BERNHARD KARLGREN

GLOSSES ON THE BOOK OF DOCUMENTS



MUSEUM OF FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES, STOCKHOLM 1970

Price: 60 Sw. Crowns

PRINTED IN SWEDEN
ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG
GÖTEBORG 1970

This book is a reprint of:

Glosses on the Book of Documents
Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, No. 20. 1948.
Glosses on the Book of Documents. II.
BMFEA No. 21. 1949.

Reprinted in offset
by
ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG
GÖTEBORG 1970

GLOSSES ON THE BOOK OF DOCUMENTS

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

The present work is a direct sequel to my papers Glosses on the Kuo feng Odes, 1942, Glosses on the Siao ya Odes, 1944, Glosses on the Ta ya and Sung Odes 1946 (BMFEA 14, 16, 18). In order to facilitate brief references, the present glosses are numbered in sequence to those earlier ones, our first gloss here being n:o 1207.

A fundamental principle in all my glosses is a constant reference to the Archaic Chinese phonology. Only with the aid of the archaic pronunciation of the words is it possible to solve the intricate problems of the so-called k i a - t s i e, phonetic loans, and the true meaning of a word can often be best decided by etymology, i. e. through determining to which word family it belongs, what is its word stem (cf. B. Karlgren, Word Families in Chinese, BMFEA 5, 1933). The correctness of the decisions thus reached with the aid of phonology presupposes that the phonetic system of Archaic Chinese is sufficiently known and that my reconstruction of that system (as summed up in my Grammata Serica, BMFEA 12, 1940) is in the main trustworthy. Some writers have called in question the reliability of this reconstruction or have simply sweepingly condemned it. Their reason for this judgment is principally this: that the language of the Odes is not homogeneous, that it is a conglomerate of a series of disparate ancient dialects, and that no reconstruction of one definite »High-Chinese» early Chou language can be effected with the aid of the two principal sources, to which I have had recourse: the rimes of the Odes and the composition of the h i e s h e n g characters (those characters which have a »phonetic»).

In favour of the thesis that the language of the Odes is heterogeneous, representing several or many ancient dialects, two arguments have been advanced. One is the classical tradition that the section Kuo feng means »The customs (*moeurs*) of the states», and that they are popular songs culled in various feudal states and simply brought together in a collection. This thesis was long ago definitely refuted by H. Maspero, and, as we shall see presently, it is utterly untenable. Moreover, as I have proved in Gloss 757, though f e n g 'wind' can certainly mean in many contexts 'a current, a custom', its meaning in the Odes is quite different. It means 'air', melody, and the Kuo feng (Pei feng, Cheng feng etc.) are court poems composed in the Chou capital but *sung* with the airs of the various feudal states (»the airs of Pei, the airs of Cheng» etc.). The second argument, which has sometimes been advanced with strong emphasis and in a very

apodictic way, is that the earliest dialect dictionary, the Fang yen, reveals that many words that occur in the Odes were dialect words, not general words (what the Chinese call t'ung hing hua): words used only in certain provinces and quite unknown in other parts of early China. The heterogeneous nature of the Odes seems thus to be definitely proved, since part of its vocabulary can be shown to be »dialect words».

This argument only goes to prove that its propounders lack even an elementary knowledge of linguistic science, its laws and methods. Fang yen was written by Yang Hiung, who died in 18 A. D. It depicts the dialect vocabulary of middle Han time. The Odes were composed for the most part in Western Chou time (1027—771 B. C.), a few of them slightly later, but none later than the 6th century B. C. There is a gap of 600—900 years between the Odes and the Fang yen. It is quite impossible and unallowable to draw any conclusions whatever regarding the language of the Odes from a document like the Fang yen written so many centuries later than the former. If a writer in the field of Anglo-Saxon philology were to propound that a word now only occurring in certain English dialects but not in High English must *eo ipso* have been merely a dialect word and not a general word in the language 1100—1200 A. D., he would be dismissed immediately as an ignoramus. The simple fact, known to every serious linguist, is that when a word becomes obsolete and dies out in a language it does not do so suddenly and simultaneously in all the parts of the language field. When a once frequent and general word loses ground and becomes forgotten in the leading regions of the total field, it almost invariably lingers on, sometimes for many centuries, in certain parts of the field: from being a general word it becomes a dialect word, and finally, perhaps, dies out altogether. We can never conclude from the fact that a word is today limited to one dialect only that it was not a general word some centuries ago. A few examples: In Ancient Nordic there was a general and regular frequently occurring word which meant 'head': Icelandic *hauss*, Anc. Swedish and Anc. Danish *hös*. In Mediæval Nordic texts it recurs *passim* as a normal word for 'head'. Today it is entirely forgotten in most parts of Sweden and Danmark; in central and northern Sweden it is entirely unknown, and in High Swedish it is so dead that a Stockholmer has no idea what a *hös* means. But in some dialects in the south of Sweden and likewise in a few Danish dialects it still lingers; there it is still a living dialect word meaning 'head'. An English parallel to this is the word *bairn* ('child') which is now a dialect word (Scottish dialect), but which earlier was a general word (it already occurs in Beowulf in the form *bearn*). It would be easy to adduce scores of English examples of this kind. In precisely the same way a word which Yang Hiung (in Fang yen) in middle Han time describes as a dialect word occurring only in the provinces of Yen and Ts'i may very well have been a general and regular t'ung hing Chinese word 900—600 years earlier, and as such occur in the Odes. Fang yen can prove nothing whatever to the contrary. From being a general word in early

Chou time it has become more and more obsolete in the lapse of many centuries and lingered on in middle Han time as a dialect word only, in the regions of Yen and Ts'i (just like *hös* and *bairn*).

If the arguments adduced for the linguistically heterogeneous nature of the Odes thus fail utterly, it does not necessarily follow that the theory as such is wrong: a true theory can sometimes be advocated with faulty arguments by ignorant writers. Let us therefore examine the case somewhat more closely.

The principal source used for the reconstruction of Archaic Chinese is the rimes of the Odes (Shï king). In my Grammata Serica (pp. 90—110) I have tabulated all the rimes in the Kuo feng, Siao ya, and Ta ya sections and those parts of the Sung which have a regular riming system. There are altogether 1815 characters which occur in a riming position (the words are actually more numerous, for many characters occur with two or several meanings, and sometimes with two or several readings). They stand as rimes in 4925 stanzas. These high figures are important. We have here a very extensive material indeed, and thanks to these voluminous materials it is possible to determine with a great measure of certainty which rimes are regular and which are not. In other words, it has been possible to establish the riming categories of the Odes. Such and such finals rime regularly with such and such other finals, throughout the large collection of rimes. In this way, basing myself largely on, but further developing, the results of a number of great Ts'ing scholars, the best of them being Tuan Yü-ts'ai and, particularly, Kiang Yu-kao, I have established 26 rime classes, each of them comprising a certain number of Archaic finals. The 4th class, for instance, contains the finals which, when supplied with their reconstructed sound values, were as follows: *ân* : *wân* : *an* : *wan* : *i̯an* : *i̯wan* : *ian* : *iwan* : *ăn* : *wăn* : *i̯ăn* : *i̯wăn*. All these finals rime freely and regularly with each other. Similarly, the riming finals of class 21 were: *ək* : *wək* : *i̯ək* : *i̯wək* : *ɛk* : *wɛk* : *i̯ŭk* : *əg* : *wəg* : *i̯əg* : *i̯wəg* : *ɛg* : *wɛg* : *i̯ŭg*.

If we now examine those rime lists more closely, we shall find that the number of cases in which a word rimes with one or several others in a regular way, i. e. within the limits of the established rime classes, is 1571. Besides these 1571 strictly regular rimes, there are, on the one hand, 92 rimes which might be called »subsidiary rimes», i. e. rimes that are not strictly regular (keeping within the established classes) but are still phonetically very understandable, a slight *licentia poetica*, the phonetic similarity being still sufficiently strong to warrant a makeshift rime.[1] On the other hand there are 27 frankly bad and faulty rimes, e. g. *d'iok*: *d'ieg*; *twər*: *g i̯wɛd*; *gli̯əm*: *χi̯əng*; *i̯əm:tsong*.

[1]) Such subsidiary rimes have: 1. The same final consonant, but principal vowels which do not rime in the strict system: *ɛn* (*ɛt*) which properly rimes in the *ən* (*ət*) class, in 14 cases rimes in the *ĕn* (*ĕt*) class; *ôg* and *og*, which in the strict system are not allowed to rime, form subsidiary rimes in 13 cases; *ông* (*ôk*, *ôg*) occasionally rime with *ung* (*uk*, *ug*); *am* and *ăm* with *əm*, *âd* with *əd*, *ăn* with *ĕn*. 2. The same principal vowel, but different final consonants, which in the strict system do not rime (however, they are still consonants that are genetically cognate: both dentals, or both gutturals), e. g. *əd* with *ər*; *ən* with *ər*; *əg* with *əng*.

These figures: 1571 strictly regular rimes (often with quite a number of words in the riming series) and 92 subsidiary rimes as against 27 faulty and irregular rimes, afford indeed absolutely crushing evidence. Such a high degree of regularity is remarkable. It reveals two important facts:

First, there cannot be any possibility whatsoever that the Kuo feng odes are popular songs culled in the various farmers' regions. The system is far too strict (the faulty rimes in the Kuo feng are indeed very few: 8 cases). No folk songs have ever such precision in their rimes. The Odes, even the Kuo feng, are all court poems composed by scholars who had a marvellous versificatory technique, quite remarkable in view of the early era of the Odes.

Secondly, the language of the Odes must on the whole be quite h o m o g e n e o u s. If it were heterogeneous, if the various odes represented different archaic dialects, it would be absolutely impossible to establish those 26 riming classes, so strictly adhered to (1571 and 92 cases against 27). The consistency, indeed the very severity of the riming system in the Odes at once and irrevocably proves that the language of the odes is one, i. e. the language of Chou, the Royal court.

But let us for a moment suppose, for the sake of argument, that, after all, a certain number of »dialect words», not really belonging to the court language of Chou, had crept into some odes. Would they, *eo ipso*, by their presence in the Odes, invalidate our system of phonetic reconstruction? By no means. In order to be »dangerous» they would have: 1. to stand in a riming position (since the reconstruction is solely based on the riming functions; words in the middle of the lines are not pertinent to the reconstruction question); 2. to be the only representatives of certain reconstructed finals. As a rule, however, this never happens. If we examine the said 1815 characters which occur as rimes, we find that circa 1200 (two thirds, a very high figure) are such as belong to the most common stock of the general language: m a 'horse', k u o 'state', t u n g 'east', y u 'to have', etc. The remaining circa 600 are less common, but the great majority of them are such as are, after all, attested in three or four other archaic texts independent of the Odes, and may therefore, with a large measure of certainty, be expected to have been general (t ' u n g h i n g) words. But then there are, at any rate, a few riming words, which are indeed exceedingly rare, some of them even quite unknown outside the Odes. Are these not risky materials, since we have no means of judging whether they are general words or »dialect words»? No, because the reconstruction scheme is not based on them. In ode 8 we have a rare rime word 栺 **kiet* / *kiet* / k i e 'to take in the held-up flap', but the Archaic final *iet* was not reconstructed with the aid of that *hapax legomenon* but of common and general words like 節 **tsiet* / *tsiet* / t s i e and 結 *kiet* / *kiet* / k i e. In ode 28 the rime word 頌 *g'âng* / *yâng* / h a n g is a *hapax legomenon;* but the Archaic final *âng* is based on a long series of very common words, riming in the Odes, such as 剛 當 藏 喪 桑 康.

The general conclusions that can be drawn from the preceding are as follows:

1. The language of the Odes is on the whole quite homogeneous (the court language of Chou) and can safely be used as a basis for the reconstruction of its Archaic phonology. 2. The rimes of the Odes are sufficiently numerous and sufficiently strict in their rules to allow of a systematic reconstruction. 3. The Archaic phonology thus reconstructed (as recorded in dictionary form in Grammata Serica) can safely be used for philological purposes, in the interpretation of difficult texts.

If we now revert to the present glosses on the Book of Documents, we should add a few remarks.

The Shu king (Shang shu) is a collection of exceedingly difficult and, largely, very obscure texts, and it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible definitely to determine its correct form and interpretation. In the cases in which we happen to know (through ancient quotations) the so-called Kin-wen version, we frequently find that it deviates badly from the traditional Ku-wen version. This makes it tempting to conclude that in the numerous cases, known only in the Ku-wen version, which are obscure and difficult to construe, the text is too badly corrupted to admit of a successful analysis. But in my opinion this should not deter us from endeavouring to unravel as much of its secrets as is possible by the aid of the materials available. If we can arrive at a fairly reasonable interpretation of a difficult Ku-wen passage, there is always a good chance that the text is not spoiled but is simply difficult because of its high age and archaic language.

Owing to the great difficulties of most of the Shu chapters, the divergences among the Chinese scholars as to the true division of the lines and meanings of the phrases have been very considerable. The Shu king literature is immense, and it would be impossible to adduce, in every case, all the proposals for interpretation that have been advanced. That would have required several stout volumes. It has been necessary here to select and submit to the student the opinions of a limited number of leading scholars. The authorities most frequently referred to are the following:

Ancient and mediaeval authors:

Cheng Hüan (2nd c. A. D.); the glosses of this author that are known today are all recorded, for instance, in the works of Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen below. A few glosses of Cheng's teacher Ma Jung are likewise known.

Pseudo-K'ung An-kuo (3rd c. A. D.; his name here always abbreviated into: PK'ung), in the main embodying the teachings of Wang Su. His glosses are to be found in the Shï san king chu su.

K'ung Ying-ta (beginning of the 7th c. A. D.), in Shï san king chu su.

Ts'ai Ch'en (beginning of the 13th c. A. D.) the summarizer of the Sung school interpretations. In: Shu king tsi chuan.

Ts'ing and later scholars:

Kiang Sheng, in: Shu tsi chu yin su (in: Huang Ts'ing king kie).

Sun Sing-yen, in: Shang shu kin ku wen chu su (*ibid.*).

Liu Feng-lu (largely incorporating the ideas of Chuang Shu-tsu) in: Shang shu kin ku wen tsi kie (in: Huang Ts'ing king kie sü pien).

Wang Yin-chï, in: King yi shu wen (in: Huang Ts'ing king kie).

Ch'en K'iao-tsung, in: Kin wen Shang shu king shuo k'ao (in: Huang Ts'ing king kie sü pien).

Yü Yüe, in: K'ün king p'ing yi (*ibid.*).

Sun Yi-jang, in: Shang shu p'ien chï.

Chang Ping-lin, in: Ku wen Shang shu shï yi.

Wang Sien-k'ien, in: Shang shu K'ung chuan ts'an cheng.

Yü Sing-wu, in: Shuang kien yi Shang shu sin cheng.

More occasional references are made to many more scholars, for instance, Su Shï, Lin Chï-k'i, Lü Tsu-k'ien, Chu Hi (all Sung), Wu Ch'eng (early Yüan), Huei Tung, Wang Ming-sheng, Tuan Yü-ts'ai, K'ung Kuang-sen, Chu Tsün-sheng, Yüan Yüan, P'i Si-juei (all Ts'ing), Wang Kuo-wei, Ku Kie-kang.

Yao tien (including the Shun tien of the orthodox version).

1207. Yüe jo ki ku ti Yao yüe Fang hün *1.*

For yüe *2* there is the variant *3* in quotation by Li Shan:comm. on Wsüan. In Wang Yi's Lu ling kuang tien fu we find *4*, which suggests that Wang had a Shu version with *3*.

Yüe jo:

A. Yüe, written *2* or *3* or *5* (all **gịwăt/jịwɐt/* yüe) is a common initial particle, untranslatable; very common in the Shï etc. Jo *6* is similarly often a mere initial particle, cf. Shu: Kün Shï *7*, where jo does not mean 'if', since it is equal to Shu: Ta kao *8*, both jo and yüe being mere particles equal to wei *9* (for more ex. see Wang Yin-chï, King chuan shï ts'i). In our phr. above, yüe-jo is a binominal initial particle, as already recognized by Ts'ai Ch'en (= *10*), though he tries to invest it with a fuller sense akin to that of yüe *2* 'to speak': Yüe-jo = *11* »the saying is like this», i. e. »namely, *enim*». This is vetoed by the variants *3* and *5* of the particle, and it cannot be carried through in Shu: Shao kao: yüe jo lai san yüe *12*, where yüe jo is obviously an empty particle (cf. Gl. 1715). — **B.** Various ancient comm. took jo *6* to be a verb, see below. Yang Hiung had already understood it as a verb, since in his Ki Ts'in mei sin (in Wsüan) he says jo ku chê ch'eng Yao Shun *13* »Among those who accorded with antiquity, one praises Yao and Shun», evidently alluding to our Shu passage. — **C.** Couvreur takes both yüe jo in their modern sense: »I say, if» we examine etc.). This disregards the ancient variants of yüe. — A is confirmed by conclusive text. par.

The whole sentence:

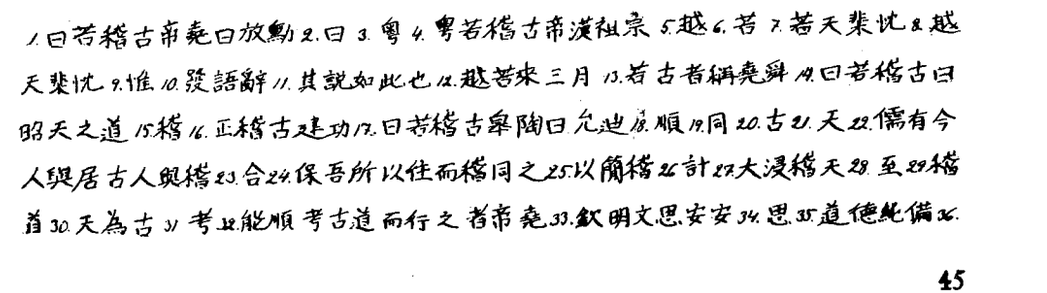
A. The oldest interpr. may be gleaned from Yi Chou shu: Wu mu: Yüe jo ki ku, yüe chao t'ien chï tao *14*, which can only mean: »Examining into antiquity (we find that) the way of Bright Heaven . . . .». It is quite evident that ki *15* here must have its common meaning of 'to examine'. The phr. is modelled after our famous Shu passage above, and it is clear that the Chou time author punctuated after ku: yüe jo ki ku, ti Yao yüe Fang-hün and interpreted: **»Examining into antiquity (we find that) the emperor Yao was called Fang-hün».** (So also Legge). Cf. Shu: T'ai shï (ap. Han shu: P'ing Tang chuan): Cheng ki ku, kien kung *16*. Here the first phr. ends by ki ku, just as in our yüe jo ki ku, ti Yao yüe above. — **B.** Various Han and later authors punctuated after Yao: Yüe jo ki ku ti Yao, Yüe Fang-hün. This must already have been the opinion of Pan Ku, for in Po hu t'ung: Sheng jen he cites the quite analogous phr. in Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yüe jo ki ku Kao Yao yüe Yün ti etc. *17*), in a way which shows that he punctuated: yüe jo ki ku Kao Yao, yüe Yün ti: »Examining into the ancient Kao Yao (we find that) . . . .», and he must necessarily have understood our Yao tien phr. above in the same way. For the rest, the interp. vary. — *a.* Cheng Hüan: jo *6* = *18* 'to accord with, to be concordant, obedient' (common); ki *15* = *19* 'to accord with': ku *20* = *21* 'Heaven'. Thus: »The emperor Yao who was jo concordant (obedient) and ki ku agreed with (»the ancient one» =) Heaven, was called Fang-hün». For support have been adduced: Li: Ju hing *22*, on which Cheng Hüan says ki *15* = *23*: »The scholar has present men with whom he associates, and ancient men with whom he accords»; but ki *15* here may equally well be taken in its ordinary sense: »and ancient men with whom he studies»; Hanfei: Chu tao *24* — here ki is sure enough combined with t'ung *19*, but it still means 'to examine': »We keep on our course and scrutinize and accord with it»; Chou li: Siao tsai: »He regulates the conscriptions for war and hunts *25* according to registers and (investigations =) calculations» — though Cheng Chung here says ki means *26* 'counting' or *23* 'bringing together', i. e. »summing up», it fundamentally means 'investigation', and Cheng Chung's ho *23* has here not the sense of 'to accord with'; Chuang: Siao yao yu *27* — here Lu Tê-ming reads ki and Sï-ma Piao says ki = *28* »The great flow (comes to, reaches:) joins Heaven», but Sü and Li read k'i as in k'i shou *29:* »The great flow knocks against Heaven», which is certainly preferable. Thus Cheng Hüan's gloss ki *15* = t'ung *19* lacks true support; ki never really means 'to accord with'. Ku *20* = *21* 'Heaven' refers to Yi Chou shu: Chou chu *30*. But this is exceedingly scholastic. — *β.* PK'ung: jo *6* = *18* (with Cheng above), ki *15* = *31* 'to examine' (common), paraphrasing: *32* »The one who could accord with and scrutinize the ancient (norms) and practise them was the emperor Yao». — *γ.* Ts'ai Ch'en simplifies the interpr. by taking ku as an attribute to ti Yao: »Investigating the ancient emperor Yao». — A is the earliest interpr. and supported by a good Shu par.

Fang-hün:

A. PK'ung reads **pịwang/pịwang/* fang in rising tone: »(The one who) imitates the merits (of the ancestors)». — **B.** Cheng Hüan and Wang Su read **pịwang* in falling tone: »(The one who) spread everywhere his merits». — It is really futile to try to choose between these attempts at the etymology of the name.

1208. K'in ming wen sï an an *33.*

For k'in 'respectful', ming 'enlightened', wen 'accomplished' there are various lengthy abstract definitions in the early comm., not worth while reproducing here.



A. PK'ung (Ku-wen) read as above: w e n s ï a n a n. Shïwen reads *34* *s̥iəg/si/ s ï in falling tone, or in the ordinary way, in even tone. Cheng Hüan took it in its ordinary sense of 'to think', thus: 'thoughtful'. Ma Jung on the other hand says *35* »the virtue being pure and complete is called s ï». This is based on Yi Chou shu: S h ï fa *36*. Some Ts'ing scholars imagine that Ma took *34* *s̥iəg to be loan char. for *37* *sək 'sincere' of B below, but this is not convincing. His definition, that of Yi Chou shu, may just as well be a free paraphrase of s ï *34*: 'thoughtful = wise, sage'. There is nothing to prove that the Chou shu definition refers to our Shu passage. PK'ung took k ' i n m i n g w e n s i as subject and a n a n as verb: »By his reverence etc. he tranquillized (the world)». Ts'ai Ch'en more naturally takes a n a n as an adjective coördinated with the preceding: »He was respectful, enlightened, accomplished, thoughtful and peaceful». — **B.** Another version (Kin-wen) ap. Shang shu k'ao ling yo read w e n s ê y e n y e n *38*: **»Respectful, enlightened, accomplished, sincere, peaceful (mild)».** For *39* *sək/sək/ s ê 'sincere' see Gl. 73, with text par. Whether the orig. Shu had *40* *·ân / ·ân / a n or *41* *·an / ·an / y e n, the meaning is 'peaceful, mild', with Ts'ai Ch'en above. — We have s ê *39* in precisely this kind of enumeration of virtues in the Shï (see Gl. 73), and version B therefore seems pre- ferable.

1209. K u a n g p e i s ï p i a o *42*.

PK'ung (Ku-wen version) read like this; the Han shu: Wang Mang chuan (Kin-wen version) had *43*.

A. Cheng Hüan (foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en), disregarding the Kin-wen, takes k u a n g *44* with its ordinary reading and sense: »His brightness (glory) (covered =) reached to the four extreme points». — **B.** PK'ung, saying k u a n g *44* = *45* 'fully (extensively)' takes *44* as short-form for *46* (Erya *46* = *45*), which is a variant of *47* (both **kwâng*, falling tone), thus considering the Ku-wen form k u a n g *44* as a variant for the k u a n g *47* of the Kin-wen: **»He extensively (covered =) possessed the four extreme points».** This is logically best and confirmed by many text par., see Gl. 899. PK'ung thinks that the subject of the clause is the virtue told before: »(His virtuous fame) (fully =) extensively (covered =) spread out over the four extreme points», but the parallels adduced in Gl. 899 show that the subject is Yao himself. The following phr.: (Ku-wen:) k o y ü s h a n g h i a *48* (Kin-wen: k i a y ü s h a n g h i a *49* — the words *50* **klăk* / *kvk* / k o and *51* **kå* / *ka* / k i a were synonymous) should be explained thus: »He reached to (Heaven) above and (Earth) below», i. e. he obtained the favour both of God in Heaven and the people on earth. — We compare: Shu: Kao Yao mo (now Yi Tsi): T i k u a n g t ' i e n c h ï h i a c h ï y ü h a i y ü *70*. Here again (with Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen) k u a n g should be equal to *46*, thus: **»Oh emperor, extensively, all under Heaven, even to the corners of the seas . . .»**

1210. K ' o m i n g t s ü n t ê *52*.

The word **ts̥iwən* / *ts̥iuĕn* / t s ü n *53* means 'great, eminent', and in the Odes it is often wr. *54* (same reading), see Gl. 561. Li: Ta hüe quotes our line k ' o m i n g s ü n t ê *55*, the *56* **s̥iwən* / *s̥iuĕn* / s ü n meaning 'high, lofty', a cognate word. It is impossible to tell whether the orig. text had **ts̥iwən* or **s̥iwən*. Probably the Chou graph was simply *57*, and the Han scholars have supplied either rad. 'man', taking it to be **ts̥iwən* 'great', or 'mountain', taking it as **s̥iwən* 'lofty'.

A. The oldest interp. is that of the Ta hüe author, who clearly expounds the meaning as: **»He was able to make bright his lofty (great) virtue».** Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Ch'eng ts'ai) follows this interpr., and Cheng Hüan in comm. on Li: Ta hüe. — **B.** Cheng Hüan in comm. on Shu says t s ü n t ê means 'men of eminent virtue' and PK'ung expounds further: »He was able to (make bright =) promote those of eminent virtue». (Both Legge and Chavannes MH I, 41 take t s ü n and t ê separately: »the t s ü n eminent, able and the t ê virtuous», but that was certainly not Cheng's idea). —

C. Sï-ma Ts'ien (Wu ti pen ki) renders the line n e n g m i n g h ü n t ê *58*. Possibly Sï-ma had a text with h ü n t ê, but that is not certain, for he frequently replaced words in the Shu text by interpretation synonyms (e. g. here n e n g for k ' o). It is therefore more probable that he thought the *53* **ts̥iwən* or *56* **s̥iwən* of the text was a loan char. for *59* (or, perhaps, for *60* **d̂'i̯wən* / *dź'i̯uĕn* / s h u n 'docile, obedient', which he then glossed by *59*). This *59* **χi̯wən* / *χi̯uən* / h ü n is etym. id. w. *61* (same sound). The stem means 'to teach, to train' and also '(taught, trained =) docile, obedient, concordant'. Sü Kuang (early 5th c.) briefly says *59* = *61*. But Sï-ma's line has been understood in two ways: — *α*. Sï-ma Cheng (8th c.): *59* = *60* (cf. above): »He was able to make bright his (docile:) concordant virtue». — *β*. Sun Sing-yen: *59* = *61* as an active verb, referring to Cheng Chung's comm. on Chouli: T'u hün (h ü n = *62* 'to guide'), thus: »He was able to make bright his (training =) instructing virtue», which is more far-fetched. — There is no reason to abandon the earliest interpr. (A).

1211. Y i t s ' i n k i u t s u *63*.

»And so he made affectionate the nine branches of the family». There have been two expl. of the term k i u t s u.

A. Ma Jung and Cheng Hüan, foll. by PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en: the 9 branches were from great-great-grandfather down to great-great-grandson, all of the same s i n g *64* family name. Pan Ku (Han shu: Kao ti ki) records that in 200 B. C. »one instituted the office of t s u n g c h e n g *65* governor of the clan in order to regulate k i u t s u the 9 branches of the family»; here k i u t s u can only mean those who had the same s i n g and clan temple. — **B.** The schools of Ou-yang and Hia-hou (ap. K'ung Ying-ta's comm. on Tso: Huan 6): the 9 branches were collateral branches on both the father's and the mother's side and those relatives by marriage for whom one wore mourning. Po hu t'ung: Tsung tsu (compiled by the same Pan Ku quoted under A above) enumerates them in detail, adding the amusing speculation that though k i u *66* certainly means 'nine' branches, at the same time it means k i u *67* 'exhaustively', all those who are tied together by bonds of t s ' i n kinship affection. — It might seem that, since Yao himself personally, through his virtue, »made affectionate the 9 branches», this cannot, with interpr. A, have in view 9 generations alive simultaneously. But the expression k i u t s u may, of course, have been generalized from the literal and technical sense of »the nine generations of the clan» into a more general and vague expr. for »the whole clan». In archaic China it was certainly the branches which had the same s i n g *68* that were felt to be the fundamental unit of the family, and those who had a different s i n g *69* — relatives on the female side and relatives by marriage — were much more outsiders. Hence interpr. A in the general sense of »the whole clan» is more plausible than B.

1212. P i e n c h a n g p o s i n g *71*.

It has long been established that p ' i n g *72* (small seal form *73*) is a scribe's error for p i e n *74* (small seal *75*) = p i e n *76* 'to distinguish' (Sï-ma Ts'ien rendering it by the loan char. p i e n *77*, and Cheng Hüan reading p i e n c h a n g *78*), see Gl. 716 with

道德純一曰思.37 寒.38 文塞(寒)晏晏.39 塞.40 安.41 晏.42 光被四表.43 橫被.44 光.45 充.46 桄.47 橫.48 格于上下.49 假于上下.50 格.51 假.52 克明俊德.53 俊.54 駿.55 克明峻德.56 峻.57 爰.58 能明馴德.59 馴.60 順.61 訓.62 告道.63 以親九族.64 姓.65 宗正.66 九.67 究.68 同姓.69 異姓.70 帝光天之下至于海隅.71 平章百姓.72 平.73 丂.74 釆.75 丩.76 辨.77 便.78 辨章.79 百姓.米

Shï parallels. When PK'ung foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en takes *72* in its ordinary reading p ' i n g and sense: »He tranquillized . . .» he is wide of the mark. P o s i n g »the hundred clans», in spite of the fact that it often means »the people» generally (*passim* in the Shu), here, with Cheng Hüan and PK'ung, undoubtedly means »the gentry» (those who held official positions), as shown by the context: Yao's influence regulates first k i u t s u his family, then p o s i n g the gentry (the great families), then w a n p a n g »the myriad feudal states» anf finally the l i m i n »multitude of the (common) people». Sun Sing-yen points out that we find the same distinction in Kyü: Chou yü: p o s i n g c h a o m i n *79* »the hundred clans and the multitude of the (common) people», on which Wei Chao: p o s i n g = *80* »the hundred officers». For Ts'ai Ch'en's idea that p o s i n g here would mean »the common people of the Royal domain proper» there is no support whatever. Thus our line means: **»He distinguished and (gave marks of distinction to =) honoured the hundred clans (the gentry)».**

1213. L i m i n y ü p i e n s h ï y u n g *81*.

For l i m i n: not »the black-haired people» but »the numerous people» see Gl. 430. Yü Sing-wu believes that l i *82* is equal to l i *83* 'to benefit'; but the standing phr. l i m i n is very common in contexts where *83* would make no sense.

A. The orthodox version reads as above. PK'ung says nothing of the awkward y ü *84* and explains: »The numerous people were (changed:) transformed and then became concordant». Y ü *84* has been explained in two ways. — *α*. Ying Shao (2nd c. A. D.) in comm. on Han shu (cf. below) says y ü *84* = y ü s h ï *85* 'thereupon'. It is true that both Erya and Mao's comm. on Shï say y ü a n *86* ('thereupon') = y ü *84* and Sun Sing-yen in consequence says that y ü p i e n is equal to y ü a n p i e n *87* »thereupon was transformed». But in fact there are no text par. whatever with y ü *84* alone and by itself serving in the sense of y ü s h ï *85* = *86*. Moreover, in the Shu the regular preposition is y ü *88* (**gi̯wo*), not y ü *84* (**·i̯o*); in a few instances the present orthodox text has *84*, but then there are always early text variants with the *88* that is typical of the Shu and is hence correct, and the *84* is due to errors of scribes. — *β*. Ts'ai Ch'en, realizing that *84* cannot be the preposition y ü, therefore reads the char. *84* **·o/·uo* / w u, an interjection common in the Shu and the Shï, thus: »The people — lo! — were transformed». This, however, is equally impossible, for this interjection must always commence the clause (*passim* in Shu and Shï), and the line should then have run: w u, l i m i n p i e n s h ï y u n g. — **B.** An imperial edict of 23 B. C. (Han shu: Ch'eng ti ki) quotes the line: l i m i n y ü f a n s h ï y u n g *89*. This has been differently explained: — *α*. Ying Shao (comm. *ibid.*) takes f a n *90* (**b'i̯wăn* / *b'i̯wɔn* / f a n) as loan char. for the *91* (**pli̯an* / *pi̯än* / p i e n) of the A version, which is plainly impossible. — *β*. Wei Chao (comm. *ibid.*) says f a n *90* = *92* 'much, plenty', which is the ordinary meaning of the word ('luxuriant, ample, prosperous'). Again, Wang Fu in Ts'ien fu lun: K'ao tsï (2nd c. A. D.) expounds Y a o y a n g l i m i n e r c h ï s h ï y u n g *93* as »Yao nourished the numerous people and caused them to be concordant». Sun Sing-yen thinks that by y a n g *94* 'to nourish' Wang expounded the word f a n *90*, but that is not correct. The w. *95* **·i̯o* / *i̯wo* / y ü (that this word had no final consonant in Archaic Chinese is proved by a rime in Ode 164) 'to give plenty of food, to satiate' had a variant *96*. Tso: Siang 26 k i a s h a n t s ê y ü s ï *97* »When they increased the number of their dishes, they gave abundantly (to their ministers)» (Tu Yü: y ü = *98* 'to satiate'). This expr. y ü s ï *99* recurs written y ü s ï *100* 'to give plenty of food' in Hou Han shu: Ma Jung chuan. The variant *96* for *95* is not known from any text earlier than this, but Wang Fu's explanation of our Shu line above (y a n g *94*) reveals that it was current in Han time and that Wang took the y ü *84* (**·i̯o* / *·i̯wo* / y ü) of the text to be a short-form of *96*, a variant of the well-known archaic word *95* (**·i̯o* / *·i̯wo* / y ü) 'to give plenty of food'; this is the reason why he glossed

it by y a n g *94* 'to nourish'. Just as in the preceding line p i e n c h a n g *1* is a combination of two analogous words: 'to distinguish' and 'to (give marks of distinction to =) honour', so here we have y ü - f a n, two analogous words: y ü *84* (= *96* = *95*) 'to give plenty of food to' and f a n *90* 'plenty, ample, prosperous'. Thus the B text line means: **»The numerous people were amply-nourished and prosperous, and then became concordant».** The short-form *84* for *96* has nothing astonishing about it. In the same way the phr. y ü y i *2* (Ch'u: Kiu pien) recurs with the short-form y ü y i *3* in a Wei-time stone inscription. — **C.** A Han-time stone inscr. in the Li shï has a third text version: *4*. The Ts'ing scholars discuss whether p i e n *5* is a loan char. for the *91* of A or the *90* of B. Chang Ping-lin would take this p i e n *5* = *6* (= Shuowen 7) to mean 'to rejoice', since Mao Heng defines it as such (then loan char. for *8*) in Ode 197; but that is not admissible, see Gl. 591. There is thus no safe text corroboration for a meaning 'to rejoice'. — In the orthodox A text the char. *84* constitutes an almost insuperable difficulty, whether with interpr. *α* or *β*. No such difficulty mars the version B, which is attested early (W. Han time) and makes very good sense. On the other hand, it can hardly be claimed that the p i e n *91* (**pli̯an*) of A was a loan char. for the f a n *90* (**pi̯wăn*) of B. We have, in fact, two different and irreconcilable versions, of which B is decidedly preferable.

