author of the Yü-shih ch'un-ch'iu. He rose very quickly as an advisor to King Hsiao-ch'eng of Chao (265-245 B.C.), but too much in demand by other rulers, he did not wish to amass honors and wealth and so gave up his position.

42. Instead of the pu 卜 of the text, Yen has hsia 下 .

43. Evidently refers to Chia I's Hsin-shu.

44. Huai-nan-tzu.

45. Shih chi.

46. T'ai-hsüan ching.

47. The three virtuous men of Yen were Wei-tzu, Chi-tzu and Pi Kan, according to the Analects XVIII:1.

48. The Ssu-pu pei-yao edition of the I lin, which has chün 君 ("ruler") instead of shih 世 ("times"), is evidently mistaken.

49. Huan T'an and Yang Hsiung.

Chapter 4. On Substance

32

A Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 44, pp. 765-66. Yen 13.6b-7a.

Everything which the ears hear and the eyes see, which the heart and mind know and recognize, which the feelings and dispositions like and dislike, which is welcomed or thrown away because of its use or harm--all men are equal in the attention which they pay to these things.

Talent and ability, great or small; wisdom and plans, deep or shallow; hearing and vision, dark or bright; disposition and behavior, thick or thin--people possess these qualities in different degrees. Without great talent and deep wisdom the Great Substance¹ cannot be seen. The Great Substance includes all the affairs of the present and those that are to be.²

The man whose speech is correct and whose plans are appropriate, who meets a crisis with power, who abides by the constant and holds to the proper, who is not perplexed when he meets a problem, who carries a measured judgment within which he cannot be upset or shifted or deceived by the cunning and strange--such a man understands the Great Substance.

But, although he may be as powerful as Wang Mang, as discriminating and quick as Kung-sun Lung, as clever and glib³ as Tung-fang Shuo, and as adept at explaining disasters and abnormalities as Ching Chün-ming; although he may have seen much and heard much, have written as many as ten thousand chapters, and taught Confucianism to hundreds and thousands of students--if he has no great talent he just increases his ignorance of the Great Substance.

Wang Mang surpassed the people of his time in three ways: he had enough intelligence to disguise the wrong and diminish the right; he could stump the sophists with his arguments; his power terrified his subordinates and several times he secretly cut down those he disliked. Therefore, none of his ministers could refute or respond to his arguments. No one dared to contradict, correct, or remonstrate with him.

Finally he came to defeat and death. This is the disaster of the Great Substance.

B Emperor Kao understood the Great Substance. He said, "Chang Liang, Hsiao Ho, Han Hsin--these three gentlemen are all outstanding among men! It was because I was able to use them that I won the empire."⁵ This is the fruit of knowing the Great Substance.

C When Wang Mang first took over the government, he thought that he understood fully the worthies and the sages, and that none among his ministers could surpass his talent and intelligence. Therefore, in all his acts and endeavors he only wanted to trust and rely on himself, while he refused to share responsibility and authority with informed and experienced men. He put forth his ideas as soon as he thought of them, and once an idea came he would use it. Therefore, he seldom achieved success and finally met ruin and death. This was a man who did not know Great Substance.

Emperor Kao was very shrewd and could evaluate himself. While his ministers regulated affairs and fixed laws, he would say, "I am not high, but low. Let's evaluate our ability to carry these out and make that our guide and measure." Within his realm, he relaxed the government of the land to meet the needs of the times. Therefore, both his people and his ministers were happy and joyful, and future generations remembered him. This was a man who knew the Great Substance.

D Wang Mang praised and admired⁶ the government of earlier sages, but he despised and was contemptuous of the law and ordinances of the House of Han. Therefore, he changed and altered many things, wishing to imitate antiquity in everything he did. He praised the regulations of earlier sages but did not realize that he could not carry them out himself. He ignored things near and modern and chased after the remote past. What he esteemed was not that to which he should have devoted himself. Therefore, he fell from lofty principle into ruin and confusion. This was a man who did not know the Great Substance.

When the Eminent Founder (Emperor Kao) wished to attack Wei, he sent men to spy on its Chancellor, its generals and its leaders, as well as on other men

of authority. When he learned the ruler's name, he said, "None of them equal Hsiao Ho, Ts'ao Shen,⁷ Han Hsin, Fan K'uai and my other men. It will be easy to deal with Wei."⁸ Then he attacked and destroyed it. This was a man who knew the Great Substance.

E Once Wang Mang planned to attack the Hsiung-nu in the North. Later he attacked the followers of the Red Eyebrows in Ch'ing, in Hsü, and in many other commanderies.⁹ He would never choose excellent generals, but instead employed members of the great families, and trustworthy and cautious civil officials. Or he would put in command the sons and grandsons of those close to him, or those whom he had loved for a long time. None of this was shrewd or intelligent. Wretched deputies led the army and managed the multitude when they went out to meet a mighty enemy. Therefore, when the armies joined in battle, his army met with defeat, and his officers and men scattered and fled.

 His fault lay in not selecting excellent generals. His generals, as well as the ruler himself, did not know the Great Substance.

This text, quoted by Yen, is divided into five parts (A-E) in the Ch'un-shu chih-yao.

33

PTSC 116.1a-b.

Yen 13.7a. Sun 15b.

To move like striking thunder, to be still like a standing mountain, to attack like hurtling lightning, to seize like a swift storm, to be light in the beginning and heavy later on, full inside and empty outside...

34

PTSC 115.5a.

Yen 13.7a. Sun 15b.

Chou Ya-fu, because of Li's severity, ferocity and billowing, deserves to be called "the greatest general of the country."¹⁰

A The Chi-chieh commentary to the Shih chi 91, p. 15.¹¹
Ch'ang-tuan ching 6.17a. Yen 13.7b. Sun 10b.

There is a game called "strategic chess" [wei-ch'i or "go"] which is said to belong to the art of war.

When one starts, the best strategy is to spread the pieces far apart and stretch them out, to encircle and attack, and thus win by having many roads open. The next best strategy concentrates on cutting off the enemy to seek advantage. Therefore, victory and defeat are uncertain, and plans and calculations are needed to decide the outcome. The lowest strategy is to defend the borders and corners, hastily building "eyes" so as to protect oneself in a small area.¹²

But, nevertheless, it is best to analyze the words of Lord Hsieh. His best plan was: seize Wu and Ch'u, add Ch'i and Lu, then Yen and Chao. This is what is meant by "extending the roads and territories." His next best plan was: seize Wu and Ch'u, add Han and Wei, block Ch'eng-kao, and occupy Ao-ts'ang. This is what is meant by "hastening to cut off the enemy and to seek advantage." The lowest plan was: seize Wu and Hsia-ts'ai, and occupy Ch'ang-sha to overlook Yüeh. This is what is meant by "defending borders and corners, hastily the building 'eyes'."

A shorter, corrupt version of this fragment can be found in TPYL 753.4b, where it is attributed to Hsin-yü.¹³

B I lin 8a. Commentary to Wen hsüan 52.23a.

TPYL 753.4b. Yen 13.7b. Sun 5b and 10b.

There is a game called "strategic chess," which is said to belong to the art of war.

The best strategy is to spread out and stretch far, and thus to win victory by many outlets. The next best strategy concentrates on cutting off the enemy's advantage and profit. The lowest strategy is to defend the borders and corners, hastily building "eyes" to protect oneself in a small area.¹⁴ But, nevertheless,

it is best to analyze words like those of the Lord Hsieh, who said that Ch'ing Pu was going to revolt. Hsieh's best plan was: seize Wu and Ch'u, extend the roads and territories. His next best plan was: block Ch'eng-kao, hasten after strategic roads and seek some advantage. His lowest plan was: rely on Ch'ang-sha to overlook Yüeh, defend the borders and corners, hastily building "eyes."

The generals and Chancellor of the Keng-shih Emperor could not put up a defense and thus allowed the dead pieces of chess within the encirclement to come alive again.

36

Ch'u-hsüeh chi 24.14b.

Yen 13.7b. Sun 18a-b.

When the Keng-shih Emperor arrived at Ch'ang-an, his great ministers were assigned to work in the Eastern Palace,¹⁵ so the people below laughed at them. Moreover, half of the city was used as barracks to house the small guard.¹⁶ Therefore, we know that they did not belong to the company of Hsiao [Ho] and Ts'ao [Shen].¹⁷

Previous translation: T. Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 522.

37

Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 44, p. 766.

Yen 13.7b.

[The importance of] words and actions lies in their beauty and goodness, not in their quantity. When a man utters one beautiful word and performs one beautiful act, the Empire follows him. When one man conceives one wicked idea or one shameful deed, the ten thousand people oppose him. Must not one, then, be cautious?

Thus the I Ching says, "Words and actions are the hinge and the spring of the superior man. The movement of that hinge and spring determines glory or disgrace. It is this which moves Heaven and earth."¹⁸

A Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 44, p. 766.

Yen 13.8a.

Wang Mang punished and killed people; then he would use poison to deface their corpses. When men were burned alive he filled the muscles of their corpses with vinegar and five kinds of poison. As they were buried they were covered and laid upon prickles and thorns.¹⁹ Already dead, these people were just like wood or earth. Though he multiplied their wounds and added poisons, what good or harm could it do to corpses?

The Accomplished T'ang restricted hunting.²⁰ This in no way helped the scholars and commoners, but the people turned to him because they admired his virtue and kindness.

Duke Hsüan of Ch'i saved the life of an ox.²¹ This was of no use to the sages, but those sages who praised him admired his benevolence.

King Wen buried the dried bones.²² This was of no use to the multitude of commoners, but those who rejoiced at it were moved by his mercy²³ and righteousness.

Wang Mang defaced the dead. This did not hurt the living, but those living men who hated him did so because he had revealed his cruelty and oppressiveness to them.

In all these four instances what is imperceptible and minute is also outstanding and important. The tiny is also the great. Therefore, the two sages prospered, and the King won praise, while Wang Mang perished. Thus, there is a great difference between the man who knows the Great Substance and the man who does not know the Great Substance.

Cf. Liang Han pu-fen II, pp. 351-52; Pokora, "The Life," I, pp. 67-68.

B I lin 3.8a.

Yen 13.8a.

King Wen buried the dried bones. This was of no use to the multitude of commoners, but they rejoiced at it, moved by his mercy and righteousness. Wang Mang's inspection of the five viscera²⁴ did not hurt the living, but living men hated his cruelty and oppressiveness.

Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 44, p. 767.

Yen 13.8a.

When the sage kings ruled the country, they revered propriety and yielding, and manifested benevolence and righteousness. They made respect for worthy men and love for the people their affair. Therefore, divinations by tortoise-shell and straws were seldom performed, sacrifices to the gods and the dead were rare.

Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 44, p. 767.

Yen 13.8b.²⁵

Wang Mang, who liked to divine with tortoise-shell and straws, observed the [lucky and unlucky] hours and days, and fervently served the demons and the gods. He incurred great expenses in building temples and sacrificial sites,²⁶ and by washing, fasting, and offering sacrificial victims, meals and savory food to the gods and the dead. The hardships of the officials and servants responsible for arranging these rituals were unspeakable.

Since he governed poorly, he was confronted with rebellion in the Empire. When difficulties arose and war broke out, he had neither the wit nor the foresight to save and extricate himself. Instead, he rushed to the Southern Altar to pray at the suburban sacrifice. He struck his chest and cried out about injustice, passionately calling out and shedding tears, bowing and praying for commands, imploring Heaven to take pity and help him. On the day when the troops entered the Palace and arrows flew all about, a great fire broke out. Wang Mang escaped under the Tower Bathed by Water, but he still carried in his arms the book of Heavenly mandates and portents, and the majestic tou-measures which he had made.²⁷ This may be called an extreme case of error and delusion.

Cf. Pokora, "The Life," I, pp. 66-67; Liang Han pu-fen II, pp. 342-43. The last words of this fragment suggest that it was originally part of the thirteenth chapter of the Hsin-lun, "Discerning Error" (Pien-hou). Nevertheless, Yen included it in the Chapter Four, "On Substance."

TPYL 526.6a.

Yen 13.8a-b. Sun 22b.

King Ling of Ch'u was arrogant and contemptuous of the people below him. He treated men of worth rudely and devoted himself to demons. He believed in the religion of the shamans and in their incantations, and fasted and abstained to make himself pure and fresh when sacrificing to the Lord on High. When performing rites for the many Spirits,²⁸ he would clutch a feather sash in his hand and start to dance before the altar. When the men of Wu came to attack his country, people rushed to tell him, but King Ling kept on dancing as if nothing had happened.²⁹ Turning to the messengers, he replied, "I am sacrificing to the Lord on High and entertaining the Bright Spirits. I shall be receiving their blessings and do not dare go to the rescue."

Then the soldiers of Wu arrived and captured his Crown Prince and his Queen.³⁰ It was tragic indeed.

This fragment is reproduced in Tung Yüeh, Ch'i-kuo k'ao, pp. 233 and 275. Cf. introduction to fragments 176 ff.

NOTES: CHAPTER 4

1. Ta t'i 大體 ("Great Substance"). This term was first used by Mencius, who answered a question from his disciple Kung-tu with: "Those who follow that part of themselves which is great are great men; those who follow that part of themselves which is little are little men." Mencius VI: I: XV:1; Legge, translation, p. 417. The term is common in ancient texts.
2. Huan T'an gives "the Great Substance," a much broader meaning than does Mencius (see note 1 above).
3. For min-chieh 敏給 ("glib"), see, e.g., Shih-Chi 2, p. 4; Chavannes, MH I, p. 99. Chavannes refers to the Ta Tai Li-chi.
4. Ching Fang, the I Ching specialist.
5. A shortened account from the Shih chi 8, p. 66; Chavannes, MH II, p. 384. See also HFHD I, p. 107.
6. Instead of mu 慕 ("to admire," "to think of affectionately"), perhaps another mu 摹 ("to follow," "to copy") should be inserted.
7. Ts'ao Shen is Ts'ao Ts'an. See Hulsewe, Remnants I, p. 373, note 147.
8. This short evaluation was actually made by Fan Tseng; see Shih chi 7, p. 54; Chavannes, MH II, p. 303. The successful attack against Wei was undertaken in 204 B.C.
9. The rebels are mentioned in Han shu 99 C (under January 23 A.D.), as quoted and translated by Dubs in HFHD III, p. 456.
10. Nothing similar is found in Chou Ya-fu's biography in Shih chi 57, pp. 14-24, or in Han shu 40, pp. 3515-22. Chou Ya-fu, like Ch'ao Ts'o, quarreled with Emperor Ching (see fragment 28 and fragment 209, note 58); cf. HFHD I, pp. 297-99. Pan Ku also, like Huan T'an, criticized Emperor Ching and applauded both men; see Hulsewé, "Notes on the Historiography of the Han Period," p. 40.
11. Huan T'an's text, found in the commentary to the biography of Ch'ing Pu (or Ying Pu), reflects the

ideas of Lord Hsieh, former Prime Minister of Ch'u. See Watson, Records I, pp. 204-205. The chess analogy was introduced by Huan T'an. Wei-ch'i was probably first mentioned by Yang Hsiung in Fa Yen 4, p. 12, although traditionally its first mention has been attributed to Shun (DKJ 4806.9).

12. "Eye" (mu 目) is a technical term for a type of formation of the pieces in wei-ch'i. If a group of pieces have an "eye" in the center, they cannot be "killed" by encirclement.

13. TPYL 753.4b does not include the last paragraph on Keng-shih.

14. Instead of the kuai 罫 of fragment 35A, I lin has kua 罫. Both Yen and Sun give kuai-mu 罫目.

15. The Eastern Palace was the Empress' residence. See Watson, Records II, p. 122, note 6. The passage suggests that it was an indignity for great ministers to be assigned to work in the women's quarters.

16. The term hsiao wei lou 小衛樓 is not quite clear. PWYF 1371.2 attributes it only to the Hsin-lun.

17. Ts'ao Shen was a minister of Liu Pang. Huan T'an is corroborated by other sources. Keng-shih's colonel Wang Hsien, who called himself General-in-Chief of the Han, lived in the Eastern Palace, used Wang Mang's robes and carriages, and took the women of his harem. Cf. HFHD III, p. 466, and H. Bielenstein I, p. 132.

18. The Great Appendix I:8:42; Legge, pp. 361-62. Huan T'an's fragment paraphrases this section of the I Ching.

19. Huan T'an's account evidently inspired the authors of Wang Mang's biography in Han shu 99C; HFHD III, p. 451: "[Wang Mang] had Tung Chung's clan and relatives arrested. He buried them together in one pit with strong vinegar; poisonous drugs; foot-long, naked, two-edged blades; and a thicket of thorns." This text has also been translated by Hulswé, Remnants I, p. 120, sub 16; and by Bielenstein, The Restoration I, p. 125. For the thorns of the ching and the chi plants, see Yu Ching-jang, "Shih ching chi."

20. Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu 10:5:102; Wilhelm, p. 128.

21. Mencius I:VII:4; Legge, p. 139.
22. Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu (10:5, p. 103; Wilhelm, pp. 128-29) says that King Wen saw that corpses which were found in digging a pond were properly dressed and buried.
23. In accordance with I lin 3.8a, I read en 恩 ("mercy") for ssu 思 ("thought").
24. This seems to be one of Huan T'an's favorite terms. Cf. fragments 80 and 116.
25. Fragments 39 and 40 are combined in Ch'ün-shu chih-yao. Yen separated them, inserting fragment 41 between them.
26. This is the reading of chao 兆 given by Couvreur in his Dictionnaire classique, p. 67. This character may also be read as t'iao 祧 ("ancestral hall").
27. A similar account is given in Wang Mang's biography in the Han shu; cf. HFHD III, p. 464.
28. Yen, unlike Sun, erroneously gives ch'en 臣 ("ministers") for shen 神 ("spirits").
29. The first part of the fragment, up to this point, is given in a shorter form in TPYL 735.4b.
30. The text has two meaningless characters, i hsia 以下, omitted by Yen and Sun.

Chapter 5. Observing Evidence

42

A I lin 3.8a-b.

Yen 13.8b. Sun 6a.

Because Tung-fang Shuo was a man of few and simple words, he was believed to be honest and trustworthy. Everyone says that Shuo was a man of great wisdom and that no sage after him has been Li's equal.

But Huan T'an says, "There are people¹ who take a fox for a wild-cat, a zither for a harp.² This means not only that they do not know what a zither or a fox is, but that they also do not know what a wild-cat or a harp is. These words not only show ignorance about Shuo, they also show ignorance about the sages after him."³

B IWLC 44.13b.

Sun 17a.

Rustics call a fox a wild-cat and mistake a zither for a harp. This shows not only that they do not know what a fox or a zither is, but also that they do not know a wild-cat or harp.

43

TPYL 496.9a. Shuo fu 59.3b-4a.

Yen 13.8b. Sun 22a.

When I was a Grandee in the Directorship of Music it once happened that birds started to cry in the trees in the courtyard, frightening all the people who worked in the Bureau. Later I quarreled with the Director of Music, Marquis Hsieh. Both of us were tried, dismissed and sent away.

The shorter version in TPLYL 927.6a omits the words, "dismissed and sent away." Previous translation and explanation in Pokora, "The Life," I, pp. 59-60. Cf. also fragment 82.

TPYL 816.9b. Shuo fu 59.3a. Yen 13.8b-9a. Sun 17a.

On the way back to P'ei I fell ill.⁴ I covered myself with a quilt and a loose robe⁵ of red wool. Riding a bay-horse, I rode towards the Eastern Commune⁶ of the Hsia-i prefecture for night lodgings. The Chief of the Commune, fearing that we were bandits, sent his servants into the night to apprehend us. I ordered my men not to fight, and after asking some questions, they went away.⁷ Thus [I achieved] peace and self-preservation.

The first part of the fragment is also found in TPYL 693.7b, IWLC 75.8b, and PTSC 129.20a. PTSC explains that Huan T'an was returning from Ch'ang-an.

I lin 3.8b. Yen 13.9a. Sun 6a.

If people use words to praise me, they must also use words to condemn me. Wang Mang sent the Chief Commandant Meng Sun to T'ai-shan to make sacrifices. On the way he went through Hsü province, where Sung Chung-weng, the Governor of Hsü, told him that my talents and knowledge could be compared to those of Ch'en P'ing or the Marquis of Liu [Chang Liang]. Meng Sun returned joyfully and said to me, "Chung-weng has praised your virtue abundantly. You are indeed as he said."

I replied, "We have kept company for four or five years, and you have never praised me. Now you hear one word from Chung-weng, and you marvel at it. If somebody were to slander me, you would believe him too. I am afraid of you."

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, pp. 536-37.

Commentary to Wen hsüan 26.41b. Yen 13.9a. Sun 14a.

The I Ching of the Chou dynasty says, "Retiring in a noble way will be advantageous in every respect."⁸

47

TPYL 684.6a.

Yen 13.9a. Sun 24a.

King K'ang of Sung⁹ made caps for bodies without heads and showed them to the brave.¹⁰

48

A Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 44, p. 767.

Yen 13.9a-b.

Shun-yü K'un came to a neighboring house where he saw that the stove-outlet went straight up and that firewood had been piled beside it. He said, "This will cause a fire!" He told [the household] to change it, to bend the outlet and move the firewood away. The family who owned the stove-outlet would not listen to him. Later, flames reached the piled-up wood and ignited the house. The neighbors all gathered to help fight the fire until it was put out.

[The family] boiled a sheep and set out wine to reward and thank those who fought the fire. They bent the stove-outlet and moved the firewood away, but stubbornly refused to invite Shun-yü K'un to drink and eat.

A wise man ridiculed them, saying, "He told the members [of the household] to bend the stove-outlet and move the firewood, but they stubbornly refused to show any grace or favor to him. On the contrary, those with burnt heads and broken foreheads¹¹ become the most honored guests." Thus he lamented the slighting of the root and the honoring of the end.¹²

Is the removal of danger restricted to the stove-outlet and the firewood? Indeed, the problem is the same in the case of illness in man and disorder in the state. Therefore, a good physician cures what has not yet appeared, and an enlightened ruler breaks off plots at the root. We of later generations ignore the method of stopping up what has not yet sprouted, and busy ourselves attacking what has already become established fact. Ministers who draw up plans receive little reward, while fighting men are glorified.

This situation resembles the case of that household. It misses the relative importance and unimportance of things. By analyzing the warnings of Shun-yü K'un, it is possible to understand everything. This belongs to the category of observing evidence.¹³

B IWLC 80.9b.

Sun 17a-b.

Shun-yü K'un came to a neighboring house where he saw that the stove-outlet went straight up and that the firewood had been piled up beside it. He said, "This will cause a fire. You should bend the stove-outlet and move the firewood." The family would not listen to him. Later, their house indeed caught fire. The neighboring families helped fight the fire and put it out.

[The family] boiled a sheep and set out wine to thank those who fought the fire, but they refused to invite K'un. A wise gentleman ridiculed them, saying, "Shun-yü K'un told them to bend the stove-outlet and move the firewood, but they will not show any grace or favor to him. Instead, those with burnt heads and broken foreheads become the most honored guests." Thus he lamented the slighting of the root and the honoring of the end.

C Ch'u-hsüeh chi 25.30a.

Sun 17b (commentary).

Tradition and the records say that Shun-yü K'un came to a neighboring house where he saw that the stove-outlet went straight up and that the firewood had been piled up beside it. He told them, "This will cause a fire. Change it--bend the stove-outlet and move the wood."

Previous translation (from Huai-nan-tzu, see note 12 below): E. Haenisch, Lehrgang der klassischen chinesischen Schriftsprache IV, pp. 132-33.

TPYL 400.7b.

Yen 13.9b. Sun 20b.

A disciple of the Erudite Master Han,¹⁴ who lived in the east, had bad dreams for three consecutive nights. When he asked some people about it, they told him to get up at daybreak and pray in a privy. After three mornings, the people reported him to the authorities for uttering curses. He was seized and tried and died some days later.

In addition to the version mentioned in note 14 below, there is a similar version in Shuo fu 59.3b.

50

TPYL 695.2b-3a.

Yen 13.9b. Sun 24a.

Expectant Appointee Ching Tzu-ch'un had long been familiar with soothsaying. Once he was involved in a lawsuit and was imprisoned. His father-in-law, Chu,¹⁵ came to the prison gate and sent a message saying that he was leaving a jacket and trousers for him.

Tzu-ch'un became frightened and exclaimed, "Mister Chu came with a message. [The name] Chu can be taken for [the word] chu or 'execution,' and trousers and jacket are separated in the middle. Then I am to be cut in two at the waist." Later he was executed in this manner.¹⁶

51

TPYL 15.11b.

Yen 13.9b. Sun 25a.

The personal home of Yang-ch'eng Tzu-chang was Heng.¹⁷ He was a man from the Shu commandery. [During the reign of] Wang Mang he and I were both Libationers Expounding the [Classic of] Music.¹⁸ When he was in bed ill, I bought inner and outer coffins [for him]. I lined them with silk, put on a cover and dug a grave for him.

Previous translations: H. H. Dubs, HFHD III, p. 192, note 19.1 (without the last sentence); Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 62. For a correction of the latter translation, which is based on Yen, see note 17 below.

NOTES: CHAPTER 5

1. See the different beginning in fragment 42B.
2. K. Reinhard, Chinesische Musik, p. 31, suggests that the harp (k'ung-hou) did not appear in China until after the fall of the Han dynasty, i.e., during the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. This reference to it by Huan T'an places it in the early first century A.D. at least. Nevertheless, I would agree with L. E. R. Picken's statement that "there is no evidence that [the Han] k'ung-hou was a harp, or that it was linked with the k'ung-hou of later times other than by name." In support of this thesis, Picken presents some instances in which the k'ung-hou is associated with the zither (se), as it is in the present text. Thus, we may agree with Picken that "it would be reasonable to suppose that this particular k'ung-hou was a [type of] zither" (L. E. R. Picken, "T'ang Music and Musical Instruments," pp. 115-16). There is also a special article by Kishibe Shigeo, "Kugō no engen." See also his "The Origin of the K'ung hou."
3. Wang Ch'ung was greatly preoccupied with the problem of giving proper recognition to worthy men during the Han dynasty. The 80th chapter of his Lun-heng is entitled "Ting hsien," ("A Definition of Man of Worth").
4. The text of the Shuo-fu has two misprinted characters at this place.
5. The text has ch'an 禱 , while TPYL 693.7b has ch'an-yü 禱 榆 .
6. "Commune" (t'ing 亭) may also be translated "Police Post." The Police Posts were also used as official resthouses, and their Chiefs had to ensure the safety of the principal roads. See Hulsewé, Remnants I, p. 16.
7. The three last sentences are given somewhat differently in IWLC 75.8b; the last, summarizing sentence is omitted. Yen 13.9a includes the character kung 攻 ("attack") in the line which ends "to apprehend us," indicating that the servants were sent to attack Huan T'an and his cortege.

8. I Ching, hexagram XXXIII; Legge, p. 128. The first phrase is also understood to mean "a fat pig."
9. K'ang, also known as Yüan or Yen, was the last ruler of the Sung. K'ang is reportedly his posthumous name; cf. Shih chi 38, p. 42, the So-yin commentary; Chavannes, MH IV, p. 247, note 1. His traditional dates are 328-286 B.C., but Ch'ien Mu, Hsien Ch'in chu-tzu hsi-nien, pp. 402-404, argues that he came to the throne in 318 B.C. The name "K'ang" is used repeatedly in Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu (II:4, VII:4, XV:5, XXIII:4, XXIV:3).
10. Traditionally, King K'ang has been considered a most despotic ruler. This story can also be found at the end of the fourth chapter of Hsin hsü, where kuan 棺 ("inner coffin") is substituted for kuan 冠 ("cap").
11. A common phrase. See Matthews, Chinese-English Dictionary No. 721.13, and S. Couvreur, Dictionnaire classique, p. 552.
12. Huai-nan-tzu 16, p. 274 briefly mentions the advice of Shun-yü K'un, but only the appended commentary by Kao Yu gives the story in detail, without attribution. Han shu 68, p. 4492, quotes the memorial of Hsü Fu, which gives the entire story but does not refer to Shun-yü K'un.
13. With Yen, I prefer cheng 徵 ("evidence") to wei 微 ("minute"), as "Observing Evidence" is the title of the fifth chapter of the Hsin-lun.
14. Han sheng. The version of this fragment in TPYL 186.7a, which contains several misprints, adds here: "He lived in the Eastern court [tung ssu 東寺]." .
15. The text has Chu chün, while Sun gives Chu Jo; the latter has been adopted, with reservations, by Yen.
16. Yao chan 腰斬 ("to be cut in two at the waist") was a punishment for impious (pu-tao) and intractable (ni) crimes. See Hulsewé, Remnants I, pp. 111-12.
17. Both Yen and Sun add the character hsing 姓 after Yang-ch'eng Tzu. The translation would then be: "The surname of Yang-ch'eng Tzu was Chang, and his personal name was Heng." That would give that eminent

specialist of music the name of Chang Heng, which is apparently incorrect. Yang-ch'eng is a double surname.

18. Sun, and Yen following Sun's text, gives hsüeh (學 "studies"), instead of yüeh (樂 "music"). Hsüeh is erroneous here. The position "chiang-hsüeh chi-chiu 講學祭酒 [Libationer Expounding the Studies] did exist during Wang Mang's reign, but the only holder of that office was Kung Sheng in 9 A.D. (Han shu 72, p. 4616). Hou Han shu does not mention the title "chiang-hsüeh chi-chiu."

Chapter 6. Reprimanding Wrong

52

Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 44, pp. 767-68. Yen 14.1a-b.

When kings begin their ascendancy, they all first build their base. They set up broad fences and screens in order to establish their own adherents and strengthen the country's foundations. Therefore, when King Wu of Chou defeated the Yin dynasty, even before descending from his war chariot, he enfeoffed the descendants of the Yellow Emperor and those of Yao, Shun, Hsia and Yin, as well as those among his relatives whose conduct was virtuous, and ministers of merit. Thus he made them his pinions, supports, and assistants, and his Mighty Undertaking could continue forever through his descendants.

In the past, the mighty Ch'in Shih huang-ti did away with feudal rulers and depended on, and was responsible to, himself alone. None of his sons and brothers were enfeoffed. He was solitary, weak, and had no one with whom he could consult on work. Therefore, he had been Emperor [only] for fourteen years when he died.

When the Eminent Founder of the Han dynasty first settled the Empire, he turned his back on the short-sighted plans of the fallen Ch'in. He followed the far-sighted ways of Yin and Chou. He praised and honored merit and virtue, and generously enfeoffed his sons and brothers. Although many of them later met defeat or ruin because of their arrogance and laziness, the foundation of the Han had been fixed and established so other families and powerful ministers could not subvert it again. When it came to the time [of the Emperors] Ching and Wu, the feudal kings made several rebellions, and, as a result, were suppressed and stripped of their power and position. After that, the kings only enjoyed an empty rank and passively subsisted on the incomes derived from their rents and taxes.

Consequently, the Han dynasty became weak, solitary and alone. Thus, Wang Mang, without waging war or commanding territory, could take the Empire away. Greedy for merit and desiring to rule autocratically,

he refused to enfeoff his sons and grandsons, his relatives with the same surname, or his relatives by marriage, who could have been his fences and supports. As a result, when war broke out there was no one to aid him.

Tradition says, "He who suffers from the same disease¹ as a dead man cannot be a physician. He who pursues the same policies as a defeated country cannot be consulted in preparing plans." The actions of Wang Mang were very similar to those of the violent Ch'in. Therefore, he too perished after fifteen years of rule.

The hunter and marksman who is after birds and beasts desires to hit them but first fears that the wound will not be great enough. But once he has captured his prey, he is annoyed that there is so much injured meat. Once a rustic man found a fish sauce² which he liked very much. When meal time came, he disliked the idea of having to share it, so he spat a little into it. This angered those who shared the meal with him, so they blew their noses into his sauce and left. Consequently, no one³ could eat.⁴

The defeated Ch'in and Wang Mang were both, at the time when they intended to seize the Empire, pleased to share it with others. But once they attained it, they loved it dearly and refused to share it. This is like loving the meat and spitting into the sauce.

P'ei-wen yün-fu, p. 3248.2, sub "t'ing chiang" 脰醬 ("strips of dry meat and sauce"), quotes the fish sauce anecdote from this text. The last part of the anecdote is somewhat different: "...but the people who were sharing the meal with him blew their noses into his sauce. Thus it was thrown out, and no one got [what he wanted]. The fallen Wang Lang⁵ of the Hsin dynasty was, at the time when he intended to seize the Empire, pleased to share it with others. But once he attained it, he loved it dearly and refused to share it. This is like loving the sauce and spitting into it." The PWYF version seems to be based on TPYL 492.5a (see note 4 below).

Once Duke Huan of Ch'i went out to see the ruins of an ancient land. When he inquired about it, he was

told, "There are the ruins of Mr. Kuo."

Once more [the Duke] asked how Mr. Kuo had come to this. The answer was, "He favored good and hated evil."

Duke Huan said, "If he favored good and hated evil, then his land should have been preserved but, on the contrary, it has been ruined. How has this happened?"

The answer was, "He favored the good, but he could not use it. He hated evil, but he could not abolish it. The good people knew that he honored them but could not use them. Therefore, they murmured against him. The bad people saw that he despised and detested them. Therefore, they hated him. The good people murmured against him and the bad people were his enemies. How could he hope to avoid defeat?"⁶

Wang Mang approved of the worthy, wise, talented and able gentlemen of the Empire. He sent inquiries to them and assembled them all together, but he did not use them. Consequently, these men criticized and murmured against him. Emperor Keng-shih hated the many kings with assumed titles who were devoid of righteousness, but he could not get rid of them. Consequently, each of them hated him in his heart and looked on him as an enemy. Therefore, Wang Mang was attacked and killed, while his palaces were consumed by flames. Emperor Keng-shih was driven out by the many kings with assumed titles, and his city and its suburbs were destroyed.

Both rulers favored good and hated evil and therefore could not escape calamity and disaster. Finally, the great capital Ch'ang-an was destroyed and fell into ruins because of them. Their acts were Great Faults indeed!

The ancestors of the Northern Man barbarians co-existed with China for countless years. They could not [be induced] to come to China by virtue, nor could they be annexed to China by force. Theirs was a violent and ferocious nature; they gathered like beasts and scattered like birds. It was difficult to bend their might or to make peace with them. Therefore, the sage kings held them in check but did not rule them.

In the past, when the Chou dynasty was in decline, the I and Ti barbarians attacked it constantly.

However, China did not perish, but survived with a thread of life. Thus, when King Hsüan brought about the restoration he was able to recover those territories which had been invaded.⁷

The First Ch'in Emperor, although he commanded four hundred thousand armored men, did not dare to peep into the region west of the Yellow River. He built the Great Wall to separate China from the barbarians. After the establishment of the Han, the Eminent Founder was surrounded at P'ing-ch'eng.⁸ During the reign of Empress Lü the shan-yü Mao-tun made irregular suggestions,⁹ and during Emperor Wen's reign the Hsiung-nu launched great invasions. Signal fires¹⁰ and mounted scouts¹¹ came as far as the Palace of Sweet Springs in Yung. During the reigns of the Emperors Ching and Wu armies were sent out several times and met with disaster. In the end [the Hsiung-nu] could neither be captured nor controlled. Then China entered into an alliance with them, making peace and forming royal marriages. From then on the frontier people¹² won peace and China found repose.

Later, internal dissension broke out among the Hsiung-nu, and they split into five groups, each following a shan-yü. Kan Yen-shou was able to meet their evil with his profound virtue. Thus the shan-yü Hu-han-yeh agreed to offer tribute and called himself [Kan's] subject.¹³ He came to court and saw there the House of Han. The House of Han could spread forth its virtue and extend its eminence, so its authority was revealed to all men within the four seas. There was no one who would not submit to them, and for generations there were no invasions. Now, [in the time of Wang Mang], it was still uncertain whether there will be peace or peril. The Hsiung-nu were suddenly attacked. Their seals and ribbons of office were seized; the titles and ranks of their great ministers were degraded and diminished; their customs and regulations were altered; and the territories of the shan-yü were divided into fifteen states.¹⁴ As a result hatred and fury arose, and the events ended in discord and struggle. Wang Mang refused to blame himself or show remorse.

When rebellion broke out¹⁵ Wang Mang maintained an unyielding and unreasonable attitude. Many generals and commanders were appointed; soldiers and horses were drafted and sent out; and provisions and materials were transported until the entire Empire was exhausted.¹⁶ Throughout the Empire there was grief, hatred, anger and

suffering, which gave rise to great disturbances. In the end not a single barbarian suffered any setback or injury. The result was merely self-exhaustion and self-depletion.

The Book of Documents says, "Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but there is no escape from calamities brought on by oneself."¹⁷ This is what is meant by that statement.

When Emperor Kao was surrounded he did not eat for ten days.¹⁸ When he managed to escape, he showed no anger, for he knew it was not wise to attack nor profitable to be angry. Now, the Hsiung-nu wronged Wang Mang, and he invaded forthwith, hampered, and harassed them.

Thus the present mess came about. Indeed, isn't this what is meant by "the meat of itself produces worms and man of himself produces misfortune?" When affairs that were not urgent become so critical it is an extreme case of self-created trouble.

54

Liu Chao's commentary to Hou Han shu 38, p. 4220 (Poukuan 5). Yen 14.2b. Sun 9b.

In the reign of Wang Mang the Western Seas Commandery was established. All officials [were paid] one hundred shih for attending to their duties. Another source says the pay was 400 shih. After two years of service they were transferred to another job.

55

TPYL 627.8a. Yen 14.2b-3a. Sun 23b.

Since the consolidation of the Han dynasty, the taxes¹⁹ exacted from the people during one year represent more than four billion. Half is spent for the salaries of civil servants. The remaining two billion is deposited in the Imperial Treasury as "forbidden money."²⁰ Eight billion and three hundred million²¹ from the cultivation²² of orchards and grounds²³ managed by the Privy Treasurer are given to the Palace for upkeep and defraying the cost of gifts and rewards.

The first part of the fragment is quoted in the commentary to Wen hsüan 36.15a (Sun 14a). The present fragment, shortened at the beginning, is also reproduced in Wang Ying-lin's K'un-hsüeh chi-wen 12.7b.

TPYL 531.8a.

Yen 14.3a. Sun 22b.

Wang Mang erected nine ancestral temples,²⁴ which had bronze pillars and rafters supporting the tiles, as well as²⁵ gold and silver engravings on the ceilings.

TPYL 871.5b.

Yen 14.3a. Sun 25b.

A raised fire rises in the night, ignites charcoal, and dries the walls.

Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 44, pp. 769-70.

Yen 14.3a.

Calamities²⁶ and abnormalities have always been present in the Empire; there was no age without them. If the calamities and abnormalities conjoin with an enlightened ruler and a wise minister, or with a prudent gentleman and a benevolent man, these men will regulate their virtue, improve their administration, examine their offices, and act with care, responding in this way to the calamities and abnormalities. The ill luck and misfortune will be erased, and misfortune turn into fortune.

In the past Ta-mou²⁷ found the abnormality of a mulberry and a paper-mulberry growing together in his court,²⁸ but he won the title of Central Ancestor. Wu-t'ing²⁹ saw the abnormality of a crying pheasant alighting on a tripod,³⁰ but he enjoyed a long life-span of one hundred years.³¹ King Ch'eng of Chou was beset by a calamity--wind and thunder which broke trees--but as a reward he received a contrary wind and a fruitful year.³² Duke Ching of Sung was upset because the planet Mars stood in the constellation of the Heart, but

[during the same night] it passed through three solar mansions.³³

From this point of view, no one was more [pre-determined] than these men when they responded by stopping calamities and abnormalities with their virtue, righteousness and sincerity. Therefore, the Book of the Chou says, "When the Son of Heaven sees an abnormality, he improves his virtue. When the feudal rulers see an abnormality, they improve their administration. When the great ministers see an abnormality, they improve the performance of their offices. When gentlemen and commoners see an abnormality, they improve their persons."³⁴ The spirits cannot injure the Way, and evil omens cannot injure Virtue. In a time of decadence and evil customs, among the ruler and his ministers great immorality and arrogance, as well as bad administration, can be found. Among gentlemen and commoners, there are many crooked hearts and evil actions. Therefore, many calamities and abnormalities appear. Moreover, these people cannot look inside and concentrate on themselves, nor can they fear Heaven's authority. Instead, they look outside and concentrate on slander and criticism, asking questions and digging out causes. They are deluded by the glib-tongued and the stupid, deceiving themselves as a result and incurring disasters and calamities. They all disobey Heaven and go contrary to the Way!

Cf. Liang Han pu-fen II, p. 343.

59

The So-yin commentary to Shih chi 28, p. 77.

Yen 14.3b. Sun 11a.

When Emperor Wu left [the capital he carried] the Imperial Signet, the official seal and an [ink] stone. Wealth manifested itself in omens. But Tzu-hou had no seal. The Emperor dreaded and loathed him, so he killed him.³⁵

A I lin 3.8b.

Yen 14.3b. Sun 6b.

In the past, when I was Wang Mang's Grandee in Charge of the Doctrine, there was a man who killed his mother. An imperial edict commanded that he be executed and his corpse be burned. I said that it was not proper to announce such a thing to the public.³⁶

I sent [the Emperor] a sealed memorial which said: "Once during the reign of Emperor Hsüan, the dukes, ministers and grandees of the court were assembled. When his turn came the chancellor said, 'The owl gives birth to young which devour their mother when they grow up, and thereupon they become able to fly.'

"A wise man responded, 'I have only heard that the young of the owl [grow up] to feed their mother.'

"The chancellor was greatly ashamed and regretted his improper words. All those present disapproved of the Chancellor and approved of the wise man. The words of the worthy man benefitted Virtue and Moral Transformation. Therefore, the gentleman covers up evil and spreads good abroad. If it is improper to mention the matter when talking of birds and beasts, how much more when talking of people. It is not fitting for the matter to be broadcast."

B TPYL 491.7a.

Yen 14.3b. Sun 21b-22a.

Once during the reign of Emperor Hsüan the dukes, ministers and grandees of the court were assembled in the palace. When his turn came, the Chancellor said, "I have heard that the owl gives birth to young which devour their mother when they grow up, and thereupon they become able to fly. Is that really true?"

A virtuous man responded, "I have only heard that the young of birds [grow up and] feed their mother in their turn."

The Chancellor and the Grand Commandant were much ashamed and regretted their improper words. The many gentlemen there all disapproved of the Chancellor and approved of the virtuous man's words because they benefitted Virtue and Moral Transformation.

Therefore, the superior man hides evil while spreading good abroad. [If such things] are shunned with respect to birds and beasts, how much more should they be shunned with respect to people!

C The version in TPYL 927.6a is essentially the same as version B, but it has an introduction somewhat similar to that in version A. Yen, as usual, combined all three versions: "During the reign of Wang Mang a young man, Pi K'ang, killed his mother. An imperial edict commanded that his corpse be burned and his crime exposed to the Empire. I sent [the Emperor] a sealed memorial....

61

Shu-i chi 1A, 8b-9a.³⁷

Yen 14.3b. Sun 9b.

Take off one's clothes and expose one's body³⁸ at the Stream of the Naked.³⁹ On the sea there is a Minister of the Naked.⁴⁰

62

Commentary to Wen hsüan 1.3a and 57.28a. Yen 14.3b.

Li Hsien's Commentary to Hou Han shu 70A, p. 1429.

Sun 12b.

Tung Hsien's younger sister became a Brilliant Companion.⁴¹ The residence where she lived was called Pepper Wind.⁴²

63

TPYL 776.3a.

Yen 14.3b. Sun 16a.

In the Ch'u capital, Ying,⁴³ the wheel hubs on the carriages bumped into each other,⁴⁴ people rubbed shoulders in the market,⁴⁵ and roads paralleled and crossed one another. This is described as "A dress which is new in the morning and shabby in the evening."

The version in PTSC 129.3b is identical, with the exception of the variations noted in the notes 44 and 45.

The Shuo fu 59.3a version is identical to that in TPYL 776.3a.

64

Commentary to Wen hsüan 4.30b. Yen 14.4a. Sun 13a.

The roads were filled with weeds. They were a wide, empty and confused [wasteland].

65

Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 44, pp. 770-71. Yen 14.4a.

Someone said, "In the past, the dukes, lords, important ministers and all the multitude⁴⁶ would speculate on who would be assigned to a vacant post, saying, 'A or B should hold that post.' Later, it would turn out as they had predicted. How did they manage to know this, and how could they share the mind of the Emperor? Confucius said of Tzu-kung: 'When he makes a guess it is invariably correct.'⁴⁷ Now,⁴⁸ could the multitude be as good as Tzu-kung?"

I responded, "Men who hold office all come from the same class and do not differ greatly. Those whose good qualities are somewhat better are already apparent to those above and below. Those whose intelligence is different see things differently, while those whose intelligence is equal see things in the same way. What the multitude below privately say to themselves often agrees with what the Emperor [thinks].

For instance, in the past T'ang and Wu employed I Yin and Lü Shang; Kao-tsung chose Fu Yüeh; and Duke Huan of Ch'i and Duke Mu of Ch'in received⁴⁹ Kuan Chung, Ning Ch'i, Yu-yü and Po-li Hsi.⁵⁰ How could the multitude know such men? Although the multitude below may have liked to speculate on their suitability for employment, how could they have selected these men as fit for the posts⁵¹ of the great ministers and assistants?

The state establishes the hierarchy of officials and the system of punishments in order to set apart the evil and the crooked. Within, the Palace Assistant to the Imperial Clerk⁵² is appointed⁵³ to bring order into the Imperial Capital. Therefore, wise and experienced men⁵⁴ are usually employed.

In the beginning the hope was to revere the true law, but in the end contempt for the true law gradually crept in. Severity became the rule, and cruelty exceeded its bounds. Officials exerted all their energies to win merit and reward.⁵⁵ Or, one who wanted to make his abilities known feared the criticism of base and weak men. Therefore, these [base men] were restrained by flogging,⁵⁶ and crimes were created by the manipulation of the written word. So now, when the matter has become accomplished fact, and sentence has been passed, even if one wished Kao Yao⁵⁷ to hear the case, he could not hear it. It is truly tragic.

For a few trivial words, a man and his entire clan are executed. [This state of affairs] has come about gradually. Often, when someone in the court is angry, he does not check out the source of the slander which he hears. This creates contradiction and confusion in the Empire. The people of the Empire mock the cruelty of the officers of the law by saying, "The lower officers enforce severity so that they can let the High One dispense mercy and grace."⁵⁸

This statement is completely inaccurate. A wise government servant or an upright official should conduct affairs and uphold the law in a manner as clear as the red and green used [in painting].⁵⁹ Therefore, if a word is proper, it should be possible to carry it out. If a crime is properly [defined], it should be possible to punish it. Why should anyone harbor the strange desire to accuse whomever he wishes? If the High One happens to neglect the case, if he does not delay it and give it a hearing, then [the accused] is bound to suffer a violent death.⁶⁰

Under Emperor Ai, Wu K'e, an expectant appointee, was summoned to a royal audience several times because he knew the stars and enjoyed feats of magic. Later, he was tried in court because of the Emperor's⁶¹ affair and imprisoned. At the end of his prison term, it was discovered in interrogation that he had once said to some people, "The Han dynasty will produce a courageous, and reckless young man, a man like Emperor Wu." The cruel and violent [administrator of the law] thought these words improper and highly disrespectful for they called a late emperor "a reckless young man."⁶²

Now, if words are occasionally excessive or amiss, the speaker should not be punished and executed; when words are slanderous and deceptive they can, without exception, be considered criminal.

The Book of Changes says, "The great man produces his changes like the tiger, ... the superior man produces his changes like the leopard."⁶³ Now, if one uses this when speaking of the ruler of men, he might say, "Why am I compared with birds and beasts?" If one compares the wisdom of the ruler to Yao and Shun, he might be angered and say, "Why am I compared to the dead?" The assistants and officers of unenlightened rulers follow and obey them,⁶⁴ complying with and executing their words. Are they not doubling the dark ignorance of their rulers?

TPYL 863.5b.

Yen 14.4b. Sun 25a.

P'ang Chen,⁶⁵ Great Administrator of Chiu-chiang, made an inspection to see that the Prefects were continuing the custom inherited from the remote ancestors⁶⁶ of sacrificing the remaining meat⁶⁷ to the spirits of the earth. He found twenty catties of raw beef.⁶⁸ P'ang Chen charged the Prefect, asking the Master in Charge of Robbers⁶⁹ to chase and arrest him. The imperial edict⁷⁰ stated that remaining meat should not be stolen.⁷¹ In all the yamens and prefectures the officials set right⁷² the winter sacrifices, the worship of ancestors and the sacrifices to the God of Kitchen. They presented not only hot food, but also much meat, rice, wine, and dried meat. Numerous delicacies also increased the abundant [feast]. Every commandery and yamen even slaughtered several cows.

NOTES: CHAPTER 6

1. This is a slight modification of Huai-nan-tzu 17, p. 293.
2. The K'ang-hsi tzu-tien gives the pronunciation of the character 脍 as shen or t'ing. Its exact meaning is unknown, but it appears to be a kind of fish or fish sauce (cf. DKJ 46176). PWYP 3248,2, quoting this fragment, has t'ing 脍 ("strips of dried meat").
3. In accord with the commentary to Ch'ün-shu chih-yao, I read chü 俱 instead of tan 佗. PWYF also has tan, while both TPYL quotations (see the following note), have chü.
4. TPYL 492.5a (Sun 22a) quotes the anecdote, as well as the concluding paragraph of this fragment, while TPYL 865.8a (Sun 22a, commentary) only relates the anecdote of the fish sauce. Both versions are very similar to that found in the Ch'ün-shu chih-yao.
5. "Wang Lang" 王朗 appears to be a misprint for Wang Mang 王莽.
6. The same anecdote can be found in the fourth chapter of Liu Hsiang's Hsin hsü (11b-12a). Liu Hsiang's point is somewhat different: Kuan Chung reproves Duke Huan for not having asked the name of his informant, who was invited in and rewarded.
7. The Chou ruler Li was in exile from 841 to 828 B.C. King Hsüan became his successor (827-783 B.C.). Cf. Chavannes, MH I, pp. 275-76.
8. Kao-tsu was surrounded by the Hsiung-nu at P'ing-ch'eng. Cf., e.g., Shih chi 110, pp. 26-27; Watson II, pp. 165-66. Huan T'an suggested a method which Kao-tsu may have used in his escape seven days after he was encircled; see fragment 159, as quoted in the Chi-chieh commentary to Shih chi 56, p. 14 (cf. Watson I, pp. 160-61).
9. This is alluded to several times in the Shih chi (e.g., in chapter 100, p. 4), but only Han shu 94A, p. 5314, reproduces Mao-tun's letter to Empress Lü. The shan-yü suggested that, since they were both old and alone, they might marry.

10. In 158 B.C. Cf. Shih chi 110, p. 42; Watson II, p. 176.
11. In 162 B.C. Cf. Shih chi 110, p. 37; Watson II, p. 173.
12. In accordance with the commentary to the Ch'ün-shu chih-yao, I read min 民 ("people") for the yung 甬 of the text.
13. In the year B.C. 58, the shan-yü sent his younger brother to pay court; HFHD II, p. 246. See also Kan Yen-shou's disproportionately short biography in Han shu 70, which mentions only that Kan Yen-shou killed the shan-yü Chih-chih in 36 B.C. Three years later Chih-chih's rival, the shan-yü Hu-han-yeh, came to court and was among other things, given a Chinese court lady for his wife. Cf. HFHD II, pp. 331, 335, and 281-85.
14. The last measure was announced by Wang Mang in a message in late 10 A.D.; cf. HFHD III, p. 305. The same source says: "The title of the Hsiung-nu shan-yü was changed, and he was called the 'Submitted Captive [Fu-yü] of the Surrendered Slaves [Hsiang-nu]'; ibid., p. 304.
15. In accordance with the commentary to the Ch'ün-shu chih-yao, I read fan 反 for chi 及 .
16. In accordance with the commentary to the Ch'ün-shu chih-yao, I read tan 殫 for t'an 彈 .
17. Shang shu IV:V:ii:3; Legge I, p. 207. Also see Mencius II:I:IV:6; Legge, p. 199.
18. Instead of "ten days" the text should read "seven," according to Shih chi 56, p. 14; Watson I, p. 161. Moreover, the So-yin commentary to the Shih chi quotes a fragment of the Hsin-lun which also reads "seven;" see fragment 159.
19. Instead of fu-chien 賦斂 ("to exact taxes"), the commentary to Wen hsüan 36.15a has fu ch'ien 賦錢 ("exact money," i.e., tax money).
20. Han shu 64B, p. 4374 mentions that, under Emperor Wu, the cost of a military expedition of less than one thousand li was four hundred million. Any

deficit was covered by the "forbidden money" of the Privy Treasurer. Yen Shih-ku comments that the resources of the Privy Treasurer were used for the Emperor and therefore called "forbidden money."

21. This fragment contains important information on the economic history of China. As Yü Ying-shih says, "The annual revenue of the Later Han period is not reported in the Hou Han shu. Fortunately, the well-informed scholar, Huan T'an...has provided us with a clue, which may lead to breaking the otherwise hopeless deadlock. According to him, from Emperor Hsüan's time on [73-49 B.C.], the totality of annual fu-ch'ien [see note 19 above--T.P.], or tax money, collected by the Han government amounted to more than 4,000,000,000 cash, of which, he further states, half was used to pay the salaries of all the officials of the Empire. On the other hand, as for the total annual revenue of the Shao-fu, or the Emperor's purse, Huan gives the amount of 8,300,000,000, which was used for the upkeep of the imperial palace and for various kinds of imperial gifts." [Trade and Expansion in Han China, p. 62 and note 76].

This fragment was also studied by Lao Kan in his Ch'in-Han shih, p. 136. He believes that the character pa 八 ("eight") was a mistake for fan 凡 ("all, "in general"). Lao Kan thinks that the income of the Privy Treasurer could not be two times that of the Ministry for State Expenditure (ta ssu-nung; for the relation of the two institutions, see RBS 5, No. 99). If Lao Kan's interpretation is correct, the income of the Privy Treasurer would total only one billion and three hundred million cash. The problems with this short fragment reveal how uncertain the study of Han economic history still is.

22. For an explanation of tso-wu 作務, see Chou Shou-ch'ang's commentary to Han shu 90, p. 5230.

23. Instead of yüan ti 園地 ("orchards and grounds"), the text should probably read yüan-ch'ih 園池 ("orchards and ponds"), in accordance with Shih chi 30, p. 4 and Chavannes III, p. 542 ("...les parcs et les marais").

24. See HFHD III, pp. 395-400, especially pp. 398-99.

25. The text has tai 帶, instead of the ta 大 of Yen and Sun. Tai also occurs in another context in Wang Mang's biography (HFHD III, p. 399, note 9.11).

26. Instead of fu-i 夫異, I read tsai-i 災異 ("calamities"). Tsai-i is used again near the end of the fragment.
27. Ta-mou, or T'ai-mou, is Chung-tsung, the ninth ruler of the Yin dynasty.
28. This legend is treated in more detail by Wang Ch'ung; cf. Lun-heng 5, 19, pp. 203-204; Forke, II, p. 161. For different traditions concerning the two trees, see Huang Hui's commentary to the Lun-heng 2:7, p. 59.
29. Wu-ting, or Kao-tsung, is the 22nd ruler of the Yin. He may have lived ca. 1230 B.C. Cf. Shih chi 3, p. 23; Chavannes, MH I, p. 196.
30. Preface to the Shu-ching 29; Legge, p. 7.
31. The various texts confuse T'ai-mou and Wu-ting; cf. note 4 in A. Forke, Lun-heng II, pp. 161. In both cases, however, the two rulers were exhorted by a Tsu-chi to reform their way of ruling, with the success described by Huan T'an.
32. Shu-ching V:vi:16-19; Legge, pp. 359-60. When King Ch'eng harbored ill-founded suspicion against the Duke of Chou, Heaven sent down a calamity; later, when the King repented, acknowledging the Duke's innocence and loyalty, all the damage which had been done was made whole.
33. This story is related in Lun-heng in the beginning of the 17th chapter, pp. 191-92; Forke, II, pp. 152-53. Duke Ching averted the calamity with three virtuous maxims.
34. The source of this quotation is not clear. A similar idea is put forward in Li chi XX:3; Legge II, p. 203.
35. Apparently Tzu-hou is Ho Tzu-hou, i.e., Ho Shan, the son of the famous general Ho Ch'ü-p'ing who is mentioned twice in the 28th chapter of the Shih chi (Chavannes III, pp. 501, 504). Shih chi mentions that Ho Shan died suddenly in 110 B.C. and cites Huan T'an's fragment as an explanation of his mysterious death. Nevertheless, Shen Ch'in-han objects to this explanation, referring to the Wen-hsin tiao-lung 13 (Shih, The Literary Mind, p. 69): "The Emperor expressed his grief

in a poem..." Shen Ch'in-han believes that this establishes that Emperor Wu could not have killed Ho Shan. Chavannes' opinion (III, p. 504, note 1) is different: "Il est probable que l'empereur Ou fit empoisonner Tse-heu pour être sûr qu'il ne divulguerait pas ce qui s'était passé lors du sacrifice fong dont il avait été le seul témoin." In any case, we may only conclude that there may be no one reliable explanation of Ho Shan's death. Also see Chavannes, *Le T'ai-chan*, p. 19. For another fragment involving T'ai-shan, see fragment 117.

36. There has been a general tendency to conceal information like this. See Hulsewé, *Remnants I*, pp. 111-12.

37. The text of the *Shu-i chi* begins: "In south-eastern Kuei-lin, along the sea, there is Lo-ch'uan. Huan T'an's *Hsin-lun* says...."

38. For *ch'eng* 呈 ("to present") I read another *ch'eng* 程 ("to take off the clothes and expose the body").

39. Both Yen and Sun end the fragment here.

40. DKJ 34371.19 gives also the full two sentences. The term "*Lo-ch'uan*" is mentioned neither in the *P'ei-wen yün-fu*, nor in the *Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta tzu-tien*. *Huai-nan-tzu* refers to the Country of the Naked (*Lo kuo* 裸國), which lies southwest of China, but this has nothing to do with Huan T'an's *Lo-ch'uan*.

41. "Brilliant companion" (*chao-i* 昭儀) is a very high rank, next to that of Empress. Emperor Ai bestowed it on Tung Hsien's sister; see *HFHD III*, p. 8, and *Han shu* 93, p. 5291.

42. "Pepper Wind" (*chiao-feng* 椒風) is mentioned in Tung Hsien's biography in *Han shu* 93, p. 5291. *Han kuan* i B.la-b (Plate XVI of Chen Tsu-lung, *Index du Han-kuoan ts'i-tchong*) says that the walls of the Empress' residence were covered with plaster which contained pepper because it gave warmth. On the other hand, the term may have come from the pepper-tree, *Zanthoxylum*, which is a symbol of fecundity because it bears a great deal of fruit. Also, pepper has a fine smell which gives comfort to the aged (*Shih ching* IV:I:iii:v; Legge, p. 603).

43. Sun has *Ngo* 郢 instead of *Ying* 郢 .

44. Instead of chü kua ku 車掛鞞, I follow the PTSC 129.3b version, chü ku chi 車鞞繫.
45. Instead of chiao 交, PTSC 129.3a has p'ai-t'u 排突 ("push against each other").
46. 'The multitude below' refers to the courtiers.
47. Analects XI:18; Legge, p. 243.
48. I prefer chin 今 ("now") for ling 令.
49. I prefer shou 受 ("receive") for shou 授 ("to give to, confer on").
50. Kuan Chung and Ning Ch'i were chancellors of Duke Huan, while Yu-yü and Po-li Hsi were chancellors of Duke Mu. Po-li Hsi and Ning Ch'i are both referred to in Shih chi 83, p. 24. Yu-yü was originally an envoy of the Jung barbarians. See Shih chi 5, pp. 32-35; Chavannes, MH II, pp. 41-44, where both Po-li Hsi and Yu-yü are mentioned. All these men are said to have lived in the 7th century B.C.
51. The character 真 is unknown. It may be a mistake for either tse 責 ("duty, responsibility") or chen 真 ("true"). The commentary to Ch'ün-shu chih yao prefers chen while I believe it should be tse.
52. For chung-ch'eng yü-shih 中丞御史 ("Palace assistant to the Imperial Clerk"), see Chavannes, MH I, Appendix I, p. 514, sub III.
53. In accordance with the commentary to the Ch'ün-shu chih-yao, I prefer chih 置 ("to establish, appoint") to liang 量 ("to measure, deliberate").
54. Ming hsi 明習 ("wide and experienced men"); cf. Hulswé, Remnants I, pp. 340, 394, note 224.
55. The character wei 未 is superfluous.
56. For a detailed explanation of ch'u 楚 ("flopping sticks"), see Bodde and Morris, Law in Imperial China, p. 80. Bodde, however, believes that ch'u were first used in the Liang dynasty, long after this was written.
57. Kao Yao was a minister to the legendary ruler Shun. He is traditionally believed to have introduced penal law. Cf. Hulswé, Remnants I, p. 27.

58. "The High One" apparently refers to the Emperor.

59. Tan ch'ing 丹青 ("cinnabar and azurite," or "red and green"). For a detailed explanation, see HFHD III, p. 441, note 21.2.

60. For a discussion of the Emperor's personal roles in the affairs of the Empire, see fragment 11A, note 8, and the relevant text.

61. The commentary says that ti 帝 ("emperor's") is superfluous.

62. Ta pu-ching 大不敬 ("highly disrespectful"); see Hulsewé, Remnants I, pp. 156ff. Wu K'e committed some heinous crime, evidently "uttering imprecations against the Emperor;" see Hulsewé, p. 158. See also fragment 49, in which another man was arrested for a similar crime.

63. I ching 49 (hexagram ko); Legge, p. 168.

64. The term chih shih shun ch'eng 執事順成 is also used in Tso chuan, Hsüan 12; Legge, pp. 312, 317.

65. P'ang Chen has no Han shu biography, nor is he mentioned in the Hou Han shu. But, since he was a high official, chapter 19B of Han shu has some information on him: In 14 B.C., as Great Administrator of Ho-nan, he came to Tso-p'ing-i commandery, where he served for three years (p. 1304). In 8 B.C. he was a Privy Treasurer. He became Commandant of Justice and, two years later, Privy Treasurer of the Ch'ang-hsin Palace.

66. Both Yen and Sun give kao 高 ("high") alone, which does not by itself have any reasonable meaning. The text has kao ts'eng 高曾, which refers to a great grandson of a kao-tsu, which is an ancestor in the fifth generation. I believe that the meaning of the term is more general, perhaps "remote ancestors." Pan Ku, at the end of his Hsi-tu fu ("Fu on the Western Capital," Wen hsüan 1.7b) mentions that the Shang followed the model (kuei-chü) of their kao ts'eng.

67. "Remaining meat" is the meaning of li 釐, according to the Yü-p'ien, as quoted in DKJ 40146 sub 9. For other explanations, see the commentaries to Shih chi 84, p. 35.

68. The beef which should have been sacrificed had been hidden for the private use of the Prefect.

69. Chu shou tao 主守盜 ("Master in Charge of Robbers"). Chu shou ("Master in Charge of...") was, according to DKJ 100.119, a general title for officials who managed stores, prisons, etc. In this case the official was specifically assigned to handle robbers. This title is not listed in the dynastic histories or other official sources for the Han period.

70. Instead of shang ch'ing 上請, I read ch'ing-shang 請上. For an explanation of the term ch'ing, see my review of the reissue of D. Bodde, China's First Unifier, p. 132. The Emperor's assistance may have been requested because a misuse of a sacrifice could be an "impious" crime (pu-tao 不道). For a similar case, see Hulsewé, Remnants, p. 168, example 14.

71. Pu-tsang 不贓 ("not stolen"). Sun says that in his text these two characters are illegible; Yen has pu-shun 不脛, which might mean that the Emperor should not offer the meat as a sacrifice.

72. Instead of yüan-shih 緣是, I read yüan-shih 掾誤 ("the officials set right").

Chapter 7. Awakening Insight

67

I lin 3.8b.

Yen 14.5a. Sun 6b.

If the dragon does not have even one foot of water, there is no way for him to ascend to Heaven. If the sage does not have even one foot of soil, there is no way for him to rule the Empire.

68

I lin 3.9a.

Yen 14.5a. Sun 6b.

Prognostications¹ are derived from the Chart of the Yellow River and the Book of [the River] Lo.² They were only omens, but they could not be ascertained. Later, foolish people constantly added to and enlarged [the original texts], using them as bases for various theories. They claimed that K'ung Ch'iu was the author of the texts. Their error is great indeed!³

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 30, note 97.

69

I lin 3.9a.

Yen 14.5a. Sun 6b-7a.

Chang Tzu-hou⁴ said, "Yang Tzu-yün⁵ is a Confucius of the Western Parts,⁶ but he is so poor."

I replied, "Tzu-yün is also a Confucius of the Eastern Parts. Was Chung-ni⁷ only Confucius of Lu? He was also a sage of Ch'i and Ch'u."

70

I lin 3.9a. TPYL 68.4b.

Yen 14.5a. Sun 7a.

Drawings on water and engravings on ice dissolve and melt with time.

I lin 3.9a.

Yen 14.5a. Sun 7a.

Confucius taught four skills⁸ to gentlemen, each according to his taste. Like a market where many different goods are displayed, those who wish to buy⁹ arrive together.

Commentary to Wen hsüan 20.20a. Yen 14.5a. Sun 13b.

The sage greatly surpasses [other] men with his heavenly manner.

This fragment is quoted by Hui Tung in an explanation of a memorial by Ti-wu Lun; Hou Han Shu 41, p. 1484.

Commentary to Wen hsüan 41.32a. Yen 14.5a. Sun 14b.

Yen Yüan was [a man of] eminent and excellent talent, second only to the sages. Upon hearing one point, he knew ten.¹⁰

Commentary to Wen hsüan 53.20a and 59.1a.

Yen 14.5b. Sun 15a.

Tzu-kung said to Duke Ching of Ch'i,¹¹ "In serving Confucius I am like a thirsty man who carries a cup and goes to drink from a river or a sea. When [his stomach] is full¹² he goes away. How is he to know the depth of the river or the sea?"¹³

TPYL 569.8a. Ch'u-hsüeh chi 15.9b.

Yen 14.5b. Sun 18a.

A house without trimming is not the equal of O-pang Palace. An uncarved beam is not the equal of a

polished rafter. Dark-colored liquors¹⁴ are not the equals of Ts'ang-wu wine.¹⁵ The k'ung and chieh [instruments]¹⁶ are not the equals of the flowing music of Cheng.¹⁷

Previous translation: J.-P. Diény, Aux origines de la poesie classique en Chine, p.37.

76

TPYL 404.8a.

Yen 14.5b. Sun 21a.

A proverb says, "Three years of study [alone] does not equal three years with a selected teacher."

Previous translation: A. Forke, Geschichte der mittel-älterlichen chinesischen Philosophie, p. 103 and note 3.

77

TPYL 860.9b.

Yen 14.5a. Sun 25a.

Confucius was an ordinary man,¹⁸ but he became eminent and his hand became famous. When they come to his tomb, those of high-rank sacrifice beef, mutton, chicken and pork, while the lower people offer wine, dried meat and a cold repast.¹⁹ After paying their respects they leave.

78

TPYL 932.3a.

Yen 14.5b.

Fragment 78 was not written by Huan T'an, but by Ku T'an. The biography of Ku T'an, who wrote a Hsin-yü, can be found in San-kuo chih, Wu chih 7.10b-12a. Ku T'an was from a good family; his grandfather Ku Yung (168-243 A.D.) was a chancellor of Wu for nineteen years. In the second half of the third century A.D., Ku T'an was imprisoned and banished to Chiao-chih, where he died two years later at the age of forty-one. The confusion of Huan T'an and Ku T'an may be due to the simple fact that their names are quite similar (Huan 桓 resembles Ku 顧), as are the titles of

their books (Hsin-lun and Hsin-yü). The fragments of Ku-tzu hsin-yü (two double-pages) were collected in Ma Kuo-han, Yü-han shan-fang chi i shu, vol. 75. After the restoration of the Han, the name Chiao-chih appears only late in the first century A.D.; for a detailed explanation, see Ch'en Ching-ho, Chiao-chih ming-ch'eng k'ao.

NOTES: CHAPTER 7

1. The first character, given by Yen as ch'an 讖 ("prognostications"), was illegible to the editor of I lin.
2. Legge, I Ching, Appendix III, p. 374.
3. For a detailed account, see, for example, Tai Chün-jen, Ho-t'u Lo-shu ti pen-chih chi-ch'i yüan-lai ti kung-yung. A short and brilliant explanation of Ho-t'u 河圖, ("the River Chart"), can be found in W. A. Rickett, Kuan-tzu: A Repository of Early Chinese Thought, pp. 183-88. Ch'en P'an, who systematically studied the ch'an and wei texts explains the two middle sentences of Huan T'an's difficult text: "This means that the Chart of the Yellow River and the Book of the River Lo which, according to the tradition, were extremely old, originally had no inscriptions, but merely some streaks resembling characters or sketches. Some of them were recognizable, while others were not. Later, people modified and embellished them, saying that the Chart and the Book, the ch'an and the wei, etc., were proving this or that. Therefore, their number was always increasing." Ch'en P'an, Ch'an-wei ming-ming chi ch'i hsiang-kuan chih-chu wen-t'i, p. 26.
4. This is apparently the only reference to this man, who is otherwise unknown.
5. Yang Tzu-yün is Yang Hsiung.
6. Yang Hsiung was born in Szechwan, which is in western China.
7. Chung-ni was the tzu 字 ("style name") of Confucius.
8. For ssu k'o 四科 ("four disciplines"), see Analects XI:II.2. They are virtue, able speech, administrative ability, and literary attainment.
9. Sun is incorrect in thinking that the character chih 置 is erroneous; one of its meanings is "to buy."
10. Analects V:VIII:2; Legge, p. 176.
11. Sun does not include "of Ch'i."

12. "Stomach" has been added by Yen.

13. This story is not found in the Analects. An account of Tzu-kung's conversation with Duke Ching can be found near the end of Chapter 11 of the Shuo-yüan, but it does not contain this statement. However, the preceding story in that chapter of the Shuo-yüan tells of Tzu-kung's conversation with Chao Chien-tzu, in which he compares Confucius to a river or a sea. This apparently inspired Huan T'an's simile. For another anecdote which Huan T'an derived from Chapter 11, see fragment 171.

14. Li chi VII:I:10; Legge, I, p. 370 and note 2.

15. Ts'ang-wu was a large commandery, covering most of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. It dates from the time of Emperor Wu.

16. S. Couvreur, Li Ki II, p. 91, remarks, "Deux instruments qui servent à donner le signal, l'un au commencement, l'autre à la fin des morceaux de musique."

17. The Confucian literati considered the tunes of Cheng to be notoriously frivolous, although no one has ever clearly defined what was improper about them.

18. Cheng fu 正夫. Both Yen and Sun give p'i fu 匹夫.

19. DKJ 7239.96 identifies the han-chü 寒具 ("cold repast") with the modern san-tzu 餠子, which is fried, puffy shredded dough. Han shih 寒食 ("day of cold food") is a day in spring when people travel to visit graves; see, e.g., F. W. Mote, The Poet Kao Ch'i, p. 136.

Chapter 8. Dispersing Obscurantism

79

A I lin 3.9a.

Yen 14.5b-6a. Sun 7a.

Since Yen Yüan's allotted span was short,¹ he² thought affectionately of Confucius, wishing to return to him in his later years. He heard the words of the eastern village:³ "When the people hear the music of Ch'ang-an, they come out of the gates, look towards the west and laugh. The smell of meat is pleasant, so they stand in front of a butcher's shop, chewing vigorously."⁴

Similarly, people of today, although they cannot discern the sage, still admire him with delight. A common horse and an excellent, fine horse chase each other's bit and tail, but then, in the evening, the excellent horse neighs and eats as usual, while the common horse hangs down his head and will not eat.

How does this differ from Yen Yüan and Confucius's being fit or unfit?

B TPYL 897.2b.

Yen 14.5b-6a. Sun 25b-26a.

Since Yen Yüan's allotted span was short, he thought affectionately of Confucius, [wishing to] return to him in his later years. Similarly, a common horse and an excellent horse chase each other, but then, in the evening, when they are placed together in the halting place, the excellent horse neighs and eats as usual, while the common horse hangs down his head and will not eat again.

How does this differ from Yen Yüan and K'ung Ch'iu's fitness and unfitness?

C Yen 14.5b-6a. Sun 7a.

The following sources give similar versions of the anecdote of Ch'ang-an music and the smell of meat:⁵ TPYL 391.7a, 496.4b, 828.2b, and 863.5b; PTSC 145.4a; IWLC 72.6a; Ch'u-hsüeh chi 26.14a; Commentary to Wen hsüan 41.22a; and Po K'ung liu t'ieh 16.6b.

A I lin 3.9a-b.

Yen 14.6a. Sun 7a-b.

In my youth I saw the beautiful writings of Yang Tzu-yün and wished to follow them. Once I wrote a small fu, and, having strained my mind too much, I immediately fell ill. Tzu-yün has said that when Emperor Ch'eng ordered him to write the "Fu on the Kan-ch'üan [Palace]," he, too, violently strained himself. He became tired and lay down. He dreamed that his viscera fell out on to the floor. He gathered them up with his hand and put them back again. Later he awoke, with an ailment of the breath which lasted for a year. Therefore, one may say that exhausting the mind injures one's vitality and one's spirit.

B PTSC 102.2a.

Yen 14.6a.

During the reign of Emperor Ch'eng, when the Brilliant Companion Chao Fei-yen was in great favor, Yang Tzu-yün was charged by Imperial edict to write fu. Every time an Imperial progress was made to the Kan-ch'üan [Palace] Yang violently strained his mind and vitality, and, after he completed the fu at great pains, he was tired and took a nap. He dreamed that his viscera fell out and that he put them back again with his hands. Later he awoke with his breath greatly diminished. One year later he died.

C IWLC 56.18a and 75.8b. TPYL 75.8b, 587.7a and

739.2a.

Yen 14.6a. Sun 13a.

In my youth I saw the beautiful writings and noble essays of Yang Tzu-yün. I did not appreciate my youth or the fact that I was a novice,⁶ but wished to overtake him at once. Inspired by an event,⁷ I wrote a small fu. Having strained my energy and my mind too violently, I immediately found that I had become ill.⁸

Tzu-yün has said that Emperor Ch'eng, while travelling to the Kan-ch'üan Palace, charged him by Imperial edict to write fu. Because he had exerted himself violently, he was tired and had a little nap. He dreamed that his viscera fell out on to the floor. He put them back in with his hands. When he awoke, his breath was greatly diminished. He was ill for a year.⁹

In my youth I liked his writings.¹⁰ Tzu-yün labored on his fu and odes.¹¹ I wished to learn from him. Tzu-yün said, "If you can read a thousand fu, then you will be skilled at writing them!"¹²

D Commentary to Wen hsüan 17.4a. Yen 14.6a. Sun 13a.

(the first paragraph only)

Huan T'an wished to learn the art of writing fu from Yang Tzu-yün. Tzu-yün said, "If you can read a thousand fu, then you will be skilled at writing them!" T'an admired Tzu-yün's writings. Having exerted his mind on a small fu, he instantly suffered an attack of illness. He recovered only after a whole day.

Tzu-yün said that Emperor Ch'eng, when sacrificing at the Kan-ch'üan Palace, ordered Yang Hsiung to write fu. He violently exerted his mind and vitality, became tired, and took a little nap. He dreamed that his viscera fell out and he put them back in with his hands. Later he awoke and felt ill. He was breathless and palpitating, and his breath was greatly diminished.

Fragment 80D seems to be a summary of Huan T'an's information written by someone else.

E The following sources tell, more or less, the same story of Yang Hsiung's sufferings as was told in the other fragments: TPYL 393.7b and 399.6a; PTSC 102; 3b-4a; commentary to Wen hsüan 7.1a; Po K'ung liu t'ieh 86.4a; and Shuo fu 59.3b.¹³

Previous translation of Yen's full text: Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 543.

I lin 3.9b.

Yen 14.6a. Sun 7b.

Chuang Chou [Chuang Tzu] was seriously ill, and his disciples were weeping around him. He replied to them, "I am dying now, so who [dies] first? [Compared to someone] born a hundred years from now, who dies last?¹⁴ No one can escape death, so why should one covet these moments?"¹⁵

A TPYL 740.5a-b.Yen 14.6a-b. Sun 11b.
(commentary)

When I was a Grandee in the Directorate of Music, I received the memoirs of the musicians. They said that Emperor Wen of Han obtained the musician Sir Tou, who was 180 years old and had lived since the period of Marquis Wen of Wei. He was blind in both eyes. The Emperor asked what food he ate in order to reach such an age. Sir Tou replied, "I lost my sight when I was thirteen years old. My father and mother taught me music and how to play the ch'in [zither]. I did not use Taoist calisthenics and do not know how I reached this great age."

I felt that this explanation was plausible because Sir Tou, having been blind from youth, concentrated on the One and looked inward.

B TPYL 383.10b.Yen 14.6a-b. Sun 11b.
(commentary)

In the past, when I was Wang Mang's Grandee in the Directorate of Music, I read the memoirs of the musicians.¹⁶ [They said] that Emperor Wen [of Han] obtained the musician Sir Tou, who was 180 years old and had lived since the period of Marquis Wen of Wei. He was blind in both eyes. Emperor Wen, wondering at this, asked what he ate in order to reach such an age. Sir Tou replied, "I lost my sight when I was thirteen years old. My father and mother pitied me and taught me how to play the ch'in [zither]. Every day I studied and practiced until it became my regular occupation. I cannot perform [Taoist] calisthenics, nor do I follow a [special] diet.

Huan T'an thought that Sir Tou's [strong] constitution and [long] life span were attributable to the benefits of his having always lived in retirement and carefree contentment, since he was blind from youth.

C Ts'ao Chih, "Pien tao lun," Kuang Hung ming chi

5.3a-b.

Yen 14.6a-b.

In the past I was Wang Mang's Grandee in the Directorate of Music and read in the memoirs of the musicians¹⁷ that Emperor Wen of Han obtained the musician Sir Tou, who was 180 years old and had lived since the period of Marquis Wen of Wei. He was blind in both eyes. The Emperor, wondering at this, asked him how he had reached such an age. Sir Tou replied, "I, your servant, lost my sight when I was thirteen years old. My father and mother pitied my inability to learn any craft and taught me how to play the ch'in [zither]. Your servant was also¹⁸ able to practice Taoist calisthenics and does not know by what power he has reached his great age."

Huan Chün-shan discussed this and said, "Mister Tou put the fact that he was blind from youth to great use and, concentrating on the One, he looked inward. His sensibility was not aided by outward perception." [Ts'ao Chih continues], "In the past Chün-shan rebuked Liu Tzu-chün,¹⁹ saying that inner vision was useless. In the discussion of Sir Tou he used the argument of non-perception. I do not see any consistency in his theories."²⁰

D Yen Shih-ku's commentary to Han shu 30, p. 3108.

Yen 14.6a. Sun 11b.

Sir Tou was 180 years old and blind in both eyes. Emperor Wen, wondering at this, asked him how he had reached such an age. Sir Tou replied, "I, your servant, lost my sight when I was thirteen years old. My father and mother pitied my inability to acquire different skills and taught me how to play the ch'in [zither]. I have practiced Taoist calisthenics, but have swallowed no pills."²¹

A shortened version of 82D is found in Tung Yüeh's Ch'i-kuo k'ao, pp. 72-73. See commentary to fragment 176.

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 59.

A T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi 12.15a-b.

Yen 14.6b. Sun 26a.

During his travels Duke Huan of Ch'i met a man from Mo-ch'iu²² and asked him his age. The man replied, "Eighty-three years." The Duke said, "Would you bless me with your long life?" The man answered, "If you are to live a long life, you must hold gold and jade lightly and consider men to be your treasures."²³

B Ch'u-hsüeh chi 8.8b.Yen 14.6b. Sun 26a.
(commentary)

During his travels Duke Huan of Ch'i met a man from Mo-ch'iu.

A Hung-ming chi 5.4b-5b: "Chin, Huan T'an: Hsin-lun, Hsing shen."

Yen 14.6b-8a.

I once paid a visit to Tu Fang,²⁴ a former prefect of Ch'en, from my commandery. I found him reading the book of Lao-tzu. He said, "Through quietude, equanimity,²⁵ and the nourishing of his own nature, Lao Tzu lived several hundred years. Now, if we follow his way, can we not increase our years and avoid old age?"

I answered, "Although [people may have the same] body and name, their dispositions and innate natures, their talents and abilities differ in degree. Their constitutions are strong or weak, robust or fragile. By taking care of and nourishing [one's own body] when it is used, only a slight degree of improvement may be achieved. In contrast, if clothing, shoes, and utensils are cared for they remain intact for a long time."

By his side I saw a hemp candle from which about one foot of ash hung down. Using it as an example, I said, "The spirit lives in the body like the flame blazing in the candle. If [the candle] is properly tended and turned so that it follows the flame,

[the flame] need not be extinguished until the candle is all used up. Of course, if the candle has no flame, it cannot become active in the void, nor can its ashes be lighted later. The ashes are like man's old age: The teeth fall out, the hair turns white, the muscles and flesh wither and dry up, and the spirit cannot moisten and lubricate the body.²⁶ When such a state prevails inside and outside the body, the breath expires and the man dies, just as the flame and the candle are both used up.

"If a man unfortunately encounters some evil, injury, or illness and receives neither care, nourishment, nor an excellent doctor, he may die an untimely death. In such a death the muscles, flesh, sinews and bones are usually like flame which dies in a gust of wind, neither rescued nor protected. Such circumstances lead to death, although there is ample flesh and the stem of the candle is still long."

Once at night, while sitting and drinking inside, I lit a hemp candle. Half of the candle pressed down as if about to go out. Now, I said to myself, "Let's watch it carefully." I saw that its surface was cracked and gnarled. Then I tended it and turned it so that the flame passed over and revived. Now, man's body may also suffer loss and cracking, but if it is cared for immediately and supported well, it too may pass through [intact].

Moreover, since no one knows the time of his own birth, one should grow old and die without any knowledge of one's self. In the distant past, when the world was equitable and harmonious, people²⁷ were born with beauty and wealth. All were robust and strong and lived to a great age, some reaching as long as 100 years before their death. Death came to them imperceptibly, as if it were a sleep. It was like fruit and corn which fall by themselves after a long period of ripeness. Later generations encountered weak, poor and evil fluids. They married at improper times, and toiled and labored to excess. Therefore, they and their children were all injured. Their sinews, bones, blood, and energy were neither stout nor strong, so their lives were full of misfortune. Their lives were cut short, and they died prematurely in their prime. When they fell ill, they would suffer and grieve, and then their lives would end. Thus, everyone mourns and abhors death.²⁸

Once Duke Ching of Ch'i, glorifying his country and praising his own pleasure, said, "Suppose that there was no death in the past, what would happen to [the pleasure of the people of this time]?" Yen-tzu said, "The Lord on High considers man's death to be good. For the benevolent it is a rest, for the non-benevolent it is a going away. Now, you do not think of striving to increase your learning every day in order to reach understanding and thus establish yourself and make your name famous. Instead, you are only greedy for profit and longevity, craving to extend your life and increase your years. You are a man whose errors have not been dispelled."29

Somebody objected, saying, "I am afraid that your comparison of the candle and the flame with the body and the spirit appears [to be right, but is actually] wrong. Sometimes muscles and skin crack and are injured, but they recover by themselves because the energy of the blood circulates. If the hemp of the candle is broken or injured it cannot recover and be made whole again, even if a flame resides within it. Therefore, the spiritual fluid makes birth and growth possible, but the lighted candle cannot repair itself and become whole because it is of a different character in this respect. How can you wish to identify them?"

I responded, "The flame arises from one end, whereas the spiritual fluid of man is in the whole body and emanates gradually from the inside to unite with the outside or goes from the outside flesh to the inside. Thus it does not necessarily go from [only] one end. Let's compare it to a charcoal flame which burns red. If some water is poured over it, it too expires to a certain degree but it revives. It is the same as man's blood fluid, which gives birth and growth to the muscles and flesh. If we look at their outcome, they either burn or become ash. Why should they not be compared?"

