of one hundred years and then died, leaving a large posterity, who, generation after generation, did not fail to bear office, and to the present day they are spoken of as the 'brotherly Hsü Family.'

R. W. HURST.

THE HISTORY OF CHINESE LITERATURE,

ILLUSTRATED BY LITERAL TRANSLATIONS FROM CHINESE TEXTS.

I. TRANSLATION* OF A CHAPTER IN SECTION XXVI OF THE FORMER HAN BOOKS BY PAN KU (DIED A.D. 92).

Liu Hin 劉歆, who bore the literary designation Tsze-tsun 子駿, was, when very young, so noted for his masterly acquaintance with the Shi (King) and Shoo (King) and for his skill in prose composition, that he was summoned to appear in audience before the Emperor. During the reign of Ch'ing Ti 成帝 (B.C. 32-7) he held office in the Imperial Household as a Superintendent of Palace servants. During the period called Ho-p'ing (B.C. 28-23), Liu Hin was commissioned to act, under his father Liu Hiang 劉向, as a Collator of the Privy Library books, when he had occasion to give opinions on (the condition of the text of) works bearing on the six fine arts†, on traditional memoirs and historical records, on the various philosophical works, on works on poetry and anomalous verse, arithmetic and divination, medicine and surgery, all of which works he examined (critically). After the death of his father Hiang, Liu Hin was appointed President of the Commission of Revisors (of classical texts). When the Emperor Ngai Ti 哀帝 ascended the throne (B.C. 6), Liu Hin was raised by Wang Mang 王莽, then Minister of War, to the office of a Director of the Imperial Clan, and subsequently further promoted to be a hereditary noble of the sixth rank and a Director of the Banqueting Court. Thus he gained a position of high honour and great prosperity. He continued labouring at the restoration of the text of the Five Classics and completed thus the work which his father had left unfinished. Liu Hin classified the whole of the (existing) literature bearing on the six fine arts, by arranging it in distinct classes under seven departments as detailed in the Catalogue of Literature* (Section XXX of the Han Books). Liu Hin and his father Liu Hiang were the first to deal with the Yih (King) critically. During the reign of the Emperor Suen Ti 宣帝 (B.C. 73-49), an Imperial Mandate had been issued to Liu Hiang (as President of the Commission of Revisors) ordering him to recognize Kuh-liang's 穀梁 text of the Ch'un-ts'iu as authoritative, and after ten years of study he had cleared up all doubtful points. But when Liu Hin joined the Commission of Revisors, he discovered a copy of the ancient text of the Ch'un-ts'iu with the commentary (Tso-chwan) of Tso (K'iu-ming) 左邱明. Liu Hin was charmed with it. At that time there was one Yin

* In this translation the name of each person or place will be given once in Chinese and Roman characters, but subsequently in Roman characters only. Words within brackets are not in the original.—E. J. E.

† Commonly understood to be the sciences of ceremonial, music, archery, charioteering, writing and mathematics.—E. J. E.

* A translation of the Introduction to this Catalogue will be given in next number of *China Review*.—E. J. E.