1214. N a i m i n g H i H o *9*.

In my paper Legends and Cults in ancient China (BMFEA 18) I have extensively studied this and the following paragraphs and arrived at the conclusion that the Yao tien is here composed of two different parts. The primary part consists of the first 18 words: N a i m i n g H i H o k ' i n j o h a o t ' i e n, l i s i a n g j ï y ü e s i n g c h ' e n, k i n g s h o u j e n s h ï »And then he charged Hi Ho (i. e. one person, the cult-master of the sun) reverently to follow the august Heaven» etc. followed by the calendar passages: j ï c h e n g s i n g n i a o, y i y i n g c h u n g c h ' u n, k ü e m i n s i, n i a o s h o u t s ï w e i; j ï y u n g s i n g h u o, y i c h e n g c h u n g h i a, k ü e m i n y i n, n i a o s h o u h i k o; s i a o c h u n g s i n g s ü, y i y i n c h u n g t s ' i u, k ü e m i n y i, n i a o s h o u m a o s i e n; j ï t u a n s i n g m a o, y i c h e n g c h u n g t u n g, k ü e m i n y ü, n i a o s h o u j u n g m a o. This primary passage has been embellished and tampered with by the editor in Western Chou time. He wanted to have the four seasons of the calendar specially represented each by one cult-master, and so he took the Hi Ho above to be two men: Hi and Ho, and invented younger brothers for them, who were sent to the east (Hi Chung), the south (Hi Shu), the west (Ho Chung) and the north (Ho Shu). He therefore added a secondary part, four passages inserted at the head of each season of the original calendar: F e n m i n g H i C h u n g t s ê Y ü - y i y ü e Y a n g - k u, y i n c h ' u j ï, p ' i n g c h ï t u n g t s o . . .; s h e n m i n g H i S h u etc. That this is so follows clearly from the fact that in the primary text it is said: N a i m i n g H i H o, whereas, if these were originally meant to be two and the elder brothers of the rest, the passage would necessarily have run: N a i m i n g H i P o H o P o (corresponding to Hi Chung, Hi Shu, Ho Chung, Ho Shu). The reasons for concluding that Hi Ho was primarily one person are fully detailed in my paper cited above. But to the editor of the Yao tien, such as we have it in the Shu, the phrase certainly meant: »And then he charged Hi and Ho».

民 80 百官 81 黎民於變時雍 82 黎 83 利 84 於 85 於是 86 爰 87 於變爰變 88 于 89 黎民於蕃時雍 90 蕃 91 變 92 多 93 堯養黎民而致時雍 94 養 95 飲 96 餘 97 加膳則飲賜 98 饗 99 飲賜 100 餘賜 1 采章 2 於邑 3 於邑 4 於下時雍 5 下 6 弁 7 昇 8 般 9 乃命羲和 10 曆象日

1215. Li siang jï yüe sing ch'en *10*.

A. Cheng Hüan: sing-ch'en is a binome: »To calculate and delineate the sun, the moon and (the other) heavenly bodies (i. e. stars and constellations)». For this general meaning 'heavenly body' of the word ch'en *11*, cf. Kyü: Lu yü: »The emperor K'u could *12* determine the (order =) courses of the 3 heavenly bodies (sc. sun, moon, stars)». Evidently Cheng thought that the phr. sing ch'en referred to the four constellations in the following calendar (niao, huo, hü, mao). — **B.** The same Cheng Hüan, in comm. on Chouli: Ta tsung po, same phr. jï yüe sing ch'en *13* says sing means *14* 'the five planets' and ch'en means *15* 'the conjunctions of sun and moon', or, with Legge, »the zodiacal spaces» in which the firmament is divided by the places of conjunctions. Thus: »To calculate and to delineate the sun, the moon, the planets and (regions of) conjunction». (Chavannes on the other hand translates: »Le soleil, la lune sing les constellations, ch'en les syzygies de conjonction»). For ch'en this is based on Tso: Chao 7, phr. *16* »(The regions of) the conjunctions of sun and moon, those are the ch'en». — Both meanings (A and B) of ch'en are thus attested in early texts. But A suits the context better, since sing-ch'en reasonably (with A) alludes to the following four constellations (this is evidently why Chavannes translates sing by 'constellation', not 'star').

1216. Tsê Yü yi *17*.

The Ku-wen reads *18* (**d'ăk* / *d'ɔk* / tsê). The Kin-wen version (ap. the Stone classics of 175 A. D.) read *19* (**d'âg* / *d'uo* / tu), both meaning 'to dwell, to reside'. For *19* in this sense see Gl. 794. For Yü-yi there are a great number of variants. In the present glosses I shall refrain entirely from discussing geographical names and their localization. For my reasons for this see BMFEA 18, p. 208.

1217. Pien (p'ing?) chï tung tso *20*.

A. In Gl. 1212 above we saw that, in a phr. there, p'ing *21* was simply a scribe's error for pien *22*. The present case is much more complicated, but some early sources evidently had pien *22* = *23* or *24* 'to distinguish, distribute, arrange', for Cheng Hüan (comm. on Chouli: Feng siang shï) quotes pien chï *25*, and Kia Kung-yen (*ibid.*) says Shang shu ta chuan had *26* and Sï-ma Cheng says it had *25*. Thus: **»To arrange and regulate the works of the East».** (For another interpr. of tung tso: »the [heavenly] actions of the east» see Gl. 1226 A below). — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien (Wu ti pen ki) evidently likewise read pien, for, as in the case Gl. 1212, he replaces the char. by pien *27* (loan char.). But he reads the next word differently: pien ch'eng tung tso *28*: »To arrange and set the tasks for the works of the East» (Chavannes translates ch'eng by 'promulguer', which is certainly not correct). Probably, however, the ch'eng of Sï-ma's does not indicate a variant reading but is his gloss word for chï *29*: 'to regulate' taken in the sense of settling the ch'eng *30* 'measures, quota' of the daily work. — **C.** There were, however, early versions which actually had p'ing *21*, not pien *22* (cf. D below). Shuowen quotes *31* (*32* is a variant for *29*, same reading and meaning): »To equalize and regulate the works of the East». Both Chao K'i (2nd c. A. D.) in comm. on Meng: Wan Chang and PK'ung read p'ing chï *33*, and this has been accepted as the orthodox version. — **D.** Ma Jung (ap. Shïwen) says p'eng *34* = *35*. This shows that in the character he really had, as phonetic, p'ing *21* and not pien *22*. His p'eng *34* is a shorter way of writing *36* (**p'ĕng* / *p'ɛng* / p'eng), var. *37*, in Ode 257 = 'to cause'; the same word as *38* (same sound) 'to cause' in Shu: Lo kao and Li cheng (cf. Gl. 973). Thus: »Causing a regulation of the works of the East». — **E.** It would appear that there is one more possibility. PK'ung and Kuangya have a gloss pien *24* = *35* 'to cause'. If that could be duly substantiated, we could abide by the pien *22* = *24* of the early versions but interpret this pien as meaning 'to cause', synon. w. the p'eng

34 of Ma Jung's versions (D) and translate: »Causing a regulation of the works of the East». As we shall see immediately below, however, the gloss pien *24* = shï *35* is hardly acceptable. — All the readings pien (A, B), p'ing (C) and p'eng (D) make good sense; in such a case we should follow the earliest attested version: pien (Shang shu ta chuan, Shï ki). — We compare:

Shu: Tsiu kao: Wu pien nai sï min mien yü tsiu *39*. **A.** PK'ung says: pien *24* = shï *35* 'to cause' (Kuangya has the same definition), and takes wu *40* as the ordinary imperative negation, sï min as 'those who govern the people' = officials: »Do not cause your officers to plunge into wine». For this one slender support has been adduced. In the Shu sü (Preface) we find wang pei Jung po tso *41* »The king caused the prince of Jung to compose» etc. and Shïwen says: Ma Jung's version for pei *42* 'to cause' had pien *24*. This, of course, cannot prove that pien was synonymous with pei and meant 'to cause'. In Ma's version the clause means: »The king (distinguished =) selected the prince of Jung to compose». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes wu *40* as an ordinary negation (= *43*), which is common in early texts, and punctuates after sï: **»If you do not properly arrange your officers, the people will steep itself in wine».** Shuowen says pien *24* = chï *44* 'to regulate, arrange', properly 'to distinguish, distribute, arrange', as above. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: pien *24* = pien *45* 'all round'. In several passages in Yili (Hiang yin tsiu li, Yen li), where the current text has *24*, Cheng Hüan says the Kin-wen version had *45* 'all round', and later comm. all say that *24* **b'ian* is loan char. for *45* **pian*. That is hardly necessary; there is simply an extension of meaning: *24* **b'ian* 'to distribute, distributively, *seriatim*, all round'. So far Kiang's theory is admissible. But he explains: »If (in your admonishments) you do not go all round to your officers, the people will plunge into wine», which is very forced. — B, which takes the word pien in its normal sense and which divides the line in a rhythmically satisfactory way: wu pien nai sï, min mien yü tsiu, is surely best.

Niao shou tsï wei *46*.

Sï-ma Ts'ien renders the line *47*. The two tsï are interchangeable and mean 'to breed'. Wei *48* and *49* were both **miwər* (though in different tones) and can serve as loan char. for each other (a person was called *50* in Lun and *51* in Ts'ê).

A. Shuowen as quoted by P'ei Yin says wei *48* ('tail') = *52* 'to copulate', evidently alluding to our Shu passage. The present Shuowen text says *48* = *49* 'a small thing' ('an appendix', definition by sound similarity, common in Shuowen; here certainly the author was influenced by his knowledge of Sï-ma's reading). But since *49* 'a small thing' is his definition of the common char. for 'tail', it is evident that Hü (or whoever formulated this version of the Shuowen) took Sï-ma's *49* 'the small thing' to be a variant for *48* 'tail' and our line to mean: **»Birds and beasts breed and (»tail» =) copulate».** PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en (with Legge) followed this. — **B.** Kiang Sheng insists that *48* 'tail' is a loan char. for *49* 'small', and that Sï-ma meant: »The birds and beasts breed and (are small =) there are small ones» (accepted by Chavannes). He refers to Kyü: Lu yü shang, where niao shou yün *53* »birds and beasts breed» (spring time) is placed in opposition to niao shou ch'eng *54* »birds and beasts are grown» (summer time),

giving the same idea of spring as being the time when the animals have small ones. Since there is no text par. of w e i 'tail' meaning 'to copulate', it is tempting to accept B. But we have no reason for believing that Sï-ma really had a Shu text reading *49*. His *49* may be, as often, his own gloss word. In accepting B we should have to assume a k i a t s i e loan char. *48* for *49* in the Shu text, whereas A takes the actual word of the text: *48* 'tail' with a perfectly natural extension of meaning. A therefore seems safest.

T s ê N a n k i a o, see Chavannes MH I, p. 45.

1219. P i e n c h ï n a n n g o *55*.

For variants and expl. of the first two words, see Gl. 1217 above.

A. The line above is PK'ung's orthodox version. *56* was **ngwâ/nguâ/* n g o. This graph is interchangeable with *57*, same sound. Sï-ma Ts'ien's Shï ki in the version of Chang Shou-tsie (foll. by the Sung Po na ed.) had this variant, reading *58* (Chang reads *57* **gwia/jwiᵹ/* w e i, but Ts'ie yün, correctly identifying it with *56*, reads **ngwâ/nguâ/* / n g o). Shang shu ta chuan and Cheng Hüan in gl. on Chouli: Feng siang shï both likewise quote *59*. This **ngwâ* (*56* or *57*), however, has three different meanings in the ancient texts: a. synon. w. t s o *60* 'to act, to do, to move, to work', in this sense sometimes also wr. *61*, see Gl. 508, with Shï examples. b. 'false', see Gl. 306, with Shï examples. c. 'to change' (= *62*) e. g. in Ode 191. This has given rise to different interpr.: *α*. PK'ung (foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en, Kiang Sheng and Legge) n g o = *62* 'to transform', thus: »To arrange and regulate the transformations of the South». (Cf. also Cheng Hüan in Gl. 1226 A below). — *β*. Chang Shou-tsie: *57* means 'to do, to act, to work', thus: **»To arrange and regulate the works of the South»**, forming an exact par. to the preceding t u n g t s o *63* »works of the East». — **B.** The Shï ki in the version of Sï-ma Cheng (now foll. by most current editions) read *64*, and Sï-ma Cheng insists that this *67* should be read in its ordinary way **gwia* / *jwiᵹ* / w e i 'to do, to act' (Han shu: Wang Mang chuan writes *65* — this *66* **gwia* / *jwiᵹ* / w e i 'to fake, to concoct' is etym. the same word as *67* 'to make'). The meaning comes to the same as A *β* (curiously enough Sun Sing-yen quotes Huai: T'ien wen *68* »When the year is dry the grain is not [made =] achieved», i. e. does not ripen, and suggests that n a n w e i means »the achievement [of the crops] of the South»). — Whether Sï-ma Ts'ien wrote *57* (**ngwâ*) or *67* (**gwia*) is immaterial; the meaning comes to the same thing. The Shu text obviously had the former *56* ∽ *57* **ngwâ*, and quite as obviously in the sense of 'to do, to act', with A *β*, as proved by the parallellism with *63* (so also Chavannes). It should be added, however, that the expl. of *56* = 'to change, transform' in A *α* above is influenced by the corresponding winter paragraph *69*, which PK'ung thought meant »the transformations» (Cheng Hüan even believed that t u n g t s o *63* etc. referred to celestial phenomena, see Gl. 1226 below) and hence conceived of as being a case of parallelism: n g o *56* ∽ y i *70*. But, as we shall see in Gl. 1226, y i *70* as well means simply »work», like t s o *60*, n g o *56*, c h ' e n g *54* (»achievements»), so that all through the parallelism is in favour of A *β*.

1220. K i n g c h ï *71*.

A. PK'ung connects this with the preceding: »and respectfully bring about» sc. the things pertaining to summer. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en (foll. by the best Ts'ing authorities, Kiang Sheng, Sun Sing-yen and others): c h ï *72* means »the summer solstice», thus: **»And pay careful attention to the (summer) solstice».** This is based on Chouli: Fang siang shï *73* »In winter and summer he brings to its utmost point the sun», i. e. he determines the solstices (as explained in detail by Cheng Hüan). Similarly in Tso: Huan 17 it is said that the astronomer c h ï j ï *74*, more correctly *75* (variant of *72*, see Gl. 820). Chavannes, who accepts A, brushes this expl. aside as being far-fetched, but in fact it is not. The difficulty is that there is no parallel phr. in the passages relating to the other seasons which could help us to decide. Since, however, it is here throughout a question

of astronomical observations, and since c h ï j ï *76* is a technical term attested in two ancient sources, B after all seems the most convincing.

1221. K ü e m i n y i n *77*.

This phr. is one of the four referring to the occupations of the people during the seasons. Spring: the people s i *78* disperse (leave the houses and go out into the fields); summer: the people y i n *79*, as above; autumn: the people y i *80* are at ease (common meaning — Sï-ma paraphrases it by y i *70*); winter: the people y ü *81* keep in the warmth of their houses. **A.** PK'ung: y i n *79* = y i n t s i u *82* (after Shuowen *79* = *83*), expounding: »The old and weak y i n t s i u (lean upon, associate themselves with =) join company with the strong men in the fields and help in the husbandry work». It is, of course, impossible to read this into the short Shu phr., and Sun Sing-yen simplifies: »The people (lean on each other =) ally themselves with each other», sc. in the field work. Cf. Tso: Chuang 19: »They made an insurrection and *84* (leaned on =) allied themselves with the Su clan». This is better and would be quite good if the Shu phr. had run: k ü e m i n s i a n g y i n *85*. Without the reciprocal s i a n g the expl. is hardly admissible. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: y i n *79* = *86* »they disperse and even more disperse», i. e. y i n = 'to follow up, to go on, to continue', referring it to the s i 'disperse' of the preceding paragraph. Thus: »The people continue» sc. to disperse. Y i n in the sense of 'to base oneself on something as a point of departure and follow it up, carry on' is common, e. g. Li: Li k'i *87* »The Hia created (the rites), the Yin (followed them up =) took them over and continued them, carried them on». It is, however, a curious idea that the »dispersing» of spring time was not complete and had to be »followed up» by a still greater dispersion in summer. It would then be better to interpret in a more general way: »The people follow up (carry on, sc. the work of the year)». Even so, the interpr. is strained. — **C.** Kiang Sheng therefore reverts to Shuowen's definition y i n *79* = t s i u *83*, but goes on: Shuôwen defines t s i u *83* as = *88* 'go to high places' (a typical script etymology of Hü's, the graph *83* containing *89* 'height'), thus: »The people go to high places». A frightful speculation. The w. y i n of course has no such sense. — **D.** Yü Yüe points out that y i n *79* is the original graph of *90* 'a mat' (they are etymologically the same word: the fundamental sense of the stem *·i̯ĕn, even tone, is 'to lean on, rest on, rely on' and *·i̯ĕn 'mat' means 'that on which one rests'), and this y i n *90* is defined in Shuowen as = *91* 'double mat in a carriage'. Hence, Yü says, y i n *79* = y i n *90* has the sense of 'double', and the Shu phr. means: »The people have double covers» (as protection against the summer heat). Shuowen's definition, however, has very little value. Y i n *90* means 'mat, mattress', certainly not 'double'. If y i n *90* were a coarse and plain straw mat, it would have been tempting to think of the custom that the farmers during the busiest summer time did not go home but slept in grass huts in the fields, thus: »The people (straw-mat =) sleep on straw-mats» (in the field huts). But y i n *90*, which is common (Li, Yili, Hanfei etc.), always means a fine mat or even a mattress, which makes this interpr. unlikely. — **E.** Another interpr. Y i n *79* as an independent word often means 'to avail oneself of the opportunity, to take advantage of the suitable time, make the best of the occasion'. Lü: Shun shuo *92* »By availing himself of the opportunity (Kao

52交接 53孕 54成 55平秩 南訛 56訛 57譌 58便程南譌 59南譌 60作 61呝 62化 63東作 64便程南為 65南偽 66偽 67為 68歲旱禾不為 69朔易 70易 71敬致 72致 73冬夏致日 74底日 75辰 76致日 77厥民因 78析 79因 80夷 81隩 82因就 83就 84因蘇氏 85厥民相因 86析而又析 87夏造殷因 88就高 89京 90茵 91車重席 92因則貨賂可以勝富貴 93便 94凡兵

Yu: y i n = *93*) the poor and low can surpass the rich and high»; Lü: Küe sheng *94* »Always in regard to war one esteems highest y i n the seizing of the opportunity; y i n to seize the opportunity, that means to y i n avail oneself of the danger of the enemy to make oneself secure»; Tso: Chuang 18, phr. *95* »The people of Pa availed themselves of the opportunity and attacked Ch'u»; Tso: Wen 11, phr. *96* »He seized the opportunity to offer congratulations on Ch'u's army not being harmed»; Tso: Chao 10: »The dignitaries of the feudal lords *97* wish to avail themselves of the opportunity to have audience with the new prince»; Tso: Ting 14, phr. *98* »The prince of Yüe seized the opportunity and attacked him». Now, in our Shu line this meaning suits the context admirably. In spring the farmers s i *78* scatter over the fields; in summer they y i n *79* avail themselves of the suitable time, make the most of the occasion; in autumn they y i *80* rest. Thus our phr. above means: **»The people avail themselves of the (suitable) time»** (make the best of the season).

1222. N i a o s h o u h i k o *99*.

Since k o *100* in the primary sense of the char. always means 'hide', skin with the hair removed, never 'fur', h i cannot be an adjective to k o: »thinned fur».

A. Cheng Hüan: **»The birds and beasts are thin(-haired) and hide(-like)»**. — B. PK'ung (foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en and others): k o *100* means 'to change' (common), thus: »The birds and beasts are thin(-haired) and change». — When it is precisely a question of the covering of the animals' bodies, it would be strange indeed if (with B) k o would not mean 'hide' but 'to change'.

1223. Y i n t s i e n n a (j u) j ï *1*.

N a j ï. Shang shu ta chuan quotes j u j ï *2* 'the (entering =) setting sun', and so it is also rendered by Sï-ma Ts'ien. *3* **nəp* / *nập* / n a 'to cause to enter, to introduce' (transitive) and *4* **ńi̯əp* / *ńźi̯əp* / j u 'to enter, go in' (intransitive) are two aspects of the same word stem. *3* is only an enlarged form of *5* in its reading **nəp* / *nập* / n a 'to introduce'; in bronze inscriptions we have *5* in this sense and reading (e. g. K'o Ting *6*, phr. *7*) but the same char. sometimes also serves for **ńi̯əp* / *ńźi̯əp* / j u (= *4*), e. g. Wu Huei Ting *8*, phr. *9* = *10*). The original Shu text in some early version evidently had j u j ï *11*, and because of the graph *5* some Han scholars erroneously enlarged this into n a j ï *12*, not realizing that *11* was simply a variant graph for *2* (just as *9* for *10* above). We should thus decidedly read j u j ï, corresponding to the c h ' u j ï *13* in the preceding paragraph.

T s i e n:

A. Shang shu ta chuan quotes as above *14*. *15* **dz'i̯an* / *dz'i̯än* / t s i e n properly means 'to give a farewell feast to', i. e. 'to say farewell to'. Thus: **»Respectfully to say farewell to the setting sun»**. PK'ung hence defines t s i e n by s u n g *16* 'to convey'. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases *17:* »Respectfully to lead (away) the setting sun», a free mode of expressing the same, just as in the spring paragraph he paraphrases the line *18* (»respectfully [receive as guest =] to welcome the rising sun») by *19*: »respectfully lead (on) the rising sun». — **B.** Ma Jung (ap. Shïwen) says t s i e n *15* = m i e *20* 'to extinguish', this again equal to m o *21* 'to cause to disappear', thus: »Respectfully to let disappear the setting sun». There have been several expl. of this gloss. — *α*. Sun Sing-yen refers to Shu sü *22* »Then he (trampled down =) destroyed Yin», on which Ma Jung says t s i e n *23* (**dz'i̯an*) = *20* 'to extinguish'; and to Yili: Shï yü li, where Cheng Hüan says that for t s i e n *15* the Ku-wen version had (as loan char.) the homophonous *23*. He concludes that Ma took our *15* as loan for *23*: »Respectfully to (trample down, destroy =) cause to disappear the setting sun». If this was really Ma's idea, it must be said to be foolish indeed. — *β*. The Sung scholars Ting Tu (in Tsi yün) and Kia Ch'ang-ch'ao (in K'ün king yin pien) read *24*, and Ting asserts that *25* (**ts'i̯an* / *ts'i̯än* / t s ' i e n) was

Ma Jung's version which he glossed by his m i e *20*. Now *25* **ts'i̯an* 'shallow' has no such sense, and Tuan Yü-ts'ai, who believes that the *15* of K'ung Ying-ta and Lu Tê-ming (Shïwen) is a T'ang-time corruption of Ma's original *25*, concludes that Ma Jung took *25* as loan char. for *23* **dz'i̯an* 'to trample down, to destroy' (as *α* above). Tuan, however, goes one step further and denies that Shang shu ta chuan and Sï-ma had a version with *15* — both must originally have had *23* **dz'i̯an*; the Ta chuan has been corrected after K'ung Ying-ta; and Sï-ma meant, by his t a o *26* 'to lead', to gloss the presumed *23* of his text, taken in the sense of 'to tread', here causative: 'to cause to tread' = 'to lead on'. Tuan's speculations have been rightly refuted by Ch'en K'iao-tsung: there is no reason to prefer the testimony about Ma Jung's text of the Sung scholars to that of the T'ang scholars. Still less is there any reason to suspect the present Shang shu ta chuan text. Sï-ma's t a o *26* is a good paraphrase of *15* but not of the presumed *23* ('to trample down'). — **C.** Chang Ping-lin: the p i n in the preceding line: y i n p i n c h ' u j ï *18* as well as the t s i e n *15* in the present are technical terms for sacrifices, thus: »To do p i n sacrifice to the outcoming sun», and »to do t s i e n sacrifice to the setting sun». He refers to Chouli: Ta tsung po: y i s h ï c h ' a i s ï j ï y ü e s i n g c h ' e n *27* »By a full-piled fire-sacrifice he sacrifices to sun moon, stars and constellations». Here Cheng Hüan says that »an old version» had the variant y i p i n c h ' a i s ï *28*, and Chang now builds on this: if this variant is preferable, p i n *30* ought to be the spring sacrifice (why?) and c h ' a i *29* ought to be the autumn sacrifice. And then our p i n *30* and t s i e n *15* (*23*, *25*) would refer to those sacrifices, since the words of the *31* series (*31* **dz'ân*, *25* **ts'i̯an*, *15* and *23* **dz'i̯an*) are phonetically similar to *29* (**dz'ăr* / *dẓ'ai* / c h ' a i). Very speculative. — A alone is satisfactory in sense, and forms a good par. to the spring paragraph phrase.

1224. K ü e m i n y i *32*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases y i *33* by y i *34*: **»The people are at ease»**. This is a common meaning of y i *33*. PK'ung defines it by p ' i n g *35*, and Ts'ai Ch'en has taken this to mean the same: at peace (when K'ung Ying-ta says: p ' i n g = they are »even with» what they were in the summer, i. e. at the same places, sc. in the fields, this is plainly impossible). — **B.** Kiang Sheng: PK'ung's p ' i n g *35* means 'level' (which y i *33* can also mean) and the line means: »The people live in the plains». This is because he took the summer paragraph k ü e m i n y i n *36* to mean »go to high places», which was refuted in Gl. 1221. — B is a very unhappy speculation.

1225. N i a o s h o u m a o s i e n *37*.

A. Cheng Hüan, foll. by PK'ung: s i e n *38* (**siən* / *sien* / s i e n, rising tone), means *39* 'orderly'. He expounds: the new-grown hair is *40* well-ordered, in good condition. Thus: »The birds and beasts have their hair (well-ordered =) in good condition». There is no other ex. of a stem **siən* with that sense of 'arrange, order'. — **B.** Shuowen: s i e n *38* means and should be read as *41* (**si̯wan* / *si̯wân* / s ü a n) 'to select', thus: »The birds and beasts have hair that is selectable», i. e. suitable for use as furs etc. A very bold

貴因因也者因敵之險以為己固 95.巴人因之以伐楚 96.因賀楚師之不吉也 97.欲因見新君 98.越子因而伐之 99.鳥獸希革 100.革 1.寅餞納日 2.入日 3.納 4.入 5.內 6.克鼎 7.內朕命 8.無惠鼎 9.內門 10.入門 11.內日 12.納日 13.出日 14.寅餞入日 15.餞 16.送 17.敬道閤入日 18.寅賓(儐)出日 19.敬道出日 20.滅 21.沒 22.逐踐奄 23.踐 24.寅澡 25.澡 26.道 27.以實柴祀日月星辰 28.以賓柴祀 29.柴 30.賓 31.弋 32.厥民君 33.君 34.易 35.平 36.因 37.鳥獸毛毨 38

speculation based on a slight sound similarity. — **C.** Another interpr. S i e n *38* is homophonous with *42* (**siən / sien* / s i e n, rising tone) 'metal that is brilliant, shiny' (Erya, Shuowen), which occurs in Kyü: Tsin yü. This again is probably etym. s. w. a. *43* (**siən*, rising tone) 'to wash, to cleanse', thus 'cleansed, clean and bright'. It seems evident that we have the same word here, the char. specifyingly written with the radical m a o 'hair': 'brilliant, shiny, glossy'. Thus: **»The birds and beasts have the feathers and hair glossy».**

1226. P i e n t s a i s h u o y i *44.*

For t s a i *45* = c h ' a *46* 'to examine', see Gl. 751.

A. The oldest gloss attainable is that on s h u o by Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan, who quotes our line as *47* (ap. T'ai p'ing yü lan and the Preface to the Shï), saying s h u o *48* = s h ï *49* 'beginning'. Thus: »To arrange and examine the beginning and the change (of year)». S h u o in this sense is common: s h u o j ï *50* is the first day of the new moon, and in a general way it means »the beginning» in Li: Li yün *51* »All these kings followed the usage of the beginning (the earliest time)». (Hü Shen in Shuowen explains this s h u o *48* by s u *52* 'revival, new beginning', a speculation based on the flimsy sound similarity ~~*48 *sâk*~~: *52 *so*), reverently repeated by Ts'ai Ch'en. Cheng Hüan in comm. on Chouli: Fang siang shï has the same reading *47*, and, as pointed out by Yüan Yüan, since the paragraph in the Chouli describes the cycle of 12 years, the 12 months, the 12 hours, the 10 days, the 28 constellations, the determining of their order and the divisions in the firmament, and since Cheng Hüan quotes our four Shu phrases t u n g t s o *53*, n a n n g o *54*, s i c h ' e n g *55* and s h u o y i *50* as illustrations of this, Cheng Hüan referred them all to the astronomical phenomena: »the (Heavenly) actions of the east» etc. and not to the agricultural works of the people. — **B.** The Shang shu ta chuan, on the other hand, has in another place another line (as quoted in the So yin to Shï ki: Wu ti pen ki) p i e n t s a i f u w u *56* »to arrange and examine the things that lie hidden», and since Sï-ma Ts'ien renders our Shu passage by this phrase, Kiang Sheng and others have concluded that the A version has been interpolated in the Shang shu ta chuan and that both Fu Sheng's and Sï-ma's Shu version read p i e n t s a i f u w u. Ch'en K'iao-tsung rightly refutes this. The phr. p i e n t s a i f u w u in the Ta chuan is, he says, a variant — we should rather say: a gloss — containing a curious speculation which has appealed to Sï-ma and hence been adopted by him. It is well known that s h u o *48* also means 'north' (in the preceding Shu line and Ode 168 S h u o f a n g *57*, etc., very common), and Fu Sheng could not fail to realize that in the present Shu phr. it balances t u n g t s o (east), n a n n g o (south), s i c h ' e n g (west) and hence must refer to the north while at the same time it means (according to him) 'beginning' — north corresponding to winter and the »beginning», renewal of the year. Now p e i *58* 'north' was Arch. **pək* and f u *59* 'to lie hidden' was **b'i̯ŭk*. In the classics there is a constantly recurring theme that the winter was the epoch of hoarding and concealing. Li: Yüe ling says that in the first winter month the king orders the officials to *60* pay respectful attention to the covering and hoarding, and orders the sï-t'u to inspect the t s i t s ü *61* hoarded stores. This has very early given rise to an amusing etymological speculation. Shï tsï *62* says *63* »The p e i f a n g region of the north (**pək*) means f u f a n g the region of things that lie hidden (**b'i̯ŭk*)». This idea has been seized upon by Fu Sheng who (quoting the Li: Yüe ling passage) maintains that the Shu phr. p i e n t s a i s h u o y i *47* while meaning »To arrange and examine the s h u o beginning (= *49*) and the *64* change (of year)», at the same time implies: »To arrange and examine the s h u o things of the north and the y i change (of year)» — the things of the north *58 *pək* being = f u w u *65* (**b'i̯ŭk*) the things that lie hidden, are stored. Hence his commentating line *56*. This curious and typically ancient Chinese speculation of a double

meaning in s h u o *48:* 'beginning' (= *49*) and 'north', the time of *58* = *59* 'hoarding', has been embroidered upon by Wang Su and others. — **C.** Another interpr. S h u o *48* simply means 'north' (common) and has nothing to do with the »beginning» of the year, nor with the »hoarding» in the winter (season of the north), as is clearly shown by the par. with t u n g, n a n, s i in the preceding paragraphs. Y i *64* does not mean »the change» or »transformation» but is quite analogous to the t s o *66* 'works', n g o *67* 'actions, works' and c h ' e n g *68* 'achievements' of the preceding paragraphs, which obviously refer to the works of the people. Y i *67* (**di̯ĕk / i̯äk* / y i) like those words means 'works' and is a loan char. for *69* (**di̯ĕk / i̯äk* / y i) 'service, work, task'. This loan of y i *64* for y i *69* has good parallels (Shï, Meng), as is fully examplified in Gl. 871. Thus the line means: **»To arrange and examine the works of the North».**

1227. K ü e m i n y ü *70.*

A. Cheng Hüan reads *71* = *72* 'the interior' (of the house). This char. with this sense is read **·ôg / ·âu* / a o in Ts'ie yün and also in Shïwen on Lun: Pa yi, where it occurs in the sense of 'south-west corner of the house' (Erya: Shï kung has this definition, Shïwen there likewise reading it **·ôg*). The PK'ung version has the loan char. *73* defined, in the same way, by *74* 'house'. This char. used in this sense is likewise read **·ôg / ·âu* / a o in Ts'ie yün; hence Ts'ai Ch'en reads it so in our Shu passage (k ü e m i n a o). Thus, with the A interpr.: »The people keep in the interior of their houses». — **B.** The char. *71* has also the reading **·i̯ôk / ·i̯uk* / y ü in the sense of 'warm' (ex. in Ode 207), and then it is sometimes enlarged into *75* (same reading). Sï-ma Ts'ien evidently took the original *71* of the Shu text (cf. Cheng Hüan above) to have this sense, for he writes *76*, thus: »The people keep in the warmth». Ma Jung, who already has the loan char. *73*, takes this to be a loan for *71* = *75*, defining *73* = *77*, and Shïwen, in consequence, says *73* should here be read **·i̯ôk / i̯uk* / y ü: k ü e m i n y ü. — There is not a very fundamental difference in sense, for **·i̯ôk* 'warm' and **·ôg* 'the interior, south-west corner of the house' are probably cognate words (·**ôg* = 'the warm place'), and the context shows that the meaning practically comes to the same. With B it will be: **»The people keep in the warmth (of their houses)».** Both **·ôg* and **·i̯ôk* make good sense, but in the choice between two equally good alternatives we should follow the oldest interpr. attestable (Sï-ma Ts'ien) as having the greatest chance of representing a tradition handed down from Chou time.

1228. N i a o s h o u j u n g m a o *78.*

A. This is the oldest text version attested, since Sï-ma Ts'ien has it. Both Ts'ie yün and Shïwen read *79 *ńi̯ung / ńźi̯wong* / j u n g (rising tone). Ma Jung defines it as = *80* 'warm and soft', PK'ung as = *81* 'downy and tiny'. Yet Sü Kuang (d. 425 A. D.) says it was »read like *82*» (**ńi̯ung / ńźi̯wong* / j u n g, even tone), and he evidently meant that *79* was identical with *82*, which means 'bushy' (see Gl. 105). Sü Miao, on the other hand, reads it **ńi̯wan / ńźi̯wän* / j u a n (taking it to be a variant of *83 *ńi̯wan* 'soft'). The tradition about the reading **ńi̯ung* is sufficiently strong to be decisive, and whether it is identical with *82 *ńi̯ung* even tone (Sü Kuang) or only a variation of the same stem (**ńi̯ung* rising tone, Lu Fa-yen and Lu Tê-ming), it is sure to have the same sense as *82* 'bushy', since it is a question of the thick coat of the animals in winter. Thus: **»The birds**

and beasts have bushy hair». — **B.** Shuowen quotes *84*, this *85* being **ńi̯wən / ńźi̯uĕn /* j u n (Ts'ie yün; when Ts'ie yün adds that »it can also be read **ńi̯ung / ńźi̯wong /* j u n g», this is simply because it corresponds to the *79* of A, and the phonetic *86* **sni̯wən* shows that the latter sound gloss is quite wrong). Shuowen defines it as = *87* 'the hair being ample'. Thus: »Birds and beasts have ample hair». Shuowen in another section quotes differently: *88*, the ancient reading of which is uncertain. — The A version is far better attested than B.