Later, I sat one night in conversation with Liu Po-shih, and we lit a flame in some fat. The fat in the lamp was almost used up, and the wick was scorched, bald and about to die. Using it to make my idea clear to Liu Po-shih, I said, "Man's decline and old age is like a bald lamp." Then I repeated the previous discussion on lighting the hemp candle.

Po-shih said, "If a lamp or candle is about to go out, one should add fat or replace the candle.

Likewise, when a man is old and infirm, he either perishes or perpetuates himself."

My answer was, "The existence of man, who possesses form and body, is like a lamp or a candle. When the wick is totally used up and reaches its end, how can it resupply or replace itself? Its resupply and replacement clearly depends on man. Perhaps³⁰ the extinction of man also depends on Heaven, or Heaven may arrange for him [to continue his life].

"If his muscles, bones and blood energy are rich and strong, then his body and spirit may be supported and live for a long time. If all this is bad, then [the body and the spirit] are broken and injured³¹ just as the flame dies out slowly or quickly according to the quantity of fat and the length of the candle. One cannot wish that the lamp and candle would resupply or replace themselves, but if the fat on the side is quickly pressed so it soaks the tip of the wick and if the stem [i.e., the hemp], as well as the trunk [i.e., the candle], are turned or inclined accordingly, the flame becomes quiet and the light will usually be restored. But once the root is exhausted, the lamp and the candle cannot be rescued.

"Now, man, in cultivating his nature, may, like the pressing of the fat and the turning of the candle, grow his fallen teeth back again, turn his white hair black again, or make his muscles and flesh radiant and moist. But when the end of his life is reached he, too, can only die.

"The intelligent man knows how difficult it is to strive for [the prolongation of life] and therefore he does not exert himself for it. The foolish man deceives himself with hopes that 'the candle will change when the fat is used up.' Therefore he takes many pains and gives himself no rest.

"Grass, trees and the five kinds of grain come into being on earth through the energy of yin and yang. When they grow big and bear fruit, the fruit returns to the earth where it may grow again. In the same way, man, as well as the birds, beasts and insects, all reproduce by intercourse between female and male. Birth is followed by growth, growth by old age, and old age by death--like the alternations of the four seasons. To wish to change one's nature, to strive after strange ways, is a delusion which I cannot understand."

B TPYL 870.3a gives a short version of Huan T'an's discussion with Liu Po-shih. [Yen 14.7b]. Sun 25b.

One night when I was sitting with Liu Po-shih, the fat in the lamp [was almost used up], the wick was bald, and [the flame] was about to die out. I said to Po-shih, "Man's infirmity and old age is like a bald candle wick."

Po-shih said, "If man is weak and old, he has to continue himself [i.e., prolong his life]."

I said, "By enriching one's own constitution white hair may grow black again, but when the end of one's life is reached, one must die."

Previous translations: A Forke, Geschichte der mittel-älterlichen chinesischen Philosophie, pp. 106-108 (partially); Liang Han chih pu, pp. 211-14. See also Liang Han pu-fen, pp. 347-50.

TPYL 897.2b. Yen 14.8a. Sun 26a.

In the burial ground of Empress Wei³² there were ten horses which were used as mounts or to draw carriages at funerals. The officials and servants tended and fed them well and saw that they were well watered. They could not be ridden. And all the horses lived to the age of sixty.³³

A TPYL 990.5a. Yen 14.8a. Sun 26a.

I told Liu Tzu-chün that cultivating one's nature does not help [postpone old age]. His elder brother's son, Liu Po-yü,³⁴ said, "If Heaven produces drugs which kill man, it must certainly produce drugs which give man life." I said, "The plant ourouparia rhynchophylla³⁵ does not agree with man, so eating it causes death. But it is not produced for the purpose of killing man. Similarly Szechwan beans³⁶ poison fish, arsenic kills rats,³⁷ cassia injures otters, and

apricot stones kill dogs.³⁸ But these are not made by Heaven for this purpose.

B Fang I-chih, Wu-li hsiao-chih 11, p. 273 (ed. Wan-yu wen-k'u).

The cassia injures otters. Apricot stones kill pigs. The loach [fen-ch'iu] fears pepper, and the centipede, oil.³⁹

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 538. Cf. Liang Han pu-fen II, p. 345.

NOTES: CHAPTER 8

1. Analects VI:2; Legge, p. 185.
2. Instead of shang 殤 ("die young"), I follow TPYL 897.2b, which has fu 復 ("return").
3. Wen tung li yü ("words of the eastern village") may be wrong. TPYL 496.4b, among others, replaces it with Kuan-tung yen-yü ("a proverb of Kuan-tung"), i.e., "east of the Han-ku pass." This region was thought of as rustic.
4. Both the music and the meat are unattainable, and the people can only listen or look from a distance. But, while they despise the music of the capital, they are greedy for the meat. The latter part of the proverb is still common today.
5. The anecdote is also mentioned in a letter by Emperor Wen of Wei, Ts'ao P'i, in Wen hsüan 42, third item. See also TPYL 828.2b.
6. Hsin-chin 新進 ("novice"). Only found in TPYL 739.2a.
7. Only found in TPYL 739.2a.
8. Commentary to Wen hsüan 17.4a gives three additional characters which mean: "I recovered only after a whole day." See fragment 80D.
9. TPYL 739.2a adds, as in fragment 80B, that Yang Hsiung died the next year. A similar text is TPYL 75.8b. The next paragraph beginning "In my mouth..." is found only in IWLC 56.18a and TPYL 587.7a.
10. TPYL 587.7a. IWLC 56.18a has: "I once liked his writings."
11. Sung 頌 . Only in TPYL 587.7a.
12. This last paragraph is a short version of fragment 140 (Yen 15.5a); see also fragment 80D. The saying about a thousand fu is quoted in Hsi ching tsa chi 2.4a, but Huan T'an is not mentioned ("Somebody asked..."). In fact, this is a quotation from Yang Hsiung's reply to a letter from Huan T'an which evaluated Ssu-ma

Hsiang-ju's rhyme-prose: "Ssu-ma Ch'ang-ch'ing's fu do not originate from [the hands of] men, but their divinity approaches magic and should be studied carefully. There is a proverb which says, 'Even all the ingenious gods of Fu Hsi will not pass the door of those who practice.'" Cf. Yen, Ch'üan Han wen 52.10a. For another letter by Yang Hsiung to Huan T'an, see fragment 214, note 123. Another comment by Yang Hsiung on Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's rhyme-prose is in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Shih chi 117, p. 105, but it cannot be found in his Fa yen.

The comment quoted by Ssu-ma Ch'ien appears to be a late and very awkward interpolation. The reliability of Yang Hsiung's letter to Huan T'an, which also concerns Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's rhyme-prose, might also be called into question. For his source Yen merely refers to "Yang Shen ch'ih-tu ch'ing-ts'ai" 楊慎赤牘清裁. If ch'ih 尺 is substituted for ch'ih 赤, it appears that this source is a book by Yang Shen (1488-1559 A.D.) entitled "Correct Selection of Collected Correspondence," which I have not been able to examine. Yang Shen's book was probably rather popular, as it was later amended by another well-known Ming writer, Wang Shih-chen (1526-1590 A.D.) and reissued under the title [Tseng chi] Ch'ih-tu ch'ing-ts'ai 增集尺牘清裁. Yen is departing from his usual habit when he quotes a source as late as the 16th century for the first century Yang Hsiung. See my article, "Huan T'an and Yang Hsiung on Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju."

13. In Chapter 6.26 (Shen-ssu) of his Wen-hsin tiao-lung, Liu Hsieh discusses Yang Hsiung and Huan T'an, as well as Wang Ch'ung, in the same context as the present fragment. Shih translates (The Literary Mind, p. 156) as follows: "...Yang Hsiung had nightmares because of his inability to continue writing, Huan T'an fell ill because of onerous thinking, Wang Ch'ung exhausted his vitality in his intellectual labors...."

14. In other words, "I am the first to die, compared to you who weep. But compared to one born a hundred years from now, you will be first to die. If I am first to die and you are also first to die, then what's the point of weeping because I die first?"

15. In light of Chuang Tzu's well-known relativism, "these moments" apparently symbolize one's whole life. This quotation corresponds exactly with the famous discussion between Confucius and Lao Tzu recorded in Chuang-tzu XXII:II:XV; Legge I, p. 64.

Huan T'an's quotation is particularly interesting in two respects. First, Huan T'an's own point of view is revealed in his stress on the inevitability of death. Second, Huan T'an's quotation may present some evidence that Chuang Tzu's text was known and used during the Han period and thus was written before the Ch'in dynasty.

Wen I-to's Ku tien hsün i, p. 279, says, in a chapter devoted to Chuang Tzu, that he became influential only during the Wei and Chin periods. Wen I-to even declares that "Huan T'an did not even see the Chuang-tzu." He says that no Lao-Chuang ideas were discussed during the Later Han, and that only the Huang-lao doctrine was known. He also asserts that no commentary to the Chuang-tzu was written during the Han periods.

We possess quite specific information on Huan T'an's interest in and knowledge of Chuang Tzu and Lao Tzu from Pan Ku. The last chapter of the Han shu (100, A, pp. 5819-20) tells us that Pan Ku's uncle, Pao Ssu, refused Huan T'an's request to read these books, both of which were apparently owned by the rich Pan family. Although there is still no evidence that Huan T'an was ever allowed to read the Taoist literature in the Pan family's library, it is clear that he had at least potential access to the Chuang-tzu text. However, the text must have been quite rare; otherwise a Confucianist like Huan T'an would not have risked the mockery of the Taoist Pan Ssu.

Wen I-to's negative attitude is questioned by Chiang Shih-jung in "Yu kuan Chuang-tzu ti i-hsieh li-shih tzu-liao." Chiang quotes this fragment, as well as others from Huai-nan-tzu, Shih chi, and Han shu, to prove that Huan T'an did indeed read the Chuang-tzu. He also refers to Ma I-ch'u, who believes that this fragment represents a lost text by Chuang Tzu.

16. Fragment 82B has shu-chi 書記, instead of the chi 記 of 82A.

17. Yüeh chi 樂記.

18. The text has yu 又 ("also"), instead of the pu 不 ("not") of the two previous versions, changing the meaning radically. It is possible that this is a misprint. See note 21 below.

19. Liu Hsin.

20. Although we know of several discussions between Liu Hsin and Huan T'an (see, for instance, fragments 86A and 156), it is not clear which discussion Ts'ao Chih has in mind. See also the chapter on Huan T'an's relation with Liu Hsin, in Pokora, "The Life," II, pp. 537-42.

21. This fragment is quoted in Yen Shih-ku's commentary to the music section of the bibliographical chapter of the Han shu. Confucius' theory of music is explained and its decline attributed, as usual, to the pernicious influence of the tunes from Cheng and Wei. Surprisingly, the well-known hero, Marquis Wen of Wei, is credited with the patronage of musical literature: "Among the rulers of the Six Kingdoms, Marquis Wen of Wei was most fond of the past. Emperor Wen obtained his musician, Sir Tou." Perhaps Pan Ku adopted this curious theory from Huan T'an.

The historian Ch'i Shao-nan (1706-1768 A.D.), quoted by Wang Hsien-ch'ien, has carefully calculated Mister Tou's age to prove that Huan T'an was mistaken in giving it as 180 years, rather than ca. 230 years. Ch'i Shao-nan's chronology is undoubtedly correct, but the problem is not one of chronology.

22. Mo-ch'iu was a town in Ch'i, now Shantung, according to Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-tz'u-tien, p. 873.4. Chavannes, MH V, p. 106, note 5 could not identify the place.

23. Huan T'an's source is, again, Hsin-hsü (4.9b-10b).

24. Tu Fang belonged to the family of Huan T'an's friend, Tu Lin (Hou Han shu 36, p. 1297). For Tu Shih, Governor of Nan-yang, see fragment 128, note 68. Huan T'an's connection with the Tu family appears to have been very close. At least two men belonging to this group must have been rather unconventional, for they were included in the collective biography of the yu-chi ("wandering knights"): Ch'en Tsun and Chang Sung (Hou Han shu 27, p. 986). Chang was criticized by Huan T'an for his "error," which Han thought unworthy of a "perceptive man" (see fragment 103). In his youth Chang Sung studied with Tu Lin's father, Tu Yeh (Han shu 85, p. 5019). For other instances of Huan T'an's acquaintance with the yu-chi, see fragment 188, which is of

doubtful authenticity. The connection between Huan T'an and Tu Lin has been mentioned by both Lo Hsiang-lin (p. 141) and G. E. Sargent (p. 166) in Symposium on Historical, Archeological and Linguistic Studies on Southern China, South-East Asia and the Hong Kong Region. K'ang Yu-wei, who believed that Huan T'an was a disciple of Chang Sung, agrees; Hsin Hsüeh wei ching k'ao, p. 14.

25. These terms are found in Tao-te ching 31 and in later Taoist literature, such as Huai-nan-tzu 2.

26. Jun-tse 潤澤, which originally meant "softening and moistening," is also used by Mencius (III:1:20; Legge, p. 245).

TPYL 375.2b quotes another statement on hair which might also have come from Huan T'an's Hsin-lun: "The hair on the head is born on the skin. If the hair is removed, the skin does not know about it." TPYL introduces this with "Hsin-lun yü-yüeh" 新論語曰 which may mean either "the New Analects say" or, more plausibly, "a quotation from the Hsin-lun says." These sentences may be associated with the reference to hair in this fragment, or with Ts'ao Chih's comment on skin (see fragment 152F, note 28). This is only conjecture; it must be stressed that TPYL lists these sentences after quotations on the subject of the skin from Pao-p'u tzu and Hsi ching tsa chi, which suggests that the quotation belongs to one of the many treatises entitled Hsin-lun which followed Huan T'an's.

As a matter of fact, I lin quotes a fuller version of these sentences, attributing it to a Hsin-lun which contains ten chüan. Since I lin says that Huan T'an's Hsin-lun contains seventeen chüan, the quotation from TPYL 375.2b should probably be attributed to Hsia-hou Chan (243-291 A.D.), who also wrote a Hsin-lun. Or, it could have come from another Hsin-lun in ten chüan also quoted in I lin, which the editor attributes to Hua T'an (d. ca. 230 A.D.). See I lin 6.5a and 6a.

27. The text has jen min 人民, while Yen has jen wu 人物.

28. Chi-t'ung 疾痛 and ts'e-ta 惻怛 ("mourns and abhors") are two binomes also found in the beginning of Li chi XXXII; Legge II, p. 375.

29. Yen-tzu ch'un-ch'iu 7:4, p. 180, says that Duke Ching was criticized by Yen-tzu for asking what men of the remote past had delighted in when there was no death: "Duke Ching, drinking wine, was enjoying himself tremendously. He said, 'In the remote past they had no death, but what was their pleasure?' Yen-tzu answered, 'If there was no death in the remote past, just that was their delight. Duke, how might you gain such pleasure?'" The relevant text of Yen-tzu ch'un-ch'iu is quoted in more detail in P'an Yu's "Ch'iu hsing fu," Wen hsüan, 13.26.

30. For tang 黨 ("association") I read t'ang 黨 ("perhaps"). The latter character is given by Yen.

31. For a similar comparison, see fragment 156.

32. I believe that Huan T'an is referring to the chorus girl Wei Tzu-fu, who became the Empress of Emperor Wu in 128 B.C. She is mentioned in Huan T'an's conversation with Fu Yen, Marquis of K'ung-hsiang, which is related in the beginning of Huan T'an's biography. Wei Tzu-fu was quite popular with later Han writers.

33. The age of sixty is clearly a deliberate exaggeration, since the average life of a horse is between fifteen and twenty years, although some have been known to live for forty years.

34. Sun gives "Liu Po-sheng." Fragment 84 indicates that Huan T'an had similar discussions with Liu Po-shih. In a series of personal names only the second characters usually differ (e.g., Po-yü, Po-sheng, Po-shih, etc.). Therefore, Liu Po-yü and Liu Po-shih may have been brothers, since their names belong to the same series. Liu Po-yü was probably the son of Liu Chi; see also fragment 98. W. Bauer explains the customs concerning personal names in "Das P'ai-hang-System in der chinesischen Namengebung." Bauer explains, in his book on the same subject, that the p'ai-hang system for the names of brothers was already in existence in the Former Han period, while the complete p'ai-hang system for generations only appeared at the end of the Han; see W. Bauer, Der chinesische Personennamen, pp. 165-66, note 2.

35. Kou-teng 鉤藤 ("ourouparia rhynchophylla") given in Sun and translated in O. Z. Tsang, A Supplement to a Complete Chinese-English Dictionary, p. 362,

according to DKJ 40319.81, is a creeping plant. The text, however, has kou-wen 鈎吻, which is also classified with the creeping plants by DKJ 40319.90.

36. Pa-tou 巴豆 ("Szechwan beans") is mentioned twice in the "Yen-tu" chapter of the Lun-heng (66, p. 947 and 952 of Huang Hui's edition); Forke I translates pa-tou as "croton oil beans" (p. 298) and "croton seed" (p. 300). Croton oil is a radical purgative, which Wang Ch'ung says can cause death when eaten in large quantities.

37. Huai-nan-tzu 17 (p. 295) is similar: "People die from eating arsenic, but it satisfies the hunger of the silkworms. Fish die from eating Szechwan beans, but rats grow fat on it." Instead of pa-tou, Huai-nan tzu has pa-shu 巴叔, which is an oil-producing tree from Szechwan.

38. The text has kou 狗 ("dog"), while Sun, Yen and fragment 86B give chu 猪 ("pig").

39. The second part of this fragment is quoted only by the Ch'ing scholar Fang I-chih (1611-1671 A.D.), but this does not necessarily mean that the whole Hsin-lun was at his disposal. Fang may have found it in one of the numerous lei-shu ("encyclopedias"). For information on Fang I-chih, see the article on him by Hou Wai-lu.

Chapter 9. Correcting the Classics

87

Commentary to Wen hsüan 20.34a. Yen 14.8b. Sun 13b.

Students are already very ignorant and in darkness. Moreover, teaching methods are faulty. This is how stupidity is cultivated.

88

Yen Shih-ku's commentary to Han shu 30, p. 3129.¹

Yen 14.8b. Sun 11b.

Ch'in Chin-chün² could explain the title of the "Yao-tien"³ chapter. His explanation of these two characters was over a hundred thousand words, but his explanation of "examining into antiquity"⁴ reached thirty thousand words.

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 564.

Explanation: Pokora, "An Important Crossroad," p. 75.

89

I lin 3.9b.

Yen 14.8b. Sun 7b.

Tzu-kung asked Chü Po-yü,⁵ "Sir, how do you govern a country?"

[Chü Po-yü] answered, "I govern by not governing."⁶

Previous translations: F. Hirth, "Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur," pp. 435-36; Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 565.

A TPYL 608.5a.

Yen 14.8b-9a. Sun 23a-b.

The first Book of Changes is called "Manifestations of Change in the Mountains;" the second, "Flow and Return to Womb and Tomb;" the third, the "Book of Changes of the Chou Dynasty." "Manifestations of Change in the Mountains" consists of 80,000 words; "Flow and Return to Womb and Tomb," of 4,300 words.

The Old Text version of The Book of Documents previously consisted of 45 scrolls and 58 p'ien.⁷ The compiled Old Text version of the Li chi consists of 56 scrolls. The Old Text Analects consists of 21 scrolls. The Old Text Classic of Filial Piety consists of one scroll, 20 sections, and 1,872 characters;⁸ it differs from the New Text version in more than 400 characters.

These are a forest and a marsh of excellent treatises, a deep sea of texts and ideas!

B Yen Shih-ku's commentary to Han shu 30, p. 3122.

Yen 14.8b-9a. Sun 7b.

The Old Text Classic of Filial Piety consists of one scroll, 20 sections, and 1,871 characters; it differs from the New Text version in more than 400 characters.

C PTSC 101.2a.

Yen 14.8b. Sun 15b.

"Manifestations of Change in the Mountains" [Li-shan]⁹ is deposited in the Fragrant Terrace; the "Flow and Return to Womb and Tomb" is deposited in /the office of the/ Grand Augur.

This quotation is attributed to Huan Mao's Hsin-yü, but it is clearly from the Hsin-lun by Huan T'an.

D Wang Ying-lin, K'un-hsüeh chi-wen 1.7a.

Sun 4b (preface):

"Manifestations of Change in the Mountains" consists of 80,000 words; "Flow and Return to Womb and

Tomb" of 4,300 words.¹⁰ The Book of Changes of the Hsia dynasty is detailed, while the Book of Changes of the Yin dynasty is simple. The basis for this statement has yet to be examined.¹¹

E Commentary to Lu Te-ming, Ching-tien shih-wen 1.2b.

Yen 14.8b. Sun 12b.

The text differs in more than 400 characters.¹²

Previous partial translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, pp. 562-63.

TPYL 329.5a.

Yen 14.9a. Sun 20b-21a.

In the fourth month Crown Prince Fa¹³ offered a sacrifice on the heights of Pi. Down below he travelled as far as the north of the Meng ford. By this time he had become King Wu. Having completed his three years of mourning,¹⁴ he wished to complete his father's mission. He climbed into a boat and caught a fish.¹⁵ This was the response of the Earth. After he performed the sacrifice of the burnt offering,¹⁶ a bird descended. This was the response of Heaven.¹⁷

Two years later [King Wu] heard that Chou [Hsin] had killed Pi Kan and imprisoned Chi-tzu.¹⁸ The Grand Tutor and Junior Tutor¹⁹ had fled to Chou,²⁰ carrying their musical instruments in their arms. On the chia-tzu day, the moon [shone] like strung jade, and the Five Planets [glistened] like strung pearls²¹ at early dawn. King Wu had by morning travelled as far as the Southern²² Suburb and the Wilderness of Mu.²³ Following [the will of] Heaven, he punished Chou [Hsin]. Thus a soldier stained his sword with blood. The Empire was pacified, but not settled.

Wu-hsing ta-i 4, p. 85.

Yen 14.9a.

Man possesses the form of Heaven and Earth, holds within him the pure vital spirit, and, among

living things, is the most intelligent. Therefore, in his demeanor he moves as wood. In his speech he is as trustworthy as metal. In his sight he is as clear as fire. In his hearing he is as receptive as water. In his thought he is as wise as the Earth. His use of the five forces consists of movement, quietness and returning, so that they unite with the spirits.

If his demeanor is respectful, he is full of gravity, of gravity like seasonable rain. If his speech accords [with reason], he is full of serenity, serenity like seasonable sunshine. If his sight is clear, he is full of wisdom, wisdom like seasonable heat. If his hearing is receptive, he is full of deliberation, deliberation like seasonable cold. If his heart is grave, he is full of saintliness, saintliness like seasonable wind.²⁴

Metal, wood, water and fire are all contained in the Earth. Rain, sunshine, heat and cold all come from the wind. Demeanor, speech, sight and hearing are all born in the heart.

Previous translation: A. Forke, Geschichte der mittel-älterlichen chinesischen Philosophie, pp. 108-109 and note 2.

A TPYL 533.8b. Ch'u-hsüeh chi 13.18b.

Yen 14.9a. Sun 18a.

The kings built the Hall of Light²⁵ and the Jade Dam²⁶ to receive and transmit Heaven and propagate moral transformation.²⁷

B TPYL 534.2a. IWLC 38.27a. Yen 14.9b. Sun 17a.

The kings built a circular pond in the shape of a round piece of jade [pi], filled it with water and encircled it with a dam [yung].²⁸ Thus it was called pi-yung. It symbolized the reception from above of [the mandate of] Heaven and Earth to spread teachings and ordinances, to propagate the Way of Kings, to rotate a full circle²⁹ and then to start all over again.

C IWLC 38.24b.Yen 14.9b. Sun 9a
[commentary]

The kings built the Hall of Light. Above it was circular, below square, thus symbolizing the sky and the earth. Thus was created a hall with four sides, each with its own color, in the pattern of the four directions.³⁰ Because Heaven is [full of] light, [this hall] was named the "Hall of Light."

D Liu Chao's commentary to the 8th treatise (the second treatise on the sacrifices) in the Hou Han shu,

p. 3587.

Yen 14.9a-b. Sun 9a.

Because Heaven is [full of] light, [the hall] was named the "Hall of Light." Above it was circular imitating the sky, and below it was square imitating the earth. Eight windows imitated the winds from the eight directions. Its four extremities imitated the four seasons. Nine chambers imitated the nine provinces. Twelve seats imitated the twelve months. Thirty-six doors imitated the thirty-six rains. Seventy-two latticed windows imitated the seventy-two winds.³¹

Huan T'an may have written this description of the Hall of Light and its associated buildings in connection with the plans for constructing them. In 4 A.D., Wang Mang proposed the erection of the Hall of Light, the Pi-yung and the Spiritual Tower [Ling t'ai]; cf. HFHD III, p. 191. Dubs, however, translated this to say that Wang Mang "memorialized and built...these monuments." According to Huan T'an's biography (Hou Han shu 28A, p. 1017), Emperor Kuang-wu called a meeting to determine the site of the Spiritual Tower, and on this occasion he clashed with Huan T'an because of their radically divergent interpretations of the omens (The Life I, p. 32). Finally, we know from Hou Han shu, the second treatise on the sacrifices (p. 3587), and from Yuan Hung's Hou Han chi (8, p. 51; cf. The Dates of Huan T'an, p. 672), that all three buildings were built in 56 A.D. Ssu-ma Kuang erroneously concluded that Huan T'an's dispute with Kuang-wu took place in that year. In my article, "The Dates of Huan T'an," I demonstrate that this dispute arose in 28 A.D. My opinion is shared by M. Maspero; see his article cited in note 25 below. Since only the Spiritual Tower was under discussion in

28 A.D., and since Huan T'an died under circumstances indirectly connected with the dispute later in that year, Huan's descriptions of the Hall of Light were probably associated with Wang Mang's proposals in 4 A.D.

The second chapter of the large treatise, Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu by Hui Tang (1697-1758 A.D.), includes three quotations from Huan T'an's Hsin-lun which are not quoted by either Yen or Sun. Therefore, these quotations are translated below, with their recently discovered quotations (see fragment 175).

A TPYL 610.7b. Yen 14.9b. Sun 12b.

[The Tradition of Tso...].³² More than a hundred years later Ku-liang Ch'i, a man from Lu, wrote a Ch'un-ch'iu. It was damaged and much of it lost. There was also Kung-yang Kao, a man from Ch'i, who, following the text of the Classic,³³ wrote [his own] Tradition which covered and obscured the original facts. The Tradition of Tso bears the same relation to the Classic³⁴ as the outside of a garment does to a lining--both exist only by mutual dependence. Even a sage who pondered for ten years behind locked doors could not understand the Classic without the Tradition.

B Lu Te-ming, Ching-tien shih-wen, introductory chapter 20a. Yen 14.9a. Sun 12b.

The Tradition of Tso declined during the Warring Kingdoms because it was hidden. More than a hundred years later, Ku-liang Ch'i, a man from Lu, wrote³⁵ a Ch'un-ch'iu. It was damaged, and much of the text of the Classic was lost. There was also Kung-yang Kao, a man from Ch'i, who, following the text of the Classic, wrote [his own] Tradition which greatly departed from the original facts.

C I lin 3.9b. Liu Chih-chi, Shih t'ung 14.14b.

Yen 14.9b. Sun 7b, 12b.

[The Tradition of] Tso. The Classic and the Tradition bear the same relation as the outside of a garment does to a lining³⁶--both exist only by mutual dependence.

Previous partial translations: A. Forke, Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie, p. 109, note 3; Previous full translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, pp. 565-66.

95

PTSC 95.6b.

Yen 14.9b-10a. Sun 15a.

When the literati read the account of success and failure in political affairs, which is found in the Spring and Autumn Annals, they believe that a Spring and Autumn Annals will again be written when a new sage appears. I said this would not be so. Why? Later sages need not necessarily continue the ideas of earlier sages.³⁷ All that the sages and worthies have transmitted contain, in the same degree, the Way, virtue, benevolence and righteousness, creating wonderful treatises and unusual texts which are all good and well worth studying.³⁸

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 564.

96

Ku-wen yüan 11B, p. 272.

Yen 14.10a.

Usurpation, regicide and annihilation in Wu--the source of this trouble was Chi Cha.³⁹ Chi Cha would not consider the idea⁴⁰ of imitating the regency of the Duke of Chou of antiquity and, as far as more recent times were concerned, he admired the modest yielding of Ts'ao Mo.⁴¹ His reputation is already very small. How can one say that the significance found in the Spring and Autumn Annals lies therein?

I lin 3.9b.

Yen 14.10a. Sun 7b.

[It is said that] Yao could approach [the
greatness of] Heaven because his ability to appoint
the two sages Shun and Yü as his ministers is admired.

NOTES: CHAPTER 9

1. Criticizing the immense commentaries to the Classics, the author (probably Liu Hsin) of the bibliographical chapter of the Han shu complained, "The explanation of a text of five characters could be as long as twenty or thirty thousand characters." Yen Shih-ku used Huan T'an's fragment to demonstrate the truth of this statement.

2. Ch'in Chin-chün 秦近君 appears to be the scholar Ch'in Yen-chün 延君, also known as Ch'in Kung 恭, from Hsin-tu, the home of Wang Mang. Ch'in Kung's teacher was the erudite Chang Shan-fu, an expert on the Book of Documents (see Table II in Tjan Tjoe Som, Po Hu T'ang I, p. 86ff). The author of Chapter 88 (p. 5158) of the Han shu also remarks with some sarcasm that Ch'in Kung followed the path of his teacher in writing explanations as long as one million words. It is expected that Huan T'an and Pan Ku, both followers of the Old Text school, would ridicule Ch'in Kung who belonged to the New Text school of Classical criticism. Ch'in Yen-chün, erroneously called Ch'in Chün-yen, is also mentioned in Wen-hsin tiao-lung 18.51a. See Shih, The Literary Mind, p. 104 for an explanation of the title, "Yao-tien."

3. The first chapter of the Book of Documents.

4. The first words of the Book of Documents. For details, see Legge, The Shoo King, p. 16.

5. Chü Po-yü was a disciple of Confucius who is said to have become a Taoist. According to Analects XV:6, Confucius esteemed him very highly. The recorder, Yu, also praised by Confucius, tried in vain to persuade Duke Ling of Wei to employ Chü Po-yü. Two commentaries by Kao Yu provide more information on Chü Po-yü. The first of these (Huai-nan-tzu 9, p. 129) merely says that his name was Chü Yüan and that he was a tai-fu ("great official") in Wei. The second commentary (Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu 20:8, p. 264) states, among other things, that his name was Chü Chuang-tzu, his posthumous name, Ch'eng-tzu, and that he was the son of Chü Wu-chiu. According to Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu 20:8 (p. 264; Wilhelm, p. 357), Chü Po-yü was a chancellor in Wei. At that time Confucius, Tzu-kung and Shih-yü (i.e., Tzu-yü or Yü-tzu) were in Wei. For information on Chü Po-yü's alleged conversion to Taoism, see Chuang-tzu XXV:III:iii:8; Legge, p. 124.

6. This text is, with insignificant exceptions, the same as that given in Huai-nan-tzu (9, p. 129). Huai-nan-tzu points out that Chü Po-yü was a chancellor. Tzu-kung's discussion with Chü Po-yü is mentioned in Lun-heng 18:54, p. 778; Forke, I, p. 95.

7. Yen has 18 (十八) p'ien instead of 58 (五十八) p'ien, but he remarks that something appears to be missing. The missing element is the character for 5 (五) which should precede 十八.

8. Compare with fragment 90B. For a detailed account of the Classic of Filial Piety, see Chou Shou-ch'ang, Han shu chu chiao-pu 28, pp. 471-72.

9. Li-shan appears to be a misprint for lien-shan.

10. This sentence is quoted by Wang Ying-lin in his Han shu i-wen chih k'ao-cheng, p. 4 (p. 1390 in the anthology Erh-shih-ssu-shih pu-pien II). Wang Ying-lin remarks that neither book is listed in the bibliographies.

11. The last sentence appears to be Wang Ying-lin's addition. I include it because it is part of Sun's text.

12. The introductory chapter of Ching-tien shih-wen says that the arrangement of the Old Text version of the Analects differs from that of the Ch'i and Lu versions. The commentary to this statement appends this quote from the Hsin-lun. However, both Yen and Sun give another version of the fragment: "The text of the Old Text version of the Analects differs in more than 640 characters from that of the Ch'i and Lu versions."

13. Fa was the personal name of King Wu of Chou. See Shih chi 4, pp. 15 and 19; Chavannes, MH I, pp. 221 and 224, note 4. See also J. Legge, The Shoo King V:I:I:6; p. 285.

14. As was customary during the mourning period, King Wu continued to act as if his father, King Wen, were still alive and retained his previous title of Crown Prince. His speeches and actions are described in "Great Declaration," Chapters 27 and 28 of the Book of Documents and, according to that account, in Shih chi 4, pp. 18-23; Chavannes, MH I, pp. 222-28.

15. Catching a fish is an auspicious omen.
16. For the sacrifice of the burnt offering see Po-hu t'ung 18; Tjan Tjoe Som I, p. 240 and especially p. 332, note 319. The source is, 'once more, the Book of Documents (V:III:3; Legge, p. 309) from the chapter entitled "The Successful Completion of the War."
17. Wang Ch'ung (Lun-heng 3:12, p. 116; Forke I, p. 130) more specifically states that a white fish and a red crow appeared to King Wu. This is undoubtedly a later elaboration of the information given in the Book of Documents and the Shih chi.
18. Chi-tzu may be a name or refer to Viscount of Chi.
19. This probably refers to Chi-tzu (or the Viscount of Chi) and Pi Kan, but cf. Chavannes, MH I, p. 206, note 2. Both dignitaries are mentioned in the Book of Documents IV:XI:1; Legge, p. 273.
20. Shih chi 3, p. 32; Chavannes, MH I, p. 206.
21. This description may reflect Chuang-tzu XXXII: III:X:14; Legge, p. 212. It may, however, refer to the legend in the introduction to the first chapter on astronomy in the Hou Han shu (treatise 10, p. 3624), which says that the heavens were so arrayed in the Golden Age as a sign of total harmony. See also fragment 112B.
22. Instead of nan 南 ("southern"), Yen has Shang 商 ("suburb").
23. The Book of Documents (V:III:9; Legge, p. 315) and Shih chi (3, p. 33; Chavannes I, p. 207 and note 1) mention only the Wilderness of Mu, but Cheng Hsuan, quoted ibid., in the Chi-chieh commentary, says that the Wilderness of Mu is a name for Chou Hsin's "Southern Suburb" (Nan-chiao).
24. For this terminology, see the Book of Documents, "The Great Plan" (V:IV:6; Legge, pp. 326-27). For the correlation of phenomena, see ibid., V:IV:34; Legge, p. 340. Huan T'an's fragment is almost a direct quote from the Book of Documents. It should not be taken to represent his ideas, since the context in which he discussed it is unknown.

25. Among the many studies of the Ming t'ang 明堂 ("Hall of Light"), the more important are: 1) Wang Kuo-wei, "Ming-t'ang miao t'ung-k'ao," translated by J. Heffer in "Ming-t'ang miao ch'in-t'ung-k'ao: Anschluss über die Halle der lichten Kraft, ming-t'ang, über den Ahnentempel miao, sowie über die Wohnpaläste (Wohngebäude) ch'in." 2) A. C. Soper, "The 'Dome of Heaven' in Asia." 3) W. E. Scothill, The Hall of Light. 4) H. Maspero, "Le Ming-t'ang et la crise religieuse avant les Han." 5) R. Goepper gives a very concise account in W. D. von Barloewen, Abriss der Geschichte aussereurop äischer Kulturen II, p. 175.

26. Pi-yung 璧雍 ("Jade Dam"). For an explanation of this curious term, see fragment 93B.

27. Hsing 行 is not included in TPYL 533.8b.

28. There are various ways of writing the characters for pi-yung, as well as various etymologies of the word. Therefore, O. Franke (Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches III, p. 161) believed that the term was not of Chinese origin. M. Quistorp, "Männergesellschaft und Altersklassen im alten China," pp. 21-22, suggested that pi-yung was a home for men (Männerhaus).

29. IWLC 38.27a has chou 周 ("to rotate a full circle"), while TPYL 534.2a gives chung 終 ("to end").

30. Instead of chiao 郊 ("sacrifices"), in accordance with Yen and Sun, I prefer fang 仿 ("to imitate, follow the pattern of").

31. In Han China it was believed that in times of Great Equality, there was one wind every five days and one rain every ten days. Therefore, there were seventy-two winds and thirty-six rains every year. S. Camman believes that this description of the ming-t'ang demonstrates that the whole structure "was apparently a vast space-and-time diagram, reflecting contemporary beliefs" ("Types of Symbols in Chinese Art," in A. F. Wright, ed. Studies in Chinese Thought, pp. 201 and 229, note 9).

32. For the missing words, see fragment 94B.

33. I.e., the Ch'un-ch'iu.

34. The characters in the text appear to be misplaced: "The Classic of Tso bears the same relation to

the Tradition..." I follow fragment 94C, Liu Chih-chi's version; see note 36 below. Note Huan T'an's unrestricted praise of the Tso chuan and his sharp criticism of the Kung-yang chuan.

35. Tso 作, while 94A has wei 為.

36. The Shih t'ung text ends here. It begins, "The Tradition of Tso and the Classic..." Liu Chih-chi then adds his own opinion, "Tung-kuan Han chi quotes Ch'en Yüan's memorial; 'When Kuang-wu came to power, [the Tradition of] Tso was established. But Huan T'an and Wei Hung slandered it, and therefore [this text] devoted to the middle way was abolished.'" For an explanation of "the middle way" (chung tao 中道), see Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 566, note 193. The short quote mentioned by Liu Chih-chi is found in the very brief biography of Ch'en Yüan in Tung-kuan Han chi 16, p. 68a. It differs radically from Huan T'an's opinion of the Tso chuan, as revealed in the present fragment.

37. Sun's text ends at this point. For Huan T'an's comparison of his Hsin-lun with the Ch'un ch'iu, see fragment 2B.

38. Yen says that his text is based on both PTSC 95 and TPYL 68. However, TPYL 68 only includes one quotation from Hsin-lun and that is fragment 70 on ice (ping 氷). TPYL 68 also discusses ch'ao 潮 ("tide") and ch'uan 川 ("streams"). None of these three words is mentioned in the present fragment, so I cannot explain Yen's mistake.

In any case, for the sake of completeness, here is Yen's version: "When the literati read the account of success and failure in political affairs which is found in the Spring and Autumn Annals, which sets forth righteous principles, they believe that a Spring and Autumn Annals will again be written when a new sage appears. This is also the opinion of most learned scholars like the Grand Historian. I think it will not be so. Why? Later sages need not necessarily continue the ideas of earlier sages. All that the sages and worthies have transmitted contain, in the same degree, the Way, virtue, benevolence and righteousness, creating wonderful treatises and unusual texts which are all good and well worth studying. In the same way, all people include in their diet fish, meat, vegetables and egg-plants, for raw and cooked meals are of different flavors but they are still delicious."

For a similar, "liberal" espousal of the idea of a free choice of spiritual "foods," see fragment 71.

39. Chi Cha, who lived in the sixth century, was a man of excellent character. He refused to reign over Wu, although he was a twentieth-generation descendant of its founder and his brother had become its ruler. Instead, Chi Cha chose to leave his country and live in the principality of Yen-ling. He is mentioned often in the Tso chuan and in Shih chi 31 (Chavannes, MH IV, pp. 6, 7, 11, 13, 15; V, pp. 23, 200, etc.). Huan T'an may have been interested in Chi Cha because of his love of music; Tso chuan, 29th year of Hsiang (Legge, pp. 545-46 and 549-51) has a long section on Chi Cha's evaluation of various types of music. See also fragment 104, note 29.

40. The Ku-wen yüan text originates from a text by Li Yen, which records a discussion, probably fictional, between Li and a guest. Yen's version of this text has shu 書 ("book"), while the full text by Li Yen, as reprinted by Yen, Ch'üan Hou Han wen 82.1b, has ssu 思 ("idea"), in accordance with the text of Ku-wen yüan in the Wan-yu wen-k'u edition.

41. The text has "Ts'ao Tsang" 曹臧, evidently a corruption of Ts'ao Kuei 蒧, who is mentioned in Tso chuan Chuang 10. Ts'ao Kuei is Ts'ao Mo, a courageous general of seventh century Lu. In 618 B.C. Ts'ao Mo forced Duke Huan of Ch'i to return to Lu its territories which had been seized in three battles; cf. Chavannes, MH IV, p. 50 and note 2. Ts'ao Mo has a short biography in Shih chi 86, the first of the biographies of the "assassins;" cf. D. Bodde, Statesman, Patriot, and General in Ancient China, p. 29, note 42.

Chapter 10. Recognizing Intelligence

98

A I lin 3.9b. Yen 14.10a. Sun 7b.

Liu Tzu-cheng, Liu Tzu-chün and Liu Po-yü, the son of Liu Tzu-chün's elder brother,¹ were all intelligent men. They especially admired [the Tradition of] Tso. They taught it to their sons and grandsons, and even down to the women, all of whom read and recited it. This, too, is error.

B PTSC 98.7b. TPYL 610.8a and 616.7a. Shuo fu 59.3b.

Yen 14.10a. Sun 15b.

The three men, Liu Tzu-cheng, Liu Tzu-chün and Liu Po-yü, especially valued [the Tradition of] Tso. They taught it to their sons and grandsons,² and even down to the women, all of whom read and recited it.³

Previous translation: Forke, Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie, p. 109, note 3.

99

Commentary to Wen hsüan 23.28b. Yen 14.10a. Sun 13b.

The Eminent Founder of the Han established a mighty foundation; his merit equaled⁴ that of T'ang and Wu. When he fell ill he had a good physician but would not use him. He entrusted himself exclusively to his wife and submitted to the will of Heaven. In this he was also mistaken. This must be called the error of an intelligent man.

Cf. Liang Han pu-fen, p. 345.

TPYL 88.3b [see also notes 14 and 16 below].

Yen 14.10a-b. Sun 20a-b.

The Eminent Exemplar, the Han Emperor Wen, possessed the virtues of benevolence, knowledge and perspicacity. He took over [the Han Empire] when it was newly consolidated. Personally, he was frugal and thrifty⁵ so that he might benefit and give rest to the people, and save and aid those in difficulty and want. He abolished corporal punishment and liberalized the statutes and laws,⁶ [he promoted] economy in funerals⁷ and burials, and reduced [the number of] royal carriages and the expenses for official robes. This is called "to reach the essence of nourishing the living and burying the dead."⁸

When he was first asked [to leave] Tai,⁹ he deliberated, being full of doubt,¹⁰ and was able to follow the advice of Sung Ch'ang.¹¹ He answered the call and came quickly. After ascending the throne, he quieted the movements of war and practiced peace.¹² He dispensed and spread forth great mercy. Wishing to stop war, he established peace through marriages¹³ with the Hsiung-nu. He presided over the system,¹⁴ and, therefore, he was later praised and exalted with the title of "Eminent Exemplar."

But he gave himself over to private counsels¹⁵ and drove away his talented ministers. Nor would he rise above his private preferences, as when he disturbed the proper order of ranking by permitting his favorite concubine, Lady Shen, to sit with the Empress.¹⁶ This is an example of one who is perspicacious but still errs.

PTSC 15.4a.

Yen 14.10b. Sun 19b.

A strong, great and rich.

This fragment belongs to fragment 136 which is, in turn, related to fragment 100.

TPYL 88.10b. IWLC 12.17b-18a.

Yen 14.10b-11a.

Sun 16b-17a.

The talent and disposition of the Han Emperor Wu were high and excellent. He practiced the guiding principles of the veneration of his ancestors and the extension of his rule. Therefore, after ascending the throne, he carried out his great aspirations. He studied and combined antiquity and the present,¹⁷ and modeled himself¹⁸ on the sages of the past. This led him to establish New Year's Day,¹⁹ create regulations and laws, and invite and select excellent and outstanding men.²⁰

He spread forth his fierce authority, imposed a martial spirit in all four directions, so all against whom he marched submitted to him.²¹ He initiated the Six Arts and encouraged Confucian studies. The House of Han has reached the greatest glory of all dynasties since creation. Therefore, he shines as the Epochal Founder. He was indeed a ruler of unsurpassed excellence.

Nevertheless, the Emperor had many faults and committed many errors. He wished to extend the frontiers and enlarge his territory, coveted profit, and fought over useless things. Hearing that Ta-yüan,²² the country of the Western barbarians, had famous horses, he sent a great army which campaigned for several years. Many of its officers and men died, but he got [only] a few dozen [horses].

Again, when the chorus girl Wei Tzu-fu became greatly favored and loved by the Emperor, he secretly tried to find some misbehavior on the part of Empress Ch'en and for this dismissed her.²³ When Wei Tzu-fu was established [as Empress], her son was appointed Crown Prince. Later, [the Emperor] gave ear to the slanders of evil ministers, and the Empress died of grief,²⁴ while the Crown Prince [Liu Chü] left [the court] to perish in some unknown place.²⁵

[The Emperor] believed in witchcraft and black magic.²⁶ He invited and consorted with many evil men and sought out frivolous magicians. His construction of palaces exhausted the storehouse and treasuries

within, and exhausted the Empire without. It is impossible to count the number of people who died and perished. This may be called an example of the errors of a perceptive man.

Cf. Liang Han pu-fen II, pp. 345-46.

Han shu 92, p. 5272.

Yen 14.11a.

The Han shu's collective biography of the "wandering knights" [yu-hsia 游侠] says that one of its heroes, Chang Sung was killed by bandit soldiers after the fall of Wang Mang in 23 A.D. (p. 5272). In his commentary Yen Shih-ku points out that Li Ch'i (fl. ca. 200 A.D.) said, "[Chang] Sung knew that bandits were coming and that he ought to leave. But it happened that it was a taboo day,²⁷ so he did not leave. Because of this he was killed by the bandits. Huan T'an says, 'This was the error of a perceptive man.'²⁸

TPYL 556.1b.

Yen 14.11a. Sun 22b.

Yang Tzu-yün, who was a Gentleman, lived in Ch'ang-an. He was always poor. When he lost his two sons recently, he mourned deeply and carried both of them back to Shu for burial there. As a result, he became impoverished and in want. Yang Tzu-yün attained the Way of the sages and understood death and life. He should, therefore, not be ranked lower than Chi Cha.²⁹ Nevertheless, he mourned³⁰ his sons and resented their death. I³¹ could not restrain his [excessive] love by appealing to propriety.³² He brought great expenses upon himself and so became impoverished.

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 547. See also Archiv Orientální No. 29 (1961), p. 494, and fragment 197.

NOTES: CHAPTER 10

1. Liu Hsiang, Liu Hsin and, probably, a son of Liu Chi. For the latter, see fragment 86, note 34.
2. The last eight words are found only in TPYL 616.7a and Shuo fu 59.3b. The Shuo fu quotation ends here.
3. TPYL 610.8a has: "...recited and treated it."
4. Instead of hsü 徐 ("grave, dignified"), I read mou 侔 ("to equal"), in accordance with both Yen and Sun.
5. For this point, see also fragment 136.
6. Pan Ku's eulogy at the end of the "Annals of Emperor Wen," (HFHD I, pp. 274-75), although quite enthusiastic about the Emperor, does not credit him with this radical a change in the penal law: "Verdicts [of capital punishment] were pronounced in [only] several hundred cases, [so that he] almost succeeded in setting aside [such] punishments."
7. "Simplicity of Funerals" is the title of the 67th chapter of the Lun-heng.
8. The text has sung chung 送終 ("burying the dead"), while Sun has sung ssu 送死, but these two terms are essentially the same.
9. Emperor Wen, at that time called Liu Heng, was the oldest son of Emperor Kao. He was King of Tai from 196 to 180 B.C. After being selected by the most influential men, he was invited to reign over the Empires but he refused with the usual proper reluctance before he was finally installed. Cf. HFHD I, pp. 215-16, the introduction to the "Annals of Emperor Wen," as translated by H. H. Dubs.
10. Hu-i 狐疑 ("full of doubt"), is translated by Chavannes MH II, p. 458, as "défiant comme le renard," and explained in detail in note 2, ibid.
11. The Palace Military Commander of Tai, Sung Ch'ang, disagreed with the Chief of the Gentlemen-at-the Palace, Chang Wu, and felt that Liu Heng should

accept the invitation to go to the court. Liu Heng followed this advice only after a divination and other precautionary measures. Cf. Chavannes, MH II, pp. 444-48; HFHD I, pp. 222-26.

12. King Wu also receives credit for this in the Book of Documents V:III:2; Legge, pp. 308 (translation) and 309 (explanation). Instead of the hsing 行 of the text, Yen has hsiu 修 which corresponds to the Book of Documents.

13. This refers to the well-known policy of political marriages of Han princesses to Hsiung-nu chieftains.

14. This phrase is found only in PTSC 15.1b.

15. The text has su 俗 ("vulgar, common"), while Yen and Sun give ssu 私 ("private, secret"). Emperor Wen was very superstitious.

16. The commentary to Wen hsüan 49.27b quotes Huan-tzu, Hsin-lun: "Emperor Wen's Lady Shen disturbed the proper order of ranking by sitting with the Empress." Sun 14b. See Watson, Records I, pp. 521-22. It is surprising that Huan T'an's opinion of Emperor Wen coincides with that of H. H. Dubs (HFHD I, pp. 214-19).

17. This phrase is quoted in PTSC 12.1b-2a.

18. Instead of mo-fan 模範 ("to model oneself on"), TPYL 88.10a has huo 獲 ("to obtain"). In that case the translation would be: "He obtained precedents from the sages of the past."

19. This probably refers to the introduction of the new T'ai-ch'u calendar, by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, among others. It did not follow the earlier practice of rotating the beginning of the year, so the year regularly began in the first month. Cf. B. Watson, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, pp. 209-10, note 60.

20. Huan T'an appears to refer to the Emperor's adoption of Tung Chung-shu's proposals for the recruitment of talented young men.

21. Part of this sentence is quoted in PTSC 13.5a.

22. Ferghana.

23. This sentence is found only in TPYL 88.10b.

24. Han shu says the Empress committed suicide on September 9, 91 B.C.; HFHD II, p. 114.

25. This refers to the famous and tragic affair in August 91 B.C. and at the end of 93 B.C., when Wei Tzu-fu's son, Crown Prince Liu Chü, was charged with witchcraft and black magic. He had attempted a rebellion which was quickly suppressed, but during which several tens of thousands of people were killed.

26. Cf. J. J. M. de Groot, The Religious System of China V, pp. 826-44; H. Y. Feng and J. K. Shryock, "The Black Magic in China Known as Ku." This form of black magic, ku 誑, involved the use of a love potion to punish a faithless lover. It is ironic that the dismissal of Empress Ch'en in 130 B.C. to make way for Wei Tzu-fu was very similar. The only differences were that it was the Empress's daughter Ch'u-fu who perished on that occasion and that the heads of all the persons involved were impaled in the market place; cf. HFHD II, p. 41. The original meaning of the character ku was "hallucination;" cf. R. F. Bridgman, "La médecine dans la Chine antique," pp. 172-73. See also Hulsewé, Remnants I, p. 33, sub k. For the importance of black magic in Chinese law generally, and ku sorcery in particular, see the detailed account by T'ung-tsu Ch'ü, Law and Society, pp. 222-25.

27. The day fan-chih 反支. A similar story told in Wang Fu's Ch'ien-fu lun, chapter "Ai-jih" 廢日, as quoted in his biography in Hou Han shu 40, p. 1766. This has a long commentary by Li Hsien, who refers to the books on yin and yang. This was a taboo of the common people, not an official taboo.

28. Li Ch'i's information is reliable, since both Chang Sung and Huan T'an belonged to a certain group of men associated with the Old Text school. Cf. Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 522, note 6 and p. 570; see also fragments 84A, note 24 and 94C, note 36. Ts'ao P'i (see fragment 79, note 5) thought highly of Chang Sung and criticized Ch'en Tsun. A fragment of his Tien-lun, quoted in I lin 5.4b, says, "I-wu [i.e., Kuang Chung] was extravagant, while Pao shu-[Ya] was modest--their will was not the same. Chang Sung was pure, while Ch'en Tsun was filthy--their behavior was not alike." This statement is not included in Ts'ao P'i's "Tien-lun lun-wen" in Wen hsüan 52.

29. For Chi Cha, see also fragment 96, note 39. In the present fragment Huan T'an refers to the extravagant care given to the burial of Chi Cha's eldest son in 515 B.C. Huan T'an was extremely critical of Chi Cha's belief that the bones of his son should be in the earth while his spirit moved around freely. Cf. Li chi II:II: III:13; Legge I, pp. 192-93, especially note 2 on p. 192.

30. TPYL has lien 戀 ; both Yen and Sun have mu 慕 .

31. The text has yü 予 ("I"), while both Yen and Sun give tzu 子 ("you"), which would totally change the meaning of the sentence.

32. The last four characters i i ko en 以義割恩 ("restrain his [excessive] love by appealing to propriety") are also used in Hou Han shu 29, p. 1065; for Pan Ku's use of Huan T'an's terminology, see Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 547, note 77.

Chapter 11. Encountering Affairs

105

I lin 3.9b-10a.

Yen 15.1a. Sun 5a.

If a net is raised by drawing the rope, all its eyes spread open; if a fur coat is shaken out and held at the collar, then its ten-thousand hairs arrange themselves. The government of a great country should be like this.¹

106

A TPYL 402.8b.

Yen 15.1a. Sun 8a, 21a.

To replace a worthy man with a worthy man is called obedience [to the right]. To replace a worthless man with a worthless man is called disorder.

B I lin 3.10a reproduces this fragment, but it has graphical variations in two characters: instead of tai 代 ("to replace") it has fa 伐 ("to chastise"), and instead of shun 順 ("obedience"), it has fan 煩 ("trouble"). With these changes the translation would read: "To chastise a worthy man with a worthy man is called trouble..."

107

Yen Shih-ku's commentary to Han shu 29, p. 3083.

Yen 15.1a. Sun 11b.

The style name of Kuan Ping² was Tzu-yang.³ He was talented, wise, perceptive and penetrating.

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 48, note 2.

A TPYL 61.3a-b. Wu Shu, Shih-lei fu 6.11a.

Yen 15.1a-b. Sun 20a.

The Commander-in-Chief Chang Chung⁴ discussed [the problem] and said, "The waters of the Yellow River are muddy, and one picul (shih) of water contains six tou of mud, but people fight to open⁵ the banks of the River to irrigate their fields, causing⁶ the obstruction of its course. Then, in the third month, when the peach trees begin to flower⁷ the waters come and burst their banks since the flow is blocked. People⁸ should be prohibited from diverting the River."⁹

B Yen Shih-ku's commentary to Han shu 29, p. 308,

quoting Tsa-lun.¹⁰

Yen 15.1a. Sun 12a.

[Chang Jung's] style name was Chung-kung.¹¹ He studied the problems of irrigation.¹²

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 49, notes 8 and 11.

Yen Shih-ku's commentary to Han shu 29, p. 3084.

Yen 15.1b. Sun 11b.

[Han Mu's] style name was Tzu-t'ai. He understood the problems of water control.

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 50, note 12.

I lin 3.10a.

Yen 15.1b. Sun 8a.

Wang P'ing-chung¹³ said, "The Chou Genealogy¹⁴ says, 'In the fifth year of King Ting¹⁵ the Yellow River

shifted from its former course.¹⁶ The present [bed] in which it flows swiftly¹⁷ is not [the bed] which Yü excavated."¹⁸

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 50 and note 17.

111

A Shui-ching chu 1, 1, p. 2. Yen 15.1b-2a. Sun 11b.

Of the sources of the Four Rivers,¹⁹ [the source] of the Yellow River is the highest, and [that river] is longest. It flows down from on high. The flow tumbles down steep [mountains] and, therefore, is swift.

B IWLC 9.2a. Yen 15.1b-2a. Sun 11b.
(commentary)

Of the sources of the Four Rivers, [the source of the Yellow River] is the highest, and [that river] is the longest. It flows down from on high. The flow is turbulent and, therefore, brings calamities and suffering to the lowlands.²⁰

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 52, note 23.

112

A Ch'u-hsüeh chi 4.22a. Han 0, Sui hua chi-lu 4.5a.

Yen 15.2a. Sun 18a.

Specialists in the calendar and mathematics use the following method of calculation: They investigate and test the beginning from Heaven's beginning²¹ in the remote past up to the eleventh month, the chia-tzu day at midnight on the first day of the new moon at winter solstice.

B Ch'u-hsüeh chi 4.22a. Yen 15.2a. Sun 15b.

The sun: from Heaven's beginning up to the eleventh month, the first day of the new moon at early dawn in winter solstice, when the sun and the moon are like strung jade.²²

A Ch'u-hsüeh chi 25.2b.²³ Yen 15.2a. Sun 16a.

When I was a Gentleman I was in charge of the water clock.²⁴ Dryness and humidity, cold and warmth are [reflected] by changing different degrees. [I had to adjust them] at dusk and dawn, by day and by night, comparing them to the shadow of the sun.²⁵

B TPYL 2.12b. Yen 15.2a. Sun 16a.
(commentary)

[In using] the water clock, dryness and humidity, cold and warmth are [reflected] by different degrees. I had to compare them by day with the shadow of the sun and by night with the mansions of the stars. Then I could adjust them.

Previous translation (of the fragment as given by Yen):
J. Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. III,
pp. 321-22.

A TPYL 2.11a-b. Yen 15.2a. Sun 19b.

Yang Tzu-yün²⁶ loved astronomy. He questioned an old artisan who had helped make an armillary sphere at the Yellow Gate.²⁷ He²⁸ said, "When I was young I could do such work [just] by following the specifications in feet and inches, but I could not really understand their meaning. Gradually I came to understand more and more. Now I am seventy, and I feel that I am just now beginning to know it. But I am old and will die soon. Now, I have a son who also likes to learn how to make [these instruments]. He, too, must repeat my years of [experience]; only then will he understand

and know the instruments. But he will also have to repeat [my experience] of death!" How sad and how funny were his words!

B PTSC 130.12a.

Sun 19b. (commentary)

Yang Tzu-yün loved astronomy. He questioned an old artisan who attended an armillary sphere at the Yellow Gate about it. Hung²⁹ said, "When I was young I made such things but I could not really understand their meaning. Now I am seventy, and I feel that I am just beginning to know it. But, I am old and will die soon."

Previous translations: J. Needham, Wang Ling, and D. J. Price, Heavenly Clockwork: The Great Astronomical Clocks of Medieval China - A Missing Link in Horological History, p. 129; J. Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. III, p. 358; partial translation by T. Pokora, in a review of Heavenly Clockwork; "The Life," II, pp. 548-50.

115

A Chin shu 11.4a.³⁰

Yen 15.2a-b.

[Huan Chün-shan said,] "At the spring equinox the sun rises from the point where the Prime Vertical begins and sets at the point where the Prime Vertical ends. This is the Prime Vertical of the human observer, not that of Heaven. The Prime Vertical of Heaven always passes through the Pole Star, which is in the center of the heavens. When we look at it, the Pole Star appears in the north above the observer.³¹ Moreover, at the spring and autumn equinoxes the sun rises and sets south of the Pole Star. If Heaven turns like a millstone towards the right, then, since the northern path is farther and the southern path nearer,³² the number of quarter-hours for the day and for the night on the water clock would not be equal."

Later, at the time of making reports to the throne, he sat in the western gallery [with Yang Hsiung]³³ waiting for information. Feeling cold, he turned his back to the sun, but after a time the sunlight left the gallery, and he could no longer sun his back. [Huan] Chün-shan then said to an adherent of the k'ai-t'ien

theory,³⁴ "If Heaven turns like a millstone towards the right, the sun's light should shine under this gallery when it moves towards the west. Instead of leaving the gallery, it should shift slightly towards the east. As it does in fact leave the gallery, [its movement] accords with the hun-t'ien theory."³⁵

Previous translation: Ho Peng Yoke, The Astronomical Chapters of the Chin shu, pp. 56-57.

B TPYL 2.6b-7a. Shih-lei fu 6.1b.

Yen 15.2a-b. Sun 18b-19a.

The brilliant Yang Tzu-yün followed the literati's theory of Heaven, believing that Heaven, like an umbrella, rotated constantly towards the left, while the sun, moon, stars and planets accordingly moved from east to west.³⁶ So he drew diagrams of these bodies and of the degrees of movement relating them to the four seasons and the calendar, to darkness and light, and to day and night. He wished to set up principles for people and to bequeath the law to later generations.

I argued with him, saying, "At the spring and autumn [equinoxes] day and night must be equal. At dawn the sun rises from the point where the Prime Vertical begins, just in the east, and in the evening it sets at the point where the Prime Vertical ends, just in the west. Now, if the people of the Empire observe and watch it, then this is the Prime Vertical of the human observer, not that of Heaven. The north star must be the Prime Vertical of Heaven; this star is the pivot of Heaven.³⁷ This pivot is Heaven's axle, just as the umbrella has an axle.³⁸ The cover of the umbrella may revolve but the axle does not move. Likewise, Heaven also revolves, while the Pole Star is permanently fixed, as we know, in the center of Heaven. When we look up at it, the Pole Star appears in the north and not immediately above man. At the spring and autumn equinoxes the sun rises and sets south of the Pole Star. If the cover revolves, then the northern path is near and the southern path is far. How could the recorded number of days and nights be equal?" Yang Tzu-yün could offer no explanation.

Later, at the time of making reports to the throne, I was sitting with Yang Tzu-yün in the gallery of the White Tiger Hall. Feeling cold, I turned my back to the sun,³⁹ but after a time the sunlight left, and I could no longer sun my back. I used this to demonstrate [my point] to Yang Tzu-yün: "If Heaven revolves like a cover and the sun moves towards the west, the sun's light should shine under this gallery and shift slightly towards the east. Does not the contrary occur, in accordance with the hun-t'ien theory?"

Yang Tzu-yün immediately destroyed his work, and so the literati's belief that Heaven revolves towards the left is erroneous.

116

Introduction to Seng-yu's "Shih chieh chi" [世界記], "Shih chieh chi mu-lu hsü" 5, in Ch'u san-tsang chi chi 12, p. 73.

Yen 15.2b. See also

Yen, Chüan Liang wen

72.11a.

In his responses to questions Huan T'an used the metaphor of the five viscera.⁴⁰

117

TPYL 536.11a. Ch'u-hsüeh chi 13.17a.

Yen 15.2b. Sun 18a.

It is said⁴¹ that on⁴² T'ai-shan there are altogether over 1800 places with engraved stones, but only 72⁴³ of them are recognizable.

118

Liu Yao, Liang shu 50.9b. Liu Chih-chi, Shih t'ung

3.1a.

Yen 15.2b.

In his "Chronological Table of the Three Dynasties,"⁴⁴ the Grand Historian⁴⁵ [wrote] on horizontal and vertical lines and imitated the Chou Genealogy.⁴⁶

Previous translation: T. Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 50, note 17; see also Pokora, "The First Interpolation in the Shih chi," p. 313.

119

Commentary to Wen hsüan 18.6b and 40.19b.

Yen 15.2b. Sun 13b.

The three rulers of the Han set up musicians and singers⁴⁷ at the Yellow Gates in the Inner [Palace].

120

PTSC 55.5b.

Yen 15.3a. Sun 15a.

Under Emperor Hsiao-ch'eng I was Prefect of the Bureau of Music. In all, I supervised⁴⁸ and registered over one thousand actors, jugglers, acrobats and musicians.⁴⁹

Previous translations: Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 41 and note 19. J. P. Diény, Aux origines de la poésie classique en Chine, p. 87.

121

Commentary to Wen hsüan 46.17b. Yen 15.3a. Sun 14b.

The genius of the sages and worthies does not show itself in this age,⁵⁰ and their marvelous and excellent skills are not passed on.

122

TPYL 565.5b.

Yen 15.3a. Sun 23a.

Yang Tzu-yün was a man of great talent, but he did not understand musical tones.⁵¹ I grew detached

from the court music⁵² and came to prefer modern tunes.⁵³ Tzu-yün said, "It is very easy to be pleased⁵⁴ by shallow things, but the profound can be understood⁵⁵ only with difficulty. It is fitting that you do not like the court odes and delight in the tunes of Cheng."

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 544.

123

Commentary to Wen hsüan 52.9b. Yen 15.3a. Sun 15a.

The human heart understands of itself that a father cannot sacrifice his son and an elder brother cannot teach his younger brother.

124

TPYL 701.3b-4a. PTSC 132.10b. Yen 15.3a. Sun 4a.

Each of the five sounds follows its own direction: spring corresponds with chüeh, summer with chih, autumn with shang, and winter with yü; kung stays in⁵⁶ the center, uniting the four seasons of the year. The five tones are incomplete without kung. This can be illustrated by a flowery, five-colored screen in a hallway. If we look at it from a distance, then each color --green, red, white, yellow and black⁵⁷--is distinct, but if we examine it closely, they all have a yellow base adorned by the four other colors.⁵⁸ If you want the music of the four seasons and the five elements, then all music should have the kung sound as base with the four other sounds [chüeh, chih, shang, and yü] adorning it.

125

TPYL 215.9a. Yen 15.3a. Sun 20b.

When I was seventeen years old,⁵⁹ I became a Gentleman of Imperial Carriages,⁶⁰ guarding the Palace's Western Gate at the Small Park.⁶¹

A Liu Chao's commentary to Hou Han shu 9 (Treatise 29A), pp. 4246-47. Yen 15.3a-b. Sun 9b.

Huan T'an said to Yang Hsiung,⁶² "Sir,⁶³ when you were a Gentleman at the Yellow Gate, you lived in the palace and often saw the Emperor's carriage decorated with mortices of precious stone, sunshades with pictures of flowers and fungi, and three canopies with pictures of male and female phoenixes.⁶⁴ Everything was painted with the two colors of Heaven and earth,⁶⁵ as well as with the five colors. Its decoration was of gold and precious stones, kingfisher's feathers, cords of pearls, and embroidered and ornamented cushions."

B Commentary to Wen hsüan 16.26b. Yen 15.3a-b. Sun 13a.

I said to Master Yang, "You have often seen carriages with embroidered and ornamented cushions."

There are six other short versions of this fragment with minor and unimportant variations: PTSC 141.9a; Li Hsien's commentary to Hou Han shu 40A ("The Biography of Pan Ku"), p. 1436; and commentaries to Wen hsüan 1.23a, 1.13b, 22.23b, and 57.33a.

PTSC 141.9a.

Yen 15.3b.

Although I have not seen any ancient carriages of state,⁶⁶ I have frequently heard my teacher say that they were only simple carriages with rush mats.

TPYL 829.10a.⁶⁷

Yen 15.3b. Sun 25a.

Fu Hsi invented the mortar and pestle, which have helped vast numbers of people. Later, others worked energetically to increase its effectiveness by using the weight of the body to tread on the tilt-

hammer. The effectiveness of this device was ten times that of the simple mortar and pestle. Still later, mechanisms were installed so that donkeys, mules, oxen, and horses, as well as water power could be used for pounding.⁶⁸ Its effectiveness then increased as much as a hundred times.⁶⁹

Previous translations: E-tu Zen Sun and J. deFrancis, Chinese Social History: Translations of Selected Studies, p. 114; Yang Lien-sheng, Study of Great Families of Eastern Han; J. Needham, Science and Civilization in China IV, p. 392.

129

Liu Chao's commentary to Hou Han shu 15 (Treatise 5), p. 3525. Yen 15.3b. Sun 9a.

Liu Hsin's instrument for bringing rain was an earthen dragon which blew a pitch-pipe. All of the many magicians were prepared to arrange it. Huan T'an asked why he made an earthen dragon for the purpose of seeking rain.⁷⁰ His answer was, "When the dragon appears, then wind and rain arise to meet and escort him. Therefore, copying the appearance of its kind, I created the earthen dragon."

130

Lun-heng 16:47, p. 693. Yen 15.3b.

[Huan Chün-shan] also took exception [with Liu Hsin] on the ground that amber and a loadstone could not raise straws or attract needles⁷¹ unless they were genuine. [Liu] Tzu-chün was at his wits' ends and had nothing to say in reply.

Previous translation: Forke, Lun-heng II, p. 356.

131

A Liu Chao's commentary to Hou Han shu 29 (Treatise 19), p. 3833. Yen 15.3b. Sun 9a.

T'ai lies in the prefecture of Ch'i.⁷² There the people meet on a fixed day to buy and sell at a night market. If this event does not take place, then disasters and misfortunes occur.

B TPYL 827.8b.

Yen 15.3b.

In the communes and circuits of Pin is the prefecture of Ch'i in Fu-feng, it is said that [Pin] originally was the home base of the Great King.⁷³ There the people meet on a certain day to buy and sell at a night market. If this event does not take place, they are ashamed.

There are two other shorter versions in TPYL 191.7a and Ch'u-hsüeh chi 24.27b. They differ only slightly in their descriptions of the resulting calamities.

132

IWLC 3.25b.⁷⁴ TPYL 27.5b. Yen 15.4a. Sun 16a.⁷⁵

During the height of winter, the people of the T'ai-yüan commandery do not eat hot food for five days.⁷⁶ Even in cases of disease and emergency, they dare not violate this rule because of Chieh Tzu-t'ui.⁷⁷

133

TPYL 13.8a.

Yen 15.4a. Sun 19b.

In the Empire there are cranes which are eaten in all the commanderies and kingdoms. Only in the Three Capital Districts does no one dare catch them because of the custom that an outbreak of thunder will occur if a crane is caught. Could it be that Heaven originally favored only this bird? [No], the killing of the bird merely coincided with thunder.

See Liang Han pu-fen II, p. 345. A very similar fragment is found in TPYL 925.8a, quoting Huan T'an's Hsin-yü.

Tao-shih, Fa-yüan chu-lin 7.16a-b.

Yen 15.4a-b. Sun 18b.

During my youth I heard this story told in the gates of the quarters and villages:⁷⁸ "When Confucius was travelling in the East, he saw two small children arguing and asked them why. The first child said, 'I believe that when the sun first rises it is near, while at noon, it is far.' The other child thought that the sun is far when it first rises and near at noon."⁷⁹

The Colonel of the Ch'ang River Encampments, Kuan Tzu-yang,⁸⁰ believed that the sun⁸¹ above was far from people, while the four sides of the world were near.

The stars, when they rise at dusk in the east, are very far apart, and they are separated by more than one chang. But if one looks up at them at midnight, they are much more numerous, separated by only one or two ch'ih.⁸²

The sun is the yang of Heaven, while fire is the yang of earth. When the yang of earth rises, the yang of Heaven falls. Now, if a fire is made on the earth and its temperature is observed from the side and from above, then from very different distances, the heat differs by half. If the sun is exactly at midday, we are exposed to the attack⁸³ of Heaven's yang, and therefore it is hot. Also, when the sun first rises, it comes from the Great Yin, and therefore it is still cold.⁸⁴ When the sun sets in the west on the tops of mulberry trees and elms,⁸⁵ although the amount [of its heat may be] the same, the air [of the evening] is not the same as the air of the clear dawn.

Sui Shu 19.3a⁸⁶ (Yen 15.4a-b) is very similar, with slight differences, such as: 1) The first paragraph is omitted; 2) "How can one know if it is true?" is added to the end of the second paragraph; 3) The third paragraph ends with, "If we look at them with a measure, it is even clearer. Therefore, we know that Heaven above is more distant than the sides of the world;" and 4) A final paragraph is added which says, "Huan Chün-shan said, 'How could the words of Kuan Tzu-yang be correct?'"

A TPYL 464.5a.

Yen 15.4b. Sun 21b.

Kung-sun Lung was a dialectician who lived at the time of the Six Kingdoms. He wrote a treatise on "Hard and White" and, to illustrate his theory, said that a white horse is not a horse. To show that a white horse is not a horse he said that "white" is that by which one names the color and "horse" that by which one names the form. The color is not the form, and the form is not the color.⁸⁷

Previous translation: A. C. Graham, "The Composition of the Gongsuen Longtzyy," p. 175, and "Two Dialogues in the Kung-sun Lung-tzu: "White Horse" and 'Left and Right'," p. 132. The two translations differ somewhat.

B Po K'ung liu t'ieh 9.9a.

Yen 15.4b. Sun 16b.

Kung-sun Lung often argued thus: "A white horse is not a horse." People could not agree with this. Later, when riding a white horse, he wished to pass through the frontier pass without a warrant or a passport.⁸⁸ But the frontier official would not accept his explanations, for it is hard for empty words to defeat reality.⁸⁹

A TPYL 35.2b.

Yen 15.4b. Sun 19b.

Everyone now says that the Han Emperor Wen led the Empire with his personal example of frugality and economy⁹⁰ and his cultivation of the Way and its Power. Accordingly, the Empire was morally transformed,⁹¹ becoming strong, great and rich.⁹² The grace of the Emperor reached down to the common folk, so that even a shih of grain came to cost only several dozen cash.⁹³ There was abundance and surplus both above and below.

B PTSC 156.9b.⁹⁴Yen 15.4b. Sun 19b.⁹⁵

Everyone now says that the Han Emperor Wen was personally frugal and thrifty. Accordingly, the Empire

was transformed, becoming strong, great and rich. Even a shih of grain came to cost only several cash.

C TPYL 837.7a. Yen 15.4b. Sun 19b.

Everyone says that the grace of the Han Emperor Wen reached down to the common folk, so that even a shih of grain came to cost only several cash.⁹⁶

137

A The So-yin commentary to Shih chi 12, p. 15.⁹⁷

Yen 15.4b. Sun 11a.

[Huan T'an's Hsin-lun] suggests that the Grand Historian composed his book and when it was completed, showed it to [Tung-fang] Shuo. [Tung-fang] Shuo undertook to revise it; therefore, the inscription of "The Grand Historian" was added at the end of each chapter by [Tung-fang] Shuo.

B The So-yin commentary to Shih chi 130, p. 63.

Yen 15.4b. Sun 11a.

Huan T'an says that when Ssu-ma Ch'ien completed the book which he had written, he showed it to Tung-fang Shuo. Shuo added "The Grand Historian" to all the chapters.

Previous translation: T. Pokora, "The First Interpolation in the Shih chi," pp. 311-12, and note 9.

138

TPYL 805.5b.

Yen 15.5a. Sun 24b.

Chi Yu-pin of Lo-yang had a small jade letter. The Internuncio of the Guards, Shih Tzu-po,⁹⁸ loved things made of jade. Having seen the jade, he marveled at it and sent me to tell Chi Yu-pin that he wanted to buy it for thirty-thousand cash. Chi Yu-pin said, "I have passed it around among those who like and understand such things, and it has already brought an offer

of one-hundred-thousand cash, not a mere thirty thousand." Amazed, I said, "If I were to see it on the street, I would not guess that it could be offered on the market for even one thousand. Therefore, it follows that there is a very great distance between knowledge and ignorance!"

NOTES: CHAPTER 11

1. Part of this text is quoted in TPYL 694.6a, but not in Sun or Yen.
2. For Kuan Ping, see also fragment 134.
3. Instead of "Tzu-yang," Sun gives "Tzu-ch'ang" 子場, which is clearly erroneous. Yang may be written in two ways (揚 or 陽), as in the surname of Yang Hsiung.
4. See 108B, note 11 below.
5. Instead of chüeh 決 ("to burst, open"), Yen has yin 引 ("to lead").
6. TPYL 61.3a has chin 今 ("now"), while Shih-lei fu has ling 令 ("to cause").
7. Li chi IV:I:II:4 (the section on the second month of spring in the Yüeh-ling chapter): "Rain begins to fall. The peach tree begins to blossom..." (Legge I, p. 258). See also Yen Shih-ku's commentary to Han shu 29, p. 3075.
8. Shih-lei fu 6.11a adds, "From now on..."
9. Shui-ching chu 1, p. 3, quoting [Yang Ch'üan's] Wu-li lun, reproduces fragment 108A with some minor variations but fails to indicate its source. The quotation from Wu-li lun ends with a short sentence stating that the name of the Yellow River is derived from the mud in its waters.
10. Instead of Tsa-lun 雜論, the Chung-hua shu-chü edition of Han shu (in the collection Ssu shih, p. 865.3) has Hsin-lun. Tsa-lun is clearly a misprint for Hsin-lun, since Yen Shih-ku not only fails to identify the author of Tsa-lun, but also frequently refers to the information from Huan T'an's Hsin-lun which is found in chapter 29 of Han shu (on drains and ditches). See fragment 208.
11. Chang Jung was, according to Han shu 29 (p. 3083) an Officer of the Commander-in-Chief. Fragment 108A says that he was himself the Commander-in-Chief and gives his name as Chang Chung 張仲. Since

fragment 108B gives his style name as Chung-kung 中功, 108A's "Chang Chung" may be the same name with the second character missing. Chou Shou-ch'ang, in his Han shu chiao-pu 27, p. 456, says that two characters, shih 士 ("officer") and kung 功 (a part of the style name), are missing, but he is still not certain that the two texts refer to the same man.

12. The text of Han shu, undoubtedly based on the Hsin-lun, is more detailed and somewhat different: "An Officer of the Commander-in-Chief, Chang Jung of Ch'ang-an, said, 'The nature of water is to flow downhill. If its motion is quick, it scrapes, empties and slightly hollows [the river bed]. The waters of the Yellow River are heavy and muddy; it is said that one picul (shih) of water contains six tau of mud. Now, in all the western commanderies up to the capital and beyond to the east, people always divert the water of the Yellow River, the Wei River and the mountain streams to irrigate their fields. During spring and summer drought there is a period of little water. Therefore, [the people] slow the flow and store up the river [water], and silt it to make it rather shallow. If there is a great rain so the water rushes in, it overflows and bursts [the dikes]. But there are several state dikes blocking [the water]. The dikes are slightly higher than the [adjacent] plain, and, holding up the water, they resemble erected walls. But if everything would be left to follow its nature so [the water] is no longer used for irrigation, then all the streams would flow, and there would be no calamities caused by the overflowing or breaking of [the dikes].'"

13. Yen Shih-ku says that P'ing-chung was the style name of Wang Heng, who was a Division Head of the Grand Ministry of Works, according to Pan Ku (Han shu 29, p. 3084).

14. See fragment 118, note 46.

15. 602 B.C.

16. With the exception of the introductory words, "Wang P'ing-chung said," this fragment is quoted in Han shu 29, p. 3084: "The Chou Genealogy says, 'In the fifth year of King Ting the Yellow River shifted.' Therefore, the present [bed] in which it flows is not [the bed] which Yü excavated." Its source is not given. The words "course" (ku tao 故道) are not

found in Han shu, but Shui-ching chu 5.1, p. 87, says that Pan Ku uses the term ku tu 故瀆 ("former river").

17. "Swiftly" is not found in Han shu. Instead, both Yen and Sun give ch'u 處 ("place"): "...The present place in which it flows is..." I prefer this version.

18. Yü, the legendary founder of the Hsia dynasty, is said to have controlled the great floods which were plaguing the Empire by marvelous feats of engineering, including the cutting of river gorges through mountains. Wang Heng's remarks, as quoted in Han shu 29, pp. 3084-85, are much longer; for a translation, see "The Life" I, pp. 50-51.

19. The Four Rivers are the Yangtze River, the Yellow River, the Huai River, and the Chi River. They are mentioned in Pan Ku's eulogy to Han shu 29, p. 3085; cf. "The Life," I, p. 52.

20. Yen, as usual, combines both versions.

21. T'ien-yuan 天元 ("Heaven's beginning"). Chavannes, MH III, p. 322, translates: "...l'origin [qui vient] du Ciel fundamental..." See also note 5, ibid. on the reforms of the calendar.

22. These two different quotations, given separately in Ch'u-hsüeh chi (and by Sun), are combined by Yen. For the poetic metaphor at the end, see fragment 91, note 21. For calendrical computations in the Han period, see note 9 to fragment 163A.

23. The text in PTSC 130.12a is similar but somewhat corrupt.

24. For a reform of the water clock in which Huan T'an may have been involved, see HFHD III, p. 30.

25. See fragment 197.

26. Yang Hsiung.

27. The text (and Yen) has: "Wen chih yü huang-men tso hun-t'ien lao-kung," but Sun has: "Wen chih yü Lo-hsia Huang Hung i hun-t'ien chih shuo. Hung yeh..." Lo-hsia Hung is a famous second century B.C. astronomer. This text is explained in detail in "The Life," II, pp. 548-49, note 84. Sun's text should be disregarded. See also note 29 below.

28. This may refer to either Yang Hsiung or the old artisan. J. Needham, Wang Ling and D. J. Price, in Heavenly Clockwork, p. 129, believe that it is the artisan who is speaking. In my review of this book, pp. 493-94, I argue that the speaker is Yang Hsiung. The last words of the fragment support my position, for they seem to be Huan T'an's criticism of Yang Hsiung's attitude towards death. See also fragment 104.

29. "Hung" may be the name of the artisan, or, more probably, it may mean "[the old artisan at the armillary sphere which was made according to the specifications of Lo-hsia] Hung." This may seem to be a great elaboration on the simple word "Hung," but the paragraph in PTSC which quotes Huan T'an is entitled "Lo-hsia Hung's armillary sphere." On the other hand, this heading may explain Sun's emendation (see note 27 above). For Lo-hsia Hung, see also J. Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Volume III, p. 358, note d.

30. Chin shu appears to quote Ko Hung, who bases his information on Huan T'an.

31. The explanation in fragment 115B is exactly the opposite.

32. Again, fragment 115B is exactly the opposite.

33. For this emendation, see fragment 115B.

34. Yang Hsiung.

35. Huan T'an, unlike Yang Hsiung, was an adherent of the hun-t'ien theory. For an explanation, see J. Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. III, pp. 216-19, especially p. 219, which discusses the present fragment. By the end of the Han the hun-t'ien theory was already generally accepted.

36. The second half of this sentence is found in Ch'u-hsüeh chi 1.2b.

37. T'ien shu 天 樞 ("the pivot of Heaven"), i.e., the North Star.

38. Huan T'an's main arguments are reproduced by Wang Ch'ung without acknowledgment in Lun-heng 11, 32, pp. 491-92; Forke I, p. 260.

39. This sentence, somewhat shortened, is found in the commentary to Wen hsüan 26.7a.

40. The term tsang 藏 ("viscera") is relatively recent. It appears for the first time in Chou li and is used in the phrase wu tsang 五藏 ("five viscera"), in Chapter 105 of the Shih chi. For an analysis of the character, see Bridgman, La médecine, pp. 155-56. Huan T'an's interest in anatomy was surely aroused by the first known official dissection, ordered by Wang Mang in 16 A.D. and mentioned by Huan T'an in fragment 38B. Cf. HFHD III, p. 365 and note 30.5. The text of Han shu 99B has also been studied by H. Maspero in "Les procédés de 'nourrir le principe vital' dans la religion taoïste ancienne," pp. 187-88. The term wu tsang is also used figuratively as a symbol of the mind; cf. Ti-wu Lun's memorial in Hou Han shu 41, p. 1483.

41. Only given in Ch'u-hsüeh chi 13.17a.

42. Only given in TPYL 536.11a.

43. The number 72 clearly refers more to numerology than to reality. Since the second century B.C., the mountain T'ai shan and the number 72 have been connected with the feng sacrifices. At that time it was believed that the feng sacrifice had previously been performed at that site by 72 rulers. See, e.g., Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's treatise on the feng and shan sacrifices in Shih chi 117, translated by Watson, Records II, pp. 336-39; Yang Hsiung's discussion in Han shu 87A, p. 5089; and the opinions attributed to Kuan Chung, probably those of Kuan-tzu, quoted in Han shu 25A, p. 2083. Huan T'an may have discussed this problem with Yang Hsiung, although we have no definite evidence.

The figure of "over 1800 places with engraved stones" is more puzzling. Chou Shou-ch'ang took up the problem in more detail in his Han shu chu chiao-pu 18, pp. 261-62. He quotes several texts, including Chuang-tzu: "When the surname [of the ruler] is changed [i-hsing 易姓], [someone else] becomes king. [On this occasion] those who performed the feng sacrifice on T'ai shan and the shan sacrifice on Liang-fu numbered 72. There are indications of this in the existence of over 1800 places with carved reliefs and engraved stones."