Hien 尹咸, an officer of the Historiographer's Office, who, having also mastered Tso's commentary, joined Liu Hin in the work of revising the wording of the text of the classic (the Ch'un-ts'iu). In this work Liu Hin generally followed the lead of Yun Hien and of Choh (or Tih?) Fang-tsin 翟方進, then Prime Minister, to whom he came for counsel on all questions as to the general meaning of the text. Originally the text of Tso's commentary swarmed with archaic forms of writing and archaic phrases, regarding which students had nothing but traditional dicta based on guesswork to guide them*; but when Liu Hin took Tso's text (of the Ch'un-ts'iu) in hand, he applied the text of Tso's annotations to the explanation of the text of the Ch'un-ts'iu in such a manner, that the latter reflected light illumining the obscurities of the former. In this manner, chapter after chapter and paragraph after paragraph was put straight. The fact is, Liu Hin was a man of subtle ingenuity and immense resource. Both he and his father were passionate admirers of classical antiquity and men of extensive learning, whilst possessed of a memory the extent of which exceeded that of any other scholar. Liu Hin was of opinion that both the predilections and the antipathies of Tso K'iu-ming were instinct with the spirit of the Sages of antiquity through his personal intercourse with Confucius, whilst Kung-yang (Kao) 公羊高 and Kuh-liang (each of whom transmitted also a text of the Ch'un-ts'iu) were posterior even to the seventy disciples (of Confucius), so that their learning, being derived from second hand tradition, differed in value from the learning of Tso K'iu-ming, derived as it was from personal intercourse, as widely as vague generalities differ from precise details. Liu Hin frequently consulted (his father) Hiang regarding points of special difficulty, but Hiang was generally unable, whilst doggedly maintaining a prejudice in favour of Kuh-liang's views, to find fault with him (Liu Hin) in the smallest particular. When Liu Hin rose high in Imperial favour, he sought to establish Tso's text of the Ch'un-ts'iu, Mao's 毛 text of the Shi, the then uncanonical portions of the Li and the ancient text of the Shoo as the recognized standards of the education given in the Imperial College. The Emperor, Ngai Ti, however, requested Liu Hin first of all to vindicate his views regarding the principles at issue in disputation with the other members of the Commission for the revision of the five classics. The members of the Commission declined responding to this call. Thereupon Liu Hin addressed to them the following circular which he forwarded through the Court of Sacrificial Worship:

'Anciently, when the power of T'ang 唐 (i.e. Yao) and Yü 虞 (i.e. Shun) had already decayed, and whilst the three dynasties (Hia, Shang and Chow) reigned in succession, there were yet sage-like Emperors and bright-spirited Kings arising in numbers and regularly succeeding each other; men whose high principles forced themselves into public recognition. When, however, the Chow dynasty began drawing near to its end, (the rules of) both ceremonial and music became corrupt and consequently the right principles could no longer be maintained under such circumstances. Hence it was that Confucius had to lament the fact that right principles had ceased to prevail* and went into office only in response to the solicitation of the several States. When he "returned from Wei to Lu, it was then (during this time of leisure) that the rules of music were reformed, whereby the Imperial Songs and the Praise Songs found all their proper places."† Then the Yih also was revised by him, the books of the Shoo were re-arranged in their

* This passage is a little obscure in the original. The words are 學者傳訓故而已 and the Commentator adds, on the authority of Sze Ku, 故謂指趣也.—E. J. E.

* Or, according to Legge, that his doctrines made no way (Anal. V. 6).—E. J. E.

† Quotation from Anal. IX, 14.—E. J. E.

proper sequence and he composed the Ch'un-ts'iu in order to record the high principles of Emperors and Kings.'

'But with the death of Confucius the deeper meaning of his words was lost and after the demise of his seventy disciples the great principles of his system were perverted. Moreover then came times of divided rule during which the (ancient) distinctions in the use of ceremonial vessels were discarded amid the bustle of military operations. Thus the teachings of Confucius faded away, whilst the strategies of Sun (Wu) 孫武 and Wu (K'i) 吳起 rose into importance. Matters thenceforth went from bad to worse, until at last the violence of the Ts'in rulers vented itself in the burning of the books, in the murder of Confucian scholars, in the prohibition of secreting any texts, and in making it a penal crime to believe in antiquity. Thenceforth the study of right principles remained extinct, until the Han dynasty arose, separated from the times of those sage-like Emperors and bright-spirited Kings by an immense interval of time. Confucianism had then virtually ceased to exist. No genuine standards or models were left even for the making of laws and regulations. Yet at that very time there was a man called Shuh Sun-t'ung 叔孫通 who pretty correctly identified the ancient ceremonial, though there was then no other classical text in existence but the Yih King, which was used for purposes of divination.'