1229. S h u t s i h i e n h i *89*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases *90:* this is bases on Erya h i *91* = h i n g *92*. The Ts'ing comm. on Erya believe that h i n g *92* here means 'elated, joyful', and that h i *91* is loan char. for h i *93*: Shuowen *93* = *94* 'to rejoice, joyful'. This *93* is not known from pre-Han texts, but we could say that *91* (**χi̯əg*, even tone) would be the same word stem as *95* (**χi̯əg*, rising tone) 'to rejoice' and *96* (**χi̯əg*, even tone) 'to amuse oneself'; indeed Yang Hiung (in Ki Ts'in mei sin) writes *97*, and if Yang took this h i *95* in its ordinary sense, it seems clear that he already had this interpretation of h i = h i n g 'elated, joyful'; but it is doubtful whether Yang really had *95* here in its original sense, see C below. In any case, whether the Erya gloss refers to our Shu passage here or to the phr. t s ' i h i *98* in the Shï, a meaning 'elated, joyful, joy' makes very poor sense here (»All the achievements will be joyful»), and it seems doubtful whether the Erya glossist by his h i n g *92* really meant 'joyful' (= *95*). Probably he took h i n g in its normal sense of 'to rise', and his gloss is one of the exceedingly common ones in which a word is defined by sound similarity: *91* **χi̯əg* expl. by *92* **χi̯əng*. Thus: »The achievements will all (rise =) be successful». There are no text par. in support of this. — **B.** PK'ung says h i *91* = k u a n g *99* 'wide', thus: »The achievements will all be (wide =) extensive». This is based on Kyü: Chou yü, hia, where an orator explains the phr. w u t s ' i h i *100* of Ode 271, and where he defines h i *91* by k u a n g *99* 'wide'. But h i *91* certainly has no such meaning, and both Cheng Chung (1st c. A. D.) and Wei Chao have already realized that k u a n g *99* in the Kyü text is a loan char. for k u a n g *1* 'bright, brightness' (the two series *1* and *2* are often interchanged in loan practise: see Gl. 1209 where *1* in its turn is loan for *3* or *99*). — **C.** The true and fundamental meaning of h i *91* is 'brightness, bright' (common), and that was surely the meaning of the orator in the Kyü: Chou yü, see B. above. This *91* (**χi̯əg*, even tone) is the same word as *4* (**χi̯əg*, even tone) 'to shine, brightness' (text ex. in Kuan etc.). There is no reason why we should not give h i *91* its ordinary and proper meaning in our Shu phr.: **»The achievements will all be resplendent».** Indeed Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Ch'en K'iao-tsung think that when Yang Hiung writes *97* (see A above), his h i *95* 'joy' is but a short-form for *4* 'shine' brightness'. If so, the correct interpr. of the Shu line was already given by Yang Hiung. When Pan Ku in Han shu: Lü li chï paraphrases *5* »All the achievements will be beautiful», this is merely a free mode of expressing the same idea. — We compare:

Yao tien (later on): H i t i c h ï t s a i *6*. **A.** PK'ung h i *91* = *99*, thus: »To make wide the emperor's undertakings». To be rejected, see B above. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases *7* »To make beautiful Yao's undertakings». This is the same free rendering as in C. above. More literally the phr. means: **»To make resplendent the emperor's undertakings».**

Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi): P o k u n g h i t s a i *8*. **A.** PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en: h i *91* = *99*: »All the officers are extensive (in their achievements)». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: h i *91* = *92*: »All the officers are elated». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: k u n g = *9* and h i *91* = *92*: »All the works will (rise =) be successful». — **D.** **»All the works will be resplendent»,** which is a striking par. to the phr. s h u t s i h i e n h i discussed above. And that this is really the meaning here is confirmed by the fact that to our p o k u n g *10* 'the hundred

works' here corresponds in the second verse s h u s h ï *11* 'all the affairs' and in the third verse w a n s h ï *12* 'the myriad affairs'.

1230. C h ' o u t s ï j o s h ï t e n g y u n g *13*.

C h ' o u *14* is a loan char., the word 'who' being wr. *15* or *16* in Shuowen.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases *17* »Who can (conform himself to =) carefully attend to these things». Sun Sing-yen expounds this in a curious way: Sï-ma's t s ' ï *18* 'this' is a gloss to *19* (Erya: Shï ku having an entry *19* = *18*), and his s h ï *9* 'affair' (**dz'i̯əg*) is his gloss to *20* (**d̑i̯əg*). The line would then be equal to c h ' o u t s ï j o s h ï *21* »who will conform himself to these affairs». But in the first place that is a wrong word sequence; secondly there are no text ex. in support of Erya's gloss (when later expounders say *19* **tsi̯ər* is equal to *22* **tsi̯əg*, this is phonetically impossible). Thirdly *20* = *9* is exceedingly unlikely. Sï-ma in fact simply expounds s h ï *20* 'this, that' (very common) by t s ' ï s h ï *23* 'these affairs'. He adds a k ' o *24* 'can' which is not in the Shu text. It is tempting to think that his *24* renders the t s ï *19* of the text, t s ï being loan char. for the homophonous (**tsi̯ər*) *25* 'to furnish' (»who will furnish to conform» — »who will be able to conform»), just as *25* serves as loan char. for *19* in Li: Piao ki. But after all that is not correct, for later in the chapter we find c h ' o u j o y ü k u n g *26* »Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my works», and there again Sï-ma inserts a 'can': *27*, which shows that his k ' o *24* here is a free addition. Thus Sï-ma simply skips the t s ï *19* of the Shu text. PK'ung likewise passes it in silence. — **B.** Ma Jung, without glossing c h ' o u t s ï, explains j o s h ï *28* as 'conform himself to the (four) seasons', referring to the preceding calendar, which is very far-fetched. — **C.** K'ung Ying-ta takes t s ï *19* as = *29* 'alas', and punctuates after it: c h ' o u t s ï — j o s h ï t e n g y u n g: »Who, alas, (is there); if (someone) conforms himself to these things, I will raise and use him» (the 'alas' being a sigh over the difficulty of finding a good man). — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en, foll. by Kiang Sheng, takes t s ï *19* in the sense of 'to deliberate, investigate' (Erya *19* = *30*, Ts'ai = *31*), a common meaning of the char., thus: »Who will investigate about (someone who) conforms himself to the times? (I will) raise and use him». This, however, is a particularly poor expedient, for all subsequent parallels show that c h ' o u 'who' refers to the choice of the man who is to be promoted, not to any adviser who is going to search. Just as later we have: c h ' o u j o y ü k u n g »Who will carefully attend to my works?» — answer: »Ch'uei», so here we have c h ' o u (t s ï) j o s h ï t e n g y u n g »Who will conform himself to this, I will raise and use him» — answer: »Chu». — **E.** Pan Ku in Han shu k. 18 (introductory lines) has the phr. c h ' o u t s ï t s ' i e n t a i *32* »Investigating former generations», taking c h ' o u t s ï as a binome with the sense of 'to investigate', and the same binome recurs wr. *33* 'to investigate' in an essay by the Eastern Han writer Ts'uei Chun (ap. Hou Han shu k. 82). It is quite obvious that this is a style allusion to our Shu phr. above, and that these authors did not interpret c h ' o u as = 'who' but as a verb 'to investigate', synonymous and forming a binome together with the following t s ï. Thus: »(I will) investigate (about someone who) will conform himself to these things». This interpr. will hardly do

85.毳 86.集 87.毛盛 88.氂毛 89.庶績咸熙 90.衆功皆興 91.熙 92.興 93.娭 94.悅樂 95.喜 96.嬉 97.庶績咸喜 98.緝熙 99.廣 100.於緝熙 1.光 2.黃 3.橫 4.熹 5.衆功皆美 6.熙帝之載 7.美堯之事 8.百工熙哉 9.事 10.百工 11.庶事 12.萬事 13.疇咨若時登庸 14.疇 15.曷 16.盍 17.誰可順此事 18.此 19.咨 20.時 21.疇此若事 22.益 23.此事 24.可 25.資 26.疇若予工 27.誰能馴予工 28.若時 29.嗟 30.謀 31.訪問 32.疇咨前代 33.訓咨 34.咨汝羲 35.咨疇若時 36.哉 37.何哉亂所

in the par. text ch'ou jo yü kung, where it would be very forced to take ch'ou alone as a verb = 'to investigate'. — **E.** Tuan Yü-ts'ai says that tsï *19* is the ordinary exclamation »ah», so common in the beginning of Shu phrases (in the preceding line: tsï ju Hi *34* »Ah, you Hi»), and that the line should properly be: tsï, ch'ou jo shï *35* »Ah, who will conform himself to this»; but, he says, the emperor »spoke eagerly» and inverted the order: ch'ou, tsï, jo shï »Who, ah!, will carefully attend to this». In fact, Tuan is near to the true solution. Tsï *19* 'oh, ah', is an exclamation particle analogous to the common tsai *36*, and this tsai is often used as an emphasizing enclitic to interrogative pronouns and adverbs. Lun: Yen Yüan: Ho tsai, er so wei ta chê *37* »*What* is it you call being distinguished?» (the same ho tsai in Meng *passim*). In the same way our tsï is evidently used as an emphasizing enclitic in the Shu: ch'ou tsï = ch'ou tsai *38*: ch'ou-tsï jo shï teng yung: **»Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to this? I will raise and use him».** It seems probable that Hü Shen already held that view, for under *15* he says: »ch'ou **is** a *39* grammatical word; the Yü shu (i. e. Shu king) says: ch'ou tsï *40*». That he does not quote the whole line, in his usual way, but only the two syllables ch'ou tsï, reveals that he took them to form a unity: ch'ou-tsï, forming a »grammatical word» ('who').

1231. Yin tsï Chu k'i ming *41*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: *42*, thus: **»Your heir-son Chu is enlightened».** Yin *43* in the sense of 'descendant' is common (e. g. Tso *passim*). — **B.** PK'ung: tsï means 'prince', and Yin is the name of a state: »The prince of Yin, by name Chu, is enlightened». He refers to the (now lost) chapter Yin cheng *44* of the Shu as proof of the early existence (in Hia time) of a state Yin. But even in this name of the Shu chapter it is contested whether Yin is the name of a state or a person. The B interpr. (though accepted by Yü Yüe) is an unsafe speculation.

1232. Hü yin sung k'o hu *45*.

A. This is the orthodox PK'ung version: **»Alas! He is deceitful and quarrelsome, will he do?».** Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases *46*. It was already recognized by Chang Shou-tsie that hiung *47* does not mean 'baleful' here but is a short-form for hiung *48* 'to quarrel', a common word (Shï etc.). Thus Sï-ma: »He is perverse and quarrelsome and cannot be used». In the same way, in Sün: T'ien lun *49* »The noble man does not stop his actions because of the (clamouring:) wrangling of mean men», *47* is a short-form for *48*. — **B.** Ma Jung read: hü, yin, yung k'o hu *50*, carrying yung to the following k'o hu. This can be interpr. in two ways. Either (with Sun Sing-yen) yung is the common interrogative adverb 'how': »Alas! He is deceitful, how can he do?»; or (with Kiang Sheng) yung alludes to the preceding line teng yung *51* (»I will raise and use him»), thus: »Alas! He is deceitful, yung to use him k'o hu will that do?» — Ch'en K'iao-tsung thinks that the last words in Sï-ma's paraphrase: pu yung *52* »he cannot be used» reveals that Sï-ma had Ma Jung's text version with yung *53*. But that is certainly not correct, for then Sï-ma would have rendered one word of the text: yin *54* by two words wan hiung *55*, which is very unlikely. It is quite evident that his wan hiung renders the yin sung *56* of the Shu text, which supports the A text as the older and preferable.

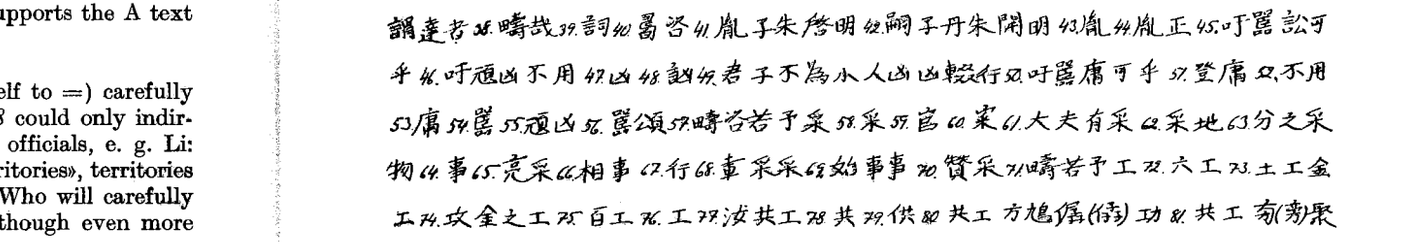
1233. Ch'ou tsï jo yü ts'ai *57*.

A. Ma Jung: ts'ai *58* = *59* 'officials': »Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my officials?». This is based on Erya *60* = *59*. Ts'ai *58* could only indirectly have this sense. It sometimes means 'appanage' given to high officials, e. g. Li: Li yün *61* »Dignitaries have appanages» (in the sense of *62* »cullable territories», territories from which to take their incomes). Our Shu phr. would then mean: »Who will carefully attend to my appanage(-holders)». Another possible etymology — though even more

far-fetched — would be to take ts'ai *58* in its sense of 'variegated', with reference to Tso: Wen 6: »(The ancient kings established sages as officers) *63* and distributed to them (variegated things =) fine emblems» (sc. of their ranks). In such a case our Shu line would mean: »Who will carefully attend to my (variegated ones =) emblem(-holders)». — **B.** PK'ung: ts'ai *58* = shï *64*: **»Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my affairs?».** Cf. Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) liang ts'ai *65* (see Gl. 786 and 1281) 'to aid in the works' (Sï-ma Ts'ien liang ts'ai = *66*; Cheng Hüan ts'ai *58* = *67* 'actions'); Shu: Kao Yao mo, same phr. liang ts'ai *65*, on which Ma Jung ts'ai *58* = *64*; Shu: Kao Yao mo tsai ts'ai ts'ai *68* »He initiated the various works» (Sï-ma paraphr. *69*); Yi Chou shu: K'o Yin »Shao kung Shï *70* aided in the works». — B is on the whole much better supported, but the choice between A and B depends also on a case of parallelism. Further on in the Yao tien we find: ch'ou jo yü kung *71*. Ma Jung and PK'ung: kung = 'workman' (artisan): »Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my workmen». This is a common meaning of kung, cf. Li: K'ü li: »The liu kung *72* six classes of artisans of the king are *73* earth artisan, metal artisan» etc. Chouli also has many similar phrases: *74* »workers in metal» etc. Li: Wang chï *75* »the hundred (kinds of) artisans». Indeed we had this same phr. po kung *75* earlier in our chapter here, though in a more general sense: yün li po kung »If you earnestly regulate the hundred functionaries». It is on the analogy of this that Ma Jung wants our jo yü ts'ai *57* above to refer to functionaries: »Attend to my officials». But it is very doubtful whether kung *76* really means 'artisan' here. Immediately after follows: »Oh, Ch'uei, *77* you shall be Master of works». Kung Kung, originally the name of a mythological hero, is here by the Shu author reinterpreted into the title of an official, cf. BMFEA 18, p. 219. Kung *78* must here (with PK'ung) be equal to kung *79* (a very common short-form), and means 'to furnish, to supply'. And Kung kung cannot very well mean »the furnisher of artisans» but must mean »the furnisher of works», the one who sees to the execution of the work of the artisans. It then stands to reason that the immediately preceding ch'ou jo yü kung must mean: »Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my works». And this being so, the earlier phr. jo yü ts'ai *57* must mean, with interpr. B, »attend to my affairs».

1234. Kung kung fang kiu chan kung *80*.

Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: *81*. The last three words cause little difficulty. Kiu *82* (**kịôg / kịu̯ / kiu) = 'to collect, bring together' (= *83*) is common. Shuowen, quoting our phr., has *84* **g'ịôg / g'ịu̯ / k'iu instead, but the meaning is much the same: 'to bring together'. (In another quotation Shuowen has *85* **kịôg*, a loan char. for *82*.) The char. *86* is read **dz'ăn / dẓ'ăn / chan* in Ts'ieyün and Shïwen. Ma Jung defines it by *87* 'to procure, supply', PK'ung by *88* 'to exhibit', and Sï-ma, as above, by *89* (spread out =) 'exhibit', which all comes to practically the same. (Shuowen in one quotation has *86* in another short-form: *90*). Sü Miao, on the other hand, read it **dẓ'ịwan / dẓ'ịwän /*



chuan, considering it to be a variant of *91* in the sense of 'to procure'. The real discrepancy concerns fang *92* (**pi̯wang*), Sï-ma p'ang *93* (**b'wâng*). The latter is not simply a gloss word of Sï-ma's but represents one Shu version, since Shuowen quotes *94*, which thus (through Sï-ma) is the earliest version attested.

A. The text version with p'ang *93*. Shuowen *93* **b'wâng* = *95* (**p'âg* / *p'uo* / p'u) 'vast, great', thus: »Kung kung vastly has accumulated and exhibited his merits». Hü Shen really defines **b'wâng* by the second syllable of a well-known binome *96*, varied in many ways, e. g. *97* (**b'wâng-b'âk*) in Chuang: Siao yao yu; *98* (**b'wâng-p'ăk*) in Sün: Sing ngo; *99* (**b'wâng-b'âk*) in Han shu: Yang Hiung chuan, always meaning 'vast, wide' (later authors have varied the graphs further: *100* etc.). Since Kuangya: Shï ku says p'ang *93* = *1* 'great' and *2* 'wide', most Ts'ing scholars (Wang Nien-sun, Kiang Sheng, Sun Sing-yen) maintain that p'ang really has such a sense, and adduce various examples in which p'ang standing alone would have this meaning (cf. Gl. 772 and the ex. here below). But all the time p'ang really means 'everywhere', as an extension of meaning from its fundamental sense of 'side': 'side-wise, to all sides, in all directions' (the binome p'ang - p'u *96* etc. gives the same meaning: 'everyside-wide'; the second member: **p'âg, b'âk, p'ăk* as above is always a variation of the word-stem *3* **pâk* 'wide'). So we have it in Li: P'ing yi *4* »His sincere straightness comes out (to every side =) everywhere»; Chouli: Nan wu *5* »From all sides he calls them by aid of mao herbs»; Li: Yüe ling *6* »(On all sides =) everywhere to cut up victims»; Yi Chou shu: K'uang kie *7* »(In all directions =) everywhere he corrected the multitude». In all these cases Wang Nien-sun defines p'ang by 'great' or 'wide', but in fact there was no word **b'wâng* = 'great' (it is significant that Erya, which has 39 words all defined as = ta 'great' has no p'ang or fang among them); there was only **b'wâng* 'side' which by extension could mean 'to all sides, everywhere'. Thus we must translate our A text: **»Kung kung (to all sides =) everywhere has accumulated and exhibited his merits».** — **B.** The text version with fang *92*. *α.* PK'ung defines fang *92* as = *8* 'in all regions, everywhere', fang 'region' giving much the same meaning as p'ang 'side' above. — *β.* Ts'ai Ch'en: fang *92* is the common adverb 'just now': »Kung kung just now has accumulated» etc. This disregards entirely the existence of version A. — *γ.* Kuangya has an entry fang *92* = *1* 'great', and Wang Nien-sun and followers believe that the fang of the B text has this sense, just as they think that the p'ang of the A text had it (see above); thus: »Kung kung greatly has accumulated» etc. But except some moot examples in the Shu, see below, there are no safe text par. — The sense of p'ang or fang = 'everywhere' is certainly best established. We compare:

Shu: Yao tien: Shang shang hung shuei fang ko *9*. For shang 'voluminous' see Gl. 655. As to the ko *10* (**kât* / *kât* / ko), it is defined by PK'ung as = hai *11* (**g'âd* / *γâi* / hai) 'injurious'. The T'ang and Sung scholars still took it to mean 'cutting' = 'injurious' (hence only cognate to *11* **g'âd*), and still read it **kât*, and so does Kiang Sheng. Sun Sing-yen believes that *10* is a variant graph for *11* (and hence to be read **g'âd* / *γâi* / hai), referring to Shu: Ta kao *12* (PK'ung version), where Ma Jung's version had *13*. But then again in Shu: T'ang shï we have shuai ko Hia yi *14* (where Sï-ma paraphrases ko 'to cut, to slice' by *15* 'to rob'): »He (cuts:) injures the city of Hia», and there Sun does not propose to alter ko *10* into hai *11*. Since in our present case we know of no version that had *11* instead of *10*, we have no sufficient reason to read in any other way than *10* **kât* / *kât* / ko. Cf. Gl. 1404. **A.** PK'ung again takes fang *92* as = 'to all sides', thus: **»Voluminously, the great waters everywhere are injurious».** — **B.** The Ts'ing scholars (after Kuangya, see above) say fang *92* = 'great': »The great waters are vastly injurious». For this there is no sufficient text support.

Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi): Kao Yao fang chï küe sü, fang shï siang hing *16*. For sü *17* = 'work, actions, arrangements' see Gl. 1047. For siang hing see Gl. 1267. **A.** Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases *18*: »Kao Yao now reverently carries out Yü's (virtue =) virtuous deeds», which shows that he took fang *92* = *19* to be the adverb 'thereupon, then, just now'. The second line is not given by Sï-ma, but in consequence of the preceding, fang there will have the same sense, thus: »Kao Yao now reverently carries out your work, and now applies the (described =) legally defined punishments». (Legge says he »would gladly» take the first fang *92* as = 'now' with Sï-ma, but the second fang *92* = p'ang *93*; an impossible inconsistency). — **B.** Po hu t'ung: Sheng jen quotes p'ang shï siang hing with p'ang *93*, and PK'ung takes both fang of his text to mean the same: *24* ('in the four quarters, in all regions =') 'everywhere', thus: **»Kao Yao everywhere reverently carries out your arrangements and everywhere applies the legally defined punishments».** — **C.** Sun Sing-yen says nothing of the fang in the first line and says of p'ang *93* (version B) in the second: = *95* 'vastly' (after Shuowen, see above). But Kiang Sheng is more explicit. He read p'ang *93* in the second line (with the B version) but preserves the fang *92* of version A in the first and glosses the latter by *20*, thus: »Kao Yao fang *92* (side by side with =) together with (you) reverently carries out your work, and p'ang *93* vastly applies the legally defined punishments». It is true that fang *92* can have the meaning of *20* (as in Shï and Yili, see Gl. 551, 547), and it is possible that Cheng Hüan already held this view, since he remarks that the emperor »attributed the virtue to both ministers» (Yü and Kao Yao), but it is certainly very bold to follow one version in half the line and another version in the other half, moreover giving fang *92* a meaning contrary to its ordinary use in the Shu. Interpr. A as applied to both fang is unreconcilable with the B text version, which, after all, is the earliest attested one and as applied only to the first fang (with Legge) entails an inconsistency. C is equally inconsistent. B alone is wholly consistent, suitable to both text versions and in full accord with the preceding Shu examples.

Shu: Lü hing: Fang kao wu ku yü shang *21*. **A.** PK'ung again says fang = *8*: **»Everywhere they declared their innocence to (God on) High».** This is confirmed by the version in Lun heng: Pien tung: p'ang kao wu ku etc. *22*. P'ang, as above, means 'to all sides, everywhere', not (with Kiang and Sun) 'greatly'. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: fang = 'then'; this is refuted by the Lun heng variant.

Shu: Li cheng: Fang hing yü t'ien hia *23*. PK'ung: fang = sï fang *24* 'in the four quarters, in all regions', thus: **»Everywhere to travel in the world»;** here even Ts'ai accepts this obvious interpr. But Kiang and Sun still insist on fang (= p'ang =) *95* 'vastly'.

Shu: Tsï ts'ai: Tso hiung ti fang lai *25*. **A. »As brothers they came from all quarters».** So both PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en. — **B.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: fang *92* = *20*: ». . . they came side by side». — No reason to attribute this rare (though in some cases attested) meaning to the char.

布功82旭83聚84迷85救86倗倩87具88見89布90屑91撰92方93旁(旁)94共工旁迷屑功
95薄96旁薄97旁薄98旁皖99旁薄100旁薄倗薄滂薄 1大2廣3博4孚声旁達5旁
招以茅6旁茅7旁匡於衆8方方9湯湯洪水方割10割11害12天降割于我家13天
降害14率割夏邑15奪16皐陶方祇厥敘方施象刑17敘18皐陶于是敬禹之德19于是
20拉21方告無辜于上22旁告無辜於天帝23方行于天下24四方25作兄弟方來26小

Shu: Wei tsï: S i a o m i n f a n g h i n g *26*. **A.** Sï-ma Ts'ien renders f a n g *92* by p i n g *20*: »The people (side by side =) all together rise», which is admissible but hardly commendable, see the preceding ex. — **B.** PK'ung: **»The small people everywhere rise».** — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »The small people then rise». — Best to follow (with PK'ung) the general rule of the Shu, as registered above.

We have seen that in no single case is a meaning p ' a n g or f a n g = 'great' or 'wide' supported by unambiguous texts. In all the instances the fundamental sense of 'to all sides, everywhere' can be carried through with consistency and is hence preferable.

1235. T s i n g y e n y u n g w e i *27*.

A. The version above is that of PK'ung and also of Chung lun: K'ao wei. Han shu: Wang Sun chuan reads *28*; the char. *29* and *30* having as fundamental meaning 'still, quiet' are homophonous (**dz'i̯ĕng*, rising tone) and often interchangeable. Lun heng: K'uei kuo reads *31*. W e i *32* (**gi̯wər / jwe̯i* / w e i) 'transgressing, erring, perverse' and h u e i *33* (**g'wər / ɣuâi* / h u e i) 'deflected, perverse' make the same sense here. But the phr. has been construed in various ways. — *a.* Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases *34*, which Chavannes translates: »(Kung kung) est un bon parleur, mais quand on le met à l'oeuvre, il est mauvais». This, I believe, is a double mistranslation. In the first place, a phr. like s h a n y e n in itself can mean »he is good at talking» (Chavannes here follows Chang Shou-tsie who paraphr. *35*), but t s i n g y e n, which Sï-ma renders by s h a n y e n, certainly cannot mean that. Tsing 'quiet' is defined by s h a n 'good' as an extension of meaning: 'quiet' > 'nice, good': »he nicely speaks», just as in Ode 89 in the Han shï phr. *36* the t s i n g is defined as = s h a n *37*. Thus t s i n g is an attribute to y e n: »He (quietly =) smoothly speaks». PK'ung has realized this, for he explains (after Erya) t s i n g y e n by m o u y e n *38* »He (quietly, ponderingly, planningly =) cunningly speaks». The phr. is analogous to the k ' i a o y e n l i n g s ê *39* »Smart talk and a fine appearance» in Shu: Kao Yao mo. On the other hand y u n g *40* (Sï-ma k ' i y u n g *41*) was taken by PK'ung to refer to the t e n g y u n g *42* 'to raise and empoy' in an earlier paragraph, y u n g here thus being a transitive verb = y u n g c h ï *43* »if one employs him» (which has been accepted by Chavannes). But y u n g here has Kung kung for subject (not for object). This was already realized by Chang Shou-tsie, who paraphr. the second part: *44* »His applying his mind (sc. in his actions) is perverse». In fact y u n g *40* means 'work, deeds, actions', just as later on in the Yao tien *45* »They were clearly tested by their achievements, they were (»charioted and garmented» =) endowed with chariots and garments (by norm of =) according to their works (actions)». This is a common meaning (Erya y u n g *40* = *46* 'to toil, to work', cf. BMFEA 1916, p. 194). That this is the meaning here and was so conceived by Sï-ma is evident: there is a typical chiasma (a : b : b : a); t s i n g (a): y e n (b): y u n g (b): w e i (a). Y e n 'to speak' stands in contrast to y u n g 'action' and t s i n g 'quiet' stands in contrast to w e i 'perverse'. Thus: **»He (quietly =) smoothly speaks, but his actions are perverse».** Ts'ai Ch'en has tried a parallelism in another way, contrasting t s i n g ∽ y u n g and y e n ∽ w e i; he paraphrases: *47* »T s i n g when (at leisure =) unempoyed y e n he speaks, y u n g when employed w e i he contravenes (his words)». Very scholastic. — **B.** Another version ap. San kuo chï, Wu chï: Lu K'ang chuan reads *47 b* (quoting T'ang shu *48*, i. e. our Yao tien). This is because that line occurs in Tso: Wen 18, there said of the wicked K'iung K'i (whom commentators all from Fu K'ien of Han time have speculatively identified with Kung Kung, see BMFEA 18, p. 255), and the author has rightly realized that the Tso passage is an allusion to the Shu. K'ung Ying-ta, not aware of this, has interpreted the Tso line: »He (found peace in =) was at home with slanderers and employed the perverse ones». But obviously we have to interpret the Tso line on the analogy of the A text. C h e n *49* (**t'i̯ə̀m*) means 'to slander', but the char. is sometimes

used (see Gl. 958) for the cognate w. *50* (**tsiəm*) 'to be untruthful, to lie', and even when meaning 'to slander' the fundamental sense is really 'to speak untrue things about (somebody)'. Thus here: »He (quietly =) smoothly lies but his actions are perverse». This comes very close to A. Since Tso does not expressly cite the Shu, we dare not accept the B text as a real quotation: c h e n *49* for y e n *52* may be a paraphrase made by the Tso author.

1236. S i a n g k u n g t ' a o t ' i e n *53*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: *54*. The phr. has to be understood in the light of the following paragraph: »The great waters *55* . . . vastly they swell up to Heaven». The m a n *56* of Sï-ma's has the same meaning (Shuowen defines t ' a o *57* by *58*; cf. Chuang: Ma t'i *59* »They [overflowingly =] excessively made music»). PK'ung has realized that the first phr. simply is a metaphor anticipating the second, and in both cases of t ' a o t ' i e n he has the same gloss *60* »as if overflowing Heaven». Thus: **»He is in appearance respectful, but he swells up to Heaven».** — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en dare not accept this but believes that the anticipation, in the first phr., of the t ' a o t ' i e n which occurs in the second is a mistake due to text corruption. (Legge, following this, translates: »He is respectful only in appearance [See! The floods assail the Heavens]»). But Sï-ma's paraphr., which closely follows the tradition text, clearly shows that there has been no text corruption. — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen both think that Si-ma's m a n *56* stands for m a n *61* (Kiang even suggests that the *56* in the present Shï ki text is a corruption of *61*) 'to despise, to be careless, impudent', and that t ' a o *57* of the Shu had the same meaning, thus: »In appearance he is respectful, but he despises, is impudent towards Heaven» (Kiang) or: ». . . but he despises, is careless about (t ' i e n *62* = t ' i e n s i n g *63*) his heavenly nature» (Sun). In support of this they adduce Ode 255, phr. *64* »Heaven has sent down to them an (overflowing, swelling =) reckless disposition», on which Mao Heng: t ' a o *57* = *56*; and Tso: Chao 26, phr. *65* »The officials should not be (reckless =) careless» (Tu Yü: t ' a o *57* = *56*). This is all very well, but it would be strange indeed if in two consecutive lines of our text the same phr. t ' a o t ' i e n *69* should have two entirely different meanings: first: »(he) despises Heaven» (or: »he despises his heavenly nature») and secondly: »(the waters) swell up to, assail Heaven». This, of course is quite excluded. — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: t ' a o *57* is a loan char. for t ' a o *66* (both **t'ôg*) 'to doubt', which occurs e. g. in Tso Chao 26, phr. *67* »Heavens norms are not doubtful»; and *66* would then have been altered into *57* under influence of the following t ' a o *57*. The line would mean: »He is in appearance respectful, but doubts Heaven» (has no confidence in Heaven). Besides that this makes poor sense, we would have t ' a o t ' i e n *68* 'to doubt Heaven' and t ' a o t ' i e n *69* 'to swell up to Heaven' in two consecutive papagraphs, which is very unlikely. — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: In Kyü: Chou yü the mythical hero Kung Kung *70* is simply called Kung *71*, by abbreviation. Our k u n g *72* here should really be k u n g *71*, and s i a n g k u n g

民方興 *27* 靜言庸違 *28* 靖言庸違 *29* 靜 *30* 靖 *31* 靖言庸回 *32* 違 *33* 回 *34* 善言其用僻 *35* 善為言語 *36* 有靖(靜)家室 *37* 善 *38* 謀言 *39* 巧言令色 *40* 庸 *41* 其用 *42* 登庸 *43* 用之 *44* 用意邪僻 *45* 明試以功車服以庸 *46* 勞 *47* 靜則能言用則違背 *48* 靖譖庸回 *49* 唐書 *50* 譖 *51* 僭 *52* 言 *53* 象恭滔天 *54* 似恭漫天 *55* 洪水 . . . 浩浩滔天 *56* 漫 *57* 滔 *58* 水漫漫大皃 *59* 湛漫為樂 *60* 若漫天 *61* 慢 *62* 天 *63* 天性 *64* 天降滔德 *65* 官不滔 *66* 謟 *67* 天道不謟 *68* 謟天 *69* 滔天

t'ao t'ien *53* means: »He imitates Kung Kung and (causes the waters to) swell up to Heaven». An amusing speculation. — A alone can satisfy the text such as it stands and is confirmed by Sï-ma.

»The emperor said: Oh, Sï Yüe» — for this personage, see BMFEA 18, p. 261.

Shang shang hung shuei fang ko see Gl. 1234.

Huai shan siang ling — for siang 'to rise above' see Gl. 215.

1237. Hü, fu tsai *73*.

A. PK'ung: fu *74* (**b'i̯wət / b'i̯uət / fu*) = *75* 'to offend, offensive' (in agreement with Shuowen: fu *74* = *76* 'to transgress, oppose, offend'). Thus: **»Oh, he is offensive».** Cf. Shu: Wei tsï *77* »One offends the aged elders». The same word (**b'i̯wət*) is sometimes wr. *78*, e. g. Li: Hüe ki *79* »In their seeking (sc. knowledge) they are oppositional». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: fu *74* is a forceful negation, thus: »Oh, certainly not, by no means». No text par. — A is better supported.

1238. Fang ming pi tsu *80*.

Fang ming:

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases *81* »He turns the back on, **he neglects (my) orders**». Both Ma jung, Cheng Hüan and Ying Shao in accordance with this take fang *88* (read **pi̯wang*, falling tone) as a short-form for fang *82* 'to let go, neglect', and the phr. is already wr. *83* in an edict from the end of Western Han (Han shu: Fu Hi chuan). — **B.** On the phr. fang ming nüe min *84* in Meng: Liang Huei wang, hia, which clearly alludes to our Shu phr., Chao K'i defines fang *88* by yi *85* 'to go against, to oppose', thus here: »He opposes my orders». Ts'ai Ch'en quotes a »Mr. Wang» who explains this: whereas yüan 'round' is »mobile», fang square is »stationary, immobile», thus 'obstructive'. Hence »He squares my orders» would mean »He obstructs my orders». A comical idea. Fang *88* = 'to oppose' could only be a short-form for fang *86* (**p'i̯wang*) 'to oppose', as in Tso: Yin 3, phr. *87* »The mean oppose the nobles, and the young presume against the elders». — **C.** PK'ung takes fang *88* in its ordinary reading (**pi̯wang*, even tone): 'square' = 'straight, upright': »He is fang straight (apparently), but ming when charged (he ruins his kin)». An impossible forcing of the text. — No reason to abandon the oldest interpr. (A).

Pi tsu *89*.

A. Sï-ma simply renders this by *90*, and Ying Shao expounds *91*: **»He ruins his kin».** There is nothing to show that Sï-ma by tsu or the expounder Ying Shao by his tsu lei meant anything else than 'clan, kin', for tsu lei as a binome with that sense is well known. Tso: Ch'eng 4, phr. *92* »Those who are not of our kin, their hearts will be different from ours» (the context here referring to the prince of Tsin as being tsu lei a kinsman, whereas the prince of Ch'u was of a different clan). Lei properly means 'category, class', here then those who belong to the same category: tsu lei = 'kinsmen-classmen'. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases pi tsu *89* by *93* »not concordant with the crowd», thus evidently taking tsu as equal to lei in a more general sense: '(kin =) category, class': »He ruins his (category =) crowd», which Legge has turned thus, »He tries to injure his peers», and Chavannes thus, »Il est funeste à ses collègues». Tsu sometimes can have such a more general sense, cf. Li: Tsi fa *94* »Those (men and things) which were not of these categories (kinds, classes) were not placed on the list of sacrifices». — **C.** PK'ung, foll. by K'ung Ying-ta, Chang Shou-tsie and even Sun Sing-yen, commits a curiously illogical trick. Lei *95*, besides meaning 'category, class', also frequently means' good' (properly: 'up to the standard'), and so we have it in Ode 257, phr. *96* »The covetous men ruin the good» (see Gl. 830, with text par.). Now, since tsu can be equal to lei in the phr. tsu lei 'kin' above, tsu should — those scholars imagine — also be equal to lei in the sense of 'good', and the pi tsu *89* of our text

is equal to the pai lei *96* of the ode; thus: »He ruins the good». There is, of course, not the slightest text support for tsu having ever had the sense of 'good', and PK'ung's false analogy is a warning example of bad philology. — There is no reason whatever for abandoning the oldest interpr. (A): Kun was the chief of a powerful feudal family and by his demeanour he ruined the fortunes of his house.

1239. Yüe yüe yi tsai *97*.

Ts'ie yün and Shïwen both say yi *98* had two readings: even and falling tone.