Chuang Tzu's text, as it is quoted here, agrees, on the whole, with Huan T'an's. Unfortunately, there is nothing like this in the present text of Chuang-tzu, and the terminology of i-hsing (or i-hsing ko-ming 易姓革命, "the transfer of the mandate to another dynasty") is clearly derived from Tung Chung-shu. Perhaps Huan T'an did not present any opinion of his own in this fragment, but rather quoted from some prognostication texts (note that he begins with "it is said"). This seems even more probable when we take into account the fact that one of the texts quoted by Chou Shou-ch'ang attributes the study of i-hsing to Confucius himself.

For the state of Huan T'an's knowledge of Chuang Tzu, see fragment 81, note 15. See also Y. Hervouet, Sseu-ma Siang-jou, pp. 198-99, note 2.

44. This is Chapter 13 of Shih chi, entitled "San-tai shih piao." The present fragment has San shih piao.

45. Ssu-ma Ch'ien.

46. Practically nothing is known about the Chou P'u 周譜 ("Chou Genealogy" or "Chou Genealogies"). Liu Yao of the Liang dynasty, who quotes Huan T'an, suggests only that it must have been written during the Chou dynasty. Liu Yao's text is repeated in Nan shih 49.8a (not quoted by Yen), as well as in the commentary to Shih chi 14, p. 3. In the Shih chi, however, Huan T'an is not acknowledged as his source and the title of the Shih chi chapter is given as "San tai hsi piao." Liu Yao's conclusion has also been reached by Chang Shun-hui in Chung-kuo li-shih yao-chi chieh-shao, pp. 132-33. Liu Fang, quoted in Hsin T'ang shu 199.10a, says that Ssu-ma Ch'ien shortened the Shih pen and, when writing his Shih chi, followed the model of the Chou p'u in order to emphasize that part of his book was devoted to the Hereditary Houses. Of course, the theories of Liu Yao and Liu Fang are not based on any ancient source. The most ingenious explanation is that of the first Chinese historiographer, Liu Chih-chi. Basing his theory on this fragment, he says at the very beginning of his chapter on tables (in his Shih t'ung 3) that the term p'u originated in the Chou period and that the tables (piao) follow the form of the p'u. The bibliographical chapter of the Han shu (Chapter 30) mentions several books of this type but not a Chou p'u. Therefore, I agree with Chao I, quoted by Takigawa

Kametarō in his commentary to Shih chi 13, p. 2, that Huan T'an refers to the genealogies of the Chou dynasty in general, rather than to any particular volume. However, fragment 110 contains a very specific quote from the Chou p'u.

47. Kung ch'ang 工倡 ("musicians and singers"). See Gimm, Das Yüeh-fu tsa-lu, pp. 274-75, items 4 and 6.

48. Sun does not give the character ling 領 ("to supervise, to lead"). Apparently Yen added it in reconstructing the text, since the character in PTSC 55.5b is illegible. I find another ling 伶 ("musician") more appropriate.

49. There are insignificant differences between the texts of Yen and Sun. PTSC 55.5b adds a phrase which they both lack: "...[ch'ien jen] chih to yeh; chu jen yeh" 千人之多也者人也 ("over one thousand registered men"). One thousand seems to be fairly high, but the records of later dynasties have even higher figures. During the T'ang dynasty the average number of court musicians was fifteen or twenty thousand; cf. Gimm, Das Yüeh-fu tsa-lu, pp. 576-77.

50. For similar ideas see, for example, fragments 31 and 95.

51. See fragment 174, note 41.

52. Ya-ts'ao 雅操, i.e., ya yüeh 雅樂 ("court music"), as for example, in Analects XVII:18: "...the Master said...'I hate the tunes of Cheng corrupting Court music.'" (Cf. Legge, p. 326).

53. Hsin sheng 新聲 or hsin nung 新弄 ("modern tunes").

54. The text has hsi 喜 ("to be pleased"), while both Yen and Sun have shan 善, which would make the sentence, "It is very easy to master shallow things..."

55. Instead of shih 識 ("to understand") which rhymes with hsi 喜, Sun has shen 深, evidently a misprint for t'an 探 ("to try, to essay") which rhymes with shan 善. Thus, the sentence would read, "It is very easy to master shallow things, but the profound can be fathomed only with difficulty."

56. PTSC 132.10b begins here.
57. Only PTSC 132.10b. includes black.
58. The text has "wu se wen chih shih" 五色文之世, but I prefer Yen's version, "ssu se wen shih chih" 四色文飾之 ("adorned by the four other colors"). Sun has "wu se wen shih chih," 五色文飾之 ("adorned by the five other colors").
59. Sun gives Huan's age as seventy, rather than seventeen. This is clearly erroneous.
60. Feng ch'e lang 奉車郎 ("Gentleman of Imperial Carriages"). This text, unlike Yen's, also has the character chung 中, which may make the title feng-ch'e lang-chung ("Gentleman at the Palace in Charge of Imperial Carriages"). In the preface to his "Rhyme-prose on Looking for the Immortals," Huan T'an again mentions that he was a Gentleman, but the various editions of this fu have three different versions of his title: lang 郎 ("Gentleman"), chung-lang 中郎 ("Gentleman of the Palace"), and feng ch'e lang 奉車郎 ("Gentleman of Imperial Carriages"). See fragment 205, note 3. On the other hand, perhaps the character chung 中 is associated with the next character wei 衛 ("Palace Guard"). This term, however, did not become prominent until much later, during the Chin period. See also "The Life," I, p. 39 and fragment 142.
61. Hsiao-yüan hsi-men 小苑西門 ("Western Gate at the Small Park"). The Han shu (72, p. 4812) says that Hsiao Wang-chih received the title of "Marquis of the Eastern Gate of the Small Park." In his commentary Wang Hsien-ch'ien suggests that the title should read "Lower Park" (hsia-yüan 下苑), instead of "Small Park," but this fragment indicates that he is mistaken. Huan T'an makes it clear that this refers to a gate of the Palace, and not to a gate of the city, as Wang suggests.
62. This introduction appears to have been added later, although Liu presents it as a quotation from Hsin-lun.
63. Both the text and Yen have chün 君 ("Sir"), but Sun gives wu 吾 ("I"), which would change the meaning radically. This wu probably belongs to the beginning of the fragment. See fragment 126B which

begins, "I said to Master Yang, 'You....'" Pan Ku's postscript (tsan) to Yang Hsiung's biography (Han shu 87B, p. 5134, based on Yang Hsiung's own account) says that when Yang Hsiung first came to court he was over forty years old, and that he first held concurrently the office of "Gentleman" and "Servant Within the Yellow Gates."

64. Some of these terms are derived from Yang Hsiung's Kan-chüan fu.

65. The term hsüan huang 玄黃 ("black and yellow" or "the colors of Heaven and earth") is used in Yang Hsiung's essay Chü Ch'in mei hsin. See also Book of Changes I:II:6; Legge, p. 61.

66. The term lu-ch'e 路車 ("carriage of state") is found only in the Book of Songs, where it occurs frequently.

67. See also TPYL 762.5a.

68. Lo Jung-pang, in "China's Paddle-wheel Boats: Mechanized Craft Used in the Opium War and Their Historical Background," (p. 202), says, "...in 31 A.D., the Governor of Nan-yang, Tu Shih, built water-bellows (shui-p'ai), a device whereby the flow of water was used to turn wheels to operate bellows, which forced air into furnaces for forging farm implements. A contemporary of his, Huan T'an, wrote of 'water-pestles' (shui-ch'ung or shui-tui) which were driven by water and which, he said, were a great improvement over manually-operated machines."

69. Jan Chao-te, in "Kuan-yü Han-tai sheng-ch'an nu-li yü sheng-ch'an-li shui-p'ing wen-t'i," p. 56, bases his opinion that water-mills existed in China during the reign of Wang Mang on this fragment. Other types of mills did exist, as is shown by Huan T'an's fragment 115, which refers to a millstone.

70. This is the famous question which Wang Ch'ung tried to elucidate in the Lun-heng chapter, "A Last Word on Dragons" (Luan lung; 16, 47). Wang Ch'ung refers to this question by Huan T'an and acknowledges the weight of Huan's arguments against Liu Hsin's device, but indirectly takes issue with Huan T'an. However, even if Wang Ch'ung did accept the efficacy of Liu Hsin's instrument, he opposed Liu Hsin's theory. Wang

Ch'ung's principal idea, which he hoped would be "the last word on dragons," was that things of the same kind attract one another from a distance. Thus, he felt that it was the attraction between a "real" and an earthen dragon which brought rain. Cf. fragment 130. Yang Hsiang-k'uei in, Chung-kuo ku-tai she-hui yü ku-tai ssu-hsiang yen-chiu, p. 469, concluded on the basis of this fragment and fragment 156 that Liu Hsin undoubtedly did favor magicians and believed in the existence of the immortals.

71. Huang Hui, Lun-heng chiao-shih, p. 692, suggests that chen 針 ("needle") is a mistake for t'ieh 鐵 ("iron"). He bases this suggestion on a similar text in Lü-shih ch'ün-ch'iu IX:5, p. 92; Wilhelm, p. 114.

72. In Shensi.

73. The Great King (T'ai-wang 大王) is Tan Fu or Ku-kung Tan Fu ("the Old Duke Tan-fu"). Mencius calls him T'ai-wang and relates him to Pin in Mencius I:II:XV:1; Legge, pp. 175-76. Shih chi 4, pp. 6-8 (Chavannes, MH I, pp. 213-18) refers to him as Ku-kung and says that he was driven out of Pin by barbarians.

74. The texts in TPYL 849.5a and PTSC 143.8a are practically the same but omit the reference to Chieh Tzu-t'ui.

75. On page 16a, Sun gives two quotations from PTSC 143.8a, the second of which belongs to Sun Ch'u and has nothing to do with Huan T'an.

76. TPYL 27.5b has "five months" (wu-yüeh 五月) which should be read as "the fifth month;" see note 77 below.

77. Chieh Tzu-t'ui, or Chieh Chih-t'ui (7th century B.C.), was a faithful friend of Duke Wen of Chin until they quarreled. Tso chuan, Hsi 24, tells us that Chieh Chih-t'ui, who had once cut off a portion of his own thigh to relieve his ruler's hunger, chose to leave the court with his mother after this quarrel. Later the Duke realized his mistake and gave Chieh a field on Mien-shang Mountain (Legge, pp. 189 and 191-92).

Shih chi 39 (pp. 49-51; Chavannes, MH IV, pp. 294-96) repeats the story of this fragment with some elaborations but makes no reference to the cold meals.

Hsin-hsü (quoted by Li Hsien in his commentary to Hou Han shu 61, p. 2192), however, says that Duke Wen burned down the mountain where Chieh Tzu-t'ui was hiding, but Chieh's burnt corpse could not be found. Thereafter, the use of fire was forbidden during the Ch'ing-ming festival at the beginning of the fourth month (PTSC 143.8a; see note 75 above). Huan T'an's account is corroborated by the biography of Chou Chü (Hou Han shu 61, p. 2192), who became an Inspector of T'ai-yüan under Emperor Shun. This peculiar custom is described by Fan Yeh, and Li Hsien mentions that the affair is described in Huan T'an's Hsin-lun, page 2193. Nevertheless, Shen Ch'in-han, quoted in Wang Hsien-ch'ien's commentary, objects, stating that Huan T'an could not have known Chou Chü and that the true source of this information is Hua T'an's Hsin-lun. Wang is confused, for Li Hsien apparently meant that Huan T'an told the story not of Chou Chü, but of Chieh Tzu-t'ui. H. A. Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary, No. 353, also is mistaken in his statement that "...The origin of the Cold-meat Festival has been erroneously attributed to the tragic fate of Chieh Chih-t'ui." For an explanation of the Ch'ing-ming Festival, see DKJ 7239.217.

The story of Chieh Tzu-t'ui found its way into Chinese fiction; see A. Lévy, "Études sur trois récueils anciens de contes chinois," pp. 112-13. IWLC 4.26a has an interesting quotation from Ch'in ts'ao on Chieh Tzu-sui, who is the same as Chieh Tzu-t'ui. It says that Duke Wen set the woods which covered the mountain on fire in order to smoke out Chieh Tzu-sui, but Chieh clasped his hands around a tree trunk and died in the flames. Thereafter, the Duke instructed his people not to use any fire for five days in the fifth month. Although Huan T'an possibly wrote a Ch'in ts'ao, several works of the same title have been written, and thus, this fragment was not necessarily written by him.

78. This sentence has been translated and analyzed by A. C. Graham, "The Date and Composition of Liehtzyy," p. 163.

79. This story is also told in Lieh-tzu 5, p. 58 (ed. Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng), but Huan T'an gives only the first part. In Lieh-tzu the children's conversation continues: "'When the sun first rises it is as big as the cover of the car; by noon it is small as a plate or a bowl. Don't you think it must be nearer when it is big than when it is small?'" The other child answered,

'When the sun first rises the air is cool, but soon it is like dipping your hand in hot water. Don't you think it must be nearer when it is hot than when it is cool?' Confucius could not decide the question. The two children laughed, 'Who says you are a learned man?'" Translation by A. C. Graham, The Book of Lieh-tzu, pp. 104-05.

It appears that Huan T'an's fragment is incomplete since the main point--Confucius' embarrassment--is missing. In a note to her translation of Lieh-tzu, Ateisty, materialisty, dialektiki dreynego Kitaja. Jan Czu, Leczy, Czuanczy "(Atheists, Materialists, and Dialecticians of Ancient China: Yang Chu, Lieh Tzu, Chuang Tzu," p. 345, note 38), L. D. Pozdneeva explains the children's discussion as a Taoist critique of Confucius; this is probably incorrect.

The main significance of this quotation, as A. C. Graham pointed out in 1961 (see his article, pp. 142 and 163, cited in note 78 above), is that this quotation, along with others, establishes that the present text of Lieh-tzu was composed in the 4th century A.D. by Chang Chan. Therefore, I follow J. Needham (Science and Civilization in China, Vol. III, p. 226), who says that such stories "belong to a whole corpus of legend and folk-tale centering on a quasi-Taoist puer senex, Hsiang T'o, who, together with other small boys, always defeats Confucius in a riddle." As a matter of fact, it was Huan T'an's follower Wang Ch'ung who discussed Hsiang T'o in his Lun-heng 26:79, pp. 1070-74; Forke, II, pp. 120-24. See also M. Soymié, "L'entrevue de Confucius et de Hsiang T'o;" A. C. Graham, "The Date," p. 142, note 3 (see note 78 above); A. Walley, Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang, pp. 89-96. The present story, quoted from Lieh-tzu, can be found in the chapter on astronomy in Sui shu 19, p. 6a-b, following its version of fragment 134.

80. I.e., Kuan Ping, according to fragment 107.

81. In accordance with Yen, I prefer "sun" (日) to the "heaven" (t'ien 天) of the text.

82. A ch'ih is one-tenth of a chang.

83. Instead of heng 衡 ("yoke, horizontal"), I read ch'ung 衝 ("attack"), in accordance with Sui shu 19.3a.

84. Yen's text has yin 陰, while Sun's text has yang 陽. Yin makes sense here, while yang makes no sense.

Chang Chan's note to Lieh-tzu 5, p. 58 (cf. note 79 above), while explaining the meaning of the four characters here translated as "cold" (ts'ang-ts'ang liang-liang 滄滄涼涼), says that Huan T'an narrates this story and writes ts'ang as 愴 ("sad," "sorry"). The same comment is found in Yin Ching-shu's Lieh-tzu shih wen (T'ang), p. 2.5a (quoted by Yen).

Chang Chan's statement is significant because: 1) It indicates that Huan T'an's fragment originally was larger (see note 79 above). The other part of the Lieh-tzu story discussed in note 79 probably also comes from Huan T'an, especially since these four characters are also found there. We need not look for a written source from which Huan T'an derived this story since he clearly states that he heard it from the common people. This corroborates Needham's theory of a folk-tale origin (note 79 above); and 2) If Chang Chan really compiled the Lieh-tzu, as Graham suggests, his reference to Huan T'an shows his artfulness. The same device was used by the author of Chao Fei-yen wai-chuan; see fragment 188.

This discussion on the variation in the size of the sun corresponding to the distance of the observer is not as unsophisticated as it might appear. J. Needham discusses this point, as well as the present fragment, in his Science and Civilization in China, Vol. III, p. 226.

85. These tall trees symbolize the sunset (and also old age) because the last rays of the sun in the evening touch only their tops.

86. This version is quoted in Huang Hui's commentary to Lun-heng 11:32, pp. 495-96, since Huang believes that it was the source of Wang Ch'ung's thought; see Forke, I, p. 263. Wang Ch'ung himself does not refer to his source.

87. This fragment, like the previous one, is significant for what it tells of the authenticity of a well-known text. In this case the text is that attributed to Kung-sun Lung. A. C. Graham, in his penetrating study, "The Composition of the Gongsuen Long-tzyy,"

concludes, among other things, that the text was probably composed in the 6th century A.D. and that only chapters two ("White Horse") and three ("Meanings and Things") are authentic writings by the dialecticians who lived in the Warring States period (p. 181). One of the bases for his belief in the authenticity of the "White Horse" chapter is the present fragment, since Graham feels that, through it, "the gap" between the Han and Sui periods of information on Kung-sun Lung can be satisfactorily bridged in the case of the "White Horse."

However, this fragment has also been used to support a radically different conclusion. T'an Chieh-fu, Kung-sun Lung-tzu hsing-ming fa-wei, pp. 5 and 82, suggests that Huan T'an composed the first part of the first chapter of Kung-sun Lung-tzu. First, instead of entitling the treatise "Hard and White" (Chien-pai lun), as Huan has, T'an Chieh-fu suggests the title "Shou-pai lun," given in the bibliographical chapter of the Sui shu. Huan T'an's reading, however, is corroborated by Lun-heng 29:83, p. 1159; Forke, I, p. 463. Second, T'an Chieh-fu says that Huan T'an was born in the last years of the Western Han, that is, during the first decade A.D. This appears to be incorrect. Third, T'an Chieh-fu believes that Huan T'an's fragment has been shortened. While this is possible, T'an offers no proof in support of his belief. Fourth, T'an Chieh-fu presents two quotations to show that Huan T'an was akin to the spirit of the Kung-sun Lung-tzu. The first, from Huan T'an's biography, says, "On the whole, he followed Liu Hsin and Yang Hsiung in discerning doubtful and strange occurrences." ("The Life," I, p. 18). The second, from Lun-heng (13:38, pp. 608-09; Forke, II, p. 298) says, "Besides, Huan Chün-shan wrote the New Treatise, in which he treats the affairs of his times and discerns and clarifies the positive and the negative. Not one single void or false word, nor any artificial or embellished term stands the test of his proofs and judgments." These two quotations hardly bear out T'an Chieh-fu's conclusion that Huan T'an "without a doubt" compiled a part of the Kung-sun Lung text. Moreover, Wang Ch'ung (Lun-heng 29:83, p. 1159; Forke, I, p. 463. See also T'an Chieh-fu, p. 96) is very critical of Kung-sun Lung, and there is no reason to believe that Wang Ch'ung departed in this one instance from his typically unrestricted enthusiasm for Huan T'an's ideas.

88. For the regulation of travel through the frontier passes in Han times, see M. Loewe, Records of Han Administration, pp. 107-17. In 146 B.C., it was proposed that full-grown horses not be allowed outward passage (p. 108), so horses were registered when crossing the frontier (p. 109).

89. T'an Chieh-fu quotes this fragment without comment on p. 96. Ch'en P'an examines it, along with other information on Kung-sun Lung, in his discussion of the possibility of the existence of Buddhism in China in 214 B.C.; see "'Chin pu-te tz'u; ming-hsing ch'un hsi-fang' chi chu wen-t'i," p. 370. Ch'en P'an demonstrates that the paradox of the white horse was in use several centuries before Huan T'an during the Warring States period. Thus, he corroborates Graham's opinion on the "White Horse" chapter, discussed in note 87 above.

90. See fragment 100 and note 5.

91. Shih chi (10, p. 40; Chavannes, MH II, p. 487) says that the Emperor's virtue transformed the people.

92. See fragment 101. The last part of this short quotation is found in the Shih chi at the place quoted above. See also HFHD I, p. 274 (and note 1 on p. 272) for a possible interpolation.

93. Fragments 136B and 136C do not give the "dozen" of the phrase "several dozen cash."

94. PTSC 15.4a includes the small fragment mentioned in note 92 above.

95. Sun incorrectly gives the number of the TPYL chapter as 56.

96. Yen says that, according to Feng-su t'ung, "The Emperor Ch'eng asked Liu Hsiang..." should be added to this fragment.

97. Ssu-ma Cheng (8th century A.D.), who wrote this commentary to the Shih chi with the rather challenging title of "Tracing Out the Hidden Meaning" (So-yin 索隱) was not a very reliable historian, as Chavannes has already pointed out (MH I, p. CCXVI). If he was not a mere fictional character, it is still highly improbable that Tung-fang Shuo, who was allegedly Ssu-ma

Ch'ien's contemporary, worked on the text of the Shih chi. In fact, more reliable information shows that Huan T'an himself may not have believed this story. Wen-hsin tiao-lung (48, p. 714, of the edition by Fan Wen-lan, Wen-hsin tiao-lung chu) says, "Chün-ch'ing (Lou Hu), a man of great eloquence, overestimated his own ability when he dabbled in literary discussion. He once said, 'The historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien sought advice from Tung-fang Shuo when writing his work.' Huan T'an and his group greeted this with sneering laughter." (Translation by Shih, Literary Mind, p. 260.) Wen-hsin tiao-lung refers not to a "group" of Huan T'an's followers, but to people who shared his point of view.

Furthermore, at the beginning of Ssu-ma Cheng's commentary to Tung-fang Shuo's biography (Shih chi 126, p. 15; Ch'u Shao-sun's text), Chung-ch'ang T'ung is quoted, "Ssu-ma Ch'ien wrote the 'Biography of Ironical Critics' [ku chi], the postface [hsü] of which discusses only the affair of the 'actor' [yu] Chan, but fails to mention Tung-fang Shuo. This is a mistake. Should not the career of Tung-fang Shuo be compared directly to [the careers of the two 'actors'] Chan and Meng? Huan T'an agrees with Ssu-ma Ch'ien's omission, and in this he too is wrong."

It is not surprising that Chung-ch'ang T'ung, the fiery critic of contemporary social conditions, admired the bohemian Tung-fang Shuo. However, Ssu-ma Ch'ien's neglect of this semihistoric and legendary figure is understandable in that he differs from the so-called actors Chan and Meng in two important respects: First, he was not a dwarf, as they may have been. Second, Tung-fang Shuo lived during the Han, while Chan and Meng belonged to the Warring States period. For more information, see my study, "Ironical Critics at Ancient Chinese Courts (Shih chi 126)," (Oriens Extremus 20 (1973)). See also the essay by Han Ch'üeh, "'T'an so wei 'ku chi chia' Tung-fang Shuo" (The So-called 'Ironical Critic' Tung-fang Shuo), Fan kung yüeh k'an, No. 256 (July 1963), pp. 21-24; the title reveals the author's doubts about including Tung-fang Shuo's biography in Ch'u Shao-sun's Chapter 126.

The problems related to this fragment are discussed further in my article, "The First Interpolation in the Shih chi."

98. Instead of the wei yeh-che 衛謁者 ("Internuncio of the Guards") of the text, both Yen and Sun give yeh wei-che 謁衛者 which I feel is wrong. Shih Tzu-po is not mentioned in other Han sources. If the shih 史 could be interpreted as shih 使 ("clerk" or "messenger"), then it may refer to Han Jung, whose style name was Tzu-po. He was an Associate Protector-General and Colonel of the Western Frontier Regions who was sent on a mission to the Hsiung-nu in 8 B.C. (Han shu 94B, p. 5370). Although Han Jung was a contemporary of Huan T'an's, I do not find this tentative identification very believable.

Chapter 12. On Rhyme-prose (Fu)

139

PTSC 97.5a.

Yen 15.5a. Sun 15b.

In my youth I studied¹ and liked the Li-sao. Since I have read extensively in other books, I wish to repeat my studies...²

140

A I lin 3.10a.³

Yen 15.5a. Sun 8a.

Yang Tzu-yün was expert at fu. Wang Chün-ta⁴ was skilled with weapons. I wanted to study with both these masters. Tzu-yün said, "If you can read a thousand fu, you will be good at them."⁵

Wang Chün-ta said, "If you can look at a thousand swords, you will understand them."

A proverb says, "He who lies low and practices to be like one who is marvelously skilled will not pass by the door of the man whom he imitates."

Previous translation: Pokora, "Huan T'an's Fu," p. 353, and "Huan T'an and Yang Hsiung on Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju," p. 433.

B IWLC 56.18a.

Yen 15.5a. Sun 8a.

In the past I liked literature. Yang Tzu-yün was expert at fu, so I wished to study with him. Tzu-yün said, "If you can read a thousand fu, you will be good at writing them."⁶

C PTSC 122.12a-b.Yen 15.5a. [commentary]
Sun 16a.

Chün-ta was expert at the names of all kinds of swords. If he could only see a weapon from a distance he would know what kind it was. There was no need for him to take it into his hand and study it closely.

TPYL 496.4b.

Yen 15.5a-b. Sun 14b.

A proverb says, "By looking at a section of a dwarf, we can tell how tall he is."

Confucius said, "If I explain one corner of a subject to someone, and he cannot infer the other three corners from that, I will not continue to teach him."⁸ A look at the two fu⁹ which I wrote in my youth¹⁰ is likewise sufficient to determine whether I have a talent for writing fu.

Previous translation: Pokora, "Huan T'an's Fu," p. 337.

PTSC 102.4a.

Yen 15.5b. Sun 15b.¹¹

In my youth, when I was a Gentleman of the Imperial Carriages, Emperor Hsiao-ch'eng made sacrifices¹² at Kan-ch'üan [Palace] and Ho-tung [commandery]. The arrangements were first made by the circuit officials in the Palace of the Assembled Spirits, which was built by Emperor Wu at Hua-yin. On its gate was the inscription, "Looking for Immortals," and in its hall was the inscription, "Keeping the Immortals." Wanting to inscribe something on the wall, I composed a fu eulogizing and praising the actions of the two Immortals.¹³

Previous translation: Pokora, "Huan T'an's Fu," p. 362, note 58.

NOTES: CHAPTER 12

1. Neither Yen nor Sun gives hsüeh 學 ("study").
2. It is not clear whether Huan T'an wants to reread only Li-sao or the other books as well.
3. See also fragments 80C and 80D.
4. I have not been able to identify Wang Chün-ta. Chün-ta was the style of Hsün Jen, a contemporary of Huan T'an, who lived in retirement; see Hou Han shou 53, p. 1874.
5. This is alluded to in Wen-hsin tiao-lung 2:8, p. 24.1; Shih, The Literary Mind, p. 49 and note 19.
6. The version in PTSC 102.3a is almost exactly like this.
7. Analects VII:8; Legge, p. 197.
8. These two fu were "Wang hsien fu" 望仙賦 ("Rhyme-prose on Looking for the Immortals") and "Ta-tao fu" 大道賦 ("Rhyme-prose on the Great Tao"). For the former, see fragment 205; for the latter, see Pokora, "Huan T'an's Fu," p. 355, note 11.
9. Instead of hsiao shih 小時, I read shao shih 少時 ("youth"), in agreement with other fragments, such as fragment 139.
10. Sun's text is somewhat different, although he attributes it to the same source. For a translation of it, see "Huan T'an's Fu," p. 362, note 58.
11. In accordance with Yen, I prefer tz'u 祠 ("sacrifices") to tz'u 詞 ("words").
12. Huan refers to Wang Ch'iao and Ch'ih Sung. This text is a short version of the preface to Huan T'an's "Wang hsien fu" as given in IWLC 78.16b (Yen 12.7b).

Chapter 13. Discerning Error

143

I lin 3.10a. Yen 15.5b. Sun 8a.

There are five kinds of good fortune: long life, wealth, honor, peace and happiness, and to have many sons and grandsons.

Previous translation: F. Hirth, "Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur," p. 436.

144

I lin 3.10a. Yen 15.5b. Sun 8a.

The insect of a hundred feet--they all support one body. How could it not be saved?

145

Po-wu chih 5.6a. Yen 15.5b. Sun,
Preface 3b.

[Huan Chün-shan thought] that there was no such thing as the Way of the Immortals¹ but that it had been invented by those who like strange things.²

See Liang Han pu-fen II, p. 346.

P'ei Sung-chih's concluding notes to the "Annals of Emperor Wen of Wei" (San kuo chih, Wei shu 1, Chien-an year 25) gives another assessment of Huan T'an by Chang Hua. P'ei quotes Chang Hua's Po-wu chih on people whom the Emperor admired: "Huan T'an and Ts'ai Yung were familiar with tones and music."

146

A I lin 3.10a. Yen 15.5b. Sun 8a-b.

The Marquis of Ch'ü-yang³ accepted the service of Hsi-men Chün-hui, a gentleman versed in the arts of

magic,⁴ to teach him the art of driving old age away. Chün-hui said, "The tortoise is said to live for three thousand years and the crane for one thousand years. Considering the qualities of man, why is he not the equal of insects and birds?"⁵

I replied, "Who could live long enough to learn how old a tortoise or a crane is?"

B TPYL 720.5b.

Yen 15.5b. Sun 24b.

Wang Ken, the Marquis of Ch'ü-yang, accepted the services of Hsi-men Chün-hui, a gentleman versed in the arts of magic, to teach him the art of cultivating long life and driving old age away. Chün-hui said, "The tortoise and the crane are said to live for three thousand years. Considering the qualities of man, why is he not the equal of insects and birds?"

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, pp. 540-41. See Liang Han pu-fen II, p. 346.

147

I lin 3.10b. Commentary to Wen hsüan 21.21a.

Yen 15.5b. Sun 8b and 13b.

Why do the sages not study the way to become immortals,⁶ but instead allow themselves to die?

The bodies of all the sages are released and they depart as immortals. When we speak of their "dying," it is merely to show people that they have come to an end.

148

A Commentary to Wen hsüan 12.27a.

Yen 15.6a. Sun 13a.

There are five kinds of spiritual men in the Empire: first, divine immortals; second, hermits and recluses; third, those who command ghostly beings;⁷

fourth, those who foreknow;⁸ fifth, those who cast doubts.⁹

B Commentary to Wen hsüan 21.21a, 27.6a, 39.32a.

Yen 15.6a. Sun 13a.

There are five kinds of spiritual men in the Empire: the second is hermits and recluses.

149

TPYL 812.7a.

Yen 15.6a. Sun 24b.

Sao,¹⁰ the son of the King of Huai-nan, welcomed a magician¹¹ to create gold and silver. He said that the character for lead [ch'ien 鉛] is composed of "gold" [chin 金] and "sire" [kung 公].¹² Thus, lead is the sire of gold, while silver is the brother of gold.

150

A Commentary to Wen hsüan 23.25b.

Yen 15.6a. Sun 13b.

When Lady Li, whom Emperor Wu loved, died, the magician Li Shao-chün claimed that he could bring forth her spirit. Then, in the night, he set up a candle within some curtains and had the Emperor stay within other curtains. From a distance the Emperor saw a beautiful woman who appeared to be Lady Li. The Emperor often returned to the tent to sit within the curtains.¹³

B PTSC 132.5b.

Yen 15.6a. Sun 13b
(commentary).¹⁴

Lady Wang, whom Emperor Wu cared for died. The Emperor loved her greatly. The magician Li Shao-chün claimed that he could bring forth her spirit.¹⁵ Then, in the night, he set up a candle within some curtains. From a distance the Emperor saw a beautiful woman who looked like the Lady.

C TPYL 699.3a.Yen 15.6a. Sun 13a
(commentary).

Li Shao-chün arranged for the image of Emperor Wu's Lady Li to be placed within some curtains and let the Emperor see it.

D The Chi-chieh commentary to Shih chi 12, p. 813.

Yen 15.6a. Sun 9b.

Lady Wang, Emperor Wu's beloved and favored concubine,¹⁶ was modest and retiring,¹⁷ beautiful in appearance, character and disposition, and sweet and flattering in speech.

151

A Shui-ching chu 3:19, pp. 106-07. (San-fu huang-t'u5.8b-9a. TPYL 34.2a. IWLC 5.4b. TPYL 34.7b and869.7a-b, PTSC 156.6b). Yen 15.6a-b. Sun 12a.

When Emperor Yüan fell ill, an extensive search was made for magicians.¹⁸ The Han-chung [commandery] sent a man of the Tao,¹⁹ Wang Chung-tu. When he was officially interrogated about his abilities, he replied that he could endure both cold and heat. Then, on a bitterly cold day in a sharp winter, he was commanded to take off his clothes and was brought in a four-horse carriage to Lake K'un-ming in Shang-lin [Park]. He was driven around the ice by drivers heavily wrapped in fox skins, who were shivering from the cold. Only Chung-tu did not appear to be affected. He lay on a terrace on the lake, smoking²⁰ with heat and undisturbed. In summer, during a great heat, he was ordered to sit under the burning glow [of the sun] and was surrounded with the fires of ten stoves. But he did not say he was hot, nor did he sweat.

Previous translation: Pokora, "An Important Crossroad," p. 70.

B Ch'u-hsüeh chi 3.9b. TPYL 22.4b (TPYL 757.7b).²¹

Yen 15.6a-b. Sun 12a.

On a very hot day when summer was at its peak, the Han-chung [commandery] sent Wang Chung-tu to sit under the burning glow [of the sun]. Moreover, he was surrounded with the fires of ten stoves. But he did not say he was hot, nor did he sweat.

C Po-wu chih 5.5b-6a (just before fragment 145) mentions Wang Chung-tu's hardiness and adds, "Huan Chün-shan believed that Wang Chung-tu could bear cold and heat because of his natural disposition." See Sun's preface 3b.

Ko Hung, in his Shen-hsien chuan 10.5a-b, devotes a paragraph to Wang Chung-tu. In addition to the anecdotes told by Huan T'an, Ko Hung tells us that Wang was two hundred years old, that he used cinnabar, and that he was transformed into an immortal. At the end Ko Hung says, "In his Hsin-lun, Huan Chün-shan mentions this man." Ko Hung also mentions Wang Chung-tu in Pao-p'u tzu Chapters 8, 12 and 15; see J. Ware, Alchemy, pp. 150, 208 and 249. For another reference to Wang, see Han Ao's Sui-hua chi-li 2.7a.

The poet Hsi K'ang varied the story a bit, saying that, according to Huan T'an, Wang Chung-tu could "occasionally" (ou 偶) bear cold and heat. See Hsi K'ang chi 4, as quoted by Holzman, La vie, p. 172, translation on p. 114, and also note 3 on p. 114. Wang Chung-tu's ability to endure cold and heat was especially admired since "cold and heat" (han shu 寒熱) was one of the most feared diseases in ancient China; cf. Bridgman, La médecine, pp. 159, 172.

A TPYL 643.10a.

Yen 15.6b. Sun 23b.

Recently, in the reign of Emperor Ai or Emperor P'ing, the magician Tung Chung-chün from the Lin-huai [commandery] was tried at law and put into prison, where he fell ill and died. Some days later his eyes fell in, and insects grew within them. The bailiffs cast him away, but he returned to life and left.

B TPYL 944.3b.Yen 15.6b. Sun 23b
(commentary).

In the Sui-ling district lived Tung Chung-chün who liked to inquire into the tricks of magicians. Once he was tried at law for a serious crime and put into prison. He feigned illness and death. Several days later he rotted and insects grew in him, but he revived.

C TPYL 737.8a.Yen 15.6b. Sun 23b
(commentary).

The magician Tung Chung-chün was guilty of some wrongdoing.²² Put into prison, he feigned death. His eyes fell in, and he became rotten and [full of] insects. Thus, we know that in the southern towns of the Man people there are barbarians with flying heads. This is not a delusion.

D Fa-yüan chu-lin 76.22b.

Yen 15.6b. (Sun 23b).

The magician Tung Chung-chün was guilty of some wrongdoing.²³ Put into prison, he feigned death. His eyes fell in, and he became rotten and [full] of insects. Thus we know that there is nothing impossible in delusion, trickery²⁴ or non-existence.

Moreover, he could blow his nose, sing through his mouth, show his tongue and his teeth, shake his eyebrows and move his eyes. In Ching-chou²⁵ dwell the Man barbarians who can drink with their noses, and in the Southern Regions there are barbarians with flying heads. These are not delusions.

E Po-wu chih 5.3a-b.

Yen 15.6b. (Sun 23b).

[Huan T'an's Hsin-lun] says that Tung Chung-chün was a magician who was²⁶ tried at law and put into prison. He feigned death and was stinking. His eyes fell in, and [insects] came out of them. Then he revived.

F Ts'ao Chih, "Pien-tao lun," in Kuang Hung ming chi
5.3b.²⁷

[Chün-shan also says], Tung Chung-chün was a magician. He was put into prison, where he feigned death. Some days later his eyes fell in, and insects came out of them. He died and revived, but later he finally died.²⁸ What is born must die. A superior man knows this. What is the use of illustrating it?²⁹

Cf. Liang Han pu-fen II, p. 346.

153

TPYL 466.9b.

Yen 15.6a. Sun 21b.

During the reign of Emperor Ai, an old man, Fan Lan, claimed to be three hundred years old. When he first met someone, he was pleased and responded with kindness. But if this happened two or three times, he would curse the man and drive him away.

154

Pao-p'u-tzu, Nei-p'ien 16, p. 72. Yen 15.6b.

When he was named an official of the Lieutenant Chancellor, [Shih Tzu-hsin] supervised the building of houses. He mobilized civilian officials and soldiers, as well as government slaves to furnish [the labor necessary] to produce gold. When he was unsuccessful, the Lieutenant Chancellor himself believed that the labor supply was inadequate and told Empress Fu about it.³⁰ However, the Empress saw no advantage in making gold until she heard that it could be used as a drug to prolong one's life. Then she became favorably disposed, and Shih Tzu-hsin was given the title of Gentleman and housed in the Northern Palace, where he was attended by messengers.³¹

Previous translation: J. R. Ware, Alchemy, p. 266.

155

TPYL 382.6a.

Yen 15.6b-7a. Sun 21a.

Once when I was out with the Gentleman Ling Hsi, we saw an old gentleman who was picking his food from

excrement. Since his face was dirty and ugly, I could not bear to look at him. [Ling] Hsi said, "How do you know that he is not a divine immortal?"

I said, "If the Way had to be embodied in this fashion, then there would be no Way at all!"³²

Previous translation: Pokora, "An Important Crossroad," pp. 69-70. See Liang Han pu-fen II, pp. 346-47.

156

A TPYL 956.2a-b. IWLC 88.21a. Yen 15.7a. Sun 17b.³³

Liu Tzu-chün believed the vain speeches of the magicians who said that one may become a divine immortal through study. I saw that down in his courtyard grew a great elm, very old, worn and broken. Pointing to it, I said, "That tree has no feelings, but, nevertheless, it will decay and become worm-eaten. Although you may want to care for it and nurture its life, how can you possibly prevent its decline?"

B Ts'ao Chih, "Pien-tao lun," in Kuang Hung ming chi 5.3a.³⁴ Yen 15.7a.

This tree has no feelings and wishes which it could repress. It has no ears or eyes which it could close. But, nevertheless, it will rot, wither and become putrid.³⁵

Previous (partial) translation: "The Life," II, p. 538. See also "An Important Crossroad," pp. 75-76; and Liang Han pu-fen II, p. 346.

157

A Pao-p'u-tzu, Nei p'ien 16, p. 72. Yen 15.7a-b.

Ch'eng Wei, a Gentleman of the Yellow Gate, enjoyed the art of yellow and white.³⁶ He married a girl from a family which possessed and understood prescriptions. Once when he was very upset at having to

participate in the Emperor's processions without wearing the clothes appropriate to the season, his wife said, "Let two pieces of taffeta appear." Immediately and from no source the taffeta appeared.

Ch'eng Wei's efforts to make gold by following the Chen-chung and Hung-pao [formulae] had been unsuccessful.³⁷ His wife went to watch him, and just at the moment when Wei was fanning the coals to heat a tube of mercury,³⁸ she said, "I would like to have a try at something." Then she took a drug from her pouch and put a bit of it into [the tube]. After the time span of a meal, they opened the tube to find perfect silver.

Greatly amazed, Wei said, "Why didn't you tell me before that the formula was as near to me as you are?" His wife replied, "One cannot have it unless one is destined. Then Wei tempted her day and night to give him the formula. He sold his land and buildings to give her the best food and clothing, but she still refused to tell him. Then Wei plotted with a friend to make her give in by beating her with bamboo.

When his wife found out, she told him, "The formula may only be passed on to the proper person. If the proper person were found--even if we met on the road--I would teach it to him. If, however, he were not the proper man--if his words were proper but his heart was not--the formula would not be forthcoming even though I were to be cut into bits and the limbs torn from my body." Wei kept up his pressure, however, until his wife finally went mad. Running away naked, she smeared herself with mud. Later, she died.³⁹

Previous translation: A Waley, "Notes to Johnson's A Study of Chinese Alchemy," pp. 4-5. H. H. Dubs, "The Beginnings of Alchemy," p. 78; see also Dubs, "The Origin of Alchemy," p. 31. J. R. Ware, Alchemy, pp. 264-65.

B TPYL 812.4b.

Yen 15.7a-b. Sun 24b.

[Ch'eng]Wei, a Gentleman Attendant at the Gate,⁴⁰ was fond of the matters of yellow and white. The wife he married was a strange girl. When [Ch'eng]Wei had no [proper] clothes, his wife made two rolls of silk appear. Later, she saw her husband just at the moment

when he was fanning coals to heat a tube of mercury. She took a drug from her [pouch]⁴¹ and put it into the tube. Her success was instantaneous. At once [Ch'eng] Wei tried to find out the formula, but he could not get it. She went mad and died.

A TPYL 905.2b.⁴²

Yen 15.7b. Sun 25b
(commentary).

When Lü⁴³ Chung-tzu's female slave died, she had a four-year old child. After she was buried, she returned several times to care for and cuddle it. She could also wash the child's head. Since this was much disliked by the people, they told a magician,⁴⁴ who said, "There is a dog. If you kill it,⁴⁵ then the female slave will not return."

The old woman of the Yang Chung-wen family⁴⁶ died. When her corpse had been dressed for burial but not yet buried, she suddenly rose, seated herself before the inner coffin and drank wine. When she had become drunk, the shape of a dog appeared, and it was killed.

B TPYL 885.8b.

Yen 15.7b. Sun 25b.

When Lü Chung-tzu's female slave died, she had a four-year old girl. She returned several times to wash the child's head and to rinse and wash [her robes]. The magician⁴⁷ said, "There is a green dog⁴⁸ in the family which does this. If you kill it, [the affair] will come to an end.

Yang Chung⁴⁹ also said he knew a family where an old woman, who had died suddenly, rose, drank and ate. After she had become drunk, she sat down and sacrificed on the bed. After she had done this three or four times, the family became disgusted. Thereafter, whenever she became drunk, her form became ruined.⁵⁰ But [the family] got an old dog and beat it to death. Later, an investigation revealed that the dog belonged to a local dealer's family.

Notes: CHAPTER 13

1. Chang Hua's Po-wu chih, Chapter 5, says, "Yang Hsiung also said, 'There is no such thing as the Way of the Immortals.' Huan T'an was of the same opinion."
2. See my article, "Huan Tan's Fu," p. 366.
3. Wang Ken. Cf. fragment 146B.
4. "A gentleman versed in the arts of magic" is a clumsy translation of the term fang-shih 方士. Since Hsi-men Chün-hui is identified in Han shu 99C, p. 5798, as a tao-shih 道士 ("gentleman of the Way"), Dubs concludes (HFHD III, p. 446, note 22.10) that tao shih does not refer only to Taoists. For the sake of simplicity, I generally translate both terms, as well as the term tao-jen 道人 ("man of the Way"), as "magician." See also fragment 149, note 11.
5. The ancient Chinese classified the tortoise in the same species as insects and reptiles (ch'ung 蟲).
6. Only I lin gives this part of the fragment, while the following section is found in both sources.
7. Shih kuei wu 使鬼物 ("those who command ghostly beings"). This term is not mentioned in PWYF or DKJ. It is found in Han shu 36, p. 3382, in connection with the books of Liu An (see fragment 157, note 37): "The books tell of the divine immortals' ways of causing ghostly beings to produce gold."
8. Hsien-chih 先知 ("those who have a priori knowledge or foreknowledge") is clearly of Taoist origin since it can be found in Lao-tzu 38 (as ch'ien-shih 前識); in Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu (Chapter 20: 1, pp. 256, and 8, p. 272 as hsien-chih 先知); and in Hsi K'ang chi (Chapter 4; see D. Holzman, La vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang, pp. 97 and 164 as ch'ien-shih 前識).
9. Instead of the i 疑 ("doubts") of the text, Yen gives ning 凝 ("solidify"). The phrase would then read, "those who cast and solidify [metals]," or "alchemists."
10. Liu An, the King of Huai-nan, did not have a son named Sao; Sun does not give this character.

11. Tao jen 道人 ("magician"); see 146A, note 4.
12. The text has only tzu chin yü kung 字金與公, but, in accordance with Yen, I read ch'ien tzu chin yü kung 鉉字金與公.
13. There are several versions of this story. Of Huan T'an's four fragments, two mention Lady Li (as does Han shu), and two mention Lady Wang (as does Shih chi). Other sources call the magician Shao-weng 少翁, instead of Li Shao-chün. See, e.g., Shih chi 12, p. 11 or 28, p. 52 (Chavannes III, p. 470). Shih chi includes this anecdote in its history of the year 121 A.D. and gives much more detail on the shadow-play.
14. Sun, quoting PTSC 132, has a rather different version which Yen does not include.
15. Fragment 150A has shen 神 for "spirit," while 150B has shen kuei 神鬼.
16. I 姬 ("imperial concubine"). For this term, see Dubs's detailed explanation in HFHD I, p. 221, note 1.
17. This alludes to the beginning of the Book of the Songs; see Legge, p. 1, and the explanation on p. 3 where Yang Hsiung is quoted.
18. Fang shih 方士 ("magicians").
19. Tao shih 道士 ("a man of the Tao") probably means the same as fang shih (note 18). See fragment 146A, note 4.
20. The text has an unknown character, 腫, while fragment 151B (as well as Yen and Sun) has hsün 熏 interchangeable with hsün 熏 ("smoking"). Huan T'an's biography in Hou Han shu 18, p. 1017, has mo-jan 默然 ("silent").
21. TPYL 22.4b differs from the text of Ch'u-hsüeh chi 3.9b only in insignificant details. The TPYL 757.7b version has two points of difference: in the beginning it mentions Emperor Yüan, and in the end it does not mention "sweat."
22. Shih 事 (translated here as "wrongdoing") could mean "matter" or "case" in Han legal terminology;

see, e.g., Hulsewé, Remnants I, pp. 48 and 51. In the present context, however, shih may mean "service," since so-called "Service Statutes" (shih lü 事律) were enacted during the Han; see Hulsewé, p. 29, and especially p. 65, note 24.

23. See the preceding note 22.

24. "Delusion" and "trickery" are, respectively, the Buddhist Māyā and rddhi.

25. The Ching province is the territory of the former kingdom of Ch'u.

26. I read mu 目 ("eye"), instead of the tzu 自 ("self") of the text.

27. See fragments 82C and 156B for other paragraphs from this essay by Ts'ao Chih. Ts'ao Chih's essay is quoted in Hou Wai-lu et al., "Wei Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao ssu-hsiang," p. 339.

28. The two subsequent sentences were probably added by Ts'ao Chih. The text continues as follows: "Even the highest spirit does not surpass Heaven and earth. He cannot allow the hibernating insects to hide in summer, nor can he produce the noise of thunder in the winter. If the time changes, then beings come into movement; if the breath shifts, then things respond to it. If Tung Chung-chün could restrain his breath within himself, change his body into a corpse, rot his skin, and let insects grow, is this anything to be surprised at?"

29. A very short "biography" of Tung Chung-chün in Ko Hung's Shen-hsien chuan 10.4a gives a short and less sober version of this fragment without attribution, mentioning that Tung Chung-chün's breath exercises kept him looking quite young at the age of one hundred.

30. This might have taken place in 3 B.C., when Huan T'an was an advisor to Fu Yen, the Marquis of K'ung-hsiang and the father of Empress Fu, who was the wife of Emperor Ai. Evidently the Empress listened to the magicians, since Huan T'an warned her father, "...perhaps she will send frantically for doctors and sorcerers, or summon magicians and wizards from outside the court." (Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 19, translating Huan T'an's biography in Hou Han shu 18A, p. 1012). See also fragment 206.

31. Pao-p'u tzu adds, "As though a divine prescription of this sort could be effected in a palace with all sorts of ordinary people in attendance! It is common knowledge that even dyers of silks do not wish to have all kinds of people watching them for fear their work will be spoiled. How much truer is this for the transforming of yellow and white!" (J. R. Ware's translation, pp. 266-67.)
32. Apparently the old gentleman was a "Gentleman of the Way," a tao shih 道士 or "magician."
33. This fragment is associated with fragment 84.
34. After a general introduction to his essay, Ts'ao Chih says, "Huan Chün-shan was one of the authors of substantial treatises during the restoration. There is much that is good in his writings and narrations. Liu Tzu-chün once asked whether a man could really avoid his decline and exhaustion by repressing his lust and desires, and by closing his ears and eyes? At that time an old elm grew in the courtyard. Huan Chün-shan pointed to it and said..."
35. Ts'ao Chih then comments, "Then Liu Tzu-chün said that he was wrong when he claimed that one could avoid decline and exhaustion. Huan Chün-shan's comparison with the elm is not quite correct. Why?" Ts'ao Chih then proceeds with Huan T'an's fragment 82C.
36. "The art of yellow and white" is alchemy or, more specifically, the artificial production of gold (yellow) and silver (white). The sixteenth chapter of Pao-p'u-tzu is devoted to this art.
37. The Hung-pao and Chen-chung treatises are attributed to Liu An in Pao-p'u-tzu (2, p. 7; Ware, p. 51). Han Shu (25B, p. 2146) says that Liu Keng-sheng (i.e., Liu Hsiang) and others presented Emperor Hsüan with "Huai-nan's prescriptions Chen-chung ("In the Pillow"), Hung-pao ("Great Treasure") and Yüan-mi ("Secrets of the Garden")." Han shu (36, p. 3381) says that these books were also in Liu An's possession. Yen Shih-ku's commentary explains that the "Great Treasure" and the "Secrets of the Garden" are both titles of chapters in books of Taoist formulae which were hidden in a pillow (chen chung 枕中). The works are mentioned neither by the Shih chi, nor by the bibliographical chapter of Han shu.

38. The term for "mercury" translated literally means "water-silver" or "liquid silver."

39. Shen-hsien chuan 7.2b-3a has a short version of this story entitled "The Wife of Ch'eng Wei." In that version, as is fitting in a treatise on immortals, the wife dies a supernatural death, leaves her body and becomes an immortal.

40. The title given here ("a Gentleman Attendant at the Gate") is also that used in Shen-hsien chuan 7.2b.

41. Sun has ssu 筭 ("box").

42. The text consists of two quotations which are actually two different stories, indicated here by two paragraphs. The text given in Sun's commentary has several variations.

43. The text has chan 占, which is not a Chinese surname. I read Lü 呂 in accordance with fragment 158B.

44. Fang-shih 方士 ("magician"). See note 47 below.

45. The hsiao 効 of the text makes no sense. Again I follow fragment 158B (as well as Yen and Sun) in reading sha 殺 ("kill").

46. Generally, it is impossible to identify people associated with magicians in the dynastic histories, but this tale may refer to the Yang family of Hsin-tu in Szechwan (not to be confused with Wang Mang's Hsin-tu in Honan). One of its members, Yang Ch'un-ch'ing, a general who served Kung-sun Shu, was well versed in the ch'an texts. Even his great-grandson, Yang Hou, wrote a book which attempted to enhance the ch'an texts with the authority of Confucius. This was precisely what Huan T'an opposed: "Today all the artful and foxy, magicians of small talent and the soothsayers disseminate and multiply diagrams and documents, falsely praising the records of prognostications;" see fragment 210. For the Yang family, see Hou Han shu 30A, pp. 1100-01.

47. Here the word which I translate as "magician" is tao-shih 道士, while the fragment 158A has fang-shih 方士. These different denominations for the same kind of magician corroborate H. H. Dubs's conclusion referred to above (fragment 146, note 4).

48. In the Han period the color green is associated with many animals, but I find no other reference to a green dog.

49. Both Yen and Sun have Yang Chung-wen; cf. 158A.

50. Both Yen and Sun have "[ch'i hou tsui] hsing huai yüan" 其後醉行壞垣 which makes no sense. I prefer the TPYL text, which has "[ch'i hou tsui] hsing huai. Tan" 形壞但 ("whenever she became drunk, her form became ruined. But...").

Chapter 14. Explaining Plans

159

A The Chi-chieh commentary to Shih chi 56, p. 14.

Yen 15.7b-8a. Sun 10a-b.

Someone said, "It is said that Ch'en P'ing's raising of the siege of Emperor Kao at P'ing-ch'eng was such a secret affair that no one today knows exactly what happened. The job was done in a very adroit and excellent manner, so it remained hidden and was not spread about. Could you, perhaps, reflect upon and comprehend this matter?"

I answered, "To the contrary, the plan was mean and low, clumsy and bad. That is why it was kept secret and not disclosed.

"When Emperor Kao was besieged for seven days, Ch'en P'ing went to plead with the consort¹ of the shan-yü. When she subsequently spoke to the shan-yü, he released the Han Emperor. From this we know the method Ch'en P'ing used to persuade her.

"Ch'en P'ing must have told her: 'Han women are excellent and beautiful. Their appearance is beyond compare in the entire world. Being besieged, [the Emperor has] sent messengers to rush back and return with [women] which he intends to offer to the shan-yü. When the shan-yü sees the women, he will certainly love them deeply, and if he loves them, you, his consort, will become increasingly estranged from him. The best thing to do is to let the Han escape before [the messengers] arrive [with the women], because once the Han are freed, they will not bring their women.'

"The consort and [the shan-yü's] women had jealous natures and they certainly would have despised [the Han women]; therefore, they spurred² the shan-yü to let the Han go. This explanation is simple and to the point. Once the ruse proved effective, [Ch'en P'ing] wished to present it as something mysterious, and therefore he kept it secret so it would not leak out."

When Liu Tzu-chün heard my words, he immediately praised them and expressed his agreement.³

Previous translation: H. H. Dubs, HFHD I, pp. 116-17, note 2. Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 539.

B TPYL 381.3b.

Yen 15.7b-8a. Sun 10b
(commentary).

Someone said, "Ch'en P'ing's [method of] raising the siege of Emperor Kao at P'ing-ch'eng remained hidden and was not spread about. Can you understand it?"

I said, "Ch'en P'ing won over the consort with the statement that the Han had marvelous women whose beauty was beyond compare in the entire world. He told her that the Emperor had sent messengers who were to rush back with the [women]; that the Emperor intended to offer them to the shan-yü; and that when the shan-yü saw these women, he would certainly love them. Then the consort spoke to the shan-yü and Emperor Kao was spared."

This text was analyzed in P. Pelliot, "Notes sur quelques artistes des Six dynasties et des T'ang," pp. 216-17 and note 3.

C Pai K'ung liu t'ieh 21.8a.

Yen 15.7b-8a. Sun 10a.
(commentary).

Besieged at P'ing-ch'eng, the Eminent Founder won over the [shan-yü's] consort by saying that the Han had beautiful women who were beyond compare in the entire world; that he was hurriedly offering them to the shan-yü; and that the shan-yü would surely love them deeply and his favor towards the consort would decline. This is called "a marvelous escape plan."

D IWLC 18.4a.

Yen 15.7b-8a. Sun 10b.
(commentary).

Ch'en P'ing persuaded the shan-yü's consort by saying that the Han had excellent and beautiful women whose appearance was beyond compare in the entire world; that as soon as they were rushed over, they would be

offered to the shan-yü; and that on seeing them, the shan-yü would surely love them deeply and neglect the consort.

NOTES: CHAPTER 14

1. The Chi-chieh commentary quotes Su Lin as saying that the yen-chih 閼氏 (here translated as "consort") is "like the Han empress." Therefore, B. Watson (Records I, p. 161) translates the term as "consort." But, H. H. Dubs (HFHD I, p. 116, note 2) translates Yen-chih as a name. Nevertheless, in his introduction to the translation of Chapter 9 of the Han shu (HFHD II, p. 282), among other places, Dubs translates yen-chih as "Empress." A detailed explanation of the expression yen-chih is given by P. Pelliot in Journal Asiatique, Vol. 20(1912), pp. 169-70, where he analyzes a similar term in the Lun-heng. See also his note in TP, Vol. 24 (1925), p. 279.
2. The term tzu 刺 ("to spur") is given by the Ssu shih edition of the Shi chi (Shanghai, 1935, p. 352-53) and was adopted by both Yen and Sun. Takigawa Kame-taro's edition, Shih chi hui-chu k'ao-cheng, has shih 事, which Dubs (see note 1 above) translates as "she mixed [in the affairs]."
3. P'ei Yin, the author of the Chi-chieh commentary, adds that, in essence, Huan T'an's account agrees with Ying Shao's account in his Han shu yin-i; P'ei is not sure whether Ying Shao based his account entirely on Huan T'an or whether he also used other sources. Ying Shao's text is quoted by Yen Shih-ku in Han shu 1B, p. 77, and differs in some important details from Huan T'an's account. Ying Shao says, "Ch'en P'ing arranged to have some portraits of beautiful women painted and sent someone to give one to the [shan-yü's] consort. The man said, 'The Han have beautiful ladies like this. Now the Emperor, being besieged and in difficulty, intends to offer these [pictures to ten shan-yü].' The consort was afraid of losing favor, so she said to the shan-yü, 'The Han Son of Heaven also had his divinities and spirits. It would be absolutely impossible to get his territory.' Then the Hsiung-nu opened one corner, through which he could escape." Yen Shih-ku adds, "Ying Shao's explanation is based on Huan T'an's Hsin-lun. Apparently Huan T'an came to this conclusion on his own; the facts may well have been like that. This explanation is not found in the basic annals or in the memoirs."

We see that Huan T'an's account agrees with Ying Shao's in that it stresses the physical attractions of the Chinese women, but they disagree on which method was used to frighten the jealous wife of the barbarian chieftain with their attractions. Huan T'an simply says that the description was given verbally, while Ying Shao suggests that portraits were used.

Through this we may see how history is transformed into fiction: 1) Shih chi 8, p. 73 ("The Basic Annals of Emperor Kao") says only that the Hsiung-nu besieged the Emperor for seven days before retiring. (Chavannes, MH II, p. 390). 2) Shih chi 56, p. 14 ("The Hereditary House of Chancellor Ch'en") adds that "the exact plan used was secret, so no one today knows just what happened." (Watson, Records I, p. 161). 3) Shih chi 110, pp. 26-27 ("Memoir on the Hsiung-nu") gives a detailed account of the P'ing-ch'eng siege but says that the Emperor was saved because he sent a messenger bearing generous gifts to the consort. (Watson, Records II, pp. 165-66). Therefore, the tale of Ch'en P'ing's ruse can be found only in his own biography, which is hardly surprising. The ruse aroused interest among the literati, including Liu Hsin and Huan T'an. Huan tried, as was his wont, to reduce the inexplicable element, suggesting a deliberate misrepresentation made to the shan-yü's consort. However, because of Ying Shao's account, which has erroneously been associated with Huan T'an, it came to be believed that the first Chinese portrait was painted about this time, in 201 B.C. This theory has been refuted by P. Pelliot, "Notes sur quelques artistes des Six dynasties et des T'ang," pp. 213-18. Pelliot (on pp. 216-17) also analyzed the short version of Huan T'an's text found at TPYL 381.3b (159B). More recently, Max Loehr has discussed the early development of portraiture in general in "The Beginnings of Portrait Painting in China," pp. 210-14.

Chapter 15. Mourning for Friends

160

The Chi-chieh commentary to Shih chi 83, p. 21.

Yen 15.8a. Sun 10b.

In his well-known letter from prison, written to King Hsiao of Liang,¹ which has also been included in the Wen hsüan (33:3), Tsou Yang mentions a proverb: "Sometimes people who have lived together until their hair is white regard each other as new acquaintances, while those who meet on the road, halting their carriages, speak under inclined canopies² and regard each other as old friends.' These words mean that it all depends on whether there is a basis within for mutual understanding. It does not matter whether the acquaintance is new or old."

161

Li Hsien's commentary to Hou Han shu 1A, p. 5.

Yen 15.8a. Sun 12a.

Chuang Yu's³ style name was Po-shih.

Previous translation and explanation: H. Bielenstein, "The Restoration of the Han Dynasty," p. 112, note 1.

162

TPYL 614.4a. PTSC 101.1a.⁴ Yen 15.8a. Sun 15b.

Kao Chün-meng⁵ had a broad knowledge of the laws and regulations. He often bent over his desk writing texts. The Office of Gentlemen in Charge of Writings took pity on his advanced age and wished to do this for him. But he refused, saying, "By writing it myself I shall pay for the pain of having to proofread it ten times over."

- A Li Hsien's commentary to Hou Han shu 59, pp. 2057-58.⁶ Hu San-hsing's commentary to Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 38, Han 30, pp. 1216-17.

Yen 15.8a-b. Sun 12a.

Yang Hsiung⁷ wrote the Classic on Mystery, believing that Heaven as well as the Way, were the Mystery. He said that the laws established by the sages and worthies, and the affairs which they administered, all take Heaven and the Way as their true clue and, accordingly, embrace under them all species, kingly government, human affairs, and laws and systems. Therefore, Fu Hsi calls it 'Change,'⁸ Lao Tzu calls it 'the Way,' Confucius calls it 'Origin,'⁹ and Yang Hsiung calls it 'Mystery.'" The Classic on Mystery consists of three chapters which record the Way of Heaven, of Earth and of Man. Three Substances are established--upper, middle and lower--similar to the Three Classes presented in "The Tribute of Yü."¹⁰

Three times three makes nine, and nine times nine makes eighty-one. Therefore, [the Classic] has eighty-one diagrams. It uses [the number] four to count [the lines of the diagrams],¹¹ beginning with one and going up to four. [The diagrams] are repeated, connected, changed and alternated. In the end, when there are eighty-one, a new round follows. Nothing may be subtracted or added. For sorting out, thirty-five¹² divining stalks of milfoil are used. The Classic on Mystery consists of more than five thousand words of text and twelve¹³ chapters of commentary.

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, pp. 545-46.

- B Wang Ying-lin, K'un-hsüeh chi-wen 9.13a.

Yen 15.8a-b. Sun 12a
(commentary).

Lao Tzu calls it 'Mystery;' Yang Tzu calls it 'Great Mystery.'

A Han shu 87B, p. 5136. Yen 15.8b.

At that time, the Grand Minister of Works, Wang I and the Communicator Yen Yu¹⁴ heard that Yang Hsiung had died. They said to Huan T'an, "You have always praised the writings of Yang Hsiung. Will they be sent down to future generations?"

Huan T'an said, "They will surely be sent down, but you and I shall not see it.¹⁵ People despise what is near and admire what is far.¹⁶ They saw for themselves Yang Tzu-yün's salary, position and appearance, none of which could move the people, so they scorned his writings."

Previous translation: Forke, Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie, pp. 81-82.

B TPYL 432.6b. Yen 15.8b.

Someone¹⁷ asked, "What kind of man was Yang Tzu-yün?"

My answer was, "He was gifted, wise, and possessed an open and penetrating mind. He could attain the Way of the sages. Since the founding of the Han dynasty, there has been no one like him."

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, pp. 551-52.

C TPYL 602.2a. Yen 15.8b. Sun 21b.¹⁸

Yang Tzu-yün's brilliance, reputation and prominence surpassed that of the multitude. Since the founding of the Han dynasty there has been no one like him.

The State Master Liu Tzu-chü said, "What do you mean by these words?"

Huan T'an replied, "There are hundreds of people who had all-encompassing talents and were authors of works; only the Grand Historian [Ssu-ma Ch'ien] has

written a very great book. As for the rest, theirs are but small and fragmentary disquisitions,¹⁹ which cannot be compared with the Model Sayings and the Great Mystery²⁰ created by Yang Tzu-yün. People admire what they hear and despise what they see; therefore, they underrate and slight these works. If the Great Mystery should be met by an Emperor who would take an interest in affairs, he would surely rank it next to the Five Classics."

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, pp. 551-52.

D Lun-heng 13:39, p. 608. Yen 15.8b.

Wang Kung-tzu²¹ asked Huan Chün-shan about Yang Tzu-yün. Chün-shan replied, "Since the founding of the Han dynasty there has been no one like him."

Previous translations: Forke, Lun-heng II, pp. 297-98; Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 551.

E Liu Chih-chi, Shih t'ung 10:36, p. 15a.²²

Yen 15.8b.

In the past, when Yang Hsiung's Classic on Mystery was completed, Huan T'an believed that, even though it was despised by Yang's contemporaries, nevertheless, "after several hundred years this book will certainly be sent down [to later generations]."²³

Previous translation: Byongik, "Zur Wertheorie in der chinesischen Historiographie auf Grund des Shih-T'ung des Liu Chih-Chi (661-721)," Oriens Extremus, Vol. 4 (1957), p. 132.

F Commentary to Wen hsüan 3.1b. Yen 15.8b. Sun 12b.

Today everyone reveres the ancient past and scorns present times, admires what he hears and despises what he sees.

G Commentary to Wen hsüan 47.43a.

Yen 15.8b.²⁴ Sun 14b.

Lao Tzu's heart is mysterious and remote, but it is in harmony with the Way.

165

Shih Nung.²⁵

Yen 15.8b.

166

Lin Pao, Yüan-ho hsing tsuan, p. 130. Shih Nung.²⁵

Yen 15.8a. Sun,
preface 4a.

An intelligent man, acting in accordance with the rites proper to a son.²⁶

167

A TPYL 619.6a.

Yen 15.9a. Sun 23b.

Liang Tzu-ch'u and Yang Tzu-lin, who held with me the office of a Gentleman, liked to study. They wrote some ten thousand scrolls until their heads turned white. They once sent me some hundred items which they could not understand.²⁷ When I looked at their problems, I could generally understand them.

B Wang Ying-lin, K'un-hsüeh chi-wen 8.36a-b.

Sun, preface 4b.

[In the distant past, before books were printed from wooden blocks, those who liked to study suffered from the lack of books. Huan T'an's Hsin-lun mentions] Liang Tzu-ch'u and Yang Tzu-lin, who wrote ten thousand scrolls before their heads turned white.²⁸

PTSC 68.4a-b.

Yen 15.9a. Sun 15a.²⁹

Chou Hu, the grandson of Chou Chih of Mou-ling, did not write rhyme-prose, odes or complimentary pieces. When he became a Department Head in the Grand Ministry Over the Masses, he was in charge of a multitude of affairs and responsible for establishing the meaning of the texts.³⁰

NOTES: CHAPTER 15

1. See, for example, Y. Hervouet, Un poète de cour sous les Han, p. 33. The letter has been translated by E. von Zach, Die Chinesische Anthologie II, pp. 722-27.
2. The term ch'ing-kai 傾蓋 ("inclined canopies") occurs in K'ung-tzu chia-yü II, 8b, which is translated by R. P. Kramers as follows: "When Confucius went to T'an, he met Master Ch'eng on the way. Under the inclined canopies [of their carriages], they conversed the whole day very affectionately" (cf. K'ung-tzu chia-yü, pp. 237 and 333, for an explanation). It is not clear whether Tso Yang was alluding to the tradition used by the K'ung-tzu chia-yü.
3. Because Chuang was the taboo personal name of Emperor Ming, Wang Mang's general Chuang Yu is given as "Yen Yu" in Hou Han shu and other sources of that time. P. Pelliot studied the possible semantic relationship between the two words chuang and yen in a note in JA, Vol. 20 (1912), p. 168.
4. PTSC 101.1a has the same text as TPYL 614.4a, but it does not include the quote in the last sentence of the fragment.
5. This man cannot be identified, but the style name Chün-meng was quite common during the Former Han period. Sun gives only Kao Chün. Apparently Kao Chün-meng was a frustrated official with literary ambitions.
6. This is the biography of the famous astronomer Chang Heng. Li Hsien says that Chang Heng greatly admired Yang Hsiung's T'ai hsüan ching.
7. This should read "Yang Tzu-yün."
8. This statement reflects the theory that Fu-hsi was the author of the Book of Changes.
9. This statement reflects the theory that Confucius was the author of the Ch'un-ch'iu. The first word of the Ch'un-ch'iu is yüan 元, which could mean "origin" or "first" as in "first year" (yüan nien 元年). There has been much speculation about its meaning; see J. Legge, The Ch'un Ts'ew, pp. 1 and 4. Tung Chung-shu, of course, did not ignore this problem;

see O. Franke, Studien zur Geschichte, p. 301, note 1. Even Wang Ch'ung mentions the yüan principle of the Ch'un-ch'iu, associating it with Yang Hsiung's T'ai-hsüan; see Lun-heng 29:84, p. 1174 (with the detailed explanation by Huang Hui), and Forke, I, p. 88. During the Han period, the term yüan also played a certain role in calendrical computations, denoting an epochal cycle of 4617 years; see Sivin, "Cosmos and Computation in Early Chinese Mathematical Astronomy," p. 15.

10. These three classes of tribute were gold, silver, and copper, according to the Book of Documents III:I:VII:52; Legge, p. 115. For a detailed explanation, see ibid., pp. 110-11, sub. 44.

11. This may refer to the four categories of the T'ai-hsüan ching, which consists of three fang, nine chou, twenty-seven pu, and eighty-one chia, or, according to Huan T'an, it may refer to four multiplications by 3, which total 81 (i.e., $1 \times 3 = 3$, $3 \times 3 = 9$, $9 \times 3 = 27$, $27 \times 3 = 81$). There are also 729 tsan in the T'ai-hsüan ching ($729 = 3^6$).

12. The commentator Liu Pin (1022-1088) is quoted in the commentary to the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 38 (5th year t'ien feng, p. 1217) as saying that there should be thirty-six stalks. The T'ai-hsüan ching itself sets the number at thirty-six, which is a multiple of the principal numbers three and four, ($4 \times 9 = 36$, or $2^2 \times 3^2 = 36$).

13. Yen gives "thirteen chapters" instead of "twelve."

14. Yen Yu is really Chuang. See fragment 161, note 3.

15. Forke (Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie, p. 81) believes that Huan T'an's statement ends here and that the remaining sentences express the ideas of the author of the Han Shu. But, see note 16 below, which indicates why I believe that the remaining sentences should also be attributed to Huan T'an.

16. Huan T'an's memorial to Emperor Kuang-wu expresses similar sentiments: "It is the character of all men to disregard the facts before their eyes and to value strange things learned from rumor;" see Hou Han shu 28A, p. 1015, and Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 29. See also fragment 164C and F.

17. Yen, apparently following 164D, adds the name of Wang Kung-tzu or Wang I. See also note 21 below.

18. Sun's quotation omits the introduction and begins with Liu Hsin's question.

19. P. Pelliot has carefully explained the meaning of ts'ui-ts'an 藜 殘 (here translated as "small and fragmentary") in "Meou-tseu ou les doutes levés," p. 412, note 376.

20. Both Yen and Sun add ching 經 ("classic"), which would make the title of Yang's work the Classic of Great Mystery.

21. Wang Kung-tzu is Wang I, the Grand Minister of Works; (see fragment 164A). Sun I-jang (quoted by Huang Hui, and by Liu P'an-sui, Lun-heng chi-chieh, p. 282) believes that Wang Kung (王公) refers to Wang Mang and that the character tzu (子) is superfluous. Sun says, "Huan T'an served Wang Mang as an official. Therefore, the Hsin-lun often calls Wang Mang by the name Wang Weng (王翁 "venerable old Wang"). This Sir Wang (or Wang Kung 王公) is the same man as the 'venerable old Wang.' When the TPYL [432.6b; fragment 164B] quotes the Hsin-lun, it does not say who [see note 17 above] asked [about Yang Hsiung]. Thus, it is possible to correct the omission." Neither of the two modern editors of the Lun-heng, Huang Hui or Liu P'an-sui, follow Sun I-jang's suggestion that it was Wang Mang who had this discussion with Huan T'an.

22. Chapter "Tzu-hsü" of the Shih t'ung is autobiographical. Liu Chih-chi says, "My talent is lower [than that of Yang Hsiung], but my bearing is like that of this earlier wise man. I recorded it in my heart and thus consoled myself. But, I fear that there is one point in which I differ from Yang Hsiung. Why?"

23. Liu Chih-chi continues, "Later Chang Heng and Lu Chi did indeed hold that it was incomparable, attaining [the level of the works of] the sages."

24. Properly speaking, fragment 164F does not fit the context of the other versions of the fragment. Yen says that he included it in fragment 164 because Han shu 87B (p. 5136; fragment 164A) mentions Lao Tzu. Of course, these are the words of Pan Ku; even Yen does not attribute them to Huan T'an.

25. The text has: "In Ch'i there was a worthy man, Shih Tzu, who wrote a book. See Mencius. Hsin-lun has Shih Nung." For Shih Tzu, see Mencius II:II:X:3-5; Legge, pp. 226-27. In view of the following fragment, the Hsin-lun which is referred to is Huan T'an's.

26. This apparently refers to Shih Nung. The text quotes from Huan T'an's Hsin-lun. See also the foregoing fragment and note 25.

27. Instead of ch'ang 嘗 ("once"), both Yen and Sun have ch'ang 常 ("often").

28. This may mean that Liang and Yang spent a great deal of time copying out their own works.

29. Sun has a shorter version: "Chou Chih of Mou-ling."

30. Yen's word-order differs somewhat from that given in the text.

Chapter 16. The Way of the Zither

There are two or three different translations of the name of the musical instrument ch'in; it has been called a lute, a harp and a zither. R. H. van Gulik used the term "lute," as can be seen from the title of his book devoted to the ch'in ideology, The Lore of the Chinese Lute. Nakajima Chiaki (in the English resume of his article, cited in note 6 to fragment 169A1) translates ch'in as "harp," as does another eminent Japanese musicologist, Kishibe Shigeo (see note 2 to fragment 42A). But, L. E. R. Picken, who has recently catalogued the Chinese musical instruments, translates the term as "zither" (pp. 103-107), classifying it as the first of the chordophones; see his "T'ang Music and Musical Instruments."

169

A1 I lin 3.10b.

Yen 15.9a. Sun 8b.

Shen Nung succeeded Fu Hsi as ruler of the Empire. He made a ch'in from the wood of the t'ung tree. It was three ch'ih, six ts'un and six fen long, symbolizing the number [of days] in a full year.¹ It was one eight-[tenths] ts'un thick, symbolizing the multiple of three and six. Above, it was circular and gathered in, following the model of Heaven; below, it was square and flat, following the model of earth. Above, it was broad, while below, it was narrow, following the model of the rituals² between superiors and inferiors. Ch'in means "to restrain."³ The sages and worthies of the ancient past played the zither to cultivate their hearts. In adversity, they would devote themselves to perfecting their own persons and would not lose their principles; therefore, a composition for [the zither] was called a ts'ao ["principle"].⁴ In success, they would devote themselves to perfecting the Empire, so that there would be nothing that would not reach and penetrate; therefore, a composition for the zither is called a ch'ang ("penetration").⁵ The "Yao ch'ang" has been lost⁶ and is no longer preserved. The "Shun ts'ao" sounds clear and subtle. The "Viscount of Wei ts'ao" sounds clear and pure. The "Chi-tzu ts'ao" sounds pure and overflowing.⁷

A2 TPYL 596.6b. Ch'u-hsüeh chi 16.4b.

Yen 15.9a. Sun 3b.

Shen Nung succeeded Fu Hsi as ruler of the Empire. Above, he looked for a model in Heaven; below, he took his model from the earth. From near, he took [his model] from his own person; from far, he took it from all beings. Then, for the first time, he made a ch'in of wood cut from the t'ung tree. He tied silk to create a string, thus attaining communion with Divine Virtue, and concord with the harmony of Heaven and earth.

Variations of this paragraph may be found in IWLC 44.2b-3a; TPYL 814.3a; Chang Ch'iao's commentary to Fu I's Ch'in fu in Ku-wen yüan 21, pp. 451-52; commentary to Wen hsüan, 13.19a and 28.28a; TPYL 956.6a; and IWLC 88.35a.

B Commentary to Wen hsüan 34.5a. Yen 15.9a. Sun 3a.

The decoration on the ch'in is forty-five fen long;⁸ its length before the decoration is eight fen.

C TPYL 579.5b. Ch'u-hsüeh chi 16.4b.

Yen 15.9b. Sun 4b.

Shen Nung made a seven-stringed ch'in, which was sufficient to bring him into communion with the ten thousand beings, and [to allow him] to scrutinize and order chaos.

D1 TPYL 579.5b. Ch'u-hsüeh chi 16.4a.

Yen 15.9b. Sun 3b.

Among the eight sounds,⁹ that of silk¹⁰ [i.e., strings] is the finest; and [among silk instruments] the ch'in is supreme.

D2 Commentary to Wen hsüan, quoting Huan T'an's Hsin-lun.
Yen 15.9b. Sun 3a.

The eight sounds are broad and extensive. The virtue of the ch'in is most abundant.

E Ku Yeh-wang, Yü p'ien 16, p. 60, 2.

Yen 15.9b. Sun 3a.

[The ch'in] was created by Shen Nung. The meaning of ch'in is "to restrain." The superior man keeps to it in order to restrain himself.

F Commentary to Wen hsüan 18.7b. Yen 15.9b. Sun 3a.

On [the composition of] the "Shun ts'ao:" Shun's saintly virtue was mysterious and remote.¹¹ Then he rose to become the Son of Heaven. He sighed, longing for his parents, [and thought that] the exalted position of Lord on High was not worth keeping. He drew forth his ch'in and composed the ts'ao.

G1 PTSC 109.5b.

Yen 15.9b. Sun 3b.

On [the composition of] the "Yü ts'ao:" In the past, in the Hsia period, there was a flood which surrounded the mountains and immersed the hills. Then Yü drew forth his ch'in and made a ts'ao. Its sound was clear and, at the same time, narrow,¹² flowing like a small stream that wished to become a deep river.

G2 Commentary to Wen hsüan 12.1b. Sun 3b (commentary)

In the time of Yü of the Hsia dynasty, the waters of this flood were singing.

H1 TPYL 916.9b. Commentary to Wen hsüan 18.6b.

Yen 15.9b. Sun 3a.

On [the composition of] the "Viscount of Wei ts'ao:" The Viscount of Wei mourned the imminent end

of the Yin dynasty, but nothing could be done. Seeing the wild swans flying on high, he drew forth his ch'in and composed a ts'ao. Its music was clear and pure.¹³

H2 Commentary to Wen hsüan 18.7a. Yen 15.9b (commentary). Sun 3a.

His performance was like the cry of a wailing wild goose.¹⁴

I1 TPYL 84.5b. Yen 15.9b-10a. Sun 4a-b.

On [the composition of] the "King Wen ts'ao:" In the time of King Wen, Chou Hsin was unprincipled. He melted metal and made a gridiron¹⁵ and filled a pond with overflowing wine. The courtiers in the palace murdered one another until their bones and flesh became a mire. He had a jade room, as well as a jasper terrace.¹⁶ Many clouds appeared, shading the wind. The sound of his bells¹⁷ rose like thunder, shaking Heaven and earth.

King Wen himself abided by the laws and regulations, secretly practicing benevolence and righteousness.¹⁸ He drew forth his ch'in and composed a ts'ao. Therefore, its sound was tumultuous and agitated, with fearsome chüeh notes and thunderous shang notes.

I2 PTSC 41.5b. Yen 15.10a. Sun 4b (commentary).

Chou Hsin melted metal into a gridiron; he made a pond of overflowing wine. Bones and flesh became a mire.

J1 Commentary to Wen hsüan 11.5b-6a.

Yen 15.9b. Sun 2b.

Ch'in: There is the "ts'ao" ["principle of playing the ch'in"] of Po I. When he encountered an unusual situation, he devoted himself exclusively to perfecting his own person; therefore, [his playing of the ch'in] was called a ts'ao [or "principle"].

J2 Commentary to Wen hsüan 16.4b. (Sun 2b, commentary).

Ch'in: On the "Po I ts'ao:" In adversity, he devoted himself to perfecting his own person and not losing his principles; therefore, [his composition for the ch'in] was called a ts'ao [or "principle"]. This means "to elevate oneself and become encouraged."¹⁹

J3 Commentary to Wen hsüan 17.7a. Yen 15.10a (commentary).
Sun 2b (commentary).

Ch'in: There is the "Po I ts'ao."

J4 Commentary to Wen hsüan 18.2b. Yen 15.10a (commentary).
Sun 2b.

The "Po I ts'ao" is like the cry of a wild goose.²⁰

K Commentary to Tu Yu's T'ung-tien 144.7b.

Yen 15.9a-b. Sun 3b.

The five strings: the first string is called the kung tone and thereafter follow the shang, chüeh, chih, and yii [strings]. Kings Wen and Wu each added one string to make the "smaller kung" and the "smaller shang" [strings].²¹

L Commentary to Wen hsüan 18.3b. Yen 15.9b. Sun 2b.

The lower chih:²² The seven strings gather together this pivot [of all things].²³

M Commentary to Wen hsüan 18.10b. Yen 15.9b. Sun 3a.

[When the zither is] loud, it is not noisy, clamorous or reckless.²⁴ [When the zither is] soft, it does not sink and become inaudible.²⁵

Li Hsien's commentary to Hou Han shu 36, pp. 1306-1307.²⁶

Yen 15.10a. Sun 4a.

Master K'uang of Chin was an expert in the study of tones. Duke Ling of Wei was about to visit Chin. At night he lodged on the shore of the river P'u, and during the night he heard some new music. He summoned Master Chüan and told him, "Listen to this and write it down for me."

[Master Chüan] replied, "I have it."

Afterwards they went to Chin, where Duke P'ing of Chin entertained them. When they became drunk with wine, Duke Ling said, "I have some new music which I would like to have performed before you." Then he ordered Master Chüan to play the ch'in. But before the end [of the performance], Master K'uang halted it, saying, "This is the music of a destroyed country."²⁷

A P'ei Sung-chih's commentary to San-kuo chih, Shu

chih 12.17a-b.

Yen 15.10a-11a. Sun 1a-2b.

Yung-men Chou, [summoned] because of his [skill in playing] the ch'in, paid a visit to the Lord of Meng-ch'ang,²⁸ who said, "Sir, you can play the ch'in. Can you also make me sad?"²⁹

"[You ask me]," Chou replied, "whom I can make sad. There are those who were at first exalted and later humbled; who were once rich and now are poor; and who, rejected and oppressed, dwell in poor alleys and have no intercourse with their neighbors. These cannot compare with those whose person and talents are noble and beautiful, who carry substance in their heart and embrace the truth, but who meet with slander and encounter calumny, and who are enmeshed by ill-feeling and cannot win trust. These cannot compare with those who love but, without a quarrel, are parted from their loved ones during their life; and who must leave for some distant and remote land, not knowing when they will see their loved ones again. These cannot compare with

those who, when young have no father or mother, who, full-grown, have no wife nor child, who, going out, are neighbor to the wild marsh and, coming in, dwell in a hole dug in the ground, and who are in want by day and by night and cannot borrow. Men such as these need only hear the cry of a flying bird or the sighing of the autumn wind through the branches to become sorrowful. As soon I draw forth my lute for them, they will heave long sighs and, without exception, grieve and weep.

"But you, Sir, live at present in large mansions and high halls, in inner rooms reached by doors leading to doors. Curtains are dropped; fresh breezes enter. Singers and performers stand before you. Flatterers and sycophants serve at your side. Musicians strike up dances from Ch'u. Concubines from Cheng sing songs to beguile your ears, while their practiced charms seduce your eyes. Playing on the water, you sail in dragon boats with feather banners hoisted. You drum and fish in fathomless pools.³⁰ Roving in the wilderness, you climb above the plains³¹ and race in vast parks. Strong cross-bows bring down birds from on high. Valiant men roast³² wild game. Wine is served and you amuse yourself. You are drunk and forget to come home. At such a time you value Heaven and earth less than your finger.³³ Even someone who is skilled at playing the zither could not move Your Highness."