'When, at last, the law against secreting classical books was repealed under the reign of Hwui Ti 惠帝 (B.C. 194-186), the ministers of State and other officials of high rank, being all men of the stamp of Kiang 絳 (i.e. Chow Poh) and Kwan 灌 (i.e. Kwan Fu), martial worthies clad in mail, did not care about the matter (the restoration of the texts) at all. It was only at the time of Wăn Ti 文帝 (B.C. 179-157) that one Ch'iao Ts'oh 朝錯 a Protector of Antiques, was commissioned to go and obtain from a scholar called Fuh (known as Fuh Shang) 伏生 his copy of the Shang Books (i.e. the Shoo). But when this copy of the Shoo was first taken out (from its hiding place) in the wall (of Shang's house), it was found that some (of the tablets) were decayed or broken and that some had got into confusion or had been destroyed altogether.'

'The reason why the classical texts are still in existence is simply this, that the teachers of those days had, for generation after generation, confined their labours to memoriter repetition of the bare texts. The Shi was originally formed by a process of slow growth, and in short all the classics existing in the empire in those days were formed by continuous accretion. They were all the product of oral transmission through successive generations of teachers, until they were made (under the Han dynasty) the official standards of education, the mastery of which was the test of a scholar's accomplishments. Among all the literati of the earlier period of the Han dynasty the scholar Kia (I) 賈誼 stands out in solitary greatness.* It was not till after the time of Wu Ti (B.C. 140-88) that the States of Tsiu, Lu, Liang and Chiao possessed at last texts, more or less complete, of the Shi, the Li, and the Ch'un-ts'iu. Some of the greatest (Confucian) scholars arose during the period called Kien-yuen 建元 (B.C. 140-135), and yet there was not a single man then living who had himself mastered the whole of (those) classics. Some had mastered only the Imperial Songs, some the Praise Songs only. Consequently it was by piecing together the (fragmentary) recollections of different individuals that the Shi was at last restored. The Great Declaration† (a portion of the Shoo) was last of all obtained and made readable through piece-meal combination of the contributions of many scholars.'

* He possessed the text of the Ch'un-ts'iu and published a commentary on it (B.C. 178-156) —E. J. E.

† See Legge, Shoo, II, p. 289.

'This state of things called forth the Imperial Mandate (of Wu Ti) and especially the following words of the Emperor (which occurred in it), "The ceremonial is corrupt, the (rules of) music are lost! All the classical texts are mutilated by lacunae and loss of tablets! This causes us the deepest grief." At that time the Han dynasty was already in the 78th year of its existence and separated by a long interval from the time (previous to the fires of Ts'in) when the classics were still complete. At the time when the King Kung 恭 (also written 共) of Lu (about B. C. 153) had the house of Confucius pulled down, with a view to enlarge his own palace, ancient texts were discovered in a wall which was being demolished. There were 39 portions of the uncanonical books of the Li and 16 portions of the Shoo*. Some time after the period called T'ien-han 天漢 (B. C. 100-97), these books were presented (B. C. 96) to the Emperor by K'ung Ngan-kwoh 孔安國. But then, by the intervention of the sudden rise of that (well-known) pest of malicious sorcery†, the universal circulation of those texts was prevented (B. C. 91). The above books (Li and Shoo), together with Tso K'iu-ming's text of the Ch'un-ts'iu, were all old texts written in archaic characters. Most of them consisted of more than twenty portions. They were all collected and deposited in the Privy Cabinet Library, but there they were kept and not republished.

'At last the Emperor Ch'ing (B.C. 32-7), grieved by the decay of literature and the imperfect condition of the classical texts which in some respects were far from genuine, opened up the treasures of the Privy Cabinet Library and had the ancient classical texts collated and arranged. On this occasion the above mentioned three works (Li, Shoo and Ch'un-ts'iu) were got hold of and applied to test the texts which had been preserved in the State Colleges, when it was found that the classical texts of the latter were short of whole tablets here and there, whilst in the commentaries to the classics whole portions (or chapters) appeared to be missing. On making the matter known and setting inquiries on foot, it was found that there were still some other texts in existence, some having been preserved by a man called Poh 栢, a native of Lu, some by a man called Kwan 貫 in the State of Ch'ao, and some by a scholar called Yung 庸 a native of Kiao-tung 膠東. Those texts had also been kept under the bushel like those above mentioned and had never been put in circulation. This is a matter of regret to all intelligent people and a fact which will provoke a painful sigh on the part of all scholars.'