A. Cheng Hüan (ap. Shïwen) read *98* like *99* (falling tone), evidently taking it to be a variant graph for this word. This is confirmed by Lie: Yang Chu *100* »Wherein does it differ?», where yi *98* is equal to *99* (similarly Tso Sï, 3rd c. A. D., in his Wei tu fu writes *1* meaning *2*). Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that Cheng Hüan interpreted: »How strange!» (sc. that you should say so — a protest against Yao's criticism of Kun). Possibly this was already the opinion of Lu Fa-yen, for in Ts'ie yün he says yi tsai t'an *3* »yi tsai is (a sigh =) a regretting exclamation». But, as pointed out by Liu Jung-tsung (19th c.), Cheng's idea probably was quite different, based on Sï-ma Ts'ien. Sï-ma in Wu ti pen ki simply reproduces the yi tsai of the Shu text: but in Hia pen ki, in the same context, paraphrasing the same Shu line, he says *4* »In classifying them, there is nobody so wise as Kun», which shows that he took yi tsai *5* (= *6*) to mean **»He is (different from others =) remarkable».** — **B.** Shuowen: yi *98* = *7* 'to lift, to promote', thus: »Promote him» (into office). No text par.; probably Hü's gloss is a mere script etymology, the char. containing *8* two hands. Moreover, with this sense the line should not end by tsai. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en says the meaning of yi tsai is doubtful, but he surmises that it means something like: »After all he shall have to do». I suppose yi *98* should then have to be a variant of yi *9* 'to finish' with a free extension of meaning: 'to let off = never mind'. (Legge: »Well but . . .»). Couvreur frankly takes *98* = *9*, explaining: »*Desinas* (*eum respuere*) Stop (criticizing him)». — A, besides being the oldest interpr., is the only one which is supported by text par. Moreover, the preceding phr. fu tsai »He is offensive» is best balanced by the present yi tsai *5* »He is remarkable».

1240. Shï k'o nai yi *11*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphr. *12* »Try him and if he cannot be used, then (finish him =) dismiss him». Sï-ma has introduced a negation that is not in the Shu text. In order to agree with Sï-ma's paraphrase, this latter has to be taken as a violent ellipsis: shï try him (whether he) k'o will do, (if not) then dismiss him». This is exceedingly unreasonable and cannot be saved by Sun Sing-yen's amusing theory that k'o *13* is »a quick way» of pronouncing pu k'o *14*. PK'ung makes it still worse, interpreting: shï to try him k'o will be all right, (if he is unsuccessful) then dismiss him». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en therefore takes nai yi as equal to the common final er yi *15* »and that is all», expounding: »Try him whether he will do, and that is all», adding: »whether he will do» refers to the work against the inundations — that will be all, he need not be a good

70.共工 71.共 72.恭 73.吁佛哉 74.佛 75.戾 76.違 77.佛其耆長 78.佛乃其求之也佛 80.方命圮族 81.負命 82.放 83.放命圮族 84.方命虐民 85.逆 86.妨 87.聖妨賣少陵長 88.方 89.圮族 90.敗族 91.敗其族類 92.非 我族類其心必異 93.與衆不和 94.非此族也不在祀典 95.類 96.貪人敗類 97.嶽曰异哉 98.异 99.異 100.何以异哉 1.异乎 2.異乎 3.异哉歎 4.等之未賢于鯀者 5.异哉 6.異哉 7.與 8.并 9.己 10.佛哉 11.試可乃已 12.試不可用而已 13.可 14.不可 15.而

man for other works». — **C.** Kiang Sheng (more fully developed by Yü Yüe): y i *9* and y i *16* (both **ziəg / i* / y i, rising tone) are interchangeable graphs, and *9* here stands for *16* 'to employ': **»Try him, and if he will do, then employ him».** Cf. Yi: Kua 41, phr. *17*, Shïwen variant *18*; Li: T'an kung *19* (*16* = *9*); Lun: Sien tsin *20* (Cheng Hüan's version *21*); Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang *22* (*16* = *9*). Indeed, *16* and *23* (= *9*) were probably variants of one and the same archaic graph *24*. Observe particularly Sün: Fei siang *25* »By means of what?» = *26*; here, just as in our Shu ex., y i *9* clearly serves for *16*. — **D.** Legge, though he quotes Sï-ma (A above) with approval, translates quite differently: »Try him and then you can have done with him», which supposes a different word sequence: *27*. — C is strikingly convincing.

1241. J u n e n g y u n g m i n g *28*.

The phr. was introduced by: »Oh, you Sï Yüe, I have been in the high position (on the throne) 70 years, j u n e n g y u n g m i n g».

A. PK'ung: »(If) you can (use =) execute my orders» (I will cede the throne etc.), thus referring m i n g 'order' to the speaker (Yao). PK'ung seems to have forgotten that he took Sï Yüe to be four princes: it is difficult to see how Yao could offer to cede the throne to four gentlemen. Ts'ai Ch'en, who correctly took Sï Yüe to be one potentate, could with more reason interpret as above. — **B.** Cheng Hüan, likewise taking Sï Yüe to be four princes, has expounded accordingly, supposing a strong ellipsis, and moreover he took m i n g 'order' = 'the mandate of Heaven': (If any of) you (princes) can (use =) execute Heaven's mandate» (I will cede the throne to him). — Since it is a question of imperial power, Cheng is undoubtedly right about m i n g ; but Sï-yüe was one person (see BMFEA 18, Legends and cults *passim*), and so the line means: **»(If) you can (use =) execute (Heaven's) mandate»** (I shall cede etc.).

1242. S u n c h e n w e i *29*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien renders the line t s i e n c h e n w e i *30*, thus making the Sï Yüe addressed the subject: »You shall step into my high position». T s i e n w e i *37* 'to (trample, tread:) step into the high position' (as ruler) is a common expression, e. g. Li: Ming t'ang wei *31* »Chou kung stepped into the position of the Son of Heaven»; Li: Chung yung *32* »They (stepped into =) occupied their (sc. the ancestors') high positions». Sun Sing-yen and Chu Tsün-sheng believe that the *33* **swən / suən* / s u n of the Shu text is a loan char. for this *34* **dz'iən / dz'iən* / t s i e n, which is phonetically highly improbable. On the other hand *34* **dz'iən* in Chouli: Sï tsun yi serves as loan char. for *35* **dz'iən* 'to serve up food, to furnish', see Gl. 233, and it would be conceivable that Sï-ma's *34* would mean 'to furnish', equal to *33* as a short-form for *36*: »I will furnish you (present you with) my high position»; but this is forbidden by the early existence of the well-known phr. t s i e n w e i *37* as above, the meaning of which in those ex. is quite unambiguous. In fact, there are reasons to believe that Sï-ma has freely deviated from the Shu text above, and that he really knew that s u n *33* had another sense, cf. B below. — **B.** Ma Jung: s u n *33* = j a n g *38*, thus making Yao himself the subject: **»I shall (withdraw from, yield =) cede my high position».** This means that Ma took *33* **swən* as loan char for *39* **swən / suən* / s u n 'to withdraw, to give way, yield, cede' (common word, often abbrev. into *40*). S u n *33* as loan char for this *39* is common: Lun: Tsï han *41* »(Yielding =) complaisant, gentle, mild words»; Yi: Kua 4, phr. *42* »His obedience and (yielding =) humility». And Sï-ma already seems to have had this idea about the s u n w e i *43* of our text, for, differing from his paraphr. of the Shu line in A above, in Shï ki: Po Yi chuan he says *44* »Yao would yield the high position and cede it to Yü Shun», thus using the very phr. s u n w e i *45* = *43*. — **C.** PK'ung: s u n *33* = s h u n *46*, paraphrasing: »I shall (let you) s u n (accord with =) carefully attend to (the tasks of) the high position». — **D.** Kiang Sheng: s u n *33* = *47*, again taking

Sï Yüe as the subject: »You shall enter my high position». This is based on Yi: Shuo kua: *48* »s u n means j u». But it is very doubtful what this really means: »s u n means penetrating»? or: »s u n means penetrable»? I know of only one real text in which s u n may mean 'to enter': Yi: Kua 50, phr. *49* »By entering wood into fire, one cooks food». But it is quite possible that s u n here again has its fundamental sense of 'to yield': »By wood (yielding to =) being consumed by fire, one cooks food», so the ex. is not conclusive. — B alone is sufficiently substantiated.

1243. F o u t ê *50*.

A. Sï-ma renders this by p i t ê *51*. »(I have) an inferior virtue». — **B.** PK'ung: **(I have) not the virtue».** The char. *52* has two readings: **pi̯ŭg / pi̯ə̯u* / f o u 'not' (very common); and **b'i̯əg / b'ji* / p i 'to obstruct', see Gl. 1021. But it is also attested as loan char. for *53* **pi̯əg / pjwi* / p i 'vulgar, inferior, bad', e. g. Yi: Kua 50, phr. *54* »It is advantageous to eliminate what is bad» (Shïwen *52* **pi̯əg / pjwi* / p i). — *52* as loan for *53* is rare, whereas it is exceedingly common as = **pi̯ŭg* 'not'. Since B takes *52* in its ordinary sense, without any loan of char., and makes good sense, it is certainly preferable. — We should compare:

Lun: Yung ye *55*. Confucius had visited Nan-tsï and Tsï-lu disapproved. The master said: y ü s o f o u c h ê . . .

A. Read **pi̯ŭg / pi̯ə̯u* / f o u. Sï-ma Ts'ien: K'ung tsï shï kia renders it *56* (*57* and *52* both **pi̯ŭg*). *α*. The ancient interpr. **»Wherein I have made (incorrect =) wrong».** *β*. Liu Pao-nan: »If I had not» (sc. gone and visited). — **B.** Read **pi̯əg*. Wang Ch'ung in Lun heng: Wen K'ung reads *58*, thus replacing *52* by *53*: »Wherein I have been bad». — **C.** Wang Pi *59* and others read *52* **b'i̯əg / b'jwi* / p i, thus: »Wherein I have (obstructed =) been refractory». — Here again the ordinary reading **pi̯ŭg* is certainly the most simple and convincing (in the A *α* interpr.).

1244. S h ï s i t i y ü e *60*.

As to s i *61* 'to give, to present', Chang Ping-lin proposes that the original graph was simply *62* (as in the bronze inscriptions), but this would not mean 'to present' but 'to transport, to transmit' from one place to another, hence 'to report' to the emperor. In support of this he adduces Shu: P'an Keng *63* »I shall not let you propagate your seed in this new city»; but here y i really means 'to exchange' = 'to renew your seed', hence to propagate. Other ex. adduced by Chang are the y i in Tso chuan discussed in Gl. 1431 and the s i in Yü kung discussed in Gl. 1366 — none of them has the sense of 'to transmit'.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien renders s h ï *64* by c h u n g *65* 'the crowd', thus: **»All (presenting =) to the emperor said».** S h ï in this sense is very common. — **B.** Cheng Hüan: s h ï *64* means *66*. This could be taken to mean, with A, »The crowd of princes», but probably Cheng's idea was different, for, in comm. on Chouli: Hiang shï *67* and Tien shï *68*, he

已16.以17.己事18.以事19.不得以20.毋吾以21.毋吾己22.無以23.曰24.乙25.何已也26.何以也27.試乃可已28.汝能庸命29.巽朕位30.踐朕位31.周公踐天子之位32.踐其位33.巽34.踐35.饌36.撰37.踐位38.讓39.遜40.孫41.巽與之言42.順以巽也43.巽位44.堯將遜位讓于虞舜45.遜位46.順47.入48.巽入也49.以木巽火亨飪也50.否德51.鄙德52.否53.鄙54.利出否55.予所否者56.予所不者57.不58.予所鄙者59.玉瓚60.師錫帝曰61.錫62.易63.無俾易種于茲新邑64.師65.衆66.諸侯之師67.鄉師68.甸師69.長70.州十二師71.克諧以孝

says: shï *64* = chang *69*. Thus (with Sun Sing-yen) he probably meant chu hou chï chang. Thus: »The leaders (of the princes) said to the emperor». Shï = 'master, leader' is likewise common. — Cheng evidently was influenced by his opinion of another Shu passage: Shu: Kao Yao mo *70* which he interpreted: »In the provinces there were 12 leaders». But as we shall se in Gl. 1335 this is not acceptable. Hence we have no reason for abandoning the oldest interpr. above (A).

1245. K'o hie yi hiao cheng cheng yi pu ko kien *71*.

A. The Han-time authors on the one hand took the two words hie and hiao as coördinated expressions, on the other hand carried the cheng cheng to the first line. Thus Liu Hiang (in Lie nü chuan) paraphrases the first 4 words thus: *72* »Shun could treat them with concordance and serve Ku Sou with filial piety». And Ts'ai Yung in an inscription (Kiu yi shan pei) writes: »Shun . . . *73* he was able to be concordant with the stupid (sc. father) and the arrogant (sc. brother) and to be (in filiality grand =) grandly filial». In a memorial to the throne Sung Yi *74* (1st c. A. D., ap. Hou Han shu k. 71) says chï hiao cheng cheng *75* »grand in extreme filiality», alluding to our text; many more ex. in Wang Nien-sun's notes on the Kuangya, which has an entry cheng cheng = hiao *76* 'to be filial, filial piety'. In fact cheng cheng has here fundamentally the sense of 'grand, fine, splendid', as in Odes 244 and 299 (see Gl. 1151), here specially pertaining to his attitude towards his parents. Lu Kia (Sin yü: Tao ki) says *77* »Yü Shun was grand towards his father and mother», i. e. grandly filial. Our first Shu line k'o hie yi hiao cheng cheng thus means: **»He has been able to be concordant and to be grandly filial»**. These same authors then took the following yi *78* together with the rest. Sï-ma Ts'ien renders yi *78* by chï *79* 'to govern' (common meaning) and Liu Hiang (Lie nü chuan) paraphrases *80* »Shun further (was inwardly governed =) controlled himself and had no wicked thoughts». Thus our Shu line yi pu ko kien: **»He has controlled himself and has not come to wickedness»**. Sun Sing-yen has adopted this Han-time interpr. — **B.** PK'ung divides the line differently: k'o hie yi hiao, cheng cheng yi, pu ko kien: »He has been able to make them concordant by his filial piety; cheng cheng (advancingly =) more and more yi they have controlled themselves and not come to wickedness». Cheng *81* = tsin *82* 'to advance' is based on Erya, but Erya's gloss really means tsin *82* in the sense of 'to bring forward' = 'to present' (sacrificial gifts) and it does not mean 'to advance' as an intransitive verb (see Gl. 1151). — **C.** Kiang Sheng punctuates like PK'ung but says: *78* has a variant *83* (the two graphs are in fact interchangeable, see Gl. 447, 481), and the latter is the proper char. here. It should not be read **ngi̯ŭd / ngi̯vi* / yi but **ngâd / ngâi* / ai. Erya says ai *83* = *84* 'to nourish', and the line means: »He is able to be concordant (with his brother) and filial (towards his parents) cheng cheng ai he (grandly =) amply nourishes (them), (so that) they do not come to wickedness». The Erya gloss ai = 'to nourish', however, has no support in reliable text ex., see Gl. 447 and 1317. — Both B and C lack substantiation through good text parallels in regard to the salient words (cheng and yi). Moreover, the earliest interpr. (A) is far superior in content, since it praises Shun's own qualities and not the effect on his family of his actions; and finally the ancient lore unanimously present his parents and brother as bad, perpetrating all kinds of wicked deeds (BMFEA 18, p. 296), and it certainly cannot be said that they »did not come to wickedness».

1246. Li kiang er nü yü Kuei juei pin yü Yü *85*.

For Kuei juei *86* »the nook of the Kuei river» (the place of its juncture with another stream) and not »the rivers Kuei and Juei» see Gl. 910.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien foll. by PK'ung, refers the line to Shun (the clause has no expressed

subject): »He (Shun) regulated and submitted the two daughters in the nook of the Kuei (river), and they served as wives in the Yü house». Li *87* frequently means *88* or *89* 'to regulate', e. g. Ode 276 phr. *90* »The king regulates your achievements». The line would express that though of very noble birth the two girls were brought into decorous obedience to Shun by his great virtues. — **B.** Sün Shuang (ap. Hou Han shu: Sün Shuang chuan) takes er nü as the subject: »The orderly, submitting two daughters in the nook of the Kuei (river) served as wives in the Yü (house)». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes Yao as subject: »He (regulated =) equipped and sent down the two daughters» etc. This is certainly right as far as the subject is concerned: the whole context (the lines before and after) shows that the line refers to Yao. But Legge rightly considers li as a more general term than the arranging of the bridal equipment: **»He (Yao) (regulated, arranged =) directed and sent down his two daughters to the nook of the Kuei (river) to be wives in the Yü (house)»**.

Yao tien continued; in the orthodox version: »Shun tien»; the first 28 characters in the orthodox version are spurious.

1247. Shen huei wu tien *91*.

Shen huei:

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien renders it shen ho *92* »He carefully (harmonized =) adjusted the five rules». For huei in that sense there is no text support. Sun Sing-yen says that *93* (**χmi̯wər / χji̯wẹi* / huei) was »similar in sound» to *94* (**sni̯wər / swi* / suei) 'to comfort', which is very wrong. Since huei fundamentally means 'rope, string' and from Han time was the term for the attachments of the strings to a lute, Kiang Sheng thinks that it means here 'to attune' the five rules, which is rather far-fetched. — **B.** Ma Jung (after Erya): huei *93* = *95*. The sense 'good, admirable' is well attested (Shï etc.); PK'ung similarly says huei = *96* 'beautiful, fine'. Thus »He carefully made good, made fine the five rules». This is somewhat nonsensical. — **C.** Another interpr. Huei *93* also means 'a pennon, a banner' (ex. in Li, Tso etc.), and this is an extension of meaning: **»He carefully (signalized =) displayed the five rules»**. There are many parallels to this metaphor. Tsing *97* 'banner': Tso: Hi 24, phr. *98* »It will signalize a good man»; Tso: Chuang 28, phr. *99* »It signalizes (displays) the great deeds of the prince»; k'i *100* 'banner': Tso: Min 2, phr. *1* »It is a manifestation of the loyalty». This interpr. suits the context well; the line continues: »The five rules then could be followed». Chang Ping-lin had a similar opinion, defining huei by piao *2*.

Wu tien:

»The five rules» is an expr. which recurs in Kao Yao mo *3*. It has been variously explained.

A. The oldest interpr. is that in Tso: Wen 18, where wu tien *10* »the five rules» (referring to our Shu chapter) are identified with wu kiao *4* »the five teachings», for which see Gl. 1285 below: that fathers should be yi *5* just, mothers ts'ï *6* loving, elder brothers yu *7* friendly, younger brothers kung *8* respectful, sons hiao *9* filial.

Cheng Hüan, following this, says (in Yao tien here): w u t i e n *10* is equal to w u k i a o *4*. Erya defines t i e n *11* as = c h ' a n g *12* 'constant norm', and PK'ung on the basis of this defines w u t i e n *10* as = *13* »the teachings of the five constant norms», enumerating the list of Tso above, adding that they are man's *14* regular natural disposition. — **B.** Pan Ku (Po hu t'ung: Ts'ing sing) has quite a different definition of w u c h ' a n g *15* »the five constant norms»: they are j e n *16* goodness, y i *5* righteousness, l i *17* decorum, c h ï *18* wisdom and s i n *19* faithfulness. Sun Sing-yen in Kao Yao mo accepts this list as corresponding to our w u t i e n, whereas in our chapter Yao tien here he follows A. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en, while likewise maintaining that w u t i e n *10* is equal to w u c h ' a n g *15*, takes these latter to be identical with the w u l u n *20* »the five social relations» as defined by Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang, cf. Gl. 1285 below: the relation between father and son, between sovereign and subject, between husband and wife, between elder and younger, between friend and friend. — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr. (A).

1248. a. N a y ü p o k ' u e i, p o k ' u e i s h ï s ü *21*.
b. S h ï t s ê p o k ' u e i *22*.

The line b. follows later in our Shu chapter. For s h ï s ü see Gl. 1249. K ' u e i *23* means (with Erya) 'to measure, to estimate' (common), hence also 'to take measures for, to regulate, to dispose'.

A. The oldest interpr. is indirectly given in Tso: Wen 18, where a line is evidently written as an allusion to our Shu passage: »(They were given a certain office) y i k ' u e i p o s h ï, m o p u s h ï s ü *24* in order to dispose the hundred affairs, there were none which were not orderly». The Tso author obviously took our Shu phr. p o k ' u e i *25* in the sense of »the hundred disposals» = the disposal of the hundred affairs. Thus our Shu lines: a. **»He was (entered into =) appointed to the (hundred disposals =) general management, the (hundred disposals =) general management was orderly»**; b. **»I shall make him occupy (the hundred disposals =) the general management»**. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: a. *26*; b. *27*. Thus, in line a. he adds a p i e n 'all round' which is not in the Shu text and renders p o k ' u e i by p o k u a n (k u a n means 'office' or 'officer'). Sun Sing-yen says that Sï-ma's j u is equal to 'introduce' in the sense of 'to select', and Sï-ma's line a. would thus mean: »All round he (introduced =) selected the hundred officers, the hundred officers were orderly». If this was Sï-ma's idea, he deviated from the Shu, whose y ü *28* in n a y ü p o k ' u e i *21* would then be inexplicable (unless we turn it thus: »He introduced [men] into the hundred offices», which is too strained). Chavannes therefore translates: »Il fut investi de toutes les cent fonctions (properly: »All round he (entered into =) was appointed to the hundred offices»), which is very unreasonable. On the other hand, in line b. Sï-ma simply renders p o k ' u e i by k u a n: »I shall make him occupy an office» (strangely translated by Chavannes: »Je lui donnerai l'autorité»). In short, however we translate Sï-ma's lines, this author is inconsistent in his interpr. of p o k ' u e i and his version is not reconcilable with the Shu texts. — **C.** Huainan: Siu wu like Sï-ma takes p o k ' u e i = p o k u a n *29*, but construes differently. He paraphrases: »He wived him with his two daughters in order to *30* see his behaviour in his house; he *31* entrusted him with the hundred officials, in order to *32* see his behaviour in public life». Here »daughters» and »officials» balance each other, which shows that Huai took p o k ' u e i concretely as = »the hundred officials» (here Chavannes' »les cent fonctions» would not do). Thus our Shu text a: »He was (introduced into =) charged with the hundred officials». This interpr., however, is not applicable in line b. and hence inadmissible. — **D.** PK'ung, influenced by Sï-ma's paraphrase k u a n for k ' u e i, believes that p o k ' u e i was the title of an office (later comm. have identified it with the c h u n g t s a i *33* of Chou time!), and he

explains: k ' u e i *23* means *34* 'to dispose', adding: *35* »To dispose the hundred affairs and to direct the hundred officers (or: offices), one (introduced =) nominated Shun to this office». Thus in an amusing way PK'ung juggles with the word k ' u e i, giving it at the same time the sense of 'to dispose' (of Tso chuan above) and of 'officer, office' (Sï-ma above). Having taken p o k ' u e i as a title in the first half of the line, PK'ung could not carry this through in the second p o k ' u e i s h ï s ü, and there he says p o k ' u e i = p o s h ï *36* 'the hundred affairs'. This inconsistency has been accepted by Ts'ai Ch'en, Kiang Sheng and the Western translators. Legge: »Being appointed to be p o k ' u e i General regulator, the p o k ' u e i affairs of each department (sic!) were arranged in their proper season». — A alone is consistent and acceptable.

1249. P o k ' u e i s h ï s ü *37*.

Sï-ma has s h ï s ü *38*, the two char. *39* and *40* being homophonous and interchangeable.

A. PK'ung does not gloss s h ï *41* here, but in some other Shu texts, where we have s h ï s ü, he says s h ï *41* = s h ï *42* (common in Shu and Shï): K'ang kao Y ü e k ü e p a n g k ü e m i n w e i s h ï s ü *43* »Its states and its people s h ï then s ü were brought into order». K'ang kao N a i j u t s i n s u n y ü e s h ï s ü *44* »Then you will be entirely compliant, saying: s h ï s ü that is in order». In Tso: Wen 18, phr. m o p u s h ï s ü *45*, K'ung Ying-ta follows PK'ung, explaining s h ï *41* = *46*, thus: »There were none that were not s h ï then s ü orderly». Thus in our phr. *37* above PK'ung probably took s h ï s ü to mean the same: ». . . then were orderly». Sun Sing-yen here in Yao tien likewise says *41* = *42* (yet mentioning interpr. C below). But in K'ang kao *43* he says s h ï *41* = s h a n *47* 'good' (cf. D below), and, since Erya says: s ü *39* = y ü *48*, and since this y ü *48* can mean 'joyful' (Ode 254), he interprets: »Their states and their people were good and joyful». And in K'ang kao *44* he again says: *41* = *47* and *39* = *49*, interpreting: »You should by what is good continue it». An impossible inconsistency. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en. In Yao tien *37* he takes s h ï *41* in its ordinary sense of time: ». . . were timely and orderly». In K'ang kao *43* he does not explain s h ï; in K'ang kao *44* he says s h ï *41* = *42* (as A above), explaining: »that is properly ordered». Again an inadmissible inconsistency. — **C.** Wang Yin-chï (King yi shu wen): *41* **d̂i̯əg* / *śi* / s h ï was »similar in sound» to *50* **d̂i̯əng* / *źi̯əng* / c h ' e n g and is loan char. for this c h ' e n g, the binome s h ï s ü *51* thus being equal to c h ' e n g s ü *52* (he tries to confirm this by the fact that the similar char. *53* **śi̯əg* / *śi* / s h ï in two texts, Li: Nei tsê and Yili: T'ê sheng kuei sï li, by Cheng Hüan is said to stand for c h ' e n g *50*, an eccentric speculation of Cheng's: *53* is there obviously a loan char. for *54*). This c h ' e n g s ü *52* or *55* occurs not only in Kyü: Ch'u yü *56* (which, in fact simply means: »I, Yi Siang, would eagerly accept your arrangements») but even in Shu: Lo kao n a i c h ' e n g s ü w a n n i e n *57*, commonly interpreted: »(The Yin) have received the orderly rules for a myriad years». But, says Wang, s ü in this phr. c h ' e n g s ü (and s h ï s ü) does not mean 'order' but *58* 'to follow, obey' and c h ' e n g s ü (s h ï s ü) means *59* 'compliant' (*56*: ». . . I would eagerly be compliant»; *57* »The Yin will be compliant for

1. 信 *2.* 五倫 *3.* 納 于 百揆 百揆 時敘 *4.* 使宅 百揆 *5.* 揆 *6.* 以 揆 百事 莫不 時序 *7.* 百揆 *8.* 乃 徧入 百官 百官 時序 *9.* 使居 官 *10.* 于 *11.* 百官 *12.* 觀其內 *13.* 任 以 百官 *14.* 觀其外 *15.* 家宰 *16.* 度 *17.* 度百 事 摠百官 納 舜 於此 官 *18.* 百事 *19.* 百揆 時敘 *20.* 時序 *21.* 敘 *22.* 序 *23.* 時 *24.* 是 *25.* 越 厥 邦 厥 民 惟 時敘 *26.* 乃 汝 盡 誕 曰 時敘 *27.* 莫不 時序 *28.* 於是 *29.* 善 *30.* 豫 *31.* 緒 *32.* 承 *33.* 時 敘 *34.* 承 序 *35.* 詩 *36.* 持 *37.* 承 敘 *38.* 倘 相 奔 走 承 序 *39.* 乃 承 敘 萬年 *40.* 順 *41.* 承 順 *42.* 乃 寘 元 勛

a myriad years»). Thus: P o k' u e i s h ï s ü *37*: »(The hundred disposals =) the general management was compliant (mild, peaceable)»; and similarly the K'ang kao examples: *43* »Their states and their people will be compliant»; *44* »Then you will be entirely accordant with right and compliant» (in the former, Sun Yi-jang would divide the line differently, reading w e i s h ï s ü together with the following n a i k u a h i u n g h ü *60* »compliant to the exertions of your brother's). Indeed s h ï *41* alone would have this sense in Shu: Ku ming e r s h a n g m i n g s h ï c h e n y e n *61*, by PK'ung interpreted quite simply: »Would that you would understand these my words» (accepted by Ts'ai Ch'en and Kiang Sheng); here *41* = *50* and m i n g *62* = m i e n *63* (Sun Sing-yen adds: m i n g *62* was similar in sound to m e n g *64*, and Erya says *64* = *63*), thus: »Would that you would m i n g strive to s h ï *41* be compliant to my words». Again, in Ta Tai: Shao hien, *65* would not mean the obvious: »Follow the times of Heaven's (airs =) seasons, use the Earth's resources», but: (s h ï = c h' e n g) »Comply to Heaven's seasons . . .» These various speculations of Wang Yin-chï's are very forced and little plausible. There is no reason why c h' e n g s ü *52* should mean 'compliant' instead of the normal meaning of the words, still less reason why s h ï *41* (*d̂i̯əng*) should serve for c h' e n g (*d̂i̯əng*). Such loan theories are acceptable only when the words make no good sense with their normal and well-attested meanings. — **D.** Another interpr. Wang Yin-chï is right that s h ï *41* should have one and the same sense in all those various cases of shï s ü *51* (*38*). Interpr. A (*41* = *42*) could be carried through, in the examples above, but its weakness is that it does not take s h ï s ü as a binome, which its constant recurrence indicates that it really is. This is particularly clear in a line in Kyü: Chou yü *66*, where the binome s h ï s ü corresponds to the binome t s u a n s i u — here s h ï *41* cannot mean *42*. Now s h ï *41* is common in the sense of *47* 'good' (Erya), but then fundamentally in the sense of 'correct'; for a full discussion and numerous text ex. see Gl. 553. S h ï 'correct' and s ü 'orderly' are practically synonymous and form a natural and excellent binome: s h ï s ü thus simply means 'orderly'. Thus: P o k' u e i s h ï s ü *37* **»(The hundred disposals =) the general management was orderly»**; *43* »Its states and peoples became orderly» etc.

1250. P i n y ü s ï m e n, s ï m e n m u m u *67*.

The s ï m e n »four gates»: both in Li: Ming t'ang wei and in Yi Chou shu: Ming t'ang kie it is described how the representatives of the foreign tribes (East: the 9 Yi tribes; South: the 8 Man tribes; West: the 6 Jung tribes; North: the 5 Ti tribes) were received at the four gates (east, south, west, north) of the Ming t'ang. This refers to Chou time, but Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen conclude that the »four gates» of our text likewise refer to those of the Ming t'ang.

A. All the comm. believe that the 2nd line has an ellipsis: »He received the guests (i. e. the feudal lords who came to court) at the four gates, (the guests at) the four gates were m u m u». This is already indirectly indicated by the Tso chuan author (Tso: Wen 18) who, quoting our line, adds: *68* »there were no ominous men» — they were all good, which is then expressed in the 2nd line. Sï-ma Ts'ien expounds this more fully. Hence the m u m u has been variously defined as = *69* 'respectful' (Sï-ma after Erya), *70* 'fine' (Ma Jung after Erya), *71* 'harmonious, concordant' (Ts'ai Ch'en after Cheng Hüan on Ode 260). — **B.** There is no reason whatever to accept this clumsy ellipsis. The line is analogous to Ode 237: »And so he raised the outer gate, the outer gate was high; and so he raised the principal gate, the principal gate was grand (*72*)». Here we have: »He received the guests at the four gates, the four gates were stately». For m u m u — 'stately' see Gl. 757.

1251. N a y ü t a l u *73*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: »Yao sent Shun *74* into the forest of the hills». L u *75*

(**luk*) means 'hill-foot forest' (Kuliang: Hi 18). Thus **»He was sent into the great hill-foot forest,** (violent wind thunder and rain did not lead him astray)». — **B.** Shang shu ta chuan: »Yao honoured Shun and entrusted the feudal lords to him and handed him the realm y ü t a l u c h ï y e *76* in the wilds of the hill-foot forest». Fu Sheng consequently took the n a *77* in the sense of 'to hand over'. Thus the Shu line: »He handed over (the realm) in the hill-foot forest». — **C.** Cheng Hüan follows up this idea of B, but modifies it further. He says (after Ma Jung) that *75* (**luk* / *luk* / l u) properly means *78* 'hill-foot', but here it is loan char. for *79* (**luk* / *luk* / l u) 'emoluments'. But in spite of this he dare not wholly emancipate himself from the primary idea of l u *75* meaning the 'wild forest', and so he gives a curious paraphrase in which he serves up both meanings simultaneously: »When the Son of Heaven ordered some great affair or charged a feudal lord ha made an altar outside the capital city (here he alludes to l u = »the wilds of the hillfoot forest» of the Ta chuan above); when he charged Shun to ascend to the high position and take the regency, he *80* let give him great emoluments» (*75* = *79*). — **D.** PK'ung entirely eliminates the first meaning and unambiguously adopts the second: »He (Yao) (entered him [Shun] into =) appointed him to great emoluments». His reason for this is evidently the words n a y ü, which recur from the preceding line n a y ü p o k' u e i »He appointed him to the general management». But then the following line: »Violent wind, thunder and rain did not lead him astray» makes no sense, and hence PK'ung has to advocate another sense for this line: »The violent wind, the thunder and the rain did not go astray», i. e. all the natural phenomena were timely and without disturbances. A comic attempt to evade the difficulty. — A alone is natural, logical and acceptable.

1252. S ü n s h ï k' a o y e n n a i y e n c h ï k' o t s i *81*.

C h ï *82* means *83* or *84* 'to settle, to achieve, to accomplish, to effect', see Gl. 820. Erya says s ü n *85* = m o u *86* (foll. by all comm. here), but it is important to observe that this does not mean m o u in the sense of 'to plan' but in the sense of 'to consult, take advice from' (very common), never 'to plan'. S ü n s h ï cannot mean 'the affairs you have planned' but must mean 'the affairs on which you have been consulted'.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien renders the line *87* »The affairs on which you have been consulted have (arrived =) been achieved, your words have been capable of yielding fine results». It is obvious that this cannot be a direct paraphrase of the Shu line as it stands above, and Sun Sing-yen believes that this is corrupted, the correct wording being found in a Shu quotation in Pei T'ang shu ch'ao: s ü n s h ï k' a o y e n n a i c h ï k' o t s i *88*, thus lacking the second y e n *89*. If Sï-ma's line were to correspond to this version, we should have to say that his c h ï *90* ('to arrive' = 'to be achieved') corresponds to the word k' a o which often means 'to achieve', and that his brief y e n k' o t s i corresponds to the fuller y e n n a i c h ï k' o t s i; thus: s ü n s h ï the affairs on which you have been consulted have k' a o been achieved, y e n n a i c h ï your words have been accomplished k' o t s i and have been capable of yielding fine results». But it is also evident that there are other possibilities: on the one hand Sï-ma may have had the orthodox version *81* above but deviated from it, skipping k' a o y e n

61.爾尚明時朕言 62.明 63.勉 64.孟 65.時天之氣用地之財 66.時序其德纂脩其緒 67.賓于四門四門穆穆 68.無凶人 69.敬 70.美 71.和 72.應門將將 73.納于大麓 74.入山林 75.麓 76.于大麓之野 77.納 78.山足 79.錄 80.使大錄之 81.詢事考言 乃厎(底)可績 82.厎 83.致 84.定 85.詢 86.謀 87.女謀事至而言可績 88.詢事考言 乃厎可績 89.言如至 90.乃言厎可績 91.舜讓于德

and carrying the c h ï *82* 'to achieve' of the 2nd line to the 1st and rendering it by c h ï *90*, as a kind of free paraphrase, giving only the general content without following the Shu line word for word; on the other hand the version *88* need not be interpreted in accordance with Sï-ma's line: it could very well be construed differently, e. g.: »In the affairs on which you have been consulted I have examined your words (and found that) they have been accomplished and been capable of yielding fine results» (which comes very near to B below). — **B.** The orthodox text *81* (with double y e n *89*) is supported (as pointed out by Kiang Sheng) by a passage in Kao Yao mo: n a i y e n c h ï k ' o t s i *91* »Your words have been accomplished and been capable of yielding fine results». This is exactly the wording in our text above, and the two passages confirm one another. Sun's theory that the Pei T'ang shu ch'ao version *88* is preferable should therefore be rejected. The exact meaning of the line must consequently be different from Sï-ma's rendering in A above. PK'ung interprets: **»In the affairs on which you have been consulted, I have examined your words; your words have been accomplished and been capable of yielding fine results».** (Legge modifies this into: »I have consulted you on [all] affairs and examined your words» etc., which is certainly no improvement).