The Lord of Meng-ch'ang replied, "It is indeed so."³⁴

Yung-men Chou said, "But I have observed, Sir, that there is a reason why you are incessantly sad. Sir, you are the man who fights for the position of Emperor and who has frustrated Ch'in. You are the one who aligned the Five Kingdoms to attack Ch'u, so the Empire is never at peace. There is [always] either a vertical or a horizontal alliance. If the vertical alliance succeeds, Ch'u will become King; if the horizontal alliance succeeds, Ch'in will be Emperor. Should the strength of Ch'in and Ch'u be used as a retribution against your weak Hsieh, it would be like grinding a billhook to attack the morning mushroom.³⁵ Among informed gentlemen, there are none who do not shiver on Your Highness' account.

"Constant prosperity is not the Way of Heaven. Cold and heat advance and retreat. One thousand autumns and ten thousand years from now, the spirits in your

ancestral temple will no longer be offered sacrifices. High towers will tumble down and curbed lakes fill up. Wild thorns will grow on your grave,³⁶ and foxes and wild cats will build their lairs there. Wandering children and herd-boys will shuffle their feet and sing on your grave. Is not the honor and dignity of the Lord of Meng-ch'ang also like this?"

Thereupon, the Lord of Meng-ch'ang heaved a long sigh. Tears came to his eyes but he did not weep. Yung-men Chou drew forth his ch'in and played it gently. He plucked the kung and chih tones and struck the chüeh and yü tones until a song was made. Sighing and sobbing, the Lord of Meng-ch'ang listened and said, "Master, when you play the ch'in, you instantly turn me into a man whose country has been destroyed."

B Li Shan's commentary to Wen hsüan quotes thirteen times from fragment 171A, with some unimportant textual variants. Yen gives these textual variations in his "complete" text, so I will merely list here those places in the commentary where they can be found. They are, in order of decreasing length: 46.1b, 23.22b, 41.1b, 39.32a, 37.3a, 21.25b, 18.32a, 30.28a, 43.24b, 60.29b, 35.26a, 42.13a, 31.4b, and 28.1b.

172

A TPYL 248.7b.

Yen 15.11a-b.

Under Emperor Hsüan, during the yüan-k'ang and shen-chüeh periods,³⁷ the Lieutenant Chancellor reported the names of those who could play court music on the ch'in and se. Chao Ting from Po-hai and Lung Te from the Kingdom of Liang were summoned to the Wen-shih Hall and appointed Gentlemen-in-Attendance.

B PTSC 71.3a.

Yen 15.11a-b.

Under Emperor Hsüan, during the yüan-k'ang and shen-chüeh periods, Chao Ting from Po-hai and Lung Te from the Kingdom of Liang were summoned to the Wen-shih Hall and appointed Gentlemen-in-Attendance. Both were familiar with books on the ch'in.

173

Commentary to Wen hsüan 24.4b. Yen 15.11b. Sun 14a.

Among those instrumentalists³⁸ at the Yellow Gates who were skilled at playing the ch'in, Jen Chen-ch'ing and Yü Ch'ang-ch'ien could teach the number of intervals. Their excellent songs were tunes handed down from the ancient past.

174

TPYL 581.5a.

Yen 15.11b. Sun 4b.

Ch'eng Shao-po, an instrumentalist, piped on the yu.³⁹ When he saw Chang Tzu-hsia, the Marquis of An-ch'ang,⁴⁰ playing the ch'in, he told him, "As far as musical tones⁴¹ are concerned, if you are not familiar with over a thousand songs, you cannot be considered an expert."

NOTES: CHAPTER 16

1. One ch'ih consists of ten ts'un, or one hundred fen; the ch'in was 366 fen long, and 366 is the number of days in a leap year. A "Ch'in ts'ao" (composed, perhaps, by Ts'ai Yung), quoted in Ch'u-hsüeh chi 16.1a, asserts that it was Fu Hsi, rather than Shen Nung, who invented the ch'in. Nevertheless, Hsü Chien's appended commentary says that Shih pen, Shuo wen and Huan T'an's Hsin-lun all agree in giving the credit to Shen Nung.
2. Sun gives t'i 體 ("form"), instead of li 禮 ("rituals").
3. 禁 The editors of I lin found the character chin illegible, but it is clear in fragment 169E.
4. Ts'ao 操 or "principle." The bibliographical chapters of the T'ang dynastic histories call Huan T'an's study on the ch'in, "Ch'in ts'ao," instead of the original "Ch'in tao;" see T'ang shu ching-chi i-wen ho chih, p. 31. Ts'ai Yung's work on the same theme is called Ch'in ts'ao. Semantically, there is no great difference between the meanings of tao 道 ("way") and ts'ao. Tung-ch'ang 通暢 ("reach and penetrate") indicates that everything will, unimpeded, attain self-fulfillment.
5. This sentence is quoted in the commentary to Wen hsüan 18.6b.
6. The commentary to Wen hsüan 18.6b has Yao ch'ang i 堯暢逸 ("The 'Yao ch'ang' is lost"). But Sun has yao ch'ang ching i 堯暢經逸 ("the 'Yao ch'ang classic' is lost"). The word ch'ang, which is a musical term associated with the ch'in, has been analyzed by E. Chavannes in MH II, pp. 160-61, note 3. Chavannes shows that there are two different characters 暢, and 暢; the meaning of the first is "s'étendre, pénétrer." Jao Tsung-i (in the study cited in note 29 to fragment 171A also interprets the term ch'ang (t'ung ch'ang 通暢) to mean "all-penetrating." Another important study on the use of the ch'in during the Han dynasty is that by Nakajima Chiaki, "Gakin no ongaku shisō ni tsuite."
7. 溢 ("overflowing"). Sun has chi 激 ("agitated").

8. One fen is 0.231 cm.
9. The "eight sounds" refers to the eight kinds of instruments, which are, respectively, made of silk, bamboo, metal, stone, wood, earthenware, leather, and gourd.
10. The text of the Ch'u-hsüeh chi 16.4a is somewhat different: "that of string [is most?]"
11. PTSC 7.3a quotes this sentence from Huan-tzu.
12. The text has ai 隘 ("a pass," "narrow"), Sun has i 益 ("growing"), and Yen has another i 溢 ("overflowing"). See note 7 above.
13. This last statement can also be found near the end of fragment 169A1. It is not included in the version found in the commentary to Wen hsüan 18.6b.
14. See fragment 169J4.
15. The story of Chou Hsin is told in Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu 23:4, p. 301; Wilhelm, p. 410. Apparently, accused men were forced to walk on the glowing gridiron and were burned by the coals when they fell, much to Chou Hsin's delight.
16. These precious stones, among others, are mentioned in Huai-nan-tzu 8, p. 118. Kao Yu, who has commented on both the Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu and the Huai-nan-tzu, believes that hsüan 璇 ("jade") and yao 瑤 ("jasper") should be read as hsüan 旋 ("revolving") and yao 搖 ("swaying"), which would be translated as a "revolving room" and a "swaying terrace." His theory is corroborated by Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu (cf. note 15 above), which also mentions a leaning palace.
17. See Li chi, "Yüeh chi," XVII:III:15; Legge II, p. 120.
18. The fact that King Wen did this "himself" and "secretly" shows his integrity. His respect for law and his practice of benevolence were not a mere public display.
19. Compare fragments 169J1 and 2 with 169A1.
20. See 169H2.

21. Sun adds, "These explanations are not consistent. As for the original creator of the ch'in, some say it was Fu Hsi, while others say Shen Nung. None of the different authors' explanations can be verified." Sun thought the statements in fragment 169K are exclusively those of Huan T'an, but Yen correctly points out that the last part was added by Tu Yu. See also note 1 above.

22. The meaning of the phrase "the lower chih" is obscure.

23. Shu Yao ("pivot") is also the name of the North Star or Polar Star, which was believed to be the pivot of Heaven.

24. The term liu-man 流漫 (or 慢) ("reckless") associated with the new music, is found in Hsün Tzu's treatise on music, 14:20:5, p. 253; Dubs, p. 251. See also Shih chi 87, p. 32; Bodde, China's First Unifier, pp. 41-42.

25. This passage may explain fragment 169D1, which asserts that the ch'in is supreme among stringed instruments.

26. This commentary from the Hsin-lun is appended to the Hou Han Shu's account of Fan Sheng's fervent refusal to acknowledge the Tso chuan as a Classic.

27. This is a short version of a well-known story related in Shih chi 24, pp. 72-74; Chavannes, MH III, pp. 287-88. Gimm (Das Yüeh-fu, pp. 96-101) discusses it in great detail.

28. The Lord of Meng-ch'ang was T'ien Wen. A more elaborate version of this story can be found in Shuo yüan 11.8a-11a.

29. Jao Tsung-yi has made two studies which shed light on this text: "The Relation between Principles of Literary Criticisms in the Wei and Tsin Dynasties and Music--Illustration of Literature through Music," and "Lu Chi Wen-fu li-lun yü yin-yüeh chih kuan-hsi." The principle of sadness is mentioned by Lu Chi in §87 of his Wen fu; A. Fang, "Rhyme-prose on Literature," p. 541.

30. Shuo yüan 11.10a has, "...you drum and pipe in fathomless pools."

31. This refers to hunting, as Shuo yüan, ibid., makes clear.

32. The term ko 格 ("roast") is explained in Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu 23:4, p. 301; Wilhelm, p. 410. A slightly different explanation is given by Yen Shih-ku in his commentary to Han shu 85, p. 5001. See fragment 169II, note 15.

33. This alludes to Mencius VI:I:XIV, 4-5, where Mencius explains that all the parts of the body must be properly nourished. In his translation, Legge (p. 417) says, "He who nourishes one of his fingers, neglecting his shoulders or his back, without knowing that he is doing so, is a man who resembles a hurried wolf. A man who only eats and drinks is counted mean by others--because he nourishes what is little to the neglect of what is great."

34. In Shuo yüan 11.1a, T'ien Wen totally rejects Yung-men Chou's conclusion.

35. This alludes to Chuang-tzu I:I:I:2; Legge, p. 166. Chao-chün 朝菌 (here translated as "morning mushroom") is also the name of an insect which, like the morning mushroom, lives only for a very short time.

36. For the thorns, ching and chi, see fragment 38, note 19.

37. The yüan-k'ang period was from 65 B.C. to 62 B.C., and the shen-chüeh period, from 61 B.C. to 58 B.C.

38. Kung 工 ("instrumentalists"). Gimm (Das Yüeh-fu, p. 120, sub 426) translates kung-jen 工人 as "Instrumentalisten." See also fragment 119, note 47.

39. Gimm (Das Yüeh-fu, pp. 126-27, sub 2-3) translates this as "Mundorgel."

40. Chang Tzu-hsia appears to be Chang Hung, who, according to Han shu 19B, p. 1329, was promoted to Colonel of the Elite Cavalry in 2 B.C., from the post of Grand Master of Ceremonies. His father, Chang Yü (died in 6 B.C.), was an expert on the Book of the Changes and was regarded as a connoisseur of music (Han shu 81, p. 4889).

41. Yin 音 (here translated as "musical tone"); for a more complete definition, see Gimm, Das Yüeh-fu, p. 550, sub 13.

Table I

Comparative Tables of the Fragments with the Editions

by Yen K'o-chün and Sun P'ing-i

Fragment	Chapter	Yen	Sun
1	1	13.2a	14a
2		13.2a	26a, 23a
3	2	13.2b	11a, 4b-5a
4		13.2b	14b
5		13.2b	18a
6		13.2b-3a	20a, 5a
7	3	13.3a	5a
8		13.3a	20b
9		13.3a	
10		13.3a	21a
11		13.3a-b	20a
12		13.3b	5a
13		13.3b-4a	
14		13.4a	
15		13.4a	9a
16		13.4a	15a
17		13.4a	15a
18		13.4a	14a
19		13.4a	14a
20		13.4a	5a
21		13.4b	
22		13.4b	24a
23		13.4b	14b
24		13.4b-5a	17b
25		13.5a	17b
26		13.5a	5a-b
27		13.5a	14b
28		13.5a-6a	
29		13.6a	5b
30		13.6a	5b
31		13.6a	
32	4	13.6b-7a	
33		13.7a	15b
34		13.7a	15b
35		13.7b	
36		13.7b	18a-b
37		13.7b	
38		13.8a	
39		13.8a	
40		13.8a-b	22b

Fragment	Chapter	Yen	Sun	
41	5	13.8a		
42		13.8b	6a	
43		13.8b	22a	
44		13.8b-9a	17a	
45		13.9a	6a	
46		13.9a	14a	
47		13.9a	24a	
48		13.9a-b	17a-b	
49		13.9b	20b	
50		13.9b	24a	
51		13.9b	25a	
52		6	14.1a-b	
53			14.1b-2b	
54			14.2b	9b
55	14.2b-3a		23b	
56	14.3a		22b	
57	14.3a		25b	
58	14.3a			
59	14.3b		11a	
60	14.3b		6b	
61	14.3b		9b	
62	14.3b		12b	
63	14.3b		16a	
64	14.4a		13a	
65	14.4a-b			
66	14.4b-5a	25a		
67	7	14.5a	6b	
68		14.5a	6b	
69		14.5a	6b-7a	
70		14.5a	7a	
71		14.5a	13b	
72		14.5a	13b	
73		14.5a	14b	
74		14.5b	15a	
75		14.5b	18a	
76		14.5b	21a	
77		14.5b	25a	
78		14.5b		
79		8	14.5b-6a	25b-26a
80			14.6a	7a-b
81	14.6a		7b	
82	14.6a-b		11b	
83	14.6b		26a	
84	14.6b-8a			

Fragment	Chapter	Yen	Sun
85		14.8a	26a
86		14.8a	26a
87	9	14.8b	13b
88		14.8b	11b
89		14.8b	7b
90		14.8b-9a	23a-b
91		14.9a	20b-21a
92		14.9a	
93		14.9a	18a
94		14.9b	12b
95		14.9b-10a	15a
96		14.10a	
97		14.10a	7b
98	10	14.10a	7b
99		14.10a	13b
100		14.10a-b	20a-b
101		14.10b	19b
102		14.10b-11a	16b-17a
103		14.11a	
104		14.11a	22b
105	11	15.1a	8a
106		15.1a	8a, 21a
107		15.1a	11b
108		15.1a-b	20a
109		15.1b	11b
110		15.1b	8a
111		15.1b-2a	11b
112		15.2a	18a
113		15.2a	16a
114		15.2a	19b
115		15.2a-b	
116		15.2b	
117		15.2b	18a
118		15.2b	
119		15.2b	13b
120		15.3a	15a
121		15.3a	14b
122		15.3a	23a
123		15.3a	15a
124		15.3a	4a
125		15.3a	20b
126		13.3a-b	9b, 13a
127		15.3b	
128		15.3b	25a
129		15.3b	9a

Fragment	Chapter	Yen	Sun
130		15.3b	
131		15.3b	9a
132		15.4a	16a
133		15.4a	19b
134		15.4a-b	18b
135		15.14b	21b
136		15.4b	19b
137		15.4b	11a
138		15.5a	24b
139	12	15.5a	15b
140		15.5a	8a
141		15.5a-b	14b
142		15.5b	[15b]
143	13	15.5b	8a
144		15.5b	8a
145		15.5b	Pref. 3b
146		15.5b	8a-b
147		15.5b	8b, 13b
148		15.6a	13a
149		15.6a	24b
150		15.6a	13b, 13a, 9b
151		15.6a-b	12a
152		15.6b	23b
153		15.6b	21b
154		15.6b	
155		15.6b-7a	21a
156		15.7a	17b
157		15.7a-b	24b
158		15.7b	25b
159	14	15.7b-8a	10a-b
160	15	15.8a	10b
161		15.8a	12a
162		15.8a	15b
163		15.8a-b	12a
164		15.8b	
165		15.8b	Pref. 4a
166		15.9a	Pref. 4a
167		15.9a	23b, Pref. 4b
168		15.9a	15a
169	16	15.9a	2b-4b, 8b
170		15.10a	4a
171		15.10a-11a	1a-2b
172		15.11a-b	
173		15.11b	14a
174		15.11b	4b

Table II

Comparative Tables of the Fragments with the
Editions by Yen K'o-chün and Sun P'ing-i

Sun	Yen	Fragment
1a-2b	15.10a-11a	171
2b	15.9b	169J1 and 3
2b	15.9b	169C
2b	15.10a	169J4
2b	15.9b	169L
3a	15.9b	169F
3a	15.9b	169H1
3a	15.9b	169F
3a	15.9b	169M
3a	15.9b	169E
3a	15.9b	[169D1]
3a	15.9a	169B
3b	15.9a	[169A2]
3b	15.9a	169K
3b	15.9b	169G1
4a	15.3a	124
4a	15.10a	170
4a-b	15.9b-10a	169I1
4b	15.9b	169C
4b	15.11b	174
4b-5a	13.2a-b	3B
5a	13.2b-3a	6B
5a	13.3a	7
5a	13.3b	12
5a	13.4a	20 [and 26]
5a-b	13.5a	26
5b	13.6a	29
5b	13.6a	30
5b-6a	13.7b	35B
6a	13.8a	38B
6a	13.8b	42
6a-b	13.9a	45
6b	14.3b	60
6b	14.5a	67
6b	14.5a	68
6b	14.5a	69
7a	14.5a	70
7a	14.5a	71
7a	14.5b-6a	79A and C

Sun	Yen	Fragment
7a-b	14.6a	80
7b	14.6a	81
7b	14.8b	89
7b	14.8b	90B
7b	14.9b	94C
7b	14.10a	97
7b	14.10a	98A
8a	15.1a	105
8a	15.1a	106
8a	15.1b	110
8a	15.5a	140
8a	15.5b	143
8a	15.5b	144
8a-b	15.5b	146A
8b	15.5b	147
8b	15.9a	169A
9a	15.3b	129
9a	14.9a-b	93
9a	15.3b	131
9a	13.4a	15
9b	13.4a	15
9b	14.2a	54
9b	15.3a-b	126
9b	14.3b	62
9b	15.6a	150
10a	15.7b-8a	159
10b	15.8a	160
10b-11a	13.7b	35A
11a	13.2a-b	3A
11a	15.4b	137A and B
11a	14.3b	59
11b	15.1a	107
11b	15.1a	108
11b	15.1b	109
11b	14.6a	82D
11b	14.9a	90B
11b	14.8b	88
11b	15.1b-2a	111A and B
12a	15.6a	151A
12a	15.8a	161
12a-b	15.8a-b	163A
12b	14.9b	94A, B and C
12b	14.8b	90E
12b	14.3b	62

Sun	Yen	Fragment
12b	15.8b	164A and C
12b	13.4b	24B
13a	14.4a	64
13a	14.6a	80E
13a	15.6a	148A
13a	15.3a	126B
13a	14.6a	80D
13b	15.2b	119
13b	14.5a	72
13b	14.8b	87
13b	15.5b	147
13b	15.6a	150A
13b	14.10a	99
14a	15.11b	173
14a	13.9a	46
14a	14.2b	55, concl. n.
14a	13.4a	19
14a	13.4a	18
14a	13.2a	1
14b	14.5b	79C
14b	15.5a-b	141
14b	14.5a	73
14b	13.4b	23
14b	15.8b	164F
14b	13.2b	4
14b	14.10a	100, n.12
14b	13.5a	27
15a	15.3a	123
15a	14.5b	74
15a	13.4a	16
15a	13.4a	17
15a	15.3a	120
15a	15.9a	168
15a	14.9b	95
15b	15.5a	139
15b	14.10a	98B
15b	15.8a	162
15b	14.8b	90C
15b	15.5b, or 12.7b	[142]
15b	13.7a	34
15b	13.7a	33
16a	15.5a	140C
16a	14.3b	63
16a	15.2a	113
16a	15.4a	132

Sun	Yen	Fragment
16b	15.4b	135B
16b-17a	14.10b-11a	102
17a	14.9a	93B
17a	13.8b	42B
17a	13.8b	44
17a-b	13.9a	48B
17b	15.7a	156
17b	13.4b	24A
17b	13.5a	25A
17b	15.2a	112B
18a	15.2a	112A
18a	13.2b	5
18a	14.9b	93A
18a	15.2b	117
18a	14.5b	75
18a-b	13.7b	36
18b	15.4a	134
18b-19a	15.2a-b	115B
19b	15.2a	114A
19b	15.4a	133
19b	15.4b	136A
20a	15.1a	108A
20a	13.2b-3a	6
20a	13.3a	11B
20a-b	14.10a-b	100
20b	13.9b	49
20b	13.3a	8
20b	15.3a	125
20b-21a	14.9a	91
21a	15.6b-7a	155
21a	15.1a	106
21a	14.5b	76
21a	13.3a	10
21b	15.8b	164B
21b	15.8b	164C
21b	15.4b	135A
21b	15.6b	153
21b-22a	14.3b	60B
22a	14.1a-b	52, n.4
22a	13.8b	43
22b	13.8a-b	40
22b	14.3a	56
22b	14.11a	104
23a	15.3a	122
23a	13.2a	2B

Sun	Yen	Fragment
23a	14.8b	90A
23b	15.9b	167A
23b	14.2b-3a	55
23b	15.6b	152A
24a	13.4b	22
24a	13.9a	47
24a	13.9b	50
24b	15.5b	146B
24b	15.5a	138
24b	15.6a	149
24b	15.7a	157B
25a	13.9b	51
25a	15.3b	128
25a	14.5b	77
25a	14.4b-5a	66
25b	14.7b	84B
25b	14.3a	57
25b	15.7b	158B
25b-26a	14.5b-6a	79B
26a	14.8a	85
26a	13.2a	2A
26a	14.8a	86A
26a	14.6b	83A

New Fragments from the Hsin-lun

Not Included by Yen K'o-chün and Sun P'ing-i

175

The Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu 明堂大道錄 includes three quotations from the Hsin-lun.

The authorship of this book has caused considerable debate, but I believe it is correctly attributed to Hui Tung (1697-1758 A.D.). This attribution is accepted, for instance, by Hummel's Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period I, p. 358; and H. Maspero's study of the Hall of Light, "Le Ming-t'ang," p. 30, note 1. On p. 60, note 4, Maspero says that the work is by one Hui Tien. This appears to be a misprint; the work was published posthumously, and the references were not verified (p. 2, note 1).

W. E. Soothill, however, who based his book, The Hall of Light: A Study of Early Chinese Kingship, in large part on the Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu, believes that it "was composed by Hui Tung-hsia, who is identified somewhat imperfectly with the celebrated historical and astronomical writer, Hui Shih-ch'i of Kiangsu, A. D. 1670-1741."¹ Hui Shih-ch'i was the father of Hui Tung, but Hummel (p. 357) does not give the style name "Tung-hsia" for either him or his son.

The Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu, which had become quite scarce (Soothill, p. 14), was later included in the well-known collection of reprints, Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng. This collection includes two other works on the same subject, the Ming-t'ang wen 問 by Mao Ch'i-ling (1623-1716 A.D.), and the Ming-t'ang k'ao 考 by an unknown author, probably of the Ch'ing dynasty, judging by his style of textual criticism. The Ssu-po ts'ung-k'an edition of the Ming-t'ang kao was reprinted from an earlier edition in the Wen-ching t'ang ts'ung-shu, which was edited, with the help of the famous scholar Sun Hsing-yen, by Sun P'ing-i, who also compiled Huan-tzu Hsin-lun. In an omission unusual for the Wen-ching t'ang ts'ung-shu, neither the author nor the editor of the Ming-t'ang k'ao is named, but Hsiao I-shan believes that it was in fact Sun P'ing-i who edited the text.² It is hard to believe that Sun, who, as the editor of

Ming-t'ang k'ao would be familiar with the quotations therein which are attributed to Huan T'an, would include in the Huan-tzu Hsin-lun only those quotations which could be verified in original sources.

Mao Ch'i-ling's Ming-t'ang wen, probably the oldest of the three works, is primarily a polemic against Cheng Hsüan and does not include any fragments from Huan T'an. This may be partially explained by Mao's failure to give much attention to the opinions of previous scholars, a fault for which he was chided by the reviewer of his book in Ssu-ku chüan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao I, p. 501. Mao even fails to refer to those fragments which had been incorporated into the Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu and Ming-t'ang k'ao. It should be pointed out that the authors of all these books suspected the reliability of the texts attributed to Huan T'an.³

In fact, the contemporary historian Ku Chieh-kang sharply criticized the Confucian literati, including the eminent scholar Juan Yüan (1768-1849 A.D.), for their uncritical and unhistorical acceptance of any information on the Ming-t'ang, which was not mentioned earlier than the Mencius. According to Ku Chieh-kang, traditional scholars tried to prove that many ancient buildings used for government and cultural purposes were in fact the famous Ming-t'ang, even if there was no historical support for their arguments. See his study, "Juan Yüan Ming-t'ang lun" (On Juan Yüan's Treatise "Ming-t'ang lun"), Kuo-li ti-i Chung-shan ta-hsüeh yü-yen li-shih yen-chiu-so chou-k'an (1930), pp. 4735-36.

A Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu 2, p. 45.

Shen Nung sacrificed in the Hall of Light, which had a roof but did not have the four directions.⁴ The Yellow Emperor's [Hall of Light was called] the "Joint Palace." Yao's was called the "Five Fu Store" [i.e., "houses"]. "Fu" means "to collect," so it is said that the spirits of the Five Emperors assembled there. The Shang people called the Great Apartment the "Two-storied House." The sons of the Shang,⁵ Yü, and the Hsia eliminated some of the ornaments, but they added two eaves and four pillars. Therefore, the name ["Two-storied House"] was adopted.

B Ming-t'ang k'ao, p. 2.⁶

Shen Nung sacrificed in the Hall of Light which had a roof but did not have the four directions.

C Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu 2, p. 51, and Ming-T'ang k'ao, p. 5,⁷ quote, essentially, sentences three and four of fragment 175A.

D Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu 2, pp. 55-56, and Ming-t'ang k'ao, p. 7,⁸ quote, essentially, sentences five, six, and seven of fragment 175A.

E Ming-t'ang k'ao, p. 20.

Thus was created a hall with four sides, each of which followed its own color, imitating the model of the four directions.⁹

F Ming-t'ang k'ao, pp. 13 and 17, gives the two quotations on the nine chambers, thirty-six doors and seventy-two lattice windows which can be found in fragment 93D. The commentator of the Ming-t'ang k'ao points out that the Po-hu t'ung corroborates the information.

I have made no attempt to analyze the reliability of these quotations by comparing them with the large body of literature which discusses the Hall of Light. Such an analysis may be helpful for a history of the building, but it is not critical to a study of Huan T'an. Therefore, I will merely make a short summary of what has been said in the introduction and notes: Mao Ch'i-ling, apparently the first of the three authors, quotes nothing from Huan T'an. Hui Tung, who may have written the Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu, is puzzled by some of Huan T'an's information, while the unknown author of the Ming-t'ang k'ao is openly critical of it.

176-187

The following fragments 176-87 are taken from the Ch'i-kuo k'ao (Study of the Seven Kingdoms) by Tung

Yüeh (1620-1676 A.D.).¹⁰ Fragment 176 has been discussed thoroughly in my study, "The Canon of Laws by Li K'uei."¹¹ I have not translated three quotations on pp. 72, 233, and 275 of the Ch'i-kuo k'ao. The first of these is a short version of fragment 82D, while the other two are versions of fragment 40; see also, "The Canon," pp. 111-12.

In the above study, as well as in another article,¹² I have demonstrated the unreliability of fragment 176. I also suspect the authenticity of fragments 177-87, because they, too, are not corroborated by any fragment of Huan T'an's writings.

176

Ch'i-kuo k'ao, pp. 366-67 (Chapter 12, "The Penal Law of Wei"). Source: Huan T'an, Hsin-shu.

Li K'uei, the tutor of Marquis Wen of Wei, wrote The Canon of Laws. As he felt that nothing was more urgent for a kingly government than [the problem of] robbers and bandits, his laws started with "Robbers" and "Bandits." Since robbers and bandits must be charged and arrested, he wrote two sections on "Imprisonment" and "Arrests."¹³ He compiled [the regulations of such crimes] as "frivolity and craftiness," "crossing city walls," "gambling and wild games,"¹⁴ "dishonesty in borrowing and lending," "falling from purity" and "vile luxury," into one section, "Mixed Statutes." Moreover, in the "Criminal Statutes" he set forth [the rules for] the increase and diminishment [of punishment]. Hence, his writings amounted to a mere six sections in all.

Wei Yang¹⁵ took these with him when he became Chancellor of Ch'in.¹⁶ Hence, the two states of Ch'in and Wei share the penetrating formulation and the great severity of their laws.

The Regular Statutes¹⁷ say, roughly, "He who kills a man will be executed, and his horse and property will be confiscated; this punishment will also apply to the clan of his chief wife. If he kills two men, the forfeiture will also extend to the clan of his mother. Prominent robbers will be sent to the frontier to serve as sentries; repeaters will be executed. Spies in the palace will be punished by having their knee-cap cut

off, and those who pick up lost items will be punished by having their ribs cut, for such activities are said to indicate an intent to steal."

His Mixed Statutes say, roughly, "If a man has a chief wife and two concubines, his punishment will be the cutting of his flesh,¹⁸ but the punishment for having two chief wives is execution. If a chief wife commits adultery, she will be banished to secluded quarters.¹⁹ This is called 'prohibiting lewdness.'

"He who steals a [tiger] tally will be executed and his house and property confiscated. He who steals the great [official] seal will be executed. He who criticizes the laws and ordinances of the State will be executed; his house and his property will be confiscated and this forfeiture will extend to the clan of his chief wife. This is called 'prohibiting craftiness.' If a man crosses the city walls, he will be executed, but if more than ten men, do this, their villages and clans will be exterminated.²⁰ This is called 'prohibiting the crossing of the city walls.'

"Gambling and wild games bring a fine of three pinches²¹ of gold. If the Crown-Prince is guilty of this, he will be beaten with bamboo. If he does not desist, he will be subjected to a special beating with bamboo, and if he again refuses to desist, another will be installed as Prince. This is called 'prohibiting [wanton] amusements.'

"If the [ruler's] many assistants do no work for a period of more than one day, they will be interrogated. [If they continue to do] nothing through a third, fourth or fifth day, they will be executed. This is called 'prohibiting idleness.' If the chancellor accepts a bribe of gold, all his close subordinates will be put to death.²² If officials [of ranks] lower than that of 'rhinoceros head' (or "general")²³ accept bribes of gold, they will be executed. However, if they have accepted less than one i,²⁴ they will merely be fined, not executed. This is called 'prohibiting the taking of gold.' If, in his houses, a high dignitary has more than one object [which is appropriate only for one of the rank] of marquis, he will be executed, along will all his relatives."

His Statutes on the Diminishment [of Punishment] say, roughly, "If the criminal is under fifteen years

of age, the high punishments shall be diminished by three degrees and the lower punishments by one degree. If he is over sixty years of age, the small punishments will be diminished according to the circumstances and the great ones according to the principles." Since [the reign of] Marquis Wu, this was observed as law.

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Canon of Laws", pp. 101-102.

177

Ch'i-kuo k'ao, p. 370 (Chapter 12, "The Penal Law of Wei"). Source: Huan T'an, Hsin-lun.

An ordinance of Wei: "Those who are unfilial or who do not show proper respect to their elder brothers will be banished to the Eastern Desert."

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Canon of Laws," p. 102.

178

Ch'i-kuo k'ao, p. 347 (Chapter 12, "The Penal Law of Ch'in"). Source: Huan T'an.

When King Hui-wen of Ch'in cut open the stomach of worthy men, [his system of] penal law began to collapse.

179

Ch'i-kuo k'ao, p. 354 (Chapter 12, "The Penal Law of Ch'in"). Source: Huan T'an.

The emphasis which the Ch'in dynasty placed on the law was even greater than the emphasis which the Three Dynasties placed on ritual and music.

180

Ch'i-kuo k'ao, p. 357 (Chapter 12, "The Penal Law of Ch'i"). Source: Huan T'an, Hsin-Lun.

King Hsüan of Ch'i implemented the law of the metal blade.²⁵

181

Ch'i-kuo k'ao, p. 99 (Chapter 2, "The Economy of Wei"). Source: Huan-tze, Hsin-lun.

In Wei, during the sacrifices on the height in the third month, the agricultural official reads a rule which says, "If the edges²⁶ of the plough are incomplete, the hoe will not mire the way. All the spring fields are level, as if they were straight. The summer fields are [as irregular] as wild ducks. The autumn fields trouble [your heart], for the coming of thieves cannot be foreseen. When the best fields give the lowest yield the women are fined. When the worst field gives the highest yield, the women are rewarded."

182

Ch'i-kuo k'ao, pp. 192-93 (Chapter 5, "Place Names of Chao"). Source: Huan Tze, Hsin-lun.

When the King was crowned in Han-tan, [people bearing] presents came with empty hands.

183

Ch'i-kuo k'ao, p. 192 (Chapter 5, "Place Names of Ch'u"). Source: Huan tze, Hsin-lun.

The King of Ying liked slender waists, and the people in the palace went hungry.²⁷

184

Ch'i-kuo k'ao, p. 246 (Chapter 8, "Implements of Ch'u").

Source: Huan T'an, Hsin-Lun.

King Chuang had a carriage built with sharp points above and steep²⁸ points below. It was called "the carriage of Ch'u."

185

Ch'i-kuo k'ao, p. 181 (Chapter 4, "The Palaces of Wei").

Source: Huan T'an.

The King of Wei built an azure fishpond.

186

Ch'i-kuo k'ao, p. 214 (Chapter 6, "Social Customs of Chao"). Source: Huan T'an, Hsin-lun.

Roaming through Ta-ling, Marquis Hsiao rode out by the Deer Gate. Ta-wu Wu²⁹ held back his horse and said, "Now is a critical time for the ploughing. If we miss work for one day, we shall not eat for one hundred days!" Marquis Hsiao got down from his carriage, confessed his error³⁰ and awarded Ta-wu Wu one hundred i of gold.³¹

187

Ch'i-kuo k'ao, p. 234 (Chapter 7, "Music of Ch'u").

Source: Huan T'an, Hsin-lun.

In the music of the lands along the Hsiao and Hsiang[Rivers], square musical stones are..."³²

188

Introduction to the novel, Fei-yen wai-chuan (The Unofficial Biography of Chao Fei-yen), in Shuo fu 32.25a.

The Shuo fu collection, the printed editions of which are not very reliable, has been studied by P. Pelliot,³³ who shares the view of some scholars that the Fei-yen wai-chuan, the earliest specimen of the ch'uan-chi 傳奇 genre,³⁴ was written during the sixth century. The novel itself has been studied and translated by W. Eichhorn.³⁵

Chao Fei-yen was made the consort of Emperor Ch'eng (chao hou 趙后) on July 12, 16 B.C. By its title (wai-chuan, rather than pieh-chuan), the Fei-yen wai-chuan purports to be about this historical personality, but it is obviously fiction. To support his pretense of historical accuracy, the author uses a kind of historicization which is quite common in post-Han literature and which has been excellently documented by Y. Hervouet.³⁶

According to the introduction to Fei-yen wai-chuan, the author, Ling Hsüan,³⁷ was a contemporary of Yang Hsiung and would know the stories about Chao Fei-yen from his wife, who was the niece of a court lady. Both the novel and its reputed author are highly suspect: the name Ling Hsüan is unusual and cannot be found in Han sources, and the style of the novel contains anachronisms which are not appropriate to the Han period.³⁸

One of the devices by which the author attempts to establish the historical authenticity of the text is a reference to oral (yün 云) testimony by Huan T'an. This is quoted in the introduction as follows: "During the reign of Wang Mang, Pien Li from Mou-ling, who held no office at that time, taught people calendric time according to the Hsia-hou Shang version of the Book of Documents.³⁹ In the keng-shih years,⁴⁰ when the Red Eyebrows marched through Mou-ling, Pien Li left his library behind and hid it in the mountains. When Liu Kung entered his hut, he found Ling Hsüan's book. In the second year of chien-wu,⁴¹ Chia Tzu-i showed me the book and said, 'Pien Li was taught to play the zither by Ling Hsüan'..."

Previous translation: W. Eichhorn, "Das Fei-yen wai-chuan," p. 124.

Commentary to Wen hsüan 31.12a, quoting Huan-tzu Hsin-lun.

Now, the authors of the hsiao-shuo represent [those who make] only small and fragmentary⁴² utterings. The authors make these short books⁴³ by clothing their messages in comparisons with things close at hand.⁴⁴ But they contain words⁴⁵ worth heeding on the subjects of self-control and the regulation⁴⁶ of one's family.⁴⁷

Liu Chün (or Liu Hsiao-piao 462-521), "Kuang Chüeh-chiao lun" (Extension of the Treatise on the Breaking of Friendship), in Wen hsüan 55.12a-b.⁴⁸

All the five meanings [of friendship] are like buying and selling.⁴⁹ Thus, Huan T'an compared it⁵⁰ to a "market gate,"⁵¹ while Lin Hui⁵² used the metaphor⁵³ of sweet must.⁵⁴

Li Shan, whose commentary to the Wen hsüan was written between 656 and 660 A.D., notes that no simile to the market (shih 市) can be found in the Hsin-lun, or in Huan T'an's literary works (T'an chi). For the significance of the market's relationship to chiao 交 ("friendship"), Li Shan quotes the ancient text, Chan-kuo ts'e ("Ch'i ts'e" 4:4; the following translation is of Li Shan's short version): "T'an Shih-tzu said to T'ien Wen, Lord of Meng-ch'ang, 'Can I fail to blame the officials and dignitaries of Ch'i?' The Lord of Meng-ch'ang said, 'Yes!' T'an Shih-tzu said, 'If one is wealthy and noble, people draw near; if one is poor and lowly, people stay away. Allow me to use the metaphor of a market. The market is full in the morning and empty in the evening. This is not because people like it in the morning or dislike it in the evening. They are seeking something that is there, so they go. When that something is no longer there, they leave. You, Sir, should not blame anyone.'"

Li Shan adds his own opinion: "I wonder whether, in this metaphor comparing friendship to the market, the character shih [of the name, T'an Shih-tzu 譚拾子] was not compared with Huan 桓." In other words, Li Shan suggests that the characters reconstructed by Liu Chün from the Chan-kuo ts'e as "Huan T'an" had previously read "T'an Huan-tzu" instead of "T'an Shih-tzu." This is not a particularly strong argument since the two characters T'an and Huan would have had to have been transposed and the third character, tzu, omitted. Nevertheless, Lü Hsiang's commentary (see note 54 below) also suggests that there is some mistake in Liu Chün's text since no appropriate simile can be found in Huan T'an's works.

The fact that Li Shan and Lü Hsiang found no such text in Huan T'an's writings is not conclusive, for there is no evidence that they had access to all of Huan T'an's original works. Chu Mu, who was born some seventy years after Huan T'an's death, may have had more accurate source material, but his treatise has been lost.

Moreover, there is some additional evidence to support Liu Chün's reference. In his "Treatise on Destiny" ("Pien-ming lun") in Wen hsüan (54.16a-b), Liu Chün compares his own unsuccessful career with Huan T'an's. In my study, "Once More the Dates of Huan T'an" (pp. 655-57), I demonstrate that Liu Chün was "both deeply learned and interested in the Han period in general, as well as in Huan T'an in particular" (p. 656), and that Liu Chün had access to many Han books collected by Emperor Wen of the Northern Wei dynasty. In short, we have no reason to doubt the reliability of Liu Chün's information. Moreover, it is true that Huan T'an was fond of similes; see for example, fragments 84A, 116, 189, and 199.

There is still another, rather conclusive argument. About one hundred years after Liu Chün, the well-known poet Wu Yün briefly mentioned that "Huan T'an did not sell his friendship" (see fragment 200 for details). Thus, in Wu Yün's poem, Huan T'an is again associated with the mingling of the idea of trade and the character chiao 交. Wu Yün was a historian, as well as a poet, and he wrote a commentary on ninety chapters of Fan Yeh's Hou Han shu, which includes Huan T'an's biography.

Commentary to Wen hsüan 53.13b, quoting Huan-tzu's Hsin-lun.

If his principles were to be cut off, his fate would depend on Heaven.

Cheng-i commentary to Shih chi 96, p. 4165, quoting Huan T'an's Hsin-lun.

Introductory note: Emperor Kao had eight sons. The second, whose mother was Empress Lü, became Emperor Hui; the third was Liu Ju-i, son of Lady Ch'i. At one time Emperor Kao, because of his love for Lady Ch'i, wanted to remove the boy who was then heir apparent and make Ju-i the new heir apparent in his place. Of course, his intention created enmity between the mothers, Empress Lü and Lady Ch'i. Eventually Ju-i became King of Chao. To protect the boy-king, who was only ten years old, the Emperor appointed the reliable high court official Chou Ch'ang as Chancellor of Chao, but Ju-i was poisoned in 193 B.C. Knowing this, Huan T'an suggested, some two hundred years later, another method by which Ju-i could have been protected.

Instead of appointing Chou Ch'ang Chancellor of Chao, it would have been better to marry some girl from Empress Lü's family to Ju-i and have Lady Ch'i serve the Empress Lü well. Then Ju-i would not have died a violent death.⁵⁵

TPYL 54.6b, quoting Huan Tzu.

Upon entering a valley, Duke Huan of Ch'i asked an elderly man, "What valley is this?"

The answer was, "They say that your servant is foolish and calls it the Valley of the Foolish Old Man."⁵⁶

194

Wen-hsin tiao-lung 3:13, p. 35.2.

[All of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's mourning⁵⁷ for Erh-shih⁵⁸ took the form of a rhyme-prose.⁵⁹ Huan T'an described it:] "Its words, full of compassion⁶⁰ and sadness,⁶¹ move the reader to sighs of pity."⁶²

Previous translation: V.Y.C. Shih, The Literary Mind, p. 71.

195

Wen-hsin tiao-lung 6:29, p. 77.

[Huan Chün-shan said,] "When I read the elegant works of the men with us,⁶³ they are beautiful, but I would not choose them. But, when I read the works of Liu and Yang,⁶⁴ I often profit from them."

Previous translation: Shih, The Literary Mind, p. 167. F. Tökei, Genre Theory in China in the 3rd-6th Centuries, Budapest, 1971, p. 147.

196

Wen-hsin tiao-lung 6:30, p. 78, quoting Huan T'an's statement.

Each man of letters has his own taste. Some like the superficial and flowery style, having no knowledge of substance and depth; some praise profusion, having no vision of the trenchant and sparer.

Previous translation: Shih, The Literary Mind, p. 172.

197

Commentary to Wen-hsin tiao-lung 5:22, p. 62.1, quoting Huan T'an's Hsin-lun.

Fragment 197 is quoted in the commentary to Chapter 22 of Wen-hsin tiao-lung, a chapter devoted to the explanation of two characters, chang 章 and piao 表 (Shih, p. 126, "Memorial, Part I: 'The Chang and the Piao'"). Liu Hsieh explains that in a literary context, chang means "to make clear or articulate" and that piao means "to express one's own feelings" (Shih's translation, p. 127; for chang, see note 65 below). Liu Hsieh also points out that another meaning of piao is "to point," used in connection with measurement of time by means of a pointer's shadow cast by the sun on a sundial. The instrument piao ("pointer"), and its relationship to the table of measurement, kuei 圭, was described in detail by Kao P'ing-tzu, in "Kuei piao ts'e-ching lun," pp. 293-306, especially p. 293. The kuei was laid horizontally on the earth (see note 66 below), while the piao was a post or rod made of wood, or later, during the Han dynasty, of bronze. Although the texts by Huan T'an and Liu Hsieh both turn on these two words, their meaning is rather different. Huan T'an's short text of only two lines is somewhat enigmatic, playing, as does Liu Hsieh, on the double meaning of the two characters in the philosophical and material contexts. Apparently Huan T'an wished to suggest that even invisible forces can and should be measured by objective criteria. For the shadow, see fragment 113.

The greatness of the two powers [Heaven and earth, or yin and yang] can be estimated by calendrical [chang] computation [ch'eng].⁶⁵ The movement of the three bonds [between the ruler and his minister, the father and his son, and the husband and his wife] can be estimated by a table [kuei] measuring the shadow of a pointer [piao].⁶⁶

K'ung P'ing-chung, Heng-huang Hsin-lun 3, p. 31, quoting Huan T'an's Hsin-lun.⁶⁷

Yang Tzu-yün [or Yang Hsiung] was always poor and distressed when he lived in Ch'ang-an. Particularly during this year [his condition] was extreme. When he lost his two sons,⁶⁸ he sorrowed and mourned them excessively. Both sons were sent back to Shu to be buried, exhausting [Yang's] funds. When [Yang] Hsiung was a Palace Grandee Without Specific Appointment, he fell

ill and died. He was so poor that there were no resources left to arrange for his funeral. Because of his poverty he was buried at Ch'ang-an. His wife⁶⁹ left his grave and returned to Shu in the West. [Yang] Hsiung's wrong lay in his disregard for possessions. This was the blindness of an intelligent man.⁷⁰

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, pp. 556-57 (see also notes 131-136).

199

P'ei-wen yün-fu, p. 479.2, quoting Hsin-lun.

Duke Ling of Wei, when sitting with his Lady, heard the noise of a rumbling vehicle which stopped at the palace gate. The noise reappeared after passing through the gate. The Duke asked the Lady if she knew who had descended from the vehicle. She replied, "Chü Po-yü!"

We do not know whether this quotation belongs to Huan T'an's Hsin-lun or to a Hsin-lun written by some other author. The story is found almost word for word in Lieh-nü chuan 3.4a, which attributes it, apparently correctly, to Liu Hsiang, whom Huan T'an frequently used for a source. Both Duke Ling and Chü Po-yü are mentioned elsewhere in Huan T'an's Hsin-lun (fragments 170 and 89, respectively), but this does not necessarily mean that the present quotation was also written by Huan T'an.

200

Wu Yün, Ch'u chih shou ch'un tso 初至壽春作, Chang P'u (1602-1640 A.D.), ed., Han Wei Liu-ch'ao i-pai san-chia chi, Vol. 81: "Liang Wu Chao-ch'ing chi," p. 27b.

Huan T'an did not sell his friendship.

For the context, see fragment 190, especially the end of the accompanying note.

Wang Pao, "Ling-t'an pei," Han Wei Liu-ch'ao i-pai san-chia chi, Vol. 95: Pei Chou, "Wang Ssu-k'ung chi" [On the inscriptions on gravestones], p. 14b.

In his memorial, Ku Yung⁷¹ used the image of a floating wind⁷² which would not strike. Huan T'an wrote a treatise in which he made clear that it is difficult to sail on weak water.⁷³

Shuo-fu 59.4a and Ku-chin shuo-pu ts'ung-shu, Part I, Vol. 5.1b, quoting Huan T'an's Hsin-lun.

In the Latter Han, when Chu Yu⁷⁵ was first studying in Ch'ang-an, the future Emperor [Kuang-wu] left to confer upon him the title of Marquis.⁷⁵ Chu Yu improperly ascended the parlor before the Emperor himself. Later, the Emperor himself went to Chu's state apartment and laughed, "I wonder if my host will be able to reject my parlor?"⁷⁶ But Chu Yu continued to enjoy his favor as before and, on several occasions, received rewards and affection.

Ku-chin shuo-pu ts'ung-shu, the preface of which is dated 1910, adapted this fragment from Shuo-fu. It is the only fragment from Huan T'an's Hsin-lun in Shuo-fu 59--fragment 188 belongs to Shuo-fu 32--which is not paralleled by a fragment in Yen.

Chu Yu 朱佑 may be identified as Chu Yu 祐 (died 47 A.D.), a general and a Confucianist who belonged to a powerful clan in Wan (Bielenstein, Restoration I, p. 101) and was a chief follower of Kuang-wu (ibid., p. 26, No. 25). The graphical difference between the two names is slight, and Bielenstein (p. 27, note 1) demonstrates that the name of the general has been written in many different ways (on this point, see also the chiao-pu commentary to Hou Han shu, p. 833).

Chu Yu's biography, Hou Han shu 22, is short but gives a balanced account of his life. At the very

end it includes the anecdote translated above, the text of which is practically identical to that of the Hsin-lun. The only significant difference is in the Emperor's speech, he is quoted as saying, "I wonder if my host will be able to put away my parlance." The Hou Han shu version is better, since it preserves the pun on "parlor" (chiang-she 講舍) and "parlance" (chiang 講).

Still another version of this anecdote is preserved in Tung-kuan Han chi, quoted in the commentary to Wen hsüan 38.7b:

When the future Emperor [Kuang-wu] was first studying in Ch'ang-an, he visited Chu Yu, who often restrained the Emperor with "You need a parlor [I read she 舍 "parlor" for ching 寗], only then will you be able to speak." After the Emperor ascended the throne, he went by himself to Chu Yu's state apartment and asked, "I wonder if my host will do away with my parlance?" Chu Yu said, "I would not dare do that!"

This last version clearly states that the two allusions to the Emperor's speech ("parlance") belong to two different occasions, separated by ten years or more. For the quotation from the Wen hsüan commentary, see also the chiao-pu commentary, p. 833.

Li Hsien's commentary to Chu Yu's biography in Hou Han shu quotes still a different anecdote, which is somewhat out of place:

When the Emperor lived in Ch'ang-an, he and Chu Yu bought honey and mixed drugs. When the Emperor remembered this occasion, he gave Chu Yu a gallon of white honey. The Emperor asked if he remembered how they bought honey together in Ch'ang-an. Their intimacy was that sincere!

These various anecdotes about Kuang-wu and Chu Yu raise some problems, such as, why the version attributed to Huan T'an is identical to that of the Hou Han shu rather than to that of Tung-kuan Han chi, which is much older and is the source of the Hou Han shu version; also, why is Huan T'an acknowledged as a source only by the late, 14th century Shuo fu and not by the earlier

texts? Moreover, although the Hsin-lun mentions some events which happened after the fall of Wang Mang, in no other extant fragment does Huan T'an refer to persons living at that time.

Although I cannot offer conclusive proof, I believe that this fragment is as unreliable as fragment 188. The anecdote related in Hou Han shu was probably attributed to Huan T'an in order to enhance its reliability. No doubt, Huan T'an could have authored such an anecdote, since he must have known Chu Yu, his younger contemporary, who acquired great authority and wealth. I feel, however, that it was precisely the fact that he could have written such an anecdote which led someone in the 5th century or later to attribute it to Huan T'an.

203

K'ung Ying-ta, Ch'un-ch'iu cheng-i 4.4b (SPTK), quoting Huan T'an.

Both Tso Chuan (Wen, 1st year, 625 B.C.; Legge, pp. 228-230) and Lun-heng (21:63, pp. 890-92; Forke, I, pp. 207-208) report that King Ch'eng of Ch'u, after his strangulation, would not close his eyes when he was given the unrespectable posthumous name of Ling. He closed them only after he was given a more honorable epithet, Ch'eng. Wang Ch'ung says that this was explained as the act of the dead king's soul, but he suggests another, more rational theory; that is, the king's eyes remained open immediately after his death because his "vital fluid" was still abundant and closed naturally as the fluid gradually disappeared. Thus, Wang Ch'ung argues that the posthumous epithet had no connection with the closing of the King's eyes. Undoubtedly, Wang Ch'ung based his opinion on Huan T'an's text:

After he strangled and died, his eyes would not close. They closed [only] when the corpse became cold. This had nothing to do with the rule on conferring posthumous names--be they good or bad.

Tu Yü, Ch'un-ch'iu ching-chuan chi-chieh 16.4b, quoting Huan T'an.⁷⁷ Given in the Kuo-hsieh chi-yao reprint of the 1720 edition of Feng Li-hua (Ming dynasty), Tso hsiu, p. 1160.

Once more, both Tso chuan (Hsiang, 19th year, 553 B.C.; Legge, pp. 480, 482) and Lun-heng (21:63, pp. 891-92; Forke, I, pp. 206-208) tell the story of Officer Hsün Yen of Chin. After his death, his eyes protruded and his lips were shut so tightly that the traditional rite of putting a gem into his mouth could not be performed. Both these strange phenomena disappeared only when the corpse was told that his mission against Ch'i would be carried on despite his death. Again, both Wang Ch'ung and Huan T'an attempt to give rational explanations. Huan T'an said:

Hsün Yen fell ill, and his eyes protruded. Immediately after he died, his eyes would not close, but they did close when the corpse became cold. This was not caused by his knowledge [of the continuation of his mission].⁷⁸

Wang Ch'ung quotes and explains two similar stories from Tso chuan in his chapter, "False Reports about the Dead." Wang failed to attribute his analysis to Huan T'an, as was his habit, but elsewhere he has only unrestricted praise for Huan T'an. Huan T'an's opinion is cited by two commentators to the Tso chuan, Tu Yü of the third century A.D. and K'ung Ying-ta/⁹ of the seventh century. Huang Hui, the modern commentator to the Lun-heng, quotes both quotations (Lun-heng chiao-shih, pp. 891-92), and they are explained in an excellent, if short, article by Chung Chao-p'eng, "Huan T'an ho Wang Ch'ung," p. 41.

In his rhyme-prose, "Grief for the Provinces South of the Yang-tzu" ("Ai chiang-nan fu" 哀江南賦),⁸⁰ the influential poet Yü Hsin compares Huan T'an and Tu Yü:

There was Huan Chün-shan, a man of moral integrity and Tu Yüan-k'ai, whose life was well regulated; they both wrote books⁸¹ to which they were able to append postfaces.⁸²

NOTES: NEW FRAGMENTS FROM THE HSIN-LUN

1. W. E. Soothill, The Hall of Light: A Study of Early Chinese Kingship, eds. Lady Hosie and G. F. Hudson, (London: 1951), p. 14.
2. Hsiao I-shan, Ch'ing-tai t'ung shih, Vol. 5, Sixth Appendix: Table of the Works of Ch'ing Scholars, (Taipei: 1963), p. 503.
3. See notes 6, 7, and 8 below.
4. Fang 方 ("directions") is added here, in accordance with fragment 175B. In his commentary, Hui Tung says that ssu 四 ("four") refers to the ssu-ta 四達 ("four extremities").
5. The text has Shang yü 商予, but instead of yü, the Ming-t'ang k'ao, p. 7, gives tzu 子 ("sons").
6. The Yü-lan, i.e., the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan, is given as the source of this passage, but no more specific information is provided. The TPYL chapter devoted to the Hall of Light is number 533, which does include a different quotation from Huan T'an's Hsin-lun (8b); see fragment 93A. The commentator, apparently the unknown author of the Ming-t'ang k'ao, says that the term Ming-t'ang was used first by the Chou philosophers and that the Yellow Emperor of the mythical past named the building Ho Kung 合宮 ("Joint Palace").
7. Again, (see note 6 above) Ming-t'ang k'ao attributes this fragment to the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan. The author comments, "The term 'Five Fu' was first used during the reign of T'ang (i.e., T'ang Yü, or Yao). One certainly could not imitate the model of the Five Forces in one's sacrifices to the Five Supreme Rulers if the sacrifices were made in a four-cornered building." Hui Tung comments, "Huan T'an did not read the ch'an prognostication texts, but he, too, says that Yao had Five Fu. This means that he venerated the words of the ancient documents above all others. The wei prognostication books from the reigns of the Emperors Ch'eng and Ai cannot compare with them." Hui Tung, referring to Huan T'an's assertion to Emperor Kuang-wu that he would not read the ch'an texts, apparently believes that such an eminent scholar must have had access to original documents, rather than obtaining his information from the proscribed wei prognostication texts.

8. The commentator to the Ming-t'ang k'ao does not accept the story of the Two-storied House and says flatly that the information on the additions is wrong.

9. The Ming-t'ang k'ao says that the source of this statement is the Ch'u-hsüeh chi, but again (see note 6 above) gives no specific reference. A passage by Huan T'an on the subject of the Ming-t'ang is indeed quoted by Ch'u-hsüeh chi 13.18b (93A), but it is not the present fragment. In fact, this fragment is, with some slight differences, part of the quotation from IWLC 38.24b. See fragment 93C.

10. Tung Yüeh, Ch'i-ku'o k'ao (Study of the Seven Kingdoms), (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1956).

11. T. Pokora, "The Canon of Laws by Li K'uei--A Double Falsification?"

12. T. Pokora, "Two Answers to Professor Moriya Mitsuo: Part II, Fa ching and Hsin-lun." See Bibliography IIB21.

13. The first part of the text of the Canon of Laws is almost identical to the "Treatise on Law" (hsing-fa chih) in Chin shu 30.5a-b (see note 16 below). To some extent, I have followed Hulsewé's translation of this text in Remnants I, pp. 28-29, in order to demonstrate the variances. For instance, the Chin shu here uses the titles "Nets" and "Arrests."

14. Po-hsi 博戲 (here translated as "gambling and wild games") became, in the Han period, the name of a kind of military play.

15. Wei Yang, i.e., Kung-sun Yang of Wei, is generally known as Shang Yang or Yang, the Lord of Shang.

16. The text has ju 入 which would read "when he entered the Chancellorship of Ch'in." I prefer the Chin Shu, which gives i 以 ("when he became Chancellor of Ch'in"). From this point on, the texts of Chin shu and Tung Yüeh differ.

17. For the translation of cheng-lü 正律 as "Regular Statutes," see Hulsewé, Remnants I, p. 68, note 66.

18. On p. 368, Tung Yüeh says that the unknown character 臧 may be a mistake for kuo 職 ("to cut off the ear").

19. For the translation of kung 宮 as "secluded quarters," see Hulsewé, Remnants I, p. 127. The women who live in the secluded quarters serve as slaves.

20. Tung Yüeh (p. 369) says that laws such as this did not exist in other kingdoms during this period and that the laws of Wei were, in fact, even more cruel than those of Ch'in.

21. Following Yang K'uan's suggestion, I read lo 𠂔 ("pinch") instead of shih 市, which makes no sense.

22. Apparently the Chancellor does not share his subordinates' unfortunate fate, as Tung Yüeh (p. 367) points out.

23. 犀首 The Wei office of "rhinoceros head" (hsi-shou 犀首) was like a Ministry of War, as Tung Yüeh (p. 69) explains in some detail. Ssu-ma Piao, the author of a Hou Han shu, says that the "rhinoceros head" was like "the present rank of Tiger's Teeth General" (hu-ya chiang-chün 虎牙將軍).

24. There is some disagreement on the weight of one i 鎰 (or 溢); see HFHD I, p. 111, note 3; and W. Bauer, "Der Fürst von Liu," pp. 180-81, note 4. The term chin 金 (here translated as ["bribes of]gold") does not refer to real gold used in financial transactions which was designated as huang chin 黃金 ("yellow gold"); see HFHD I, p. 175, note 2.

25. Tung Yüeh, quoting Kuo yü, Ch'i yü says that the law allowed a criminal to atone for his offense by offering a metal sword.

26. Yü 羽 ("feathers") is interchangeable with shih 矢 ("arrow"); I believe that this refers to the sharpness of a point and have translated it as "edges."

27. This well-known story about King Ling of Ch'u is found in many texts, including Hsün-tzu, Han Fei-tzu, and the Hou Han shu. A more elaborate version is given in the Hsin-lun by Liu Chou; see Liu-tzu Hsin-lun 3:13 3:13.3a (Han Wei ts'ung-shu edition).

28. Instead of the tou 斗 of the text, I read tou 斗 ("steep").
29. Wu 戊 may also be read ch'eng 成, as Taki-gawa Kametarō suggests (see the following note). Ta-wu Wu, or Ta-ch'eng Wu, was Chancellor of Chao.
30. This story can be found in Shih chi 43 (p. 44; Chavannes, MH V, p. 63, and also p. 57), although Tung Yüeh does not give this source. Only the last seven characters, corresponding to the heading of the paragraph, are added to the Shih chi version. The attribution of the story to Huan T'an is highly suspect, since none of the many commentators to the Shih chi refer to Huan as its source. It is odd that the well-read Tung Yüeh did not refer to its inclusion in the Shih chi.
31. For the measure i and for the explanation of gold see fragment 176, note 24.
32. A character is missing in the text. Both rivers are in Hunan; the Hsiao is a tributary of the Hsiang.
33. P. Pelliot, "Quelques remarques sur le Chouo Fou," TP, pp. 163-220.
34. Ibid., p. 192.
35. W. Eichhorn, "Das Fei-yen wai-chuan."
36. Y. Hervouet, Un poète de cour sous les Han--Sseu-ma Hsiang-jou.
37. Ling Hsüan 伶玄, or Ling Yüan 伶元, whose style name was Tzu-yü 子予. His name, Ling, may also be interpreted as ling, or "Actor," Hsüan; see chapter 126 of the Shih chi, which discusses the actors, or yu-ling 優伶, Meng 孟 and Chan 旃.
38. See Eichhorn, pp. 123-24.
39. Hsia-hou Shang shu 夏侯尚書 ("the Hsia-hou Shang version of the Book of Documents"); Eichhorn (p. 124) translates, "...mit Hilfe des von Hsia-hou Sheng redigierten Shu-ching (das heisst des Kapitels Hung-fan) für die Leute die Kalenderzeiten festlegt."
40. 23-24 A.D.

41. 26 A.D.

42. For an explanation of ts'ung ts'an 叢殘 ("small and fragmentary"), see fragment 164C, note 19. Ts'an ("fragmentary") is a derogatory adjective.

43. Tuan-shu 短書 (translated here as "short books") is also used in fragment 2B and by Wang Ch'ung (Lun-heng 12:36, p. 560; Forke, II, p. 78, translates it as "trivial books"). The Classics were written on large bamboo tablets, which were, according to Wang Ch'ung, two feet and four inches long. Other, less important books were written on much smaller tablets. See Forke, Lun-heng II, p. 77, note 6, and, especially Tsien Tsuen-hsüin, Written on Bamboo and Silk, pp. 104-107. This traditional difference in size was later reflected in the derogatory evaluation of the ideas presented in "short" books; thus, in this sense tuan-shu might be translated as "deficient books." See Hou Wai-lu et al. (see note 47 below) who read tuan p'ien 篇.

44. The whole text of this fragment with three textual variations, is quoted in the introduction to Hsü Chen-ngo, Han Wei Liu-ch'ao hsiao-shuo hsüan. The first variation: instead of the p'i-lun 譬論 ("comparisons") of the text, Hsü gives p'i-yü 喻.

45. Hsü's second variation: instead of the tz'u 辭 ("words") of the text, Hsü has ts'e 策 ("strategy").

46. Hsü's third variation: instead of the chih 治 ("regulation") of the text, Hsü has li 理 (also "regulation").

47. Hou Wai-lu et al. (Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang t'ung-shih, Vol. 2, p. 204) quote this fragment in their analysis of the famous catalogue by Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin.

48. Liu Chün (462-521 A.D.) is a well-known author, as well as the commentator to the Shih-shuo hsün-yü by Liu I-ch'ing (403-444 A.D.). His essay extends to an earlier essay written by Chu Mu (100-163 A.D.), i.e., Chüeh-chiao lun, which is mentioned in Chu's biography in Hou Han shu 43, p. 1575, and in TPYL 410.6b. Liu Chün's text was translated by E. von Zach in Die Chinesische Anthologie: Übersetzungen aus dem Wen hsüan II, p. 962.

49. The character chiao 交 means both "to barter, to bargain" and "intimacy, friendship."

50. The term p'i 譬 ("compare") is also used in fragment 189. See note 44.

51. Instead of shih 市 ("market"), Liu Chün uses Huan k'uei 闌 闌, referring only to the gate.

52. Lin Hui is mentioned in Chuang-tzu II:20. His story about must, a substance so sweet that it only pleases the senses for a short period of time, is given there in more detail.

53. Yü 喻 should be read as yü 喻 ("metaphor") as in fragment 189, note 44, or in PWYF, p. 1445:2, which quotes the present fragment.

54. Lü Hsiang (ca. 720 A.D.), who wrote a commentary on Wen hsüan, says that must is sweet and therefore quickly spoils. See also note 52 above.

55. Watson, Records I, pp. 260-61. After being murdered by Empress Lü in a most barbarous way, Lady Ch'i became an object of popular pity and a figure of fiction. See, for example, Hsi ching tsa chi 3.4a.

56. The reliability of the quotation is supported by the fact that it is based on the account in Shuo yüan 7.3a which was one of Huan T'an's favorite sources. The Shuo yüan version is more elaborate: "Duke Huan of Ch'i, when out hunting, chased a deer into a mountain valley. He asked an old gentleman whom he saw there, 'What kind of valley is this?'"

The gentleman answered, 'It is the valley of a stupid gentleman.'

Duke Huan inquired further and was told, 'It has my name.'

57. The thirteenth chapter of Wen-hsin tiao-lung is devoted to two terms, ai 哀 ("lament") and tiao 吊 ("mourning" or "condolence").

58. Erh-shih is Hu-hai, the second emperor of the Ch'in dynasty.

59. The text of "Tiao Er-shih" is given in Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's biography in Shih chi 117; Watson, Records II, pp. 331-32.

60. For the word ts'e 惻 (here translated as "compassion"), see fragment 84A, note 28.

61. For the word ts'ang 愴 ("sadness"), see fragment 134, note 84.

62. The power of music to arouse sadness has also been described by Huan T'an in fragment 171 (see note 29). This was exactly the point which interested Liu Hsieh, the author of Wen-hsin tiao-lung. Huan T'an and Yang Hsiung were greatly interested in Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's fu, as may be seen from Yang Hsiung's letter translated in note 12 to fragment 80C.

63. For hsin chin 新進 ("new writers," "novices"), see fragment 80C, note 6.

64. "Yang" clearly refers to Yang Hsiung; "Liu" might be Liu Hsin, but more probably refers to Liu Hsiang, whose Shuo yüan was one of Huan T'an's favorite sources (see note 56 to fragment 193). It is, however, odd that these two men are not designated by their style names, i.e., Tzu-yün for Yang Hsiung and Tzu-chün for Liu Hsin. This may indicate either that "Liu" refers to both Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin, or, more improbably, that the original text was modified by Liu Hsieh.

65. Chang ch'eng 章程 (translated here as "calendrical computation") is a stock phrase, the exact meaning of which has never been clear. In HFHD, I, p. 146, H. H. Dubs translates it as "the calendar and the measures." In his note 5 Dubs adds, "Ju Shun interprets this phrase as referring to the calendar and to weights and measures; Yen Shih-ku says the second part of this phrase refers to the standard models [for weights and measures]." See fragments 112B, note 22, and 163A, note 9.

66. Couvreur (Dictionnaire classique, p. 165), following Cheng Hsüan's commentary to the Chou li, translates [t'u] Kuei 土圭 as "tablette des mesures." Couvreur continues, "...elle avait quinze 才 [ts'un-T.P.] de long, se plaçait horizontalement dans la direction du nord au sud, et recevoit à midi l'ombre de gnomon 表 de huit tch'eu 尺 [ch'ih-T.P.] dressé à

son extrémité au sud...Au moyen de la tablette des mesures, on mesure l'étendue de la terre, détermine la longueur de l'ombre au soleil, et cherche ainsi le milieu de la surface de la terre."

67. K'ung P'ing-chung was a poet who lived ca. 1040-1105 A.D. This reference could establish that the Hsin-lun was still extant in his time, after the fall of the T'ang; however, most of this information may be also found in fragment 104 (TPYL) which undoubtedly was written before the T'ang dynasty.

68. Nan 男 ("sons"). His sons were probably fully grown adults at the time of their deaths.

69. The text has tzu 子 ("son"); however, the original appears to have had ch'i-tzu 妻子, since Pi Yüan quotes this term in his commentary to Ch'ang-an chih 13.11b. Unfortunately, the term ch'i tzu may mean either "wife" or "son"; for an explanation, see Ku Yen-wu, Jih chih lu chi shih, p. 44. Since, according to this fragment, Yang Hsiung's sons had already died, the translation "wife" is more consistent.

70. K'ung P'ing-chung adds, "This was Huan T'an's opinion."

71. Ku Yung (died 8 or 7 B.C.) was an eminent officer, as well as a scholar who specialized in portents. He belonged to the group around the Tu family (Tu Ch'in and Tu Yeh; see fragment 84A, note 24), and his memorials, written in an exquisite style, were very influential.

72. Liu-feng 流風 ("floating wind"), is a pun upon Mencius' use of the term in the sense of "auspicious emanating influence;" see Mencius (I I:I:8; Legge, p. 182).

73. Jo-shui 弱水 ("weak water"), may be the name of the River Jo, mentioned in the Book of Documents (III:1:X:72, i.e., Yü kung; see Legge, pp. 123 and 124). The River Jo was situated in west Kansu and was, apparently, not easily navigated.

In Han times, the River Jo became an object of a legend; in the 4th century, Kuo P'o stated that "its water cannot support goose-down." See Shan-hai ching, Chapter 16, translated and explained by H. H. Dubs in

"An Ancient Chinese Mystery Cult," p. 226, and notes 11 and 13. The connection of this legend with Han mythology is established by the text's reference to the goddess Hsi-wang-mu, whose cult was formed in 3 B.C.

74. This time designation must have been added later and cannot belong to Huan T'an's text, nor to the other versions.

75. According to his biography in Hou Han shu 22 (pp. 809-11), Chu Yu received his first marquisate ca. 24 A.D., his second in 26 A.D., and a third in 37 A.D.

76. See the analysis above for an explanation of this jibe.

77. Given in the Kuo-hsieh chi-yao reprint (T'aipei: 1968) of the 1720 edition of Feng Li-hua (Ming dynasty), Tso hsiu, p. 1160.

78. Tu Yü (or Huan T'an?) adds, "The Tso chuan follows his strange appearance and notes it."

79. K'ung Ying-ta's book is entitled either Ch'un-ch'iu cheng-i or Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-shih-chuan cheng-i.

80. See Yü Hsin, Yü Tzu-shan chi, I (Shanghai: 1945), p. 65.

81. Tu Yü was a very prolific writer, more than twenty of his works have now been identified.

82. With the exception of "Wang hsien fu" (fragment 205), no postface (hsü 序) to Huan T'an's works is known.

III. Other Writings by Huan T'an

It is not always easy to determine what was written by Huan T'an and what was written by some other author (see, for example, note 1 to fragment 8). Similarly, we cannot always say what was part of the Hsin-lun and what comes from Huan T'an's other writings (see, for example, note 13 to fragment 205). In what follows I present each fragment from his other works separately, just as Yen K'o-chün has done. At the same time, I relate the fragments to each other through the notes. The problem of authorship is treated separately.

205

Rhyme-prose on Looking for Immortals (Wang hsien¹ fu).

I-wen lei-chü 78.16b. Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao 102.4a.

Yen 12.7b. Preface:²

Being a Gentleman,³ in my youth I accompanied Emperor Hsiao-ch'eng to his sacrifices⁴ at Kan-ch'üan Palace and Ho-tung commandery.⁵ First, the sacrifices⁶ were arranged in the Palace of Assembled Spirits at Hua-yin.⁷ This palace, situated under Mount Hua, was built by Emperor Wu.⁸ In the palace the Emperor wished to reflect upon and gather together immortals,⁹ such as Wang Ch'iao and Ch'ih Sung Tzu;¹⁰ therefore, the hall was called the "Hall of Immortals." The upright gate which faces the mountain from the south was called "Looking-for-Immortals Gates." There I lived.¹¹ I dared to take delight in lofty and beautiful¹² thoughts, so I wrote a small fu on the wall:¹³

Behold Wang Ch'iao and Ch'ih Sung!

Exhaling, they expel old [breath]; contracting, they bring in fresh [breath].¹⁴
They bend and stretch, guiding their breath¹⁵ through their arteries; they collect the breath and conserve the original.¹⁶
Their spirit circulates and nourishes their body, flowing through every hindrance;
They ascend, rising through Emptiness and Nothingness¹⁷ to reach an understanding of darkness and

light.¹⁸

Everything is visible to them. The Jade Woman¹⁹ is at their side.

Now that they have attained the Way of Immortality, they are welcomed by spiritual and divine beings. Then they mount a car drawn by blue dragons and red horses.²⁰

Coming over the high and sharp black stone,²¹ they soar like the female phoenix and her male,

Flying and coming together in the region of purest air²² at the terrace of T'ai-shan.

They breathe in the juice of jade²³ and eat the splendid iris.²⁴

They rinse their mouths with jade liquid²⁵ and drink the wine of gold.

Leaving the universe behind, they float with the clouds.

Sprinkling a light vapor, they cross sloping cliffs.

Looking on vast²⁶ streams, they rise to the Gate of Heaven.²⁷

Riding a white deer, they keep company with unicorns.

In all directions they inspect the eight²⁸ extremities and return to the altar of Yen-hua.²⁹

Oh, like vast waters, how overflowing!³⁰ With Heaven they revolve,

Enjoying their non-striving.

Their longevity approaches that of Heaven and earth.

Previous translation: Pokora, "Huan T'an's Fu," pp. 363-65.

206

Discussion with Fu Yen.

Hou Han shu 18A, pp. 1011-12.

Huan T'an is said to have conversed with Fu Yen, the Marquis of K'ung-hsiang in 3 B.C. Huan T'an advised him on how to handle the difficult situation which arose when Emperor Ai began to show more interest in the sister of Tung Hsien³¹ than in his own Empress, Fu Yen's daughter. Although Huan T'an's advice is presented in the form of a discussion between the two men, there is no doubt that the historian Fan Yeh based his account on a written source. It is also probable that

the source was Huan T'an himself because, among other things, both the Empresses née Ch'en and Wei Tzu-fu are mentioned in the present text, as well as in fragment 102 (see also fragment 62). Since the original text was probably written by Huan T'an, I include it here.

[Huan T'an came forward and advised Fu Yen:]

"In the past, when Emperor Wu wished to make Wei Tzu-fu his Empress, he secretly inquired into errors committed by the Empress née Ch'en.³² In the end, the Empress née Ch'en was finally dismissed,³³ and Wei Tzu-fu was eventually established in her place.³⁴ Now, Tung Hsien enjoys the highest affection, and his younger sister is even more favored. Another Wei Tzu-fu incident seems imminent.³⁵ How can one fail to be disturbed?"

Fu Yen, greatly frightened, said, "But what can we do about it?"

Huan T'an replied, "An innocent person cannot be punished; wickedness cannot prevail over an upright man. A gentleman courts his ruler with his talent and his knowledge; a woman woos her lord with her beguiling ways. The Empress is young and has rarely experienced trouble. Perhaps she will send frantically for doctors and sorcerers,³⁶ or summon magicians and wizards from outside the court.³⁷ You must be prepared for such things.

"Moreover, Lord Marquis, as father of the Empress, you are high and mighty and associate with many retainers.³⁸ Surely you will use them to strengthen your position,³⁹ thereby inviting criticism and gossip. It would be better to dismiss your followers courteously. You must make every effort to be humble and earnest. This is the way to cultivate oneself, to set right one's family, and to avoid calamity."

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," I, pp. 18-20.

Huan T'an's Letter to Tung Hsien.

Hou Han shu 18A, p. 1012.

[When Tung Hsien⁴⁰ became Commander-in-Chief, he heard of Huan T'an's fame and wished to become friends⁴¹ with him. But first Huan T'an sent a letter to Tung Hsien in which he advised him on:]

The art of assisting in the governing of the state and of preserving oneself.

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 20.

Proposal on Regulation Projects

Han shu 29, p. 3085.

The last part of the Han shu chapter on drains and ditches (Han shu 29) is probably based on Huan T'an's account in the Hsin-lun. The main argument for this suggestion is that Chapter 29 mentions many personalities which also appear in the Hsin-lun. Moreover, the principal commentary to the Han shu, by the T'ang scholar Yen Shih-ku, frequently quotes from the Hsin-lun (see, e.g., fragments 107, 108, and 109), elaborating on the information provided by Pan Ku, the chief author of the Han shu. H. Bielenstein convincingly demonstrates that the Yellow River changed its course sometime between 2 and 5 A.D., although this is not expressly mentioned in the Han shu.⁴² On this occasion many different proposals were submitted on how to deal with the situation.⁴³ Although Emperor P'ing was still nominally on the throne, all important matters of the state were directed by Wang Mang.

The Han shu says, "When Huan T'an, from the P'ei commandery, became Division Head of the Grand Ministry of Works, he was put in charge of the proposals and said to Chen Feng:⁴⁴

"These many proposals certainly contain some valid points. We should study them in detail. Everything may be prepared in advance and fixed according to plan; then we can launch our action. The expenditure will not exceed several milliards.⁴⁵ We should employ the labor of people who live from hand to mouth and have neither occupation nor property. Whether they

are idle or employed, they must be clothed and fed all the same. If they are clothed and fed by the Imperial government,⁴⁶ and at the same time are employed by it, two birds will be killed with one stone. Thus, above we can continue the achievement of Yü, while below the people's distress can be removed.'

"In the time of Wang Mang, there was mere veneration of empty words, but no one put them into action."⁴⁷

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," I, p. 51.

209

Statement on the Duties of Contemporary Government

Hou Han shu 28A, pp. 1013-15.

Yen 12.8a-9a.

Your servant has heard that the fall and rise of a country depend upon its political affairs.⁴⁸ Success or failure in political affairs depends upon one's counsellors.⁴⁹ If one's counsellors are wise and clear-sighted, then talented men will fill the court, and their principles will meet the demands of contemporary problems. If the counsellors are not clear-sighted, then the problems which they discuss will not correspond to contemporary needs and the actions which they take will be full of error.

All rulers who possess kingdoms wish to promote culture and establish the good.⁵⁰ But if they have not yet put their ways of governing into order, then what they call wise is strange.

Once King Chuang of Ch'u⁵¹ said to Sun Shu-ao,⁵² "I do not know any method by which to put my country into proper order."

Sun Shu-ao said, "If the country is hated by everyone, even when it is in 'proper order,' I am afraid, my King, that you will not be able to manage it."

The King asked, "Does this unmanageability depend only on the ruler or does it also depend on the minister?"

Sun Shu-ao replied, "When a lord treats his ministers with arrogance,⁵³ saying, 'Without me, there is no way for my minister to become rich and noble,' and a minister treats his lord with arrogance, saying, 'Without me, there is no way for my lord to be safe and secure,' then the lord of men may even lose his country without realizing why, and the minister may even become hungry and cold, not advancing in his career. If there is no harmony between ruler and minister, the affairs of the country cannot be settled."

King Chuang said, "I approve. I would like you, Chancellor, to work with the Grandees to settle the affairs of the country."⁵⁴

One who is well-versed in government observes the ways of the people and spreads moral instruction accordingly, examines mistakes and sets up preventive measures accordingly. Might and virtue alternately hold sway, civil and military methods are each employed in turn. Only then will government be in tune with the times and impetuous men⁵⁵ be stilled.

In the past Tung Chung-shu said, "The ordering of a country is like a ch'in (zither) or a se (zither). When these are out of tune, they must be unstrung and strung anew."⁵⁶ It is difficult to carry out this re-stringing, and whoever thwarts the multitude will perish. This is why Chia I was expelled for his talent,⁵⁷ and Ch'ao Ts'o was made to die for his wisdom.⁵⁸ Even if men of outstanding ability are present, in the end no one will dare to speak out because everyone will be intimidated by examples from the past.

Moreover, with respect to establishing laws and prohibitions, one cannot completely stop up the evil in the world, but it is enough if the laws and prohibitions meet the wishes of the multitude and, in general, a policy is adopted which is most convenient to the country and profitable to government affairs.

Offices are established and civil servants nominated in order to manage the people.⁵⁹ Rewards are offered⁶⁰ and fines instituted in order to differentiate between the good and the bad. When evil men are punished and hurt, good men are blessed with happiness.

But now, the people kill and hurt one another. Even if their quarrels are settled by the law,⁶¹ they

form private grudges and feuds,⁶² and their sons and grandsons take revenge on one another. In this way, the later hatred becomes deeper than the earlier hatred and can even result in the extermination of families and the destruction of careers. Yet the people commonly call this heroism! So, even if people are timid and weak, they force themselves to act in this way. This amounts to allowing people⁶³ to take matters into their own hands, so laws and prohibitions no longer exist.

Now, we should repeatedly explain⁶⁴ the old ordinances.⁶⁵ If official punishment has been meted out after a quarrel, but later, injury or death is brought about through private revenge, then, even if the offender should escape, his entire family should be banished to the border. The normal punishment of the one who has caused injury should be increased by two degrees, and he should not be allowed to hire anyone to redeem his punishment for him.⁶⁶ In this way, hatred and anger⁶⁷ will disappear of themselves, and robbery and thievery will be curbed.

The way to put a country into order is to promote the basic occupation and to suppress extraneous profits.⁶⁸ Therefore, the emperors of earlier times prohibited one person from practicing two professions and forbade traders and merchants from serving as officials.⁶⁹ By these methods, they prevented the accumulation and acquisition of the fields of the poor by the rich and powerful⁷⁰ and promoted a sense of modesty and shame.⁷¹

Now, rich traders and great merchants accumulate land and goods.⁷² The young people of families of the intermediate rank serve as guarantors⁷³ for them and scurry on their behalf with the diligence of servants and slaves.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, the ground tax⁷⁵ [levied by merchants] yields an income comparable to that of the enfeoffed rulers.⁷⁶ As a result, the masses follow their example,⁷⁷ try to eat without ploughing and often gain access to luxuries⁷⁸ with which they indulge their ears and eyes.

Therefore, all traders and merchants should be ordered to watch and report on one another. If something could have been gained through their own effort [but was gained in some other way], their illicit profit should be given to the informer.⁷⁹ In this way,

they will concentrate on serving their own needs and will not dare to give goods to others [in trade]. When their affairs have diminished and their power weakened, then their efforts will certainly revert to the fields. Once the fields are cultivated, the harvest of grain will be large, and the potential of the land will be fully exploited.⁸⁰

Furthermore, I have seen that when laws and ordinances are invoked to decide matters, they are not uniform in their lightness or severity; that is, for one matter there are varying laws, and for the same crime, different judgments. Consequently, villainous officials can avail themselves of this⁸¹ to do business-- they produce arguments to allow those whom they want to save to live, while they apply judicial precedents⁸² [to condemn to death] those whom they want to damn. This means that the law opens two gates.⁸³

Now, an order should be issued that persons who thoroughly understand the principles of justice and are well versed in the laws and statutes should revise and fix the rulings and judicial precedents⁸⁴ so as to unify the legal rules, to circulate them to the commanderies and kingdoms below, and to abolish antiquated stipulations.⁸⁵ In this way, the Empire will know the proper direction,⁸⁶ and in lawsuits there will produce neither grievances nor abuse."

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," I, pp. 23-29.

210

On Repressing the Ch'an Texts and Increasing Rewards.

Hou Han shu 28A, pp. 1015-17.

Yen 12.9a-b.

Huan T'an's biography says that his second memorial (translated above in fragment 209) was reported to the Emperor but was not examined. Fan Yeh continues, "At this particular time the Emperor believed in prognostications, which he often used to decide and settle doubtful matters.⁸⁷ Also, rewards granted by the Emperor were small and miserly, and the Empire was not pacified by the expected time. Huan T'an submitted another memorial which said:"

"Earlier your servant presented his humble opinions, but he has not yet been blessed by being summoned to report. Overcome with bitterness and anguish, I risk death to make another plea.⁸⁸ When the stupid man makes plans, the only ones that are of benefit to government policy are those that are in harmony with the mind of the people and have a grasp of the real state of affairs. It is the character of all men⁸⁹ to disregard the facts before their eyes and to value strange things learned from rumor.⁹⁰ From the records of the early kings, we see that they all took humanity, righteousness and the correct Way as their base and had no room for strange, empty and boastful things. As for the Way of Heaven, nature, and human fate, even the sages found it difficult to speak of it. From Tzu-kung on down they are not heard from on these matters.⁹¹ How much less can these matters be understood by shallow scholars of later ages?