'In those days of yore there were superficial scholars who never troubled their heads about corruptions or omissions in the original, and saw in deficiencies of the text but a saving of the amount to be studied. They were men who confined their attention to the meaning of individual words or to the composition of individual characters, men who had a great deal to say in an incoherent way. Such scholars, though labouring hard and continuing to a green old age, would naturally after all fail to master any one branch of literature. Whilst mechanically learning and repeating what they had learned, they would unconsciously break faith with the orthodox traditions, echoing the views of later teachers of their own time and contradicting the teachings of ancient authorities. Then, if some great political event took place, raising questions as to the rites connected, say, with the establishing of academical examinations, or with the consecration of ground chosen for an altar, or with the arrangement of a royal progress, then such scholars would naturally find themselves unable to comprehend the principles underlying such questions. They would rather be ready to protect their corrupt texts and retain their

* Compare the account, somewhat different, given in Legge's Classics, Vol. I., Proleg. p. 13. —E. J. E.

† See Legge, Shoo, Proleg. p. 23, where details are given.—E. J. E.

lacunae (on which they could lay the blame), being secretly under the influence of fear lest their own ignorance be found out. Such men were, in short, devoid of that public spirit which courts whatever is good and bows to whatever is right. Perhaps, also, they cherished feelings of jealousy, instead of simply seeking to ascertain the truth. Naturally, the whole crowd would agree one with the other, and support every proposition, be it positive or negative, made by one in their midst. Thus it came about that the study of the above mentioned three books was hampered, that the Shang Books (i.e. the Shoo) were declared to be quite complete (though then far from it), and the commentary of Tso was said to have nothing to do with the Ch'un-ts'iu. What a pity!'

'Now, however, our sage-like Sire, endowed with powers of divine intelligence, has taken up the labours of his predecessors and set to work in grand style, being like them filled with grief on account of the deficiencies and confusion of the classical texts. But, whilst fully aware of the nature of the scholarship which the scholars of his day represent, he feels restrained by his humility and gentleness (from speaking out plainly) and would rather see the whole of the scholars united in harmony of their own accord. For this reason it was that he issued the Mandate, with a view to get Tso's text adopted as a standard authority, without having to place his subordinates under the constraint of a direct order or command, being anxious rather to stoop low in order to raise and strengthen the enfeebled condition of literature, by joining with the several scholars in cordial harmony with a view to take in hand the corrupt and mutilated texts. But now you, gentlemen, decline to comply with this (intention of the Emperor), you carefully shut the door against and firmly resist (all improvements), by refusing even to give the case a hearing. You are doggedly rejecting (those texts) without even perusing them, in the hope to shut out all that remains of right methods of study, and to put the extinguisher on the feeble flame of a literary spirit yet existing. To be ready to rejoice over a thing when it is completed but to raise difficulties whilst others are considering how it is to be done, such is the common practice of the vulgar herd and not what might have been expected of gentlemen and scholars. Moreover, the several texts above referred to met with the approval of a now deceased sovereign (Ch'ing Ti ?) and the ancient texts and old books now inquired after by our present sovereign (Ngai Ti) can all be verified and authenticated, as both the external and internal narratives (sections of Tso's historical records called Kwoh-yü) correspond, excluding all idea of reckless proceeding. Considering the fact that the Li, after having been lost, was recovered from an out-of-the-way place, there is no reason why it should be any more surprising if other ancient texts are also recovered from out-of-the-way places. Among the scholars of former days there was Ngeu-yang (Kao) 歐陽高 who edited the Shoo, Kung-yang edited the Ch'un-ts'iu, and the two scholars Shi 施 and Mêng 孟 edited the Yih, but that did not hinder the Emperor Suen Ti bringing into publicity further also Kuh-liang's edition of the Ch'un-ts'iu, Liang K'iu's 梁丘 edition of the Yih and the Shang Books (i.e. Shoo King) of the Greater Hia-heu (School) (i.e. the School of Hia-heu Shing 夏侯勝) and of the Lesser Hia-heu (School) (i.e. the School of Hia-heu Kien 夏侯建). These new editions were brought forward although they contradicted the older texts (in some respects), the reason being that it was considered better to preserve even faulty ancient texts than to reject them altogether because containing some faults. A commentator says,* "the right principles of Wăn (Wang) 文王 and Wu (Wang) 武王 are not yet allowed to be trampled under foot, for they live in

* *The words here quoted are found in the* Analects xix. 22, where they are attributed to Tsze-kung, the disciple of Confucius.—E. J. E.