1253. S h u n j a n g y ü t ê f u s ï *92*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien in Wu ti pen ki renders the line *93*. But in his Preface (Tsï sü) he says: »T'ang Yao ceded the high position, Y ü S h u n p u y i *94* (on which Sï-ma Cheng: *95* = *96* = *97*). Sï-ma Cheng is evidently right that Ts'ien's *95* (**dịəg / i / y i*) is a short-form for *96* (same sound) 'to rejoice' (this expl. *95* = *98* was already given by Sü Kuang on another passage in the Tsï sü, which contains the phr. p u y i *94*). The Kin-wen version thus was *99*. This, however, has been understood in two ways: — *α*. Sï-ma Ts'ien understood it thus: **»Shun (ceded in virtue =) considered himself inferior in virtue, and was not pleased»** (with the proposal). That he took p u y i to mean this is revealed by a letter he wrote (ap. Han shu: Sï-ma Ts'ien chuan): »The emperor because of this in eating does not enjoy the taste, in holding audience p u y i *100* is not pleased», which evidently is an allusion to our Shu phr. — *β*. Sü Kuang paraphrases p u y i by p u w e i p o s i n g s o y ü e »he was not liked by the people», thus: Shun considered himself inferior in virtue, not being liked (by the people)». — **B.** The present orthodox version above, f u s ï *1*, that of PK'ung, was the Ku-wen version, earliest attested in late Eastern Han time: Wei Chao, in comm. on Han shu says *2*: »the Ku-wen version for y i *95* had sï *3*» (a passage in Han shu: Wang Mang chuan reading *1* must originally have had *94*, being the text alluded to by Wei Chao above, later altered after the orthodox Ku-wen version). This has been explained in two ways: — *α*. PK'ung: Shun (ceded in virtue =) considered himself inferior in virtue and f u s ï did not (succeed =) accept the succession». — *β*. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Shun ceded (to =) in favour of (some one) virtuous and did not accept the succession», a very forced construction. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu combines our *3* **dzịəg* of the Ku-wen, the *95* **dịəg* of the Kin-wen with *4* **d'əg / d'ậi / t a i* in Kan shï (*5*) and several more Shu lines, with *6* **dịặk* in Lo kao (*7*), with *8* **dzịəg* in To shï (*9*) etc. and believes that they are all variations of one and the same word: the *6* **dịặk / ịäk / y i* which means *10* 'to be tired of'; phonetically very unconvincing. Moreover, in order to make any sense of our Shu line here he has then to take j a n g *11* as wrong for s i a n g *12* 'to aid' and y ü *13* as = y i *14* (very risky), interpreting: »Shun aided with his virtue, without becoming tired». A quite hopeless speculation. — There is no reason for not accepting the oldest version attested, in its oldest interpr. (that of Sï-ma Ts'ien, A *α*), which is simple and good.

1254. S h o u c h u n g y ü w e n t s u *15*.

»He accepted the (end =) abdication (of Yao) at (*auprès de*) the Wen tsu» (in the temple of the accomplished ancestor[s]). For Wen tsu and various scholastic speculations

about its meaning see Chavannes MH I, p. 56—58. There is, of course, no possibility of reaching any detailed knowledge of what the term purports.

1255. T s a i s ü a n (s ü n) k i y ü h e n g y i t s ' i t s ' i c h e n g *16*.

For t s a i *17* = 'to examine' (*18*) see Gl. 751. The char. *19* is read **dzịwan / zịwän / s ü a n* in Shïwen and Ts'ie yün, but that is because (see below) the commentators speculatively thought it identical with *20* or *21* **dzịwan*; the phonetic in the char. shows that it really should be read **dzịwən / zịuěn / s ü n* (in Grammata p. 243 this reading by mistake was stated to be that of Shïwen and Ts'ie yün; it is on the contrary the sound indicated by the graph); in Han time the w. was written with the phonetic *22*: *23* *zịuěn / s ü n*, see Shuowen.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien in Wu ti pen ki reads as above, but in Feng shan shu, in Lü shu and in T'ien kuan shu he writes *24* (**dzịwan / zịwän / s ü a n*, var *21*). In T'ien kuan shu he says: *25* The seven stars of the P e i T o u Northern Ladle (not, with Chavannes, Le Boisseau septentrional, see Gl. 634) that is what is said (sc. in the Shu) »s ü a n k i y ü h e n g, by them he (adjusted =) verified the t s ' i c h e n g». All from Han time this has been so understood that Sï-ma identified the 7 stars of the Northern Ladle (*α*—*η* in Ursa Major) with Süan ki and Yü heng, and that t s ' i c h e n g meant something else. The Ch'un ts'iu yün tou ch'u *26* (one of the wei-shu *27* of late Han time), quoted in Shï ki so yin, says: In the Tou *28* Ladle, the 1st is T ' i e n c h ' u *29*, the 2nd is S ü a n *20*, the 3rd is K i *30*, the 4th is K ' ü a n *31* (the Balance), the 5th is H e n g *32* (the Traverse of the balance), the 6th is K ' a i - y a n g *33*, the 7th is Y a o - k u a n g *34*; the 1st to the 4th is K ' u e i *35*, the 5th to the 7th is P i a o *36*, together they all make the T o u *28* Ladle». The Wen yüe kou *37* (another of the wei shu) ap. Shï ki so yin says: »The Tou *28* Ladle is the throat and tongue of Heaven, the Yü heng *38* is the *39* attachment to the Ladle (the handle), and K'uei *35* is the Süan ki *40*». According to this interpr. Sï-ma would have meant: »The stars Süan ki (the four stars forming the Ladle proper) and the Yü heng (the three stars forming the »handle»), by them he verified the t s ' i e h e n g». In such case the t s ' i c h e n g could not mean »the 7 directors» in the sense of 7 stars, for that would make a meaningless tautology (by the 7 stars [of the ladle] he verified the 7 directors [= stars of the Ladle]», but t s ' i c h e n g would mean something different (Chavannes: »les sept gouvernements», cf. B below). But it is not at all sure that this was Sï-ma's meaning. On the contrary there are clear proofs that by t s ' i c h e n g he really meant 7 stars, and obviously the 7 stars of the Ladle. In Lü shu he says: The Shu says (a quotation from some now lost Shu chapter): the t s ' i c h e n g *41* 7 directors, the e r s h ï p a s h ê *42* Twenty-eight Mansions (parts of the firmament and constellations of these parts), the l ü l i *43* pitch-pipes and the calendar, by them Heaven unites the forces of the 5 elements and the 8 governing principles». Here the t s ' i c h e n g the 7 directors obviously refers to some prominent heavenly bodies, balancing the following 28 Mansions (with their constellations). It is thus quite evident that Sï-ma in his phr. *25* above by P e i T o u t s ' i s i n g »the 7

帝嗣 93 舜讓于德不懌 94. 不台 95. 台 96 怡 97. 悅 98 懌 99 舜讓于德弗台(怡) 100 不怡 1. 不嗣
2. 古文台為嗣 3. 嗣 4. 怠 5. 怠棄三正 6. 歎 7. 我惟無歎其康事公 8. 辭 9. 非有辭于罰
10. 厭 11. 讓 12. 襄 13. 于 14. 以 15. 受終于文祖 16. 在璿璣玉衡以齊七政 17. 在 18. 察 19. 璿 20. 旋
21. 璇 22. 旬 23. 珣 24. 旋璣 25. 北斗七星所謂旋機玉衡以齊七政 26. 春秋運斗樞 27. 緯書 28.
斗 29. 天樞 30. 璣 31. 權 32. 衡 33. 開陽 34. 搖光 35. 魁 36. 標 37. 文光貍鈞 38. 玉衡 39. 屬杓 40. 玉旋機 41.

stars of the Ladle» comments, not the words süan ki and yü heng of the Shu line but its expression ts'i cheng »the 7 directors». To Sï-ma the ts'i cheng 7 directors were the 7 stars of the Ladle. His phr. thus means: »The 7 stars of the Pei Tou Northern Ladle, that is what is said (in the Shu): »süan ki and yü heng, by them he (adjusted =) verified the ts'i cheng 7 Directors (= 7 stars of the Northern Ladle)». Consequently by süan ki and yü heng he meant something else than these stars. There is really only one detail which could suggest that Sï-ma meant süan ki and yü heng to be stars: in describing the constellation he calls one of its stars Heng *32* (Transverse of balance). But in all his elaborate treatise on astronomy, with scores of names for stars and constellations, he never has süan or ki or a binome süan ki or a binome yü heng. It is quite evident, however, that it is the detail just mentioned: Heng as Sï-ma's name for a star in Ursa Major, which has caused the Han-time astronomers to build up the theory of süan and ki or (binome:) süan ki as alternative names for certain stars or groups of stars in the Ursa Major. They have misunderstood Sï-ma and further embellished his system. We revert to Sï-ma under D below. — **B.** Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan has another theory. He writes *44* but explains *45* as equal to ki *46* 'a little'. Süan ki thus means »the one whose süan revolving is infinitesimal', i. e. pei ki *47* the Polar Star (which only turns round on itself but does not change place in the firmament). He skips the inconvenient yü heng and says that the ts'i cheng *41* »the 7 governing forces» are the four seasons, t'ien wen *48* the configurations on Heaven, ti li *49* the formations on Earth, jen tao *50* the principles of man. Thus: He examined the süan ki Polar star and the yü heng (whatever Fu thought that meant), and thereby (adjusted =) verified the 7 governing forces». But in another passage the same Shang shu ta chuan explains that ts'i cheng refers to sun and moon and the 5 planets, saying that their regular or irregular behaviour shows the correctness or incorrectness of the king's government, hence they are called ts'i cheng »the 7 (criteria of the) government». All this is plainly impossible. — **C.** Ma Jung reverts to the orthodox reading sün ki *51* (which even Sï-ma has in Wu ti pen ki). He says sün *52* = *53* 'a fine jade', and ki *30* = *54* 'a celestial globe', thus taking the ki *30* as equal to *45* 'apparatus'. But then he has not been able to withstand the temptation to draw in the earlier speculations which replaced sün *52* by süan *20* (or *21*), so he adds: »It can be *55* made to revolve» (here he plays the funny trick of explaining sün *52* by 'fine jade' but at the same time picking up the meaning of 'to revolve' from those who took sün *52* as a variant for süan *20*). Then he says that the yü heng 'jade transverse' was *56* »a transversal tube in the middle (of the apparatus), by which one observed the constellations». (Ts'ai Yung, 2nd c. A. D., is even able to describe the apparatus in detail, with measures and all, see quotations in Sun Sing-yen). Furthermore he adopts one of the Ta chuan ideas, that the ts'i cheng were sun, moon and the 5 planets, but at the same time he would save Sï-ma's idea that ts'i cheng refers to the 7 stars of the Ladle. He achieves this by a similar syncretistic trick: the 7 stars of the Pei Tou Northern Ladle each one governs one of the 7 mobile heavenly bodies: one star governs the sun, another the moon, a third the planet Mars etc. And he concludes that the »holy man», anxious about his poor virtue, by the apparatus verifies the movements of sun, moon and planets in order to find whether his cheng *57* 'government' is correct or not — here again he plays with the w. cheng *57* in two senses; or rather in three senses: »the 7 directors» = the 7 stars in the Ladle; the 7 directors = sun, moon and planets; and ts'i cheng = »the 7 (revealers of) the goverment». Cheng Hüan adopts Ma's ideas of the apparatus: the revolving part (like Ma, Cheng is here influenced by the süan *20* of the preceding speculators)

is called ki *45*, the regulator (of the apparatus) is called heng *32*, both being made of jade (*52* and *58* respectively); the 7 directors are sun, moon, five planets; Shun observes them to find out whether he is right or not in accepting the throne. — **D.** It was shown under A that Sï-ma Ts'ien by ts'i cheng meant the 7 stars of the Ladle and that he never took süan ki as name of a star or of stars. The very fact that he replaced the original sün *52*, preserved in his Wu ti pen ki, by süan *20* in the other chapters reveals that he thought sün *52* was a loan char. for süan 'to revolve', and that he (like Ma jung after him) regarded this süan ki as a revolving apparatus, taking ki *30* = ki *45*. In fact, Tuan Yü-ts'ai elaborately tries to prove that neither the Shu text nor Sï-ma (nor Han shu: Wang Mang chuan, where we likewise find *51*) ever had *30* but always *45* »corrected by later copyists». This is very unlikely, but it is immaterial, for it is quite obvious that ki *30* does not here mean 'a pearl that is not round' (as it does in Shu: Yü kung and in Lü: Chung ki) but is equal to ki *45* 'apparatus' (made of jade and therefore wr. with the variant *30*). Sï-ma thus took the Shu line to mean: »He examined the revolving apparatus and thereby (adjusted =) verified the 7 directors (= the 7 stars of the Ladle)». But the whole idea of replacing sün *52* by süan *20* (*21*) 'to revolve' or considering it as a loan char. for that w. is patently inadmissible. Sün in sün ki balances the yü 'jade' in yü heng and should mean some valuable kind of stone. The word is attested in Tso: Hi 28, phr. *59*, as quoted both by the Shuowen (= *60* 'fine jade') and by Chang Heng: Si king fu (the orthodox Tso text has *61*, a corruption substituting to the unusual sün a similar char. very common in the classics, particularly in the Odes). Since sün ki thus does not mean heavenly bodies, ts'i cheng must do so, and there remains the question whether Sï-ma is right: the 7 stars in the Ladle, or those who take it to mean sun, moon and planets. The decision is given by the context. Shun did not examine the celestial bodies to ascertain his own virtue »in the government» (Ma Jung) nor his right to accept the throne (Cheng Hüan), so much is clear from a comparison with the beginning of the Yao tien. The account of Yao, after some general paragraphs praising his character and virtous actions, *starts* by his first and most important task as a ruler: he orders Hi Ho to observe the sun and determine its course and the seasons. Now here Shun, having received the succession, *starts* his career by a similar ceremony: he verifies (by the apparatus) sun, moon and planets and their movements. It is quite obvious that the ts'i cheng 7 directors are these primary and fundamentally important heavenly bodies, and not the 7 stars of a certain constellation. The Shu line *16* thus means: **»He examined the sün-stone apparatus and the jade transverse and thereby (adjusted =) verified (the movements of) the seven directors (i. e. sun, moon and planets)»** — just as Yao had attended to the movements of the sun. That the paragraph refers to Shun's first task of »attending to the calendar» is Ts'ai Ch'en's opinion and it is evidently correct. But he describes sün ki as an apparatus »adorned with sün stones» which is not motivated.

1256. Sï lei yü Shang ti *62*.

»And then he made lei sacrifice to God on High». There has been a voluminous discussion about the meaning and nature of the lei sacrifice. The commentators principally base their opinions on the meaning of the w. lei 'category, class, sort' (Shuowen has the enlarged char. *63*).

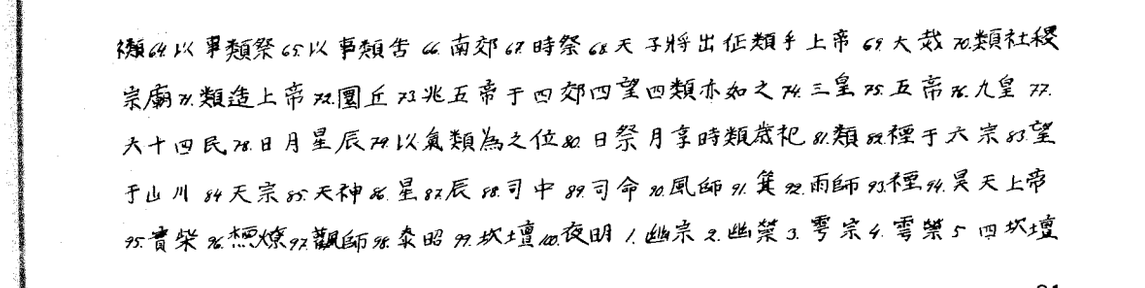
七政 42. 二十八舍 43. 律歷 44. 旋機 45. 機 46. 幾 47. 北極 48. 天文 49. 地理 50. 人道 51. 璿璣 52. 璿 53. 美玉 54. 渾天儀 55. 轉旋 56. 中橫箭 57. 政 58. 玉 59. 璿 60. 美玉 61. 瓊 62. 肆類于上帝 63.

A. The Hia-hou and Ou-yang schools (quoted in Hü Shen's Wu king yi yi) defined it: *64* »to sacrifice on the occasion of (affair-classes =) certain sorts of affairs», and the Ku-wen school (*ibid.*) likewise *65* »to report (to the God) about certain sorts of affairs». The former add that the sacrifice took place in *66* the southern suburb (the regular place for a sacrifice to Heaven). The latter adds that the lei thus was a sacrifice on a special occasion, here the succession of Shun to the throne, and not a regular seasonal sacrifice *67*. Hü Shen says that since the Chouli in describing the sacrifice to Heaven in the southern suburb *66* does not use the term lei, it is clear that the lei was not a regular (seasonal) sacrifice. Sun Sing-yen would confirm this further: there are two texts referring to such extraordinary (not seasonal) sacrifices. One is the present, on the occasion of Shun's succession; the other is the lei sacrifice to Shang ti in connection with a warlike expedition described in Li: Wang chï (*68*), of which we have an example in Ode 241. And Ts'ien Ta-chao adds further examples of such extraordinary lei sacrifices. Chouli: Siao tsung po: »Whenever there are great disasters (*69*) in Heaven or on Earth, one makes lei sacrifice to the gods of the Soil and the Grain and in the ancestral temple» *70*; Chouli: Sï shï *71* »When they make lei and tsao sacrifices to Shang ti» acc. to the commentators refers to warlike expeditions (which, however, is quite unproved). — **B.** Cheng Hüan, stating that the sacrifice took place on the yüan k'iu *72* »circular mound», in comm. on Chouli: Sï shï and Siao tsung po explains lei differently: it means »of the same sort» sc. with the same rites as the regular sacrifices. — **C.** The same Cheng Hüan has yet another explanation. In Chouli: Siao tsung po *73* »He makes altars to the Five Sovereigns in the four kiao suburbs; (in regard to) the four wang and the four lei (sacrifices) he does the same». Here the early comm. disagree as to whom the four lei were offered to: Cheng Chung says to San Huang *74* the Three August ones, Wu Ti *75* the Five Sovereigns, Kiu Huang *76* the Nine August ones» and *77* the 64 peoples, but that is manifestly wrong, since the Five Sovereigns were already recorded before; Cheng Hüan says the sï lei were to sun, moon, planets and constellations *78*, adding: since their movements are not uniform, *79* he makes their places of sacrifice according to the k'i lei category of their influences. Thus here Cheng takes lei to mean a »category sacrifice», sacrifice according to the category of those offered to. — **D.** It is easily demonstrated that these various speculations are quite without foundations. Expl. C is not applicable to the phr. lei yü Shang ti. Interpr. A and B are both based on the assumption that the lei sacrifice was an extraordinary one, not seasonal. But the only early text which says anything precise about the lei forbids this view. Kyü: Ch'u yü, hia (in a great discourse on sacrifices): »Anciently the former kings *80* every day made tsi sacrifices, every month made hiang sacrifices, every season made lei sacrifices, and every year made sï sacrifices». Here it is clearly stated that the lei (contrary to A and B) were precisely seasonal sacrifices. And it is then very natural to conclude that the sï lei four lei in the Chouli passage *73* were likewise regular, seasonal sacrifices, just like those to the wu ti and the sï wang recorded in the same line. The lei, in fact, seems to be a very general term applicable to sacrifices not necessarily offered in the southern suburb (in Ode 241 a lei sacrifice was offered by Wen wang when away from his capital, see Gl. 845) and offered to various divinities: both to Shang ti, God on High, and to Shê, the god of the Soil (Huai: Pen king says that »anciently» the Son of Heaven when annihilating a foe made lei sacrifice to the Shê god of the Soil of that feudatory), Tsi the god of the Grain and Tsung miao in the ancestral temple (see phr. *70* above). The meaning of the name lei *81* had possibly nothing to do with the sense 'category, class, sort', for lei is common in the sense of 'good' (see Gl. 830) and is probably only a fine denomination (»the good thing») for the sacrifice.

1257. Yin yü liu tsung *82*.

»He made yin sacrifice to the six venerable ones». For yin see Gl. 690. Legge and Chavannes in their notes have only strifed the vexed question of what was meant by the »six venerable ones».

A. Shang shu ta chuan: they were Heaven, Earth and the four Seasons. (Shïwen says Ma jung followed this, but cf. C.) — **B.** The schools of Hia-hou and Ou-yang (ap. Wu king yi yi): they were Heaven, Earth and the four Quarters. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Tsi yi) follows this. — **C.** The Ku shang shu school (ap. K'ung Ying-ta): they were Sun, Moon, the Polar Star [as presiding over planets and constellations] (= the 3 heavenly tsung venerable ones); the T'ai shan mountain, the Ho (River) and Hai, the ocean (= the 3 earthly venerable ones). This was adopted by Kia K'uei. Cheng Hüan says Ma Jung followed this (cf. A). This interpr. is very unlikely, since in the Shu there follows immediately *83* »He made wang sacrifice to mountains and rivers» — the preceding line should not then refer to the T'ai shan and the Ho. — **D.** Cheng Hüan: Since the sacrifice was called yin, like the sacrifice to Heaven (cf. Chouli: Ta tsung po) and since Li: Yüe ling says: »They pray for a good harvest to T'ien tsung *84*», the six venerable ones should all be *85* Heavenly Spirits, namely, with Chouli: Ta tsung po: sing *86* the planets; ch'en *87* the (conjunctions =) constellations of the various »mansions»; sï chung *88* (a star in Ursa Major); sï ming *89* (another star in Ursa Major); feng shï *90* the god of Wind, identical with the constellation Ki *91*; yü shï *92* the god of Rain, id. w. the constell. Pi (Gl. 634). This view has been adopted by Meng K'ang (3rd c., comm. on Han shu). The Chouli: Ta tsung po passage referred to runs: »By yin *93* sacrifice they sacrifice to Hao t'ien Shang ti *94* Great Heaven God on High; by a *95* full burnt-offering they sacrifice to *78* sun, moon, planets and constellations; by a *96* fire-pile they sacrifice to Sï chung *88* and Sï ming *89*, to Feng shï *97* and Yü shï *92*». — **E.** PK'ung (Wang Su): They were: the four seasons; heat and cold; sun; moon; planets; water and drought. The text which this school has in mind is Li: Tsi fa, which says: »By burying a shao lao at the (altar of the) Great Brightness *98* they sacrificed to the four seasons; by making purifications and prayers at the pit and the altar *99* they sacrificed to cold and heat; at (the altar in) the Royal palace they sacrificed to the sun; at (the altar of) the Night Brightness *100* they sacrificed to the moon; at the honoured place of the darkness *1* (or: by a darkness offering *2*) they sacrified to the planets (or: stars generally); at the honoured place of the rain *3* (or: by a rain offering *4*) they sacrificed to water and drought; at the 4 pits and altars *5* they sacrificed to the four quarters *6*. — **F.** Liu Hin: The six venerable ones were water, fire, thunder, wind, mountains and marshes *7*. This is based on the theories expounded in Yi: Shuo kua, giving these 6 powers as produced by Heaven and Earth. — **G.** Kiang Sheng (following up some theories of Huei Tung): They were the Five emperors *8* plus the Polar Star. — Of all these speculations there are only two, viz. D and E, that are directly based on some pre-Han text clearly describing sacrifices, but in



both cases the counting does not tally. The powers sacrificed to in Li: Tsi fa (E above) are really seven: the seasons, cold and heat, sun, moon, planets, water and drought, the four quarters. In order to identify them with liu tsung »the six venerable ones» PK'ung has had (silently) to omit the last: the four quarters. The powers sacrificed to in Chouli: Ta tsung po (D above) are really eight: sun, moon, planets, constellations, Sï chung, Sï ming, Feng shï and Yü shï. In order to identify them with the liu tsung »the six venerable ones» Cheng Hüan has had (likewise silently) to omit the first two: sun and moon. In spite of this, this last text is really the only one which comes close to our Shu phrase. In Shu we have: »He made lei sacrifice to Shang ti God on High, he made yin sacrifice to liu tsung the six venerable ones»; in Chouli we have: »They make yin sacrifice to (Huang T'ien) Shang ti, they make shï ch'ai sacrifice to sun, moon, planets and constellations, they make yu liao sacrifice to Sï chung, Sï ming, Feng shï and Yü shï». The parallelism is striking, and there can be no doubt that the Chouli author (of late Chou time), when composing his theorizing and speculative ritual system (a typical »systematizing text», see BMFEA 18: Legends and Cults) had the Shu text in mind and tried to invent a system that would on the whole tally with the venerable Shu. The Chouli passage may thus be considered as the earliest commentary on this Shu text that we possess. It is indeed very plausible, as shown by the context, that the liu tsung were »Heavenly Spirits» placed immediately after Shang ti God on High. But we have no reason whatever to throw out (with Cheng Hüan) the sun and the moon. On the contrary, among the 8 divinities in the Chouli text there are two pairs that stand particularly close to each other and could naturally be summed up and counted as one each: sing ch'en »the planets and constellations» on the one hand, Sï chung and Sï ming (which belong to the same constellation: Ursa Major) on the other. In this way we obtain two sections, each of 3 divinities: the first group is of a higher dignity and therefore obtains the finer sacrifice (shï ch'ai): 1. sun, 2. moon, 3. sing ch'en all the (other) heavenly bodies; the second group is of a more specialized and somewhat lower dignity and therefore obtains a simpler sacrifice (yu liao): 4. Sï chung and Sï ming (sister stars in the Ursa Major), 5. constell. Ki = Feng shï, god of wind, 6. constell. Pi = Yü shï, god of rain. This, we may confidently conclude, was the idea of the Chouli author and was the basis for his expounding of the Shu phr. yin yü liu tsung *82.* »He made yin sacrifice to the six venerable ones». His explanation is, of course, a mere surmise, since at his time he could not know what the Shu author in Western Chou time really meant by his liu tsung. But the context in the Shu confirms it as plausible that the liu tsung following upon Shang ti really referred to some celestial divinities.

1258. Pien yü k'ün shen *9.*

A. Pien *10* (**pian* / *pien* / pien) is the reading not only of PK'ung but also of Pan Ku (Han shu: Kiao sï chï), of Liu Hiang (Shuo yüan: Piao wu), of Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Tsi yi) and of Cheng Hüan (comm. on Shang shu ta chuan). Thus: »He made (all round =) comprehensive sacrifices to all the Spirits». — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien in Wu ti pen ki reads *11.* This pien *12* (**b'i̯an* / *b'i̯än* / pien) properly means 'to distinguish'. But in Feng shan shu he again quotes *13*, like A. It has often been stated that pien *12* (*b'i̯an*) is a loan char. for *10* **pian*, but, as stated in Gl. 1217 above, it could, through an extension of meaning: 'to distribute, distributively, *seriatim* = all round' be a mere synonym. Sü Kuang (early 5th c.) maintains that *12* (**b'i̯an*) should here be read like *14* **pwan* / *pwan* / pan 'to distribute' (the two words are cognate). And indeed, this idea is fairly ancient, for Yang Hiung in his T'ai ch'ang chen quotes an imperial stone inscription of the early 1st c. A. D. which had *14*; these authors evidently conceived the w. pien *12* as meaning 'distributively, *seriatim* = all round'.

1259. Tsi wu juei ki yüe nai jï kin kien Sï Yüe k'ün mu *16.*

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: *17* »He gathered in the 5 (kinds of) insignia; he selected an auspicious month and day and saw» etc., which shows that he punctuated after jï: ki yüe nai jï; but it does not tell us how he understood the crucial word ki *18*, which he simply skips. Kiang Sheng thinks it should be referred to the preceding: »The gathering in of the 5 kinds of insignia ki *18* being finished, he selected an auspicious month and day». But if so the three words yüe nai jï should have to be equal to tsê yüe jï *20*, which is plainly impossible. Grammatically the clause cannot be understood unless we make ki *18* and nai *21* correspond, just as in Ode 212 ki pei nai shï *22* »When all is ready we go to work», Ode 250 ki teng nai yi *23* »When he had stepped up on (the mat) he leaned (on the stool)», etc. (very common). The Shu phrase thus means: **»He gathered in the five (kinds of) insignia; and (when he had »monthed», he »dayed» =) when he had determined a month, he determined the day, and saw the Sï Yüe and all the pastors».** This way of using the nouns yüe 'month' and jï 'day' as verbs is perfectly good and regular Chinese. — **B.** PK'ung like Kiang Sheng punctuates after ki *18*, but not after jï *24* (as against Sï-ma), thus interpreting: »The gathering in of the 5 kinds of insignia being finished, yüe in the (first) month, nai jï kien he daily saw the Sï Yüe» etc. This makes the word yüe entirely hang in the air. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en, having realized this, punctuates after juei *25*, and interprets: »He gathered in the 5 kinds of insignia; ki yüe having finished the month nai jï kin he daily saw the Sï Yüe» etc. This would have been all right, if the text had been yüe ki, not ki yüe (ki cannot be a transitive verb). — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: ki yüe *26* is equal to ki wang *27* »in the 3rd quarter of the month», which would balance the cheng yüe shang jï *28* »In the first month, on the first day» earlier in the chapter. Nai jï would then indicate an undetermined day: »In the 3rd quarter of the month, on (some) day he saw etc». This is all very speculative and unsupported by text par. — The construction ki yüe nai jï is definitely cleared up by the Shï parallels, which decide in favour of A as interpreted in the light of that construction.

1260. Hie shï yüe cheng jï t'ung lü tu liang heng *29.*

A. Cheng Hüan paraphrases: *30* »He put in accord and rectified the four seasons' number of months and the day names». This means that he has inverted the order and taken cheng as a verb coördinated with hie and placed it before shï yüe, against the Shu formulation; moreover he has taken shï *31* in the genitive. Thus his interpr. deviates badly from the text. — **B.** PK'ung likewise combines hie and cheng, as if the latter stood at the beginning, but he improves Cheng in taking shï *31* 'seasons', yüe 'months' and jï 'days' as coördinated. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en reverts to the word sequence of the Shu, but still takes cheng *32* as a verb = 'to correct', thus cutting the line into two: hie shï yüe »He put in accord the seasons and months, and cheng jï rectified the days». — **D.** Another interpr.: The parallelism with the following lines *33* t'ung lü tu liang heng and *34* siu wu li wu yü shows that only the 1st word in each clause should be a verb, and the rest should be the objects

6.四方 7.水火雷風山澤 8.五帝 9.徧于羣神 10.徧 11.辯于羣神 12.辯 13.徧羣神 14.班 15.班于羣神 16.輯五瑞既月乃日覲見四岳羣牧 17.擇吉月日見四嶽諸牧 18.既 19.月乃日 20.擇月日 21.乃 22.既徧乃事 23.既登乃依 24.日 25.瑞 26.既月 27.既望 28.正月上日 29.協正月正日同律度量衡 30.協正四時之月數及日名 31.時 32.正 33.同律度量衡 34.修五禮五

of the verb. We thus obtain: »**He put into accord** s h ï **the seasons,** y ü e **the months and** c h e n g j ï **the (correct =) proper days**». In other words, he determined the exact beginning of the seasons, the number of months (with or without j u n intercalary months) and the proper number of days (30: 29) within each month.

1261. T ' u n g l ü t u l i a n g h e n g *33*.

A. Ma Jung: l ü *35* = *36*, thus taking l ü t u as equal to *37* 'laws'. He must then have taken the preceding t ' u n g as a verb: »He made uniform the l ü t u laws and l i a n g h e n g measures of capacity and weight». Later comm. have all rejected this, since t u *38* 'measure' must obviously be analogous to the following l i a n g and h e n g. — **B.** Wang Su (PK'ung): »**He made uniform the** l ü **pitch-pipes,** t u **the measures of length,** l i a n g **the measures of capacity and** h e n g **the weights**». — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: t ' u n g l ü *39* is a binome = 'the pitch-pipes' (6 being t ' u n g, 6 being l ü), as in Chouli: Ta sï yüe and Chouli: Tien t'ung: *40* »The 6 l ü pitch-pipes and the 6 t ' u n g pitch-pipes». (It would seem that Cheng Hüan already held this view, though his gloss has been handed down in several badly divergent versions.) If so, there is no verb in the line and it has to be construed in connection with the preceding (h i e s h ï y ü e c h e n g j ï »He put into accord the seasons and months and proper days), and the t ' u n g l ü »pitch-pipes, the t u l i a n g h e n g measures of length, capacity and weight». — While C. could be plausible in itself, it is forbidden by the parallelism. In three consecutive lines the first word is a verb: h i e , s h ï y ü e c h e n g j ï : t ' u n g l ü t u l i a n g h e n g : s i u w u l i w u y ü (*34*) which clearly shows, with B, that t ' u n g is a verb 'to make uniform'; and this is also rhythmically best: t ' u n g is followed by four words (l ü t u l i a n g h e n g) as objects, just as h i e (very analogous in meaning to our t ' u n g *41* here) is followed by four words and s i u *42* again by four.

1262. S i u w u l i w u y ü *34*.

»He attended to the five (kinds of) rites and the five (kinds of) jades».

A. Ma Jung: the »five rites» were those of *43* auspicious kinds (relating to sacrifices etc.), of *44* inauspicious kinds (relating to death and mourning), of *45* military affairs, of *46* receiving state guests and of *47* marriages. Here he bases himself on Chouli: Ta tsung po. Ma does not explain the five jades, but later (see Gl. 1264 below) he says: »When the rites of the 5 jades *48* were finished, he returned them», which shows that he took them to be jade objects used in rites. Ma's ideas are thus rather obscure. — **B.** PK'ung accepts Ma Jung's (A) expl. of the »five rites», but says (with Cheng, C below) that the five jades were the jade insignia given to the feudatories. It is easily seen that this interpr. will not do, the w u l i and w u y ü taken in those senses have no logical connection and could not be combined in one clause. — **C.** Cheng Hüan: the »five rites» were those pertaining to the (audiences sc. the investiture of) the 5 kinds of feudal lords (k u n g, h o u, p o, t s ï, n a n) and the »five jades» were the 5 kinds of jade insignia given to them. The »five jades» were thus identical with the w u j u e i *49* »five (kinds of) insignia» mentioned a few lines earlier, which Shun had called in from the feudatories before his great tour of inspection. This is simple and logical, and suits the context: Shun went on an inspection tour in the east and there invested the lords and gave them their insignia. Thus: »**He attended to the five (kinds of) (enfeoffing) rites and the five (kinds of) (enfeoffing) jade insignia**». — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en, who would follow A above as to the »five rites», but who realizes that the following »five jades» is then illogical, concludes that the text is corrupted by inversion, and he divides s i u w u l i — w u y ü into two parts and separates them widely by a deplacement: the latter part: w u y ü »the five jades» he reads together with the following 7 characters and puts the whole of this passage before the s i u w u l i, thus: »(He gave audience to the eastern lords), *50* the five (kinds

of) jades, the 3 (kinds of) silk, the 2 (kinds of) living animals, the 1 (kind of) dead animal, those were the gifts presented (by the lords); s i u w u l i he attended to the 5 (kinds of) rites» etc. This is an entirely unwarranted text alteration which spoils the parallelism and rhythm of the three well-balanced consecutive lines of the accepted text: h i e s h ï y ü e c h e n g j ï — t ' u n g l ü t u l i a n g h e n g — s i u w u l i w u y ü. — **E.** Pan Ku (Han shu: Kiao sï chï) reads s i u w u l i w u y ü e *52*, with *53* (**ngļŏk / ngåk /* y ü e) inst. of *54* (**ngļuk / ngļwok* / y ü). Thus: »He attended to the 5 kinds of rites and the 5 kinds of music». This would agree well with the constantly recurring combination of l i y ü e »rites and music» in the early literature, and Sun Sing-yen believes that Fu Sheng already had that version, since the Ta chuan has a long disquisition on music in connection with Shun's tour in the east. But in fact the Ta chuan is quoted as having w u y ü »the 5 jades» (like A above) in Kuang yün s. v. *55*. Indeed the reading *34* is too well established (Sï-ma, Ma Jung, Cheng Hüan, PK'ung) to be rejected.

1263. S a n p o e r s h e n g y i s ï c h ï *56*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien indicates how he understood the line by adding a w e i *57* before the last word: s a n p o e r s h e n g y i s ï w e i c h ï, thus: »**The three (kinds of) silk, the two (kinds of) living animals, the one (kind of) dead animal were the gifts presented**», sc. by the lords to the sovereign. The comm. agree that the »living animals» were lamb and goose, the »dead animal» was pheasant, which is based o n Li: K'ü li (»The king's ministers used [as gifts] lambs, the fu dignitaries used y e n geese, the s h ï ordinary noblemen used c h ï pheasants»). — **B.** We saw in Gl. 1262 that Ts'ai Ch'en would carry two words of the preceding clause to this line reading w u y ü s a n p o e r s h e n g y i s ï c h ï, which 9 words he then placed in another context than the traditional version. Apart from this deplacement, the idea that the w u y ü »five jades» belongs together with the 5 kinds of silk etc. as the gifts presented by the feudal lords was already sponsored by Pan Ku (Po hu t'ung: Wen chï) and Legge and Chavannes have followed this. But we saw that considerations of rhythm and parallelism forbid this: w u y ü »the 5 jades» belongs together with the preceding w u l i 5 rites and refers, not to the gifts of the lords but to the insignia presented to them by the emperor.