"Today all the artful and foxy, magicians of small talent, as well as the soothsayers⁹² disseminate and reproduce diagrams and documents,⁹³ falsely praising the records of prognostication. By deception and misinformation,⁹⁴ by greed and dishonesty, they lead the ruler astray.⁹⁵ How can we fail to suppress and banish such things?⁹⁶

"Your subject, T'an, ventures to say that he has heard that Your Majesty deeply despises⁹⁷ the practices of magicians who try to make gold and silver. This is very wise indeed! But how mistaken you are when you want to believe in and listen to the apocryphal records! Even if their predictions were to occasionally correspond with the facts, their practices are of the same class as divination by oracle bones⁹⁸ and numerology with odd and even numbers.⁹⁹

"It befits Your Majesty to deign to judge with clear vision,¹⁰⁰ to manifest your sagely will, to reject the distorted theories of the many mean men, to hand down the correct meaning of the Five Classics, to put vulgar, hearsay¹⁰¹ opinions into order,¹⁰² and to examine carefully the correct proposals of the learned men.¹⁰³

"Moreover, your servant has heard that masters of magical practices are esteemed during periods of security and peace, but that, during times of crisis, armored and helmeted subjects are honored.¹⁰⁴ If,

although your sacred court has now begun to restore the ancestral line of succession¹⁰⁵ and you have become the ruler of men, the robbers and thieves in the four directions have not yet completely surrendered, it is because you do not have the right schemes and plans.

"Your servant, T'an, humbly observes that, since those who were forced to surrender during Your Majesty's military operations received no great rewards to entice them by favors and were even captured as enemies¹⁰⁶ and robbed of their property, the commanders of the regular troops and the chieftains of the rebels have become suspicious of each other.¹⁰⁷ Cliques and groups¹⁰⁸ form and do not dissolve for years and months. The people of the ancient past used to say, 'Everyone in the Empire knows that one takes in order to get, but no one knows that one gives in order to get.'¹⁰⁹ If Your Majesty is really able to lighten the ranks,¹¹⁰ increase the rewards, and share dignities, then there will be none who will not come at your bidding and none whom you cannot persuade. There will be no direction which will not open to you and no military expedition which will not be victorious. In this way, you can make the narrow wide, speed the slow, revive the extinct, and regain the lost."

Huan T'an's biography goes on to discuss this memorial:

Upon examining the memorial, the Emperor [Kuang-wu] was even more displeased. Later, he summoned a council to deliberate upon a site for the Spiritual Tower.¹¹¹ The Emperor said to Huan T'an, "I want to decide this¹¹² according to prognostication.¹¹³ What do you think?"

T'an remained silent for a long time, finally replying, "Your servant does not read prognostications."¹¹⁴

The Emperor asked for an explanation. Once more T'an¹¹⁵ strongly condemned prognostications as being contradictory to the canonical books.¹¹⁶ The Emperor, infuriated, said, "Huan T'an opposes the teachings of the sages and disowns the law.¹¹⁷ Take him below and behead him!"

Huan T'an kotowed for such a long time that blood flowed from his head. He was pardoned only much later.¹¹⁸ Sent from the capital to be an Assistant Administrator in the commandery of Liu-an,¹¹⁹ he was full of sorrow.¹²⁰ On the way he fell ill and died. He was over seventy¹²¹ years old.¹²²

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," I, pp. 29-33.

211

Commentary to Wen hsüan 3.41a, quoting Huan T'an, "Shang pien-i" 上便宜 (Memorial on What is Advantageous). Yen 12.9b.

Kuan Chung was Duke Huan's guide.

212

Commentary to Wen hsüan 30.20a and 56.30a, quoting Huan T'an, "Ch'en pien-i" 陳便宜 (Statement on What is Advantageous). Yen 12.9b.

By "the achievement of the hegemons" we mean a state in which the law is clear and straight, in which the bureaucracy is disciplined and ordered, and in which the stern authority of ordinances prevails.

213

Ch'i-shih 啓事 (Notice). Quoted by Yen without attribution.

All officials with an income of two thousand piculs, who wear plain jackets and sheep garments, and use ordinary wooden cups for eating and drinking are

deceiving, false and cunning. They merely want to gain a reputation and seek after fame.

214

Commentaries to Wen hsüan (45.24b, 43.30b, 56, 34b), quoting Huan T'an, "Ta Yang Hsiung shu" 桓譚答揚雄書 ("A Letter in Reply to Yang Hsiung"). Yen 12.10a.

Tzu-yün, (you) have diligently tasted the choice meat of the Way.¹²³

Previous translation: Pokora, "The Life," II, p. 533.

215

TPYL 763.7a, quoting Huan T'an, "Shang shih" 上事 (Esteeming Affairs).

Confucius asked a butcher about to slaughter a cow if there was a particular method¹²⁴ used in slaughtering? The answer was, "A cut must be exactly in the middle in order to open up (the cow) and butcher it. An examination of the sinews¹²⁵ must be arranged in the middle. Only then is the final conclusion taken before the cow is struck."¹²⁶

216

The So-yin commentary to Shih chi 47, p. 25.

Lun-yü XVII:5 tells the story of Kung-shan Fu-jao (known in the Shih chi as Kung-shan Pu-niu), who, in 502 or 501 B.C., rebelled in Lu, seized the fortified city of Pi, and invited Confucius to come to him. The story is repeated in Shih chi 47, p. 25 ("The Hereditary House of Confucius"). Confucius himself was inclined to accept the invitation, but Tzu-lu tried to dissuade him. At this point in the anecdote, Ssu-ma

Ch'ien puts seventeen characters into the mouth of Confucius which cannot be found in any other source, including the vast compendium of Confucian lore, the K'ung-tzu chia-yü: "Wen and Wu of the Chou rose from Feng and Hao, respectively, to become kings. Although Pi is now but a small place, might it not play the same role?"

Such a statement was, at least for the later orthodoxy, definitely sacrilegious, since it implied that Kung-shan Fu-jao, a military upstart of somewhat dubious character, might seize the throne of the Chou. Moreover, it indicated that Confucius would be willing to rise with the rebel, or even become the king himself, thus breaking his loyalty to the rulers of Lu and Chou. Perhaps, since the source of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's addition is unknown, we may conclude that the Han historian was attempting to criticize Confucius in a bitter and scandalizing way, besmirching his impeccable reputation. H. G. Creel's negative opinion of Chapter 47 of the Shih chi in his Confucius and the Chinese Way (pp. 244-48) might conform to this suggestion, but B. Watson takes the opposite approach in Ssu-ma Ch'ien: Grand Historian of China (pp. 167-74). For details of the affair itself, see Creel (pp. 35-36, and note 13 on p. 299) which discusses the attempts of modern scholars to prove that the incident did not happen at all. A T'ang scholar not mentioned by Creel, Ssu-ma Cheng (8th century A.D.), comments:

"If we examine the [K'ung-tzu] chia-yü and the writings of Confucius, these words are nowhere to be found. Therefore, Huan T'an, too, believed that this was a false accusation."

Of course, because of Ssu-ma Cheng's Confucian bias, it is to be expected that he would try to disprove "the false accusation" and affirm Confucius' loyalty; however, this does not in itself invalidate his commentary. However, it is clear from fragment 137 that Ssu-ma Cheng was not a reliable historian; he clearly misinterpreted Huan T'an's statement on Tung-fang Shuo. It is possible that, in this particular case, he was misusing the authority of Huan T'an, an eminent Han scholar, to prove that Confucius could have not been impeached.

NOTES: OTHER WRITINGS BY HUAN T'AN

1. PTSC 102.4a, IWLC 78.16b and Yen 12.7b give the name as "Hsien fu," while PTSC 12.4a quotes "Hsien wang [fu]," which is probably a mistake for "Wang hsien [fu]" 望仙賦. K'ung Kuang t'ao's edition of PTSC, published in 1888, uses the latter, preferable form. It corresponds to the name "Looking-for-Immortals Gate" and to Huan T'an's feelings as described in the last sentence of his preface. Furthermore, names composed of two characters were commonly used as titles for rhyme-prose (fu).

2. PTSC 102.4a only quotes the preface (hsü 序, which may also be translated as "postface," since it is frequently placed at the end of a work) which is not mentioned by any other source.

3. IWLC 78.16b has chung-lang 中郎 ("Gentleman of the Household"). PTSC 102.4a has two different quotations. The first, which is attributed to Huan T'an's Hsin-lun (fragment 142), has feng-ch'e lang 奉車郎 ("Gentleman of the Imperial Carriages"), while the second, from "Hsien fu" has only lang 郎 ("Gentleman"). Although the title chung-lang existed in Huan T'an's time, Huan T'an himself did not use it. The title feng-ch'e lang is also given to Huan T'an by TPYL 215.9a (see fragment 125, note 60); Huan T'an attained this rank when he was only seventeen years old (sixteen by European computation; see fragment 125, note 59). The short form, lang ("Gentleman"), which I adopt, may be an abbreviation of one of those titles; it is given in Huan T'an's biography in Hou Han shu 28A, p. 1011.

4. IWLC 78.16b has chiao 郊 ("sacrifice"), while PTSC 102.4a has pu 部 ("subordinate"). Yen hesitated between the two. In the modern edition of PTSC (see note 1 above) he originally used chiao, but Ku Ch'ien-li changed it to pu, and Yen later accepted this modification. The IWLC cannot be lightly dismissed, since it is in accord with the account in Han shu 10 (see HFHD II, p. 407). See also note 6 below.

5. Ho-tung commandery was in western Shansi near the Yellow River.

6. Following the reading pu (see note 4 above),

another acceptable translation may be; "The subordinate [officials] first..."

7. The town of Hua-yin can still be found between the Wei River and Mount Hua-shan in eastern Shensi on the railroad from Lo-yang to Sian. However, Hua-yin is also an old name for Mount Hua-shan itself; M. Kaltenmark, Le Lie-sien tchouan, p. 160, note 1.

8. Han shu 28A (p. 2489) confirms this but gives no date for the building of the palace. Its construction is not mentioned in the "Annals of Emperor Wu."

9. PTSC 102.4a has a fuller version, chi-ling-kung huai hsien-cho 集靈宮懷仙者 which is more intelligible and thus preferable: "In the Palace of Assembled Spirits the Emperor wished to reflect on immortals such as..."

10. Wang Ch'iao and Ch'ih Sung Tzu are well-known Taoist Immortals, usually associated with each other. Ch'ih Sung Tzu 赤松子 was said to be the Master of Rain in the time of the legendary Shen Nung. Wang Ch'iao (or Wang-tzu Ch'iao 王子喬) was the heir apparent of King Ling of Chou (571-545 B.C.). Some of the earliest of the many legends which have surrounded them are recorded in Chan-kuo ts'e 2:3:17 and, later, in Yüan yü ("The Far-Off Journey"). See D. Hawkes, Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South, p. 82, for Ch'ih Sung, and p. 83, for Wang Ch'iao. More material is collected in Lieh-hsien chuan, Chapters 1 and 28; see especially the abundant notes to Kaltenmark's translation, Le Lie-sien tchouan, pp. 35-42 and 109-14. P. Pelliot refers to a rich literature on Wang Ch'iao in his article, "Meou-tseu ou les doutes levés," p. 406, note 364, and to literature on Ch'ih Sung Tzu in note 365 on p. 407.

Both immortals are discussed by Pan Piao in his "Lan-hai fu" (Yen, Ch'üan Hou Han wen 23.4b), and by the poet Hsi K'ang (see Holzman, La vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang, pp. 20 and 139, 23 and 140). Hsi K'ang also refers to Huan T'an directly (Holzman, pp. 114, 172) and indirectly, when speaking of Mister Tou (fragment 82D, note 21; Holzman, pp. 106, 169). The first of the above quotations from Hsi K'ang is important for an understanding of Huan T'an's reaction to the Taoist practices. See note 16 below for the Taoist practices.

11. The text has hu 戶, but I follow Yen in reading chü 居 ("to live"). The four characters of this last short sentence are not found in IWLC 78.16b.

12. Instead of the miao 妙 ("beautiful") of the text, Yen reads another miao 眇 ("subtle").

13. This is the last character of the quotation from "Hsien fu hsü" 仙賦序 in PTSC 102.4a. Another, similar quotation on the same page comes from the Hsin-lun, not from this rhyme-prose. It seems hardly possible that "Rhyme-prose on Looking for Immortals" was part of the Hsin-lun; more likely, it was part of Huan's literary works (chi 集; see the commentary to fragment 190).

The quotation from Hsin-lun was shortened by Huan T'an or some later editor. Yen included it in his reconstructed 12th chapter, "Tao fu" (see fragment 142). Sun 15b (fragment 142, note 11) attributes his quote to the same source; his text, however, is substantially different and cannot be found in PTSC. It reads as follows: "In my youth, when I was a Gentleman of the Imperial Carriages, Emperor Hsiao-ch'eng favored Kan-ch'üan Palace. I wished to write on the wall; therefore, I wrote a fu to eulogize and praise the behavior of the two Immortals. I received a command to write a "Rhyme-prose on the Immortals" (Hsien fu) on the wall of Kan-ch'üan Palace."

Yen includes three characters, i sung-mei 以頌美 ("To eulogize and praise"), which cannot be found in the PTSC 102.4a version of the "Hsien fu hsü" (pre-face) but are included in Sun's version of the Hsin-lun quote, translated above. In fact, Yen's version makes little sense since he did not also add the four characters "the behaviour of the Immortals."

14. This verse bears a strong resemblance to Chuang-tzu 4:15, p. 87, which describes Taoist breathing exercises: "...inhaling and exhaling of the old breath and taking in new..." (t'u-ku na-hsin 吐故納新; Legge, I, p. 364).

15. The character yin 引 ("to guide") is here connected with the compound tao-yin 導引 ("gymnastics").

16. Yüan ch'i 元氣 ("the original breath") is translated by Maspero in "Les procédés de 'nourrir le principe vital' dans la religion taoïste ancienne," p. 206, as "Souffle Originel." A theory on this "original" or "primal" breath was not fully developed until the T'ang dynasty, which considered it to be a kind of "personal" breath. Taoist breath exercises were closely connected with gymnastics (tao-yin). Ch'ih Sung Tzu and Wang Ch'iao were each identified with a system of gymnastics. A description of these two systems, which is crucial to understanding this rhyme-prose, is given by Maspero, pp. 415-17, 422-23.

17. For the expression hsü wu 虛無 ("Emptiness and Nothingness"), see P. Pelliot, "Meou-tseu ou les doutes levés," TP, No. 19 (1920), pp. 397-98, note 324.

18. Yu ming 幽明 (translated as "darkness and light") could mean "death and life."

19. A character referred to as early as the Book of Songs, yü-nü 玉女 ("Jade Woman") became one of the Taoist goddesses (Yen Shih-ku, commentary to Han shu 87A, p. 5078). According to Shen-i ching la (attributed rather arbitrarily to Tung-fang Shuo), she lived in a mountain in the Eastern desert (for Tung-huang 東荒 or "Eastern Desert," see fragment 177). Lieh-hsien chuan 44 refers to the "sanctuary of the Jade Woman" (Kaltenmark, p. 178; see also Han shu 25B, p. 2145), and Yang Hsiung, in his "Kan-ch'üan fu" (Wen hsüan 7.4a; Han shu 87A, p. 5078; von Zach, Die Chinesische Anthologie, I, p. 97), associates her with the other Taoist deities Hsi-wang-mu and Fu-fei. Chang Heng, in his "Ssu-hsüan fu" (Wen hsüan 15.5b; von Zach, I, p. 224), makes the same association and also says that the Jade Woman comes from Mount T'ai-hua (or Hua-shan), also called Hua-yin (see note 7 above). See also Y. Hervouet, Sseu-ma Siang-jou, pp. 299-300, 315, and E. H. Schafer, TP, Vol. 50 (1963), p. 261, note 1.

In his commentary to Wen hsüan 15.5b, Li Shan identifies the Jade Woman with the Hairy Woman (Mao-nü 毛女) from Lieh-hsien chuan 54. Pao-p'u-tzu (II.13a; Monumenta Serica, Vol. II, 1946, pp. 24-25; and Kaltenmark, Le Lie-sien tchouan, p. 160, note 4) says that, during the reign of Emperor Ch'eng, this Hairy Woman was found by hunters in the Chung-nan Mountain. Her style name was Jade Lady (Yü-chiang 玉姜). Li Shan's

identification, if correct, would explain why the Jade Woman is unknown in earlier Taoism, since she would represent a feature peculiar to Hsien-Taoism. Neither Maspero ("Les procédés," p. 377, note 1) nor W. Eichhorn ("Eine Erzählung aus dem Wen-chien hou-lu", p. 173, note 24) recognized this possibility.

Thus, the Jade Woman is a Taoist goddess associated with Hua-shan. She bears a certain resemblance to the Mysterious Woman (Hsüan nü 玄女). Although of Taoist origin, she was later identified with Kundalini of the Yoga system; see J. Filliozat, "Taoïsme et Yoga," Dan Viêt-Nam, Vol. 3 (1949), p. 119.

20. K'ang-hsi tzu-tien quotes a commentary to the "Yüeh ling" chapter of the Li chi, which says that t'eng 騰 designates draft animals (Legge I, p. 266). The term ch'ing-lung 青龍 ("blue dragon") can also be found there (Legge, I, p. 251) in connection with the Emperor's carriage. Pan Piao uses similar terms in his "Lan-hai fu" (Yen, Ch'üan Hou Han wen 23.4b). For "blue dragon," see also E. H. Schafer, TP, Vol. 50 (1963), p. 261, note 1.

21. The reference to the black stone calls to mind the "Tzu-hsü fu" by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju (Wen hsüan 7.7b).

22. Yang Hsiung frequently mentions "the region of purest air" in e.g., his "Kan-ch'üan fu" (Wen hsüan 7.1b, Han shu 87A, p. 5068). The two characters chiao 膠 and ko 葛 may also be interpreted as referring to the Chiao Mountain, in Shantung, and Mount Ko-hsien, in Chekiang; the latter is famous as a home of immortals.

23. Maspero translates Yü-i 玉液 ("the juice of jade") as "la liquer du Jade" ("Le Taoïsme," in Mélanges posthumes, II, p. 107). He describes the substance in detail in a paragraph on the absorption of the saliva ("Les procédés," p. 362): "L'absorption de la salive ...accompagne ordinairement les pratiques du Souffle; on profite de ce que la bouche est fermée pour recueillir la Liquer du Jade, c'est-à-dire la salive en abondance sous la langue, en remplir la bouche et, en penchant la tête, l'avalier pour qu'elle aille en haut réparer le cerveau et en bas baigner les cinq viscères." See also Kaltenmark, Le Lie-sien tchuan, p. 37, and P. Pelliot, in "Meou-tseu ou les doutes levés," p. 381, note 266.

24. Hua-chih 華芝 ("splendid iris") is also mentioned in "Kan-ch'üan fu" (Wen hsüan 7.1b; Han shu 87A, p. 5069; von Zach, I, p. 94). Fu Ch'ien's commentary says it is a hua-kai 蓋, an umbrella with the emblem of a splendid iris which is used on the Emperor's carriages.
25. Yü-chiang 玉漿 ("jade liquid") is translated by Maspero as "le Bouillon de Jade" ("Le Taoïsme," p. 113); the term also means "saliva." The saliva is not to be absorbed, as note 23 shows, but plays an important role in the absorption of breath. The first step of the Taoist procedure was to hold the breath for a long period of time. In the following difficult step one must "close up the breath" (pi ch'i 閉氣 and avoid passing it out through the mouth, nose, or any other orifice. The "jade liquid" must fill the mouth to prevent the breath from leaking out.
26. In accordance with Yen, I read ts'ang 滄 ("vast") for the ts'ang 倉 ("hurried, flurried") of the text.
27. This probably refers to the Gate of Heaven on T'ai-shan.
28. In accordance with Yen, I read pa 八 ("eight"), instead of the graphically similar character, ju 入 ("to reach"). Pa is also used in Pan Piao's "Lan-hai fu" (see note 20 above).
29. "The altar of Yen-hua" may refer to Yen-tzu, a mountain near T'ien-shui in Kansu. The sun is said to sink into a cave on Mount Yen-tzu every night.
30. The second hu 乎 is not given by IWLC and was correctly added by Yen. The term comes from Mencius (III:I:IV:7; Legge, p. 250).
31. See fragment 207, note 40.
32. Li Hsien's commentary presents a brief survey of these events, which are described in detail in Han shu 97A, pp. 5568-71. For more than ten years the Empress née Ch'en had been the legal wife of Emperor Wu, but she had not borne a son by him. The Emperor fell in love with Wei Tzu-fu, whose career has been vividly described by M. Wilbur, Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty, pp. 298-99. Her younger brother was the famous general, Wei Ch'ing.

33. According to HFHD, II, p. 41, the Empress née Ch'en was dismissed on August 20, 131 B.C.

34. According to HFHD, II, p. 49, the Empress née Wei was established on April 30, 128 B.C., only after she gave birth to a son, Liu Chü. She had previously borne three daughters. See also note 32 above.

35. The Ssu-pu pei-yao edition of Hou Han shu has the wrong character 夫 ("man") instead of the 變 ("transformation") of Wang Hsien-ch'ien's edition.

36. The Empress née Ch'en attempted to regain the love of her husband, Emperor Wu, by means of a love potion produced by black magic. Unfortunately, the result was the reverse of what she had hoped; the Empress was executed, together with over three hundred people who were accused of taking part in these magical practices. See HFHD, II, pp. 17-19, and other literature quoted in note 25 to fragment 102. Huan T'an had every reason to believe that the neglected Empress née Fu, also estranged from her husband, would resort to the same remedy in her despair, thereby courting a fate like that of the Empress née Ch'en.

37. The Empress was indeed interested in magicians and in their art of "yellow and white," the production of gold.

38. Pin-k'o 賓客 ("retainers"). At this time numerous memorials were presented to the Emperor criticizing the ownership of large numbers of slaves, and proposals were made to limit their acquisition. These criticisms were apparently directed against retainers as well. In some cases the position of the retainers may have been very similar to that of the slaves.

39. In accordance with Tz'u hai, I prefer shih 勢 ("position") to the i 執 ("skill") of the text.

40. Tung Hsien was a young and powerful protégé of Emperor Ai. He became Commander-in-Chief in July of the year 1 B.C. and was deposed a few weeks later, on August 16, when Emperor Ai died.

41. For an explanation of chiao 交 ("friends"), see the commentary to fragment 190.

42. Bielenstein, The Restoration, I, pp. 145-51 and 153; see also The Life, I, p. 53.

43. The proposals are translated in The Life, I, pp. 48-51.

44. Chen Feng was a high dignitary who gained his first post in 8 B.C. (Han shu 19B, p. 1311) and became a close collaborator of Wang Mang. In 2 A.D., he became the Grand Minister of Works (ibid., p. 1330), a post which he filled until January 15, 9 A.D. (HFHD, III, p. 263). In December of the year 10 A.D. or in January of 11 A.D., Chen Feng committed suicide, in part because of the intrigues of his own son (HFHD, III, pp. 308-10). Chen Feng's successor in the office of the Grand Minister of Works was Wang I, who is also mentioned in the Hsin-lun (see fragment 164A, note 17 to fragment 164B, and note 21 to fragment 164D).

45. "Milliard" is a provisional translation of the term i-wan 億萬. Wan is, of course, "ten thousand," but i may mean any one of several different numbers: 100,000; 1,000,000; 10,000,000; or even 100,000,000. I-wan is, simply, an immense number (see Dai Kanwa jiten, I, pp. 944-45, and No. 1178.30). However, since Huan T'an speaks of "several i-wan," he is clearly referring to a specific number. A similar large number, ch'ien-wan 千萬 (possibly 10,000,000), was examined by M. Wilbur in Slavery, p. 281, note 6: "This might be read 'several thousand up to a myriad [cash],' wan being the terminal figure. Certainly, the term ch'ien-wan at times means thousand times myriad (see Couvreur, Dictionnaire classique, p. 106), and it must mean that here, for several thousand or a myriad is not a large figure for money in Han times." In a letter of October 22, 1965, Professor L. S. Yang writes, "I suggest that i-wan as a real number was the same as wan-wan or i (100,000,000) in Han times. Hou Han shu 64.13a-b [i.e., 24, p. 1246--T.P.] refers to the wealth of Shih-sun Fen, which amounted to i-i ch'i-ch'ien wan 一億七千萬, or 170,000,000. Hou Han shu 81.5a [i.e., 41, p. 1823--T.P.] states that the government owed people debts amounting to several tens of i-wan, which must have been a real number too." This means that Huan T'an's estimate of several i-wan represented approximately one-tenth of what would be the government debt one hundred years later (in 110 A.D.) and thus could have been quite realistic.

Incidentally, it is significant that the immensely rich Shih-sun Fen does not have a biography in Hou Han shu. Moreover, he is mentioned only once in the large dynastic history and even then in relation to an affair which actually happened some twenty years later, under the Emperor Shun.

46. The meaning of the term hsien-kuan 縣官 (here translated as "Imperial government") is also ambiguous. H. H. Dubs (HFHD, I, p. 311, note 3.5, and II, p. 64) translates it as "government" or "imperial government." N. L. Swann (Food and Money in Ancient China, p. 167, note 192) suggests that the "reference may be to the county official himself," while A. F. P. Hulswé, Remnants, I, p. 381, note 176) treats the problem exhaustively, saying that "it is not always easy to make a decision" and that hsien-kuan in the term hsien tao kuan ("offices of the prefectures and marches") "definitely does not indicate the central government, but the prefecture and nothing else." B. Watson reflects this ambiguity; in his translation from Shih chi 122, pp. 17-18, he translates the term twice as "district officials" and once as "the government" (Records, II, p. 430). Perhaps we should accept the opinion of L. S. Yang (see note 45 above): "I wonder whether it is always necessary to make a distinction between central government and local government, because, after all, the prefects and magistrates were all agents of the imperial government."

47. The last sentence appears to belong to Huan T'an, because Pan Ku's evaluation (or eulogy) is found in the following sentence. Moreover, since Huan T'an's conclusion clearly is not part of his dialogue with Chen Feng, I believe that the entire text was copied by Pan Ku from the Hsin-lun.

48. In translating cheng-shih 政事 as "political affairs," I follow H. H. Dubs, The Works of Hsüntze, p. 36. Legge, in Confucian Analects (XI:II:2; pp. 237-38), has "administrative talents;" in the Works of Mencius (VII:II:XII:3; p. 483), Legge has "[the great principles] of government and their various business."

49. "The Counsellors" (Fu-tso 輔佐) is the title of Chapter 5 of Chia I's Hsin-shu.

50. A similar sentence is found in a memorial by Huan T'an's contemporary, Ts'ai Mao, which is quoted in Hou Han shu 28, p. 960.

51. King Chuang of Ch'u reigned from 613 to 591 B.C. and is traditionally regarded as one of the Five Hegemons.
52. Sun Shu-ao was a Chancellor of Ch'u. His biography is found in Shih chi 119, pp. 2-4. He is frequently mentioned in early literature, as, for example, in Tso chuan (Legge, p. 318) and in Mencius (Legge, p. 446).
53. For an example of such an arrogant lord, see Su Ch'in's biography in Shih chi 69, p. 47. The term chiao chün 驕君 ("arrogant lord") also occurs in the short fifth chapter of Lu Chia's Hsin-yü. The title of the chapter, "Pien-huo" 辨惑 ("Discerning Error") is the same as that of the thirteenth chapter of Huan T'an's Hsin-lun.
54. The story of King Chuang and Sun Shu-ao may be found in the collection of anecdotes, Hsin hsü (2, p. 12), generally attributed to Liu Hsiang. Huan T'an did not quote this story verbatim but adapted and shortened it. Liu Hsiang's version shows that Sun Shu-ao was extremely critical of his ruler. Another story about Sun Shu-ao, the second of the three included by Ssu-ma Ch'ien in Chapter 126 of the Shih chi, shows a "Sun Shu-ao redivivus." After Sun Shu-ao's death, an ironical critic (ku-chi), Meng, imitates his behavior so convincingly that the same King Chuang is forced to promise to give more care to Sun Shu-ao's wife and children, who had become destitute after the death of the eminent and selfless chancellor.
55. The term tsao jen 躁人 ("impetuous men") alludes to the I Ching, "Hsi-tz'u chuan." R. Wilhelm (I Ging: Das Buch der Wandlungen, p. 272) translates it as "Aufgeregte Menschen machen viele Worte," while Couvreur (Dictionnaire classique, p. 901) has "un homme d'un caractère ardent (multiplie les paroles)." Hui Tung, in his commentary quoted by Wang Hsien-ch'ien, says that the term means "people who privately deliberate on the government of the country." In the last, autobiographical chapter of his Lun-heng, Wang Ch'ung alludes to this line in the I Ching, saying that some people call him a man of many words because of the great size of his book (30:85, p. 1193; Forke, I, p. 77).

56. This is a quote from Tung Chung-shu's first memorial to Emperor Wu, given in Han shu 56, p. 4001, with some variations. The text has been translated by W. Seufert, "Urkunden zur staatlichen Neuordnung unter der Han-Dynastie," MSOS, Vols. 23-25 (1922), p. 26. A similar text is found in the "Treatise on the Rules for Ceremonious Behaviour and on Music," in Han shu 22, p. 1911, translated by Hulsewé (Remnants, I, p. 435): "I [would beg] to liken it to a lute or a zithern. When these are very much out of tune, they have to be unstrung, and strung anew; then they can be strummed. When, in carrying out an administrative [policy], this is not enacted to a serious extent, it must be changed and transformed anew; then there can be order." The text of Pan Ku's Han shu is based upon Huan T'an; a similar adaptation is noted by Hulsewé, Remnants, I, p. 312. Of course, both texts were originally derived by Huan T'an from Tung Chung-shu, but his reasoning is significantly different from that of Tung Chung-shu. Tung Chung-shu stresses the necessity of administrative reforms, while Huan T'an uses the same anecdotes as examples of persons who suffered greatly because they were not understood by their contemporaries. This is, in a slightly different form, Wang Ch'ung's constantly recurring theme of the frustration of ministers and officials.

57. Chia I lived ca. 201-169 B.C. At the age of twenty, he was appointed a Scholar of Erudite Learning (po-shih) by Emperor Wen, and only a year later he became a Grand Palace Grandee. However, before long Chia I was banished to Ch'ang-sha because of the slanders of envious courtiers who feared his wisdom and growing power.

58. Ch'ao Ts'o was an eminent politician and scholar during the reigns of Emperors Wen and Ching. He correctly recognized the danger which the existence of large fiefs not administered by the Emperor's officials created for the stability of the dynasty. Therefore, in 154 B.C., he proposed to liquidate these fiefs according to the system practiced by the Ch'in dynasty. This proposal, of course, was strongly opposed by the holders of these fiefs. It led directly to the rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms in the same year; to save the situation, the Emperor sacrificed Ch'ao Ts'o. Apparently Huan T'an compared the conflicts in his own official career with Ch'ao Tso's death, a "reward" for his meritorious work on behalf of the Han dynasty. The stories of Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o may be found in Han shu 48, pp. 3687-3740, and 49, pp. 3751-78, respectively.

59. Dai Kan Wa Jiten 9812.238 quotes both this line and a similar, less realistic statement from the Po-hu t'ung 7.31a: "Therefore, the division of the land into principalities is not for the sake of the Feudal Lords; neither is the institution of administrative offices and bureaus for the sake of the Ministers and great officers. It is all for the benefit of the people." (Translation by Tjan Tjoe Som, II, p. 416.)

60. Dai Kan Wa Jiten 27784.57 quotes this, preferring hsüan-shang 懸賞 ("rewards are offered") to hsien-shang 縣賞.

61. The term fu-fa 伏法 (here translated as "settled by the law") is translated by B. Watson as "to fall before the law" (in his translation of Han shu 62, p. 4266; Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Grand Historian of China, p. 63) and by A. Forke as "[to suffer death] according to the law" (Lun-heng, I, p. 157; Lun-heng 6.20, p. 255).

62. See note 67 below.

63. Perhaps jen 任 ("to allow") should be read for jen 人 ("people"), as in the biography of Hsieh Hsüan, the well-known jurist and elder contemporary of Huan T'an (Han shu 83, p. 4928). If we accept jen 任, it would be synonymous with t'ing 聽 ("to allow, to permit") and would not change the translation in any way. Dai Kan Wa Jiten 29211.100 translates t'ing-jen 聽任 as "makaseru" ("to leave anything to another's care," "to leave a person do anything").

64. Shen 申 means "repeatedly." Shen ming 申明 ("repeatedly explain") is a legal term. See, for example, Shih-chi 25, p. 5; Chavannes, MH III, p. 295: "[Ces royaumes] développèrent et éclaircirent les lois de la guerre; les récompenses et les châtements furent d'une absolue certitude..." Shih chi 64, p. 4: "[Ssu-ma Jang-chü] repeatedly explained the discipline (shen-ming yüeh-shu 申明約束)." Shen by itself means "evident, clear" in the legal context, as in Hou Han shu 16, p. 631: "The crime is not evident and there are no proofs" (tsui wu shen cheng 罪無申證). Li Hsien's commentary to this line says that shen means ming-pai 明白 ("to understand, evident, clear").

65. Hui Tung quotes from commentaries to several ancient texts by Wang Pao and Cheng Chung in order to prove that such an ordinance really did exist in the

Han period. No such ordinance is listed in Hulsewé, Remnants, I, pp. 42-47, where Hulsewé discusses all the ordinances of which we now have knowledge. However, J. L. Kroll does convincingly demonstrate that at least one ordinance not listed by Hulsewé did exist; see his "Notes on Han Law." Huan T'an's text on revenge (or vendetta) was quoted and translated by Masabuchi Tatsuo in "The Yu Hsia [游俠] and the Social Order in the Han Period," 3, p. 94. There is a more thorough treatment of the vendetta in Han times in Makino Tatsumi, Shina Kazoku kenkyū, p. 417-87. Explaining blood revenge in Chinese law, Ch'ü T'ung-tsu also translated Huan T'an's passage, emphasizing its importance, since "we do not know exactly when the taking of revenge became illegal and punishable by the law." Huan T'an's memorial "seems to imply that revenge was prohibited, at least at the end of the Former Han Dynasty, and that Huan T'an was merely asking Emperor Kuang-wu to implement a law already in existence" (Law and Society in Traditional China, p. 80).

66. Ku-shan 雇山 (here translated "to redeem his punishment for him") literally means "a hired mountain." Li Hsien's commentary to Hou Han shu 1A, p. 34, explains the term as a redemption which can be made by hiring people to fell trees in the mountains. See also the detailed explanation in Dubs, HFHD, III, pp. 69-70, note 4.5.

67. Ch'ou-yüan 仇怨 ("hatred and anger") is identical with yüan-ch'ou 怨仇. Ch'ou-yüan occurs, among other places, in Shih-chi 55, p. 19; W. Bauer ("Der Fürst von Liu," p. 169) translates, "[Leute welche Sie zeitlebens] aufs bitterste gehasst haben," but the same text paraphrased in Liu Hsiang's Hsin-hsü 10.9b (chapter Shan, mou B) gives yüan-ch'ou. Yüan-ch'ou is identified by Dai Kan Wa Jiten 10479.13 with yüan-ch'ou 怨讎, which is also used in this memorial; see the text to note 62 above.

68. The "root" or "basic" occupation is, of course, agriculture, while extraneous profits are those acquired by trade.

69. Li Hsien's commentary mentions the laws of the first Han Emperor Kao which prohibited the sons and the grandsons of merchants from becoming officials. This ordinance is also mentioned by Hulsewé (Remnants, I, p. 151, note 159), who says that his source is Huan

T'an's memorial, written about 30 A.D. Hulsewé is probably referring to Huan T'an's memorial as quoted in the Tung-kuan Han chi; see note 79 below and the order by Emperor Kao which Dubs translates in HFHD, I, p. 120. See also the following note 70 and Ying-shih Yü, Trade, p. 18, note 32.

70. The term ping-chien 并兼 ("the accumulation and acquisition of the fields of the poor by the rich and powerful") is found in Chung-ch'ang T'ung's Ch'ang-yen, in Chapter Sun-i (quoted in Hou Han shu 49, p. 1780) and in Chapter Li-luan (*ibid.*, p. 1776), where it is used to characterize the ruling methods of the Ch'in. The same term is used again, in the same context, in Hou Han shu 80A, p. 2855, by Fan Yeh. Li Hsien (Chapter 19, p. 729; see also 26, p. 966) comments, "Ping-chien means that the powerful and rich, by means of their wealth and influence, unite and secure (ping-ch'ü 并取) the fields of the poor and take and possess (chien-yu 兼有) them" (translation by H. H. Dubs, in HFHD, II, p. 68, note 17.2).

In order to understand properly these two characters, it is also necessary to analyze the reversed binom, chien-ping. The new dictionary, Chung-wen ta-tz'u-tien (Vol. II, 9379.24) says that ping-chien is the same as chien-ping and quotes several sources, such as Kuan-tzu, Shih chi 6, Han shu 24, Mo-tzu, Hsin-shu, and the "Wang-tao" Chapter of Tung Chung-shu's Ch'un ch'iu fan lu in support of its suggestion. Wen Ying, whose commentary is quoted in Han shu 5, sixth year yüan-shou, and translated by Dubs, says, "Those who 'had taken concurrently (chien-ping)' were the families who enjoyed official salaries; They were not permitted to rule their estates and concurrently (chien) to take the advantages (given to) unimportant common people. Although the merchants might be rich, they were not, again concurrently (chien) to hold fields and residences, to have guest-(retainers), or to plow and farm" (HFHD II, p. 68, note 17.2).

H. H. Dubs resumes, "Wen Ying seems to imply that there were three classes: (1) officials and nobility, who might possess fields and residences and entertain guest retainers, (2) farmers, and (3) merchants. Farmers were granted many privileges by the Ch'in and Han dynasties; Emperor Wu tried to keep the officials and merchants from claiming the advantages granted to farmers by prohibiting merchants from owning farm land."

The term chien-ping is also used in the treatise on economy in Han shu 24, which is translated by N. L. Swann: "That is why tradespeople absorb (rights of) farmers, and farmers therefore are drifting from place to place." The author comments further (note 187): "...Here...occurs the term translated 'absorb,' or 'to take possession of' [i.e., chien ping--T.P.]. It is used only once in the treatise, whereas the two parts reversed, ping-chien, is a term with a different meaning, that is 'to monopolize,' 'to tyrannize.'" See N. L. Swann, Food and Money in Ancient China, p. 156 and note 187.

Still another interpretation is offered by A. F. P. Hulswé in Remnants, I, p. 90: "...'harsh officials' turned against members of their own 'gentry' class...the locally prominent...are accused again and again of 'encroaching,' i.e., of extending their power at the expense of the lesser folk, especially by disposing them of their land."

71. A "sense of modesty and shame" is one of the basic Confucian virtues.

72. The text has fang t'ien huo 放田貨 (here translated as "accumulate land and goods") which may mean "sell land and goods" (see Dai Kan Wa Jiten, 13133.62, under fang-huo). Nevertheless, Huan T'an apparently had the merchants who bought the land of poor peasants in mind. Wang Hsien-ch'ien points out that the Palace edition reads ch'ien-huo 錢貨 ("money and goods"), while our text of the Hou Han shu is corroborated by the Tung-kuan Han chi. Wang is correct, but the significant variation is in the Tung-kuan Han chi, which has shou t'ien-huo 收田貨, rather than fang t'ien-huo (Chapter 4, p. 20b, in the edition by Yao Chih-yin, Hou Han shu pu-i, or in the edition Ssu-pu pei-yao of the Tung-kuan Han chi 19, p. 69b). The two characters fang and shou are graphically similar; I prefer shou.

73. This section is quoted by the Dai Kan Wa Jiten, 1, p. 789, and in Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien 694.74. Ho Ch'ang-chün studied the position of the "middle" families (chung-chia 中家) of the Former Han in his Lun Liang-Han t'u-ti chan-yu hsing-t'ai ti fa-chan, pp. 14-22.

74. Ch'ien-p'u 臣僕 (here translated as "servants and slaves"). Perhaps these terms were used by

speakers to refer to themselves as a polite form of modesty when speaking to persons of higher rank. The use of the term in the Han period may have been archaic. This suggestion is reinforced by its use in Han shu (73, p. 4647), which discusses ancient times. However, neither of these suggestions adequately explains its use in this text.

75. "Ground tax" is the translation of the term shui 稅 given by N. L. Swann, Food and Money, p. 371. For a systematic study of the term, see R. C. Blue, "The Argumentation of the 'Shih-huo chih' Chapters of the Han, Wei, and Sui Dynastic Histories," pp. 108-10. On page 110, the author translates a commentary by Yen Shih-ku: "Shui means collecting the income from their arable fields..." Chavannes (MH, III, p. 542, note 6) says that the term shui "désigne le redevance du quinzième prélevé sur toutes les productions du sol et de l'industrie." Huan T'an was probably referring to the land-rent, but Li Hsien's commentary explains the term shou-shui 收稅 as describing the levying of interest from loans. The Tung-kuan Han chi, quoted by Li Hsien, says, "The sons of families of intermediate rank serve as guarantors, receive the accounts, and report to the throne. They scurry, bow and prostrate themselves like servants and slaves. [The merchants] just sit and divide the profit." Huan T'an's criticism goes even further. For "families of intermediate rank," see note 73 above; for rich merchants, see the following note 76.

76. Several of Huan T'an's observations are similar to those made by Ssu-ma Ch'ien in his chapter on the money-makers, Shih chi 129.

77. I prefer mu 慕 ("to follow," "an example") for the original mu 慕 ("to desire," "to long for"), a preference shared by Dubs, HFHD, II, p. 409, and by Wilbur, Slavery, p. 422. When commenting on Dubs's translation of the term mu-i 慕義, C. S. Goodrich explains the word mu: "The word is used not so much of actions as of feelings, and here probably indicates an alleged desire or yearning on the part of the barbarians to conform with the Chinese principles. 'To yearn for' ...or even 'to desire to imitate'...comes, I think, closer to representing the specific meaning of the Chinese expression;" see Goodrich's "Professor Dubs's Translation of the Biography of Wang Mang," p. 115, and also note 65.

78. See Dubs and Wilbur, quoted in the note above.

79. For the translation of tsang 臧 as "illicit profit," see Hulsewé, Remnants, I, pp. 178-79. The more detailed account of the Tung-kuan Han chi is quoted by Li Hsien: "The merchants frequently have access to extravagant and lavish things, like white gauze, open-work variegated and embroidered silk, colors and toys, thus indulging people's ears and eyes and utterly exhausting their wealth. This plants extravagance in the lower classes and establishes the root of poverty. Then, how is it possible to make people thrifty and austere, wealthy and content? Customs are difficult to change abruptly, and people cannot be reformed quickly. It is necessary to suppress the channels [by which they grow extravagant] and let bad customs gradually wither of themselves." The style of Huan T'an's memorial, as quoted in the Tung-kuan Han chi, differs radically from the version in Hou Han shu. Tung-kuan Han chi appears to be quoting from an imperial edict; there are certain similarities with the edict by Emperor Ch'eng, published in 13 B.C. and translated in HFHD, II, pp. 408-09.

Huan T'an's proposal that the informer be rewarded with the money gained through illegal withdrawal of taxes or other machinations which he reported was not an original idea. For example, the treatise on economy in Han shu 24B says, "If anyone fails to make his estimate [and pay his tax or] makes an incomplete report, he should be sent out to serve on a frontier post for one year, and his strings of cash [that is, his fortune] should be confiscated. He who could be able to accuse in law another [of breaking these regulations], to him would be given one half [of the culprit's fortune]." (Translation by Swann, Food and Money, p. 282.) It is quite probable that, as in the case of his suggestion on revenge (see the text to note 66 above), Huan T'an was merely proposing that the new Emperor revive the old regulation.

80. Chin ti-li 盡地力 (here translated "fully exploited") was translated by J. J. L. Duyvendak (The Book of the Lord Shang, p. 51) as the name of the agricultural school of "intensive culture."

81. The term yin-yüan 因緣 ("to avail oneself") is defined in Li Hsien's commentary to the Hou Han shu 46, p. 1662, as i-fu i sheng ch'ing-chung 依附以生輕重, which is, in turn, explained by the

Tz'u hai (under yin-yüan) as "profiting from the law by the misuse of official documents."

82. Pi 比 may also be translated as "comparison;" see Hulswé, Remnants, I, pp. 51 or 60.

83. The greater part of this passage has been translated by Hulswé, Remnants, I, p. 338, p. 389 (note 199) and p. 421 (note 343). My translation differs in only a few respects. As Hulswé correctly points out, there are interesting similarities between Huan T'an's memorial and Pan Ku's treatise on law in Han shu 23, p. 1997. The Han shu text is translated by Hulswé in Remnants, I, p. 349; "...the law will no [longer] have two applications; the lightness or severity [of the punishments] will correspond to the [gravity of the] crimes and the lives of the people will remain intact."

84. The four characters ming-hsi lü-ling 明習律令 are used in Han shu 23, p. 1987; see Hulswé, Remnants, I, p. 340. The term chiao-ting 校定 ("revise and settle") is quoted by Dai Kan Wa Jiten 14713.72 and by Chung-wen ta-tz'u-tien 15043.21 as having been first used by Huan T'an. Both dictionaries identify it with a later binome, chiao-ting 校訂. Liu Hsiang collected (chiao 校) the books in the private library of the Palace, but he did not settle (ting 定) them. (Han shu 10, p. 316; HFHD II, p. 386 and note 6.1. See also Han shu 36, p. 3401). Ting 定 means to "fix" or "settle" something, such as a literary text or an obligatory norm.

85. Most of this sentence has been translated by Hulswé in Remnants, I, pp. 59-60, note 40.

86. The text has fang-chih 方知 ("direction"); Li Hsien's commentary prefers fa 法 ("law") for fang. Wang Hsien-ch'ien and Ch'ien Ta-chao, quoted in the chiao-pu commentary, point out that the Palace edition has chih-fang (p. 1035). The term is from Lun yü XI: 25:4 (Legge, p. 247). See also Hulswé, Remnants, I, p. 358, note 49.

87. For an early use of the term hsien-i 嫌疑 ("doubtful matters"), see, for example, Hsun-tzu 15:21, p. 267, translated by Dubs, p. 271. See also Shih chi 130, p. 22, translated in Watson, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, p. 51. Dai Kan Wa Jiten 6618.8 points out that hsien-i is also a legal term referring to the investigation of the facts of a crime.

88. The method of addressing the Emperor is studied by Dubs in HFHD, I, pp. 99-100, note 2. Similar terms, such as, "stupid opinion...deserving ten thousand deaths," can be found in a memorial by Ku Yung (Han shu 85, p. 5005; see fragment 201, note 71), who was famous for his sharp remonstrances with Emperor Ch'eng.

89. A summary of this last part of Huan T'an's biography is given in L. Wieger, Rudiments: Textes historiques, Vol. 2 (1904), pp. 800-01.

90. For similar statements by Huan T'an, see fragment 164C.

91. Lun-yü V:12, translated by Legge, pp. 177-78: "Tsze-kung said, 'The Master's personal display of his principles and ordinary descriptions of them may be heard. His discourses about man's nature, and the way of Heaven, cannot be heard.'"

92. I translate shu 數 as "soothsayers," in accordance with Duyvendak's translation "statistical methods," referring to numerical speculations in The Book of the Lord Shang, pp. 96 and 205. See also E. M. Gale, Discourses on Salt and Iron, p. 18, note 4. A detailed explanation of the term shu, based on a study by Ch'en P'an, is given by Hulsewé in Remnants, I, p. 360, note 71. Ch'en Chung-fan, in the commentary to this text found in his Han-Wei Liu-ch'ao san-wen hsüan (Shanghai: 1956), p. 154, explains the term shu-shu as "the officials of the Ming t'ang, Hsi and Ho, of astrology and divinity."

93. T'u 圖 ("diagrams") and shu 書 ("documents") are tools of prognostication (ch'an 讖), as has been shown by Ch'en P'an (see note 92 above), who published several studies on them. See also note 113 below and, for a more detailed bibliography, The Life, II, p. 526, note 22. The two terms t'u and shu appear to be short forms of Ho-t'u ("the Chart of the Yellow River") and Lo-shu ("the Writing of the River Lo"). A thorough condemnation of prognostications, falsely attributed to Confucius, can be found in Huan T'an's fragment 68. About half a millenium later, the famous literary critic Liu Hsieh also strongly denounced prognostications, to which he devoted a chapter of his Wen-hsin tiao-lung (1.4, "Cheng wei;" Shih, The Literary Mind, pp. 21-25). Liu Hsieh believes that the apocrypha appeared during the reigns of Emperor Ai and P'ing. He mentions Emperor

Kuang-wu's great infatuation with them, as well as Huan T'an's opposition (Shih, p. 24). For Ch'en P'an, see also fragment 68, note 3.

94. The term ch'i-huo 欺惑 ("deception and misinformation" occurs earlier in Hsün-tzu 3.6, p. 57; Dubs, p. 78.

95. The heroism displayed in this passage has been pointed out by, among others, Hang Shih-chün (1696-1773 A.D.), in his Chu-shih jang-i, p. 2. For Liu Hsieh's comment, see note 93 above. See also note 114 below. In his commentary to Hou Han shu (1B, p. 46), Li Hsien says that, according to the Shuo-wen, the meaning of the character kua 誑 ("to deceive, mislead") is identical with that of wu 誤 ("to impede, mistake").

96. Again, similar terms on "suppressing and banishing arrogant and envious favorites" may be found in Han shu 85, p. 5010 (see note 88 above).

97. According to Dai Kan Wa Jiten 25593.160, the term ch'iuung-che 窮折 ("deeply despises") occurs only in Huan T'an's biography.

98. In the chiao-pu 校補 commentary (p. 1035), Wang Hsien-ch'ien calls attention to the fact that, according to Ch'ien Ta-chao, most editions have the character pu 卜 ("to foretell"), but that the edition of Mao Chin has shih 十 ("ten"), while the Fu-chien edition has hsiao 小 ("small"). The translation following these variations, would be: "...like divining from ten (or, "from a small group of") even and odd numbers."

99. Li Hsien's commentary explains the text as "to hit the mark by chance" (ou-chung 偶中), but Hui Tung refutes his explanation. A version of this passage in modern Chinese is given in Ku Chieh-kang, Han-tai hsüeh-shu shih-lüeh (Shanghai: 1948), p. 204.

100. The last three characters, ch'ui ming t'ing 垂明聽 ("to condescend to judge with clear sight") are also used in Han shu 23, p. 1986, and translated by Hulsewé in Remnants, I, p. 339.

101. The expression lei-t'ung 雷同 ("hearsay") originates in Li chi I:I:III:3:11. Legge (I, p. 75) translates, "Let him not appropriate [to himself] the words [of others], nor [repeat them] as [the echo does the] thunder." See fragment 28, note 31.

102. I prefer the character lüeh 略 ("to put into order"), given by the Ssu-pu pei-yao (or Palace) edition, for Wang Hsien-ch'ien's chao 昭 ("to display").

103. T'ung-jen 通人 ("learned men"). Wang Ch'ung, displaying his typical ironical attitude towards the literati, defines t'ung-jen, as well as other categories of scholars: "Whoever is able to explain one Classic is a scholar (ju-sheng 儒生). Those well-versed in ancient and modern literature are learned (t'ung-jen); those who collect books and records and present memorials to the throne are men of letters (wen-jen 文人); and those never in need of ingenious thoughts to compose themselves, joining paragraphs and chapters, are eminent scholars (hung-ju 鴻儒)." (Lun-heng 13:39, p. 607; Forke, II, p. 296.) Huan T'an may not have shared Wang Ch'ung's taste for ironical distinctions and probably was referring to intelligent men in general.

104. Huan T'an may be alluding to a similar sentence in the biography of Han Fei-tzu, in Shih chi 63, p. 15: "When there is urgent need, soldiers with armor and helmets are used." In fact, Chang Shou-chieh's commentary to this Shih chi text and Li Hsien's commentary to the Hou Han shu are identical.

105. Emperor Kuang-wu is praised in similar terms in a memorial of 39 A.D.: "The virtue of Your Majesty unites Heaven and earth. You have restored the unity of our ancestors" (Hou Han shu 1B, p. 62). Huan T'an's text has tsu 祖 for "ancestor," while the Hou Han shu has tsung 宗.

106. The term lu 虜 ("captured as enemies") is discussed in great detail in Wilbur, Slavery in China, pp. 99-100, note 2.

107. For the explanation of the term hu-i 狐疑 (literally, "suspicious as a fox"), see HFHD, I, p. 238, note 4, or Chavannes, MH, II, p. 458, note 2.

108. The term tang-peï 黨輩 ("cliques and groups") is also used in the fifth chapter of Lu Chia's Hsin-yü (see fragment 209, note 53).

109. This alludes to Tao te ching 36.

110. "To lighten the ranks" is the meaning of ch'ing-ch'üeh 輕爵 according to Li chi 30 (Legge, II, pp.

356-57). We should also take note of a very similar sentence in Hsün-tzu (8:12, p. 159), which reads kuei-ch'ueh ch'ung-shang 貴爵重賞 ("to raise honor and increase rewards").

111. In my article, "Once More the Dates of Huan T'an" (pp. 654-55), I have demonstrated that this council was held in 28 A.D. at the Cloud-Terrace (Yün-t'ai) and that the main subject of discussion was the recognition of the Tso chuan and Fei Chih's Book of Changes. The imprecise information given by this Hou Han shu text has caused much misunderstanding among later scholars, as shown in my article, "The Dates of Huan T'an."

112. The chiao-pu commentary (p. 1035) notes that the Fu-chien edition, as well as several other texts, adds the character i 以: wu yü i ch'an chüeh chih 吾欲以識決之, an addition which has no significant effect on the meaning of the line.

113. For the term ch'an 識 I have adopted the translation "prognostication," suggested by D. Bodde in his translation of Fung Yu-lan, A History, II, p. 89ff.

114. Tung-kuan Han chi (16, p. 69b) puts more emphasis on Huan T'an's refusal: "Never in my life have I studied prognostications." Of course, Huan T'an's answer was only a polite refusal to give his opinion. Certainly he was familiar with prognostications, as was everyone of that time. Moreover, we have evidence of his knowledge from the Hsin-lun and other sources (see for example, note 93 above). Huan T'an's reply to Kuang-wu became a symbol of heroism and has been frequently quoted as such. For instance, the well-known T'ang writer, Han Yü, mentions it in his Lien-chü, Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi 104a. Han Yü also had a good opinion of Wang Ch'ung whom he ranked, together with Wang Fu and Chung-ch'ang T'ung, as one of the three worthy men of the Latter Han. See Hou Han san-hsien tsan san-shou, in his Han Ch'ang-li wen-chi (chia-chu), 1. p. 33; ed. Chung-kuo hsüeh-shu ming-chu, Wen-hsüeh ming-chu 3, 1, Taipei, 1960. Chang Ping-lin and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao even considered Huan T'an's Hou Han shu biography important enough to include in their collection of important literary texts, Chung-kuo hsüeh-shu lun-chu chi-yao (1930), pp. 137-40. See also note 95 above.

115. The word "once more" probably refers to Huan T'an's third and last memorial.

116. At this point Wang Hsien-ch'ien adds his own opinion: "The prognostications did in fact contradict the classical books. But Kuang-wu had gained the throne by means of prognostications, as everyone in the Empire knew. Even if this [argument by Huan T'an] could not compare with the other affair [i.e., Kuang-wu's gaining the throne], it would, nevertheless, have been advisable to conceal [his opinion] somewhat." Kuang-wu became furious because he regarded Huan T'an's opposition to the prognostications as tantamount to disloyalty to his restored dynasty.

117. The Emperor is not referring to the "law" in a judicial sense but to the "law" ruling the upper strata of Han society. Hui Tung quotes a similar passage from Hsiao ching XI: "...when the authority of the Sage is disallowed, that is the disowning of (all) law." (Legge, The Hsiao King, p. 481). Of course, the concepts of law and morality were closely related, as may be seen from the term for one of the most heinous crimes, pu-tao 不道 ("impious"). Later, the term fei-sheng wu-fa 非聖無法 ("to oppose the teachings of the sages and disown the law") became very common; see, for example, J. R. Levenson, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China (1959), p. 37, note 7.

118. Tung-kuan Han chi (p. 69b) says, "Because of this, Huan T'an lost the Emperor's confidence. He was never called back and never restored [to his previous place]."

119. Liu-an is now in west Anhwei province. On the changes in the administrative status of Liu-an, see Pokora, "The Dates of Huan T'an," pp. 672-74, as well as the articles by Chiang Liang-fu, pp. 47-49, and Moriya Mitsuo, pp. 677-83, quoted, respectively, in Ar. Or., No. 33 (1965), p. 79, and No. 34 (1966), p. 494. See also the bibliography below (II:12:13). The post of Assistant Administrator was not a low position, although it was a serious demotion.

120. The term hu-hu 怛怛 (here translated as "full of sorrow") has many meanings. For example, B. Watson, in his translation of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's letter to Jen An (Han shu 62, p. 4271), translates it literally as "be-fuddled" (Ssu-ma Ch'ien, p. 66).

121. A. Forke (Geschichte der mittelälterlichen chinesischen Philosophie, p. 102) says that Huan T'an died at the age of 69. Apparently, Forke overlooked the term yü 餘 ("more") and subtracted one year from the seventy, according to the Chinese system of calculating age. Hsieh Ch'eng, Hou Han shu 4a (Yao Chih-yin, ed., Hou Han shu pu-i) and Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao 102.3b give Huan T'an's age as seventy years.

122. The last two paragraphs are also found in the Tung-kuan Han chi 16, p. 69b, in a shorter form, but, with the exception of the first sentence, in essentially the same wording.

123. A letter sent by Yang Hsiung to Huan T'an is quoted in note 12 to fragment 80C. The commentary to Wen hsüan 46.35b quotes another fragment from this or another letter: "Looking towards the wind (i.e., the virtuous influence of the king or sage), the shadows (of the people) follow, and instruction is accomplished of itself (i.e., without the king or sage uttering instructions)."

124. Tao 道 ("a way" or "the Way").

125. Instead of the chu 筋 ("chopsticks") of the text I read chin 筋 ("sinews").

126. I could find no source for this fragment. TPYL 828.1a-3a quotes many texts on slaughtering, but none of them casts any light on the present text.

ADDENDA

- p. 33, to the note 1: It is probable that Huan T'an followed Chia I who in his memorial Ch'en cheng shih ("Statement on Government Affairs") used this term; cf. Han shu 48, p. 3716.
- p. 38, commentary to fragment 45: Sung Chung-weng is evidently identical with Sung Hung (died ca. 35 A.D.) whose courtesy name was Chung-tzu, "the second son;" Chung-weng, "the second venerable old man" might have been a polite form used by Huan T'an. (For Wang Weng = Wang Mang see fragment 11, note 7).
- p. 70, add to the note 16: Both instruments are mentioned in the chapter on music in the Li chi XVII, 14 as exhortating to practice the virtue. Cf. also Hsün-tzu 14, 20, 11, p. 255 (Köster, p. 267) and Tjan Tjoe Som, Po Hu T'ung, p. 405, note 122 (different character for the instruments).
- p. 102, add to the note 38: The term "wonderful treatises" (ch'i-lun 奇論) may also be found in the Lun-heng 11, 56, p. 811; it is translated by A. Forke (I, p. 477) as "modern writings."
- p. 212, Commentary to fragment 189: Previous superficial translation by Yang Hsien-i and Gladys Yang in Lu Hsün, A Brief History of Chinese Fiction, Peking, 1959, p. 1.
- p. 360, add before the item Kung-sun Lung: Kung-sun Fu-jao or Kung-sun Pu-niu 公山弗擾, 弗扭, politician (6th-5th cent. B.C.), 216 (comm.).

Bibliographies

I. Editions of Hsin-lun

There are only two complete, published reconstructions of the Hsin-lun. A third reconstruction has been compiled but has never been published.

The earliest editor was Sun P'ing-i (Sun Feng-i?), whose style name was either Feng-pu 鳳埔 (according to Ssu-pu pei-yao shu-mu ts'ung-shu, tzu-pu 子部 33b and DKJ 6987.428) or Feng-ch'ing 鳳卿 (according to Huang I-chou 6a and Takeuchi, p. 371; cf. below IIA 3 and 4). We have no information on the dates of his life other than the fact that he edited the large collection, Wen-ching-t'ang ts'ung-shu, which was published between 1797 and 1802 A.D. (Hummel, ECCP II, p. 737). In the colophon to his Huan-tzu Hsin-lun (see I 1 below), Sun says he is from Shen-yang 瀋陽. The SPPY shu-mu ts'ung-shu, instead gives Ch'eng-te 承德, while Hsiao I-shan (Ch'ing tai t'ung-shih, Vol. 5, p. 503) places him in Cho-chou in Chihli province. All of these places are in Northern China (or Manchuria). Sun compiled twenty texts in his Wen-ching t'ang ts'ung-shu, including the Huan-tzu Hsin-lun and Ming-t'ang k'ao.

The most well-known compiler of the Hsin-lun is Yen K'o-chün (1762-1843 A.D.), to whom Tu Lien-che devoted (in Hummel, ECCP II, pp. 910-12) three large pages. Frustrated by being refused admission to the staffs of the official compilation projects, Yen compiled one large work including quotations from 3,495 authors. This undertaking took twenty-seven years (1808-1836 A.D.). According to Tu Lien-che, the first part of this collection, which is called Ch'üan shang-ku San-tai Ch'in Han San-kuo Liu-ch'ao wen, contained prosaic texts from Han through Sui and was to be printed in 1815. Unfortunately, the project did not materialize (see, however, the information below I 2) and it was only during 1887-93 that Yen's work was finally printed. This does not, of course, mean that the unpublished collection was unknown before this time.

Huang I-chou 黃以周 (1828-1899 A.D.), a less well-known scholar, also took an interest in Huan T'an. We know from his own account (see below IIA 3) that at first he only had access to the edition by Sun P'ing-i.

Only later did he gain access to Yen K'o-chün's edition, although he was acquainted with the short description of the reconstructed Hsin-lun found in Yen's T'ien-ch'iao man-kao (see below IIA 2). Huang I-chou relied on Sun's edition, adding new fragments from Ch'ün-shu chih-yao and re-ordering it according to the substantive relationships between fragments. Sun P'ing-i had merely reproduced the fragments as found in different books. Consequently, different versions of the same fragment are given in several places of his reconstruction without any cross-reference. Unlike Sun, both Huang and Yen tried to reconstruct the lost original system of the Hsin-lun. Huang's reconstruction was not published during his lifetime, nor was it later published by Hsü Tseng 許增 (1842-1903 A.D.) to whom Huang had bequeathed his manuscript. It first appeared in 1912 in the published edition by Takeuchi (see below IIA 4).

Other editions include:

1. Sun P'ing-i 孫馮翼, Huan-tzu Hsin-lun 桓子新論. In the collection Wen-ching-t'ang ts'ung-shu 問經堂叢書, Chia-ch'ing 7 (1802 A.D.). Peking National Library No. 635 324 13. Reprinted in the Ssu-pu pei-yao collection. The University Library in Cambridge, No. FB 55.16.2, has a slightly different edition with a preface by Chang Chiung 張炯, published in Chin-ling (Nanking), Chia-ch'ing 6 (1801 A.D.). The collection Lung-hsi ching-she ts'ung-shu 龍谿精舍, published by a Mr. Cheng 鄭氏 from Ch'ao-yang 潮陽, includes Huan-tzu Hsin-lun. Peking University Library 9100. 0298 65-70; University Library in Cambridge FB 59. 48. 11.
For Sun P'ing-i, see also IIA 1.
2. Yen K'o-chün 嚴可均, Huan-tzu Hsin-lun. In Ch'üan Hou Han wen, Chapter 12.7a-10a and Chapters 13-15 of the collection Ch'üan shang-ku San-tai ch'in Han San-kuo Liu-ch'ao wen 全上古三代秦

漢三國六朝文, published in Chia-ch'ing 25 (1815 A.D.). The entire collection has been republished many times. Yen's reconstruction is much larger than Sun's because it includes the important fragment 84A from Hung-ming chi (see also I 6 and IIA 8 and 10 below) and fifteen fragments from Wei Cheng's Ch'ün-shu chih-yao (see below IIIA 11), which were rediscovered in Japan; detailed information is given in P. Pelliot, "Notes de Bibliographie Chinoise I., Le Kou Yi Ts'ong Chou," BEFEO, No. 2 (1902), pp. 315-40. For Yen K'o-ch'ün, see also IIA 2.

The collection Chih-hai 指海, published in 1843 by Ch'ien Hsi-tso (ca. 1801-1844 A.D.), the famous owner of the Shou-shan ko library, also includes in part 13, Huan-tzu Hsin-lun. It includes quotations from the Ch'ün-shu chih-yao, but it is difficult to say what its relation to the edition by Yen K'o-ch'ün was. In any case, the edition in Chih-hai is better than Sun's but inferior to Yen's. University Library in Cambridge FB 55. 88. 13.

Other, less complete editions:

3. Ching-shan tzu 荆山子, Ch'in feng 琴韻, Hsin-lun, in the collection Chu-tzu hui-han 諸子彙函 21.1a-2b. Includes only fragment 171A; title refers to remonstrance by means of the zither. The commentary explains that Huan T'an was called "Ching-shan-tzu" because he stood aloof from the people and frequently hid under Ching Mountain.

4. The Ming print of the Shuo-fu 說郛, chapter 59 entitled "Tan" 芻, 1a-3b, includes twelve quotations from Hsin-lun; another edition, Ch'ung-chiao Shuo fu 重校, includes ten other quotations. A recent reprint (Taipei, 1963) excludes the chapter containing these quotations. All the fragments quoted in Shuo-fu, with the exception of fragment 202, may be found in other editions. See the commentary to fragment 202; see also fragment 188, for another, suspect fragment from the Shuo-fu.
5. The collection Ku-chin shuo-pu ts'ung-shu 古今說部叢書 I:5:1a-b, published in 1910 A.D. by Wang Wen-ju 王文濡, includes the same twelve fragments as the Ming edition of Shuo-fu referred to above. See also fragment 202.
6. Hsin-lun, Hsing-shen 新論, 形神. Reprint of fragment 84A from Hung ming chi (see IIIA 21) 5.4b-5b (pp. 208-210), with annotation (pp. 210-11) and translation into modern Chinese (pp. 211-14), in Chung-kuo che-hsüeh-shih tzu-liao hsüan-chi: Liang-Han chih pu 中國哲學史資料選輯兩漢之部 (Peking, 1960).
7. Huan T'an, selection of fragments with commentary in Chung-kuo che-hsüeh-shih chiao-hsüeh tzu-liao hui-pien; Liang-Han pu-fen 中國哲學史教學資料彙編兩漢部份, Vol. 2 (Peking, 1964) (third edition), pp. 339-54. In the translation Liang-Han pu-fen.

II. Studies on Huan T'an and the Hsin-lun.

A. In Chinese and Japanese, chronologically:

1. Sun P'ing-i, Huan-tzu Hsin-lun hsü 序 , K'ao-cheng 考證 , p.1a-3a and 3a-b in the Ssu-pu pei-yao edition of his Huan-tzu Hsin-lun. See I 1.
2. Yen K'o-chün, Huan-tzu Hsin-lun hsü 敘 in T'ieh-ch'iao man kao 鐵橋漫稿 , 5.24a-25a. Reprint (Taipei, 1964), in the collection Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh ming-chu ti-liu-chi 中國文學名著第六集 . See I 2.
3. Huang I-chou, Huan-tzu Hsin-lun hsü 敘 in Ching-chi Tsa-chu 徹季襟著之四, 4, Tzu hsü 子序 5b-6a. See introduction to I above.
4. Takeuchi Yoshio 武內義雄 , "Kantan Shinron ni tsuite" 桓譚新論二就行 , Shinagaku 支那學 , No. 2 (4) (1921), pp. 244-58. Translation into Chinese by Chiang Hsia-an 江俠蒼 , "Huan T'an Hsin-lun k'ao" 考 , Appendix (Fu-lu 附錄) to Hsien Ch'in ching-chi k'ao 先秦經籍考 , Vol. 2 (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1933), pp. 365-76.
5. Jung Chao-tsu 容肇祖 , "Huan T'an ti ssu-hsiang" 桓譚的思想 , in "Tung Han chi-ke cheng-chih-chia ti ssu-hsiang" 東漢幾個政治家的思想 (The Thought of Some Politicians of Eastern Han), Kuo-li ti-i Chung-shan ta-hsüeh yü-yen li-shih-hsüeh yen-chiu-so chou-k'an 國立中山大學語言歷史學研究所周刊, No. 2 (January 8, 1927), pp. 33-41.
6. Narita Hirao 成田衛夫 , "Kantan no tetsugaku"

- 桓譚の哲學, Kangakkai zasshi 漢學會雜誌, No. 5 (3) (1937), pp. 1-12.
7. Hsiao Kung-ch'üan 蕭公權, "Huan T'an chih Chung-ch'ang T'ung" 桓譚至仲長統, in Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-hsiang 中國政治思想, Part 2 (Taipei, 1961), (original edition, Shanghai, 1947), pp. 308-09.
8. Kuan Feng 关鋒, "Hsin-lun Hsing-shen tso-che ts'un-i: Fu-chi" 新論形神作者存疑, in Wang Ch'ung che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang yen-chiu 王充哲學思想研究 (Shanghai, 1957), pp. 139-42, 142-44. See I 6 and IIA 10.
9. Hou Wai-lu 侯外廬, Chao Chi-pin 趙紀彬, Tu Kuo-hsiang 杜國庠, and Ch'iu Han-sheng 邱漢生, "Wang Ch'ung ti shih-tai i-chi 'cheng-tsung' yü 'i-tuan,' wei-hsin-chu-i yü wei-wu-chu-i tou-cheng ti yen-chin" 王充的時代以及"正宗"與"異端"唯心主義與唯物主義鬥爭的演進 in Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang t'ung-shih 中國思想通史, Vol. 2 (Peking, 1957), pp. 257-61.
10. Chung Chao-p'eng 鍾肇鵬, "Hsin-lun Hsing-shen ti tso-che ying tuan-kuei Huan T'an" 新論形神的作者應斷歸桓譚, Renwen Zazhi (Jen-wen tsa-chih) 人文雜誌, No. 2 (1959), pp. 34-36. See RBS 5, No. 746.
11. _____, "Huan T'an ho Wang Ch'ung" 桓譚和王充, Chiang-hai hsüeh-k'an 江海學刊, No. 5 (1963), pp. 40-43.
12. Feng Yu-lan 馮有瀾, "Huan T'an tui hsing, shen kuan-hsi ti wei-wu-chu-i-ti chien-chieh chich'i fan tui shen-mi-chu-i-ti tou-cheng" 桓譚對形神關係的唯物主義的見解及其反對神祕主義的鬥爭 in Chung-kuo che-hsüeh-shih hsün-pien

中國哲學史新編 , Vol. 2 (Peking, 1964),
pp. 242-44.

13. Chiang Liang-fu 姜亮夫 and T'ao Ch'iu-ying 陶秋英, "Huan T'an i-nien ti t'ao-lun" 桓譚疑年的討論, Hangchow ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao 杭州大學學報, No. 1 (1963), pp. 45-56. Partial translation of and reply to 3 below; for rejoinder, see 5 below.
14. Moriya Mitsuo 守屋美都雄, "Kantan no sei sotsu nendai" 桓譚の生卒年代, Suzuki Shun kyōju kan-reki kinen Tōyōshi ronsō 鈴木俊教授還歷記念東洋史論叢 (Tokyo, 1964), pp. 669-84. Reprinted in the posthumous edition of a partial edition of Moriya's studies: Chūgoku kodai no kazoku to kokka 中國古代の家族と國家, Tōyōshi kenkyū sōkan 東洋史研究叢刊, No. 19 (Kyoto, 1966), pp. 585-99. Reply to 3 below and 13 above; for rejoinder, see 6 below.
15. _____, "Ri Kai no Hō-kei ni kansuru ichi mondai" 李悝の法經の關切一問題, Chūgoku kodai-shi kenkyū 中國古代史研究, Vol. 2 (1965), pp. 311-50. Reprinted in Chūgoku kodai no kazoku to kokka (see 14 above), pp. 548-84. Reply to 7 below; for rejoinder, see 6 below.
- 15a. Kanō Naoki 狩野直善, Kan Tan no Shinron 桓譚の新論, Ryo-Kan gaku-jutsu kō 兩漢學術考 (Tokyo, 1954), pp. 171-7. Originally lectures held in 1924-1925.

B. In Western Languages:

1. Alfred Forke, "Huan T'an," in Geschichte der mittel-älterlichen chinesischen Philosophie (Hamburg, 1934), pp. 100-10.

2. Timoteus Pokora, "La vie du philosophe matérialiste Houan T'an," Mélanges de sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Démieville I, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Vol. XX (Paris, 1966), pp. 191-208.
3. _____, "The Dates of Huan T'an," Archiv Orientalni, No. 27 (1959), pp. 670-77. See 13 and 14 above.
4. _____, "Once more the Dates of Huan T'an," ArOr, No. 29 (1961), pp. 652-57.
5. _____, "Last Note on the Dates of Huan T'an: Answer to Professor Chiang Liang-fu and T'ao Ch'iu-ying," ArOr, No. 33 (1965), pp. 79-82. See 13 above.
6. _____, "Two Answers to Professor Moriya Mitsuo," ArOr, No. 34 (1966), pp. 494-504. See 14 and 15 above, 7 below.
7. _____, "The Canon of Laws by Li K'uei: A Double Falsification?" ArOr, No. 27 (1959), pp. 96-121. See 15 above.
8. _____, "Huan T'an's 'Fu on Looking for the Immortals' (Wang-hsien fu)," ArOr, No. 28 (1960), pp. 353-67. See fragment 205.
9. _____, "The Necessity of a More Thorough Study of Philosopher Wang Ch'ung and of His Predecessors," ArOr, No. 30 (1962), pp. 231-57.
10. _____, "The Life of Huan T'an," ArOr, No. 31 (1963), pp. 1-79, 521-76. Includes (pp. 16-38) a full translation of Huan T'an's biography from Hou Han shu 28A and from Yüan Hung's Hou Han chi.

III. Sources

A. Sources of the Fragments

1. Ch'ang-tuan ching 長短經 . By Chao Jui 趙蕤 (8th cent. A.D.). Tu-hua-chai ts'ung-shu 讀畫齋叢書 . 21.

2. Cheng-i commentary, see Shih-chi.
3. Chi-chieh commentary, see Shih-chi.
4. Ch'i-kuo k'ao 七國考 . By Tung Yüeh 董說 (1620-1686 A.D.). (Peking, 1956). 40, 176-87.
5. Chin-shu 晉書 . Po-na. 115A.
6. Ching-tien shih-wen 經典釋文 . By Lu Te-ming 陸德明 (556-627 A.D.). In Pao-ching-t'ang ts'ung-shu 拘經堂叢書 . 90E, 94B.
7. Ch'u-hsüeh chi 初學記 . By Hsü Chien 徐堅 (659-729 A.D.). In Chiou-chou shu-wu 九州書屋 (reprint: Peking, 1962). 5, 36, 75, 79C, 83B, 93A, 112A-B, 113A, 117, 151B, 159A2, 169C, 169D1.
8. Ch'un-ch'iu 春秋 . Translation: J. Legge, "The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen," The Chinese Classics, Vol. V, Hong Kong, 1872.
9. _____. Commentary by K'ung Ying-ta 孔穎達 (574-648 A.D.). See 203.
10. _____. Commentary by Tu Yü 杜預 (222-284 A.D.). See 204.
11. Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 羣書治要 . By Wei Cheng 魏徵 (581-643 A.D.). In SPTK. 11A, 13, 28, 32, 37, 38A, 39, 41, 48A, 52, 53, 58, 65.
12. Fa yen 法言 . By Yang Hsiung 揚雄 . In Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng.
13. Fa-yüan chu-lin 法苑珠林 . By Tao-shih 道士 (fl. 650-664 A.D.), In SPTK. 134A, 152D.
14. Han shu 漢書 . By Pan Ku 班固 (32-92 A.D.). In Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙, Han shu pu-chu 漢書補注, WYWK. For translation, see HFHD. 164A, 208.
15. _____. Commentary by Li Ch'i 李奇 (fl. 200 A.D.). 12.
16. _____. Commentary by Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 (579-645 A.D.). 82D, 88, 90B, 103, 107, 108B, 109.

17. Heng-huang Hsin-lun 珣璜新論 . By K'ung P'ing-chung 孔平仲 (ca. 1040-1105 A.D.). In SPTK. 198.
18. Hou Han shu 後漢書 . By Fan Yeh 范曄 (398-446 A.D.). In Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙, Hou Han shu chi-chieh 後漢書集解, WYWK, 206, 207, 209, 210.
19. _____. Commentary by Liu Chao 劉昭 (fl. 502-519 A.D.). 15, 54, 93D, 126A, 131A.
20. _____. Commentary by Li Hsien 李賢 (651-684 A.D.). 62, 126B, 161, 163A, 170.
21. Hung-ming chi 弘明集 . By Seng-yu 僧祐 (445-518 A.D.). In SPTK. 84A.
22. I lin 意林 . By Ma Tsung 馬總 (8th-9th cent. A.D.). In SPPY. 3B, 6B, 7, 9 (Jen-tzu), 12, 20, 26, 29, 30, 35B, 38B, 42A, 45, 60A, 67, 68, 70, 71, 79A, 80A, 81, 89, 94C, 97, 98A, 105, 106B, 110, 136A, 140A, 143, 144, 146A, 147, 169A1.
23. I-wen lei-chü 藝文類書 . By Ou-yang Hsün 歐陽詢 (557-641 A.D.). Ed. 1879 (reprint: Peking, 1959). 24A, 25A, 42B, 44, 48B, 79C, 80C, 93C, 102, 111B, 132, 140B, 151A, 159D, 205.
24. Ku-chin shuo-pu ts'ung-shu 古今說部叢書 . See Bibliography I 5. 202.
25. Ku-wen yüan 古文苑 (T'ang). Commentary by Chang Ch'iao 章樵. (fl. 1228-1233 A.D.). In SPTK. 96.
26. K'un-hsüeh chi-wen 困學紀聞 . By Wang Ying-lin 王應麟 (1223-1296 A.D.). In SPTK. 55, 90D, 163B, 167B.
27. K'ung Ying-ta, see Ch'un-ch'iu.

28. Li chi 禮記 . Translation: J. Legge, The Li Ki: The Sacred Books of China XXVII-XXVIII; The Texts of Confucianism I-II, Oxford, 1885. See also IIIB 21.
29. _____. Subcommentary, see 25B.
Li Hsien, see Hou Han Shu.
30. Liang-shu 梁書 . Po-na. 118.
31. Liu Chao, see Hou Han shu.
32. Liu Chiün 劉峻 (462-521 A.D.), see 190.
33. Lun-heng 論衡 . By Wang Ch'ung 王充 (27-ca. 97 A.D.). In Huang Hui 黃暉, Lun-heng chiao-shih 論衡校釋 (reprint: Taipei, 1964). Translation: A. Forke, Lun-heng I-II, Leipzig, 1907, 1911 (reprint: New York, 1962). 31, 79C, 130, 154D.
34. Ming-t'ang-k'ao 明堂考 . Probably by Sun P'ing-i 孫馮翼 (18th-19th cent. A.D.). In SPTK. 175B and E.
35. Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu 明堂大道錄 . By Hui Tung 惠棟 (1697-1758 A.D.). In TSCC. 175A, C and D.
36. Pao-p'u tzu 抱朴子 . By Ko Hung 葛洪 (284-363 A.D.). In Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng. Translation: J. R. Ware, Alchemy, Medicine, and Religion in the China of A.D. 320, Cambridge, Mass., 1966. 151C, 154, 157A.
37. Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao 北堂書鈔 . By Yü Shih-nan 虞世南 (558-638 A.D.). Edition by K'ung Kuang-t'ao 孔廣陶, 1888 (reprint: Taipei, 1962). 14, 17, 22, 33, 34, 44, 63, 79C, 80B and E, 90, 95, 98B, 101, 114B, 120, 126B, 127, 132, 136B, 139, 142, 150B, 151A, 162, 168, 169G1, 169I2, 172B, 205.

38. P'ei-wen yün-fu 佩文韻府 . Compiled in 1711. In WYWK. 52, 199.
39. Po K'ung liu-t'ieh 白孔六帖 . By Po Chü-i 白居易 (772-846 A.D.) and K'ung Chuan 孔傳 (Sung). Undated edition in the Library of Peking University. 79C, 80E, 135B, 159C.
40. Po-wu chih 博物志 . By Chang Hua 張華 (232-300 A.D.). In Han Wei ts'ung-shu 漢魏叢書. 145, 151C, 152E.
41. San-fu huang-t'u 三輔黃圖 , 6th century. In SPPY. 151A.
42. San-kuo chih 三國志 . Commentary by P'ei Sung-chih 裴松之 (372-451 A.D.). In SPPY. 171A.
43. Shen-hsien chuan 神仙傳 . By Ko Hung 葛洪. In Han Wei ts'ung-shu. 151C.
44. Shih-chi 史記 . By Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 . In Takigawa Kametaro 瀧川龜太郎, Shiki kaichū kōshō 史記會注考證 (Peking, 1954). For translation, see MH.
45. _____. Cheng-i commentary 正義 . By Chang Shou-chieh 張守節 (8th cent. A.D.). 3A, 192.
46. _____. Chi-chieh commentary 集解 . By P'ei Yin 裴駙 (fl. 465-472 A.D.). 35A, 150D, 159A, 160.
47. _____. So-yin commentary 索隱 . By Ssu-ma Chen 司馬貞 (fl. 713-742 A.D.). 59, 137A-B.
48. Shih-chieh chi 世界記 . By Seng-yu 僧祐 (455-518 A.D.). See 116.
49. Shih-lei fu 事類賦 . By Wu Shu 吳淑 (947-1002 A.D.). (Chien-kuang-ko ts'ang pan 劍光閣藏板, 1865). 108A, 115.

50. Shih-t'ung 史通 . By Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾 (661-721 A.D.). In WYWK. 94C, 118, 164E.
51. Shu-i chi 述異記 . By Jen Fang 任昉 (460-508 A.D.) or Tsu Ch'ung-chih 祖沖之 (429-500 A.D.). Probably compiled after mid-T'ang. Undated edition in the Peking University Library. 61.
52. Shui-ching chu 水經注 . By Li Tao-yüan 酈道元 (467-527 A.D.). Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu chien-pien (Shanghai, 1936). 111A, 151A.
53. Shuo fu, T'ao Tsung-i (ca. 1320-1368 A.D.), see Bibliography I 4. 43, 44, 63, 80E, 90B, 188, 202.
54. So-yin commentary. See Shih chi.
55. Sui-hua chi-li 歲華紀麗 . By Han Ao 韓鄂. (T'ang). In TSCC. 112A, 151C.
56. Sui-shu 隋書 . Po-na. 134B.
57. T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi 太平寰宇記 . By Yüeh Shih 樂史 (930-1007 A.D.). (Nanking, 1882). 83A.
58. T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 太平御覽 . By Li Fang 李昉 (925-996 A.D.), compiled in 982. In SPTK. 2A-B, 3A, 6A, 8, 10, 11B, 22, 24A, 40, 43, 44, 47, 49-51, 55-57, 60B, 63, 66, 70, 76-78, 79B-C, 80C and E, 82A-B, 84B, 85, 86A, 90A, 91, 93A-B, 94A, 98B, 100, 102, 104, 106A, 132-133, 135A, 136A and C, 138, 141, 146B, 149, 150C, 151A, 152A-C, 153, 155, 156A, 157B, 158A-B, 159B, 162, 164B-C, 167A, 169A2, 169C, 169D1, 169H1-2, 169I1, 172A, 174, 193.
59. "Pien tao lun" 辨道論 . By Ts'ao Chih 曹植 (192-232 A.D.). In Kuang-Hung-ming chi 廣弘明集 , compiled in 664. In SPPY. 82C, 152F, 156B.