(the minds of) men, and whilst men of superior virtue remember the greater deeds (of Wăn and Wu), men deficient in virtue remember at least the smaller incidents (of their career)." And are we now-a-days to set aside and reject altogether the teachings of the several works above mentioned, comprising, as they do, both matters of great and small import? If people must needs be obstinate and stick to their corrupt texts, and for the sake of party spirit regard with jealousy the principles of truth, rebelling against the Mandate of the Emperor and deserting the cause of the Sages, they fall into the condemnation due to literary pettifoggers which, I would fain hope, the several members of the Commission (on the opposite side) will not make themselves guilty of.'

The terms of this circular are very much to the point, but the literati to whom it was addressed resented it bitterly. There was at the time a famous scholar, a Director of the Banqueting Court, called Kung Shing* 龔勝, who, on account of the circular sent round by Liu Hin, addressed a petition to the Throne in which he hurled the severest accusations (ironical or genuine) against himself, praying to be dismissed *cum infamia*. Another great scholar, called Sze Tan 師丹, then Minister of Public Works, feeling likewise highly incensed, presented a memorial to the Throne in which he accused Liu Hin of having deviated from and brought confusion into the ancient statutes, and of having contradicted and blasphemed the institutes of deceased sovereigns. But the Emperor (Ngai Ti) replied that Liu Hin's desire to further the interests of literature could not reasonably be construed as an act of contradiction and blasphemy.

Nevertheless, Liu Hin was henceforth looked upon by the highest officers of the State as their enemy and slandered by the mass of the literati of his time. Being afraid lest the matter might cost him his life, Liu Hin petitioned the Emperor to send him abroad in a subordinate capacity, whereupon he was appointed River Prefect of Ho-nei 河內. But when it was found that members of the Imperial clan could not lawfully hold control over any of the three Ho (Ho-nei, Ho-tung and Ho-si), he was transferred to the prefecture of Wu-yuen 五原 and subsequently moved to the prefecture of Tioh-kiun 涿郡. Having held those three prefectural posts for some years, he was discharged from office on the ground of illness. At the expiration of his sick-leave he re-entered official life as Military Governor of the dependencies of Ngan-ting 安定 and on the death (B.C. 2) of the Emperor, Ngai Ti, he was favoured with the patronage of Wang Mang 王莽 who then took the reins of government, Wang Mang having been associated in his youth with Liu Hin in the Superintendency of the Palace servants. Wang Mang recommended him also to the Dowager Empress (who acted as regent) whereupon he was appointed a Junior Judge of the Court of Appeal, and successively promoted to various offices, being made Superintendent of the Inner Gate, Hi-hwo-king-chiao-yin (?), Superintendent of the travelling audience hall, and Superintendent of the Hanlin examination hall. The Dowager Empress also bestowed on him a fief, making him marquis of Hung-yiu 紅休 and appointed him (to his former office of) President of the Commission of Academicians (for the revision of classical texts). In the latter capacity he examined and reported (to the Throne) on works concerning Law and Chronology. Liu Hin composed also a calendaric register entitled San-t'ung-lieh-p'u 三統歷譜. Some time previous, viz. in the first year (B.C. 6) of the period Kien-p'ing (B.C. 6-3), Liu Hin changed his name (Hin) to Siu 秀 and his literary designation (Tsze-tsin) to Ying-suh† 穎叔.

(To be continued.)

E. J. EITEL.

* Possibly identic with 殷崇龔勝 mentioned by Dr. Legge, Shoo, Proleg. p. 20, as a later representative of the School founded by Ngeu-yang Kao.—E. J. E.

† It appears from a foot note of Sze Ku, the