1264. J u w u k ' i t s u n a i f u *58*.

A. Ma Jung: the w u k ' i »five (instruments, utensils =) articles» are the w u y ü »five jades» mentioned earlier as serving in the rites; when the rites were finished, he returned them. Ma does not explain the word j u *59*. Possibly he interpreted: »j u as to the w u k ' i 5 articles t s u n a i f u when it was finished he returned them». This is all very uncertain. — **B.** Cheng Hüan sees no connection between the two lines. J u w u k ' i refers to the preceding, sc. the gifts presented by the lords. J u *59* means 'to hand over': »For the handing over there were 5 utensils (objects on which the gifts were placed)». T s u n a i f u means: »When (all the proceedings) were finished, he returned» (sc. from the east to his capital). How j u *59* could mean 'to hand over' has been variously explained. Kiang Sheng thinks Cheng meant that *59* was loan char. for *60* n u 'bird cage' denoting the basket in which the gifts were presented, a ludicrous idea. Sun Sing-yen says that since j u *59* sometimes means w a n g *61* 'to go' it would mean here: »For their (going =) handing over there were 5 utensils». Likewise very far-fetched. — **C.** PK'ung: w u k ' i »the 5 articles» refers to the w u y ü *54* »5 jade

玉35律36法37法度38度39同律40六律六同41同42修43吉44凶45軍46賓47嘉48五玉禮49五瑞50五玉 三帛二生一死贄51修五禮52修五禮五樂53樂54玉55帛 56三帛二生一死贄57為58如五器卒乃復59如60叙61往62器63利 其器用64百工 各以其器

insignia» (= w u j u e i *49*, earlier called in): »As to the 5 (articles =) insignia, when (the rites) were finished, he returned them (to the feudatories)». PK'ung adds: the 3 silks etc. (sc. the gifts) he kept. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en: j u *59* = *41* in the earlier phr. t'u n g l ü t u *33*. Thus: »He adjusted the 5 (kinds of) (ritual) instruments; when all was finished he returned (home)». — **E.** Yü Yüe, rightly dissatisfied with all the forced interpr. above, proposes that k'i *62* 'instrument' means 'weapons', as it does in Kyü: Chou yü *63* »He sharpened his (war) instruments» (another ex. in Ta Tai: Yung ping), and j u *59* with Ts'ai Ch'en above (D) means 'to put into accord, to adjust', thus: »He adjusted the 5 (kinds of) (war instruments =) weapons». — **F.** Another interpr. The weakness of all the preceding theories is that they give no natural expl. of the word j u *59*. The line j u w u k'i can only be naturally explained if it is connected with the preceding: s a n p o e r s h a n g y i s ï, c h ï. K'i *62* 'vessel' very often means 'capacity' in the same figurative sense as the word 'capacity' (power of containing) has in western languages: capability, qualifications. Cf. Li: Wang chï *64* »The artisans, each according to his capacity, got their emoluments». Laotsï *65*: »A great capacity is late in being perfected». Lun: Pa yi *66* »Kuan Chung's capacity was small». Lun: Tsï Lu *67* »In his employment of men, he (»capacity'ed» them =) used them according to their capacity». Now in our Shu passage it is told how the feudatories of different ranks presented different kinds of gifts to the sovereign. S a n p o e r s h e n g y i s ï c h ï, j u w u k'i **»The three kinds of silk, the two kinds of living animals, the one kind of dead animal, those were the gifts presented, they** j u w u k'i **were according to the 5 capacities (of kung, hou, po, tsï, nan princes)»**. The final line: t s u n a i f u has no connection with this. It is the concluding remark of the whole passage, and means, with Cheng Hüan: »When all was finished, he returned home» (Yü Yüe: »When all was finished, he reported [to Yao]», which is certainly no improvement). This expl. referring »the 5 capacities» to the 5 positions of different rank of the feudatories has the advantage of following up the idea that goes all through this long passage. First Shun calls in the 5 insignia w u j u e i *49* (of kung, hou, po, tsï, nan). On his great tour he »attends to the w u l i »5 (enfeoffing) rites and w u y ü 5 (enfeoffing) jade insignia (of kung, hou, po, tsï, nan), and he receives c h ï *68* as tokens of loyalty from those same feudatories, and they are graduated (silk: lamb and goose: pheasant) according to the w u k'i *69* »5 capacities» of their bearers (kung, hou, po, tsï, nan). Hence, the graduation of these gifts does not refer (with Li: K'ü li above) to »ministers, dignitaries and ordinary noblemen» but to the 5 grades of »capacities», i. e. feudal lords of different ranks. Why, finally, should there be 3 categories of gifts (silk: living animals: dead animal) corresponding to »5 capacities»? Because, in regard to rank, there were 3 main groups: a. kung and hou; b. po; c. tsï and nan. See Li: Wang chï (Couvreur I, p. 265) and Gl. 1309. — The whole of this passage throws a vivid light on the fact that the »oldest» parts of the Shu king were written well into the Chou era: they are entirely based on institutions and ritual ideas pertaining to the Chou dynasty.

1265. K u e i k o y ü y i t s u *70*.

A. The oldest attested version (Kin-wen) of this line is that of the Shang shu ta chuan, which quotes: k u e i k i a y ü n i t s u *71* **»When he returned, he went to the (temple of) his dead father and grandfather»**. *72* **kå* and *73* **klăk* were synonymous and often interchangeable in the early texts. Li: Wang chï, in a slightly paraphrasing quotation, has the words inverted: k u e i k i a y ü t s u n i *74* (Sï-ma Ts'ien elucidates further: *75*). The meaning of *76* **niər* / *niei* / n i 'tablet and sanctuary of a dead father' and *77* 'that of a dead grandfather' are well established, see for instance Li: Tseng tsï wen: »Confucius said: when princes go to the Son of Heaven, they must k a o y ü t s u *78* announce in (the temple of) their grandfather and t i e n y ü n i *79* lay offerings in (the temple

of) their (dead) father». *76* **niər* is etym. id. w. *80* **niər* / *niei* / n i 'near, close, familiar', i. e. the nearest ancestor, and cognate to *81* **nịər* / *ńi* / n i 'near, close'. — **B.** The Ku-wen version read as above: *70* k u e i k o y ü *82* y i t s u. This has been differently explained. — *α*. Cheng Hüan, disregarding the Kin-wen version above, says: y i t s u = the Wen tsu *83* »the accomplished ancestor[s]» earlier in our chapter, y i *84* meaning 'talented', as in Lun: Yung ye *85* »K'iu is talented». Thus: »When he returned he went to (the temple of) the Talented ancestor[s]». — *β*. Ma Jung says: y i *83* = n i *76*. Pan Ku had the same idea, for in Po hu t'ung: San kün, where he quotes *76*, he illustrates this by the Li: Wang chï phr. *87*. Sun Sing-yen believes that Ma took y i *84* (**ngịad* / *ngịäi* / y i) as a loan char. for *76* (**niər* / *niei* / n i), which he possibly did, for lack of knowledge of the archaic phonology. If so, he was very wide of the mark. — *γ*. Yü Yüe: y i *84*, as is well known, is but an enlarged form of the char. *88* (**ngịad* / *ngịäi* / y i). The Ku-wen version thus originally must have had *89*. Now this *88*, however, forms part of the char. *90* **sịat* / *sịät* / s i e 'familiar, near-standing' (which, besides, is etym. id. w. the common *91* **sịat* 'familiar, intimate') and in our Shu phr. *89*, the *88* is but a short-form for *90*, and we should read not y i (**ngịad*) t s u *82* but s i e (**sịat*) t s u *92*. Thus the phr. s i e t s u *92* »the (temple of) the (near-standing one =) father and the grandfather» is synonymous with the n i t s u *71* of the Kin-wen version (A above). There is, of course nothing to prevent that Ma Jung already held that view, when he said *84* (i. e. *88*) = *76*. — Under B, both *α* and *γ* are admissible. But in any case, in preference to the Ku-wen version which is not attested earlier than Eastern-Han time, we should follow the Kin-wen version attested in Li: Wang chï, in Shang shu ta chuan and in Sï-ma Ts'ien (with only the insignificant variation in the word sequence: n i t s u ∽ t s u n i).

M i n g s h ï y i k u n g, k ü f u y i y u n g see Gl. 1235 above.

1266. C h a o s h ï y u e r c h o u *93*.

A. Some early scholars took c h a o *94* in its common meaning of 'to initiate, to create'. Thus Ku Yung (in Han shu: Ku Yung chuan) renders the line by w e i s h ï y u e r c h o u *95* »He made 12 provinces». Ma Jung says c h a o = *96* »He instituted . . .», and PK'ung (after Erya) c h a o = *97*: »He created the 12 provinces». — **B.** Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan quotes *98*, and because the following line has *99* »He made altars to the 12 mountains», he takes c h a o *100* (for which c h a o *94* can serve as loan char.) in the technical sense of c h a o *1* 'altar enclosure' (for ex. of this see Gl. 875); that this was Fu's idea is developed in Cheng Hüan's gloss on the Ta chuan passage. Thus: »He made altar enclosures (for the sacrifices of) the 12 provinces». — **C.** Cheng Hüan takes c h a o *94* = *98* in the more general sense of 'boundary, to delimit' *2*, well documented, thus: **»He delimited the 12 provinces»**. — C is by far the most plausible, see Gl. 875.

1267. S i a n g y i t i e n h i n g *3*.

A. There are some quite early theories that in the golden age there were no corporal punishments but only representations s i a n g *4* which caused the people to avoid crime. Sün: Cheng lun says: *5* »In the governing of antiquity there were no bodily punishments but there were (only) punishments by display». And Sün goes on to tell

how instead of capital punishment there was the wearing of a red garment without hems, and other »displays» in the dress inst. of the lighter corporal punishments (the Sün text is here badly corrupted and difficult of interpretation; Shen tsï *6* ap. comm. on Sün has a similar but slightly varied account). The same tradition is repeated in an edict of 167 B. C. (Shï ki: Wen ti ki). Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan bases his comm. on this (a red, unhemmed garment for the worst crimes; sandals of mixed colours for the middle crimes, and a black turban for the lighter crimes). Thus: »He made displays (in the dress) for the legal punishments». The impossibility of this interpr. is shown in the next line: »Banishment was the mitigation of the w u h i n g *5* punishments», which shows, sure enough, that the severe punishments were a reality and not commuted into »displays». For the »punishments of Kao Yao», Shun's minister of justice (branding, cutting of nose, cutting of feet, castration and killing) see Shu: Lü hing and a now lost Shu chapter ap. Tso: Chao 14 (Gl. 1063). — **B.** Ma Jung: »When Kao Yao instituted the punishments of the 5 classes, there were no offenders; *8* there were only the representations (images), not the (real) men». Chavannes follows this: »Il fit des images pour les châtiments légaux». This is even more impossible than A. — **C.** PK'ung: s i a n g *4* = f a *9*, explaining: »According to law he used the legal punishments». But s i a n g can have no such meaning. — **D.** Ts'ai-Ch'en: **»He made a (delineation, representation =) full description of the legal punishments».** Similarly in Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi): K a o Y a o s h ï s i a n g h i n g w e i m i n g *10* **applies the (described =) legally defined punishments in an enlightened way».**

1268. L i u y u w u h i n g *11*.

A. Cheng Hüan takes this as an enumeration: »There are banishment, condonement and the 5 punishments». He adds that these together with the p i e n p ' u whip and rod and the (metal =) fines made the *12* »nine punishments» (Cheng here speculates with a view to a passage in Tso: Wen 18, where it is told of an ancient law book called *12* »The nine punishments»). This is unreasonable, since y u 'condonement' (acc. to Ma Jung's interpr.: the condonement of the very young, the very old and the very stupid) cannot be called one of the »punishments». — **B.** PK'ung: **»Banishment is the mitigation of the five (principal) punishments»** (sc. branding, amputation etc.). This is amply confirmed by the parallelism with the following lines: p i e n t s o k u a n h i n g etc. in which the construction is the same, the 2nd word being the verb of the clause.

1269. S h e n g t s a i s ï s h ê *13*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien renders the line: *14*. Both s h e n g and t s a i properly mean a 'disaster, calamity of nature', such as eclipses, floods and drought etc. T s a i in this sense is common. For s h e n g cf. Tso: Chuang 25, phr. *15* »calamity of sun and moon», i. e. eclipse; Ta Tai: Pao fu *16* »The disasters of wind, rain, thunder and lightning». Extended to mean 'calamity, misfortune' generally, e. g. Yi: Shuo kua: »K'an . . . in connection with carriages it *17* signifies many disasters (misfortunes)»; Yi: Kua 6, phr. *18* »There will be no disaster (calamity)»; Kyü: Chou yü *19* »It will be a full disaster»; Yi: Kua 25, phr. *20* »If he is not straight, there will be calamity»; Kyü: Ch'u yü *21* »Who has no sickness and calamity?» (Wei Chao: s h e n g = t s a i *22*). T s a i - s h e n g, synonym-binome = 'calamity' occurs e. g. in Yi: Kua 24, phr. *23* »It is baleful, there will be calamity»; Yi: Kua 62, phr. *24* »That is called a calamity». Cheng Hüan in gloss on our Shu phr. above consequently considers s h e n g - t s a i as a binome = t s a i - s h e n g, saying s h e n g - t s a i means »that which causes calamity and harm to people». Now in regard to crime or guilt s h e n g alone or the binome s h e n g - t s a i 'calamity, misfortune' means 'mishap', i. e. 'offence by mishap', e. g. Tso: Hi 33, phr. *25* »I will not because of one (misfortune =) offense by mishap (unintentional error) shut out of view your great merits»; Tso: Siang 9, phr. *26* »Pardon those who have (misfortunes =) offenses by mishap»; Chouli: Tien sï *27* »In lieu of the king he receives upon himself the (misfortunes =)

guilt of unintentional errors». Thus it is amply confirmed that s h e n g and t s a i are really synonymous and form a binome, both in the general sense of 'disaster, calamity, misfortune' and in the sense of 'offence by misfortune, mishap' (with Cheng Hüan). The fact that s h e n g t s a i is really a binome, synon. w. the simple s h e n g is further confirmed by Shu: K'ang kao *28*: »If somebody has a small offense, if it is not a (misfortune =) offence by mishap but a (going to the end =) persistence . . . then one cannot but kill him; if he has a great offense, if it is not a persistence but a (misfortune =) offence by mishap . . . then one cannot kill him». Here s h e n g t s a i in the 2rd line is quite synon. w. the simple s h e n g in the 1st line. Furthermore, Sï-ma Ts'ien foll. by Cheng Hüan glosses s ï *29* by k u o *30* 'transgression' in the sense of 'a slip, a blunder'; s ï often means 'reckless', and with Sï-ma and Cheng it would then mean 'to be reckless and careless, to err without reflecting, to blunder'. The Shu line *13* would thus mean: »S h e n g t s a i in case of (misfortune =) offence by mishap, s ï the blunder s h ê was pardoned». — **B.** Shang shu wei *31* (of Han time) says: »When those who should be pardoned are not pardoned, the moon is eclipsed». This shows that some Han-time scholars took s h e n g t s a i *32* in its primary sense of 'eclipse-calamity', as in the Tso passage *15* above, and interpreted: »When there is an eclipse-calamity there is pardoning». This solution is definitely vetoed by our K'ang kao passage *28* above, where s h e n g t s a i recurs in the sense of offense by mishap and cannot possibly mean eclipse. — **C.** PK'ung would separate s h e n g = k u o *30* 'to blunder' and t s a i = h a i *32* 'harm'; and he takes s ï *28* = *34* 'to slacken, be indulgent, to pardon', forming a binome with s h ê. Thus: T s a i harm by s h e n g blunder is s ï s h ê pardoned». The former is decidedly unfortunate, the binominal nature of s h e n g t s a i being amply proved; but s ï = 'to pardon' is well confirmed by the Tso ex. *26*: »Pardon those who have (misfortunes =) offences by mishap», in which the sense of s ï is unambiguous. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en would separate s h e n g and t s a i in another way, taking s h e n g to mean 'blunder' (offence by error) and t s a i to mean 'offence by calamity' (by *force majeure*). But there is really no support for such a distinction. As we have seen, s h e n g means 'calamity' just as much as t s a i does. — **E.** Yü Sing-wu: In Shu: K'ang kao the line *35* is quoted *36* in Ts'ien fu lun: Kiu shê, and this should be the correct reading here in Yao tien as well: s ï *29* being a particle = s u e i *37* (common). Thus: *38* »If they examine themselves they should be pardoned». This is certainly no improvement, the interjection t s a i being meaningless and inappropriate in such a context. — As to s h e n g t s a i, Cheng Hüan (A) is well supported; as to s ï s h ê, PK'ung (C) is confirmed. We thus obtain: »S h e n g t s a i (**misfortunes =) offenses by mishap** s ï s h ê **are pardoned».**

1270. H u c h u n g t s e i h i n g *39*.

A. Cheng Hüan: »H u those who rely upon (their villainy) and c h u n g t s e i all

100.兆 1.墝之 2.定界 3.象以典刑 4.象 5.治古無肉刑而有象刑 6.慎子 7.五刑 8.但有其象無其人 9.法 10.施象刑惟明 11.流宥五刑 12.九刑 13.眚災肆赦 14.眚哉過赦 15日月之眚 16.風雨雷電之眚 17.為多眚 18.无眚 19.其滿眚 20.其匪正有眚 21.夫誰無疾眚 22.災 23.凶有災眚 24.是謂災眚 25.五不以一眚掩大德 26.肆眚 27.代王受眚哉 28.人有小罪非眚乃惟終....乃不可不殺;乃有大罪非終乃惟眚災....時乃不可殺 29.肆 30.過 31.尚慕緯 32.眚災 33.害 34.緩 35.乃惟眚災 36.乃惟省哉 37.逆 38.省哉肆赦 39.怙終賊刑 40.賊 41.怙衆賊刑 42.怙

their time are malefactors, h i n g are punished». This has been accepted by Chavannes, but it is rhythmically impossible. — **B.** PK'ung: »H u those who rely upon (their villainy) c h u n g and persist, t s e i h i n g are punished by death». Now it is true that t s e i *40* can mean 'to kill', but then invariably in an unlawful manner: 'to murder'. — **C.** Therefore Sun Sing-yen turns the phrase differently: »Those who are reliant and persist t s e i h i n g undergo the punishment of murderers». — **D.** Sü Kuang records a variant reading: *41* »Those who rely on the crowd» i. e. are rebellious. In fact the word h u *42* as a rule always is a transitive verb and has an object, and its absolute use here: 'to be reliant' is unusual. Some scholar has tried to ameliorate this by altering c h u n g *43* into *44* (both *ĥi̯ôŋ*) in order to obtain an object to the verb. But the variant is ruled out by the parallel text in K'ang kao, where we have c h u n g *43* as opposed to s h e n g, just as here, and there c h u n g *44* would make no sense at all. — **E.** Yü Sing-wu would alter the h u *42* into k u *45* and take t s e i *40* (*dz'ək*) as serving for *46* **tsək*, the emendated line being *47*: »If they stubbornly persist, they should be punished». An arbitrary and unnecessary text alteration. — C comes nearest to a plausible solution, but it is not necessary to force the meaning of t s e i 'murderer'. The word very often means, in a general way, 'villain, bandit, miscreant', thus: **»Those who are reliant and persist, are punished as miscreants»** (as opposed to the preceding line: those who offend by mishap are pardoned).

1271. W e i h i n g c h ï s ü t s a i *48*.

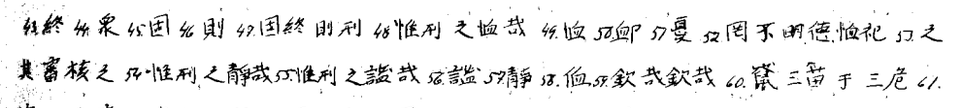
For *49* **si̯wĕt* / *si̯uĕt* / s ü the variant *50* ap. Li Shan comm. on Wsüan: same reading and meaning.

A. This is the Ku-wen version. PK'ung explains s ü *49* by y u *51*, and it is exceedingly common in this sense of 'anxiously to care about', e. g. Shu: To shï *52* »There was nobody who did not make his virtue brilliant and (anxiously =) carefully attend to the sacrifices». In our line here c h ï *53* is in the object case, resuming the preceding h i n g: »The punishments, to them you should (anxiously =) carefully attend». For the construction cf. transl. of Ode 215, note (BMFEA 16, p. 249). This version and meaning is earliest attested in an edict of 48 B. C. (Han shu: Hing fa chï, which has: »Does not the Shu say: w e i h i n g c h ï s ü t s a i *48*, may you carefully examine them *53a*»; the additional phr. indicates that the author took s ü in the sense 'to pay careful attention to'. — **B.** Legge, likewise using the Ku-wen version, takes s ü *49* = 'compassion': »Let compassion rule in the punishments». Similarly Couvreur in a very free paraphrase: »La sévérité de la justice y est temperée par la compassion». This is quite inadmissible because of the balance in the whole passage, see our concluding remarks below. — **C.** Sï-ma Ts'ien renders the line *54*, and Sü Kuang (ap. Shï ki: Wu ti pen ki) says the Kin-wen version read: w e i h i n g c h ï m i t s a i, this *56* (**mi̯ĕt* / *mi̯ĕt* / m i) meaning *57* 'quiet, still' (Erya; for a text ex. see Gl. 758). Sï-ma would then have paraphrased the Kin-wen version. Kiang Sheng insists that the Ku-wen likewise had m i *56*, the s ü *49* being a mere corruption, but he is wide of the mark as shown by the Han shu edict above. The discrepancy between the Ku-wen s ü *49* and the Kin-wen m i *56* has been explained in several ways. Sï-ma Cheng believes that when Fu Sheng orally transmitted the text, one erroneously substituted *56* **mi̯ĕt* to *49* **si̯wĕt* »because of sound similarity», which is obviously impossible. Sun Sing-yen proposes that even the Ku-wen's s ü *49* means 'quiet, still', like the m i *56* of the Kin-wen, being a mere variant for *58* (**χi̯wək* / *χi̯wək* / h ü) 'quiet, still' (for the phonetic discrepancy between *49* **si̯wĕt* and *58* **χi̯wək* see Grammata 410 and 930) and that both versions mean the same as Sï-ma's paraphrase *54*. This latter has been translated by Chavannes: »C'est par les châtiments qu'on établit le calme». It is difficult to see how the line could mean this; we should then have to force it into something like: »There is the quietude of the punishments»,

in the sense of: »There is the quietude brought about by the punishments», which is very strained. But it is equally difficult to give it another reasonable sense: »There is the (quietude =) leniency(?) of the punishments»? Or, with c h ï as resuming object (as in **A** above): »The punishments, them you should make (quiet =) lenient»? — Quite apart from the difficulty of making a plausible sense of a version with m i *56* or h ü *58* 'quiet, still', the A. version: s ü, which after all is attested in W. Han time, is strongly confirmed by the balance in the line, which in its entirety runs: K ' i n t s a i, k ' i n t s a i *59*, w e i h i n g c h ï s ü t s a i: »You should be reverently attentive; the punishments, to them you should (anxiously =) carefully attend». S ü *49* balances k ' i n and inculcates the same idea: that of careful attention.

1272. T s ' u a n S a n M i a o y ü S a n - w e i *60*.

A. This version (that of PK'ung) is earliest attested in Huai: Siu wu. The w. *61* (char.: 'hole' and 'rat') means 'to lie hidden, to skulk', here taken transitively: **»He made the San Miao skulk in San-wei».** Cf. Kyü: Chou yü *62* »He himself skulked among the Jung and Ti barbarians» (common). — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: *63* »He transferred the San Miao to San-wei». The Ts'ing commentators believe that Sï-ma took *61* **ts'wân* as a loan char. for *64* **ts'i̯an*, because of sound similarity. That is very unlikely. Sï-ma's substitution of t s ' i e n for t s ' u a n is probably due to the fact that in Kao Yao mo we find *65* »What displacement (need there be) in regard to the Lord of Miao?», i. e. why need he banish the Lord of San Miao. But in any case his paraphrase shows that he had in view a removal and hence very likely had a text with t s ' u a n. — **C.** Shuowen under *66* = *67* says *68*. The w. *66* is read **ts'wâd* / *ts'uâi* / t s ' u e i in Kuang yün. Chu Tsün-sheng thinks that Hü simply illustrated his key word *66* by the Shu line, and that his Shu version thus read *66* **ts'wâd* and not *61* **ts'wân*, this *66* meaning *67* in the sense of '(bar =) frontier', thus: »He placed on the frontier the San Miao». But Hü Shen would then not have had the words t u j o »it is read like», for the rules of the Shuowen are that in a t u j o definition the illustrating phr. has another word than the key word. Thus the present Shuowen quotation *68* must be a corruption of something else. There has been much speculation about how Hü's Shu version really ran, but Ch'en K'iao-tsung has undoubtedly solved the riddle: in Tsi yün t s ' u a n *61* has a variant *69*, and Hü's sentence undoubtedly ran *70*: »the w. *66* means *67* and was read like the t s ' u a n *69* 'to skulk' of Yü shu». Thus Shuowen really agrees with A above, having the recognized variant *69* for *61* (and giving another reading for *66* than Kuang yün). — **D.** Meng: Wan Chang, shang and Ta Tai: Wu ti tê both read s h a S a n M i a o y ü S a n - w e i *71*: »He killed the San Miao in San-wei». Since this disagrees with certain ancient traditions that Shun moved the San Miao from Central China to San-wei in Kansu (e. g. Sï-ma Ts'ien *in loco*), the Ts'ing scholars have tried to explain away the s h a *72* 'kill' of Meng and Ta Tai: *72* does not mean 'to kill' but is a short-form for *73* (**sât* / *sât* / s a), in Shuowen defined as = *74* 'to scatter', thus: »He (scattered =) threw away the San Miao to San-wei». Of the char. *73* there is no early text ex., but in Tso: Chao 1, in the phr. *75*, Tu Yü defines the first *76* as = *77* 'to banish' (»He killed Kuan Shu and banished Ts'ai Shu) and Shïwen reads it **sât* / *sât* / s a,



adding that it is identical with the *73* of Shuowen. Thus the early existence of the word **sât* 'to scatter' would be proved (it would indeed be identical with the modern *78* in s a h u a n g 'to scatter lies' etc.). A somewhat frail proof. (Tso chuan's t s ' a i *76* in phr. *75* above should be differently explained. In the Chou inscr. the place name Ts'ai *76* is wr. *79*, and this is sure enough the phonetic in *72*; thus Tso's *76* is equal to *80*, probably u. f. *72*; but this latter is not a short-form for *73* 'to scatter' but has its common reading **sâd / ṣâi /* s h a i 'to reduce, diminish': »He killed Kuan Shu and reduced [the punishment] of Ts'ai shu», i. e. gave him only the next-severest punishment). Moreover, it would be extremely strange if both Meng and Ta Tai had *72* as short-form for this *73*. To an unbiassed mind it is evident that Meng and Ta Tai really meant »He killed the [prince of] San Miao in San-wei». — We have thus two unreconcilable versions, one with t s ' u a n *61* 'to cause to skulk', that of PK'ung, Huai-nan-tsï and probably Sï-ma Ts'ien; the other with *72* 'to kill', that of Meng and Ta Tai. Since the latter is represented by the most ancient texts, it would be tempting to give it preference, but matters are more complicated than that, for there is early support from both themes. In fact, in the very Shu king we find both. In Shu: Lü hing, where Shun's punishments are described, it is said that *81* »He stopped and (cut off =) exterminated the Miao people, and there are no descendants of them». But on the other hand later in our chapter Yao tien (Shun tien) it is said *82* »He detached and sent to the North the San Miao», and in Yü kung it is said *83* »The (country of) San-wei was regulated, the (people of) San Miao were made grandly orderly», the San-wei here defined as a place in the present Kansu; this should be combined with the statement in Ts'ê: Wei 1 that originally the San Miao lived »at the flow of the P'eng-li *84* (i. e. Po-yang lake), with the Tung-t'ing water *85* on their right», i. e. in northern Kiangsi. Again, as we have seen, in Kao Yao mo it is said »what displacement (need there be) in regard to the lord of Miao». And finally in Chuang: Tsai yu, our Shu line recurs in a slightly inverted order, and there Chuang has it: *86* »He threw the San Miao to San-wei», which agrees with version A in that it only indicates a removal of the San Miao, not their killing. And Chuang is just as early as Meng or Ta Tai. The commentators, of course, have tried to reconcile the Shu: Lü hing with the Yao tien, Kao Yao mo and Yü kung, on the one hand by saying that the Lü hing account refers to Chuan Hü and not to Shun, on the other hand that *81* »stopped and cut off» does not meant 'o kill' but only 'to banish', but that is all scholastics. Meng and Ta Tai have evidently taken the words to mean what they really do: 'to exterminate', and therefore say 'he killed', and this is confirmed by the immediately following Lü hing phrase: »and there are no descendants of them». Both versions having thus good support in early texts, the choice is difficult. But since we have here to interpret the Yao tien, and in the same Yao-tien it is said that »He detached and sent to the North the San Miao», it seems best to give preference to version A, in spite of the fact that version D agrees better with the Lü hing.

We had better examine here more closely the phrase:

F e n p e i S a n M i a o *82*.

The commentators try desperately to find a reason why the San Miao, having been deported during Shun's regency, on Yao's order (acc. to the earlier Shu account above), again put in an appearance at the end of the document, when Shun was real emperor, in the last clause before the account of his death.

A. Cheng Hüan: The San Miao had been deported to the western border, and their ruler was still a feudal lord there (though of lower rank than originally). Now (during Shun's own rule as emperor) they again acted wickedly, therefore he again *87* separated and deported them; he explains further *88*: p e i *89* is equal to p i e *90* 'to separate'. Acc. to Cheng this f e n p e i would be a binome equal to a *91*. Shuowen has a graph

92 defined as = *93*. There has been much discussion whether Cheng meant that *92* is straight out the old form of *90 *b'i̯at / b'i̯ät /* p i e, and that the Shu text should really be read *94* f e n p i e s a n M i a o; or he simply meant that *92* was synonymous with *90*, giving the same sense (the reading **b'i̯at / bi̯'ät /* p i e was given to Hü Shen's *92* only in the Yü p'ien; Ts'ie yün and Kuang yün have no such reading). This discussion is in fact futile, for there is no single text example of Hü Shen's *92* = *93*, apart from our dubious case here (Tuan Yü-ts'ai therefore simply says that Hü's *92* is the character *95* c h a o 'to prognosticate', Hü Shen defining it as *93* 'to distinguish' sc. the marks of the oracle, a very reasonable view). K'ung Ying-ta advocates that *89*, being short-form for *96* 'to turn the back on' taken causatively 'cause to turn the back on each other' means 'to separate'; in such a case the Shu line should still be read f e n p e i S a n M i a o, but it would still mean: »He divided and (put back to back =) separated the San Miao», the idea (with Cheng) still being that the good Miao were separated from the wicked ones, the latter being thrown out. — **B.** Wang Su suggests that some of the original San Miao in Kiangsi had been pardoned (and not deported to San-wei) and that our Shu line refers to those remaining in the South. Sun Sing-yen elaborates this idea, quoting various Han-time texts to the effect that Shun had troubles with the San Miao who were still in the South. *Inter alia* Huai: Ping lüe says: »Shun in the South went to attack (punish) the San Miao, and died in the road, in Ts'ang-wu». (All these themes are of Han date and have no support in pre-Han texts.) The line: »He divided and separated the San Miao» would refer to these Miao still in the South: he distinguished the good from the bad. — **C.** All these various speculations about new troubles with the San Miao (whether in the West or in the South) quite apart from the earlier deportation during Shun's regency, are very factitious. The San Miao theme is a part of the great theme of the »Four punished ones», all in the same line in our first Shu example above: »He (Shun) banished Kung Kung to Yu-chou, he banished Huan Tou to Ch'ung-shan, he made the San Miao skulk in San-wei, he killed Kun on the Yü-shan». The earliest (pre-Han) sources vary considerably as to the chronology and personel of these grand punishments: some attribute all to Yao (Chuang: Tsai yu), others (like the Yao-tien author above) all to Shun during his regency, others again (Ts'ê: Ts'in 1, Sün: Yi ping) divide the glory of this great punishing between Yao (punishment of Huan Tou), Shun (that of San Miao) and Yü (that of Kung Kung). As to the San Miao, more particularly, their rebellion is placed in the time of Yao by Kyü: Ch'u, hia, in that of Shun by Tso: Chao 1; and whereas Sün: Yi ping says that »Shun attacked the San Miao», Mo: Fei kung, hia describes how Yü, on Shun's order, attacked the San Miao, which agrees with the Yü kung line, that »when San-wei was made inhabitable (sc. by Yü) the San Miao became grandly orderly». (For full details see Legends and Cults, BMFEA 18.) These discrepancies between the early sources as to this important theme is such as are typical of early legends, and of course does not call for any attempt to make exact history of them, by inventing (as the commentators have done above) two consecutive misdemeanours of the San Miao and two punishments. It is all the time one and the same theme that crops up: that of the rebellion of the wicked Miao and their punishment (their crushing and deportation) by an imperial hero, the punishment forming one of the famous series of »four punishments». — This theme having once been disposed of in the middle part of the Yao tien (Shun tien), why does it then crop up a second time, at the very

蔡蠢叔名蔡 72放 76撒 79徙 80采 81竄絕苗民無世在下 82分北三苗 83三危既宅三苗丕 84敍 85彭蠡 86洞庭 87技三苗於三危 88分析而流之 89北猶別也 90北 91別 92分別 93北

end of the chapter, in our line f e n p e i S a n M i a o ? The reason is obvious: in this final passage, just before the account of his death, Shun's sovereign way of treating his subordinates is summed up: the well-behaved were encouraged, the misbehaving were punished: »Every three years he examined the achievements (of his subordinates); after three examinations he degraded or promoted the (dark =) unenlightened and the enlightened (respectively); the achievements were all resplendent; he (separated, set apart =) detached and (»northed» =) sent to the North the San Miao». In other words, the 3 other great culprits: Huan Tou, Kung Kung and Kun were individual »lords» who were punished (but not their peoples), hence they are covered by the first lines about the »degradation», but to the San Miao rebellion, more serious than the rest since it concerned a whole people and its deportation, a separate line is devoted, emphasizing that (acc. to the Shu author) this was Shun's greatest deed as an overlord. We could, of course, take p e i *89* as = *96* 'to turn the back' = 'to rebel' (common) and translate: »F e n he (separated =) set apart the p e i S a n M i a o rebellious San Miao», but that is rhythmically unsatisfactory: f e n — p e i S a n M i a o. The ordinary stylistic rules demand a division: f e n - p e i — S a n - M i a o, with f e n and p e i as coördinated verbs. The explanation of the commentators: f e n - p e i he separated and (put back to back =) distinguished (the good and the bad) of the San Miao» is much too scholastic. Hence our translation: **»He detached and (»northed» =) sent to the North».** San-wei was in the far North-west; the original home (Kiangsi) was in the far South-east. Their removal could indeed be called p e i a »sending to the North». For f e n *93* = 'to separate' = 'to detach, set apart', cf. Tso: Hi 28, phr. *97* »He (separated, set apart:) detached some fields of (the states) Ts'ao and Wei, and gave them to the Sung people».

K i K u n y ü Y ü s h a n *98* — for k i = 'to kill' and not (with some comm.) = 'to banish', see BMFEA 18, p. 249, note.

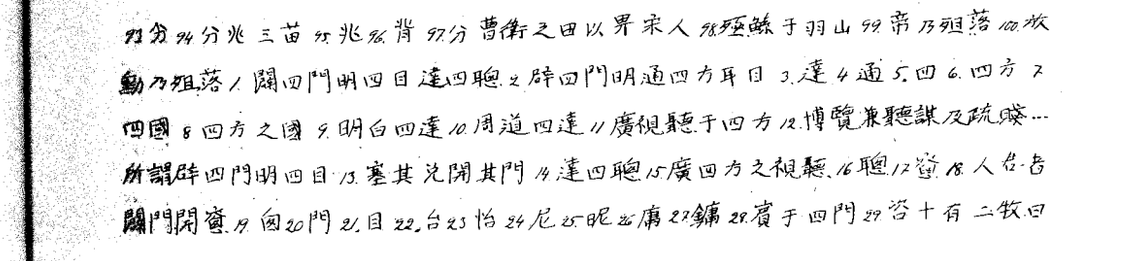
1273. T i n a i t s u l o *99*.

A. This is PK'ung's version. — **B.** Older quotations (Meng: Wan Chang, shang, Ch'un Ts'iu fan lu: Hüan yü shu to) have *100* **»Fang-hü died»**, which thus should be given preference.