60. Tu Yü, see Ch'un ch'iu.
61. T'ung-tien 通典. By Tu Yu 杜佑 (735-812 A.D.). Commentary. Shanghai, 1902, 169K.
62. Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 資治通鑑. By Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光. Peking, 1956.
63. _____. Commentary by Hu San-hsing 胡三省 (1230-1302 A.D.). 163A.
64. Wang Pao 王褒, see 201.
65. Wen-hsin tiao-lung 文心雕龍. By Liu Hsieh 劉勰 (ca. 465-522 A.D.). In SPPY. Translation: V. Y. C. Shih, New York, 1959. 194-97.
66. Wen hsüan 文選. By Hsiao T'ung 蕭統 (501-531 A.D.). Ed. Liu-ch'en chu, SPTK. Translation: E. von Zach, Die Chinesische Anthologie: Übersetzungen aus dem Wen Hsüan, Cambridge, 1958. 189-91.
67. _____. Commentary. 1, 4, 16, 18-19, 23, 24B, 27, 46, 55, 62, 64, 72-74, 79C, 80D-E, 87, 99, 119, 121, 123, 126B, 147, 148A-B, 150A, 164F-G, 169B, 169D2, 169F, 169G2, 169H1, 169J1-3, 169L-M, 171B, 173, 189, 193, 211, 212, 214.
68. Wu-hsing ta-i 五行大義. By Hsiao Chi 蕭吉 (fl. 605 A.D.). Shanghai, 1926. 92.
69. Wu-li hsiao-chih 物理小識. By Fang I-chih 方以智 (1611-1671 A.D.). In WYWK. 86B.
70. Wu Yün 吳筠, see 200.
71. Yü Hsin 庾信, see 204.
72. Yü-p'ien 玉篇. By Ku Yeh-wang 顧野王 (519-581 A.D.). In Ta kuang-i Yü-p'ien 大廣益, SPTK. 169E.
73. Yüan-ho hsing tsuan 元和姓纂. By Lin Pao 林寶 (fl. 812 A.D.), Shanghai, 1968. 165, 166.

B. Other Sources

1. Analects. Legge, J., Confucian Analects in The Chinese Classics, Vol. I (reprint: Hong Kong, 1960).
2. Book of Changes. Legge, J., I Ching: Book of Changes in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XVI, Texts of Confucianism, Part II. Oxford, 1882 (re-edition: New York, 1964).
3. Book of Documents, see Shu-ching.
4. Chan-kuo ts'e 戰國策. Shanghai, 1926. Translation: Crump, J. I., Jr., Chan-Kuo Ts'e, Oxford, 1970; Crump, J. I., Jr., Intrigues: Studies of the Chan-kuo ts'e, Ann Arbor, 1964.
5. Chiang-yün-lou shu-mu 絳雲樓書目. In TSCC. See Wang Chung-min below V 77.
6. Chin-lou-tzu 金樓子. By Emperor Yüan of Liang 梁元帝. In Chih-pu-tsou-chai ts'ung-shu 知不足齋叢書.
7. Ch'in ts'ao 琴操. Attributed to Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 or to K'ung Yen 孔衍. In TSCC.
8. Chuang-tzu 莊子. In Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙. Chuang-tzu chi-chieh 莊子集解, Shanghai, 1956. Translation: Legge, J., The Writings of Kwang-zze in The Sacred Books of China, Vol. XXIX-XXX; The Texts of Taoism, Vol. I-II, Oxford, 1891. See also Pozdneeva, L. D., Ateisty, materialisty, dialektiki drevnego Kitaja: Jan Cžu, Leczy, Cžuančy (Atheists, Materialists, and Dialecticians of Ancient China: Yang Chu, Lieh Tzu, Chuang Tzu), Moscow, 1967.
9. Han Yü 韓愈, "T'ung-su lien-chü" 同宿聯句, in Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi 韓昌黎全集. In SPPY.

10. _____, "Hou Han san hsien tsan [san shou]" 後漢三賢贊三首, in Han Ch'ang-li wen-chi chiao-chu 韓昌黎文集校注. Chung-kuo hsüeh-shu ming-chu 中國學術名著, Wen-hsüeh ming chu 文學名著. 3:1. Taipei, 1960.
11. Hsi-ching tsa-chi 西京雜記. Author unknown. In SPTK.
12. Hsi K'ang chi 嵇康集. By Hsi K'ang (223-262 A.D.). Reprinted in Holzman, D., La vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang, Leiden, 1957.
13. Hsiao-ching 孝經. Translation: Legge, J., The Shu King, The Religious Portions of the Shih King, The Hsiao King in The Sacred Books of the East, Vol. III, Part I, Oxford, 1889.
14. Hsin-hsü 新序. Attributed to Liu Hsiang. In Han-Wei ts'ung-shu. See also IV 5 below.
15. Hsün-tzu 荀子. In Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng. Translation: Dubs, H. H., The Works of Hsüntze, London, 1928; Köster, H., Hsün-tzu: Die Schriften des Philosophen Hsün, Kaldenkirchen, 1967.
16. Huai-nan-tzu 淮南子. In Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng.
17. I-ching 易經, see Book of Changes.
18. Koryō-sa 高麗史. By Ch'ong In-ji 鄭麟趾. P'yongyang, 1957.
19. K'ung-ts'ung-tzu 孔叢子. In SPTK.
20. Lao-tzu 老子. In Chu Ch'ien-chih 朱謙之, Lao-tzu chiao-shih 老子校釋, Shanghai, 1958.
21. Li chi 禮記. Translation: Couvreur, F. S., 'Li Ki,' ou Mémoires sur les Bienséances et les Cérémonies, Vol. I-II, Hokienfou, 1913; Legge, J., The Li Ki in The Sacred Books of China, Vol. XXVII-XXVIII, The Texts of Confucianism, Vol. I-II, Oxford, 1885.

22. Lieh-hsien chuan 列仙傳, see Kaltenmark, M., below V 64.
23. Lieh-tzū 列子. In Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng. Translation: Graham, A. C., The Book of Lieh-tzu: A New Translation, London, 1960.
24. Lun-yü 論語, see Analects, IIB 1 above.
25. Lü-shih ch'un ch'iu 呂氏春秋. In Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng. Translation: Wilhelm, R., Frühling und Herbst des Lü Bu We, Jena, 1928.
26. Ming-shih 明史. Shanghai, 1923.
27. Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku 日本國見書目錄. By Fujiwara no Sukeyo 藤原佐世. In Obase Keikichi 小長谷惠吉, Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku kaisetsukō 日本國見書目錄解説稿. Tokyo, 1956.
28. Ma Kuo-han 馬國翰, Yü-han shan-fang chi i shu 玉函山房輯佚書. 1884.
29. Mencius 孟子. Translation: Legge, J., The Works of Mencius in The Chinese Classics, Vol. II, (reprint: Hong Kong, 1960).
30. Shang-shan-t'ang Sung Yüan pan ching-ch'ao chiu-ch'ao shu-mu 上善堂宋元板精鈔舊鈔書目 [or Shang-shan-t'ang shu-mu]. By Sun Ts'ung-t'ien 孫從添 and Ch'en Chun 陳準. Originally in Ch'iu-liu-chai ts'ung-shu 洵齋叢書 (reprint: Shanghai, 1929).
31. Shen-i ching 神異經. Attributed to Tung-fang Shuo 東方朔. In Han Wei ts'ung-shu. See also V 40 below.
32. Shih-chi 史記. Bibliography IIIA 44. Translations: see MH, Bodde, D., and Watson, B.
33. Shu-ching 書經. Translation: Legge, J., The Shoo King in The Chinese Classics, Vol. III

- (reprint: Hong Kong, 1960).
34. Shuo-yüan 說苑 . Attributed to Liu Hsiang 劉向 . In Han Wei ts'ung-shu.
 35. Sui shu ching-chi chih 隋書經籍志 . Shanghai, 1955.
 36. T'ang shu ching-chi i-wen ho chih 唐書經籍藝文合志 . Shanghai, 1956.
 37. Tso-chuan 左傳 . See Ch'un-ch'iu in Bibliography IIIA 8.
 38. Tung-kuan Han chi 東觀漢記 . By various authors (1st-2nd cent. A.D.). In SPPY.
 39. Wang Shih-chen 王世貞 , [Tseng-chi] Ch'ih tu ch'ing ts'ai 增集尺牘清裁 . 1571.
 40. Wu-li lun 物理論 . By Yang Ch'üan 楊泉 . Reconstruction: Sun Hsin-yen, P'ing-chin-kuan ts'ung-shu 1:3, Peking, 1885.
 41. Yang Shen 楊慎 . Ch'ih-tu ch'ing-ts'ai 赤牘清裁 . See Wang Shih-chen above 39.
 42. Yao Chih-yin 姚之駟 , Hou Han shu pu-i 後漢書補逸 . 1773.
 43. Yen-tzu ch'un-ch'iu 晏子春秋 . Attributed to Yen Ying 晏嬰 or Liu Hsiang 劉向 . In Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng.
 44. Yü-hai 玉海 . By Wang Ying-lin 王應麟 . Taipei, 1964.

IV. Literature in Chinese and Japanese

1. Ch'ang Pi-te 昌彼得 , "Hsi Han ti ma cheng" 西漢的馬政 (The Horse Policy during the Western Han), in Ch'in Han shih chi chung-ku shih ch'ien-ch'i yen-chiu lun-chi: Ta-lu tsa-chih shih-hsüeh

- ts'ung-shu 秦漢史及中古史前期研究論集:大陸雜誌史學叢書 (Collection of Studies on the History of the Ch'in and the Han, and on the Early Medieval History: Collection of History of the Continent Magazine) 1:4. Taipei, 1960. Pp. 58-62.
2. Chang Shun-hui 張舜徽, Chung-kuo li-shih yao-chi chieh-shao 中國歷史要籍介紹 (Introduction to Chinese Historical Writing), Wuhan, 1957.
 3. Chang Tsung-yüan 章宗源, Sui-shu ching-chi chih k'ao cheng 隋書經籍志考證. In Pu-pien, Vol. 4, pp. 4943-5037.
 4. Chang Yen 張巖, "Yen K'o-chün Ch'üan shang-ku San-tai Ch'in Han San-kuo Liu-ch'ao wen pien-tz'u te-shih p'ing-i" 嚴可均「至」古三代秦漢三國六朝文編次得失乎議 (Evaluation of Success and Failure in the Composition of Yen K'o-chün's Ch'üan shang-ku San tai Ch'in Han San kuo Liu ch'ao wen), Ta-lu tsa-chih 大陸雜誌, Vol. 21 (1960), pp. 8-11.
 5. Chao Chung-i 趙仲邑, "Hsin hsü shih lun" 新序試論 [On the Hsin-hsü], Chung-shan ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao 中山大學學報, No. 3 (1957), pp. 170-83.
 6. Chao I 趙翼, "Kuang-wu hsün ch'an shu" 光武信讖書 (Kuang-wu Trusted the Prognostication Texts), in Nien-erh shih cha-chi 廿二史劄記 (Notes on Twenty-two Histories). Peking, 1963.
 7. Ch'en Ching-ho 陳荆和, "Chiao-chih ming-ch'eng k'ao" 交趾名稱考 (On the Nomenclature of "Kiao-tche:" Its Origin and Application), Wen-shih-che hsüeh-pao, Vol. 4 (1952), pp. 79-130.
 8. Ch'en Chung-fan 陳中凡, Han Wei Liu-ch'ao san-wen hsüan 漢魏六朝散文選 (Selection of the Prose of the Han, Wei and Six Dynasties). Shanghai, 1956.

9. Ch'en I-chen 陳以震, "Lun Liu Hsiu" 論劉秀 (On Liu Hsiu), Szechwan ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao, No. 3 (1957), pp. 83-91.
10. Ch'en P'an 陳槃, "Ch'an-wei ming-ming chi ch'i hsiang-kuan chih chu wen-ti" 識諱命名及其相關之諸問題 (On the Nomenclature of Ch'an-Wei and Other Relevant Problems), in Li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an 歷史語言研究所集刊, Vol. 21 (1949), pp. 19-42; and Yu-shih hsüeh-pao 幼獅學報 (The Youth Journal), Vol. 1, No. 1 (1958), pp. 1-35.
11. _____. "'Chin pu-te tz'u ming-hsing ch'u hsi-fang' chih chu wen-t'i" 「禁不得祠明皇出西方」之諸問題 (The Problems of the Phrase "It was Prohibited to Worship the Bright Star which Rose in the West"), Ch'ing chu Chu Chia-hua hsien-sheng ch'i-shih sui lun-wen chi 慶祝朱家華先生七十歲論文集 Ta-lu tsa-chih t'e-k'an 大陸雜誌特刊, Vol. 2. Taipei, 1962, pp. 369-75.
12. Ch'en Te-yün 陳德芸, Ku-chin jen-wu pieh-ming so-yin 古今人物別名索引 (Index of Other Names of Antiquity and Present). Shanghai, 1937 (reprint: 1965).
13. Chiang Shih-jung 江世榮, "Yu kuan Chuang-tzu ti i-hsieh li-shih tzu-liao" 有關莊子的一些歷史資料 (Some Historical Materials on Chuang Tzu), Wen-shih (Literature and History), Vol. 1 (1962), pp. 221-24.
14. Chiang Tsu-i 蔣祖怡, Wang Ch'ung ti wen-hsüeh li-lun 王充的文學理論 (Wang Ch'ung's Literary Theory). Shanghai, 1962.
15. Ch'ien Mu 錢穆, "Liu Hsiang Hsin fu-tzu nien-p'u" 劉向歆父子年譜 (Chronological Biography of Father and Son, Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin), Ku-shih pien 古史辨, Vol. 5 (1935), pp. 101-249.

16. _____, Hsien-Ch'in chu-tzu hsi-nien 先秦諸子繫年 (Chronological Studies of the Pre-Ch'in Philosophers). Shanghai, 1936; second edition: Hong Kong, 1956.
17. _____, Liang-Han ching-hsüeh chin-ku-wen p'ing-i 兩漢經學今古文平議 (On the Schools of New and Ancient Exegesis of the Classics during the Two Han Dynasties), Kowloon, 1958.
18. Ch'ien Pao-ts'ung 錢寶琮, "Kai-t'ien shuo yüan-liu k'ao" 蓋天說源流考 (The Origin of the Kai-t'ien Theory), K'o-hsüeh-shih chi-k'an 科學史季刊 (History of Science Quarterly), No. 1 (1958), pp. 29-46.
19. Chou Shou-ch'ang 周壽昌, Han shu chu chiao-pu 漢書注校補 (Revised Commentary to Han shu). Shanghai, 1937.
20. Chou Yü-t'ung 周予同, Ching chin-ku-wen hsüeh 經今古文學 (Study of the New and Old Schools of Exegesis of the Classics). Peking, 1955.
21. _____ and T'ang Chih-chün 湯志鈞, "Wang Mang kai-chih yü ching-hsüeh-chung ti chin-ku-wen hsüeh wen-t'i" 王莽改制與經學中的今古文學問題 (The Reforms of Wang Mang and the Problem of the Study of the New and Old Schools of Exegesis of the Classics), Kuang-ming jih-pao 光明日報 (May 15, 1961), p. 2.
22. Ch'üan Tsu-wang 全祖國, Chi-ch'i t'ing chi wai-pien 鮚埼亭外編. In SPTK.
23. Chu I-tsun 朱彝尊, Ching i k'ao 經義考. In SPFY.
24. Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien 中文大辭典, Vol. 1-40. Taipei, 1962-68.

25. Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien 二十五史補編 (Addenda to the Twenty-five Histories). Vol. 2-4. Shanghai, 1937 (reprint: Peking, 1956).
26. Fan Wen-lan 范文瀾, Wen-hsin tiao-lung chu 文心雕龍注. Peking, 1959.
27. Feng Yu-lan, see Bibliography II 11.
28. Han Ch'üeh 寒爵, "T'an so-wei 'ku-chi chia' Tung-fang Shuo" 談所謂「滑稽家」東方朔 (On the So-called "Ironical Critic" Tung-fang Shuo), Fan-kung yüeh-k'an 反攻月刊, No. 256 (July 1963), pp. 21-24.
29. Hang Shih-chün 杭世駿, Chu-shih jan-i 諸史然疑. Peking, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Supplement No. 2, 1932.
30. Ho Ch'ang-ch'ün 賀昌羣, Lun Liang-Han t'u-ti chan-yu hsing-t'ai ti fa-chan 論兩漢土地佔有形態的發展 (On the Development of the Forms of Land Possession during the Two Han Dynasties). Peking, 1956.
31. Ho Liang-chün 何良俊, Ssu-yu-chai ts'ung shuo 四有齋叢說. 1567 (republication: Shanghai, 1959).
32. Hou K'ang 侯康, Pu Hou Han shu i-wen chih 補後漢書藝文志. In Pu-pien, Vol. 2, pp. 2105-30.
33. Hou Wai-lu 侯外廬, "Chung-kuo che-hsüeh-shih chung-ti wei-wu-chu-i chuan-t'ung" 中國哲學史中的唯物主義傳統 (The Materialist Tradition in the History of Chinese Philosophy), Hsin chien-she 新建設 No. 4 (1963), pp. 1-11.
34. _____, "Fang I-chih: Chung-kuo ti pai-k'o-ch'üan-shu-p'ai ta che-hsüeh chia" 方以知一中國的百科全書

- 派大哲學家 (Fang I-chih: China's Great Encyclopaedist-Philosopher), Li-shih yen-chiu 歷史研究 (1957), Vol. 6, pp. 1-21, and Vol. 7, pp. 1-25. See also Bibliography II 8.
35. Hsiao I-shan 蕭一山, Ch'ing tai t'ung-shih 清代通史 (General History of the Ch'ing Period). Vol. 1-5. Taipei, 1963.
36. Hsiao Kung-ch'üan, see Bibliography IIA 7.
37. Hsieh Kuo-chen 謝國楨, "Han-tai hua-hsiang k'ao" 漢代畫像考 (Study of Han Period Portraiture), in Chou Shu-t'ao hsien-sheng liu-shih sheng-jih chi-nien lun-wen chi 周叔弢先生六十生日紀念論文集 (Collected Articles on the Occasion of the 60th Birthday of Chou Shu-t'ao). Peking, 1951 (reprint: Hong Kong, 1967), pp. 354-94.
38. Hsü Chen-ngo 徐震堦, Han Wei Liu-ch'ao hsiao-shuo hsüan 漢魏六朝小說選 (Selection of Fiction from the Han, Wei and Six Dynasties Period). Shanghai, 1956.
39. Huang Shih 黃爽, Han-hsüeh-t'ang ts'ung-shu 漢學堂叢書. Preface: 1925.
40. Jan Chao-te 冉昭德, "Kuan-yü Han-tai sheng-ch'an nu-li yü sheng-ch'an-li shui-p'ing wen-t'i" 關於漢代生產奴隸與生產水平問題 (On the Problem of Slaves in Production and the Level of Productive Forces in Han Period), Li-shih yen-chiu, No. 8 (1958), pp. 51-58.
41. _____, "Han-tai ti ta-chia, chung-chia ho hsiao-chia" 漢代的大家, 中家和小家 (The Great, Middle and Small Families of the Han), Kuang-ming jih-pao 光明日報, Supplement Shih-hsüeh 史學 (January 15, 1964).

42. Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, "Hsi Han chieh-i chuan" 西漢節義傳 (Biographies of Chaste and Loyal Men of the Western Han), Hsin Ya hsüeh-pao, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1955), pp. 157-208.
43. _____, "Hsin shu hsü mu" 新書序目 (Introduction and Table of Contents of the Hsin History), Tse-shan pan-yüeh-k'an 責善半月刊, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1940), pp. 48-50.
44. _____, "Lu Chi Wen-fu li-lun yü yin-yüeh chih kuan-hsi" 陸機文賦理論與音樂之關係 (The Theory of Lu Chi's Rhyme-prose on Literature in its Relation with Music), Chūgoku bungaku hō 中國文學報, Vol. 14 (1961), pp. 22-37.
45. Juan Yüan 阮元, Ssu-k'u wei-shou shu-mu t'i-yao 四庫未收書目提要. Shanghai, 1955.
46. Jung Chao-tsu, Wei Chin ti tzu-jang-chu-i 魏晉的自然主義 (Naturalism during the Wei and Chin Dynasties). Shanghai, 1935.
47. K'ang Yu-wei 康有為, Hsin Hsüeh wei ching k'ao 新學偽經考 (Study of the Classics Falsified by the Scholarship of the Hsin Dynasty). Peking, 1931.
48. Kao P'ing-tzu 高平子, Hsüeh li san lun 學曆散論 (Studies on Chinese Calendar Science and Astronomy). Nankang, 1969.
49. _____, "Kuei piao ts'e ching lun" 圭表測景論 (On the Measurement of the Shadow on the Sundial by the Instruments kuei and piao), Ch'ing-chu Chu Chia-hua hsien-sheng ch'ih-shih sui lun-wen chi, Ta-lu tsa-chih t'e-k'an, Vol. 2, Taipei, 1962, pp. 293-306.
50. Kishibe Shigeo 岸邊成雄, "Kugo no engen" 篳篥の淵源 (The Origin of the Chinese Harp), in

- Kōhogaku zasshi 考古學雜誌, Vol. 39, No. 2 (1953), pp. 77-96; and Vol. 39, No. 3-4 (1954), pp. 169-84.
51. Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛, "Chan-kuo Ch'in Han chien jen-ti tsa-wei yü pien-wei" 戰國秦漢間人的造偽與辨偽 (Forgeries and Their Refutation by Chinese Scholars from 403 B.C. to 220 A.D.), Shih-hsüeh nien-pao 史學年報, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1935), pp. 209-48.
52. _____, "Juan Yüan Ming-t'ang-lun" 阮元明堂論 (Juan Yüan's Ming-t'ang-lun), Kuo-li ti-i Chung-shan ta-hsüeh yü-yen li-shih hsüeh yen-chiu-suo chou-k'an, No. 121 (March 5, 1930), pp. 4735-36.
53. _____, Han-tai hsüeh-shu shih-lüeh 漢代學術史略 (Outline History of the Han Period Civilization). Shanghai, 1935, 1948. Reprinted under the title Ch'in Han fang-shih yü ju-sheng 秦漢方士與儒生 (Magicians and Confucian Literati in the Ch'in and Han Periods), Shanghai, 1955.
54. Ku Huai-san 顧懷三, Pu Hou-Han-shu i-wen chih 補後漢書藝文志. In Pu-pien, Vol. 2, pp. 2131-2304.
55. Ku Yen-wu 顧炎武, Jih chih lu [chi shih] 日知錄集釋. Shanghai, 1933.
56. Kuan Feng, see Bibliography IIA 8.
57. Lao Kan 勞幹, "Lun Han tai ti yu-hsia" 論漢代的游俠 (On the Knights Errant of the Han Dynasty), Wen-shih-che hsüeh-pao 文史哲學報, Vol. 1 (1950), pp. 237-52.
58. _____, Ch'in Han shih 秦漢史 (History of the Ch'in and Han Dynasties). Taipei, 1955.
59. _____, "Han-tai ti 'shih-shu' yü 'ch'ih-tu'" 漢代的「史書與尺牘」 (The "Letters" and "Foot-tablets" of the Han Dynasty), Ta-lu tsa-chih 大陸雜誌, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1960), pp. 69-72.

60. _____, "Lun Hsi-ching tsa-chi chih tso-cho chih ch'eng-shu shih-tai" 論西京雜記之作者及成書時代 (On the Authorship and Date of the Hsin-ching tsa-chi), Li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu so chi-k'an, Vol. 33 (1962), pp. 19-34.
61. Liang Jung-jo 梁容若, "Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh-shih shang ti wei-tso i-tso yü ch'i ying-hsiang" 中國文學史上的偽作擬作與其影響 (The Influence of Falsely-attributed Works and Imitations on Chinese Literature), Tung-hai hsüeh-pao 東海學報 (Tunghai Journal), Vol. 6, No. 1 (1964), pp. 41-53.
62. Liu P'an-sui 劉盼遂, "Yen T'ieh-ch'iao Ch'üan shang-ku San-tai Ch'in Han wen pu" 嚴鐵橋全上古三代秦漢文補 (Supplement to Yen K'o-chün's Ch'üan shang-ku San-tai Ch'in Han wen), Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan kuan-k'an 北平圖書館館刊 Vol. 5, No. 1 (1931).
63. Liu Shih-p'ei 劉師培, "Ch'in ts'ao pu shih" 琴操補釋, in Liu Shen-shu hsien-sheng i-shu 劉申叔先生遺書, Vol. 36 (1908).
64. Lo Ken-tse 羅根澤, Chu-tzu k'ao-so 諸子考索 (Examination and Inquiry into the Philosophers). Peking, 1958.
65. Ma Hsien-hsing 馬先醒 "Han shih lun-chu lei-mu" 漢史論著類目 (A Classified Catalogue of Articles and Books on the History of the Han Dynasty). Chinese Culture, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1969), pp. 103-70; No. 4, pp. 105-57; Vol. 11, No. 1 (1970), pp. 124-78; No. 2, pp. 69-187.
66. Makino Tatsumi 牧野巽, Shina kazoku kenkyū 支那家族研究 (Study of the Chinese Family). Tokyo, 1944.

67. Nakajima Chiaki 中島千秋, "Gakin no ongaku shisō ni tsuite" 雅琴の音樂思想の中心 (The Ideology of Court Music), Shinagaku kenkyū, Vol. 13 (1955), pp. 54-71.
68. Pan Piao 班彪, "Lan-hai fu" 覽海賦 In Yen, Ch'üan Hou Han wen 23.4a-5b, adapted from IWLC, 27.
69. Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao 四庫全書總目提要. By Chi Yün and others. Vol. 1-4. In WYWK, Shanghai, 1933.
70. T'ai Ching-nung 臺靜農, "Liang Han yüeh-wu k'ao" 兩漢樂舞考 (Ritual and Social Songs and Dances During the Han Dynasty), Wen-shih-che hsüeh-pao, No. 1 (1950), pp. 253-308.
71. Tai Chün-jen 戴君仁, "Ho-t'u Lo-shu ti pen-chih chi ch'i yüan-lai ti kung-yung" 河圖洛書的本質及其原來的功用 (The Essence and Original Function of the Ho-t'u Lo-shu), Wen-shih-che hsüeh-pao, No. 15 (1966), pp. 163-180.
72. T'an Chieh-fu 譚戒甫, Kung-sun Lung-tzu hsing-ming fa-wei 公孫龍子形名發微. Peking, 1957 (reprint: 1963).
73. T'ang Chün-i 唐君毅, "Ch'in Han i-hou t'ien-ming ssu-hsiang chih fa-chan" 秦漢以後天命思想之發展 (The Development of Ideas on the Will of Heaven Since the Ch'in and Han Periods), Hsin Ya hsüeh-pao, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1964), pp. 1-61.
74. T'ien Ch'ang-wu 田昌五, Wang Ch'ung chi ch'i Lun-heng 王充及其論衡 (Wang Ch'ung and his Lun-heng). Peking, 1958.
75. Tseng P'u 曾樸, Pu Hou Han shu i-wen chih p'ing k'ao 補後漢書藝文志并考. In Pu-pien, Vol. 2, pp. 2447-2566.

76. Uchiyama Toshihiko 內山俊彥, "Yō Sen no shisō" 楊泉の思想 (The Idea of Yang Ch'üan: A Milestone of the Rationalistic View of Nature), Shirin 史林, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1967), pp. 69-87.
77. Wang Chung-min 王重民, "Chiang-yün-lou shu-mu pa" 絳雲樓書目跋 (Postface to the Catalogue of Chiang Yun Lou), Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan yüeh-k'an 國立北平圖書館月刊, Vol. 3, No. 5 (1929), pp. 577-79.
78. Wang I-t'ung 王伊同, "Tz'u-hai k'an wu" 辭海刊誤, Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies 清華學報, Vol. 2 (1960), pp. 131-42.
79. Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, "Ming-t'ang-miao t'ung-k'ao" 明堂廟通考, Kuan-t'ang chi-lin 觀堂集林, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 123-53. Reprint: Peking, 1959. See Heffer, J., for translation.
80. Wang Li 王力, Han-yü shih kao 漢語史稿 (History of Chinese), Vol. 1-3. Peking, 1957-1958.
81. Wang Shih-chen 王世貞, I-yüan chih-yen 藝苑卮言. Shanghai, 1925.
82. Wang Shu-min 王叔岷, Liu-tzu chi-cheng 劉子集證. Taipei, 1961.
83. _____, "Lun chien ku-chu lei-shu yü chiao-ting ku-shu chih kuan-hsi" 論檢古注類書與輯定古書之關係 (A Study of the Relationship between the Old Annotated Encyclopedias and the Textual Criticism of Ancient Books), Wen-shih-che hsüeh-pao, Vol. 10 (1961), pp. 15-37.
84. Wen I-to 聞一多, Ku-tien hsün-i 古典新義 (New Meaning of Old Records). Shanghai, 1948. Vol. II of Wen I-to ch'üan chi 聞一多全集.
85. Wen T'ing-shih 文廷式, Pu Chin shu i-wen chih 補晉書藝文志. Pu-pien 3, pp. 3703-95.

86. Yamada Taku 山田琢, "Shunjū hōhen setsu ni tsuite" 春秋褒貶説の考察 (A Study of the Phrase Pao-pien found in the Ch'un-ch'iu), Tōhōgaku 東方學, Vol. 37 (1969), pp. 1-15.
87. Yang Hsiang-k'uei 楊向奎, Chung-kuo ku-tai she-hui yü ku-tai ssu-hsiang yen-chiu 中國古代社會與古代思想研究 (A Study of Ancient Chinese Society and Ancient Thought). Vol. 1, Peking, 1962.
88. Yang Shen 楊慎, Sheng-an ch'üan chi 升菴全集 (Collected Writings of Yang Shen). In WYWK.
89. _____, Tan ch'ien tsa-lu 丹鉛雜錄. In TSCC.
90. Yao Chen-tsung 姚振宗, Hou-Han-shu i-wen chih 後漢書藝文志. In Pu-pien, Vol. 2, pp. 2305-2445.
91. Yasui Kōzan 安居香山, "Zushin no keisei to sono enyō ni tsuite no kōsatsu.-Kōbu kakumei zenho o chūshin to shite" 圖讖の形成とその延用の考察 光武革命前後を中心として (A Study of the Formation of Tu-ch'en, Fortune-Telling Documents, and Amplification of Them--Mainly Centering Around the Period Before and After the Kuang-wu Revolution), Tōhōgaku 東方學, Vol. 27 (1964), pp. 48-63.
92. Yü Chia-hsi 余嘉錫 (or Yü Chi-yü 余季豫), Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng 四庫提要辨證. Peking, 1958.
93. Yü Ching-jang 于景讓, "Shih ching chi" 釋荊棘 (The Ching and Chi Plants Elucidated). Ta-lu tsa-chih 大陸雜誌, Vol. 14, No. 12 (1957), pp. 1-8.
94. Yü Ying-shih 余英時, "Han Chin chih chi shih chih hsin tzu-chüeh yü hsin ssu-ch'ao" 漢晉之際士之新自覺與新思潮 (The New Self-Consciousness

of the Literati Between the Han and Chin Dynasties and the New Trends of Thought), Hsin Ya hsüeh-pao 新亞學報, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1959), pp. 25-144.

95. _____, "Tung-Han cheng-ch'üan chih chien-li yü shih-tsu ta-hsing chih kuan-hsi: Lüeh-lun Liang Han chih chi cheng-chih pien-ch'ien-ti she-hui pei-ching" 東漢政權之建立與士族大姓之關係: 略論兩漢之際政治變遷的社會背景 (The Establishment of the Political Power of the Later Han Dynasty and Its Relation with the Distinguished Clans and Noble Families: A Summary of the Social Background of Political Change in the Two Han Dynasties), Hsin Ya hsüeh-pao, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1956), pp. 209-80.

V. Literature in Other Languages

1. Balazs, E., Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy: Variations on a Theme. New Haven, 1964.
2. Bauer, W. "Der Fürst von Liu," ZDMG, Vol. 106, No. 1 (1956), pp. 166-205.
3. _____, "Das P'ai-hang-System in der chinesischen Namengebung," ZDMG, Vol. 107 (1957), pp. 595-634.
4. _____, "Der chinesische Personenname: Die Bildungsgesetze und hauptsächlichsten Bedeutungsinhalte von Ming, Tzu und Hsiao-Ming." Wiesbaden, 1959.
5. Bielenstein, H., "The Restoration of the Han Dynasty with Prolegomena on the Historiography of the
6. _____, "The Civil War," BMFEA, Vol. 31 (1959), pp. 1-287.
7. _____, "An Interpretation of the Portents in the Ts'ien Han-shu," BMFEA, Vol. 22 (1950), pp. 127-43.
8. _____, "The People," BMFEA, Vol. 39 (1967), pp. 1-202.

- Hou Han shu," BMFEA, Vol. 26 (1954), pp. 1-81, 82-209.
9. Blue, R. C., "The Argumentation of the 'Shih-huo chih' Chapters of the Han, Wei, and Sui Dynastic Histories," HJAS, Vol. 11 (1948), pp. 1-118.
10. Bodde, D., China's First Unifier: A Study of the Ch'in Dynasty as Seen in the Life of Li Ssu, 280-208 B.C. Leiden, 1938 (reprint: Hong Kong, 1967).
11. _____, Statesman, Patriot, and General in Ancient China: Three Shih Chi Biographies of the Ch'in Dynasty (255-206 B.C.). New Haven, 1940.
12. _____ and Morris, C., Law in Imperial China: Exemplified by 190 Ch'ing Dynasty Cases. Cambridge, Mass., 1967.
13. Bridgman, R. F., "La médecine dans la Chine antique," Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, Vol. 10 (1955), pp. 1-213.
14. Camman, S., "Types of Symbols in Chinese Art," in A. F. Wright (editor), Studies in Chinese Thought, Chicago, 1953, pp. 195-231.
15. _____, "The Magic Square of Three in Old Chinese Philosophy," History of Religions, Vol. 1 (1961), pp. 37-80.
16. Chan Wing-tsit, Chinese Philosophy 1949-1963: An Annotated Bibliography of Mainland China Publications. Honolulu, 1967.
17. Chatley, M., "The Heavenly Cover: A Study in Ancient Chinese Astronomy," Observatory, Vol. 61 (1938), pp. 10-21.
18. Ch'en Ch'i-yün, "A Confucian Magnate's Idea of Political Violence: Hsün Shuang's (128-190 A.D.) Interpretation of the Book of Changes," TP, Vol. 54, No. 1-3, (1968), pp. 73-115.

19. _____, "Hsün Yüeh and his Shen-chien: A Confucian Minister's Reflections on the Downfall of His Dynasty," unpublished dissertation, Harvard University, 1966.
20. _____, "Textual Problems of Hsün Yüeh's (148-209 A.D.) Writings: The Han chi and the Shen-chien," Monumenta Serica, Vol. 27 (1968), pp. 208-32.
21. Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, Law and Society in Traditional China. Paris, 1961 (second edition, 1965).
22. Couvreur, S., Dictionnaire Classique de la Langue Chinoise. Reprint: Peiping, 1947.
23. Crawford, R. B., "The Social and Political Philosophy of the Shih-chi," JAS, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1963), pp. 401-16.
24. Creel, H. G., "What is Taoism?" JAOS, Vol. 76 (1956), pp. 139-52.
25. Diény, J.-P., Aux Origines de La Poésie Classique en Chine: Étude sur La Poésie Lyrique à L'époque des Han. Leiden, 1968.
26. Dill, J., "Untersuchungen zum Charakter und Struktur der gegen die 'Öffentliche Ordnung' verstossenden Bewegung des Zeitraums 1-33 in China," unpublished dissertation, Berlin, 1965.
27. Dobson, W. A. C. H., Late Han Chinese: A Study of the Archaic - Han Shift. Toronto, 1964.
28. Dubs, H. H., "An Ancient Chinese Mystery Cult," Harvard Theological Review, Vol. 35 (1942), pp. 221-40.
29. _____, "The Beginnings of Alchemy," Isis, Vol. 38 (1947), pp. 62-86.
30. _____, "The Origins of Alchemy," Ambix, Vol. 9 (1961), pp. 23-36.
31. _____, "Theism and Naturalism in Ancient Chinese Philosophy," Philosophy East and West, Vol. 9, No. 3-4 (1960), pp. 163-72. See also HFHD and Bibliography IIIB 15.

32. Dull, Jack L., "A Historical Introduction to the Apocryphal [Ch'an-Wei] Texts of the Han Dynasty," unpublished dissertation, Seattle, 1966.
33. Duyvendak, J. J. L., The Book of the Lord Shang: A Classic of the Chinese School of Law. London, 1928.
34. Eichhorn, W., "Das Fei-yen wai-chuan," Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig: Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1961), pp. 123-32.
35. _____, "Eine Erzählung aus dem Wen-chien hou-lu," Oriens Extremus, Vol. 2 (1955), pp. 167-74.
36. Fang, A., "Rhyme-prose on Literature: The Wen-fu of Lu Chi (261-303 A.D.)," HJAS, Vol. 14 (1951), pp. 527-66.
37. Feng, H. Y., and Shryock, J. K., "The Black Magic in China known as Ku," JAOS, Vol. 55 (1935), pp. 1-30.
38. Filliozat, J., "Taoïsme et Yoga," Dan Viêt-Nam, Vol. 3 (1949), pp. 113-19.
39. Forke, A., see Bibliography IIB 16 and IIIA 33.
40. Franke, H., "Zur Textkritik des Shen-i ching," Oriens Extremus, Vol. 8 (1961), pp. 131-35
41. Franke, O., Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches. Vol. 1-5 Berlin, 1930-1953.
42. _____, Studien zur Geschichte des konfuzianischen Dogmas und der chinesischen Staatsreligion: Das Problem des Tsch'un-ts'iu und Tung Tschung-schu's Tsch'un-ts'iu fan-lu. Hamburg, 1920.
43. Fung Yu-lan (trans D. Bodde), A History of Chinese Philosophy. Vol. 1-2. Princeton, 1952-1953.
44. Gabain, von, A., "Ein Fürstenspiegel: Das Sin-yü des Lu Kia," MSOS, Vol. 33 (1930), pp. 1-82.
45. Gimm, M., "Das Yüeh-fu tsa-lu des Tuan An-chieh: Studien zur Geschichte von Musik, Schauspiel und Tanz in

- der T'ang Dynastie," Asiatische Forschungen, Band 19, Wiesbaden, 1966.
46. Goodrich, C. S., "Professor Dubs's Translation of the Biography of Wang Mang, " JAOS, Vol. 79 (1959), pp. 104-23.
47. Graham, A. C., "The Composition of Gongsuen Long tzyy," Asia Major, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1956), pp. 147-83.
48. _____, "The Date and Composition of Liehtzyy," Asia Major, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1961), pp. 139-98. See also Bibliography IIIB 23.
49. _____, "Two Dialogues in the Kung-sun Lung-tzu: 'White Horse' and 'Left and Right'," Asia Major, Vol. 11 (1965), pp. 128-52.
50. Gulik, van, R. H., The Lore of the Chinese Lute: An Essay in Ch'in Ideology. Tokyo, 1941.
51. Haeger, J. H., "The Significance of Confusion: The Origins of the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan," JAOS, Vol. 88, No. 3 (1968), pp. 401-10.
52. Haenisch, E., Lehrgang der klassischen chinesischen Schriftsprache, Vol. 4. Leipzig, 1957.
53. Hawkes, D., Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South. Oxford, 1959.
54. Heffer, J., "Ming-t'ang miao ch'in-tung-k'ao: Ausschluss über die Halle der lichten Kraft, ming-t'ang, über den Ahnentempel miao, sowie über die Wohnpaläste (Wohngebäude), ch'in," Ostasiatische Zeitschrift (1931), pp. 17-35, 70-86.
55. Hervouet, Y., Un poète de cour sous les Han: Sseu-ma Siang-jou. Paris, 1964.
56. Hirth, F., "Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur," TP, Vol. 6 (1895), pp. 314-32, 416-46; Vol. 7 (1896), pp. 295-322, 481-507.

57. Ho Peng Yoke, The Astronomical Chapters of the Chin Shu. Paris, 1966.
58. Holzman, D., "The Conversational Tradition in Chinese Philosophy," Philosophy East and West, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1956), pp. 223-30. See also Hsi K'ang.
59. Hu Shih, "The Concept of Immortality in Chinese Thought," Harvard Divinity School Bulletin (1945-46), pp. 23-46.
60. Hughes, E. P., Two Chinese Poets: Vignettes of Han Life and Thought. Princeton, 1960.
61. Hulswé, A. F. P., "Notes on Historiography of the Han Period," in W. E. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank (eds.), Historians of China and Japan (London, 1961), pp. 31-43.
62. _____, Remnants of Han Law: Introductory Studies and Annotated Translation of Chapters 22 and 23 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty, Vol. 1. Leiden, 1955.
63. Jao Tsung-yi, "The Relation between Principles of Literary Criticism in the Wei and Tsin Dynasties and Music--Illustration of Literature Through Music," unpublished paper, presented at the Eleventh Conference of Young Sinologists, Padua, 1958.
64. Kaltenmark, M., Le Lie-sien tchouan: Biographies légendaires des Immortels taoistes de l'antiquité. Peking, 1953.
65. _____, "Les Tch'an-wei," Han-hiue, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1949), pp. 363-73.
66. Kierman, F. A., Jr., Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Historiographical Attitude as Reflected in Four Late Warring States Biographies. Wiesbaden, 1962
67. Kishibe Shigeo, "The Origin of the K'oung-Hou," Tōyō ongaku kenkyū, Vol. 14 (1957), pp. 1-51.

68. Knechtges, D. R., "Yang Shyong, the Fuh and Han Rhetoric," unpublished dissertation, Seattle, 1968.
69. Koh Byongik, "Zur Werttheorie in der chinesischen Historiographie auf Grund des Shih-T'ung des Liu Chih-Chi (661-721)," Oriens Extremus, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1957), pp. 5-51; No. 2, pp. 125-81.
70. Kopetsky, E. E., "A Study of Some Han Fu of Praise, The Fu on Hunts, Sacrifices, and Capitals," unpublished dissertation, New Haven, 1969.
71. Kraft, B., "Wang Shih-chen (1526-1590): Abriss seines Lebens," Oriens Extremus, Vol. 3 (1958), pp. 169-201.
72. Kramers, R. P., K'ung Tzu Chia Yü: The School Sayings of Confucius. Leiden, 1960.
73. Kroll, J. L., "Notes on Han Law," TP, Vol. 51, No. 2-3 (1964), pp. 125-39.
74. _____, Syma Cjan' -istorik (Ssu-ma Ch'ien: Historian). Moscow, 1970.
75. Künstler, J. M., "Deux biographies de Tcheng Hiuan," Rocznik orientalistyczny, Vol. 26 (1962), pp. 23-64.
76. Lanciotti, L., Considerazioni sull'estetica letteraria nella Cina antica: Wang Ch'ung ed il sorgere dell'autonomia delle lettere. Rome, 1965.
77. Levenson, J. R., Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China. Cambridge, Mass., 1953 (reprint: 1959).
78. _____ and Schurman, F., China: An Interpretative History, From the Beginnings to the Fall of Han. Berkeley, 1969.
79. Lévy, A., "Études sur trois récueils anciens de contes chinois," TP, Vol. 52 (1965), pp. 97-148.
80. Liebenthal, W., "The Immortality of Soul in Chinese Thought," Monumenta Nipponica, Vol. 8 (1952), pp. 327-97.

81. Lo Hsiang-lin, "The Southward Expansion of Chinese Expansion of Chinese Civilization and the Advancement of Learning in Kwangtung Province," in W. Eberhard, (ed.), Symposium on Historical, Archaeological and Linguistic Studies on Southern China, South-East Asia and the Hong Kong Region (Hong Kong, 1967), pp. 139-49.
82. Lo Jung-pang, "China's Paddle-wheel Boats: Mechanized Craft Used in the Opium War and Their Historical Background," Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, N.S. II (1960), pp. 189-215.
83. Loehr, M., "The Beginnings of Portrait Painting in China," Trudy Dvadcat' p'jatogo mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov, Vol. 5 (Moscow, 1963), pp. 210-14.
84. Loewe, M., Records of Han Administration, Vol. 1-2. Cambridge, 1967.
85. Masabuchi Tatsuo, "The Yu-hsia and the Social Order of the Han Period," Annals of the Hitotsubashi Academy, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1952), pp. 84-101.
86. Maspero, H., "Le Ming-t'ang et la crise religieuse avant les Han," Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, Vol. 9 (1951), pp. 1-71.
87. _____, "Les procédés de 'nourrir le principe vital' dans la religion taoïste ancienne," JA, Vol. 229 (1937), pp. 177-252, 353-430.
88. _____, "Le Taoïsme," Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine, Vol. 2. Paris, 1950.
89. Mather, R. B., "The Controversy over Conformity and Naturalness during the Six Dynasties," History of Religions, Vol. 9, No. 2-3 (1969-1970), pp. 160-80.
90. Miyazaki Ichisada, "Les villes en Chine à l'époque des Han," TP, Vol. 43 (1960), pp. 376-92.

91. Mondolfo, R., "La filosofia como problematica y su continuidad historica," Revista de Filosofia de la Universidad de Costa Rica, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1957), pp. 9-17.
92. Needham, J., Science and Civilization in China, Vol. 1: Introductory Orientations, Cambridge, 1954. Vol. 2: History of Scientific Thought, Cambridge, 1956. Vol. 3: Mathematics and the Sciences of Heavens and the Earth, Cambridge, 1959. Vol. 4: Physics and Physical Technology: I, "Physics," Cambridge, 1962; II, "Mechanical Engineering," Cambridge, 1965; and III, "Nautical Engineering," Cambridge, 1970.
93. _____, Wang Ling and de Solla Price, D. J., Heavenly Clockwork: The Great Astronomical Clocks of Medieval China--A Missing Link in Horological History. Cambridge, 1960.
94. O'Connor, J. (ed.), Modern Materialism: Readings on Mind-Body Identity. New York, 1969.
95. Pelliot, P., "La gravure sur pierre des classiques en caractères anciens sous les Wei," TP, Vol. 23 (1924), pp. 1-4.
96. _____, "Notes de bibliographie Chinoise I: Le Kou Yi Ts'ong Chou," BEFEO, Vol. 2 (1902), pp. 315-40.
97. _____, "Notes sur quelques artistes des Six dynasties et des T'ang," TP, Vol. 22 (1923), pp. 215-91.
98. _____, "Meou-tseu ou les doutes levés," TP, Vol. 19 (1920), pp. 255-433.
99. _____, "Quelques remarques sur le Chouo Fou," TP, Vol. 23 (1924), pp. 163-220.
100. Perelomov, L. S., "O roli ideologii v stanolenii despotičeskogo gosudarstva v drevnem Kitae" (On the Role of the Ideology during the Establishment of the Despotie State in Ancient China), Narody Azii i Afriki, No. 3 (1967), pp. 62-73.

101. Petrov, A. A., Van Čun: Drevnekitajskij materialist i prosvetitel (Wang Ch'ung: Materialist and Enlightener in Ancient China). Moscow, 1954.
102. Picken, L. E. R., "T'ang Music and Musical Instruments," TP, Vol. 55 (1969), pp. 74-122.
103. Pokora, T., "The Canon of Laws by Li K'uei--A Double Falsification?" ArOr, Vol. 27 (1959), pp. 96-121.
104. _____, "The First Interpolation in the Shih-chi," ArOr, Vol. 29 (1961), pp. 311-15.
105. _____, "How Many Works Were Written by Wang Ch'ung (27-97 A.D.)?" ArOr, Vol. 25 (1957), pp. 658-59.
106. _____, "Huan T'an and Yang Hsiung on Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju: Some Desultory Remarks on History and Tradition," JAOS, Vol. 91 (1971), pp. 431-38.
107. _____, "An Important Crossroad of the Chinese Thought," ArOr, Vol. 29 (1961), pp. 64-79.
108. _____, "The Need for a More Thorough Study of the Philosopher Wang Ch'ung and of his Predecessors," ArOr, Vol. 30 (1962), pp. 238-39.
109. _____, "Notes on New Studies on Tung Chung-shu," ArOr, Vol. 33 (1965), pp. 256-71.
110. _____, "On the Origin of the Notions T'ai-p'ing and Ta-t'ung in Chinese Philosophy," ArOr, Vol. 29 (1961), pp. 448-54.
111. _____, Review of Bodde, D., China's First Unifier, ArOr, Vol. 37 (1969), p. 131-32.
112. _____, Review of Needham et al., Heavenly Clockwork, ArOr, Vol. 29 (1961), pp. 490-94.
113. _____, "Two Answers to Professor Moriya Mitsuo: Part II, Fa ching and Hsia-lun," ArOr, Vol. 34 (1966), pp. 496-503.
114. _____, "Two Recent Commented Editions of the Lun-heng," ArOr, Vol. 34 (1966), pp. 593-601.

115. _____, "The Works of Wang Ch'ung," ArOr, Vol. 36 (1968), pp. 122-34.
116. Quistorp, M., "Männergesellschaft und Altersklassen im alten China," MSOS, Vol. 18 (1915), pp. 1-60.
117. Reinhard, K., Chinesische Musik. Eisenach, 1956.
118. Rickett, W. A., Kuan-tzu: A Repository of Early Chinese Thought. Hong Kong, 1965.
119. Rogers, M. C., "Sung-Koryŏ Relations: Some Inhibiting Factors," Oriens Extremus, Vol. 11, No. 1-2 (1958), pp. 194-202.
120. Sargent, G. E., "The Intellectual Atmosphere in Lingnan at the Time of the Introduction of Buddhism," in W. Eberhard (ed.), Symposium on Historical, Archaeological and Linguistic Studies on Southern China, South-East Asia and the Hong Kong Region (Hong Kong, 1967), pp. 161-71.
121. Seufert, W., "Urkunden zur staatlichen Neuordnung unter der Han-Dynastie," MSOS, Vol. 23-25 (1922), pp. 1-50.
122. Shigezawa Toshio, "The Significance of Contradictions as Seen in the Ideology of Wang Fu," Acta Asiatica, No. 2 (1961), pp. 30-39.
123. Sivin, S., "Cosmos and Computation in Early Chinese Mathematical Astronomy," TP, Vol. 55 (1969), pp. 1-73.
124. Smith, H., "Transcendence in Traditional China," Religious Studies, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1967), pp. 185-96.
125. Soothill, W. E., The Hall of Light: A Study of Early Chinese Kingship. London, 1951.
126. Soper, A. C., "The 'Dome of Heaven' in Asia," The Art Bulletin, Vol. 29 (1947), pp. 225-48.
127. Soyumié, M., "L'entretien de Confucius et de Hsiang T'o," JA, Vol. 242 (1954), pp. 311-91.

128. Sprenkel, van der, O. B., Pan Piao, Pan Ku, and the Han History. Canberra, 1964.
129. Swann, N. L., Food and Money in Ancient China: The Earliest Economic History of China to 25 A.D. Princeton, 1950.
130. T'ang Yung-t'ung (trans. W. Liebenthal), "Wang Pi's New Interpretation of the I ching and the Lun-yü," HJAS, Vol. 10 (1947), pp. 124-61.
131. Tjan Tjoe Som, Po Hu T'ung: The Comprehensive Discussion in the White Tiger Hall: A Contribution to the History of Classical Studies in the Han Period. Vol. 1-2. Leiden, 1949, 1952.
132. Tsien Tsuen-hsuei, Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions. Chicago, 1963.
133. Wagner, R. C., "Die Auflösung des legalistischen Staatsmodells gegen Ende der Han," ArOr, Vol. 35 (1967), pp. 244-61.
134. Waley, A., "Notes to Johnson's A Study of Chinese Alchemy," BSOAS, Vol. 6 (1930-1932), pp. 1-24.
135. _____, Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang. London, 1960.
136. Ware, J. R., The Sayings of Chuang Chou. New York, 1963.
137. Watson, B. (trans.), Records of the Grand Historian of China. Vol. 1-2, New York and London, 1961.
138. _____ (trans.), Records of the Historian: Chapters from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien. New York, 1959.
139. _____, Ssu-ma Ch'ien: Grand Historian of China. New York, 1958.
140. Welch, H., The Parting of the Way: Lao Tzu and the Taoist Movement. Boston, 1957 (reprint: 1966).

141. Whitaker, K. P. K., "Tsauro Jyr and the Introduction of Fannbay into China," BSOAS, Vol. 20 (1958), pp. 585-97.
142. Wilbur, M., Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty. Chicago, 1943.
143. Wilhelm, H., "The Scholar's Frustration: Notes on a Type of 'Fu'," in J. K. Fairbank (ed.), Chinese Thought and Institutions (Chicago, 1957), pp. 310-19, 398-403.
144. Wilhelm, R., I Ging: Das Buch der Wandlungen. Vol. 1-2, Jena, 1924.
145. Yang Lien-sheng, "Great Families of Eastern Han," in E-tu Zen Sun and J. deFrancis, Chinese Social History: Translations of Selected Studies (Washington, 1956), pp. 103-34.
146. Yü Ying-shih, "Life and Immortality in the Mind of Han China," HJAS, Vol. 25 (1964-1965), pp. 80-122.
147. _____, Trade and Expansion in Han China: A Study in the Structure of Sino-Barbarian Economic Relations. Berkeley, 1967.
148. Zach, von, E., "Yang Hsiung's Fa Yen (Worte strenger Ermahnung): Ein Philosophischer Traktat aus dem Beginn der Zeitrechnung," Sinologische Beiträge, Vol. IV. Batavia, 1939.
149. _____, "Zur Verteidigung des chinesischen Philosophen Yang Hsiung," Monumenta Serica, Vol. 1 (1935-1936), pp. 186-91.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES, SUBJECTS, AND TERMS

Note: The numbers in the Index below refer to fragment numbers and notes to fragments, not to page numbers. "Comm." refers to the commentary that precedes the text of the fragment.

- Ability, 13, 32a and c, 151A; administrative, 71 (n. 8);
to endure cold and heat, 151A.
- Absorb, see chien-ping.
- Abundance, 136A.
- Accomplished T'ang (Ch'eng T'ang 成湯), see T'ang.
- Achievement of Yü, 208.
- Acrobat (chi 伎), 120.
- Actor (ch'ang 倡), see also yu, 120, 137 (n. 1),
188 (n. 37).
- Administration, improvement of, 58.
- Administrative: offices, 209 (n. 59); reforms, 209
(n. 56).
- Admiration, 32D, 38A, 80D, 196; of a sage, 79A.
- Advice: to Emperor Wen, 100; to Fu Yen, 206 (comm.).
- Affairs (shih 事): encountering, chapter 11 of Hsin-lun;
human, 163A; political, 95 (and n. 38),
209 (and n. 48); past, 84A; suspect and dubious,
210; tragic, 102 (n. 25).
- Affection, 202 (and comm.); for Confucius, 79A-B, 160
(n. 2); for Tung Hsien, 206.
- Age, see also years, 82A-D (n. 21), 83, 84; Chinese
system of calculating, 210 (n. 121); of birds,
146A-B; of crane, 146A-B; of criminal, 176;
of horse, 85 (and n. 33); of Yang Hsiang, 126A
(n. 63); insects, 146A-B; of mankind as con-
trasted with insects and birds, 146A-B; of

tortoise, 146A-B; four years of age, 158A-B; thirteen years of age, 82A-D; seventeen years of age, 125 (and n. 59); 60 years of age, 85; 70 years of age, 125 (and n. 59); 83 years of age, 83A; 100 years of age, 58, 84A, 152F (n. 29); 180 years of age, 82A-D; 200 years of age, 151 (comm.); 300 years of age, 153; several hundred years of age, 84A; 3000 years of age, 146B; old, 84A-B, 146A-B.

Agriculture, 181, 209 (n. 68, 80).

ai 哀, (lament), 194 (n. 57).

Ai 哀, (6-1 B.C.), Han Emperor, 62 (n. 4), 65, 152A, 153, 175C (n. 7), 206 (comm.), 207 (n. 40), 210 (n. 93).

"Ai Chiang-nan fu" 哀江南賦 (Rhyme-prose on Grief for the Provinces South of the Yang-tzu), 204 (comm.).

Air, 134A; purest, 205.

Alchemist, 206 (n. 37).

Alchemy, 157A (n. 1).

Allegory, 2B (n. 3).

Alliance, vertical and horizontal (tsung-heng 從衡), 171A.

Alternation of: cold and heat, 171A; the four seasons, 84A; civil and military methods, 209.

Amusement, prohibition of, 176.

Analects (Lun-yü 論語), 6 (n. 6), 73 (n. 10), 74 (n. 13), 79 (n. 1); Ch'i version, 90E (n. 12); Lu version, 90E (n. 12); Old Text version, 90A and E (and n. 12).

Ancestors, 210 (n. 105); of Kuang-wu, 210; of Northern Man, 53; remote, 66 (and n. 66); veneration of, 102; worship of, 66.

- Ancestral: hall, 40 (n. 26); line, 210; temple, 22, 56, 171A.
- An-ch'ang 安昌 (prefecture in Honan), 174.
- Anhwei Province, 210 (n. 119).
- Animals, 158B (n. 45); domestic, 25A-B (and n. 27); draft, 205 (n. 20).
- Annals: basic of Emperor Kao, 159A (n. 3); of Emperor Wen of Han, 100 (n. 9); of Emperor Wu, 205 (n. 8); of Emperor Wen of Wei, 145 (comm.).
- Antiquity, or the past (ku 古), 2A-B, 3A, 28, 29, 82D (n. 21), 84A (n. 29), 96, 112A, 164F, 167B; 29; examination of, 88, 102; Wang Mang's imitation of, 32D; no death in, 84A (and n. 29); sages and worthies of, 169A1.
- Ao-ts'ang 敖倉, granary, in Honan near the Yellow River, 35A.
- Apricot, stones, 86A-B.
- Armillary sphere, 114A-B (and n. 29).
- Army, 32E, 53, 102, 210.
- Arrogant, 41, 52, 58, 209, 210 (n. 96).
- Arsenic, 86A (and n. 37).
- Art of: war, 35A-B; of yellow and white, 157A (and n. 36), 206 (n. 36).
- Arteries, 205.
- Artisan, 114A-B (and n. 28, 29).
- Ascension: of spirit, 205; of a dragon to Heaven, 67.
- Ashes, 84A.
- Assistant (tso 佐), 28, 52, 65, 176.
- Assistant Administrator (chün-ch'eng 郡丞), 210 (n. 119).
- Associate Protector-General and Colonel of the Western Regions (Hsi-yü fu hsiao-wei 西域副校尉), 138 (n. 98).

- Astrology, 210 (n. 92).
- Astronomer, 114A (n. 27), 163A (n. 6).
- Astronomy, 91 (n. 21), 114A-B; mathematical, 163A (n. 9).
- Authenticity, 84A (n. 24), 135A (n. 87).
- Authority, 53; fierce, 102; of ch'an texts, 158A (n. 46);
of Heaven, 58; of the Sage, 210 (n. 117).
- Autocracy (tu-chuan 獨專), 52.
- Autumn, 124, 181; equinox, 115A-B; a thousand, 171A;
wind, 171A.
- Azure: fishpond, 185.
- Bamboo, 169D1 (n. 9); used for beating, 157A, 176;
tablets, 189 (n. 43).
- Bandits, 44, 103 (comm.), 176.
- Banishment, 53 (n. 7), 78 (comm.), 177, 209 (n. 57);
to secluded quarters, 176; to the border frontiers, 176, 209.
- Barbarian chieftain, 159A (n. 3).
- Barbarians, 131B (n. 73), 152C, 209 (n. 77); bonds with,
53; I and Ti, 53; Man, 152D; Northern Man, 53;
Western, 102.
- Barloewen, W. D. von, 93A (n. 25).
- Bauer, W., 86 (n. 34), 176 (n. 24), 209 (n. 67).
- Beasley, W. E., 34 (n. 10).
- Beasts, 52, 53, 60A-B, 65, 84A; wild, 21, 171A.
- Beating, 65, 158B; with bamboo, 157A, 176.
- Beautiful, 171A; thoughts, 205; women, 159A-D; works,
195.
- Beauty, 21.
- Behavior, 32, 103 (n. 27), 205 (n. 13); cruel, 65;
wild, 28.
- Benevolence (jen 仁), 3A-B, 38A, 39, 84A, 95 (and
n. 38), 100, 169I 1.

Benevolent man, 58.

Bibliographical chapter: of the Han shu (30), 88 (n.1), 118 (n. 46), 157A (n. 37); of the Sui shu 135A (n. 87); of the T'ang shu, 169A1 (n. 4).

Bielenstein, H., 36 (n. 17), 38 (n. 19), 161, 202 (comm.), 208 (comm. and n. 43).

Biography: collective, of Ironical Critics, 137B (n. 97); of Chang Heng, 163A (n. 6); of Ch'en Tsun, 84A (n. 24); of Chou Chü, 132 (n. 77); of Chou Ya-fu 34 (n. 10); of Chu Mu 190 (n. 48); of Chu Yu, 202 (comm., n. 75); of Han Fei-tzu, 210 (n. 104); of Hsieh Hsüan 209 (n. 63); of Huan T'an, 2B (n. 5), 205 (n. 3), 210 (comm., n. 97, 114); of Lu Hsi, 2B (n. 4); of Pan Ku, 126A (comm.); of Sun Shu-ao, 209 (n. 52); of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, 194 (n. 59); of Tung Chung-chün 152F (n. 29); of Tung-fang Shuo, 137B (n. 97); of wandering knights, 84A (n. 24), 103 (comm.); of Wang Chung-tu, 151 (comm.); of Wang Fu, 103 (n. 26); of Yang Hsiung, 126A (n. 63).

Blue, R. C., 209 (n. 75).

Blue: dragon, 205.

Bodde, D., 96 (n. 41), 169M (n. 24), 210 (n. 113).

Book, 139; canonical, 210 (comm.); collection of, 210 (n. 103); Han, 190 (comm.); by Huan T'an and Tu Yü, 204 (comm.); by Lao Tzu, 84A; by Liu An, 148A (n. 7), 157A (n. 37); by Shih Tzu, 165 (n. 25); on the ch'in, 172B; on yin and yang, 103 (n. 26); printing of, 167B; size of, 189 (n. 43); short (tuan-shu 短書), 189; trivial, 189 (n. 43).

- Book: of Changes, see Changes; of Chou (Chou-shu 周書), 58; of Documents (Shu 書), 53, 88 (n. 2-4), 91 (n. 14), 100 (n. 12), 163A (n. 10), 188, 201 (n. 73); of Documents, Old Text version (Ku-wen Shang-shu 古文尚書), 90A; of mandates given through portents (fu ming-shu 符命書), 41; of Songs (Shih 詩), 150D (n. 17), 205 (n. 19).
- Breath, 205; absorption of, 205 (n. 25); closing up, 205 (n. 25); exercises, 205 (and n. 14, 16, 23); expiration of, 84A; fresh, 205; leaking of, 205 (n. 25); old, 205 (and n. 14); new, 205 (n. 14); personal, 205 (n. 16); practices, 152F (n. 29); restraint of, 152F (n. 28).
- Bridgman, R. F., 102 (n. 25), 116 (n. 40), 151C (comm.).
- Brilliant: Companion, see chao-i.
- Brother, 52, 86 (n. 35), 96 (n. 39), 149; elder, 86A, 98, 123, 177; younger, 123, 206 (n. 32).
- Buddha, 135B (n. 3).
- Burial, 38A (and n. 19, 22), 100, 104 (n. 28), 158A, 198; of mother, 158A; of sons, 104.
- Burning, 57, 169I1 (n. 15); glow of sun, 151A-B; of corpse, 60A and C; of head, 48A-B; of house, 48A-B; of mountain, 132A (n. 77); of Wang Mang's palace, 53; of people, 38A; of offering, 91 (and n. 16).
- Calamity (huan 患), 11A, 28 (n. 39), 58 (and n. 32, 33); of flood, 108B (n. 12); of water, 111B.
- Calamity (huo 禍), 53; avoidance of, 206; brought on by oneself, 53; permanent presence in Empire, 58; response to, 58; sent by Heaven, 53.
- Calendar, 115B, 197 (n. 65); reform, 112A (n. 21); specialists in, 112A; T'ai ch'u, 102 (n. 19).

- Calendrical computation, 112B (n. 22), 163A (n. 9), 197 (and n. 65).
- Calisthenics, Taoist, 82A-D, 205 (n. 16).
- Camman, S., 93D (n. 31).
- Candle, 84A, 150A-B.
- Canon of Laws (Fa ching 法經), by Li K'uei, 176 (and n. 13).
- Capital: city, 63; imperial, 65; of Ch'u (Ying), 63; Western (Ch'ang-an), 11A, 79 (and n. 4), 108 (n. 12).
- Carriage, 36 (n. 17), 63, 85, 127, 160, 186; Emperor's, 126, 205 (n. 20, 24); of Ch'u, 184; of King Chou, 52; of King Chuang, 184; royal, 100.
- Cassia, 86A-B.
- Catalogue: of books, by Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin, 189 (n. 47).
- Center of Heaven, 115A.
- Centipede, 86B, 144.
- Chan, or Yu Chan 優旃, half-legendary personality of the Warring Kingdoms period, 137 (n. 97).
- Chan-kuo-ts'e, 22 (comm.), 25B (n. 26), 190 (comm.), 205 (n. 10).
- Ch'an 讖 (prognostications texts), 68 (n. 3), 158A (n. 46), 175C (n. 7), 210 (comm. and n. 93, 113).
- Chancellor, 28, 32D, 60A-B, 65 (n. 50), 89 (n. 6), 176 (and n. 22); of Chao, 28, 186 (n. 29), 192 (and comm.); of Ch'in, 176; of Ch'u, 209 (and n. 52); of the Keng-shih Emperor, 35B; of Wei, 32D; of Wu, 78 (comm.).
- Chang 章 (calendar), 197 (and comm. and n. 65).
- Chang Chan 張湛, compiler of Lieh-tzu (fl. about 300 A.D.), 134A (n. 79, 84).

- Chang Chung 張仲 , probably Chang Jung, 108A
(and n. 11).
- Chang Heng 張衡 , scholar and inventor (78-139
A.D.), 163A (n. 6), 164E (n. 23), 205 (n. 19).
- Chang Hua 張華 , writer (232-300 A.D.), 145 (comm.
and n. 1).
- Chang Hung 張宏 , high official (1st cent. B.C.-
1st cent. A.D.), 174 (n. 40).
- Chang Jung 張戎 , high official (1st cent. B.C.-
1st cent. A.D.), 108B (n. 11, 12).
- Chang Liang 張良 , advisor to Emperor Kao (ca. 250-
187 B.C.), 20, 26, 32B, 45.
- Chang Ping-lin 章炳麟 , scholar (1868-1936),
210 (n. 114).
- Chang P'u 張溥 , editor (1602-1640), 200 (comm.).
- Chang Shan-fu 張山拊 , scholar (d. after 33 B.C.),
88 (n. 2).
- Chang Shou-chieh 張守節 , commentator to Shih
Chi (8th cent.), 210 (n. 104).
- Chang Shun-hui 張舜徽 , contemporary historian,
118 (n. 46).
- Chang Sung 張竦 , unconventional man (d. ca. 23
A.D.), 84A (n. 24), 103 (and n. 27).
- Chang Tzu-hou 張子侯 , Huan T'an's contemporary,
69.
- Chang Tzu-hsia 張子夏 , see Chang Hung.
- Chang Wu 張武 , official (2nd cent. B.C.), 100
(n. 11).
- Chang Yü 張禹 , scholar (d. 6 B.C.), 174 (n. 40).
- Ch'ang 暢 (penetrating), 169A (n. 6).
- Ch'ang-an 長安 : capital city, 11 (n. 9), 36, 44
(comm.), 53, 104, 108B (n. 12), 198; music of,
79A and C.

- Ch'ang-an chih 長安志, by Sung Min-ch'iu, 198 (n. 69).
- Ch'ang-hsin Palace 長信, 66 (n. 65).
- Ch'ang-hung 萇宏, Chou dignitary (contemporary of Confucius), 28 (n. 38).
- Ch'ang River 長水, 134A-B.
- Ch'ang-sha Commandery 長沙, 35A-B, 209 (n. 57).
- Ch'ang-tuan ching 長短經, by Chao Jui, 3 (comm.).
- Ch'ang-yen 昌言, by Chung-ch'ang T'ung, 209 (n. 70).
- Change, 65, 163A, 209 (n. 56); into a corpse, 152F (n. 28); of times, 152F (n. 28).
- Changes, Book of (I-ching 易經), 37, 65, 90A, 126A (n. 65), 163 (n. 8), 174 (n. 40), 209 (n. 55), 210 (n. 111); of Chou (Chou-i 周易), 46, 90A; of Hsia, 90D; of Yin, 90D.
- Chao 趙, Brilliant Companion, sister of Chao Fei-yen (d. 7 B.C.), 80B.
- Chao 趙: kingdom of, 22, 28 35A, 182, 186 (and n. 29); Han kingdom of, 191 (and comm.); King of, Liu Jui, 191 (comm.).
- Chao Chien-tzu 趙簡子, also Chao Yang, Chin dignitary (6th-5th cent.), 74 (n. 13).
- Chao-chün 朝菌 (mushroom or insect), 171A (n. 35).
- Chao Fei-yen 趙飛燕, empress (d. 1 B.C.), 80B, 188 (comm.).
- Chao Fei-yen wai-chuan 趙飛燕外傳, 134A (n. 84), 188 (comm.).
- Chao hou 趙后, see Chao Fei-yen.
- Chao I 趙翼, historian (1727-1814), 118 (n. 46).
- Chao-i 昭儀, (Brilliant Companion), title of court lady, 62 (and n. 41), 80B.
- Chao Jui 趙蕤, author (8th cent.), 3 (comm.).
- Chao Ting 趙定, musician (fl. 60 B.C.), 172A-B.

- Ch'ao Ts'o 晁錯, politician and scholar (d. 154 B.C.), 28 (and n. 38), 34 (n. 10), 209 (and n. 58).
- Chart of the Yellow River (ho-t'u 河圖), 68 (and n. 4), 210 (n. 12).
- Chavannes, E. (1865-1918 A.D.), 3A (n. 1), 32A (n. 3), 80C (n. 12), 112A (n. 21), 136A (n. 91), 137B (n. 97), 169A (n. 6), 170 (n. 27), 209 (n. 75), 210 (n. 107).
- Chen-chung' 枕中 ("In the Pillow"), prescription, 157A (n. 37).
- Chen Feng 甄豐, Minister of Works (d. 10-11 A.D.), 208 (comm., nn. 44, 47).
- Ch'en 陳, Han, kingdom of, 84A.
- Ch'en, Empress née 陳皇后 (d. ca. 115 B.C.), 102 (and n. 25), 206 (and comm., nn. 32, 36).
- Ch'en Chung-fan 陳中凡, literary historian (contemporary), 210 (n. 92).
- Ch'en P'an 陳槃, 68 (n. 3), 135B (n. 89), 210 (nn. 92, 93).
- Ch'en pien-i 陳便宜 (Statement on What is Advantageous), by Huan T'an, 212.
- Ch'en P'ing 陳平, Chancellor (d. 178 B.C.), 20, 26, 45, 159A, B and D (and n. 3).
- Ch'en Sheng 陳勝, anti-Ch'in rebel (d. 208 B.C.), 11a (and n. 4).
- Ch'en Tsun 陳遵, unconventional man (d. ca. 26 A.D.) 84A (n. 24), 103 (comm., n. 27).
- Ch'en Yü 陳則, editor and painter (19th cent.), 8 (n. 1).
- Ch'en Yüan 陳元, scholar (Huan T'an's contemporary), 94C (n. 35).
- Cheng 鄭, Kingdom of: tunes from, 75 (and n. 17), 82C (n. 21), 122 (and n. 51); concubines of, 171A.

- Cheng Chung 鄭衆, commentator to Chou-li (d. 83 A.D.), 209 (n. 65).
- Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄, scholar and commentator (127-200 A.D.), 91 (n. 23), 175 (comm.), 197 (n. 66).
- Cheng-i 正義, commentary to Shih chi, by Chang Shou-chieh, 3A (n. 1).
- Cheng-liü 正律, (Regular Statutes), 176 (n. 17).
- Cheng-wei 正緯, (Correction of Apocrypha), 4th Chapter of Wen-hsin tiao-lung, 210 (n. 93).
- Ch'eng: King of Chou 周成王 (11th cent. B.C.), 58 (and n. 32); King of Ch'u 楚成王 (671-625 B.C.), 203 (comm.); Emperor of Han 漢成帝 (33-7 B.C.), see Hsiao-ch'eng.
- Ch'eng-kao 成皋, Shantung town, 35A-B.
- Ch'eng Shao-po 成少伯, musician (Huan T'an's contemporary), 174.
- Ch'eng Wei 程偉, alchemist (Former Han), 157A-B (and n. 39).
- Chess, 145 (comm.); strategic, 35A-B.
- Chessboard, 35A-B.
- Chi 棘 (type of plant), 38A (n. 19), 171A (n. 36).
- Chi 驥, legendary horse, 24 (n. 22), 25A (n. 24).
- Chi An 汲黯, upright high official (d. 112 B.C.), 19 and (n. 15).
- Chi Cha 季札, virtuous man of Wu (6th cent. B.C.), 96 (and n. 39), 104 (and n. 28).
- Chi-chieh 集解, commentary to Shih chi, by P'ei Yin, 159A (n. 1), 160 (comm.).
- Chi-lu 驥驂, horse, 25A (and n. 24), 24B.
- Chi River 濟水, 111A (n. 19).
- Chi-tzu 驥子, see Chi-lu.
- Chi-tzu 箕子, or Viscount of Chi, model dignitary (11th cent. B.C.), 30 (n. 47), 91, 168A1.

- Chi Yu-pin 李幼賓, (Huan T'an's contemporary?), 138.
- Ch'i 氣 (ether), 134A, 152F (n. 28).
- Ch'i 齊, kingdom of, 28, 35A, 69, 94A-B, 96 (n. 41),
165 (n. 14), 180, 190 (comm.), 204 (comm.).
- Ch'i, Lady 戚夫人, wife of Emperor Kao (d. 193 B.C.),
192 (and comm., n. 55).
- Chi 漆, prefecture of, in Shensi, 131A.
- Ch'i-kuo k'ao 七國考 (Study of Seven Kingdoms), by
Tung Yüeh, 176-187 (comm.).
- Ch'i Shao-nan 齊召南, historian (1706-1768 A.D.),
82C (n. 21).
- Ch'i-shih 啓事 (Notice), by Huan T'an, 213.
- Ch'i-tzu 妻子 (wife or son), 198 (n. 69).
- Chia 家 (unit in the T'ai-hsüan ching), 163A (n. 11).
- Chia I 賈誼, philosopher (201-169 B.C.), 29
(and n. 43), 209 (and nn. 49, 57, 58).
- Chia-tzu 甲子 (signifies a given day), 91, 112A.
- Chiang-hsüeh Chi-chiu 講學祭酒 (Libationer
Expounding the Study), 51 (n. 18).
- Chiang Liang-fu 姜亮夫, contemporary scholar,
210 (n. 119).
- Chiang-she 講舍 (parlor), 202 (and comm.).
- Chiang Shih-jung 江世榮, contemporary historian,
81 (n. 1).
- Chiao 交 (friendship), 190 (comm.), 207 (n. 41).
- Chiao, Mountain 膠山, in Shantung, 205 (n. 22).
- Chiao-chih 交趾, territory in southwest China, 78.
- Chiao-fang 椒房 (Pepper Apartment), 62 (n. 42).
- Chiao-feng 椒風 (Pepper Wind), name of residence,
62 (n. 42).
- Chiao-pu 校補 commentary, 202 (comm.), 209
(n. 86), 210 (nn. 98, 112).

- Chiao-ting 校定 (revise and settle), 209 (n. 84).
 Chief Commandant (tu-wei 都尉), 45.
 Chief of the Commune (t'ing-chang 亭長), 44
 (and n. 6).
 Chief of Region (fang-po 方伯), 4.
 Chieh 桀, Hsia dynasty king (1818-1767 B.C.),
 28 (n. 38).
Chieh 揭 or 揭 (musical instrument), 75 (and
 n. 15).
 Chieh Chih-t'ui 介之推, see Chieh Tzu-t'ui.
 Chieh Tzu-sui 介子綏, see Chieh Tzu-t'ui.
 Chieh Tzu-t'ui 介子推, very loyal dignitary (7th
 cent. B.C.), 132A (and n. 77).
Chien-pai lun 堅白論 (Hard and White), by Kung-
 sun Lung, 135A (n. 87).
Chien-ping 兼并 (to take possession), 209
 (n. 70).
Chien-wu 建武 (reign era 25-56 A.D.), 188.
Ch'ien-chih 前識 (a priori knowledge), 148 (n. 8).
 Ch'ien Ta-chao 錢大昭, scholar (1744-1813
 A.D.), 210 (n. 98).
Ch'ien-wan 千萬 (a large number), 208 (n. 45).
Chih 徵 (tone), 124, 169K, 171A; lower, 169L.
 Chih-chih 郅支, shan-yü (d. 36 B.C.), 53 (n. 13).
Ch'ih 尺 (measure, equivalent to ca. one foot),
 6 (n. 6), 12, 22, 67, 84A, 134A (and n. 82),
 169A1 (and n. 1), 197 (n. 66).
 Ch'ih Sung 赤松子, Taoist immortal, 205 (and nn.
 10, 16).
 Child, 134A (and n. 79), 158A-B, 171A, 209 (n. 54);
 injury of, 84A; wandering, 171A.
 Chin 晉: kingdom of, 170, 204 (comm.); dynasty of
 (265-420 A.D.), 81 (n. 14), 125 (n. 60), 171A
 (n. 29); Book of, 176 (nn. 13, 16).

- Ch'in 秦 : kingdom of, 1, 10, 11, 171A, 176, 178, 179; dynasty of, 52, 209 (nn. 58, 70).
- Ch'in 琴 (zither), Chapter 16 *passim*, 82A-D, 169A1-G1, H1, I1 and J1-3 (and comm., nn. 1, 4), 170, 171A, 172A-B, 173, 174, 188, 209.
- Ch'in Chin-chün 秦 近 君 , see Ch'in Kung.
- Ch'in Chün-yen 秦 君 延 , see Ch'in Kung.
- Ch'in Kung 秦 恭 , prolific commentator (older contemporary of Huan T'an), 88 (and nn. 1-2).
- Ch'in Shih Huang-ti 秦 始 皇 帝 (First Sovereign Emperor of the Ch'in), 11B, 52, 53.
- Ch'in-tao 琴 道 (The Way of the Zither), by Huan T'an, 169A1 (n. 4).
- Ch'in-ts'ao 琴 操 ("The Principle of the Zither), by Ts'ai Yung or Huan T'an, 132B (n. 79), 169A1 (nn. 1, 4).
- Ch'in Yen-chün 秦 延 君 , see Ch'in Kung.
- China (Chung-kuo 中 國), 53.
- Ching 荆 (type of plant), 38A (n. 19), 171A (n. 36).
- Ching: Duke of Ch'i 齊 景 公 (547-490 B.C.), 74 (and n. 13), 84A (and n. 29); Duke of Sung 宋 景 公 (516-456 B.C.), 58 (and n. 33); Emperor of Han 景 帝 (156-140 B.C.), 19 (n. 15), 28 (and n. 38), 34 (n. 10), 42, 53, 209 (n. 58).
- Ching Chün-ming 京 君 明 , see Ching Fang.
- Ching Fang 京 房 , musician (77-36 B.C.), 32A (n. 1).
- Ching Province 荆 州 , in Kiangsu, 152D.
- Ching Tzu-ch'un 景 子 春 , foreteller (probably Huan T'an's contemporary), 50.
- Ch'ing-lung 青 龍 (blue dragon), 205 (n. 66).
- Ch'ing-ming festival 清 明 , 132A (n. 77).
- Ch'ing Province 青 州 , in Shantung, 32E.

- Ch'ing Pu 鯨布 , or Ying Pu 英布 , criminal and King of Huai-nan (d. 196 B.C.), 35A (n. 11), 35B.
- Chiu-chiang Commandery 九江 , in Anhwei, 66.
- "Ch'iu hsing fu" 秋興賦 , by P'an Yu, 84A (n. 29).
- Chou 州 (unit in the T'ai-hsüan ching), 163A (n. 11).
- Chou 紂 , Duke of (11th cent. B.C.), 16, 58 (n. 32), 96.
- Chou Ch'ang 周昌 , Chancellor of Chao (d. 190 B.C.), 191 (and comm.).
- Chou Chih 周智 (Former Han), 168 (and n. 29).
- Chou Chü 周舉 , high official (d. 149 A.D.), 132 (n. 77).
- Chou dynasty 周 , 10, 11A-B, 16, 52, 53, 91 (and n. 13), 118 (n. 46), 175B (n. 6), 205 (n. 10).
- Chou Genealogy, see Chou p'u.
- Chou Hsin 紂辛 , last ruler of the Yin, 28 (n. 38), 91 (and n. 13), 16911-2 (and n. 15).
- Chou Hu 周胡 , official (Huan T'an's contemporary), 168.
- Chou-li 周禮 (Rites of Chou), 116 (n. 40), 175 (n. 7), 197 (n. 66).
- Chou-p'u 周譜 (Chou Genealogy), 110, 118 (and n. 46).
- Chou Shou-ch'ang 周壽昌 , historian (1814-1884 A.D.), 90A (n. 8), 108B (n. 11), 117 (n. 43).
- Chou Ya-fu 周亞夫 , Chancellor (d. 143 B.C.), 34 (and n. 10).
- Ch'ou-yüan 仇怨 , 讎 (hate and anger), 209 (n. 67).
- Chronological Table of the Three Dynasties (San-tai shih-piao 三代世表), Chapter 13 of Shih-chi, 118.

- Chu Chiün 朱君 , 50 (n. 15).
- Chu Hsi 朱熹 , Confucian philosopher (1130-1200 A.D.), 2A (n. 3).
- Chu Jo 朱若 , see Chu Chiün.
- Chu 朱 , Master, see Chu Chiün.
- Chu Mu 朱穆 , official (100-163 A.D.), 190 (comm., n. 48).
- Chu-shou-tao 王守盜 (Master in Charge of Robbers), 66 (n. 69).
- Chu Yu 朱佑 or 祐 , general and scholar (d. 48 A.D.), 202 passim.
- Ch'u 楚 : kingdom of, 35A-B (n. 11), 69, 152D (n. 22), 171A, 183, 184, 187, 209 (nn. 51, 52); carriage of, 184; post-Ch'in political movement, 11A (and n. 4).
- Ch'u 楚 (kind of wood), 65 (and n. 56).
- Ch'u-fu 楚服 , daughter of Emperor Wu and Empress Ch'en (d. 131 B.C.), 102 (n. 25).
- Ch'u-hsüeh chi 初學記 , encyclopedia, by Hsü Chien, 175E (comm., n. 9).
- Ch'u Shao-sun 褚少孫 , interpolator of Shih-chi (fl. mid-1st cent. B.C.), 137B (n. 97).
- Chü Ch'eng-tzu 遽成子 , see Chü Po-yü.
- Chü Chuang-tzu 遽莊子 , see Chü Po-yü.
- Chü Po-yü 遽伯玉 , or Chü Yüan 屈原 , disciple of Confucius (d. 500 B.C.), 89 (and nn. 5, 6), 199 (and comm.).
- Chü Wu-chiu 遽無咎 , Chü Po-yü's father (6th cent. B.C.), 89 (n. 5).
- Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, contemporary historian, 102 (n. 17), 209 (n. 65).
- Ch'ü-yang 曲陽 , Marquis of, 146A-B.
- Ch'ü Yüan 屈原 , poet (ca. 343-299 B.C.), 89 (n. 5).

- Ch'uan-ch'i 傳奇 (a literary genre), 188 (comm.).
- Ch'üan, Teacher 師涓, teacher of music (6th cent. B.C.), 170.
- Chuang, King of Ch'u 楚莊王 (613-591 B.C.), 184, 209 (and nn. 51, 54).
- Chuang Chou 莊周, see Chuang Tzu.
- Chuang Tzu 莊子, philosopher (365-290 B.C.), 2B, 81 (n. 14), 91 (n. 21), 117 (n. 43), 171A (n. 35), 190 (comm., n. 52), 205 (n. 14).
- Chuang Yu 莊尤, known as Yen Yu, Wang Mang's general (d. Nov., 23 A.D.), 161 (and n. 3), 164A (n. 14).
- Chüeh 角 (tone), 124, 169K, 171A.
- Chüeh-chiao lun 絕交論 (Treatise on Breaking Friendship), by Chu Mu, 190 (n. 48).
- Chün-ch'ing 君卿, or Lou Chün-ch'ing, or Lou Hu, 137A (n. 97).
- Ch'un-ch'iu 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals), 2A (n. 1), 2B, 94A-C, 95 (n. 37), 163 (n. 9).
- Ch'un-ch'iu cheng-i 春秋正義, see Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-shih-chuan cheng-i.
- Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu 春秋繁露, collection by Tung Chung-shu, 209 (n. 70).
- Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-shih-chuan cheng-i 春秋左氏傳正義, by K'ung Ying-ta, 204 (n. 79).
- Chün-meng 君孟, see Kao Chün-meng.
- Chün-shan 君山, see Huan Chün-shan.
- Chün-ta 君大, Wang Chün-ta, 140A (n. 4), 140C.
- Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 羣書治要 by Wei Cheng, 52 (n. 5), 53 (nn. 10, 15, 16), 65 (nn. 51, 53).
- Chung-ch'ang T'ung 仲長統, philosopher (179-220 A.D.), 137B (n. 97), 209 (n. 70).

- Chung Chao-p'eng 鍾肇鵬, contemporary scholar, 204 (comm.).
- Chung-chia 中家 (middle families), 209 (n. 73).
- Chung-kung 仲功, see Chang Jung.
- Chung-lang 中郎 (Gentleman-of-the-Household), 125 (n. 60), 205 (n. 3).
- Chung-nan shan 終南山, mountain in Shensi, 205 (n. 19).
- Chung-ni 仲尼, see Confucius.
- Chung tao 中道 ("middle way"), 94C (n. 35).
- Chung-tsung 中宗, see Ta-mou.
- Chung-wei 中衛 (Palace Guard), 125 (n. 60).
- Circuit (pu 部), 131B, 142.
- Classic, 210 (n. 103); Spring and Autumn Annals (Ch'un ch'iu 春秋), 94A-C (and n. 35); of Filial Piety (Hsiao Ching 孝經), Old Text version, 90A-B; of Filial Piety, New Text version, 90A-B; of Great Mystery (T'ai hsüan ching 太玄經), 164C (n. 29); Hsüan ching 玄經, by Yang Hsiung, 163A, 164D; of Music (Yüeh 樂經), 51; scholarship (ching-shu 經術), 26; Five, 169A1, 170 (n. 26), 189 (n. 43), 209 (n. 84), 210 (nn. 103, 116); the New Text school of, 88 (n. 2); the Old Text school of, 88 (n. 2), 103 (n. 27), 209 (n. 84).
- Cloud Terrace (Yün-t'ai 雲臺), 210 (n. 34).
- Coffin: inner, 47 (n. 10), 51, 158A; outer, 51.
- Cold-meat Festival, 132A (n. 2).
- Colonel (hsiao-wei 校尉); of the Ch'ang River Encampments, 134A; of the Elite Cavalry (Yüeh-ch'i 越騎), 174 (n. 40).

- Color, 25B (n. 27), 93C 135A, 209 (n. 79); dark, 75;
of Heaven and earth, 126A.
- Commandant of Justice (t'ing-wei 廷尉), 66 (n. 65).
- Commander, 53; of regular troops, 210.
- Commander-in-Chief, 108A, 207 (comm.); Officer of,
108B (nn. 11, 12).
- Commandery, 26, 32E, 51, 66, 68 (n. 3), 84A, 133A,
209, 210 (comm.); frontier, 24A; western, 108B
(n. 12).
- Commentary, 81 (n. 14), 88 (n. 1), 103 (comm., n. 26),
134 (n. 86), 158A (n. 42), 163A (n. 12), 169A
(nn. 1, 4, 5), 169H1 (n. 13), 170 (n. 26),
171B; by Liu Chün, 190 (n. 48); by Lü Hsiang,
190 (comm.), 205 (n. 19); by Tung Yüeh, 180
(n. 25); by Wen Ying 209 (n. 70).
- Commentator, 137B (n. 97), 163A (n. 12), 190 (n. 48),
204 (comm.); to Tso chuan, 204 (comm.); to
Shih chi, 186 (n. 30).
- Commoner (shu-jen 庶人), 38A-B, 58.
- Commune (t'ing 亭), 131B.
- Comparison (pi 比), 209 (n. 82).
- Composition, 157A (n. 37); of fu, 140B, 142; of song,
171A.
- Concentration, 80A and C, 82A and C, 209.
- Concubine, 40, 100, 150D (and n. 16), 171A, 176.
- Concurrently (chien 兼), 209 (n. 70).
- Confucian (ju 儒), 81 (n. 14), 102, 175 (comm.),
202 (comm.), 209 (n. 71); virtue, 209 (n. 71),
teacher, 32A.
- Confucius (K'ung-tzu 孔子), philosopher (551-479
B.C.), 2B, 6A, 28 (and n. 35), 65 (and n. 47),
68, 69, 71, 74 (and n. 13), 77, 79A-B, 81 (n. 14),
82C (n. 21), 89 (n. 5), 117 (n. 43), 134 (and

- n. 79), 141, 158A (n. 46), 160 (n. 2), 163A (and n. 9), 210 (n. 93), 215, 216.
- Consort of the shan-yü (Yen-chih 關氏), 159A-D (and n. 1).
- Contradiction, 65, 210 (comm., n. 116); inner, 53.
- Corpse, 38A (and nn. 19, 22), 60A and C, 152F (n. 28), 204 (comm.); burnt, 132 (n. 77); cold, 203, 204; dressed, 158A; infested, 152B-D.
- Correction of Apocrypha (Cheng-wei 正緯), 4th chapter of Wen-hsin tiao-lung, 210 (n. 93).
- Counsellor (fu or fu-tso 輔佐), Chapter 3, fragments 13, 26, 28 (and n. 41), 65, 169L (n. 23), 209 (and n. 49).
- Country, 32C, 34, 40, 48A, 84A, 89; destroyed, 170, 171A; disorder in, 48A, 209; distant, 171A; foundation of, 52; government of, 209 (n. 55); great, 105; in danger, 28; perished, 52; repose of, 53; strengthening of, 52.
- Country of the Naked (Lo-kuo 裸國), 61 (n. 40).
- Court, 3A-B, 53, 58, 60B, 100 (n. 11), 126A (n. 63), 132 (n. 76), 209; carriages, 100; music, 122 (and n. 51), 169A1 (n. 6), 172B; musicians, 120 (n. 48); odes, 122; of justice (pu 部), 26; official, 191 (comm.); sacred, 210.
- Courtier, 32A and C, 65; envious, 209 (n. 57).
- Courtyard, 43, 156A (and n. 34).
- Couvreur, S., (1835-1919 A.D.), 197 (n. 66), 208 (n. 45), 209 (n. 55).
- Creation, 112A-B, 115B, 169E and K (n. 21); of man, 102; of names, 2B (n. 4).
- Crime, 50 (n. 16), 65, 209 (and n. 64), 210 (n. 87); appropriate, 209 (n. 83); double, 152B;

- heinous, 210 (n. 117); public exposure of, 60B; criminal, 176.
- Criticism, 11A, 19 (and n. 15), 32A, 84A (nn. 24, 29), 94A (n. 34), 95 (n. 37), 103 (n. 27), 114A (n. 28), 135A (n. 87), 137B (n. 97), 209 (and nn. 54, 75); ironic, see ku-chi; of Emperor Ching, 34 (n. 10); of Fu Yen, 206; of law, 176; of slave ownership, 206 (n. 38); of Ssuma Ch'ien, 137B (n. 97); of Tung-fang Shuo, 137B (n. 97); Taoist, 134 (n. 79).
- Crown-Prince, 28 (and nn. 35, 37), 40, 91, 102 (and n. 25), 176.
- Cruelty, 38A-B, 52, 65.
- Cultivation of: fields, 209 (and n. 80); life, 146B, 156A; oneself, 206; peace, 100; the Way and its Power, 163A-B.
- Custom, 38A (n. 20), 132 (n. 77), 133A, 209 (n. 79); old, 53; poor, 58; social, 186; current, 23.
- Cycle (yüan 元), 4617 years, 163A (n. 9).
- Death, 49, 59 (n. 35), 84A-B (and n. 29), 89 (n. 5), 104, 114A (and n. 28), 147, 176, 198, 203, 204, 209 (and nn. 54, 58), 210; and life, 104; from eating a plant, 86A; feigned, 152B-F; of Ch'ao Ts'o, 209; of horses, 85; of many people, 102; of Yang Hsiung, 80B (and n. 9); inevitability of, 81 (n. 14); in youth, 79 (n. 2); absence in antiquity, 84A (and n. 29); premature, 84A; rightful, 84A; sudden, 84A; supernatural, 157A (n. 39); time of, 84A; understanding of, 205; untimely, 84A; violent, 191.
- Decline, 156A, 159C, 206; of the Chou dynasty, 53; to be avoided, 156B (nn. 37, 38).

- Deer Gate (Lu-men 鹿門), pass near T'ai-yüan in Shansi, 186.
- De Francis, J., 128 (comm.).
- De Groot, J. J. M. (1854-1921), 102 (n. 10).
- Delusion (huo 惑), 41, 58, 84A, 152C-D.
- Demiéville, P., 175 (comm.).
- Demons (kuei 鬼), 40, 41.
- Diagrams and Documents (t'u-shu 圖書), 210 (and n. 93).
- Die, 81, 86A (n. 37), 102, 114A-B, 150A-B, 152A, 157A-B, 158A-B, 164A, 210 (comm.).
- Diény, J. P., 75 (comm.), 120 (comm.).
- Dignitaries, 11A, 20, 24A, 26, 28, 32A and C, 40 (n. 25), 48A, 65, 91 (n. 19), 190 (comm.), 208 (comm.), 209, 210; depraved, 28; high, 8, 11A, 53, 58, 65, 176; loyal, 28; of different surnames, 52; of merit, 52; mighty, 52; rebellious, 28; talented, 209; virtuous, 28 (n. 38).
- Director of Music (Tien-yüeh 典樂), 43.
- Disciple: of Chang Sung, 84A (n. 25); of Chuang Chou, 81; of Confucius, 89 (n. 5).
- Discourse, 85 (n. 32); on man's nature, 210 (n. 91); by Tung-fang Shuo, 42A.
- Discussion, 2B (n. 4), 25B (n. 27), 32A, 74, (n. 13), 82C (and n. 20), 86A, 93D (comm.), 96 (n. 40), 108A, 134 (nn. 79, 84), 210 (n. 111); between Huan T'an and Fu Yen, 206; literary, 137B (n. 97); on heavens, 115B; secret, 100 (n. 15); vulgar, 100.
- Disposition (hsing 性), 32A, 84A, 102, 150D, 151C; moral, 171A.
- Disquisitions (lun 論), 28; fragmentary, 164C.

- Divine, 92, 159A; ability, 159A (n. 3); beings, 205; immortal (shen-hsien 神仙), the first of the spiritual men, 148A (and n. 7), 155, 156A; perfection, 80 (n. 12); virtue, 169A.
- Division Head of the Grand Minister of Works (ta ssu-k'ung yüan 大司空掾), 110 (n. 13), 208 (comm.).
- Dragon, 67, 129 (and n. 70), 146A (n. 1); with wind and rain, 129; blue and harnessed, 205; earthen, 129 (and n. 70).
- Drink, 48A, 73, 74 (n. 13), 84A (and n. 29), 171A (n. 33), 213; expert on, 85; wine, 158A; golden wine, 205.
- Drugs: life-giving, 86A; deadly, 86A; mixing of, 202 (comm.).
- Dubs, H. H. (1892-1969 A.D.), 32 (n. 9), 51 (comm.), 100 (nn. 9, 16), 146A (n. 4), 150D (n. 16), 158B (n. 47), 157A (comm.), 159A (n. 2), 169M (n. 24), 197 (n. 65), 208 (n. 47), 209 (nn. 48, 66, 70, 77, 78, 84), 210 (nn. 87, 88, 94, 110).
- Duyvendak, J. J. L. (1889-1954 A.D.), 209 (n. 80), 210 (n. 92).
- Earth, 37, 38A, 84A, 92, 93B-D, 124, 126A, 134A, 152F (n. 28), 163A, 169A1-2, 169I1, 171A, 197 (comm.), 205, 210 (n. 105); bones in, 104 (n. 28); response of, 91; return to, 84A; substance of, 92.
- Eastern: Court (Tung-ssu 東寺), 49 (n. 4); Desert (Tung-huang 東荒), 177, 205 (n. 19); Palace (Tung-kung 東宮), 36 (and n. 15); Parts of China, 69, 134.
- Eat, 48A, 52, 53, 79A and C, 82C, 86A (and nn. 36, 37), 132, 158B, 171A (n. 33), 213; cranes, 133A; the

- splendid iris, 205 (and n. 24); without ploughing, 209.
- Eggplants (ch'ieh 茄), 95 (n. 38).
- Eichhorn, W., 188 (comm.), 205 (n. 19).
- Eminent: men, 20, 77; politicians, 209 (n. 58); scholar, 209 (n. 58).
- Eminent Exemplar, T'ai-tsung 太宗, see Wen, Emperor of Han.
- Eminent Founder, Kao-tsu 高祖, see Kao, Emperor of Han.
- Emperor, 19 (n. 15), 28, 32B, 55, 60C, 65 (and n. 58), 66 (and n. 70), 126A, 157A, 164C, 169L (n. 23), 171A, 205 (nn. 20, 24), 209 (nn. 58, 79), 210 (n. 88).
- Empire, 11A, 15, 26, 32B, 37, 41, 52, 53, 55 (n. 21), 58, 60C, 65, 67, 102, 115B, 133, 136A-B, 148A-B, 169A1-2, 209, 210 (and comm., n. 116); seizure of, 52; settled, 91.
- Empress, 62 (n. 41), 85 (n. 32), 100, 154, 159A (n. 1), 206.
- Envy, 28, 52, 209 (n. 57), 210 (n. 96).
- Epochal Founder, Shih-tsung 世宗, see Wu, Emperor of Han.
- Equal, 115A-B, 159C-D.
- Equality, 65.
- Equalization (p'ing 平), 84A.
- Equinox (fen 分), 115A-B; spring and autumn, 115A-B.
- Erh-shih 二世, Hu Hai, Second Emperor of Ch'in (d. 207 B.C.), 194 (comm., n. 58).
- Erudite man (po-shih 博士), 88 (n. 2); disciple of, 49.
- Essay, 156B (n. 34), 190 (n. 48).

- Esteem, 98A, 133, 164A, C and F, 171A, 206; of magicians, 210.
- Estimate, 181, 197 (and comm.), 209 (n. 79).
- Eulogy, 100 (n. 6), 111B (n. 20), 142, 205 (n. 13), 208 (n. 47).
- Examination, 92, 133A, 169C and K (n. 21), 208, 209, 210 (and comm.), 215; into antiquity, 88.
- Execution, 50, 65, 176; by being cut in two, 50; of three hundred people, 206 (n. 36).
- Expectant Appointee (tai-chao 待詔), 50, 65.
- Extermination, 65; of families, 209 (and n. 65); of villages, 179.
- Extinguish: flame, 84A-B; sound, 169M.
- Eye, 32A, 164A (n. 16), 171A; blind, 82A-D; closed, 156B (and n. 33); indulging of, 209 (and n. 79); insects in, 152A, E and F; moving, 152D; open, 203 (and comm.); protruding, 204 (comm.).
- Fa 發, King Wu, 91 (and n. 13).
- Fa 法 (law), 209 (n. 86).
- Fa-yen 法言, by Yang Hsiung, 35A (n. 11), 80C (n. 12).
- "False Reports about the Dead" (Ssu-wei 死偽), 68th chapter of Lun-heng, 204 (comm.).
- Fame, 48A, 77, 84A, 213, 214.
- Familiarity, 80C-D, 122 (n. 53), 140A-B, 171A, 172B, 174.
- Family, 26, 32E (n. 9), 84A (n. 24), 157A, 158A-B; exterminated, 65, 209; confiscation of, 176; good, 78 (comm.); neighboring, 48A, B and C; of Empress Lü, 191; of intermediate rank, 209 (and nn. 73, 75); of Sun Shu-ao, 209 (n. 55); reform of, 206; regulation of, 189; rich, 81 (n. 14); with official salary, 209 (n. 70).

- Fan-chih 反支 (taboo day), 103 (n. 26).
- Fan K'uai 樊噲, general and dignitary of Emperor Kao (d. 189 B.C.), 32D.
- Fan Lan 范蘭, a rude man (fl. 6-1 B.C.), 153.
- Fan Sheng 范升, scholar (ca. 5 B.C.-ca. 67 A.D.), 170 (n. 26).
- Fan Tseng 范增, Hsiang Yü's general (d. 204 B.C.), 32D (n. 8).
- Fan Wen-lan 范文瀾, historian (d. 1968), 137 (n. 97).
- Fan Yeh 范曄, historian (398-446 A.D.), 132 (n. 77), 190 (comm.), 206 (comm.), 209 (n. 70), 210 (comm.).
- Fang, Achilles, 171A (n. 29).
- Fang I-chih 方以智, scholar (1611-1671 A.D.), 86B (n. 39).
- Fang-lun 訪論, see Inquiring Treatise.
- Fang-shih 方士 (magician), 146A (n. 4), 151A (n. 18), 158A (and nn. 44, 47).
- Farmer, 209 (n. 70); privileges of, 209 (n. 70).
- Farming, 209 (n. 70).
- Fascicle (chüan 卷), 176.
- Father, 28 (and n. 35), 82A-D, 123, 171A, 174 (n. 40); of Empress Fu, 154 (n. 30), 206; of King Wu, 91 (and n. 14).
- Fault, 58, 65, 102, 132 (n. 76), 186, 206.
- Favor, 48A-B, 80B, 150A, B and D, 159C (and n. 3), 202, 210; imperial, 120; of Emperor Ai, 206; private, 100.
- Favorite, 22, 210 (n. 96); concubine, 100.
- Fear, 45, 50, 52, 58, 59, 65, 84A, 86A, 154 (n. 31).
- Feather, 126, 181 (n. 26); banner, 171A; sash, 40.
- Feelings, 156A-B, 209 (n. 77); repression of, 156B.

- Fei Chih 費直, classical scholar, (1st cent. A.D.),
210 (n. 111).
- Female, 84A; slave, 158A-B.
- Fen 分 (measure), 169A1 (and n. 1).
- Fen-ch'iu 粉鯁 (a loach), 86B.
- Feng 封 (sacrifice), 59 (n. 35), 117 (n. 43).
- Feng, H. Y. 馮漢驥, contemporary historian,
102 (n. 25).
- Feng-ch'e lang 奉車郎 (Gentleman of Imperial
Carriages), 125 (n. 60), 205 (n. 3).
- Feng-ch'e lang-chung 奉車郎中 (Gentleman of Imperial
Carriages of the Palace), 125 (n. 60), 205
(n. 3).
- Feng-su t'ung 風俗通, by Ying Shao, 136C (n. 96).
- Ferghana (Ta-yüan 大宛), 102 (n. 22).
- Feudal: kings, 52; rulers (chu-hou 諸侯),
3A, 4, 52, 58, 209 (n. 59).
- Fiction, Chinese, 2B (n. 4), 132 (n. 77).
- Fief, 28 (n. 39), 209 (nn. 58, 76); abolition of, 28
(n. 38); for the descendants of ancient dynas-
ties, 52; with ten thousand families, 28.
- Field, 108A (and n. 12), 132 (n. 76), 181, 207, 209
(and nn. 70, 72, 75).
- Filial piety (hsiao 孝), 28 (n. 35).
- Filliozat, J., 205 (n. 19).
- Fines, 176, 181, 209.
- Fire, 41, 48A-C, 57, 84A, 92, 132 (n. 77), 132B (n. 2),
134A; and water, 84A; signal, 53; expiring,
84A; of ten furnaces, 151A-B.
- First Sovereign Emperor of the Ch'in, see Ch'in Shih
Huang-ti.
- Fish, 21, 52, 86A (and n. 37), 91; meat, 95 (n. 33);
white, 91 (n. 17).

Five: colors (wu-se 五色), 124, 125A; divine purposes (wu-shen-tao 五神道), 148A (n. 6); forces (wu-hsing 五行), 92, 124, 175 (n. 7); grains (wu-ku 五穀), 84A; happinesses (wu-fu 五福), 143; spiritual men (wu-shen-jen 五神人), 148A-B; orders of relationship (wu-p'in 五品), 26; sounds (wu-sheng 五聲), 124; tones (wu-yin 五音), 124; viscera (wu-tsang 五藏), 38B, 116 (and n. 40), 205 (n. 23); Classics (wu-ching 五經), see Classic, 210; Hegemons (wu-pa 五霸), Dukes Huan of Ch'i, Wen of Chin, Hsiang of Sung, Chuang of Ch'u, and Mu of Ch'in, 3A-B, 6A, 209 (n. 51); Kingdoms (wu-kuo 五國), 171A; Planets (wu-hsing 五星), 91; Stores (wu-fu 五府), 175A (and n. 7); Supreme Rulers (wu-ti 五帝), the Yellow Emperor, Chuan-hsü, K'u, Yao and Shun, 175A (and n. 7).

Flatter, 171A, 206.

Flow and Return to Womb and Tomb (Kuei-tsang 歸藏) 90A-C.

Flowing water, 108A (and n. 12), 111A-B, 128A (n. 68), 169G1.

Food, 41, 82A-B, 155, 157A, 181, 208; delicious, 52; hot, 66.

Forbidden: fire, 132 (n. 77); money (chin-ch'ien 禁錢), 55 (and n. 20); use of water, 108A.

Force, 52, 82C; effect of, 128A; exhaustion of, 53, 65; invisible, 197 (comm.); productive, 128A (n. 69).

Foretelling, 50, 158A (n. 46), 210 (and nn. 92, 98).

Forke, A. (1867-1944 A.D.), 76 (comm.), 84 (comm.),

- 94 (comm.), 164A (n. 1), 189 (n. 43), 209 (n. 61), 210 (nn. 103, 121).
- Four: ceremonies (ssu-chia 四加), 102; directions (ssu-fang 四方), 93C, 175B and E (and n. 4), 210; extremities (ssu-ta 四達), 93D, 175A (n. 4); seasons (ssu-chi 四季), 124; (ssu-shih 四時), 93D, 115B; alternation of, 84A; seas (ssu-hai 四海), 53; sides (ssu-p'ang 四傍), 134A; uttermost limits (ssu-piao 四表), 16.
- Fox, 42A-B, 171A.
- Fragrant Terrace (Lan-t'ai 蘭臺), 90C.
- Franke, O. (1863-1946), 2 (n. 3), 93B (n. 28), 163A (n. 9).
- Friend, 132 (n. 76), 157A, 168, 207 (comm.).
- Friendship, 190 (comm.), 200, 207 (n. 41); breaking of, 190 (n. 48); intimate, 28.
- Frontier, 24A, 35A-B, 53, 209; extension of, 102; official, 135B; registration of horses at, 135B (n. 87); service at, 176, 209 (n. 79).
- Fu 賦, (rhyme-prose), 80A-D (and comm., n. 12), 140A-B, 141 (and n. 9), 142, 205 (n. 13); small, 80C; one thousand, 80C-D, 140A-B.
- Fu, Empress 傅皇后 (d. 1 B.C.), 154 (and n. 30), 206 (and comm., nn. 31, 36).
- "Fu on the Kan-ch'üan Palace," see "Kan-ch'üan fu."
- Fu-ch'ai 夫差, (495-473 B.C.), 28 (n. 38).
- Fu-chien edition of Hou Han shu, 210 (nn. 98, 112).
- Fu Ch'ien 服虔, commentator (129-195 A.D.), 205 (n. 24).
- Fu-fei 虢妃, goddess of Lo River, 205 (n. 19).
- Fu-feng 扶風, commandery capital in Shensi, 84A (n. 24), 131B.

- Fu Hsi 宓犧, mythical emperor (29 cent. B.C.), 80C (n. 12), 128A-B, 163 (and n. 8), 169A1-2 (and n. 1), 169K (n. 21).
- "Fu-tso" 輔佐 (Counsellors), Chapter 5 of Chia I's Hsin shu, 208 (n. 43).
- Fu Yen 傅晏, marquis of K'ung-hsiang (d. after 1 B.C.), 85 (n. 32), 154 (n. 30), 206 (and comm.).
- Fu-yü 服于, see Submitted Capture, 53 (n. 14).
- Fu Yüeh 傅說, minister to Kao-tsung (14th-13th cent. B.C.), 28, 65.
- Funeral, 85; affairs, 198; expenditure, 198; simplicity of, 100 (and n. 6).
- Fung Yu-lan 馮友蘭, 210 (nn. 104, 113).
- Gale, E. M., 210 (n. 92).
- Gambling, prohibition of, 176.
- Game, catching of, 38A (and n. 20).
- Gate Looking for the Immortals (Wang-hsien men 望仙門), in the Kan-ch'üan Palace, 142, 205.
- Gate of Heaven (T'ien-men 天門), on T'ai shan, 205 (and n. 27).
- Genealogy (p'u 譜), 118 (n. 46).
- General, 32D-E, 53, 59, 158A (n. 46), 202 (comm.); excellent, 32D; great (Chou Ya-Fu), 34; of Keng-shih, 35B; Ts'ao Mo, 96 (n. 41); of Wang Mang, 161 (n. 3).
- Gentleman (kung 公), 155 (and n. 32); old, 192 (n. 55).
- Gentleman (shih 士), 26, 27, 28, 58, 60B, 71, 104, 206; informed, 171A; of the Way (tao-shih 道士), 146A-B (and n. 4), 155 (n. 32); prudent (chih-shih 智士), 58.

- Gentleman (lang 郎), 113A, 125 (n. 60), 126A (n. 63), 154, 155, 162, 167A, 205 (n. 3); at the Palace, 100 (n. 11), 125 (n. 60), 205 (n. 3); at the Yellow Gate, 126A, 157A; Attendant at the Gate, 157B; in Attendance, 172A-B; of Imperial Carriages, 125 (and n. 60), 142, 205 (nn. 3, 13); of the Household, 125 (n. 60), 205 (n. 3).
- Ghosts (shen 神), 40.
- Gimm, M., 119 (n. 47), 170 (n. 27), 173 (n. 38), 174 (nn. 39, 41).
- God (shen 神), 41, 80 (n. 12), 140A; of the soil and grain, 22.
- Goepper, R., 93A (n. 25).
- Gold (chin 金), 28 (and n. 40), 56, 83A, 126, 148A (n. 7), 149, 154, 157A (n. 36), 163A (n. 10), 176 (and n. 14), 186 (and n. 31), 206 (n. 37); as a medicine, 154; production of, 210; wine, 205; yellow, 176 (n. 24); ribbons, 188.
- Goodrich, C. S., 209 (n. 77).
- Government, 11A, 22, 26, 32C-D, 55 (n. 21), 105, 171 (comm.), 208 (n. 46), 209 (nn. 48, 55, 76); central, 208 (n. 46); debt, 208 (n. 45); imperial, 208 (and n. 46); kingly, 163A, 176; local, 208 (n. 46); policy, 210; servant, 65.
- Governor, 84A (n. 24), 128A (n. 68).
- Graham, A. C., 134 (nn. 78, 79), 135A (n. 87), 135B (n. 89).
- Grand Augur (t'ai-pu 太卜), 90C.

- Grand Commandant (t'ai-wei 太尉), 60B.
- Grand Historian, T'ai shih kung or Ssu-ma Ch'ien, 29, 95 (n. 38), 118, 137A, 164C.
- Grand Master of Ceremonies (t'ai ch'ang 太常), 174 (n. 40).
- Grand Minister: of Agriculture (ta-ssu nung 大司農), 55 (nn. 20, 21); of Works (ta-ssu k'ung 大司空), 110 (n. 13), 164A (n. 21), 208 (comm. and n. 44).
- Grand Palace Grandee (t'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫), 209 (n. 57).
- Grand Tutor (t'ai-shih 太師), 91.
- Grandee (ta-fu 大夫), 60A-B, 209; in Charge of the Doctrine (chang-chiao ta-fu 掌教大夫), 60; of the Director of Music (tien-yüeh ta-fu 典樂大夫), 43, 82A-C.
- Grave, 77 (n. 19), 171A; of Yang Hsiung, 198.
- Great: equality (t'ai-p'ing 太平), 93D (n. 31); substance (ta-t'i 大體), 32B-E; defined, 32A; ignorance, 32D, 38A; undertaking (hung-yeh 鴻業), 52; Administrator (t'ai shou 太守), 66 (and n. 65); Apartment (lu-ch'in 路寢), 175A and B; "Announcement" (Ta-kao 大誥), 35th Chapter of the Book of Documents, 91 (n. 14); King, see T'ai-wang; Mystery (T'ai-hsüan 太玄), by Yang Hsiung, see T'ai-hsüan ching; "Plan" (Hung-fan 洪範), 32nd Chapter of the Book of Documents, 92; Treasure (hung-pao 鴻寶); pre-
scription, 157A (n. 37); Wall (ch'ang-ch'eng 長城), 53.
- Greatness, 197.

- Gridiron (k'o 格 or lao 烙), 169II-2 (and n. 15).
- Gulik, R. H. van (1910-1967 A.D.), 169 (comm.).
- Haenisch, E. (1880-1966 A.D.), 48.
- Hairy Woman (mao-nü 毛女), 205 (n. 19).
- Hall, 93C, 124, 126, 171A, 205; of Light (ming-t'ang 明堂), 93A, C and D (and comm., n. 25), 175; of Present Immortals (ts'un-hsien tien 存仙殿), 142, 205.
- Hallucination (ku 盞), 102 (n. 25).
- Han 韓, kingdom (430-230 B.C.), 25B (and n. 26), 35A.
- Han 漢, dynasty (206 B.C.-221 A.D.), 2B (n. 4), 11A, 32D, 42A (n. 2), 52, 53, 55, 65, 81 (n. 14), 85 (n. 32), 86 (n. 34), 100 (n. 13), 102, 112 (n. 22), 119, 128A (n. 68), 135A (nn. 87, 88), 137 (n. 97), 158B (n. 48), 159A, B, and D, 163A (n. 9), 164B-C, 188 (comm.), 190 (comm.), 197 (comm.), 201 (n. 73), 209 (nn. 65, 73, 74), 210 (nn. 114, 116, 117).
- Han 韓生, Disciple of the Erudite, 49.
- Han Ao 韓鄂, author of Sui-hua chi-li (T'ang), 151C (comm.).
- Han-chü 寒具 (cake), 77 (n. 19).
- Han Chüeh 寒爵, contemporary historian, 137 (n. 97).
- Han-chung 漢中, commandery in Szechwan, 151A-B.
- Han Fei-tzu 韓非子, by Han Fei, 183 (n. 26), 201 (n. 88).
- Han Hsin 韓信, general to Emperor Kao (d. 196 B.C.), 32D.
- Han Jung 韓容, high official (1st cent. B.C.), 138 (n. 98).
- Han-ku 函谷, pass in Shensi, 11A, 79 (n. 3).

- Han-kuan ch'i-chung 漢官七種 , by Sun Hsing-yen, 66 (n. 67).
- Han-kuan-i 漢官儀 , by Ying Shao, 62 (n. 42).
- Han-lu 韓盧 , a dog, 25B (and nn. 26, 27).
- Han Mu 韓牧 (contemporary of Huan T'an), 109.
- Han-sheng 韓生 (Master Han, 49 (n. 14)).
- Han-shih 寒食 (day of cold food), 77 (n. 19).
- Han shu 漢書 , a dynastic history by Pan Ku and others, 2B (n. 4), 6 (n. 7), 34 (n. 10), 51 (n. 18), 62 (nn. 41, 42), 81 (n. 14), 86 (n. 35), 89 (n. 5), 108A (n. 8), 116 (n. 40), 117 (n. 43), 118 (n. 46), 126A (n. 63), 137A (n. 97), 148A (n. 7), 150A (n. 13), 157A (n. 39), 159A (n. 3), 164G (n. 14), 174 (n. 40), 205 (nn. 4, 8, 19, 22, 24), 206 (n. 32), 208 (n. 42), 209 (nn. 56, 58, 70, 74), 210 (nn. 88, 91, 96, 120); Chapter 10, 210 (n. 114); Chapter 22, 209 (n. 56); Chapter 23, 209 (nn. 83-84), 210 (n. 100); Chapter 24, 209 (nn. 70, 79); Chapter 29, 208 (comm.); Chapter 36, 209 (n. 84).
- Han-shu 寒熱 (disease), 151C (comm.).
- Han shu chu chiao-pu 漢書注校補 , by Chou Shou-ch'ang, 117 (n. 43).
- Han shu yin-i 漢書音義 , by Ying Shao, 159A (n. 3).
- Han-tan 甘鄆 , capital of Chao in Hopei, 182.
- Han Yü 韓愈 , philosopher (768-824 A.D.), 2A (n. 3), 210 (n. 114).
- Hang Shih-chün 扈世駿 , scholar (1696-1773 A.D.), 210 (n. 95).
- "Hard and White" ("Chienpai lun" 堅白論 , Chapter 1 of Kung-sun Lung-tzu), 136A (and n. 87).

- Heart (hsin 心), a constellation, 58.
- Heaven, 37, 41, 53, 67, 86A, 91, 93A-D, 112A-B, 115B, 134, 152F (n. 28), 163A, 169A1-2, 169I1, 171A, 193, 205, 210 (n. 105); Yao corresponding with, 97; authority of, 58; center of, 115B; cover of, 115B; movement of, 115A-B; neglect and esteem of, 133A; opposition to, 58; pivot of, 115B; production of drugs, 86A; purposeful activities of, 86A; response of, 91; substance of, 92; Way of, 163A, 210 (and n. 91); will of, 99; yang, 134A.
- Heffer, J., 93A (n. 25).
- Hegemon (pa or po 霸), 3A, 6A, 9, 10, 212.
- Hereditary Houses (shih-chia 世家), 118 (n. 46), 159A (n. 3).
- Hervouet, Y., 117 (n. 13), 160 (n. 1), 188 (comm.), 205 (n. 19).
- Hirth, F. (1845-1927 A.D.), 89 (comm.).
- Ho 和 , see Pien Ho.
- Ho Ch'ang-ch'ün 賀昌羣 , contemporary historian, 209 (n. 73).
- Ho Ch'ü-p'ing 霍去病 , Han general (ca. 141-117 B. C.), 59 (n. 35).
- Ho-kung 合宮 (Joint Palace), 175B (n. 6).
- Ho-nan 河南 , commandery in Honan, 66 (n. 65).
- Ho Shan 霍嬗 , Han official (d. 110 B.C.), 59 (n. 35).
- Ho-t'ü 河圖 (River Chart), 68 (n. 66), 210 (n. 93).
- Ho-tung 河東 , commandery in western Shansi, 142, 205 (and n. 5).
- Ho Tzu-hou 霍子侯 , see Ho Shan.
- Holzman, D., 148 (n. 8), 151C (comm.), 205 (n. 10).
- Honor, 53, 77, 143, 164F, 169A1, 171A, 206, 210 (and n. 104); empty, 52.

Horizontal alliance (heng 衡), 171A.

Horse, 13, 24, 53, 186; appreciation of, 24A-B; bay, 44; bit for, 79A; common, 79A-B; courser, 25A (n. 24); dozens of, 102; excellent, 79A-B; famous, 25A, 102; funeral escort, 85; fully-grown, 135B (n. 88); ugly, 24B; power of, 128A and C; red and harnessed, 205; registration of, 135B (n. 88); white, 135A-B.

Hou Han shu 後漢書 : by Fan Yeh, 51 (n. 18), 55 (n. 21), 84A (n. 24), 91 (n. 20), 116 (n. 40), 132A (n. 76), 161 (n. 3), 164A (n. 16), 183 (n. 27), 190 (comm., n. 48), 202 (comm., n. 75), 205 (n. 3), 206 (n. 35), 208 (n. 45), 209 (nn. 51, 64, 66, 72, 74, 75, 79, 81), 210 (nn. 95, 104, 105, 111, 114); by Hsieh Ch'eng, 210 (n. 121); by Ssu-ma Piao, 176 (n. 14).

Hou Han shu pu-i 後漢書補逸, by Yao Chih-yin, 209 (n. 72).

Hou Wai-lu 侯外廬, contemporary historian, 152F (n. 28), 189 (nn. 43, 47).

Hsi and Ho 羲和, astronomers to Yao, 210 (n. 92).

Hsi-ching tsa-chi 西京雜記, perhaps by Ko Hung, 80 (n. 12), 84A (n. 26).

Hsi K'ang 嵇康, poet (223-262 A.D.), 148 (n. 8), 151C (comm.), 205 (n. 10).

Hsi-men Chün-hui 西門君惠, magician (Huan T'an's contemporary), 146A-B (and n. 4).

Hsi-shou 犀首 (rhinoceros head), Wei general's title, 176 (n. 23).

"Hsi-tu fu" 西都賦 (Rhyme-prose on the Western Capital), by Pan Ku, 66 (n. 66).

Hsi-tz'u chuan 繫辭傳, part of I-ching, 209 (n. 55).

- Hsi-wang-mu 西王母 (Mother Queen of the West),
goddess, 205 (n. 19).
- Hsia 夏, most ancient dynasty, 20, 28 (n. 38), 52,
169G1-2, 175A, 209 (n. 54).
- Hsia-hou Chan 夏侯湛, Chin official (243-291 A.D.),
84 (n. 26).
- Hsia-hou Sheng 夏侯勝, authority on the Book
of Documents (ca. 150-ca. 60 B.C.), 188 (and
comm.).
- Hsia-i 下邑, prefecture in Kiangsu, 44.
- Hsia-ts'ai 下蔡, prefecture in Anhwei, 35A.
- Hsiang 湘, river in Hunan, 187 (and n. 32).
- Hsiang-nu 降奴, "barbarian" tribe, 53 (n. 14).
- Hsiang T'o 項託, legendary contemporary of Confucius,
134 (n. 79).
- Hsiang Yü 項羽, adversary of Emperor Kao (232-202
B.C.), 11A (and n. 4).
- Hsiao: Duke of Ch'in 秦孝公 (361-338 A.D.), 3A
(n. 1); Marquis of Chao 趙肅侯 (349-326
B.C.), 186; King of Liang 梁孝王 (d. 143 B.C.),
160 (comm.); river in Hunan 瀟, 187 (and
n. 32).
- Hsiao-ch'eng: King of Chao 趙孝成王 (265-245 B.C.),
28 (n. 31); Emperor of Han 漢孝成帝, 80A-D,
120, 136C (n. 96), 142, 175C (n. 16), 188
(comm.), 205 (and nn. 13, 19), 209 (n. 79).
- Hsiao-ching 孝經 (The Classic of Filial Piety), 90A
(n. 8), 210 (n. 117).
- Hsiao Ho 蕭何, Prime Minister to Emperor Kao
(d. 193 B.C.), 32D, 36.
- Hsiao-i 孝己, filial son (14th-13th cent. B.C.),
28 (and n. 35).

- Hsiao I-shan 蕭一山, contemporary historian, 175 (comm.).
- Hsiao-shuo 小說, "small persuasions," 189 (and n. 44).
- Hsiao Wang-chih 蕭望之, high dignitary (106-47 B.C.), 125 (n. 61).
- Hsiao-yüan hsi-men 小苑西門 (Western Gate of the Small Park), 125 (n. 61).
- Hsieh (or Hsüeh 薛): city-state in Shantung, 171A; Lord (Hsieh kung 薛公), 24A-B, 35A (and n. 11); Marquis (Hsieh hou 謝侯), musician (contemporary of Huan T'an), 43; venerable gentleman of (Hsieh-weng 薛翁), see T'ien Wen.
- Hsieh Ch'eng 謝承, historian (3rd cent. A.D.), 210 (n. 121).
- Hsieh Hsüan 薛宣, jurist (d. ca. 6-1 B.C.), 209 (n. 63).
- Hsien-chih 先知 or 識, a priori knowledge, 148 (n. 8).
- "Hsien-fu" 仙賦, see Wang-hsien fu.
- Hsien-kuan 縣官 (administrative term), 208 (n. 46).
- Hsien-Taoism 仙, 205 (n. 19).
- "Hsien-wang fu" 仙望賦, see Wang-hsien fu.
- Hsin 新, dynasty of Wang Mang (9-23 A.D.), 52 (comm.).
- Hsin-hsü 新序, by Liu Hsiang, 47 (n. 10), 53 (n. 6), 83A (n. 23), 132 (n. 77), 209 (nn. 54, 67).
- Hsin-lun 新論: by Huan T'an, 36 (nn. 15, 16), 41 (comm.), 48A (n. 13), 53 (n. 18), 61 (n. 37), 84A (n. 26), 86B (n. 39), 90E (n. 10), 93 (comm.), 95 (n. 38), 100 (n. 16), 108B (nn. 10, 12), 114B (n. 29), 115B (n. 38), 126

- (n. 62), 132 (n. 77), 134 (n. 79), 151C, 159A (n. 3), 160 (comm.), 164C (n. 21), 166 (n. 26), 169A1 (n. 1), 175 (comm.), 177, 181-183, 186, 187, 190 (comm.), 198 (n. 67), 199 (comm.), 202 (comm.), intr. to Part III, 205 (nn. 3, 13), 208 (comm., nn. 44, 47), 210 (nn. 114); by Liu Chou, 183 (n. 27); by other authors, 84A (n. 26), 191 (comm.); by Hua T'an, 14 (n. 12), 84 (n. 26); by Hsia-hou Chan, 84 (n. 26).
- Hsin-nung 新弄 (new tunes), 122 (n. 52).
- Hsin-sheng 新聲 (new tunes), 122 (n. 52).
- Hsin-shu 新書: by Chia I, 29 (n. 43), 209 (nn. 49, 70); by Huan T'an, 176.
- Hsin-tu 新都: town in Honan, 88 (n. 2), 158A (n. 46); town in Szechwan, 158A (n. 46).
- Hsin-yen 新言, by Ku T'an, 78.
- Hsin-yü 新語 (New Words): by Lu Chia, 209 (n. 53), 210 (n. 108); misprint for Hsin-lun, see Huan Mao.
- Hsing 行 (behavior), 93A (n. 27), 100 (n. 12).
- Hsiung 雄, see Yang Hsiung.
- Hsiung-nu 匈奴, "barbarian" tribe, 32E, 53 (and n. 14), 100 (and n. 13), 138 (n. 98), 159A (n. 3).
- Hsü 序 (postface), 137 (n. 97), 204 (n. 82), 205 (n. 2).
- Hsü 虛 (fiction), 2B (n. 4).
- Hsü 徐州, province in Shantung, 32E, 45.
- Hsü 宿 (star), 113B.
- Hsü Chen-ngo 徐震堦, contemporary literary historian, 189 (nn. 44-46).
- Hsü Chien 徐堅, author (659-729 A.D.), 169A1 (n. 1).
- Hsü Fu 徐福, official (ca. 80 B.C.), 48A (n. 12).
- Hsü-wu 虛無 (emptiness and nothingness), 205 (n. 17).

- Hsü Yüeh 徐樂, (ca. 130 B.C.), 6 (n. 5).
- Hsüan: King of Chou 周宣王 (827-783 B.C.), 53 (n. 7);
Duke of Ch'i 齊宣公 (455-405 B.C.), 38A; King
of Ch'i 齊宣王 (332-314 B.C.), 180; Emperor
of Han 漢孝宣帝 (73-49 B.C.), 55 (n. 21),
60A-B, 157 (n. 37), 172A B.
- Hsüan-nü 玄女 (Mysterious Woman), 205 (n. 19).
- Hsün Jen 荀恁, contemporary of Huan T'an, 140A
(n. 4).
- Hsün Tzu 荀子, philosopher (ca. 298-238 B.C.),
169M (n. 24), 183 (n. 27), 209 (n. 48), 210
(nn. 87, 94, 110).
- Hsün Yen 荀偃, or Chung-hang Yen 中行偃, Chin
official (d. 553 B.C.), 204 (and comm.).
- Hu 斛 (measure), 12.
- Hu-hai 胡亥, see Erh-shih.
- Hu-han-hsieh 呼韓邪, shan-yü of the Hsiung-nu
(58-31 B.C.), 53.
- Hu-ya chiang-chün 虎牙將軍 (Tiger's Teeth Gener-
al), 176 (n. 23).
- Hua 驊 : a horse, 25A (n. 23); mountain in Shansi:
205 (nn. 7, 19).
- Hua-chih 華芝 (splendid iris), 205 (n. 24).
- Hua-kai 華蓋 (flowery umbrella), 205 (n. 25).
- Hua-liu 驊騮, a horse, 25A.
- Hua-shan 華山, see Hua.
- Hua T'an 華譚, (d. ca. 320 A.D.), 14 (n. 12), 84
(n. 26).
- Hua-yin 華陰, town near Hua-shan in eastern Shensi,
142, 205 (and n. 7).
- Huai 淮, river in Honan and Anhwei, 111A (n. 19).
- Huai-nan 淮南王, King of Liu An, 1, 29, 149,
157 (n. 37).

- Huai-nan-tzu 淮南子, attributed to Liu An, 2B, 29
(n. 44), 48 (comm.), 52 (n. 1), 61 (n. 40),
82 (n. 18), 89 (n. 6), 169II (n. 16).
- Huan 齊桓公, Duke of Ch'i (685-643 B.C.), 53 (and
n. 6), 65, 83A-B, 96 (n. 41), 192 (and n. 55),
211.
- Huan Chieh 桓階, high official (d. after 220 A.D.),
8 (n. 1).
- Huan Chieh pieh-chuan 桓階別傳, 8 (n. 1).
- Huan Chieh-tzu 桓階子, 8 (n. 1).
- Huan Chün-shan 桓君山, see Huan T'an.
- Huan Fan 桓範, Wei minister (fl. 249 A.D.), 8
(n. 1).
- Huan Mao 桓茅, 35A (comm.), 90C.
- Huan T'an 桓譚, (ca. 43 B.C.-28 A.D.), 2B (and
n. 4), 3 (comm.), 8 (n. 1), 11A (n. 6), 14
(n. 12), 22 (comm.), 24 (n. 21), 25B (n. 27),
28 (nn. 31, 37, 38, 41), 31 (and n. 49), 32A
(n. 2), 34 (n. 10), 36 (nn. 16, 17), 37 (n. 18),
38A (n. 19), 42A (and n. 2), 44 (n. 6), 47
(n. 10), 52 (n. 1), 53 (nn. 7, 18), 55 (n. 21),
58 (n. 31), 59 (n. 35), 61 (n. 37), 68 (n. 3),
72 (n. 8), 74 (n. 13), 78, 80D (nn. 12-13),
81 (n. 14), 82B-D (nn. 20-21), 84A (nn. 24, 26,
27), 84B (comm.), 85 (n. 32), 86A (nn. 34-35),
87 (n. 34), 88 (n. 2), 89 (n. 6), 93D (comm.,
n. 31), 94 (nn. 34, 35), 95 (n. 37), 96 (nn.
39-40), 100 (n. 16), 102 (n. 20), 103 (comm.,
n. 27), 104 (nn. 28, 31), 107 (comm.), 108B
(nn. 10, 12), 110 (n. 13), 113 (n. 24), 114
(nn. 28-29), 115A (and nn. 30, 35, 38), 116
(and n. 40), 117 (n. 43), 118 (n. 46), 125

(nn. 60-61), 126, 128A (nn. 68-69), 129 (and n. 70), 130 (and n. 71), 132 (n. 77), 134 (nn. 79, 84), 135A (n. 87), 135B (n. 89), 137B (n. 97), 138 (n. 98), 141 (n. 10), 145 (comm. n. 1), 150 (n. 13), 151C (and comm.), 152F (n. 26), 156B (nn. 3, 4), 158A (n. 46), 159A (n. 3), 160 (comm.), 163A (n. 11), 164A, E (and nn. 15-16, 21, 24), 166 (n. 26), 169A1 (nn. 1, 4, 21), 169G1 (n. 1), 175 (comm., nn. 6, 7, 9), 176-180, 182, 185, 186 (and n. 30), 187, 189 (n. 47), 190 (and comm.), 191 (comm.), 192 (comm.), 194 (comm., n. 62), 195 (comm., n. 64), 197 (comm.), 198 (n. 70), 199 (comm.), 201, 202 (comm., n. 74), 203 (comm.), 204 passim (and comm.), intr. to Part III, 205 (nn. 1, 10), 206 (comm., n. 36), 207 (comm.), 208 (comm., nn. 45, 47), 209 (nn. 50, 56, 58-59, 63, 65, 67, 69-70, 72-76, 79, 81, 83-84), 210 (and comms., nn. 89, 93, 95, 97, 103-105, 111, 114-16, 118, 119, 121), 214 (and n. 123), 216.

Huan-tzu 桓子, see Huan T'an.

Huang Hui 黄暉, commentator, (20th cent.), 115B (n. 38), 130 (n. 71), 134 (n. 85), 164C (n. 21), 204 (comm.).

Huang-lao 黄老, Taoist doctrine, 81 (n. 14).

Hui 惠, Emperor (194-188 B.C.), 192 (comm.).

Hui Shih-ch'i 惠士奇, historian (1670-1741 A.D.), 175 (comm.).

Hui Tien 惠慎 (probably Hui Tung), 175 (comm.).

Hui Tung 惠棟, commentator and historian (1697-1758 A.D.), 72 (n. 8), 175 (comms., nn. 4, 7), 209 (nn. 56, 65), 210 (nn. 99, 117).

- Hui Tung-hsia (perhaps Hui Shih-ch'i), 175 (comm.).
- Hui-wen 秦惠文王, King of Ch'in (337-311 B.C.), 178.
- Hulsewé, A. F. P., 32D (n. 7), 34 (n. 11), 50 (n. 18),
60A (n. 36), 65 (nn. 57, 62), 102 (n. 25), 152C
(n. 22), 176 (nn. 13, 17, 19), 208 (n. 47), 209
(nn. 56, 65, 69, 70, 79, 82-86), 210 (nn. 92,
95).
- Hummel, A. W., 175 (comm.).
- Hun-t'ien 渾天 (astronomical theory), 115A-B (and
n. 35).
- Hunan, 187 (n. 32).
- Hung 閔 (perhaps Lo-hsia Hung), 114B (and n. 29).
- "Hung-fan" 洪範 (Great Plan): 32nd Chapter of
the Book of Documents, 188 (n. 39).
- Hung-ju 鴻儒 (eminent scholar), 210 (n. 103).
- Hung-pao 鴻寶 (Great Treasure), a prescription,
157A (n. 37).
- I 夷, barbarians, 53.
- I 姬 (concubine), 150D (and n. 16).
- I 鎰 or 溢 (measure of weight), 176 (and n. 24),
186 (and n. 31).
- I Ching, see Changes.
- I-hsing ko-ming 易姓革命 (transfer of the mandate),
117 (n. 43).
- I-jen 逸人 (retired man), 151A (n. 18).
- I-lin 意林, by Ma Tsung, 84 (n. 26), 103
(n. 27), 169A1 (n. 3).
- I-wan 億萬 (a large number), 208 (n. 45).
- I-wen lei-chü 藝文類聚, encyclopedia by Ou-yang
Hsün, 205 (n. 30).
- I-wu 夷吾, see Kuan Chung.
- I Yin 伊尹, minister to T'ang (18th cent. B.C.), 10,
20, 28, 65.

- Ice, 70, 95 (n. 33), 151A.
- Idea, 84A, 90A, 96, 118 (n. 46), 135A (n. 87), 159A (n. 3), 169A1 (n. 6); consistent, 82; recurring, 209 (n. 56); transmission of, 95 (and n. 38); wicked, 37.
- Identity, 65, 158A (n. 46); of body and candle, 84A; of spiritual fluid and flame, 84A; undifferentiated, 4.
- Idleness, 28, 52, 176.
- Ignorance, 32A, C, D, and E, 38A, 65, 138.
- Illness, 44, 51-52, 80A, D (and n. 13), 84A, 99, 132, 151A and C, 152A-B, 198, 210 (comm.); to feign, 152B.
- Imitate, 96, 102, 118, 209 (nn. 54, 77).
- Immortal (hsien 仙), 129 (n. 70), 142, 145, 147, 151 (comm.), 157A (n. 39), 205 (nn. 10, 13, 22); divine, 155; by study, 156A; way of, 145 (and n. 1).
- Immortality, 205.
- Impious (pu-tao 不道), 50 (n. 16), 210 (n. 117).
- In the Pillow, see Chen-chung.
- "Inquiring Treatise," Fang-lun, by Lu Hsi 2B (n. 4).
- Insects, 84A, 144, 146A-B (and n. 5); hibernating, 152F (n. 28); in a corpse, 152B-D (and n. 28); in eyes, 152A, E and F; short-lived, 171A (n. 35).
- Instrument: astronomical, 197 (comm.); musical, 75 (and n. 15), 91, 169 (comm.).
- Instrumentalist (kung 工), 173-74.
- Intelligence, 100; recognition of, Chapter 10.
- Intelligent: counsellors, 209: lady, 199; man, 84A (n. 24), 98A, 99, 102-103, 115B, 166.
- Intercourse: mutual, 63, 171A; sexual, 84A.
- Internuncio of the Guards, 138.
- Iris, eating of splendid, 205 (and n. 24).

- Iron, 130 (n. 72).
- Irony: critics, see ku chi; in Wang Ch'ung, 210 (n. 103).
- Irrigation, 108A-B (and n. 12).
- Jade, 20; strung, 91, 112B; juice, 205 (and n. 23); letter, 138; liquors, 205 (and nn. 23, 25); piece of, 93B; room, 169I1; utensil, 138; Dam (pi-yung 辟雍), 93A-B; Lady (Yü-chiang 玉姜), style name of Hairy Woman, 205 (n. 19); Woman (Yü-nü 玉女), 205 (and n. 19).
- Jan Chao-te 冉昭德, contemporary historian, 128A (n. 69).
- Jao Tsung-yi 饒宗頤, contemporary historian, 169A (n. 6), 171A (n. 29).
- Jen An 任安, official (contemporary of Ssu-ma Ch'ien), 209 (n. 61), 210 (n. 120).
- Jen Chen-ch'ing 任真卿, musician (probably a contemporary of Huan T'an), 173.
- Jen I 任昉, author of Jen-tzu (end of Han), 9 (n. 2).
- Jen Ku 任昉, author of Jen-tzu tao-lun (2nd-3rd cent. A.D.), 9 (n. 2).
- Jen Shuang 任爽, perhaps identical with Jen I, 9 (n. 2).
- Jen-tzu 任子 by Jen I, 9 (comm.).
- Jen-tzu tao-lun 任子道論, by Jen Ku, 9 (n. 2).
- Joint Palace, see Ho kung.
- Ju-i, see Liu Ju-i.
- Ju-sheng 儒生, scholar, 210 (n. 103).
- Ju Shun 如淳, commentator (189-265 A.D.), 197 (n. 65).
- Juan Yüan 阮元, scholar (1768-1849 A.D.), 175 (comm.).
- Judge, 210.

- Judgment, 65, 135A (n. 87), 141, 156B (n. 37), 159A (n. 3), 209; firm, 32A; measured, 32A.
- Juggler, 120.
- Jung 戎, "barbarian tribe," 65 (n. 50).
- Junior Tutor (Shao-shih 少師), 91.
- Justice, 209.
- Kai-t'ien 蓋天 (astronomical theory), 115A.
- Kaltenmark, M., 205 (nn. 7, 10, 19, 23).
- "Kan-ch'üan fu" 甘泉賦 (Rhyme-prose on the Sweet Springs Palace), by Yang Hsiung, 80A, 126A (n. 64), 205 (nn. 19, 22).
- Kan-ch'üan Palace 甘泉宮 (Sweet Spring Palace), 80A-C, 142, 205 (and n. 13).
- Kan Yen-shou 甘延壽, officer (d. 33 B.C.?), 53 (and n. 13).
- K'ang, king of Sung 宋康王 (328 or 318-286 B.C.), also known as Yüan 元 or Yen 偃, 47 (and nn. 9-10).
- K'ang Yu-wei 康有為, scholar (1857-1927 A.D.), 84 (n. 24).
- Kansu, province, 205 (n. 29).
- Kao 高, Emperor (206-194 B.C.), also known as Eminent Founder and Liu Pang, 11A, 32A, C, and D, 35A (n. 1), 52, 53 (and n. 7), 99, 100 (n. 9), 159A-B (and n. 3), 191 (comm.), 209 (n. 69).
- Kao Chün, see Kao Chün-meng.
- Kao Chün-meng 高君孟, lawyer (Huan T'an's contemporary), 162 (and n. 5).
- Kao P'ing-tzu 高平子, contemporary scholar, 197 (comm., n. 66).
- Kao-ts'eng 高曾 (ancestor of the eighth generation), 66 (n. 66).

- Kao-tsung 高宗 , see Wu-ting, 28 (and n. 35), 58 (n. 29), 65.
- Kao Yao 皋陶 , minister of Shun reputed to have created law (23 cent. B.C.), 65 (and n. 57).
- Kao Yu 高誘 , commentator (2nd-3rd cent. A.D.), 48A (n. 12), 89 (n. 5), 169Il (n. 16).
- Keng-shih 更始 , Emperor Liu Hsüan (23-25 A.D.), 11A, 35B (and comm., n. 13), 53, 188.
- Killing, 60A and C, 86A, 103 (comm.), 158A-B; evil men, 209; birds, 133; men, 38A, 102 (n. 25), 176.
- King (wang 王), 3A-B, 6A-B, 8-10, 32B, 52, 91, 93A-C, 161A1-3, 182-183; dead, 203 (comm.); early, 210; feudal, 52; government of, 163A, 176; great, 22; new, 117 (n. 43); of Ch'in, 11A; of Chou, 52; of Yin, 52; rise of, 52; sagely, 39, 53; way of, 3B, 5, 93B; with assumed titles under Keng-shih, 53.
- Kishibe Shigeo 岸边成雄 , music historian, 42A (n. 2).
- Knowledge, 11A, 13, 28, 32A-C, 36, 45, 65, 100, 114A-B, 117, 138, 155, 160, 164C, 171A (n. 33), 206; a priori, 148A; at death, 84A; through hearing, 65; of the multitude, 65; common, 154 (n. 31); of the sage, 31, 79A; of the worthies, 42A; difficult, 23; extended, 73; great, 32C; thorough, 74, 107, 164B; of the future, 53; lack of, 24A; men of, 13; of likenesses, 65; of differences, 65; of far and near, 28; of high age, 82A and C; of laws and regulations, 162; of long and short, 141; of prescriptions, 157A; of reality, 196; of the skin, 84A (n. 26); of omens, 68; of sounds, 170; of one's birth, 84A.

- Ko-hsien 葛仙山, mountain in Chekiang, 205 (n. 22).
- Ko Hung 葛洪, philosopher (284-363 or 280-340 A.D.), 115A (n. 30), 151C, 152F (n. 29).
- Koh Byongik, contemporary scholar, 164E.
- Kou-teng 鈎藤 (a plant, ouriparia rhynchophylla), 86A (n. 35).
- Kou-wen 鈎吻 (a plant), 86A (n. 35).
- Kramers, R. P., 160 (n. 2).
- Kroll, J. L., 209 (n. 65).
- Ku 盞 (black magic), 102 (n. 25).
- "Ku-chi" 滑稽 (Ironical Critics), Chapter 126 of Shih-chi, 137B (n. 97), 209 (n. 54).
- Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛, contemporary historian, 175 (comm.), 210 (n. 92).
- Ku Ch'ien-li 顧千里, scholar (1776-1835 A.D.), or Ku Kuang-ch'i 顧廣圻, 205 (n. 4).
- Ku-chin li 古今歷, see Calendar of Antiquity and Present Times.
- Ku-chin shuo-pu ts'ung-shu 古今說部叢書, 202 (comm.).
- Ku-kung 古公, see T'ai-wang.
- Ku-kung Tan-fu 古公亶父 (The Old Duke Tan-fu), see T'ai-wang.
- Ku-liang Ch'ih 穀梁赤, author of the Ku-liang chuan (3rd-2nd cent. B.C.), 94A-B.
- Ku T'an 顧譚, scholar (3rd cent. A.D.), 78.
- Ku-tao 古道 (old course of the Yellow River, 110 (n. 16)).
- Ku-tu 古瀆 (old river), 110 (n. 16).
- Ku-tzu Hsin-yü 顧子新語, by Ku T'an, 78.
- Ku Yen-wu 顧炎武, scholar (1613-1682 A.D.), 198 (n. 69).

- Ku Yung 谷永, high official and scholar (d. 8 or 7 B.C.), 200 (comm., n. 71), 210 (n. 5);
顧雍, chancellor of Wu (168-243 A.D.), 78.
- Kua-wu 誑誤 (deceive), 210 (n. 95).
- Kuan Chung 管仲, chancellor of Ch'i (d. 645 B.C.), 28, 53, 65 (and n. 50), 103 (n. 26), 117 (n. 43), 211.
- Kuan Lung-feng 關龍逢, virtuous minister (18th cent. B.C.), 28 (and n. 38).
- Kuan Ping 關並, colonel (contemporary of Huan T'an), 107 (and n. 2), 134A (n. 80).
- Kuan-tung 關東, region east of Han-ku pass, 79A (n. 3).
- Kuan-tzu 管子, eclectic book, 117 (n. 43), 209 (n. 70).
- Kuan Tzu-yang 關子揚, see Kuang Ping.
- Kuang-wu 光武, Han Emperor (25-58 A.D.), 93 (comm), 94 (n. 34), 164A (n. 16), 175 (n. 7), 202 (comm.), 209 (n. 65), 210 (nn. 93, 105, 114, 116).
- K'uang 師曠, music teacher (6th cent. B.C.), 170.
- Kuei 圭 (table of measurement), 197 (and comm., (n. 66).
- Kuei-lin 桂林, region in southwest China, 61 (n. 37).
- K'un-ming 昆明池, lake in Shang-lin park in Ch'ang-an, 151A.
- Kundalini, 205 (n. 19).
- kung 宮: (secluded quarter), 176 (n. 19); (musical tone), 124, 169K, 171A; smaller (shao kung 少宮), 169K.
- Kung-jen 工人 (instrumentalist), 173 (n. 38).

- Kung-kung 共工, minister to Yao (24th-23th cent.), 2B.
- Kung Sheng 龔勝, scholar (Huan T'an's contemporary), 51 (n. 18).
- Kung-sun Lung 公孫龍, (4th-3rd cent. B.C.), 32A, 135A-B (and nn. 87, 89).
- Kung-sun Shu 公孫述, rival of Kuang-wu (d. 36 A.D.), 158A (n. 46).
- Kung-sun Yang 公孫鞅, see Shang Yang.
- Kung-tu 公都, disciple of Mencius, 32A (n. 1).
- Kung-yang chuan 公羊傳, 94A (n. 34).
- Kung-yang Kao 公羊高, author of the Kung-yang chuan (3rd-2nd cent. B.C.), 94A-B.
- K'ung 控 or 控 (musical instrument), 75 (and n. 15).
- K'ung Ch'iu 孔丘, see Confucius.
- K'ung-hou 瑩篥 (musical instrument), 42A-B (and n. 2).
- K'ung-hsiang, Marquis of 孔鄉侯, see Fu Yen.
- K'ung Kuang-t'ao 孔廣陶, editor (fl. 1861-1889 A.D.), 205 (n. 1).
- K'ung P'ing-chung 孔平仲, poet (ca. 1040-1105 A.D.), 198 (nn. 69-70).
- K'ung-ts'ung-tzu 孔叢子, by K'ung Fu, 25B (n. 27).
- K'ung-tzu chia-yü 孔子家語, by Wang Su, 160 (n. 2), 216 (comm.).
- K'ung Ying-ta 孔穎達, scholar (574-648 A.D.), 204 (comm., n. 79).
- K'ung-yü 空語 (fiction), 2B (n. 4).
- Kuo, Mr., 郭氏, (7th cent. B.C.), 53.
- Kuo-chiao 郭叔 (name of an ox), 25A (and n. 25).

Kwangsi, province, 75 (n. 15).

Kwangtung, province, 75 (n. 15).

Lady (fu-jen 夫人), 150A-D, 199.

"Lan-hai fu" 覽海賦 (Looking at the Sea), by
Pan Piao, 205 (nn. 10, 20, 28).

Lang 郎, see Gentleman.

Lang-chung 郎中 (Gentleman at the Palace), 125 (n. 60).

Lao-Chuang 老莊, Taoist doctrine, 81 (n. 14).

Lao Kan 勞榦, contemporary scholar, 55 (n. 21).

Lao-tzu 老子, 81 (n. 14), 84A, 148 (n. 8), 163A-B,
164G (and n. 11).

"Last Word on Dragons" (Luan lung), 47th chapter of
Lun-heng, 129 (n. 70).

Laugh, 36, 79A, 134 (n. 79), 137B (n. 97), 202 (and
comm.).

Law, 3A-B, 32C-D, 65, 100, 102 (n. 25), 115B, 162, 163A,
176 (and n. 20), 178, 209 (and nn. 94,
97), 210 (comm., n. 117); application of, 209
(n. 83); contempt for, 32D; criminal, 206;
cruel, 176 (n. 20); establishment of, 102; old, 209
(n. 65); penal, 65 (n. 57), 100 (n. 6), 176
(comm.), 177-180; profit from, 209 (n. 81);
severe, 176; to hold up, 65; tried at, 152A, B
and E; splitting of, 65.

Learned man, see also t'ung-jen, 38A, 134 (n. 79),
198, 210.

Legal: system, 163A, 212; terminology, 152C (n. 22),
209 (n. 64), 210 (n. 87).

Legend, 58 (n. 28), 205 (n. 10).

Lei-shu 類書 (encyclopedia), 86B (n. 39).

Lei-t'ung 雷同 (commonplace), 28 (n. 31), 210
(n. 101).

- Letter, 79 (n. 5), 138, 160 (comm., n. 1); by Huan T'an, 80 (n. 12), 207; by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, 209 (n. 61); by L. S. Yang, 208 (n. 45); by Yang Hsiung, 80 (n. 12), 214.
- Levenson, J. R. (1920-1969 A.D.), 210 (n. 117).
- Lévy, A., 132 (n. 77).
- Li: King of Chou 周厲王 (878-841 or 828 B.C.), 53 (n. 6); concubine of Emperor Ching 栗姬 (d. after 150 B.C.), 28; consort of Emperor Wu 李夫人 (d. before 121 B.C.), 150A and C (and n. 13).
- Li-chi 禮記, 58 (n. 34), 75 (n. 14), 84A (n. 28), 169II (n. 17), 205 (n. 20), 210 (nn. 101, 110); Old Text version, 90A.
- Li Ch'i 李奇, commentator (fl. 200 A.D.), 103 (comm., n. 27).
- Li Hsien 李賢, commentator to Hou Han shu (651-684 A.D.), 103 (n. 26), 126 (comm.), 132 (n. 77), 202 (comm.), 206 (n. 32), 209 (nn. 64, 66, 69-70, 75, 79, 81, 86), 210 (nn. 92, 95, 99, 104).
- Li K'uei 李悝, economist (5th cent. B.C.), 176.
- "Li luan" 理亂, chapter in Ch'ang-yen by Chung-ch'ang T'ung, 209 (n. 70).
- "Li-sao" 離騷, poem by Ch'ü Yüan, 139.
- Li Shan 李善, commentator to Wen hsüan (d. 689 A.D.), 171B (comm.), 189 (comm.), 190 (comm.), 205 (n. 19).
- Li-shan 厲山, see Lien-shan.
- Li Shao-chün 李少君, magician (d. ca. 132 B.C.), 150A-C (and n. 13).
- Li Yen 酈炎, poet and musician (150-177 A.D.), 96 (n. 40).

- Liang: kingdom under Han, 172A-B; dynasty, 65 (n. 56), 118 (n. 46).
- Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啓超, scholar (1873-1929 A.D.), 210 (n. 114).
- Liang-fu 梁父, hill near T'ai-shan, 117 (n. 43).
- Liang Tzu-ch'u 梁子初, official (Huan T'an's contemporary), 167A-B.
- Lieh-hsien chuan 列仙傳, probably by Ko Hung, 205 (nn. 10, 19).
- Lieh-nü chuan 列女傳 (Biographies of Eminent Women), probably by Liu Hsiang, 199 (comm.).
- Lieh-tzu 列子, (compiled ca. 300 A.D.), 2B (n. 4), 134A (nn. 79, 84), 135A (n. 87).
- Lien-chü 聯句, by Han Yü, 210 (n. 114).
- Lien-shan 連山 (Manifestation of Change in the Mountains), a version of the Book of Changes, 90C (n. 9).
- Lieutenant Chancellor (ch'eng-hsiang 丞相), 154, 172A.
- Life, 81 (n. 14), 84A-B, 104; cultivation of, 146A, 156A; end of, 84A, 147; intact, 209 (n. 83); long, 82B, 84A, 143, 146A-B; preserved, 209; prolongation of, 145 (comm.); regulated, 204 (comm.); shortness of, 81, 171A (n. 35); understanding of, 205.
- Lin-huai 臨淮, commandery in Chekiang, 152A.
- Lin Hui 林回, unknown (Yin period), 190.
- Ling 伶 (actor), 188 (comm.).
- Ling 靈: King of Chou 周靈王 (571-545 B.C.), 205 (n. 10); King of Ch'u 楚靈王 (540-529 B.C.), 40, 183 (n. 27); Duke of Wei 衛靈公 (534-520 B.C.), 170, 199 (and comm.); Lady of, 199 (and comm.); posthumous name of King Ch'eng of Ch'u, 203 (comm.).

- Ling Hsi 冷喜, official (Huan T'an's contemporary), 155.
- Ling Hsüan 伶玄, writer and official (1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.), 188 (and comm.).
- Ling-t'ai 靈臺 (Spiritual Tower), 93 (comm.).
- Ling Yüan 伶元, see Ling Hsüan.
- Literary: attainments, 71 (n. 8); criticism, 171A (n. 29); production, 32A; text, 209 (n. 84); works by Huan T'an, 190 (comm.).
- Literati, 6A, 95 (and n. 38), 115B, 159A (n. 3), 175 (comm.), 210 (n. 103).
- Literature, 140B, 171A (n. 29); ancient and modern, 210 (n. 103); post-Han, 188 (comm.).
- Liu 劉, 195.
- Liu, Marquis of 留侯, see Chang Liang, 45.
- Liu-an 六安, commandery in Anhwei, 210 (and n. 119).
- Liu An 劉安, King (ca. 180-122 B.C.), 29, 148 (n. 7), 149 (n. 10).
- Liu Chao 劉昭, commentator (fl. 502-519 A.D.), 126A (comm.), 129 (comm.), 131A (comm.).
- Liu Chi 劉伋, son of Liu Hsiang (1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.), 86A (n. 34), 98 (n. 1).
- Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾, historian (661-721 A.D.), 94C (n. 35), 118 (n. 46), 164E (nn. 22-23).
- Liu Chou 劉晝, author of a Hsin-lun (ca. 516-ca. 567 A.D.), 183 (n. 27).
- Liu Chü 劉據, son of Emperor Wu and Wei Tzu-fu (d. 91 B.C.), 28 (n. 37), 102 (n. 25), 206 (n. 34).
- Liu Chün 劉峻, poet (462-521 A.D.), 190 (comm., n. 48).
- Liu Fang 柳芳, scholar (fl. 720 A.D.), 118 (n. 46).

- Liu Heng 劉恒, or Emperor Wen, 100 (nn. 9, 11).
- Liu Hsiang 劉向, scholar (79-8 B.C.), 2B (and n. 4), 53 (n. 6), 86 (n. 34), 98A-B (and n. 1), 136C (n. 96), 157A (n. 37), 188 (comm.), 189 (n. 47), 195 (n. 64), 199 (comm.), 209 (nn. 54, 67, 84).
- Liu Hsieh 劉勰, author of Wen-hsin tiao-lung (ca. 465-522 A.D.), 80 (n. 13); 194 (n. 62), 195 (n. 64), 197 (comm.), 210 (nn. 93, 95).
- Liu Hsin 劉歆, scholar (ca. 50 B.C.-23 A.D.), 82C (and nn. 19-20), 86A (n. 34), 87 (n. 1), 98A-B (n. 1), 129 (and n. 70), 130 (and n. 71), 135A (n. 87), 156A, 156B (nn. 33, 34), 159A (and n. 3), 164C (and n. 19), 188 (comm.), 189 (n. 47), 195 (n. 64).
- Liu I-ch'ing 劉義慶, author (403-444 A.D.), 190 (n. 48).
- Liu Ju-i 劉如意, son of Emperor Kao (d. 193 B.C.), 191 (comm.).
- Liu Jung 劉榮, eldest son of Emperor Ching and Lady Li (d. 146 B.C.), 28 (n. 36).
- Liu Keng-sheng 劉更生, see Liu Hsiang.
- Liu Kung 劉恭, official (1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.), 188.
- Liu P'an-sui 劉盼遂, contemporary commentator, 164B (n. 21).
- Liu Pang 劉邦, 11A (n. 4), 36, Emperor Kao, 11A (n. 4), 36 (n. 17).
- Liu Pin 劉敞, commentator (1022-1088 A.D.), 163 (n. 12).
- Liu Po-sheng 劉伯生, nephew of Liu Hsin (1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.), 86A (n. 34).
- Liu Po-shih 劉伯師, nephew of Liu Hsin (1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.), 84A-B, 86A (n. 34).

- Liu Po-yü 劉伯玉, nephew of Liu Hsin (1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.), 86A (n. 34).
- Liu-tzu Hsin-lun 劉子新論, by Liu Chou, 183 (n. 27).
- Liu Tzu-cheng 劉子政, see Liu Hsiang.
- Liu Tzu-chün 劉子駿, see Liu Hsin.
- Liu Tz'u 劉賜, son of Liu Hsiang (1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.), 86A (n. 34).
- Liu Yao 劉杳, official and scholar (487-536 A.D.), 118 (n. 46).
- Lo River 洛水, in Shensi and Honan, 68, 205 (n. 19).
- Lo-ch'uan 裸川 (Stream of the Naked), in southwest China, 61 (nn. 37, 40).
- Lo-hsia Hung 洛下閎, astronomer (2nd cent. B.C.), 114B (nn. 27, 29).
- Lo Hsiang-lin 羅香林, contemporary historian, 84 (n. 24).
- Lo Jung-pang 羅榮邦, contemporary historian, 128A (n. 68).
- Lo-kuo 裸國, see Country of the Naked, 61 (n. 40).
- Lo-shu 洛書 (Writing of the Lo River), 68 (n. 3), 210 (n. 93).
- Lo-yang 洛陽, town in Honan, 138, 205 (n. 7).
- Loehr, Max, 159A (n. 3).
- Loewe, M., 135B (n. 88).
- Lord on High (Shang-ti 上帝), 40, 84A, 169F.
- Lou Hu 樓護, official and humorist (1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.), 137A (n. 97).
- Love, 102, 104, 171A, 191; extreme, 150B; of music, 96 (n. 39); of people, 39; of women, 159A-D; of Tzu-fu, 206 (n. 32); philter, 102 (n. 25), 206 (n. 36).

- Lower Park (hsia-yüan 下苑), 125 (n. 61).
- Loyalty, 19, 58 (n. 32).
- Lu: 騾 (name of a horse), 25A (n. 24); 魯, kingdom, 35A, 69, 94A-B, 96 (n. 41).
- Lu Chi 陸機, literary critic (261-303 A.D.), 164E (n. 23), 171A (n. 29).
- Lu Chia 陸賈, author of New Words (ca. 250-175 B.C.), 2B, 209 (n. 53), 210 (n. 108).
- Lu Chung-lien 魯仲連, or Lu Lien, wandering advisor (3rd cent. B.C.), 28 (and n. 40).
- Lu Hsi 陸喜, official (d. before 290 A.D.), 2B (n. 4).
- Lü, Han empress 呂后 (188-180 B.C.), 53 (and n. 9), 191 (and comm.).
- Lü Chung-tzu 呂仲子, contemporary of Huan T'an, 158A-B (and n. 43).
- Lü Hsiang 呂向, official (7th-8th cent. A.D.), 190 (comm.).
- Lü Pu-wei 呂不韋, businessman and politician (ca. 290-235 B.C.), 1.
- Lü Shang 呂尚, minister (11th cent. B.C.), 10, 20, 26, 28, 65.
- Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu 呂氏春秋, attributed to Lü Pu-wei, 1, 6 (n. 6), 130 (n. 71), 16911 (nn. 15-16).
- Lun-heng 論衡, by Wang Ch'ung, 2A (n. 3), 6 (n. 5), 86A (n. 36), 89 (n. 6), 91 (n. 17), 100 (n. 7), 115B (n. 38), 130 (n. 71), 134A (n. 80), 134 (n. 86), 135A (n. 87), 159A (n. 1), 164C (n. 21), 189 (n. 43), 203 (comm.), 204 (comms.), 209 (n. 61), 210 (n. 103).
- Lun-yü 論語 (Analects), 209 (n. 86), 210 (n. 91), 216 (comm.).
- Lung-feng, or Kuan Lung-feng, 28 (n. 38).

- Lung Te 龍德, musician (fl. 60 B.C.), 172A-B.
Lute, see zither.
- Ma I-ch'u 馬夷初, contemporary scholar, 81 (n. 14).
- Ma Kuo-han 馬國翰, compiler of Yü-han shan-fang chi i-shu 玉函山房輯佚書 (1794-1857 A.D.), 8 (n. 1), 9 (n. 2), 78 (comm.).
- Magic, 80 (n. 12); black, 102 (and n. 25), 206 (n. 36); practices, 210; recipe, 146A-B.
- Magicians, 102, 129 (and n. 70), 146 (n. 5), 149, 150 A-B, 151A, 152A-F, 154, 156A, 158A-B (and nn. 46-47), 206 (and n. 36), 210; practices of, 65, 206 (n. 36).
- Makino Tatsumi 牧野巽, contemporary historian, 209 (n. 65).
- Man 蠻, "barbarians," 152C-D.
- Mandate of heaven (ming 命), 117 (n. 43).
- Mao Ch'i-ling 毛奇齡, scholar (1623-1707 A.D.), 175 (comm.).
- Mao Chin 毛晉, editor (1599-1659 A.D.), 210 (n. 98).
- Mao-nü 毛女, see Hairy Woman.
- Market, 24A, 63, 138, 190 (comm.); midnight, 131A; night, 131B.
- Marketplace, 1, 71, 102 (n. 25), 190.
- Marquis (hou 侯), 176; title of, 202; of the Eastern Gate of the Small Park (Hsiao-yüan Tung-men hou 小苑東門侯), 125 (n. 61); of the Western Gate of the Small Park (Hsiao-yüan Hsi-men hou 小苑西門侯), 125 (n. 61).
- Marriage, 53 (and n. 9), 100, 157A-B; at improper time, 84A; political, 100 (n. 13); with the Hsiung-nu, 33, 100.

- Mars, planet (Huo-hsing 火星), 58.
- Masabuchi Tatsuo 增淵龍夫, contemporary historian, 209 (n. 65).
- Maspero, H. (1883-1945 A.D.), 93A (n. 25, comm.), 116 (n. 40), 175 (comm.), 205 (nn. 16, 19, 23, 25).
- Master, see Confucius, 210 (n. 91); of Rain, 205 (n. 10); in Charge of Robbers (chu-shou-tao 守盜), 66; Yang, see Yang Hsiung.
- Māyā (huan 幻), 152D (n. 34).
- Medicine, 102 (n. 25), 116 (n. 40), 157A-B; for prolonging life, 154.
- Mencius 孟子, philosopher (ca. 390-305 B.C.), 6 (n. 6), 32A (nn. 1-2), 84A (n. 25), 131B (n. 73), 165 (n. 25), 171A (n. 33), 175 (comm.), 201 (n. 72), 205 (n. 30), 209 (nn. 48, 52).
- Meng (優) 孟, half-legendary personality of the Warring Kingdoms period, 137B (n. 97), 188 (comm.).
- Meng-ch'ang, Lord of 孟嘗君, see T'ien Wen.
- Meng Ford 孟津, in Honan, 91.
- Meng Sun 孟孫, officer (Huan T'an's contemporary), 45.
- Merchant, 209 (and nn. 69, 79); rich, 209 (nn. 70, 75-76).
- Metal, 92, 169D1 (n. 9), 169I1-2 (and n. 15).
- Middle Gate (chung-men 中門), 43.
- Middle way (chung-tao 中道), 94C (n. 35).
- Mien-shang 綿上, mountain in Shansi, 132 (n. 77).
- Military: expedition, 55 (n. 20), 102, 210; forces, 96 (n. 41); methods, 209; operations, 3A-B, 52, 100, 210; play, 176 (n. 14).
- Min Tzu-ch'ien 閔子騫, disciple of Confucius (5th cent. B.C.), 28 (n. 35).

- Mind (i 意), 32A, 80A, 210.
- Ming 明, Late Han Emperor (57-75 A.D.), 161 (n. 3); dynasty, 80C (n. 12).
- Ming-t'ang 明堂 (Hall of Light), 93A (n. 25), 175, 210 (n. 92).
- Ming-t'ang k'ao 明堂考, author unknown, 175.
- Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu 明堂大道錄, probably by Hui Tung, 175.
- Ming-t'ang wen 明堂問, by Mao Ch'i-ling, 175.
- Minister, 32C, 58, 60A-B, 65 (n. 57), 97, 209 (and n. 59); great, 36; high, 65; talented, 100; wise, 58; of the Naked (Lo-jen ch'ing 裸人卿), 61.
- Ministry: for State Expenditure, see Grand Minister of Agriculture, 55 (nn. 20-21); of war, 176 (n. 23).
- Mister: Chu (Chu chün 朱君) (Huan T'an's contemporary?), 50; Tou, see Tou.
- Mo-ch'iu 麥邱, town in Ch'i and a double surname, 83A-B (and n. 22).
- Mo-tun 冒屯單于, shan-yü of the Hsiung-nu (201-175 B.C.), 53 (n. 9).
- Mo-tzu 墨子, by disciples of Mo Ti, 209 (n. 70).
- Model (fa 法), 93D, 169A2.
- Model Sayings (Fa-yen 法言), by Yang Hsiung, 164C.
- Money, 55, 181, 209 (n. 72); from taxes, 55 (n. 21), 209 (n. 79); on loan, 209 (n. 75).
- Money-makers (huo-chih 貨殖), 209 (n. 76).
- Moon, 91 (and n. 21), 112B, 115B; new, 112A-B.
- Moral, 210 (n. 117); beauty, 37, 84A; disposition, 171A; integrity, 204 (comm.); nature, 38A; perfection, 37; transformation, 60A-B, 93A, 136A-B.

- Moriya Mitsuo 守屋美都雄 (1915-1967), 176 (comm.), 210 (n. 119).
- Mote, F. W., 77 (n. 19).
- Mother, 28 (nn. 35, 37), 60A-C, 82A-D, 132 (n. 76), 171A; devoted, 60A-B.
- Mou, Prince of Wei 魏牟, Taoist (Chuang Tzu's contemporary), 22.
- Mou-ling 茂陵, place in Shensi, 168 (and n. 29), 188.
- Mountain, 15, 26, 132 (n. 76), 169G1, 188, 205, (n. 19), 209 (n. 66); peak, 33; valley, 193 (n. 56).
- Mourning, 91, 194, 198.
- Moxa, 13.
- Mu: King of Chou 周穆王 (trad. 1001-948 B.C.), 25A (n. 24); Duke of Ch'in 秦穆公 (659-621 B.C.), 65 (and n. 50).
- Mu-yeh 牧野, plain in Honan, 91 (and n. 23).
- Mulberry tree, 134.
- Multitude, 26, 28, 32E, 38A-B, 154C, 209; assignment for men of, 65; knowledge of, 65; of affairs, 168; of literati, 115B.
- Mundorgel (yü 筭), 173 (n. 38).
- Murder: of ruler, 96.
- Music, 51 (and n. 18), 75 (and n. 15), 79 (n. 4), 82 (n. 21), 120, 145 (comm.), 169A1, 171A (n. 29), 174 (n. 40), 179; and sadness, 171A, 194 (n. 62); court, 122 (and n. 51), 169A1 (n. 6), 172B; of Cheng, 75; in Ch'u, 187; love for, 96 (n. 39); new, 169M (n. 24), 170; of Ch'ang-an, 79A and C; of destroyed country, 170; pleasant, 171A; theory of, 82 (n. 21); Hsün Tzu's treatise on, 169M (n. 24); Classic of (Yüeh 樂), 51; Memoir of (Yüeh-chi 樂記), 82C.