1274. P ' i s ï m e n, m i n g s ï m u, t a s ï t s ' u n g *1*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases *2*, which simply joins the two last lines into one, explaining t a *3* by t ' u n g *4* 'to penetrate, to reach far' and s ï *5* 'four' by *6* 'the four quarters'. The latter is not so scholastic as it might seem, on the contrary it is quite regular; in the Odes we frequently have s ï k u o *7* 'the four(-side) states' = *8* the states of the four quarters. In Lao 10, phr. *9* »When his intelligence reaches in the four directions», and similarly in Li: Yüe ki *10* »Chou's principles have (penetrated =) reached to the four quarters». But then both the Shu line and Sï-ma's paraphrase have been interpreted in several ways. — *α*. PK'ung first takes p ' i s ï m e n to mean »(He consulted with the Sï-yüe) to open the gates in the four quarters» (everywhere in the world, sc. those that were not open, so that wise men should not be obstructed), which is plainly impossible: t h e s ï - m e n refers to the s ï - m e n earlier in our chapter, see Gl. 1250 above. Then PK'ung paraphrases the rest: *11* »He made wide his seeing and hearing in the four quarters». This would give for the Shu line: »He m i n g made clear-sighted his s ï - m u (four-side eyes =) four-directioned eyes, t a he made far-reaching s ï t s ' u n g his (four-side =) four-directioned hearing». The phr. s ï - m u 'four-side eyes' and s ï - t s ' u n g 'four-side hearing', analogous to the s ï t a »to four-side reach» in the Lao and Li ex. (*9*, *10*) above, would thus refer to Shun himself: his own observing of the realm (Chavannes therefore renders Sï-ma's line *2*: »Pour percevoir par les oreilles et les yeux tout ce qui se passait dans les quatre directions», a very free paraphrase). — *β*. Long before PK'ung a middle-Han scholar Mei Fu (in a memorial to the throne

(Han shu: Mei Fu chuan) has the same idea, that the perception referred to Shun himself. He writes: *12* »Widely to see and comprehensively to hear, and in one's planning reach to the distant and low-stationed ones, that is what is called p ' i s ï m e n, m i n g s ï m u. It would thus seem that this author included the phr. p ' i s ï m e n in the expressions referring to the perception. This in itself would be quite admissible. We have m e n in the sense of 'gates of perception', i. e. the senses, in Lao 52, phr. *13* »Block up their holes (eyes and ears etc.), shut their gates (of perception), so that during their whole life they do not struggle» (but remain passive). The Shu line would then mean: »to open the four-directioned gates (of perception), to make clear-sighted the four-directioned eyes and make far-reaching the four-directioned hearing». This is very consistent and logical and hence tempting. But it will not do to take s ï m e n »the four gates» in quite another sense here than earlier in our chapter. — *γ*. Legge: t a s ï t s ' u n g *14* means »to hear with the ears of all», thus the Shu phrase: »To open the four gates, m i n g to perceive s ï m u with the (four-side eyes =) eyes of all, and t a penetrate s ï t s ' u n g with the (four-side hearing =) hearing of all». This is obviously impossible (curiously enough Legge in a note quotes with approbation the different interpr. in *α*. above). — *δ*. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases *15* »to make wide the seeing and hearing of the four quarters», thus our Shu line: »To open the four gates, to m i n g make clear-sighted s ï m u (the four-side eyes =) the eyes of those in the four quarters, and t a make far-reaching s ï t s ' u n g (the four-side hearings =) the hearing of those in the four quarters»; thus, as expounded by Couvreur: »pour ouvrir les quatre portes (aux hommes capables), éclairer tous les yeux et faire entendre toutes les oreilles» (c. à. d. pour connaître et attirer tous les hommes capables de l'empire). The s ï m u would thus mean »four-side eyes» in the sense of »the eyes in the four quarters», and Sï-ma's paraphrase *2* would mean: »To open the four gates, to make clear-sighted and far-reaching the ears and eyes of the four quarters». — **B.** In comm. on Tso: Wen 18, Tu Yü (3rd c.) quotes: p ' i s ï m e n, t a s ï t s ' u n g, and Shïwen says that t s ' u n g *16* 'hearing' (**ts'ung*) there was »originally» the variant *17* (*ts'ŭng* / *tṣ'ång* / c h ' u a n g) 'window'. That this is no whim of Lu Tê-ming's but represents an early Shu version different from that of Sï-ma and PK'ung, is proved by Feng su t'ung (Eastern Han): Shï fan, which has: *18* »The sovereign opens the gates and opens the windows (and calls and widely seeks and obtains wise men)». This obviously alludes to our Shu phr. and renders t a *3* 'to [cause to] communicate' by k ' a i 'to open up' (common meaning of t a). Tuan Yü-ts'ai rightly points out that the original Shu graph probably was simply *19* and that this in Han time was enlarged by some scholars into *16*, by some into *17* according as they understood the line (some combining it with *20* 'gate' and hence taking it to mean 'windows', others combining it with *21* 'eye' and hence taking it to mean 'hearing'). In the same way *22* serves for *23*, *24* for *25*, *26* for *27* etc. Thus our Shu line: »(He consulted with the Sï Yüe) **to open the four gates** (sc. towards east, south, west, north), **to make clear the four (eye-sights =) views, and to open up the four windows»,** i. e. in order



to observe in all the four directions and invite good men from all the realm. (Yü Yüe tries to show that t s ' u n g had a double meaning: both 'window' and 'hearing', which is much too sophisticated). The p ' i s ï m e n »to open the four gates» then naturally connects with the earlier passage *28* »He received the guests (the feudal lords) at the four gates», see Gl. 1250 above). — A is the oldest version attested (Sï-ma), but whichever interpretation we give it (α or δ, γ being quite impossible and β unlikely), the s ï m u »four-directioned eyes» or »eyes of the four quarters» is strained and scholastic; version B, though only attested in Eastern Han time, is far superior by its simplicity and plausibility.

1275. T s ï s h ï y u e r m u y ü e *29*.

A. The PK'ung version has this reading: »He deliberated with the 12 pastors and said». — **B.** In various passages of a similar kind in the Yao tien, t s ï *30* is an initial interjection. Particularly important is the almost exact parallel in the end of this chapter: *31* »The emperor said: Oh, you 22 men». But even the next line after our head line above has the same structure: *32* »Shun said: Oh, you Sï Yüe» (this phrase occurs 4 times in the Yao tien). And earlier in the chapter we had *33* »The emperor said: Oh, you Hi and Ho». It seems quite evident that the PK'ung text has an inversion and that the line should be: *34* **»He said, Oh, you 12 pastors»**. Thus t s ï does not mean 'to deliberate' but is the interjection 'Oh' which goes all through our chapter.

1276. S h ï t s a i w e i s h ï j o u y ü a n n e n g e r *35*.

For j o u y ü a n n e n g e r »Be gentle with the distant ones, be kind to the near ones» see Gl. 917.

A. PK'ung punctuates: S h ï t s a i w e i s h ï, j o u y ü a n n e n g e r »Oh, the food, it should be (seasonable:) in accordance with the seasons; be gentle with the distant ones», etc. This makes sheer nonsense. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen therefore believes that s h ï is an interjection, and punctuates: s h ï t s a i, w e i s h ï j o u y ü a n n e n g e r». He adduces that Fang yen (W. Han colloquial) says s h ï *36* = *37* 'an exhortation', (*38* = *39* as usual); thus: »Mind you! now you shall be gentle with the distant ones» etc. But in fact Fang-yen says that in »southern Ch'u *40*, when oneself does not like something but other people like it, or when oneself does not get angry over something but other people get angry over it, one says s h ï y e n *41* (wait a moment! mind you!), a restraining interjection *37*. To use this colloquial Han-time binominal idiom for explaining the s h ï of the Shu line is of course inadmissible. — **C.** Hü Tsung-yen: Our present passage is quite analogous to one in the end of the chapter. In the present passage we have: »Oh, you 12 pastors, s h ï t s a i *42*, w e i s h ï j o u y ü a n n e n g e r». There we find: »Oh, you 22 men, *43* k ' i n t s a i, w e i s h ï l i a n g t ' i e n k u n g. It is obvious that s h ï *36* is merely a scribe's error for the graphically similar k ' i n *44*. Our line thus should run: *45*: **»Be reverent! Now be gentle with the distant ones and kind to the near ones»**. — Hü's emendation is obviously right.

1277. T u n t ê y ü n y ü a n *46*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien, skipping the last two words, paraphrases the first two: *47* 'to practise an ample virtue' (*48* = *49* after Erya). Moreover he adds before it a line, not in the Shu, »to take as a norm the virtue of the Emperor» (sc. Yao). — **B.** PK'ung follows Sï-ma in his interpr. of the first words and adds that y ü n *50* means *51* (common) and y ü a n *52* = *53* 'superior in goodness' (this latter after Yi: Wen yen under Kua 1). One would then expect PK'ung to take t u n t ê — y ü n y ü a n as parallel phrases: »make ample the virtue and sincere the goodness», but he does not, for he explains them: »to practise an ample virtue, and to trust the prominently good (men)». The reason for the latter is obviously the following line: »to balk the insinuating ones», which demands the antithesis of the »good men» here. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en has realized this and carried

through this idea in the whole line: »treat (amply =) generously the virtuous men, and trust (and employ) the good men». So far Ts'ai is obviously right, as confirmed by the parallelism in the lines here (j o u y ü a n, n e n g e r : t u n t ê, y ü n y ü a n — y ü a n, e r, t ê, y ü a n all refer to people »treated» in some way be the emperor). But there is really no reason for giving y ü a n *52* a meaning of 'good' which it has nowhere else. It regularly and frequently means 'head, principal, great', and in the Yi: Wen yen phrase *54* »y ü a n means the prominent in goodness» it is really c h a n g 'superior' (principal) which glosses y ü a n, not s h a n. Our line thus means: **»Treat (amply =) generously the virtuous men, and trust the great men»**.

1278. E r n a n j e n j e n *55*.

Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases it by *56* »keep far away the artful». N a n is read in falling tone and properly means 'to cause difficulties, obstacles to', i. e. 'to balk'. Erya says j e n *57* = *58* 'specious talk, artful'; in Kao Yao mo the same word is wr. *59*.

A. Sun Yen (early glossist of Erya) explains this j e n = n i n g thus: *60* »a man whom it seems possible to trust», thus j e n *57* = '(apparently) trustworthy', i. e. artful in his words *58*; very far-fetched. — **B.** Ho Yi-hang explains it by the fact that both *57* and *59* can mean *60* 'great', thus »ostensibly great», one who makes himself better than he is, hence »artful». Equally strained. — **C.** Chu Tsün-sheng: j e n *57* or *59* (even tone) are short-forms for *61* 'soft, pliable', a word well known from both Shï and Lun, e. g. Lun: Yang Huo *62* »One who in his appearance is strong but inside is soft». *57*, *59* and *61* were homophonous (**ńi̯əm*, even tone). Thus or Shu phr.: **»And balk the (soft =) insinuating ones»**. — C is obviously right.

1279. M a n Y i s h u a i f u *63*.

A. PK'ung: s h u a i *64* (Han shu var. *65*, the two graphs being interchangeable) = *66*, thus: »The Man and Yi barbarians will lead on (one another) to submit». — **B.** Wang Yin-chï, following a gloss by Mao Heng in ode 275: *64* s h u a i = y u n g *67*, which has no safe text support (see Gl. 1089), says s h u a i here means y u n g: M a n Y i y u n g f u »The Man and Yi barbarians y u n g (using this =) thereby will submit». Wang adduces a long series of Shu and Shï phrases in which s h u a i would = y u n g; but they are all susceptible of other interpr. better in accord with well-attested meanings of s h u a i, and his speculation is not convincing. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: *64* = *68* **»The Man and Yi barbarians will follow and submit»**. Since the word s h u a i *64* is well attested in the sense of 'all' (see Gl. 642) it would seem most simple to translate »The Man and Yi barbarians will all submit». But after all C has the advantage that the two words s h u a i and f u will be very analogous and form a good binome. — We compare (later in our chapter):

P o s h o u s h u a i w u *69*.

A. PK'ung: »All the animals lead on one another to dance». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: **»All the animals follow (it) and dance»**.

30.咨 31.帝曰咨汝二十有二人 32.舜曰咨四岳 33.帝曰咨汝羲暨和 34.曰咨十有二牧 35.食哉惟時柔遠能邇 36.食 37.勤 38.時 39.是 40.楚 41.食閻 42.食哉 43.欽哉惟時亮天功 44.欽 45.欽哉惟時柔遠能邇 46.惇德允元 47.行厚德 48.惇 49.厚 50.允 51.信 52.元 53.善之長 54.元者善之長也 55.而難任人 56.遠佞人 57.任 58.佞 59.壬 60.似可任之人 61.大 62.荏 63.色厲而內荏 64.蠻夷率服 65.率 66.帥 67.相率 68.循 69.百獸率舞 70.有能奮庸 71.庸 72.功 73.奮

1280. Yu neng fen yung *70*.

For yung *71* = *72* 'achievements, merits' see Gl. 1235.

A. Ma Jung: fen *73* = *74*. Since fen 'to be energetic' has no such meaning as ming 'bright, to make bright', Sun Sing-yen believes that Ma by his gloss meant ming *74* = *75* (**miăng* for **mian*), which is very unlikely. — **B.** PK'ung: fen *73* = *76* 'to raise, to start, set in motion', thus: **»Is there anybody who can start achievements».**

Hi ti chï tsai see Gl. 1229. Shï tsê po k'uei see Gl. 1248.

1281. Liang ts'ai huei ch'ou *77*.

Liang ts'ai *79*:

The same phr. recurs in Kao Yao mo: liang ts'ai yu pang *78*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien in the first example renders liang ts'ai *79* by *80* **'to assist in the affairs'** (this after Erya). The fundamental sense of liang being 'bright' (see Gl. 786), this is an extension of meaning: 'to enlighten' = 'to guide, to assist'. — **B.** Ma Jung in *78* defines liang as = *81* (likewise after Erya), and PK'ung has adopted this in both cases (*77*, *78*): »to be faithful (reliable) in the affairs». Liang would then be loan char. for *82* 'true, sincere'. Cf. Meng: Kao tsï, hia: *83* »If the noble man is not faithful» (Chao K'i: liang = *81*). — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en in both cases takes liang in its fundamental sense of *74* 'bright': »brightly (manage) the affairs». (Legge follows A in the 1st example, C in the second, a curious inconsistency). — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr. (A).

Huei ch'ou *84*:

A. PK'ung (after Erya): huei *85* = *86* in the sense of 'to be compliant with, to accord with'. Then he takes ch'ou *87* = *88*, as earlier in the chapter, paraphrasing *89*: »(the one who) accords with (the affairs) is who?» An impossible construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: huei *85* = *86* (as in A), and ch'ou *87* = *90*, thus: »to assist in the affairs and accord with the categories», i. e. acc. to Legge »to manage each department according to its nature». Huei fundamentally and usually means 'kind, complacent', but the extension of meaning 'to be compliant with, accord with' is also attested, e. g. Shu: To fang *91* »Why do you not obey the king, and make resplendent the mandate of Heaven». Ch'ou *87* 'category' is found for instance in Hung-fan: »(Heaven) gave to Yü the Great Plan in 9 (categories, classes =) sections *92*». None the less, interpr. B. is very far-fetched. — **C.** Couvreur therefore take huei *85* in its more ordinary sense of 'to be kind to', still taking ch'ou = 'category': huei ch'ou = benefacere generibus, which in his Shu transl. he paraphrases: »faire prospérer chaque chose comme la demandent son espèce et sa nature»; in his dict. he paraphrases: »faire du bien aux differentes classes du peuple». — **D.** Another interpr. Huei *85*, with Couvreur, has its ordinary meaning. But ch'ou *87* means 'of the same category' = 'equal, colleague'. Cf. Kyü: Ts'i yü *93* »Man matches with (is the equal of) man, family with family» (Wei Chao: ch'ou = *94*). Han fei: Shï kuo *95* »Two thousand well-matched (of equal quality) horses» (comm: ch'ou = *96*). That this meaning of 'an equal, a colleague' is the one intended here follows from the context. This is the famous passage in which Shun nominates his ministers: first Yü who becomes sï-k'ung, then K'i who becomes hou-tsi, then Sie who becomes sï-t'u etc. But the section is introduced by our phrase here, in which Yü as *primus inter pares* at the same time is made to *97* »occupy the (hundred disposals =) general management», supervising his colleagues (those who follow in the rest of the paragraph): »Is there anybody who can start achievements and make resplendent the emperor's undertakings? I will let him occupy the general management, liang ts'ai huei ch'ou **assist in the affairs and be kind to his (equals) colleagues»** (the other ministers) — as general manager helping them out with their tasks.

1282. Wei shï mou tsai *98*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien (after Erya: Shï hün mou mou = *99*) renders mou *100* by *99*, thus: **»In this be energetic!».** Erya: Shï ku has an entry *1* = *99* and in comm. on this Kuo P'o quotes Shu as having *2* (*1* loan char. for *100*). Cf. Shu: P'an Keng *3* »Energetically establish our great heavenly mandate», on which Cheng Hüan: mou = mien *99*. — **B.** Ma Jung: mou *100* = *4*, thus: »May this be beautiful». Ma Jung takes *100* as loan for *1* 'luxuriant', fine'. — No reason to abandon A.

1283. Li min tsu ki *5*.

A. Han shu: Shï huo chï reads *6*, and this was evidently Sï-ma Ts'ien's version, for he paraphrases: *7*; this *8* (**tso / tsuo /* tsu) = *9* 'to begin, beginning' is based on Erya: Shï ku. Chavannes translates in the past tense: »lorsque, au commencement, le peuple était affamé (ju Hou Tsi vous, Prince Millet, vous avez semé» etc.). But that is not acceptable, for the words ju Hou Tsi expresses the nomination: you shall be Hou Tsi (»Governor of the Millet»), and we have to interpret in the present: »The multitudinous people begin to starve», (you shall be Hou tsi, etc.). Now tsu *8* ('ancestor') is common as a noun, meaning 'the beginning, the origin' (e. g. Kuan: Ch'ï mi *10*: »One honours the ancestors, in order to show respect for the beginning, the origin» etc.), but tsu *8* rarely serves as a verb = 'to begin'. There is only one text ex. that has been frequently adduced. Li: Chung ni yen kü *11* »Then there are no means of tsu taking the initiative and securing harmony among the people» (a very doubtful case). For an alleged Shï par. (with *12* as loan chr. for *8*), which, however, is not admissible, see Gl. 382. — **B.** The Kuwen version read as above *13* (**tsi̯o / tsi̯wo / tsu*), defined by Cheng Hüan as = *14* 'straits, difficulties', by Wang Su [PK'ung] as = *15* 'difficulties, embarrassment'. PK'ung paraphrases: »The people's embarrassment is hunger», but that is rhythmically bad: li min tsu — ki, and it should better be turned thus: li min — tsu ki, with li-min as subject: »The multitudinous people (has for embarrassment the hunger =) is embarrassed by hunger». Tsu *13* in the sense of 'obstruction, difficulties, embarrassment' is common. — **C.** Yü Yüe: The original graph was probably simply *16*. Now *16* is defined in Shuowen as = tsien *17*. And since *17* can mean 'repeatedly', the phrase *18* means »the multudinous people repeatedly starves». This is a comical play on a double sense in the char. tsien *17*. Shuowen means that *16* was the original char. for *19* 'sacrificial table', and hence defines it by *17* 'to present in sacrifice'. But then further this char. *17* can serve as loan char. for a totally different word tsien 'repeatedly'. *16* or *19* of course can have no such meaning. A school example of bad philology. — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: The original graph (with Yü Yüe) was certainly simply *16*, enlarged into *8* by the Kin-wen school and into *13* by the Ku-wen school, according as they understood the line. For a similar erroneous filling-out of *16* into *13* cf. Yi li: Ta shê li, where the orthodox version reads (correctly) *20* but the Ku-wen version (as recorded in Cheng Hüan's gloss) read erroneously *21*. In our Shu line, *16* should be read ts'ie, as frequently, and this ts'ie is a mark of future tense, the line being equal to *22*: **»The multitudionous people will presently starve».** Cf. Ode 96, phr. *23* »The assembly will presently return home». — D is simple and plausible.

明勉起克采惠疇亮采有邵亮采相事信詶若子不亮惠疇惠順疇誰順其事昔誰乎類禹曰予惠王配天之命洪範九疇人與人相疇家與家相疇匹疇儔二千等宅百揆惟時懋哉勉懋 / 茂 之茂哉懋建大命美黎民阻飢黎民祖飢黎民始飢祖始尊祖以敬祖則無以祖洽於衆祖阻飢尻難且薦黎民且飢徂且左還阻乏

1284. P o s h ï p o k u *24.*

A. Cheng Hüan takes s h ï *26* as short-form for *25* 'to transplant': »Sow and transplant the hundred cereals». But on the one hand the idea of »to transplant» comes in very strange, since it is only the rice that has to be transplanted, and the majority of the »hundred cereals» are never so treated. On the other hand the word *25* (Kuang yün **đ̊i̯əg / źi / s h ï*) never occurs earlier than in Eastern Han texts. It would be better then to take *26* (**đ̊i̯əg / źi / s h ï*) as loan char. for *27* (**đ'i̯əg / đ'i / c h ï*) which means 'to plant' generally: »Sow and plant the 100 cereals». — **B.** PK'ung: *26* = *28*, as usual: **»Sow those hundred cereals».** — **C.** Chang Shou-tsie: »Sow the seasonal 100 cereals». — A means a quite unnecessary loan speculation. B and C are both possible, B being simplest and in accord with the commonest use of *26* in the Shu.

1285. W u p'i n p u s u n, j u t s o s ï t'u, k i n g f u w u k i a o *29.*

For s u n *30* (Shuowen var. *31*) 'docile, compliant', Sï-ma Ts'ien has *32* in the sense of *33*, same meaning.

As pointed out by Ma Jung, there is parallelism between w u p'i n 'the five classes' and w u k i a o 'the five instructions', the latter being the instructions pertaining to the »five classes».

A. The oldest interpr. is given in Tso: Wen 18, where it is told how Shun appointed wise men to *34* spread out the 5 instructions in the four quarters, these having in view *35* the father being just, the mother loving, the elder brother friendly, the younger brother respectful, the son filial. Thus our Shu line: »(*36* The hundred families are not affectionate), **the 5 classes (sc. fathers, mothers, elder brothers, younger brothers, sons) are not compliant; you shall be Master of the Multitude and respectfully propagate the 5 instructions (sc. that they should be just, loving, friendly, respectful and filial)».** Cheng Hüan has followed this. — **B.** Another interpr. is given by Meng: T'eng Wen Kung, shang: He made Sie Master of the Multitude to give instructions about *37* the human relation: between father and son there should be *38* love, between sovereign and minister (subject) *39* righteousness; between husband and wife *40* distinction (of functions); between elder and younger *41* proper order; between friend and friend *42* fidelity. Thus the Shu line: »The five categories (of social relations) are not compliantly (observed); you shall be Master of the Multitude and respectfully propagate the 5 instructions (about the principles of those 5 social relations)». — It is easily realized that A is the most logical sequence to: »The hundred families (the people) are not affectionate», since »father, mother, elder brother, younger brother, son» enumerates precisely the »categories» *43* inside a family. Moreover, in the B interpretation s u n 'to be compliant' as verb to w u p'i n as subject in the sense of »the five human relations» is very strained.

1286. W u h i n g y u f u w u f u s a n t s i u *44.*

A. The oldest text which clearly alludes to this Shu passage is a lecture by Tsang Wen-chung in Kyü: Lu yü, criticizing the unlawful killing by poison of an enemy: »The punishments are 5 only, and there are no secret ones . . .; *45* in the greatest punishment (sc. against a rebel) one uses weapons (sc. war); *46* in the next-following one uses axes (the culprit is beheaded); *47* in the punishments of the middle category one uses knife and saw (amputation); *48* in the next following one uses bore and chisel (smaller mutilations); *49* in the smallest punishments one uses whips and flogging; *50* hence, the greatest (punishments) are exhibited in the plains and wilds (sc. the war against rebels); *51* the smaller ones are effectuated in the market place or the court; *52* there are 5 punishments and 3 (successive stages =) grades; *53* that means that there are no secret (punishments)». Evidently the Kyü author took the Shu phr. *44* in the sense of *52*, thus: »The 5 punishments have their applications, in the 5 applications there are 3 (successive stages =) grades». By the w u h i n g »5 punishments» he understood crushing by

warfare, decapitation, amputation, smaller mutilations, flogging, and by the »3 stages» (s a n t s i u = s a n t s' ï) the *54* »greatest punishments», *55* »the middle punishments» and *56* »the smallest punishments». This is all very reasonable. But it is not reconcilable with the preceding passage in our chapter where it is spoken first of the *57* »five punishments that are *58* clearly defined», then of the banishment as mitigation of the 5 punishments, and after that of the flogging, which thus evidently, to the Shu author, did not form part of the »5 punishments»; nor, evidently, did »warfare» constitute one of the »5 punishments» of the Shu. In fact we know definitely by several texts (see Gl. 1267) that »Kao Yao's 5 punishments» were death, castration, cutting of feet, cutting of nose, branding (on forehead). Thus the Kyü interpretation is not admissible. — **B.** Wei Chao in comm. on Kyü above has misunderstood the phr. *52*, not realizing that t s' ï *59* 'successive stages' has the same sense as earlier in the passage *60* »the next-following»; he says t s' ï *59* »stage» means *61* c h' u 'place' where the punishment was carried out, and refers it to the a) plains and wilds, b) market place and c) court of the Kyü text. Wei Chao adds that executed dignitaries (»from ta-fu and upwards») were exposed in c h' a o the court, and nobles (»from s h ï and downwards») were exposed in s h ï the market place. Kiang Sheng has seized upon Wei's speculations, taking the t s i u *62* of the Shu phr. to mean t s' ï *59* in the sense of c h' u *61* 'place' (which Wei erroneously gave it in the Kyü text): t s i u *62* means 'to go to', hence 'destination', the place to which one went for applying the punishment. The Shu line *44* would thus mean: »The 5 punishments (for which Kiang follows Kyü's inadmissible series) have their applications, the 5 applications have their 3 (destinations =) places where they are carried out» sc. (the plains and wilds, the market place and the court). It is easily seen how fallacious all this is: we know from texts that executed officers were exposed in the market or in the court; but there is not the slightest support — apart from the Kyü sermon — for the other punishments (acc. to Kyü above: amputations, flogging) having been carried out in such determined »places». — **C.** Ma Jung and Cheng Hüan have realized that »the 5 punishments» of the Shu were not those of the Kyü text, but the well-attested series: death, castration, cutting of legs, amputation of nose, branding. But they nonetheless draw upon the Kyü for explaining s a n t s i u *63* as = *64*, and make the same mistake as Wei Chao: they do not realize that Kyü's s a n t s ï *64* means »the 3 successive stages» in the sense of »great crimes, middle crimes and small crimes» but take t s' ï *59* (and hence also t s i u *62*) as = *61* 'place'. But unlike Wei they unite s h ï c h' a o 'market and court' into one 'place' and add a new one: because Chouli: Tien shï shï *65* says that the members of the sovereign's clan were not punished publicly but secludedly by the officer t i e n s h ï, they interpret *44*: »The 5 punishments (death, castration etc.) have their applications, the 5 applications have their 3 (destinations =) places where they are carried out (the plains and wilds, the market and court, the office of the t i e n s h ï). As already stated, there is no text indication that punishments

還 22 黎民將飢 23 會且歸矣 24 播時百穀 25 蒔 26 時 27 植 28 是 29 五品 不遜汝作 司徒敬敷五教 30 遜 31 愁 32 馴 33 訓 34 布五教于四方 35 父義母慈兄友弟共子孝 36 百姓不親 37 人倫 38 親 39 義 40 別 41 序 42 信 43 品 44 五刑 有服五服三就 45 大刑用甲兵 46 其次用斧鉞 47 中刑用刀鋸 48 其次用鑽鑿 49 薄刑用鞭扑 50 故大者陳之原野 51 小者致之市朝 52 五刑三次 53 是無隱也 54 大刑 55 中刑 56 薄刑 57 五刑 58 衆 59 次 60 其次 61 處 62 就

like amputations or branding were done in the »market or court». — **D.** PK'ung varies the same ideas in his own way: *66* 'the great criminals' (rebels) were punished in the plains and wilds, dignitaries t a f u in the court and ordinary nobles s h ī in the market place. This is in part based on Wei Chao above, but does not refer merely to the (well-attested) exposing of the corpses in the market and the court, but refers all the punishments (amputation, branding etc.) to those *62* 'places'. Just as unfounded as the preceding. — **E.** Ts'ai Ch'en has realized the inadequacy of all the preceding. It is all very well, he says, that the executed culprits were exposed in the market, but as to castration it was done in the *67* (»silkworm house, hot-house») and the smaller mutilations certainly in some secluded place where the culprits would not catch cold and die (sic!). Thus even Ts'ai cannot make himself free from the obsession that s a n t s i u *63* meant »the 3 places» where the punishments were carried out. — **F.** Sun Sing-yen brushes aside all the speculations above and takes f u *68* not as = 'the application' of the punishment, but as = 'clothes', reverting to the scholastic idea (see Gl. 1267) that Shun had no corporal punishments but only *69* »represented punishments», indicated by the garments of the culprits. Thus: »The 5 punishments have their garments, the 5 kinds of garments have their three *62* = *70* elaborations» (crime-indicating clothes of 3 kinds). Hopelessly scholastic. — **G.** Another interpr. The line has a quite different purport from those proposed above. F u *68*, which does not mean 'to undergo' (as in the common phr. *71*; Chavannes translation: »Pour les cinq châtiments, il y a ceux qui les subissent» is certainly wrong) but is transitive = 'to cause to undergo', i. e. 'to apply', has to be understood in the light of the other great treatise on punishments, the Lü hing. There we find: *72* »In regard to a higher punishment, when (the crime) tends towards the lighter side, it should be downwards applied; in regard to a lower punishment, when (the crime) tends towards the heavier side, it should be upwards applied». And we have seen earlier in our Yao tien chapter, in a previous discussion of punishments, that involuntary crimes should be condoned. These three considerations of the influencing circumstances, give us the key to the phr. s a n t s i u *63*. T s i u *inter alia* means 'to approach' in the sense of 'to accommodate oneself to, to adapt oneself to', as in Shu: Ts'in shī *73* »they did not accommodate themselves to me»; Tso: Ai 11 (»he is too young»; answer: »no) *74* he (being young) accommodatingly obeys orders». Even in modern Mandarin t s i u *62* has this sense (t s i a n g t s i u *75* 'to accommodate oneself'). S a n t s i u hence means »three accommodations, adaptations to circumstances, *Anpassungen*». Our Shu line *44* thus means: **»The 5 punishments y u f u have their applications; in the 5 applications there are 3 accommodations (heightening, lowering or condoning the punishment)».** Parallel to this we have in the next line: *76* »The 5 banishments have their placings; in the 5 placings, there are 3 (kinds of) dwellings» (among the barbarians, in the outer dependencies and inside the Chinese realm proper). — It should be added that in the latter clause Cheng Hüan has a wild speculation that t s ê *77* 'to place' (for which Sī-ma Ts'ien as usual, has *78*) is a short-form for *79*, which would mean 'hand-fetters and foot-fetters'. Such a word is entirely unknown. Moreover t s ê *77* corresponds to k ü 'dwelling', which proves that it has its ordinary meaning.

Ch'ou tsī jo yü kung see Gl. 1233. J u t s o c h e n y ü, see Chavannes I, p. 85.

1287. J u h i e *80*.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien has abbreviated this line, but in the next paragraph, where we have exactly the same formulation, he paraphrases so as to show that he understood: **»Do you (act in harmony with =) cooperate with them».** Sun Sing-yen even believes that *81* stands for *82* 'together', but that is not necessary. *81* **g'ɛr / yăi /* h i e and *82* **kɛr / kăi /* k i e are two aspects of the same word stem (s. a. *83* **kɛr* 'all together'). — **B.** PK'ung

takes h i e as a transitive verb, referring to Ch'uei's subordinates: »Do you bring them into harmony». Chavannes translates more generally: »Faites régner l'harmonie». — The context favours A.

1288. K i a o c h o u t s ī *84*.

A. The Kin-wen version ap. Shuowen (under *85*) and Yang Hiung: Tsung cheng chen read: k i a o y ü t s ī *86*. »To teach the (sons in rearing =) young sons». Sī-ma paraphrases *87* »To teach the young (tender) sons», which may show that he had the same Kin-wen version. P'ei Yin, however, believes that Sī-ma rendered the *88* of the Ku-wen text by *89* because they were »similar in sound»: *88* **d'i̯ôg / d'i̯u / c h o u* would then be a loan char. for *89* *d'i̯ər / d'i / c h ī*, which is phonetically impossible. Tuan Yü-ts'ai, on the other hand, believes that the *88* of the Ku-wen »had the same sound and meaning» as *85* of the Kin-wen and that Sī-ma's *89* translated either of them, but that is very wrong (*88* **d'i̯ôg* : *85* **di̯ôk / i̯uk /* y ü). But it is not excluded that Sī-ma really had a text with *88* and thought that *88* **d'i̯ôg* was a word cognate to *85* **di̯ôk* (or a loan char. for the latter) and hence translated it by *89* 'young, tender'. The phr. y ü t s ī *90* (**di̯ôk*) 'son in rearing' = 'young son' is a well-known expression recurring written *91* ((**di̯ôk*) in Ode 155 (see Gl. 379). — **B.** The Ku-wen version ap. Ma Jung (gloss here), Cheng Hüan (comm. on Li: Wang chī), Wang Su and PK'ung read as above *84*. But this has been interpreted in 3 ways. — *α*. Han shu: Li yüe chī, quoting our Shu line, says the pupils of the Music Master were the k u o t s ī *92* »young men of the states», and defines them as the *93* sons (both elder and younger) of k ' i n g ministers and t a f u dignitaries. Cheng Hüan likewise says our phr. *94* means *92*, and in comm. on Chouli: Ta sī yüe he defines these k u o t s ī as = the *93* sons (both elder and younger) of k u n g feudal lords, k ' i n g ministers and t a f u dignitaries. This is based on Chouli: Ta sī yüe: »He arranges and establishes the system of studies in the state, and *95* brings together there (in the school) the sons (elder and younger) of the states». In fact the word c h o u *88* (**d'i̯ôg*) is well attested in the sense of 'descendants' generally, e. g. Tso: Siang 14 »They are the *96* descendants of Sī Yüe»; Kyü: Lu yü *97* »to classify the nearness or remoteness of the descendants». Thus our Shu line: **»To teach the descendant sons».** — *β*. Shuowen under *88* (as quoted in K'ung's comm. on Ode 259; the current Shuowen text is abbreviated) says: »c h o u means descendants; in the rituals the *98* first-rank sons (sons of first-rank wives) were called c h o u t s ī *94*». This is based on Li: Wang chī, which says: The Yüe-cheng Music Master taught the polite arts to *99* »the heir-apparent of the king, the (other) sons of the king and the first-rank sons (sons of the consorts) of ministers, dignitaries and higher noblemen» — since this discusses the »Music Master», it evidently refers to the c h o u t s ī *94* of our Shu line. Thus the latter: »To teach the first-rank sons». Wang chī is considered to be one of the latest chapters in the Li, possibly written in Han time. — *γ*. In all the preceding interpretations y ü or c h o u were taken as attributes to t s ī. But Ma Jung says c h o u *88* = *100* c h a n g³ as a verb, paraphrasing *1* and evidently explaining *84* thus: »k i a o to teach and c h o u bring up the sons». Evidently he took *88* **d'i̯ôg* as loan char. for (or a word cognate to) *85* **di̯ôk*. A much inferior interpr. — Both A and B*α* are quite

63三就 64三次 65司師氏 66大罪 67蠶室 68服 69臬刑 70成 71服罪 72上刑適輕下服下刑適重上服 73未就于 74就用令焉 75將就 76五流有宅五宅三居 77宅 78度 79咤 80汝諧 81偕 82皆 83教胄子 84胄 85教胄子 86教誨子 87誨 88胄 89誨 90育子 91胥子 92國子 93子弟 94胄子 95合國之子弟焉 96商胄 97等胄之親統 98適子 99王太子 王子尊卑之

admissible; but since we do not know whether Sī-ma had the A or the B reading, the B version (Ku-wen) is the oldest one safely attested (Han shu), and we should therefore abide by that; the *a* interpr. of version B is best corroborated. Cf. also Gl. 1471 below.