- Musician, 82A-C (and n. 21), 119, 120 (and n. 48).
Musician's Memoirs (Yüeh-chia shu-chi 樂家書記), 82A-B.
- Mysterious, 164G, 169F (and n. 11); woman (Hsüan-nü 玄女), 205 (n. 19); words (hsüan-yen 玄言) by Yang Hsiung, 29.
- Mystery (hsüan 玄), 163A-B.
- Nakajima Chiaki 中島千秋, contemporary musicologist, 169A (comm., n. 6).
- Name, 20, 26, 32D, 78 (comm.), 84A, 159A (n. 1), 188 (comm.); place, 91 (n. 23); personal, 2B (n. 4), 51 (and n. 17), 86 (n. 35), 91, 161 (n. 3); posthumous, 203 (and comm.); taboo, 161 (n. 3).
- Nan-chiao 南郊, see Southern Suburb.
- Nan-yang 南陽, commandery in Honan, 84A (n. 24), 128A (n. 68).
- Needham, J., 114 (nn. 28-29, comm.), 115A (n. 35), 128 (comm.), 134 (nn. 79, 84).
- New tunes (hsin-sheng 新聲 or hsin-nung 新弄), 122 (and n. 53).
- New Text school, 88 (n. 2), 90A.
- New Treatise (Hsin-lun 新論 by Huan T'an), 135A (n. 87).
- New Year's Day, 102.
- Ngo 鄂, capital of Ch'u, 63, (n. 43).
- Ni 逆 (refractoriness), 50 (n. 16), 210 (n. 95).
- Night, 49, 57, 58, 84A-B, 115A-B, 170, 205 (n. 29); by night, 113A-B, 157A; market, 131A-B, 135A-B.
- Nightmare, 80 (n. 13).
- Nine: Ancestral Temples (chiu-miao 九廟), 56; chambers (chiu-shih 九室), 93D, 175F; Provinces (chiu-chou 九州), 11B, 14, 93D.

- Ning Ch'i 寧 戚 , chancellor in Ch'i (7th cent. B.C.), 65 (and n. 50).
- Nobility, 209 (n. 70); "untitled," 209 (n. 76).
- Noble, 29, 171A.
- Nomination of officials, 209.
- North, 22, 115A-B, 197 (n. 66); China, 32E; Star (T'ien-shu 天 樞), 115B (and n. 37), 169L (and n. 23); path of the sun, 115A.
- Northern: Man (pei-man 北 蠻), "barbarians," 53; Palace (pei-kung 北 宮), 154.
- Nourishment (yang 養), 84A; of body, 171A (n. 33); of constitution, 84A; of finger, 171A (and n. 33); of heart, 169A1; of the living, 100.
- Numerology, 117 (n. 43), 163A (and n. 11), 169A1, 210.
- O-pang 阿 房 , Ch'in palace in Hsien-yang, 75.
- O-shih 關 氏 , see Yen-chih.
- Obedient, 27, 106A-B.
- Obeisance, 65, 209 (n. 75).
- Obscuratism (pi 蔽), 41, 84A (n. 24), 98A, 99-100, 102-103, 198.
- Observation, 84A, 95 (and n. 38), 115B, 189, 210; of law, 176.
- Observe, 115A-B, 134 (n. 84), 167A, 171A, 210.
- "Observing Evidence" (chien-cheng 見 徵), fifth chapter of Hsin-lun, 48A (n. 13).
- Ode (sung 頌), 80C, 140B (n. 6), 168; court (ya-sung 雅 頌), 122.
- Offering: burnt, 91 (and n. 16); of blood and meat, 22; sacrificial, 171A.
- Office, 126A (n. 63), 167A, 188; concurrent, 126A (n. 63); administrative, 209 (n. 59); of the prefectures and marches, 208 (n. 46); reduction of, 58.

Office of the Masters of Writing (shang-shu kuan 尚書官), 15.

Officer, 32E, 52, 102, 204; fighting, 48A; great, 209 (n. 59).

Officer of the Commander-in-Chief, 108B (nn. 11-12).

Official, 41, 66, 85, 154, 164D (n. 21), 190 (comm.), 209 (and nn. 69-70); agricultural, 181; at the frontier, 135B; county, 208 (n. 46); documents 209 (n. 81); frustrated, 209 (n. 56); harsh, 209 (n. 70); high, 19 (n. 15), 66 (n. 65); hundred, 212; lower, 209; musical, 119 (n. 47); robes, 100; salary, 209 (n. 70); upright, 19 (n. 15), 65; villainous, 209.

Old Duke Tan-fu, or Ku-kung Tan-fu, see T'ai-wang.

Old Text school of the exegesis of the Classics, 88 (n. 2), 103 (n. 27); praise of, 90A.

Omen, 43, 58-59, 68; auspicious, 91 (n. 15).

Oppression, 38A-B, 171A; of the Hsiung-nu, 53.

Order, 93C-D, 170, 209 (and n. 56), 210 (and n. 102), 212.

Ordinance (ling 令), 32D, 93B, 176-177, 209 (and n. 65).

Origin (yüan 元), 163A.

Otter, 86A-B.

Ou Yeh, producer of swords (Spring and Autumn period), 13.

Ourouparia rhynchophylla (kou-teng 歐治), 86A.

Owl, 60A-B.

Ox: of the Duke Hsüan of Ch'i, 38A; power of, 128A and C; famous, 25A.

Oyster, 2B.

Pa-shu 巴菽, (Szechwan tree), 86A (n. 37).

- Pa-tou 巴豆 (Szechwan beans), 86A (n. 36).
- P'ai-hang 排行 (system for giving personal names), 86 (n. 34).
- Palace, 43, 53, 60B, 75, 119, 154 (n. 31), 169Il, 183, 185, 205; guard, 125 (n. 60); imperial, 20, 41, 55 (and n. 21); inclining, 169Il (n. 16).
- Palace: Assistant to the Imperial Clerk (chung-ch'eng yü-shih 中丞御史), 65; Grandee without Specified Appointment (chung-san ta-fu 中散大夫), 198; of Assembled Spirits (Chi-ling kung 集靈宮), at Hua-yin in eastern Shansi, 142, 206 (and n. 39); Military Commander (chung-wei 中尉), 100 (n. 11); Private Library, 209 (n. 84).
- Pan Ku 班固, historian (32-92 A.D.), 2B (n. 4), 34 (n. 10), 66 (n. 66), 81 (n. 14), 82C (n. 21), 88 (n. 2), 100 (n. 6), 104 (n. 31), 110 (nn. 13, 18), 111A (n. 19), 126 (n. 63, comm.), 208 (comm., n. 47), 209 (nn. 56, 83).
- Pan Piao 班彪, historian (3-54 A.D.), 205 (nn. 10, 20, 28).
- Pan Ssu 班嗣, Pan Ku's uncle (1st cent. A.D.), 81 (n. 14).
- P'an Yüeh 潘岳 or P'an An-jen 潘安仁, poet (d. 300 A.D.), 84A (n. 29).
- P'ang Chen 龐真, high official (fl. 14-6 B.C.), 66 (and n. 65).
- Pao-p'u tzu 抱朴子, by Ko Hung, 84A (n. 26), 151C (comm.), 154 (n. 31), 157A (nn. 36, 37, 40), 205 (n. 19).
- Pao Shu-ya 鮑叔牙, friend of Kuang Chung (7th cent. B.C.), 28, 103 (n. 27).

- Pao-tou 保斗 (star), 115B (n. 38).
 Paper mulberry, 58.
 "Parasol star" (pao-tou 保斗), 115B (and n. 38).
 Parlour (chiang-she 講舍), 202 passim.
 Peace, 22, 44, 143, 210; by marriage, 53, 100; cultivation of, 100.
 Peach: flowers, 108A; tree, 108A (n. 7); water, 108A (n. 7).
 Pearls, 126; connected, 91; shining in the night, 20.
 P'ei 沛, commandery in Kiangsu, 44, 208 (comm.).
 P'ei Sung-chih 裴松之, historian (372-451 A.D.), 145 (comm.).
Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao 北堂書鈔 by Yü Shih-nan, 205 (n. 1), 210 (n. 121).
P'ei-wen yün-fu 佩文韻府, 52 (comm., n. 1-3), 209 (n. 74).
 P'ei Yin 裴駟, author of the Chi-chieh commentary to the Shih chi (fl. 465-472 A.D.), 159A (n. 3).
 Pelliot, P. (1878-1945 A.D.), 159A (nn. 1, 3), 161 (n. 3), 164C (n. 19), 188 (comm.), 205 (nn. 10, 17, 23).
 Penetrating (ch'ang 暢), musical term, 169A1.
 People, 3B, 11A, 39-40, 55, 60A, 68, 84A, 86A, 100, 131A-B, 135B, 147, 156A, 158A, 160 (n. 2), 164A (and n. 16), 209 (n. 59); bad, 53, 209; organized, 209; character of, 210; cunning, 58; deficient, 65; fish-eating, 95 (n. 38); eminent, 209; good, 53, 209; high-standing, 77; hunted, 11B, joy of, 11A; killed by drugs, 86A; love for, 39; low, 40, 42B, 65; mind of, 11B, 210; myriads of, 128A; narrow-minded, 210; of

ancient times, 210; of today, 79A; ordinary, 154 (n. 31); plain, 136A and C; rich, 209 (n. 76); sick, 13; stupid, 58; talented, 209; vulgar, 29; wants of, 208; without food and livelihood, 208; young, 209.

Pepper, 62 (n. 42), 86B.

Pepper-tree (Zanthoxylum), 62 (n. 42).

Pepper Wind (Chiao-feng 椒風), name of a residence, 62.

Perform music, 169A1, F, G1, H1-2 and I1, 170.

Performer, 171A.

Personnel, 154.

Philosopher, 2B (n. 4), 171A (n. 33).

Philter, 102 (n. 25), 206 (n. 36).

Phoenix, 126A; female and male, 205.

Physician, 13, 48A, 52, 84A, 99.

Pi 比 (judicial precedents), 209 (n. 82).

Pi 璧 (jade disc), 93B.

Pi 畢, place in Shensi, 91, 費, place in Lu 216 (comm.).

Pi-ch'i 閉氣 (close up the breath), 205 (n. 25).

Pi Kan 比干, minister of Chou Hsin (11th cent. B.C.), 28 (and n. 38), 30 (n. 47), 91.

Pi K'ang 畢康, parricide (fl. ca. 10 A.D.), 60C.

Pi Yüan 畢沅, official (1730-1797 A.D.), 198 (n. 69).

Pi-yung 辟雍 (Jade Dam), 93A-B (nn. 26, 28, comm.).

Piao 表: (gnomon), 197 (and comm., n. 66); (table), 118 (n. 46).

Picken, L. E. R., 42A (n. 2), 169 (comm.).

Picture, 115B; of flowers, 126; of women, 159A (n. 3); of phoenixes, 126; on water, 70.

Picul (shih 石), income of 2000, 213.

- Pieh-chuan 別傳 (anecdotal biography), 188
(comm.).
- Pieh-lu 別錄, by Liu Hsiang, 2B (n. 4).
- Pien Ho 卞和 (8th-7th cent. B.C.), jade of, 20.
- Pien-huo 辨惑 (Discerning Delusions), 5th chapter
of Lu Chia's Hsin-yü and 13th chapter of Huan
T'an's Hsin-lun, 209 (n. 53).
- Pien Li 卞理, unemployed official (1st cent. B.C.-
1st cent. A.D.), 188.
- Pien-ming lun 辨命論, see Treatise on Des-
tiny.
- Pig, 11B, 86A (n. 38), 86B.
- Pin 郢 in Shensi, 131B (and n. 73).
- Pin-k'o 賓客 (retainers), 206 (n. 38).
- Ping-chien 并兼 (to monopolize), 209 (n. 70).
- P'ing: Duke of Chin 晉平公 (557-532 B.C.), 170; Han
Emperor 孝平帝 (1-6 A.D.), 152A, 206 (n. 36),
208 (comm.), 210 (n. 93).
- P'ing-ch'eng 平城, town in Shansi, 53, 159A-C
(and n. 3).
- P'ing-chung 平仲, see Wang Heng.
- P'ing-yüan, Lord of 平原君 or Chao Sheng 趙勝
(d. 351 B.C.), 28 (n. 40).
- Plan, 26, 28, 32A and C, 35A, 41, 48A, 52, 208, 210;
clumsy, 159A; commonplace, 28 (and n. 1);
deficient, 52; mean, 159A; secret, 159A (n. 3);
wonderful, 159C.
- Pleasure, 52, 82B, 84A (and n. 29), 122, 124, 153, 154;
in having sons and grandsons, 143; wicked,
16911 (n. 15).
- Plough, 181, 186, 209 (and n. 70).
- Po 伯 (hegemon), 3B (n. 4).

- Po-hai 渤海, commandery in Shantung, 172A-B.
- Po-hsi 博戲 (military play), 176 (n. 14).
- Po-hu t'ung 白虎通, book, 88 (n. 2), 91 (n. 16),
175F, 209 (n. 59).
- Po I 伯夷, Yin loyalist (11th cent. B.C.), 169J1-4.
- Po-li Hsi 百里奚, Ch'in chancellor, 10, 65 (and n. 50).
- Po-lo 伯樂, horse-breaker, probably Sun Yang
(7th cent. B.C.), 13 (and n. 11).
- Po-sheng, or Liu Po-sheng, 86A (n. 34).
- Po-shih 博士 (Scholar of Erudite Learning), 209
(n. 57).
- Po-shih 伯師, or Liu Po-shih, 86A (n. 34).
- Po-shih 伯石, or Chuang Po-shih, see Chuang Yu, 161.
- Po-wu chih 博物志, by Chang Hua, 145 (comm., n. 1).
- Po-yü, or Liu Po-yü, 86A, 98A-B.
- Poison, 38A (and n. 19), 59 (n. 35), 86A (and n. 35),
191 (comm.); five kinds of, 38A; oil, 86A
(n. 37); drug, 38A (n. 19).
- Polar Star (chi 極), 169L (and n. 23).
- Police Post, see t'ing.
- Pole star (tou-chi 斗極), 115A-B.
- Postface: (tsan 贊), 126 (n. 63); (hsü 序),
137B (n. 97), 204 (comm. n. 82), 205 (n. 2).
- Power, 11A, 32, 41, 84A, 94C (n. 35), 197, 209 (and
n. 70); of animals, 128A and C; usurpation of,
28; economic, 209.
- Pozdneeva, L. D., 134 (n. 79).
- Practice, 80 (n. 12), 129 (n. 70), 140A and C; constant,
102; of magicians, 65 (and n. 60), 210; of
revenge, 209.
- Praise, 38A, 45, 65, 84A, 94A (n. 34), 98B, 100, 142,
159A, 164A, 204 (comm.), 205 (n. 13); and
blame, in the Spring and Autumn Annals, 2B;
false, 158A (n. 46), 210.

- Precedent, 102 (n. 18); judicial (pi 比), 209 (and n. 82).
- Prefect, 66 (and n. 68), 84A, 208 (n. 46); of the Bureau of Music, 120; of the Western Seas Commandery, 54.
- Prefecture, 26, 66, 131A-B, 208 (n. 46).
- Present (pi 弊), 53, 182, 200; exchange of, 168.
- Price, D. J., 114A (n. 28).
- Prime Vertical (mao 卯), 115A-B.
- Princess, Han, 100 (n. 13).
- Principality, 209 (n. 59); of Yen-ling, 96 (n. 39).
- Principle: (li 理), 27, 169C, 176, 209; (tuan 端), 28, 193; (i 義), 32D, 95 (n. 38); in music (ts'ao 操), 169A1, F, G1, H1, I1 and J1-4.
- Printing, 167B.
- Prison, 17, 66 (n. 69), 152A-F, 160 (comm.); gate, 50.
- Privy, 49; Treasurer (shao-fu 少府), 55 (and n. 21), 66 (n. 65).
- Profit, 35A-B, 38A, 52, 84A, 128B, 169G1 (n. 12), 195; eager for, 102; division of, 209 (n. 75); hundred-fold, 128A and C; illicit, 209 (and n. 79); non-essential, 209; tenfold, 128A-B.
- Prognostication, 68 (and n. 1), 93D (comm.), 117 (n. 43), 158A (n. 46), 175 (n. 7), 210 (and comms., nn. 114, 116); texts, 68.
- Prohibition, 209; of the acceptance of gold, 176; of amusement, 176; of craftiness, 176; of crossing the city walls, 176; of idleness, 176; of lewdness, 176; of professions, 209.
- Prominence, 77, 164C.
- Promotion, 209, 210 (n. 117).
- Proposals: by Huan T'an, 209 (n. 109); by law officials, 209; by Tung Chung-shu, 102 (n. 19); on

- regulation projects, 208 (and n. 43); refined, 210.
- Prosperity, 84A, 101, 136A-B (and n. 92); great, 102; of a country, 209.
- Pu 部: (star), 115B (n. 38); (unit in the T'ai hsüan ching), 163A (n. 11).
- Pu-tao 不道 ("impious" crime), 50 (n. 16), 66 (n. 70), 210 (n. 117).
- Pu-te 不得 (Buddha), 135B (n. 89).
- P'u 譜 (genealogy), 118 (n. 46).
- P'u 濮, river in Shantung, 170.
- Pulleyblank, E. G., 34 (n. 10).
- Punishment, 3A-B, 38A, 50 (n. 16), 65, 91, 102 (n. 25), 176, 209 (n. 65); diminished, 176, 205; increased, 209; set aside, 100 (and n. 6); by beating with bamboo, 176; by confiscation of fortune, 209 (n. 79); consequent, 11A; corporal, 100 (and n. 6); highest, 65; severity, 209 (n. 83); modified, 176, 210; official, 209; by military expedition, 210; following every crime, 65; two gates for, 209.
- Quistorp, M., 93B (n. 28).
- Rain, 108 (n. 7); attracting, 129; once in ten days, 93D (n. 31); produced by earthen dragon, 129; seasonable, 92; thirty-six, 93D (and n. 31).
- Rank, 62 (n. 41), 104, 209 (and nn. 73, 75, 76), 210 (and n. 110).
- Rat, 86A (and n. 37).
- Rddhi (shu 術), 152D (n. 24).
- Real facts (shih-shih 實事), 2B (n. 4).
- Reality (shih 實), 2B (n. 4), 35B, 196.
- Rebel, 210.

- Rebellion, see also Red Eyebrows, 32D, 41, 52, 53, 102 (n. 25); against Keng-shih, 11A; in 154 B.C., 209 (n. 58).
- Records, 15, 29, 48C, 53, 95 (and n. 38), 163A; of the apocrypha, 210; of the early kings, 210; of prognostication, 158A (n. 46), 210.
- Red Eyebrows, uprising against Wang Mang, 11A, 32E, 188.
- Reform: administrative, 209 (n. 56); of people, 209 (n. 79); one's family, 206.
- Regency of the Duke of Chou, 96.
- Regeneration, 84A.
- Region of purest air, 205.
- Regulation: legal, 3B, 115B, 162, 176, 209 (n. 79), 212; moral, 3A; of family, 189; of virtue, 58; projects, 107 (comm.).
- Reinhard, K., 42A (n. 2).
- Relatives, 22, 28, 32E, 38A (n. 19), 52, 169F, 176; by marriage, 52.
- Remonstrations, 170 (n. 26), 210 (n. 88).
- Removal of: official, 54; hair, 84A (n. 26); old age, 146A-B.
- Rent, 209 (n. 75).
- Repast, cold (han-chü 寒具), 77 (and n. 19).
- Report: incomplete, 209 (and n. 79); on property, 209 (and n. 79); to the throne, 115A-B, 172A, 209 (n. 75), 210 (and comm.).
- Repression, 209 (n. 79), 210 (and n. 96); of ch'an texts, 210 (and comm.); of feelings, 156B; of lust, 156B (n. 34).
- Reptiles, 146A (n. 5).
- Reputation, 140C, 164C, 213, 214; fine, 96.
- Resentment, 171A.
- Residence, 62 (and n. 42), 209 (n. 70); great, 102.

- Resign, (jang 讓), 39.
- Respect: for elder brother, 177; for law, 178.
- Restoration: of muscles and skin, 84A; of the Chou (chung-hsing 中興), 53; of the Han, 156B (n. 34); of Late Han, 210 (and nn. 105, 116).
- Retainer (pin-k'o 賓客), 206 (and n. 38).
- Retirement, 82B, 140A (n. 4), 159A (n. 3).
- Retribution, 171A.
- Revenge, 209 (nn. 65, 79); prohibition of, 209 (n. 65).
- Reward, 48A, 53 (n. 6), 58, 65, 181, 202 (and comm.), 209, 210 (comm., n. 110); defrayment of, 55; for information 11A, 209 (n. 79); heavy, 210.
- Rhinoceros head (hsi-shou 犀首), a general's title in Wei, 176 (and n. 23).
- Rhyme-prose, see also Fu, 168; by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, 2B (n. 4), 80C (n. 12), 194 (comm.); by Yü Hsin, 204 (comm.); on the Great Tao (Ta tao fu 大道賦), by Huan T'an, 141 (n. 9); on Looking for the Immortals, see Wang hsien fu, by Huan T'an; on the Immortals (Hsien fu 仙賦), by Huan T'an, 205 (n. 13).
- Rich, 190 (comm.), 208 (n. 45); merchants, 209 (nn. 70, 75, 76); people, 209 (n. 76).
- Rickett, W. A., 68 (n. 3).
- Riddle, 134 (n. 79).
- Ridicule, 48A-B, 65, 88 (n. 2), 206.
- Righteousness (i 義), 3A, 6A, 28, 38A-B, 39, 53, 58, 95 (and n. 38), 169II, 210.
- Rites (li 禮), 39, 40, 166, 169A1, 179.
- River, 74 (and n. 13), 108A (and n. 9), 110, 111A-B, 187 (n. 32).
- River Chart (ho-t'u 河圖), 68 (and n. 3).
- Road, 44 (n. 6), 63, 64, 138, 157A, 160 (n. 2); to immortality, 205.

- Robber, 66 (and n. 69), 176, 209, 210.
- Room, 84A; jade, 169II; revolving, 169I (n. 16).
- Ruin, 53, 152B, 158D.
- Rule: (tu 度), 169II, 181; over barbarians, 53.
- Ruler, 20, 21, 26, 32D-E, 38A, 53, 58, 82 (n. 21), 95, 96 (n. 39), 132 (n. 76), 206, 209, 210; bad, 209 (n. 54); basis of, 52; contemporary, 65; enfeoffed, 209; enlightened, 28, 48A, 58; of dignitaries, 210; of men, 65, 210; oppressive, 28; pre-eminent, 102; sage, 65; seventy-two, 117 (n. 43), three Han, 119.
- Rules: fixing of, 102; for giving personal names, 86 (n. 35); legal, 209.
- Ruling (k'o 科), 209.
- Rustic: man, 52, 53 (n. 6); region, 79 (n. 3).
- Sacred: court, 210; will, 210.
- Sacrifice, 40, 44, 66 (n. 71), 77, 93C (n. 30), 117 (n. 43), 123, 142, 205; at bed, 158B; at height, 91, 181; of remaining meat, 66; of winter, 66; misuse of, 66 (n. 70); place for, 41; to the God of the Kitchen, 66; to the gods and the dead, 41.
- Sacrificial: meals, 41; offering, 171A; victims, 41.
- Sage, 2B, 32C, 38A, 67, 69, 72, 73, 79A, 94A, 95 (and n. 38), 121, 147, 163A, 164E (n. 23), 169A1 and F (and n. 11), 210 (comm.); admiration for, 79; reappearance, 95 (and n. 38); appearance once in one thousand years, 18; earlier, 32D; earlier and later, 95 (n. 38); former, 102 (and n. 18); future, 31; kings, 39; unrecognizable, 31; ruler, 65; two (Shun and Yü), 97; way of, 104, 164B.

Sage, i. e., Confucius, 73, 210 (and n. 117).

Sageliness, 92.

Salary, 55 (and n. 21), 209 (n. 70).

Saliva, 205 (nn. 23, 25).

San 繖 (star), 115B (n. 38).

San-kuo chih 三國志 (History of Three Kingdoms),
by Ch'en Shou, 8 (n. 1).

San-shih piao 三世表, see San-tai shih-piao.

San-tai hsi-piao 三代系表, see San-tai shih-piao.

San-tai shih-piao 三代世表 (Chronological Table of
the Three Dynasties), Chapter 13 of the Shih-chi,
118 (and nn. 44, 46).

San-tzu 餠子 (cake), 77 (n. 19).

Sanctuary of the Jade Woman (yu-nü tz'u 玉女祠),
205 (n. 19).

Sao 嫂, perhaps Liu Sao 劉嫂, unknown
personality, 149 (and n. 10).

Sargent, G. E., 84A (n. 24).

Schafer, E. H., 205 (nn. 19-20).

Scholar, see also Hung-ju and Ju-sheng, 209 (n. 58),
210 (n. 103); eminent, 210 (n. 94); of the
Ch'ing period, 86B (n. 39); shallow, 210;
thorough, 95 (n. 38); earlier and later, 95;
encouraged by Liu An, 1, 29; encouraged by Lü
Pu-wei, 1; of Erudite Learning, see Po-shih.

Scroll: of the Classic of Filial Piety, 90A-B; of the
Analects, 90A; of the Book of Documents, 90A;
of the Li chi, 90A; ten thousand, 167A-B.

Se 瑟 (zither), 42A-B, 172A-B, 209.

Sea, 61 (and n. 37), 74 (and n. 13); deep, 90A.

Seal: great, of the Hsiung-nu, 53; official, 59; theft
of, 176.

- Secret, 159A; affairs, 159A; benevolence, 169I1; discovery of, 102; discussion, 100 (n. 15); writing in, 162.
- Secrets of the Garden (yüan-mi 園密), prescription, 157A (n. 37).
- Selection of: brave men, 102; Fu Yüeh, 65; generals, 32E; proper men, 21; teacher, 76.
- Self-: control, 189; deprecation, 53; esteem, 32C; examination, 58; nourishment, 86A; preservation, 44; restraint, 209 (n. 79).
- Servant, 41, 44 (and n. 6), 85, 209 (and n. 75).
- Service, 209; statutes (shih-lü 事律), 152C (n. 22);
Within the Yellow Gates (chi-shih huang-men 給事黃門), 126A (n. 63).
- Seufert, W., 209 (n. 56).
- Seven: Kingdoms, rebellion of, 28 (n. 38), 209 (n. 58); Stars, 169L (n. 23).
- Seventy-two: engraved stones, 117; lattice windows, 93D, 175F; rulers, 117 (n. 43); winds, 93D.
- Sexual: attractiveness, 159A (n. 3); matters, 171A.
- Shadow, 197 (and comm., n. 66); sun, 113A-B; -play, 150A-C (and n. 13).
- Shaman, 40.
- Shame, 60A-B, 131B, 209.
- Shan 禪 (sacrifice), 117 (n. 43).
- Shan-yü 單于, Hsiung-nu ruler, 53 (and n. 14), 159A-D.
- Shang 商 (tone), 124; smaller (shao-shang 少商), 169K.
- Shang dynasty (trad. 1766-1401 B.C.), 58 (n. 27), 66 (n. 66), 175A, 209 (n. 54).
- Shang-lin 上林, park in Ch'ang-an, 151A.

- Shang pien-i 上便宜 (Memorial on What is Advantageous to be Done), by Huan T'an, 211.
- Shang Yang 商鞅, also known as Kung-sun Yang, chancellor in Ch'in (ca. 390-338 B.C.), 176 (n. 15).
- Shao-fu 少府 (Privy Treasurer), 55 (n. 21).
- Shao-weng 少翁, magician (d. 119 B.C.), 150A (n. 13).
- Shen 神 (ghost, god), 150B (n. 15).
- Shen, Lady 慎夫人, favorite of Emperor Wen (fl. 178 B.C.), 100 (and n. 16).
- Shen Ch'in-han 沈欽韓, commentator (1775-1832 A.D.), 132 (n. 77).
- Shen-chüeh 神爵, period between 61-58 B.C., 172 A-B.
- Shen-hsien chuan 神仙傳, by Ko Hung, 151C (comm.), 152F (n. 26), 157A (nn. 39-40).
- Shen-i ching 神異經, attributed to Tung-fang Shuo, 205 (n. 19).
- Shen-kuei 神鬼 (demon, ghost, god), 150B (n. 15).
- Shen-ming 申明, (juridical term), 209 (n. 64).
- Shen Nung 神農, legendary Emperor (29th-28th cent. B.C.), 169A (and n. 1), 169B, C, E and K (n. 21), 175A-B, 205 (n. 10).
- Shensi, province, 131A (n. 72), 205 (n. 7).
- Shih 史 (clerk), 138 (n. 98).
- Shih 事 (matter, service), 152C (n. 22).
- Shih 石 (picul), 54, 136A-C; full, 136A and C.
- Shih-chi 史記, by Ssu-ma T'an and Ssu-ma Ch'ien, 2A (n. 3), 2B (n. 4), 3A (n. 1), 6 (n. 5), 29 (n. 45), 32A-B (n. 3), 66 (n. 67), 117 (n. 43), 118 (n. 46), 131B (n. 73), 132 (n. 76), 135 (n. 89), 136A (nn. 91, 92), 137 (n. 97), 150A

(n. 13), 157A (n. 39), 159A (n. 2), 169M (n. 24), 170 (n. 27), 186 (n. 30), 194 (n. 59), 208 (n. 47), 209 (nn. 52-54, 64, 67, 70, 76), 210 (nn. 87, 95, 104).

Shih kuei-wu 使鬼物 (produced ghostly being), 148A (n. 7).

Shih-liü 事律 (service statutes), 152C (n. 22).

Shih Nung 時農, perhaps Shih Tzu, 165.

Shih-pen 世本, lost book, 118 (n. 46), 169A1 (n. 1).

Shih-sun Fen 士孫奮, (fl. 130 A.D.), 208 (n. 45).

Shih-t'ung 史通, by Liu Chih-chi, 94C (n. 35), 118 (n. 46), 164E (n. 22).

Shih Tzu 時子, perhaps Shih Nung (5th cent. B.C.), 165 (n. 25).

Shih Tzu-hsin 史子心, alchemist (fl. 3 B.C.), 154, 206 (n. 37).

Shih Tzu-po 史子伯, official, (perhaps a contemporary of Huan T'an), 138 (and n. 98).

Shih, V. Y. C., 137A (n. 97), 194 (comm., n. 58), 195 (comm.), 196 (comm.), 197 (comm.), 210 (n. 93).

Shih-yao lun 世要論, by Huan Fan, 8 (n. 1).

Shih-yü 史魚, "Historian" Yü, also known as Tzu-yü or Yü-tzu, 89 (n. 5).

Shoe, 84A.

Shore, 170.

Shou-pai lun 守白論, see Hard and White.

Shryock, J. K., 102 (n. 25).

Shu 數 (foreteller), 210 (n. 25); 書 (kind of prognostication), 210 (n. 93).

- Shu 蜀, commandery in Szechwan, 51, 104, 198.
- Shu-ching 書經, see Book of Documents.
- Shui 稅 (groundtax), 209 (n. 75).
- Shui-ching chu 水經注, by Li Tao-yüan, 108A (n. 9), 110 (n. 16).
- Shui-ch'ung 水舂 (water-pestles), 128A (n. 68).
- Shui-p'ai 水排 (water bellows), 128A (n. 68).
- Shui-tui 水碓 (water-pestles), 128A (n. 68).
- Shun: 舜, Emperor (2255-2206 B.C.), 15, 35A (n. 11), 52, 65, 97, 132 (n. 77), 169F; 順, Late Han Emperor (126-144 A.D.), 208 (n. 45).
- Shun-yü K'un 淳于髡, politician and humorist (4th cent. B.C.), 13 (n. 11), 48A-C (and n. 12).
- Shuo-fu 說郛, collection by T'ao Tsung-i, 98 (n. 2), 188 (comm.), 202 (comm.).
- Shuo-wen 說文, dictionary by Hsü Shen, 169A1 (n. 1), 210 (n. 95).
- Shuo-yüan 說苑, by Liu Hsiang, 74 (n. 13), 171A (nn. 28, 30, 31, 34), 192 (comm., n. 55), 195 (n. 64), 199 (comm.).
- Siege, 159A-B (and n. 3).
- Sight, 82A-D, 92, 155, 156A, 164A, C and F.
- Silk, 51, 154 (n. 31), 157B, 169A2, D1 (n. 9); of different kinds, 209 (n. 79).
- Silkworm, 86B.
- Silver, 56, 149, 157A (n. 36), 163A (n. 10); production of, 210; "liquid," 157A (n. 38).
- Sincerity (hsin 心), 3A, 171A.
- Singer (ch'ang 倡), 119, 171A.
- Sivin, N., 112 (n. 22), 163A (n. 9).
- Six arts (liu-i 六藝), 102.
- Six Kingdoms (liu kuo 六國), 82D (n. 21), 135A.
- Skin, 84A (and n. 26), 152F (n. 28); of fox, 151A.

- Slander, 28, 44, 53, 58, 65, 94C (n. 35), 102, 171A, 209 (n. 57).
- Slave, 128A (n. 69), 206 (n. 38), 209 (and nn. 74-75); female, 158A-B, 176 (n. 19); governmental, 154.
- Sleep, 80A-B, 84A, 151A.
- Small Guard (hsiao-wei-lou 小衛樓), 36 (and n. 16).
- Small Park (hsiao-yüan 小苑), 125.
- So-yin 索隱, commentary to Shih chi by Ssu-ma Cheng, 2B (n. 4), 118 (n. 46), 137B (n. 97), 216 (comm.).
- Soldiers, 40, 41, 52, 53, 91, 102, 103 (comm.); 210 (n. 104); armored, 53; of guard, 176.
- Son, 28, 60A, 86A, 98A, 123, 166, 209; adult, 198 (n. 68); eldest, of Chi Cha, 104 (n. 28); of Emperor Kao, 100 (n. 9); of Chen Feng, 208 (n. 44); of Empress Lü, 191 (comm.); of Lady Ch'i, 192 (comm.); of the King of Huai-nan, 149; of Wei Tzu-fu, 102; pleasure of, 143; of Wang Mang, 32E, 52; of Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin, 98A-B; of merchants, 209 (n. 69); of Yang Hsiung, 104, 114A, 198.
- Son of Heaven (t'ien-tzu 天子), 58, 159A (n. 3), 169F.
- Song (ch'ü 曲), 171A, 173.
- Soothill, W. E. (1861-1935 A.D.), 93 (n. 25), 175 (comm.).
- Soper, A. C., 93 (n. 25).
- Sorcerer, 154 (n. 30), 206.
- Sorcery, 102 (n. 25).
- Sound, 124, 169H1, I1 and J4, 170; delicate, 169M; eight, 169D1-2; great, 169M; of bells, 169I1.
- Source, 80C (n. 12), 84A, 111A-B, 125 (n. 60), 134

- (n. 86), 138, 142 (n. 11), 152F (n. 29), 159A (n. 3), 186 (n. 30), 195 (n. 64), 215 (n. 126).
- Southern: path of sun, 115A; towns of Man, 152C; Regions (nan-yü 南域), 152D; suburb (nan-chiao 南郊), 41, 91 (and nn. 22-23).
- Sovereign (huang 皇), 3A-B, 65 (and n. 60).
- Soymié, M., 134 (n. 79).
- Speech, 92, 209, 210; able, 71 (n. 8); direct, 162 (n. 4); fictive, 2B (n. 4); of King Wu, 91 (n. 14); of Kuang-wu, 202 (comm.); of magicians, 156A.
- Spiritual Tower (ling-t'ai 靈臺), 93 (comm.), 210 (and comm.).
- Spring and Autumn Annals (ch'un-ch'iu 春秋), 95 (and n. 38), 96.
- "Ssu-hsüan fu" 思玄賦 (Rhyme-prose on Mystery), by Chang Heng, 205 (n. 19).
- Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao 四庫全書總目提要, catalogue, 175 (comm.).
- Ssu-ma Cheng 司馬真, author of the So-yin commentary (fl. 713-742 A.D.), 137B (n. 97).
- Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷, author of Shih chi (ca. 140-90 B.C.), 2B (n. 4), 80C (n. 12), 102 (n. 19), 118 (nn. 45, 46), 137B (and n. 97), 209 (nn. 54, 61, 76), 210 (n. 120), 216 (comm.).
- Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如, poet (179-117 B.C.), 2B (n. 4), 80C (n. 12), 117 (n. 43), 194 (comm., n. 62), 205 (n. 21).
- Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光, historian (1019-1086 A.D.), 93 (comm.).
- Ssu-ma Piao 司馬彪, historian (240-306 A.D.), 176 (n. 23).

- Star, 65 (n. 60), 113B, 115A-B (and nn. 37-38), 134, 169L (and n. 23); bright, 135 (n. 3); distance between, 134A-B; "parasol," 115B; pole, 115A.
- State, Master (kuo-shih 國師), 164C.
- Statute (li 律), 100, 176; preparatory, 176; diminishing, 176; mixed, 176; regular, 176.
- Stipulation (t'iao 條), 209.
- Stone, 169D1 (n. 9); black, 205; engraved, 117 (and n. 43); high and sharp, 205; ink, 59; musical, 187; precious, 126, 169I1 (n. 16).
- Story, 132 (n. 77), 134 (nn. 79, 84), 150A (n. 13, comm.), 157A (n. 39), 158A (n. 42), 159A (n. 3), 169I1 (n. 15), 170 (n. 27), 171A (n. 28), 183 (n. 27), 186 (n. 30), 188 (comm.), 199, 203 (comm.), 204 (comm.), 209 (n. 54).
- Strange (ch'i 奇, hsieh 邪), 209; affairs, 11A; fact, 45; girl, 157B; happenings, 135A (n. 87); interest in, 145; things, 164A (n. 16), 210; ways (i-tao 異道), 84A.
- Stream of the Naked (lo-ch'uan 裸川), 61.
- Study, 76, 87, 139, 140B, 147, 167A-B, 171A (n. 29), 202, 208; daily, 82B, 84A; to become immortal, 156A; in Ch'ang-an, 202 (and comm.).
- Su Ch'in 蘇秦, chancellor of Chao (4th cent. B.C.), 209 (n. 53).
- Su Lin 蘇林, scholar and commentator (2nd-3rd cent. A.D.), 159A (n. 1).
- Su Tai 蘇代, dignitary in Ch'i (2nd half of 4th cent. B.C.), 13 (n. 11).
- Substance, 115B, 169A1 (n. 2), Chapter IV; of earth, 92; of Heaven, 92; three, 163A.
- Sui: Marquis of 隋侯 (dates unknown), 20; dynasty 隋, 135A (n. 87).

- Sui-ling 睢陵, district in Kiangsu, 152B.
- Sui shu 隋書, dynastic history, 134A (n. 79),
135A (n. 87).
- Suicide, 102 (n. 24), 208 (n. 44).
- Summer, 108B (n. 12), 124, 151A-B, 152F (n. 28), 181.
- Sun, 112B, 115A-B, 134 (and n. 81), 197 (comm., n. 66),
205 (n. 29); shadow of, 113A-B; size of, 134B
(n. 84).
- Sun Ch'ü 孫楚, hermit and general (d. ca. 292 A.D.),
132 (n. 75).
- Sun Hsing-yen 孫星衍, historian (1753-1818
A.D.), 175 (comm.).
- "Sun-i" 損益, chapter in Chung-ch'ang T'ung's
Ch'ang-yen, 209 (n. 70).
- Sun I-jang 孫詒讓, commentator (1848-
1908 A.D.), 115 (n. 38), 164C (n. 21).
- Sun P'ing-i 孫馮翼 or Sun Feng-i, editor (18th-
19th cent. A.D.), 8 (n. 1), 20 (n. 18), 35B
(n. 14), 40 (n. 25), 61 (n. 39), 63 (nn. 43-44),
66 (nn. 66, 71), 71 (n. 9), 74 (n. 11), 77 (n.
18), 86A (nn. 34, 38), 90E (nn. 10-11), 93D
(n. 31, comm.), 95 (n. 37), 99 (n. 4), 100 (nn.
18, 15-16), 104 (nn. 29-30), 105 (n. 1), 107
(n. 3), 110 (n. 17), 112 (n. 22), 114 (nn. 27,
29), 120 (n. 48), 122 (nn. 53-54), 124 (n. 58),
125 (n. 59), 126 (n. 63), 132 (n. 75), 136B
(n. 95), 139 (n. 1), 142 (n. 12), 149 (n. 10),
150B (n. 14), 151C (and n. 20), 157B (n. 41),
158A (nn. 42, 45, 49-50), 159A (n. 2), 162
(n. 5), 164C (nn. 18, 20), 167 (n. 27), 168
(n. 29), 169A1 (n. 2), 169G1 (n. 12), 169K
(and n. 21), 175 (comm.), 205 (nn. 3, 13), 215
(n. 126).

- Sun Shu-ao 孫叔敖, chancellor of Ch'u (7th-6th cent. B.C.), 209 (and nn. 52-54).
- Sundial, 197 (comm.).
- Sung 頌 (ode), 80C (n. 11).
- Sung 宋, kingdom extinguished in 286 B.C., 25B (n. 27), 47 (n. 9).
- Sung Ch'ang 宋昌, Tai officer (fl. 179 B.C.), 100 (and n. 11).
- Sung Chung-weng 宋仲翁, i.e., Sung Hung 弘, governor and minister (d. ca. 35 A.D.), 45.
- Sung-ts'u 宋徒, name of a dog, 25B (and n. 27).
- Sunrise, 134 (and n. 79).
- Sunset, 134 (and n. 85).
- Sunshade, 126A.
- Superior man, 18, 37, 60B, 65, 152F, 169E.
- Superstition, 100 (n. 13).
- Supreme Ruler (ti 帝), 3A, 157A and C.
- Surrendered Slaves, deprecatory title given to Hsiung-nu, 53 (n. 14).
- Suspicion, 28, 58 (n. 32), 65, 210 (and nn. 87, 107).
- Swan, wild, 169H1.
- Swann, N. L., 208 (n. 46), 209 (nn. 70, 75, 79).
- Szechwan: province, 69, 158A (n. 46); beans, 86A (and n. 37); tree, 86A (n. 37).
- Ta-ch'eng Wu 大成午, see Ta-wu Wu.
- Ta-fu 大夫 (dignitary), 89 (n. 5).
- Ta-ling 大陵, place in Chao near T'ai-yüan in Shensi, 186.
- Ta-mou 大戊, Shang ruler (1637-1563 B.C.), 58 (and nn. 27, 31).
- Ta-mou-wu, see Ta-wu Wu.
- Ta-ssu-nung 大司農 (Grand Minister of Agriculture), 55 (n. 21).

- Ta-Tai li-chi 大戴禮記, book, 32A (n. 3).
 "Ta-tao fu" 大道賦 (Rhyme-prose on the Great Tao), by Huan T'an, 141 (n. 9).
- Ta-wu Wu 大戊午, chancellor of Chao (4th cent. B.C.), 186 (and n. 28).
- Ta-yüan kuo 大宛國 (Ferghana), 102.
- Table (piao 表), 118 (n. 46); of measurement, 197 (comm., n. 66).
- Taboo, 103 (n. 26); day, 103 (comm.); name, 161 (n. 3).
- Tai 代: kingdom in north China, 100 (and nn. 9, 11); king of, 100 (and n. 9).
- T'ai 郟, ancient kingdom in Shensi, 131A.
- T'ai-ch'u 太初, calendar, 102 (n. 19).
- T'ai-hsüan ching 太玄經, by Yang Hsiung, 29 (n. 46), 163A (nn. 6, 9, 11-12).
- T'ai-hua shan 太華山, 205 (n. 19).
- T'ai-kung 太公, see Lü Shang.
- T'ai-mou, see Ta-mou.
- T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 太平御覽, encyclopedia, 3 (comm.), 75 (n. 15), 84A (n. 26), 95 (n. 38), 105 (n. 1), 175B (nn. 6-7, comm.), 190 (n. 48), 198 (n. 67).
- T'ai-shan 太山, sacred mountain in Shantung, 45, 117 (and n. 43), 205 (and n. 27).
- T'ai-shih kung 太史公, see Ssu-ma Ch'ien.
- T'ai-wang 太王, grandfather of King Wen (d. 331 B.C.), 131B (n. 73).
- T'ai-yüan 太原, commandery in Shansi, 132 (and n. 77).
- Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎 (1865-1935 A.D.), 118 (n. 46), 159A (n. 2), 186 (n. 29).
- Talent, 13, 26, 31, 32A and C, 45, 53, 84A, 102, 141, 164C and E, 206, 209; eminent, 73; great, 28,

- 32, 122; heavenly, 10; high, 28, 164B; of sages, 121; penetrating, 107, 164B-C; small, 158A (n. 46); of minister, 100; of young men, 102 (n. 19).
- Tally, 141, 176.
- Tan Fu 冑父, see T'ai-wang.
- T'an-chi 譚集, literary works of Huan T'an, 190 (comm.), 205 (n. 13).
- T'an Chieh-fu 譚戒甫, contemporary historian, 135A (nn. 87, 89).
- T'an Shih-tzu 譚拾子 (3rd cent. B.C.), 190 (comm.).
- "T'an-t'ien" 談天 31st chapter of Lun-heng, 2B (n. 4).
- T'ang 湯 Founder of Shang dynasty (ca. 1766-1753 B.C.), 4, 38A (n. 20), 65, 99, 198 (n. 67), 210 (n. 114).
- T'ang 唐, dynasty, 120 (n. 49), 169 (comm.), 205 (n. 16), 208 (comm.).
- T'ang shu 唐書, dynastic history, 169A1 (n. 4).
- Tao 道 ("Way"), 169A1 (n. 4).
- "Tao-fu" 道賦, 12th chapter of Hsin-lun, 205 (n. 13).
- Tao-jen 道人 (magician), 149 (n. 11).
- Tao-shih 道士 (Gentleman of the Way), 146A (n. 4), 151A (n. 19), 155 (n. 32), 158A (and n. 47).
- Tao-te ching 道德經, 84A (n. 25), 210 (n. 109).
- Taoism, 89 (n. 5), 205 (n. 19).
- Taoist, 81 (n. 14), 84 (n. 25), 89 (n. 5), 134A (n. 79), 146A (n. 4), 148 (n. 8), 149, 157B (n. 39), 205 (n. 10); directions, 157A (n. 38); practices, 205 (n. 10); practitioner, 146A (n. 4).

- Tax (tsu-shui 租稅), 52, 55 (and n. 21); ground, 209 (and n. 75); illegal, 209 (n. 79).
- Teach, 141, 157A; the Tso chuan, 98A-B; the ch'in, 82A-D.
- Teacher, 8, 76, 88 (n. 2), 127, 176, 188; Chüan, 170; Confucian, 32A; K'uang, 170; of a king, 10.
- Territory, 35A-B, 159A (n. 3); division of, 53; enlarging of, 102; invaded, 53; of Ch'u, 152D (n. 25); of Lu, 96 (n. 41).
- Test, 112A, 135A (n. 87).
- Text, extraordinary (i-wen 異文), 95 (and n. 38).
- Thief, 53, 181, 209, 210.
- Thirst, 74.
- Thorn plant, 171A (n. 36).
- Thorns, 171A; thicket of, 38A (n. 19).
- Three: armies (san-chün 三軍), 11A; bonds (san-kang 三綱), 197; difficulties, 28; men of virtue of the Yin, 30 (and n. 47); substances (san-t'i 三體), 163A; Capital Districts (San-fu 三輔), 133A; Dynasties (San-tai 三代), 179; Kings (San-wang 三王), Yü, T'ang and Wen, 3A-B; Sovereigns (San-huang 三皇), 3A-B.
- Thunder, 33, 58, 133A, 152F (n. 28), 169II, 210 (n. 101).
- Ti 狄, "barbarians," 53.
- Ti-wu Lun 第五倫, official (ca. 6-89 A.D.), 72 (n. 8), 116 (n. 40).
- Tiao 弔 (condolence), 194 (n. 57).
- "Tiao Erh-shih" 弔二世, by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, 194 (n. 59).
- Tien-lun 典論 or Tien-lun lun-wen 典論論文, by Ts'ao P'i, 103 (n. 27).
- T'ien-shu 天樞 (pivot of Heaven), 115B (n. 8).

- T'ien-shui 天水, town in Kansu, 205 (n. 29).
- T'ien Wen 田文, Lord of Meng-ch'ang (d. 203 B.C.), an adversary of Emperor Kao, 24A (n. 21), 171A (and nn. 28, 34), 190 (comm.).
- Tiger's Teeth General (hu-ya chiang-chün 虎牙將軍), title, 176 (n. 23).
- Ting, King of Chou 周定王 (606-586 B.C.), 110.
- Ting-liang 丁櫟, name of an ox, 25A (and n. 25).
- T'ing 亭, police post, 44 (n. 6).
- T'ing-chiang 脰醬 (strips of dried meat with sauce), 52 (n. 2).
- Tjan Tjoe Som (1903-1969 A.D.), 88 (n. 2), 209 (n. 59).
- Tone (yin 音), 122, 145 (comm.), 174; eight, 169D1-2; five, 124.
- Tou 斗 (measure), 12, 108B (n. 12); majestic (wei-tou 威斗), 41.
- Tou, Sir 竇公 (4th-2nd cent. B.C.), 82A-D, 205 (n. 10).
- Tower Bathed by Water (Ts'an t'ai 漸臺), 41.
- Tradition (chuan 傳), 2B (n. 4), 6A, 13, 48C, 52, 65 (n. 57), 68 (n. 3), 159A (n. 3), 160 (n. 2); of fiction, 2B (n. 4); of Tso, 94A and C (and n. 35); records of, 22, 48C.
- Transformation, 136A-B, 209 (n. 56); into immortal, 151 (comm.); into story, 159A (n. 3); of yellow and white, 154 (n. 31).
- Treatise, 90A; by Huan T'an, 201; excellent, 90A; on music, by Hsün Tzu, 169M (n. 24); substantial, 156B (n. 34); wonderful (ch'i-lun 奇論), 90A (and n. 8).
- Treatise: on Destiny (Pien-ming lun 變命論), by Liu Chün, 190 (comm.); on Economy (Shih-huo chih 食貨志), in Han shu 24, 209 (nn. 70, 79); on Law (Hsing-fa chih 刑法志), in Han shu 23, 209 (n. 83); on Hard and White,

- 135A; in Chin-shu 30, 176 (n. 13); on the Rules for Ceremonious Behavior and Music (Li-yüeh chih 禮樂志), in Han shu 22, 209 (n. 56); on the Feng and Shan Sacrifices, by Ssuma Hsiang-ju, 117 (n. 43).
- Tree, 43, 84A, 92, 156A-B, 209 (n. 66); bent, a sign of calamity, 58; Szechwan, 86A (n. 37).
- Trial, 43, 49, 50, 65.
- "Tribute of Yü," see Yü kung.
- Tsa-lun 雜論, probably Hsin-lun, 108B (n. 10).
- Ts'ai Mao 蔡茂, official (24 B.C.-47 A.D.), 209 (n. 50).
- Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕, scholar (133-192 A.D.), 145 Comm.), 169A1 (nn. 1, 4).
- Tsan 贊; unit in the T'ai-hsüan ching, 163 (n. 11).
- Tsang: 藏 (viscera), 116 (n. 40); 藏 (illicit profit), 209 (n. 79).
- Ts'ang-wu 蒼梧, commandery in Kwangtung, 75 (and n. 15).
- Tsao-jen 躁人 (impetuous men), 209 (n. 65).
- Ts'ao Chih 曹植, poet (192-232 A.D.), 82C (n. 20), 84A (n. 26), 152F (n. 28), 156B (nn. 37-38).
- Ts'ao Kuei 曹劌, see Ts'ao Mo.
- Ts'ao Mo 曹沫, general (7th cent. B.C.), 96 (and n. 41).
- Ts'ao P'i 曹丕, Emperor Wen of Wei (187-226 A.D.), 79 (n. 5), 103 (n. 27).
- Ts'ao Shen 曹參, first Han chancellor (d. 190 B.C.), 32D (and n. 4), 36.
- Ts'ao Tsang 曹臧, see Ts'ao Mo.
- Tseng Shen 曾參, Confucius' disciple (504-436 B.C.), 28 (n. 35).

- Tsien Tsuen-hsuei 錢存訓, contemporary historian, 189 (n. 43).
- Tso 左, or Tso-chuan, 98A-B.
- Tso-chuan 左傳, 65 (n. 63), 94A-C (n. 34), 96 (n. 39), 98A-B, 132 (n. 76), 170 (n. 26), 203 (comm.), 204 (comm.), 209 (n. 52), 210 (n. 111).
- Tso-p'ing-i 左馮翊, commandery in Shensi, 66 (n. 65).
- Tso Yang 鄒陽, poet (ca. 205-140 B.C.), 160 (comm., n. 2).
- Tsu 祖, (ancestor), 210 (n. 105).
- Tsu-chi 祖己, official of Wu-ting (13th cent. B.C.), 58 (n. 31).
- Ts'un 寸 (measure), 169A1 (and n. 1), 197 (n. 66).
- Tsung 宗 (ancestor), 210 (n. 105).
- Tu, family 杜, 84A (n. 24), 201 (n. 1).
- Tu Fang 杜房, official (Huan T'an's contemporary), 84A (and n. 24).
- Tu Lin 杜林, scholar (d. 47 A.D.), 84A (n. 24).
- Tu Shih 杜詩, inventor (d. 38 A.D.), 84A (n. 24), 128 (n. 68).
- Tu Yeh 杜鄴, official (d. ca. 5 A.D.), 84A (n. 24).
- Tu Yu 杜佑, author of the T'ung tien (735-812 A.D.), 169K (and n. 21).
- Tu Yü 杜預, minister and geographer (222-284 A.D.), 204 (comm., nn. 78-79).
- Tu Yüan-k'ai 杜元凱, see Tu Yü.
- T'u 圖 (a kind of prognostication), 210 (n. 93).
- T'u-kuei 土圭, 197 (n. 66).
- Tuan-p'ien 短篇, see Tuan-shu.
- Tuan-shu 短書 ("deficient book"), 189 (nn. 42-43).

- Tung Chung 董忠, rebel (d. 23 A.D.), 38A (n. 19).
- Tung Chung-chün 董仲君, magician (fl. 6 B.C.-6 A.D.), 152A-F (and nn. 39-40).
- Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒, philosopher (ca. 179-104 B.C.), 2A (and n. 3), 6 (n. 7), 102 (n. 20), 117 (n. 43), 209 (and nn. 56, 70).
- Tung-fang Shuo 東方朔, eccentric hermit (154-93 B.C.), 32A, 42A, 137A-B (and n. 97), 205 (n. 19), 216 (comm.).
- Tung Hsien 董賢, catamite of Emperor Ai (d. 1 B.C.), 62 (and n. 42), 206, 207 (comm., n. 40); sister of, 206 (and n. 31).
- Tung-huang 東荒, see Eastern Desert.
- Tung-kuan Han chi 東觀漢紀, historical source, 94C (n. 35), 202 (comm.), 209 (nn. 69, 72, 79, 84).
- Tung Yüeh 董說, writer and scholar (1620-1686 A.D.), 40 (comm.), 82 (comm.), 176 (and nn. 15, 18, 20, 22-23), 180 (n. 25), 186 (n. 30).
- T'ung 桐 (tree), see Wu-t'ung.
- T'ung-jen 通人 (intelligent man), 210 (n. 103).
- Tutor (shih 師), 176.
- Tzu-ch'ang 子場, mistake for Tzu-yang, 107 (n. 3).
- Tzu-cheng 子政, see Liu Hsiang.
- Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 資治通鑑, by Ssu-ma Kuang, 163A (n. 12).
- Tzu-chün 子駿, see Liu Hsin.
- Tzu-fu 子夫, see Wei Tzu-fu.
- Tzu-hou 子侯, or Ho Tzu-hou, see Ho Shan.
- Tzu-hsü 子胥, or Wu Tzu-hsü, see Wu Yüan.
- "Tzu-hsü fu" 子虛賦 (Rhyme-prose on Sir Fantasy), by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, 205 (n. 21).

- Tzu-kung 子貢, Confucius' disciple (520-456 B.C.),
65 (and n. 47), 74 (and n. 13), 89, 210 (and
n. 91).
- Tzu-t'ai 子台, or Han Tzu-t'ai, Han Mu, 109.
- Tzu-yang 子揚, or Kuan Tzu-yang, see Kuan Ping.
- Tzu-yü 子于, style of Ling Hsüan, 188 (comm.).
- Tzu-yün 子雲, or Yang Tzu-yün, Yang Hsiung, 31,
80A, C and D, 115B, 122, 195 (n. 64), 214.
- Unicorn, 205.
- Unprincipled (wu-tao 無道), 169II.
- Upright Gate (Tuan-men 端門), at the Kan-ch'üan
Palace, 205.
- Usurpation, 28, 65, 96.
- Valley, 193; of a Foolish Gentleman (yu-kung ku 愚
公谷), 193.
- Vertical alliance (tsung 從), 171A.
- Violence, 53, 80A.
- Virtue (te 德), 3A-B, 4, 13, 38A, 45, 52, 53, 58,
60A-B, 71, 95 (and n. 38), 100, 136A (and n.
91), 136B, 169D2 and F, 199, 209 (and n. 71),
210 (n. 105); divine, 169A2; mysterious, 169F
(n. 11).
- Viscera, 38B, 80A-D, 116 (n. 40).
- Viscount of Chi, see Chi-tzu.
- Wai-chuan 外傳 (complementary biography), 188
(comm.).
- Waley, A. (1889-1966 A.D.), 134 (n. 79), 157 (comm.).
- Wall, 57, 108B (n. 12), 142; fu on, 205 (and n. 13);
city, 176; painted, 62 (n. 42).
- Wan 宛, prefecture in Honan, 202 (comm.).
- Wan-wan 萬萬 (large number), 208 (n. 45).
- Wandering: children, 171A; conscripts, 208; knights
(yu-hsia 游俠), 84A (n. 24), 103 (comm.).

- Wang 王 (king), 3B.
- Wang, Lady, Wang fu-jen 王夫人, consort of Emperor Wu, 150B and D (and n. 13).
- Wang Ch'iao 王喬, Taoist immortal, 142 (n. 13), 205 (and nn. 10, 16).
- Wang Chün-ta 王君大 (contemporary of Huan T'an), 140A (and n. 3).
- Wang Chung-tu 王仲都, magician (fl. ca. 40 B.C.), 151A-C.
- Wang Ch'ung 王充, philosopher (27-ca. 97 A.D.), 2A (n. 3), 6 (n. 5), 80 (n. 13), 86A (n. 36), 91 (n. 17), 115B (n. 38), 130 (n. 71), 134 (nn. 79, 86), 135A (n. 87), 189 (n. 43), 203 (comm.), 209 (nn. 55-56), 210 (n. 103).
- Wang-fu 王府, 175 (comm.).
- Wang Fu 王符, philosopher (ca. 106-167 A.D.), 103 (n. 26), 210 (n. 114).
- Wang Heng 王橫, official (contemporary of Huan T'an), 110 (nn. 13, 16, 18).
- Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙, scholar (1842-1918 A.D.), 82C (n. 21), 125 (n. 61), 132 (n. 77), 206 (n. 35), 209 (nn. 55, 72, 86), 210 (nn. 98, 102, 116).
- "Wang-hsien fu" 望仙賦 (Rhyme-prose on Looking for Immortals), by Huan T'an, 141 (n. 9), 142 (n. 13), 204 (n. 82), 205 (and n. 1).
- Wang I 王邑, close associate of Wang Mang (d. 23 A.D.), 164A (and nn. 17, 21), 208 (n. 44).
- Wang Ken 王根, a member of Wang Mang's clan (d. 6 or 2 B.C.), 146A (n. 3), 146B.
- Wang-kung 王公, 164D (n. 21).
- Wang Kung-tzu 王公子, also known as Wang I, 164A (nn. 17, 21).

- Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, historian (1887-1927 A.D.),
93A (n. 25).
- Wang Lang 王郎, see Wang Mang.
- Wang Mang 王莽, Emperor (45 B.C.-25 A.D.), 11A
(and nn. 6-7), 38A-B (and n. 19), 41, 45, 51
(and n. 18), 52 (and n. 3), 53 (and n. 14),
54, 56, 60A and C, 82B-C, 88 (n. 2), 93 (comm.),
103 (comm.), 107 (comm.), 116 (n. 40), 128
(n. 69), 158A (n. 46), 161 (n. 3), 164C (n. 21),
188 (comm.), 202 (comm.), 208 (and comm.).
- Wang Pao 王褒, court retainer and poet (d. ca.
60 B.C.), 209 (n. 65).
- Wang Pao 王褒, poet (514-577 A.D.), 200.
- Wang P'ing-chung 王平仲, see Wang Heng.
- Wang Shih-chen 王世貞, scholar (1526-1590 A.D.),
80C (n. 12).
- "Wang-tao" 王道, 6th chapter of Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu,
209 (n. 70).
- Wang Weng 王翁, see Wang Mang.
- Wang Ying-lin 王應麟, historian (1223-1296
A.D.), 90D (nn. 10, 12).
- War: art of, 35A; ministry of, 176 (n. 23); movements
of, 100.
- Ware, J. R., 151 (comm.), 154 (n. 31), 157A (n. 37).
- Warring Kingdoms (chan-kuo 戰國), 2B (n. 4),
94B, 135A (n. 87), 135B (n. 89), 137B (n. 97).
- Water, 17, 67, 92, 93B, 108A (and n. 12), 109, 169G1-2;
water clock (lou-k'e 漏刻), 113; "-pestles"
(shui-tui 水碓), 128A (n. 1); mill, see mill;
play, 171A; power, 128A and C; silver, 157A
(n. 38); hot, 134A (n. 79); of peach flowers,
108A and B; poured over fire, 84A; stream,
111A-B; with mud, 108A.

- Watson, B., 28 (n. 36), 100 (n. 16), 117 (n. 43), 159A (nn. 1, 3), 208 (n. 46), 209 (nn. 61, 76), 210 (nn. 87, 120), 216 (comm.).
- Way (tao 道), 3A-B, 41, 58, 95 (and n. 38), 155, 163A, 164G, 171A, 214; correct, 210; embodiment of, 155; of Chou, 52; of sage, 104, 164B; of Chou, 16; of governing, 209; of Heaven, 163A, 210 (and n. 91); of human fate, 210; of Immortals, 145 (and n. 1); of king, 3B, 5, 93B; of nature, 210; turning against, 58; strange, 84A.
- Wealth, 30, 59, 143, 171A, 190 (comm.), 208 (n. 45), 209 (and nn. 70, 79).
- Wei 緯, 68 (n. 3), 175 (comm.).
- Wei Ch'i tzu 微, 啓子, viscount of, (11th cent. B.C.), 169A1, 169H1; 衛 Empress, probably Wei Tzu-fu, 85; 魏, kingdom of (403-225 B.C.), 32D, 89 (n. 5), 176 (and n. 14), 177, 181, 185; tunes of (Wei-sheng 聲), 82C (n. 21); 魏 dynasty of (220-265 A.D.), 81 (n. 14), 171A (n. 29); 北魏, Northern, dynasty (386-535 A.D.), 190 (comm.); 渭, river in Shensi, 108B (n. 12), 205 (n. 7).
- Wei-ch'i 圍碁 ("strategic" chess), 35A-B.
- Wei Ch'ing 衛青, general (d. 106 B.C.), 206 (n. 32).
- Wei Hung 衛宏, scholar of the ancient text school (1st half of 1st cent. B.C.), 94C (n. 28).
- Wei Tzu-fu 衛子夫, Empress (suicide 91 B.C.), 28 (n. 37), 85 (n. 32), 102 (and n. 25), 206 (and comm., nn. 32, 34).
- Wei Yang 衛鞅, see Shang Yang.
- Wei yeh-che 衛謁者 (Internuncio of the Guards), 138 (n. 98).

Wen: King 文王, father of King Wu of Chou (12th-11th cent. B.C.), 38A-B (and n. 22), 53, 58 (n. 27), 169Il and K; 晉文公, Duke of Chin (635-628 A.D.), 132 (n. 77); 魏文侯, Marquis of Wei (424-387 B.C.), 82A-C (and n. 21); 漢孝文帝, Emperor of Han (179-164 B.C.), 100 (and nn. 6, 16), 136A-C, 209 (nn. 57-58); 魏文帝, Emperor of Wei, Ts'ao P'i (188-227 A.D.), 79A (n. 5), 82A-D, 145 (comm.); 魏孝文帝, Emperor of Northern Wei, (471-499 A.D.), 110 (comm.).

Wen ching t'ang ts'ung-shu 問經堂叢書, edited by Sun P'ing-i, 175 (comm.).

Wen-fu 文賦 (Rhyme-prose on Literature), by Lu Chi, 171A (n. 29).

Wen-hsin tiao-lung 文心雕龍, by Liu Hsieh, 80 (n. 13), 88 (n. 2), 137B (n. 97), 140A (n. 5), 194 (nn. 57, 62), 210 (n. 93).

Wen hsüan 文選, collection of prose texts by Hsiao T'ung, 103 (n. 2), 190 (comm., n. 54), 202 (comm.), 205 (nn. 19, 21-22, 24).

Wen I-to 聞一多, historian (1899-1946 A.D.), 81 (n. 14).

Wen-jen 文人 (men of letters), 210 (n. 103).

Wen-shih Hall 溫室殿, part of Ch'ang-lo Palace, 172A-B.

Wen Ying 文穎, commentator (2nd-3rd cent. A.D.), 209 (n. 70).

Western: barbarians, 102; gate, 125; Han, or Former Han, 135A (n. 87); parts of China (i.e., Szechwan), 69; seas commandery (hsi-hai chün 西海郡), 54.

- White, 84A-B, 91 (n. 17), 124, 135A-B; hair, 84A-B, 160 (comm.); head, 167A-B.
- "White Horse" (Pai-ma lun 白馬論), second chapter of Kung-sun Lung-tzu, 135A (n. 87), 135B (n. 89).
- White Tiger Hall (Po-hu tien 白虎殿), 115B.
- Wieger, L. (1856-1933 A.D.), 210 (n. 89).
- Wife, 88, 157A-B (and n. 39), 171A, 191, 198 (and n. 69), 206 (n. 32), 209 (n. 54).
- Wilbur, M., 206 (n. 32), 208 (n. 45), 209 (nn. 74, 77, 78), 210 (n. 106).
- Wild: beasts, 21, 171A; cat, 42A-B, 171A; duck, 181; goose, 169H2; marsh, 171A; sport, 176; swan, 169H1.
- Wilderness, 171A; of Mu, 91 (and n. 23).
- Wilhelm, R. (1873-1930 A.D.), 209 (n. 55).
- Will, 103 (n. 27); of Heaven, 99.
- Wind, 33, 58, 92, 93D, 129, 169I, 171A; clear, 171A; contrary, 58; floating, 201 (comm.); gust of, 84A; once in five days, 93D (n. 31); seasonable, 91; seventy-two in one year, 93D (n. 31).
- Wine, 48A-B, 66, 77, 84A (n. 29), 158A, 169I1-2, 170, 171A; of gold, 205; of Ts'ang-wu, 205.
- Winter, 112A-B, 124, 151A, 152F (n. 28).
- Wisdom, 32A, 42A, 209 (and n. 57).
- Wise, 210; counsellor, 209; government servant, 65; men, 28, 48A-B, 53, 164E (n. 22).
- Wish, 65, 80A, C-D, 84A, 91, 100, 102, 115B, 138, 142, 154 (n. 31), 156A, 159A, 169G1, 210, 213; last, 89 (n. 5); repression of, 156B (and n. 34).
- Witchcraft, 102 (and n. 25).
- Wizard, 154 (n. 30), 206.

Wolf, 171A (n. 33).

Woman, 98A-B, 181, 206; beautiful, 159A-D; excellent, 159A and D, 197 (comm.); in secluded quarters, 176 (n. 19); nice, 150A-B; old, 158A-B.

Words, 28, 37, 88 (and n. 2), 89A, 90D, 159A, 163A, 164C, 210 (n. 101); beautiful, 37; order, 168 (n. 2); empty, 208; false, 135A (n. 87); favorable, 45; man of many, 209 (n. 55); master of, 32; correct, 157A; void, 135A (and n. 87); wrong, 60A-B.

Worthies (hsien 賢), 8, 15, 18, 26, 32C, 40, 42A, 53, 60A, 95 (and n. 38), 121, 163A, 165 (n.14), 169A1, 178; chastisement of, 106A; frustrated, 209 (n. 56); unrecognized, 42A; replacement of, 106A; of Late Han, 210 (n. 114); equal to the Emperor, 28; veneration of, 39; virtuous, 60B.

Wounds, 38A, 52.

Write, 26, 29, 80C (and n. 13), 156B (n. 34), 162, 163A, 164C, 167B (n. 28), 168, 170; on wall, 142.

Writing of the River Lo (lo-shu 洛書), 210 (n. 93).

Wu: 武王, first ruler of Chou (11th cent. B.C.), 4, 65, 91 (and nn. 14, 17), 99, 100 (n. 12), 169K; 漢孝武帝 Emperor of Han (141-87 B.C.), 6 (n. 5), 28, 52-53, 59 (and n. 35), 65, 75 (n. 15), 85 (n. 32), 102, 142, 150A-D, 205 (and n. 8), 206 (and nn. 32, 36), 209 (nn. 56, 70); 吳 kingdom (1022-473 B.C.), 28 (n. 38), 35A-B, 40, 96; 吳 dynasty (222-280 A.D.), 78; 武關 pass in Shensi, 11A.

Wu K'e 伍客, petty official (fl. 6-1 B.C.), 65.

Wu-li lun 物理論, by Yang Ch'üan, 108A (n. 9).

- Wu-ting 武丁, or Kao-tsung, ruler of Yin (1324-1285 B.C.), 28 (n. 35), 58 (and nn. 29, 31).
- Wu-tsang 五藏 (five viscera), 116 (n. 40).
- Wu-t'ung 梧桐 (*Sterculia plantifolia*), tree, 169A1-2.
- Wu Tzu-hsü 伍子胥, see Wu Yüan.
- Wu Yüan 伍員, known as Wu Tzu-hsü, minister of Wu (d. 485 B.C.), 28 (and n. 38).
- Wu Yün 吳筠, poet (469-520 A.D.), 190 (comm.), 200 (comm.).
- Ya-ts'ao 雅操 (court music), 122 (n. 51).
- Ya-yüeh 雅樂 (court music), 122 (n. 51).
- Yang: family 楊, 158A (n. 46); 揚, see Yang Hsiung.
- Yang-ch'eng Tzu-chang 陽城子張, musician (contemporary of Huan T'an), 51.
- Yang Ch'üan 楊泉, critical philosopher (3rd cent. A.D.), 108A (n. 9).
- Yang Ch'un-ch'ing 楊春卿, specialist of prognostication (d. ca. 36 A.D.), 158A (n. 46).
- Yang Chung 揚仲, probably Yang Chung-wen, 158B (and n. 49).
- Yang Chung-wen 揚仲文 (contemporary of Huan T'an?), 158A (and nn. 46, 49).
- Yang Hou 楊厚, scholar (72-153 A.D.), 158A (n. 46).
- Yang Hsiang-k'uei 楊向奎, contemporary historian, 129 (n. 70).
- Yang Hsiung 揚雄, philosopher (53 B.C.-18 A.D.), 29, 31 (and n. 49), 35A (n. 11), 69 (and nn. 5-6), 80A-D (and nn. 12-13, comm.), 104, 107 (n. 3), 114A (nn. 26, 28), 114B (and n. 26), 115A (nn. 34-35), 115B, 117 (n. 43), 122, 126B (and n. 63), 135A (n. 87), 140A-B, 145 (n. 1),

- 150D (n. 17), 163A (and nn. 6, 9, 12), 164A-E (and n. 22), 188 (comm.), 194 (n. 62), 195 (and n. 64), 198 (and n. 69), 205 (nn. 19, 22), 214 (and n. 123).
- Yang K'uan 揚寬, contemporary historian, 176 (n. 21).
- Yang, L. S., 208 (nn. 45, 47).
- Yang Shen 揚慎, scholar (1498-1559 A.D.), 80C (n. 12).
- Yang-tzu 揚子, or Yang Tzu-yün, see Yang Hsiung.
- Yang Tzu-lin 楊子林, official (contemporary of Huan T'an), 167A-B.
- Yang Tzu-yün 揚子雲, see Yang Hsiung.
- Yangtze 揚子, river, 111A (n. 19).
- Yao 堯, Emperor (24th-23rd cent.), 15, 52, 65, 97, 169A1 (and n. 6), 169F, 175A (and n. 7).
- Yao Chih-yin 姚之駟, historian (fl. 2nd half of 17th cent.), 210 (n. 121).
- "Yao-tien" 堯典, first chapter of the Book of Documents, 88 (and n. 3).
- Yellow, 124; and white (i.e., gold), 154 (n. 37), 157A-B (and n. 36).
- Yellow: Emperor (Huang-ti 黃帝), 52, 175A (and n. 6); Gate (huang-men 黃門), 114A-B, 119, 126A, 157A, 173; River (Ho 黃河), 53, 68, 108A (and nn. 9, 12), 110 (and n. 16), 111A-B (and n. 19), 169G1, 208 (comm.); shift of course, 110 (and n. 16).
- Yen: 元王偃 King of Sung, 47 (n. 9); 燕, northern kingdom in Hopei, 35A; or Yen-tzu 崦子, mountain in Kansu, 205 (and n. 29).
- Yen-chih 閼氏, consort of the shan-yü, 159 (n. 1).

Yen K'o-chün 嚴可均, editor (1762-1843 A.D.),
 1 (n. 1-2), 3 (n. 2-3), 8 (n. 1), 10 (n. 3),
 14 (n. 13), 20 (n. 18), 24B (comm.), 28 (nn.
 34, 42), 32B (comm.), 35B (n. 13), 40 (n. 25),
 41 (comm.), 44 (n. 6), 48A (n. 13), 60C, 61
 (n. 39), 66 (nn. 66, 71), 74 (n. 12), 77 (n.
 18), 80C (n. 12), 84A (n. 27), 86A (n. 38),
 90A (n. 7), 90E (n. 10), 93D (n. 31, comm.),
 95 (n. 38), 96 (n. 40), 99, 100 (nn. 12, 15),
 104 (nn. 29-30), 105 (n. 1), 108A (n. 5), 110
 (n. 17), 111B (n. 20), 112 (n. 22), 114A (n. 27),
 118 (n. 46), 120 (n. 48), 122 (n. 54), 124
 (n. 58), 125 (n. 60), 134 (nn. 81, 84), 136C
 (n. 96), 138 (n. 98), 139 (n. 1), 142 (n. 11),
 148A (n. 8), 149 (n. 11), 150B (n. 14), 151A
 (n. 20), 158B (nn. 45, 49-50), 159A (n. 2),
 163A (n. 12), 164A (nn. 17, 20, 24), 167 (n.
 27), 168 (n. 30), 169G1 (n. 12), 171B, 202
 (comm.), intr. to Part III, 205 (nn. 3, 11-13,
 20, 25, 28-29), 215 (n. 126).

Yen-ling 延陵, in Kiangsu, 96 (n. 39).

Yen-shih, see Yen-chih.

Yen Shih-ku 顏師古, historian (579-645 A.D.),
 55 (n. 20), 82C (n. 21), 103 (comm.), 108B
 (nn. 7, 10), 110 (n. 13), 157A (n. 37), 159A
 (n. 3), 169I1 (n. 15), 197 (n. 65), 205 (n.
 19), 208 (comm.), 209 (n. 75).

Yen-tzu 崦子, see Yen.

Yen-tzu 晏子嬰, or Yen Ying, Minister in Ch'i
 (ca. 580-500 B.C.), 84A (and n. 29).

Yen-tzu ch'un-ch'iu 晏子春秋, attributed to
 Yen Ying, 84A (n. 29).

- Yen Yu 嚴尤, see Chuang Yu.
- Yen Yüan 顏淵, Confucius' disciple (521-481 B.C.), 73, 79A-B.
- Yielding, 96, 157A, 181.
- Yin: 音 (tone), 174 (n. 41); 陰 (one of two great forces), 84A, 103 (n. 26).
- Yin 殷, dynasty (1401-1022 B.C.), 10, 30, 58 (nn. 27, 29), 169H1.
- Yin Ching-shun 殷敬順, (T'ang), 134A (n. 84).
- Ying 郢, capital of Ch'u, 63, 183.
- Ying Pu 英布, 35A (n. 11).
- Ying Shao 應劭, historian (ca. 140-206 A.D.), 159A (n. 3).
- Yoga, 205 (n. 19).
- Youth, 65, 79 (n. 2), 80A, 82A and C, 84A (and n. 32), 134, 141, 142, 171A, 205 (and n. 13).
- Yu 優 ("actor"), 137 (n. 97), 188 (comm.).
- Yu-hsia 游俠 (wandering knight), 84A (n. 24), 103 (comm.), 209 (n. 65).
- Yu-jo 有若, Confucius' disciple (fl. 538 B.C.), 28.
- Yu Po-tzu 幼伯子, magician (1st cent. B.C.?), 151C (comm.).
- Yu-yü 由余, barbarian envoy (7th cent. B.C.), 65 (and n. 50).
- Yü: 羽 (a tone), 124, 169K, 171A; 竽 (musical instrument), 174.
- Yü 禹, first Emperor of the Hsia (2205-2198 B.C.), 97, 110, 169G1-2, 175A, 208.
- Yü Ch'ang-ch'ien 虞長倩, musician (contemporary of Huan T'an?), 173.
- Yü-chiang 玉姜, see Jade Lady.

- Yü Ch'ing 虞卿, wandering politician (3rd cent. B.C.), 28 (and n. 41).
- Yü Hsin 庾信, poet (513-581 A.D.), 204 (comm.).
- Yü i 玉液 (jade juice), 205 (n. 23).
- Yü-nü 玉女, see Jade Woman.
- Yü-p'ien 玉篇, by Ku Yeh-wang, 66 (n. 67).
- Yü-shih ch'un-ch'iu 虞氏春秋, by Yü Ch'ing, 28 (n. 41).
- "Yü yen" 寓言 (fictive speech), title of the 27th chapter of Chuang-tzu, 2B (n. 4).
- Yü Ying-shih, 55 (n. 21), 209 (n. 50).
- Yüan 元 (first), 163A (n. 9).
- Yüan 元王偃, King of Sung, 47 (n. 9).
- Yüan 漢孝元帝, Emperor of Han (48-33 B.C.), 151A (and n. 21).
- Yüan-ch'i 元氣 (original breath), 205 (n. 16).
- Yüan-k'ang 元康 (period between 65 B.C. and 62 B.C.), 172A-B.
- Yüan-mi 苑祕 (Secrets of the Garden), prescription, 157A (n. 37).
- Yüan-shou 元狩 (period between 122 B.C. and 116 B.C.), 209 (n. 70).
- "Yüan-yu" 遠遊 (The Far-Off Journey), a poem in Ch'u-tz'u, 205 (n. 10).
- Yüeh 越, kingdom in southern China, 35A-B.
- Yüeh-chi 樂記, see Musical Memoir.
- Yüeh-chia chi 樂家記, see Musician's Memoir.
- Yüeh-chia shu chi 樂家書記, 82B (n. 16).
- Yüeh-kuan 樂官 (musical official), 119 (n. 47).
- "Yüeh-ling" 月令, 3rd chapter of Li chi, 205 (n. 20).
- Yün-t'ai 雲臺 (cloud terrace), 210 (n. 111).

Yung 雍 (dam), 93B.

Yung 雍, Province in Shensi. 53.

Yung-men Chou 雍門周 (Chou from the Yung Gate),
musician (3rd cent. B.C.), 171A (and n. 34).

Zach, E. von, (1872-1942 A.D.), 160 (n. 1), 190 (n. 48),
205 (nn. 19, 24).

Zanthoxylum (pepper-tree), 62 (n. 42).

Zither, 42A-B, Chapter 16, 169 (comm.).

MICHIGAN PAPERS IN CHINESE STUDIES

- No. 1. The Chinese Economy, 1912-1949, by Albert Feuerwerker.
- No. 2. The Cultural Revolution: 1967 in Review, four essays by Michel Oksenberg, Carl Riskin, Robert Scalapino, and Ezra Vogel.
- No. 3. Two Studies in Chinese Literature: "One Aspect of Form in the Arias of Yüan Opera" by Dale Johnson; and "Hsü K'o's Huang Shan Travel Diaries" translated by Li Chi, with an introduction, commentary, notes, and bibliography by Chun-shu Chang.
- No. 4. Early Communist China: Two Studies: "The Fu-t'ien Incident" by Ronald Suleski; and "Agrarian Reform in Kwangtung, 1950-1953" by Daniel Bays.
- No. 5. The Chinese Economy, ca. 1870-1911, by Albert Feuerwerker.
- No. 6. Chinese Paintings in Chinese Publications, 1956-1968: An Annotated Bibliography and An Index to the Paintings, by E. J. Laing.
- No. 7. The Treaty Ports and China's Modernization: What Went Wrong? by Rhoads Murphey.
- No. 8. Two Twelfth Century Texts on Chinese Painting, "Shan-shui ch'un-ch'üan chi" by Han Cho, and chapters nine and ten of "Hua-chi" by Teng Ch'un, translated by Robert J. Maeda.
- No. 9. The Economy of Communist China, 1949-1969, by Chu-yuan Cheng.
- No. 10. Educated Youth and the Cultural Revolution in China by Martin Singer.
- No. 11. Premodern China: A Bibliographical Introduction, by Chun-shu Chang.
- No. 12. Two Studies on Ming History, by Charles O. Hucker.
- No. 13. Nineteenth Century China: Five Imperialist Perspectives, selected by Dilip Basu, edited with an introduction by Rhoads Murphey.

- No. 14. Modern China, 1840-1972: An Introduction to Sources and Research Aids, by Andrew J. Nathan.
- No. 15. Women in China: Studies in Social Change and Feminism, edited with an introduction by Marilyn B. Young.
- No. 16. An Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Painting Catalogues and Related Texts, by Hin-cheung Lovell.
- No. 17. China's Allocation of Fixed Capital Investment, 1952-57, by Chu-yuan Cheng.
- No. 18. Health, Conflict, and the Chinese Political System, by David M. Lampton.
- No. 19. Chinese and Japanese Music-Dramas, edited by J. I. Crump and William P. Malm.
- No. 20. Hsin-lun (New Treatise) and Other Writings by Huan T'an (43 B.C. - 28 A.D.), translated by Timoteus Pokora.

Price: \$3.00 (US) each
except \$4.00 for special issues #6, #15, and #19
and \$5.00 for #20

Prepaid Orders Only

NON SERIES PUBLICATION

Index to the "Chan-Kuo Ts'e," by Sharon Fidler and J. I. Crump. A companion volume to the Chan-Kuo Ts'e translated by J. I. Crump. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970). \$3.00

MICHIGAN ABSTRACTS OF CHINESE AND
JAPANESE WORKS ON CHINESE HISTORY

No. 1. The Ming Tribute Grain System by Hoshi Ayao,
translated by Mark Elvin.

No. 2. Commerce and Society in Sung China by Shiba
Yoshinobu, translated by Mark Elvin.

No. 3. Transport in Transition: The Evolution of
Traditional Shipping in China, translations by Andrew
Watson.

No. 4. Japanese Perspectives on China's Early Moderni-
zation: The Self-Strengthening Movement, 1860-1895
by K. H. Kim.

Price: \$4.00 (US) each

Prepaid Orders Only

Michigan Papers and Abstracts available from:
Center for Chinese Studies
University of Michigan
Lane Hall
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104
USA