1289. K'uan er li *2.*

A. Ma Jung paraphrases *3*: »Wide and great and yet respectfully apprehensive». PK'ung likewise says k'uan: *4* 'great'. When Cheng Hüan defines it further *5*: 'the capacity being wide and great', this is not very fortunate, for always, when k'uan denotes a mental quality, it means 'magnanimous, large-minded' — so *passim* in Shu, Shī, Li etc. (Legge, Couvreur and Chavannes therefore render it here by 'gentle' or 'indulgent'). Li *6* (s. a. *7*) 'trembling, full of fear' is common (Meng: Wan Chang *8* »full of veneration and awe» etc.). Thus: **»Large-minded and yet apprehensive (careful)».** — **B.** PK'ung defines li by *9*, certainly (as K'ung Ying-ta expounds) meaning the same as Ma Jung in A above, but Legge has taken this chuang-li as = 'dignified': »That the gentle may yet be dignified»; similarly Couvreur in Kao Yao mo: »l'aisance et la gravité». Chuang *10* certainly can mean 'dignified', but li *6* alone never has that sense. — **C.** Couvreur in Yao tien has another interpr: »Indulgence et sévérité»; here he takes li as = 'to fear' but as a causative: 'scaring' (in the Dictionnaire he translates: »Indulgent et néanmoins inspirant le respect et la crainte»). — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: li *6* is defined as = *11* 'solid, firm' in comm. on Li: P'ing yi, and hence our line means: »Large-minded and yet firm». When Chavannes translates: »Indulgents mais avec énergie», I suppose he follows Sun in taking li = *11* (solid = energetic?). But all this is false, for in Li: P'ing yi li means *11* in another sense: 'compact, dense', said of jade (see Gl. 873). — **E.** Cheng Hüan has no gloss on li *6* here, but he gives his interpr. of it in Li: Piao ki, in comm. on the line *12*: »He is large-minded but discriminating». Then Cheng says: pien *13* is = *14*, and is equal to the li *6* of our Shu phr. Now in Ode 156 the same Cheng explains li sin *15* as = »cleft firewood» (erroneously, see Gl. 387), taking *6* **lịĕt* to be a loan char. for *16* **lịat* 'to cleave'. Thus our Shu line: »Of great capacity and yet (cleaving =) discriminating». A very arbitrary loan speculation. — **F.** Yü Yüe believes that *6* **lịĕt* / **d'ịĕt* / chī) 'orderly' because of some variants *6* = *17* in Shī and Kung-yang, see Gl. 1132, a hopeless speculation. — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr. (A, Ma Jung), which is quite convincing.

1290. Kien er wu ao *18.*

In Kao Yao mo we have correspondingly kien er lien *19.*

A. Cheng Hüan defines kien *20* = *21*. It is not very clear what he means by that; Sun Sing-yen believes he means: »The capacity being (condensed =) achieved and great». Be this as it may, kien *20* = *22* 'great' is a well-attested meaning, see Gl. 109, and PK'ung in Kao Yao mo defines kien as = *22* 'great'. Thus *18*: **»Great and yet not arrogant».** *19*: **»Great and yet punctilious».** — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en: kien *20* = *23* 'to abbreviate, to simplify, summary', likewise a common meaning of the word. Thus: »Taking it (summarily =) easy and yet not arrogant». (Chavannes: »Indifférents aux détails mais sans arrogance»; when Legge translates: »that the impetuous may not be arrogant», I fail to see how he can arrive at such a meaning as 'impetuous' for kien). — Both interpr. are admissible, but A suits the context much better: kien balances chī *24* »straight» and kang *25* »(hard =) firm»; »great» is then better than »easygoing».

Po shou shuai wu see Gl. 1279.

1291. Ko yung yen *26.*

Sī-ma Ts'ien renders yung *27* by *28* 'to make long'. Han shu: Yi wen chī quotes *29* (sic). This *30*, homophonous with *27* (**giwāng*), is etym. the same word: 'to draw out long', i. e. 'to chant', and the *27* of the orthodox text has this meaning: **»The song is a (drawing-out =) chanting of the words».**

1292. Tsi ch'an shuo t'ien hing *31.*

The char. *32* is rendered *33* 'to fear and hate' by Sī-ma Ts'ien and defined as = *34* 'to hate' by Shuowen and PK'ung. Shīwen after Sü Miao reads it **dz'ịək* / *dz'ịək* / tsi. This, however, is not convincing. The char. *35* had originally a reading **tsịĕt* (see Grammata p. 226) and as such is phonetic in several words having final *-t*. It has later also been applied to a synonymous word **tsịək* / *tsịək* / tsi. But the compound *32* 'masonry' (Li) is read **tsịĕt* / *tsịĕt* / tsi. When this graph is used as a loan char., it should in all probability not be read **dz'ịək* but **dz'ịĕk* / *dz'ịĕt* / tsi, being a loan char. for *34* **dz'ịĕt* 'to hate'. — Sī-ma writes: *36* and Chang Shou-tsie takes wei *37* in its ordinary sense of 'false, to cheat' (Chavannes therefore: »je redoute ..... les wei tromperies t'ien corruptrices»); but wei renders the hing *38* of the Shu which cannot mean 'false' and Sun Sing-yen is certainly right that *37* is here simply a variant for wei *39* 'to act' (the two are cognate words).

A. Ma Jung explains t'ien hing by *40*, thus interpreting *31* as: »I hate (those who) speak slanderously and who destroy the (good) actions». This has been accepted by PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en (Legge: »I abominate slanderous speakers and destroyers of [right] ways»). But this is to read into the line a crucial word ('good') that is not there. — **B.** Cheng Hüan paraphrases (by a quotation from Lun) so as to show that he understood: **»I hate those who speak slanderously and (destructively act =) act destructively».** This alone does full justice to the parallelism: ch'an corresponds to t'ien, and shuo balances hing. — **C.** Erya: Shī ku has an entry hing *40* = *41* 'talk' and Shao Tsin-han in comm. on Erya thinks this refers to our Shu line: »I hate slanderous words and destructive talk». It is of course quite imaginable that hing could mean 'what is current', i. e. 'rumour', t'ien hing thus = »nocuous rumours», but in the absence of corroborating text par. this interpr. is not acceptable (Chang Ping-lin accepts it, adding that t'ien *42* should be a loan char. for *43*, which Erya says = *44*, thus *45* = *46*; very improbable).

1293. Wei shī liang t'ien kung *47.*

For liang = 'to assist' see Gl. 1281. Sī-ma Ts'ien renders the line by *48*.

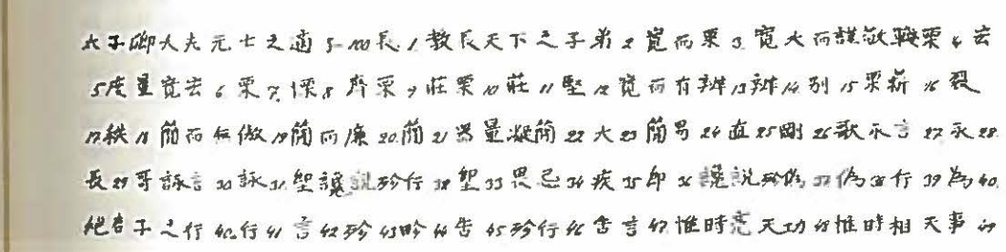
A. PK'ung: t'ien kung *49* = *50*: »And now you shall assist me in the meritorious work of all the realm» — an ellipsis which is not plausible. — **B.** Chang Shou-tsie: »According to the seasons you shall assist me in the works (assigned by) Heaven» (Chavannes freely: »Conformez vous aux temps; observez quels devoirs prescrit le ciel»; it is not clear here how he understood liang). — **C.** A comparison with an earlier line (Gl. 1276) shows that shī *51*, as usual, is merely = *52*, thus: **»Now you shall assist me in the works (assigned by) Heaven».**

Shu tsi hien hi see Gl. 1229. Fen pei Yu Miao see gl. 1272.

Shun sheng san shī etc. For a full discussion and interpretation see BMFEA 18, p. 290.

1294. Chī fang nai sī *53.*

A. In Sī-ma's free paraphrase of the long passage about Shun's dates he says: »Making



an inspection tour in the South, he died in the wilds of Ts'ang-wu», which suggests that he took f a n g *54* in the sense of (one of the) s ī f a n g 'the four quarters, the four regions', thus: »He went up to (one of the four) regions and died». This interpr. has been championed for inst. by Kiang Sheng. — **B.** PK'ung curiously says f a n g *54* = *55*, expounding: *56* »ascending to the road, he made an inspection tour in the South» etc. In order to confirm this K'ung Ying-ta says f a n g *54* is = *55* e. g. in Lun: Yung ye *57* »a (way =) trick of the goodness»; a hopeless defense for a weak explanation. — **C.** Han Yü: c h ī *58* 'to ascend' means 'to die' and f a n g - n a i are particles: C h ī — f a n g n a i s ī »He ascended and (then) died». — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en, criticizing interpr A, rightly says that to go to the South would certainly not have been called 'to ascend to a region'; he accepts C as to c h ī, but takes c h ī f a n g together: »he ascended to his place», i. e. died. Legge finds a difficulty in the mentioning of the »ascending» before the »dying», but that is to press the words too strongly: »He ascended to his place and died» is equal to **»Ascending to his place (sc. in Heaven) he died»**. In the authentic Chu shu ki nien we find *59*: »That year Yin Kia (ascended =) died». This confirms C as to c h ī; since our text has c h ī combined with s ī 'died' and since the Chu shu shows it to be a term for the death of a sovereign, there can be no doubt on this point. But D is rhythmically preferable to C.

1295. Y i n t i k ü e t ê *60*.

A. This is the orthodox version: **»If (the ruler) sincerely pursues the course of his virtue»**. — **B.** Sī-ma Ts'ien (Hia pen ki) renders the line *61*, which indicates another word sequence: *62* »If he is sincere in his following the virtue», making y ü n the principal verb. — We dare not simply on the indirect testimony of Sī-ma's emendate the traditional text. For a full discussion of the line see further Legge's gloss.

Kao Yao mo (with Yi Tsi).

1296. S h e n k ü e s h e n s i u s ī y u n g *63*.

A. The oldest interpretation is revealed by an edict of the year 39 B. C. (Han shu: Yüan ti ki) which has *64*, clearly alluding to our Shu line. It shows that the writer punctuated: s h e n k ü e s h e n, s i u s ī y u n g. Sun Sing-yen points out that s ī *65* in the 2nd line corresponds to k ü e *66* in the 1st and should be a grammatical word. That is evidently correct, since the edict writer skipped them both. On the analogy of s h e n k ü e s h e n »He should be careful about his person» it would be tempting to take s i u as a verb (corresponding to the 1 st s h e n) and y u n g as an object (corresp. to s h e n): »and cultivate the eternal (principles)». But that will hardly do. S ī, common as initial or final particle (Shī *passim*, cf. Gl. 700), is rare inside a sentence, and there are no cases in which it separates a verb from its object. The construction is quite different. In ode 215, phr. *67* »The good wine is mellow», s ī has the position of a copula (equal to *68*), and so it has here: **»He should be careful about his person, the cultivation (of it) should be perpetual»**, s i u s ī y u n g (quite analogous to the Ode line) being equal to *69*. The strict grammatical parallelism between the two lines is then lost, but in return we obtain a very logical sequence of ideas. — **B.** PK'ung paraphrases *70*, which shows that he punctuated: s h e n k ü e s h e n s i u, s ī y u n g: »He should be careful about the cultivation of his person, and think of (enacting) the eternal (principles)». Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates in the same way but turns it slightly differently: s ī y u n g »and think far-reachingly». — B is decidedly inferior, both rhytmically (s h e n k ü e s h e n s i u — s ī y u n g, as against: A: s h e n k ü e s h e n — s i u s ī y u n g) and logically.

1297. T u n s ü k i u t s u *71*.

A. Cheng Hüan and PK'ung (after Erya): t u n = *72*: **»If you amply regulate your nine family branches»**. — **B.** Legge, Couvreur and Chavannes all take t u n and s ü as two coördinated causative verbs. (Legge: »he will effect a generous kindness and nice observance of distinctions among the nine classes of his kindred»; Chavannes: »il fera observer la sincérité et les rangs aux neuf degrés de parenté»; Couvreur: »Generosas et ordinatas faciet novem generationes consanguineorum»). No reason whatever to abandon the ancient interpr.

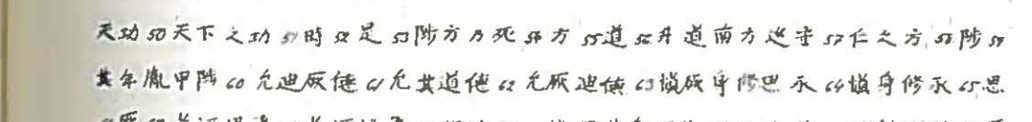
1298. S h u m i n g l i y i *73*.

S h u m i n g:

A. Cheng Hüan: S h u m i n g = *74* **»all the enlightened ones»**. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: m i n g has here the same sense as earlier in our chapter: *75* »Promote one (already) illustrious, or raise one humble and mean», thus: »All the illustrious ones». — **C.** PK'ung would take s h u m i n g as a finite clause: »All will be enlightened» (and energetically help). This is clearly inferior to A and B. — **D.** Yü Yüe: m i n g *76* is a short-form for *77* in the sense of *78* 'people', *79* thus meaning *80* »all the people». An unnecessary loan speculation. A and B are both plausible, but A seems logically preferable: All the wise men of the realm give their aid.

The whole line:

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: *81*. Thus: »All the enlightened ones will loftily assist him». (Chavannes translates: »Tous les sages seront ses ailes sur lesquels il s'élèvera», properly: »All the enlightened ones will be his high-(lifting) wings», which is certainly too strained). If Sī-ma really rendered l i by k a o *82* 'high', it shows that his version had *83*, not *84* (cf. B. below); cf. Ch'u: Yüan yu *85* »I rise high». But Sī-ma's reading is not safely attested; certain Shī ki versions read *86* (*87* and *82* being graphically similar, one of them is an erroneous graph for the other): »All the enlightened ones will assist him» (l i a n g y i being then a binome of synonyms). L i, however, has no such meaning as 'to assist', so if l i a n g y i was really Sī-ma's reading, he has skipped l i and rendered the y i *88* of the Shu by a binome. — **B.** Cheng Hüan, reading *83*, defines this (after Erya) as = *89*, paraphrasing *90*, thus: »All the enlightened ones will act as his (wings =) coadjutors». But Erya's gloss l i *83* = *89* does not mean t s o in the sense of 'to act as, to be' but of 'to be active, energetic', cf. C below, and Cheng's interpr. is not admissible. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: l i = *91* 'to stimulate, to be stimulated, to exert oneself', thus: **»All the enlightened ones will energetically (be wings to =) assist him»**. L i *83* is common with this meaning and *84* of the PK'ung version is merely an enlarged variant of *83* in this sense. Cf. Li: P'ing yi *92* »When the princes stimulate each other to exertions by the laws of good conduct»; Kuan: K'uei to *93* »Such servants who can plan to exert themselves for the country and establish their fame». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: l i *83* = *93a* 'to attach', thus: »All the enlightened ones will be attached (to him) and assist him». This meaning of l i is poorly substantiated, see Gl. 582. — C is certainly best supported.



1299. E r k'o yüan tsai tsī *94*.

A. Cheng Hüan and PK'ung: »**That what is near can be (made distant =) caused to reach far lies in this**», i. e. that his influence on his nearest can reach to more distant people. — **B.** Chavannes, following a comm. Ch'en Ta-yu, punctuates after k'o and translates: »Ce qui est près sera digne d'approbation; ce qui est loin sera sous la main»; a curious idea.

1300. Yü pai ch'ang yen *95*.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien renders ch'ang *96* (**l̂'i̯ang*) by *97* 'beautiful, fine', the fundamental sense of ch'ang being 'bright, splendid' (Shī etc.). Thus: »**Yü did reverence to the splendid words**». — **B.** PK'ung explains ch'ang by *98* (**táng*, falling tone) 'suitable, appropriate'. It would seem that he takes **l̂'i̯ang* as loan char. for **táng*. »Yü did reverence to the appropriate words». — **C.** Another school ap. Chao K'i's comm. on Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou read *99*. This same word occurs without rad. 149 in Yi Chou shu: Chai kung kie *100* and in Sün: Fei siang. Both *1* and *2* were **táng* in rising tone. *1* is defined as = *3* 'good' and *97* 'fine' in comm. on Yi Chou shu and *2* likewise as = *97* 'fine' in the dict. Tsī lin; but *1* is defined as = *4* 'straight-forward words' by Yang Liang in comm. on Sün, and *2* is likewise so defined in Ts'ie yün. The former definition 'fine, good' is due to these authors' knowing that it corresponds to the ch'ang *96* in the orthodox Shu version (Sī-ma = *97*), but it is wrong; the true meaning 'straight-forward (words)' is proved unambiguously by the context in Sün: Fei siang, where we have the binome *5* 'straight-forward and straight'. Thus: »Yü did reverence to the straight-forward words». A and C are both admissible, but A is earliest attested (through Sī-ma's paraphrase) and should therefore be given preference.

K'ung jen see Gl. 1278.

1301. Yi hing yu kiu tê *6*.

A. PK'ung entirely skips yi *7* in his paraphrase, thus taking it as the ordinary particle, which often introduces a line without any pregnant meaning of its own (very common in the Odes: Odes 14, 26, 35, 156 etc.). Thus: »**In the actions there are 9 virtues**». — **B.** Ku Ye-wang in Yü p'ien interprets yi *7* here as meaning *8* (the char. *7* is the primary graph for *8* or *9* 'armpit', see Grammata p. 334) and it would here mean 'to armpit' = 'to support under the arms' = *10*: »In supporting the actions there are 9 virtues». Both Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen have adopted this interpr. But since it is not applicable in the next line which continues: *11*, it is obviously inadmissible. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: yi *7* means *12*: »Altogether, in the actions there are 9 virtues». No text par. — No reason to abandon A.

Tsai ts'ai ts'ai see Gl. 1233. K'uan er li see Gl. 1289. Kien er lien see Gl. 1290.

1302. Jī süan san tê, su ye sün ming yu kia *13*.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien renders sün ming *14* by *15*. In order to reconcile this with the Shu text, Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen both take *16* yi (**gi̯ək*) to be a variant for the homophonous *17*, one meaning of which is *18* 'respectful, careful' (see Gl. 433) and, after Fang yen and Kuangya, define sün *19* as = *18*. But then they interpret the line quite differently. Kiang Sheng: »(The one who) daily displays three (of the said nine) virtues, morning and evening respectfully manifests them in his family» (referring to such as still have no official positions). Sun Sing-yen: ming *20* is loan char. for meng *21* and this is defined in Erya as = *22*; yu kia »those who have (hereditary) houses», i. e. dignitaries. Thus: »Daily display three (of the said nine) virtues, and morning and evening respectfully stimulate (the possessors of houses =) the dignitaries». (This theory of *20* = *22*, propounded by Wang Yin-chī, has no unambiguous text support.) Chavannes, accepting the definition of yi (= sün) = *18*, turned the line differently, more in

accordance with the later comm. below: »Celui qui, journellement, manifeste trois de ces vertus, celui-là, matin et soir, est attentif et intelligent, et il sera mis à la tête d'une maison». All this is very well, but there are no early texts at all confirming a sense 'respectful, careful' of the word sün *19*. Thus, if that was really Sī-ma's opinion, he has no support in pre-Han literature. Other Ts'ing scholars have therefore a quite different opinion. Erya: Shī ku has an entry sün *23* = *24* 'early, early morning', and Kuo P'o expounds this as = *20* 'to become bright'. Since Sī-ma's yi *16*, id. w. *25*, is defined as = *20* 'bright' in Erya: Shī yen, Ho Yi-hang and others believe that (*19* being id. w. *23*) sün ming *14* as well as yi ming *15* simply are synonym-compounds, thus: ». . . . he morning and evening is (bright =) enlightened». But again, there are no text par. whatever for sün *19* or *23* meaning 'bright'. — **B.** Ma Jung says sün *19* (**si̯wən*) means *26* 'great', evidently taking it to be a loan char. for *27* or *28* **ts'i̯wən* / *ts'i̯uĕn* / tsün 'great'. For the rest he does not explain the line. — **C.** PK'ung says sün *19* = sü *29*, paraphrasing *30*. What PK'ung meant by this is obscure, and K'ung Ying-ta explains his sü *29* = *31* and takes ming as = *32*, thus: »The one who can daily display and practise those virtues, morning and evening thinking of them, the next morning practising them, will be a dignitary». This, of course, cannot be reconciled with the brief Shu text, and more probably PK'ung meant: »The one who daily displays three virtues, morning and evening sü ought to ming manifest them, and yu kia he will (have a house =) be a dignitary». (Chu Tsün-sheng finds PK'ung's gloss sün = sü so unintelligible, that he believes sü *29* is a corruption of *33* 'great', in accordance with B above). In any case, there is not the slightest text support for a meaning sün *19* = *29*. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en: sün *19* = *34* 'to regulate': »(The one who) can daily display three virtues, and morning and evening be regulating and enlightened, will (have a house =) be dignitary». But again, there is no text support whatever for sün meaning *34* 'to regulate'. — **E.** Couvreur, who in his Shu translation follows D above, in his Dictionnaire has another interpr.: sün *19* = 'wise'; sün *19* frequently means 'deep, to make deep' (Shī, Meng etc.) and this *19* **si̯wən* (falling tone) is then merely a variant of the common *35* (**si̯wən* falling tone) 'deep'. This word is well attested in the sense of 'deep-thinking, wise', e. g. Ode 304, phr. *36* »Deep and wise was Shang». When we here in our Shu phr. have its variant sün *19* together with ming *20* 'bright, enlightened' and referring to the great virtues of the prominent men, it is obvious that the sense is 'deep, profound, wise': »**(The one who) daily displays three (of the said nine) virtues, and morning and evening is (deep =) wise and enlightened, will (have a house =) be a dignitary**».

Liang ts'ai yu pang see Gl. 1281.

1303. Hi shou fu shī *37*.

A. Ma Jung: shī *38* ('to apply') = *39* 'to use' (sc. in government), thus: »**By bringing together and receiving (such men) and widely applying them (in the government)**». It would seem that Pan Ku held the same opinion for, having quoted our preceding kiu tê

之能謀屬國定名者 23 陼 24 通可恵在政 25 禹拜昌言 26 昌 27 美 28 嘉 29 禹拜讜言 30 讜
善格首黨言 1 黨 2 謀 3 善 4 直言 5 黨正 6 亦行有九德 7 亦 8 拔 9 脫 10 扶持 11 亦
言其人有德 12 總 13 日 14 三德 凡夜 15 夜明有求 16 夜明 17 朝明 18 朝 19 翼 20 敬 21 夜 22 明
23 孟 24 勉 25 昧 26 早 27 翌 28 人 29 俊 30 畯 31 頴 32 能日日布行三德早夜思之頴明行之可以
為卿大夫 33 俾 34 明旦 35 頒 36 治 37 潛 38 潛者維南 39 翕受敷施 40 施 41 用 42 賢布於百

hien shī, tsün ai tsai kuan, he says (Han shu: Ku Yung chuan): *40* »the wise men are distributed over the offices». — **B.** PK'ung: »By bringing together and receiving (such men) (and letting them) widely apply (the government and the instructions)». — B, which supposes that shī has an understood object »the government and instructions» which is not expressed, is far inferior to the simple and logical A.

1304. Tsün yi (ai) tsai kuan *41*.

A. Ma Jung and Cheng Hüan: the one who in talent and virtue surpasses 1000 men is called tsün; the one who surpasses 100 men is called yi. — **B.** Kiang Sheng points out that the former is based on Huai: T'ai tsu, the latter having no foundation in early texts. Sun Sing-yen soberly comments that tsün is common in the sense of 'great, eminent', and *42* is often a variant for *43* ai, which *inter alia* means 'old, aged'. Indeed, in Han shu: Ku Yung chuan, our line is quoted with *43* inst. of *42*. Thus: **»The eminent and aged (i. ex. experienced) ones are in the offices»**. It is a common theme that the ai 'aged ones' are wise men, suitable to direct and teach others, e. g. Kyü: Chou yü, shang: »The music masters and grand scribes give teachings, *44* the aged ones elaborate it». That Sün-tsī already understood our ai in this sense is revealed by a passage quoted under Gl. 1305 below.

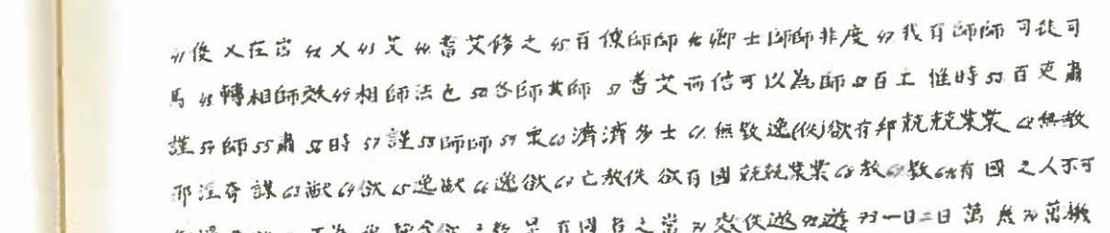
1305 a. Po liao shī shī *45*;
b. K'ing shī shī shī fei tu *46* (Shu: Wei tsī);
c. Wo yu shī shī, sī t'u, sī ma..... *47* (Shu: Tsī ts'ai).

A. Ma Jung on *46* says: shī shī = *48*, thus: »The dignitaries reciprocally imitate each other in doing irregular things», and PK'ung also under *45* has followed this, saying: shī shī = *49*. Thus: »All the officials will imitate one another». Under *47* PK'ung explains: »I have shī masters shī to imitate (follow)». Thus he has a totally different grammatical construction in *45*, *46* (reciprocal) and in *47*, which is quite unacceptable. Moreover, it is difficult to see how in po liao shī shī, the shī shī could grammatically be construed to mean 'the officials imitate one another'. (K'ung Ying-ta explains that shī shī is equal to *50* »each imitates his teacher»). — **B.** Sün-tsī seems already to have taken shī as a verb meaning 'to take as teacher, to imitate, to follow', for (in Sün: Chī shī) he alludes to our Shu line: *51* (»those who are) aged and reliable can be taken as teachers». This allusion, however, reveals that Sün took our line *45* in connection with the preceding: tsün ai tsai kuan: »The eminent and aged ones are in the offices, and all the officials (magistros imitant =) imitate them as teachers». But here again this is not applicable to case *46*, which would demand a different construction. — **C.** Sī-ma Ts'ien has contracted the line *45* and the following *52* into one *53*: »The hundred officials are respectful and attentive». When Sun Sing-yen tries to make this free paraphrase correspond to the Shu lines, he has to resort to desperate speculations: shī *54* (**ṣi̯ər*) and su *55* (**ṣi̯ôk*) were »similar in sound», and Sī-ma must have believed that *54* shī was a loan char. for su *55*; shī *56* can mean 'good' and is rendered by kin *57* 'careful, attentive'. This, of course, is impossible, but it is difficult to see how Sī-ma arrived at his su *55* 'respectful, careful'; did he take shī *54* in the sense of 'orderly' (properly: 'army-like, arraigned')? In any case, this meaning will not do in ex. *46*. — **D.** Shī *54* frequently means 'a host, a great number', and Kuangya (Shī hün) says shī shī *58* = *59* 'a crowd, numerous', probably having our Shu cases in view. Yü Yüe reminds that such a reduplication is common, e. g. in Shī: tsi tsi to shī *60* and maintains that this is the meaning in all three examples: *45*: **»(The hundred officials =) all the officials (are there) in a host, all the functionaries are observant of the seasons»**, etc. *46*: **»The dignitaries and officers in a great host are doing unlawful things»**; *47*: **»I have, shī shī (hostlike =) in a great array, the Master of the Multitude, the Master of the Horse»** etc. (various others). It would seem

that in *45* this suits the context badly, but the idea seems to be that when all the virtuous men are in the offices, the whole government is well equipped and rich in good officials. — D alone is at the same time grammatically satisfactory and applicable to all the three Shu cases.

1306. Wu chiao yi yü yu pang king king ye ye *61*.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien renders only the first 4 words (skipping the rest) and paraphrases them *62*: »Do not teach depraved and extravagant counsels». Sun Sing-yen proposes that Sī-ma's text had *63* 'plan, counsel' instead of *64*, a corruption due to the similarity of the characters — a plausible conjecture; that *63* is a corruption of *64* and not vice versa follows from the context: *65* 'relaxed (licentious, lazy) counsels' makes poor sense, whereas yi yü *66* is a natural combination. — **B.** Another school (ap. Han shu: Wang Kia chuan) had the text: *67*, thus having ao *68* inst. of the kiao *69* of the orthodox text; the two char. are very similar and easily confused. Yen Shī-ku carries yu kuo (= yu pang of the orthodox text) to the first clause, interpreting: *69 b* »Those who possess states (sc. the feudatories) should not be arrogant or lazy and full of desire». But that yu kuo should be the subject of the clause placed at the end (»not having arrogance or laziness and desires (should be) the possessors of states») is grammatically very strained. In the B text version, yu kuo (= yu pang) must rather be an adverbial phrase: »They (the feudatories) should have no arrogance nor laziness and desires in their states». That there is no preposition before yu kuo is no obstacle to this. — **C.** PK'ung, reading *61*, likewise carries yu pang to the first line and explains: *70* »Not to teach lazy enjoyments and covetous desires, is [the norm of] those who possess states» (sc. feudatories); grammatically entirely impossible. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates in the same way but takes »the emperor» as understood subject: **»You (the emperor) should not (teach =) set an example of laziness or desires to the possessors of states (sc. feudatories)»**; thus yu pang is taken as object to the verb kiao (Couvreur: »ne doceas segnitiem ac libidinem qui tenent regna [regulos]»). — **E.** Sun Sing-yen carries yu pang to the second line (yu pang king king ye ye): »The feudatories should be awed», without giving his own opinion of the meaning of the first line; Yü Yüe, dividing in the same way, says kiao *69* is equal to hiao *71* 'to imitate, learn': »They should not learn laziness and desires», but his reasons for this are quite insufficient. — **F.** Another ancient school (ap. Hou Han shu: Ch'en Fan chuan) reads yi yu *72* »laziness and amusements» inst. of yi yü *66*. — First there is the question of the yu pang; it should certainly be carried to the first line. The expression king king ye ye as a complete phrase is common (see Gl. 1199) and is spoiled by the addition of a yu pang as a preceding subject; furthermore the whole passage consists of alternating 6 and 4 syllables: wu kiao yi yü yu pang (6) — king king ye ye (4) — yu jī er jī wan ki (6) — wu k'uang shu kuan (4) — t'ien kung jen k'i tai chī (6). In the second place, version B (ao *68*) is tempting: but the kiao *69* is attested in so different sources as Sī-ma



Ts'ien, the PK'ung version, and that of Hou Han shu, which deviates on another point from the PK'ung version, and it would thus be too bold to reject it. Thirdly Sī-ma's *63* is unacceptable in itself, but indirectly it testifies to the early existence of the reading *64*, which recurs both in the Han shu quotation and in the PK'ung version; y ü *64* is therefore preferable to the y u *72* attested much later. The passage should thus read *61*. Finally there is the question whether the lines refer to the feudatories and officials mentioned in the preceding paragraphs: »They should not (teach =) give an example of laziness and desires to the states they possess»; or, with D, they refer to the emperor: »You should not . . . .» etc. The latter seems preferable, for the whole passage must reasonably refer to the sovereign, since we find two lines later: w u k ' u a n g s h u k u a n, which clearly is an exhortation to the emperor.

K i n g k i n g y e y e see Gl. 1199.

1307. Y i j ī e r j ï w a n k i *73*.

A. In Han shu: Wang Kia chuan the reading is w a n k i *74*, k i meaning 'spring, mainspring, mechanism', thus: »In one day, in two days there are ten thousand (mainsprings, causes setting things in motion =) causes of happenings». The *75* of the orthodox version acc. to Kiang Sheng is only a short-form for this *76*. — **B.** PK'ung, after Shuowen, says k i = *77* 'small, minutiae', i. e. the first symptoms, the beginning: **»In one day in two days there are ten thousand (minutiae =) first signs of happenings»** (i. e. one must be on the alert for what is beginning to happen). This is based on Yi: Hi t s ' ï *78* »K i, that means a trifle of movement (the smallest symptom of movement), the first visible signs of luck or misfortune». The idea that a sage ruler should attend to the first symptoms of events and so at an early stage direct them recurs *passim* in the early literature. Ts'ai Ch'en therefore rightly quotes Lao tsï: *79* »You should plan against difficulties while they are (still) easy, you should (do =) handle the great while it is (still) small». K'ung Ying-ta, on the other hand, misunderstood PK'ung's w e i and failed to realize that it referred to this current idea of ancient thought; he believed that w a n k i »ten thousand minutiae (small things)» referred to all the various small matters which the ruler could not find time to handle himself, but must leave to his subordinates. — **C.** Chang Ping-lin adduces a gloss by Mao Heng in Ode 209 defining k i *75* as = *80*, and he believes w a n k i here means *81* »a myriad times (occasions)». But that Mao definition was refuted in Gl. 668. — B is superior to A since it falls in with the same theme in other early philosophical texts. Perhaps, however, the opposition between A and B is more imaginary than real, in that k i *76* 'spring' etymologically may mean 'the minute thing' which sets a greater complex in motion. Cf. in this connection an ancient text Tao king *82*, quoted by Sün (Kie pi) — later incorporated in the spurious Shu chapter Ta Yü mo — *83*: »The precariousness of man's heart, the (minuteness:) subtlety of Tao's heart, the (small beginning, minute primary force, spring =) cause of the precariousness and the subtlety respectively, only an enlightened sage can understand it» (observe the variant *75*: *76*). Cf. also Gl. 1320 below.

1308. T ' i e n s ü y u t i e n, c h ' ī w o w u t i e n w u t u n t s a i *84*.

Ma Jung inst. of y u t i e n reads w u t i e n, as later in the line, but the parallels in the following lines (see below) show that y u is the better reading. For the w u t i e n» the five rules (of the family relations: father, mother, elder and younger brother, son)» see Gl. 1247.

A. The commentators find it difficult to construe the *85* t u n (Erya = *86*). PK'ung paraphrases: »Heaven arranges the existing rules (of family relations: father, mother, elder and younger brother, son); *87* we should carefully regulate the teaching of our five norms and cause its agreeing with the five to be ample, and amply apply (it) to the world»(?) PK'ung's line is somewhat obscure and certainly cannot be made to tally with the Shu

text. K'ung Ying-ta therefore tries to ameliorate it: »Heaven arranges the existing rules (of family relations), (the ruler) should carefully regulate the teachings of our five rules and cause the five all to be ample»; word for word: »(The ruler) should carefully regulate our five rules, (so that) the five (become) ample». As a construction this is inadmissible. Ts'ai Ch'en does not refer to the »ruler» as understood subject, but simplifies: »We should carefully regulate our five rules, (so that) the five (become) ample», which is little better. (Couvreur: »Coelum ordinavit habitas leges, conponamus nostras quinque leges, quinque vigebunt sane»; Legge has a paraphrase which deviates badly from the Shu text). Kiang Sheng has a similar clumsy construction. — **B.** In order to discern the construction we have to compare four consecutive lines here (in the second, the orthodox text read *88* but Ma Jung had *89*, the latter correct, as shown by the parallelism):

a. T ' i e n s ü y u t i e n, c h ' ī w o w u t i e n, w u t u n t s a i *84*;
b. T ' i e n c h ī y u l i, t s ī w o w u l i, w u y u n g t s a i *90*;
c. T ' i e n m i n g y u t ê, w u f u w u c h a n g t s a i *91*;
d. T ' i e n t ' a o y u t s u e i, w u h i n g w u y u n g t s a i *92*.

In *90*, char. *93* is defined as = *94* 'constant norm' by PK'ung, K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en (this after Erya, text ex. in Meng 6) but as = *95* 'to use' by Kiang Sheng (common); the char. can have both meanings, but the latter is improbable, since it would coincide with the y u n g *95* of line *92* (for which there is the variant *93* in Hou Han shu: Liang T'ung chuan). T u n *85* (**twən*), means 'solid, thick, ample' and is etym. id. with *96* (**twən*) in many of its functions. We have it in Li: Nei tsê *97* »He amply practises filial piety and fraternity». Line b. traditionally has y u y u n g t s a i, here corrected into w u y u n g t s a i, after the parallels.

From lines c and d it is easily seen that the phrases w u x are coördinated, and we must conclude that they are so in lines a and b as well. We thus obtain:

a. **»Heaven arranges the existing rules (of family relations), we carefully regulate our five rules and (their five amplifications =) the five modes of amply practising them»** (five modes: one for the behavior to the father, one to the mother etc.).

b. **»Heaven regulates the existing rites, we follow our five rites and their five constant norms»** (one norm for each of them).

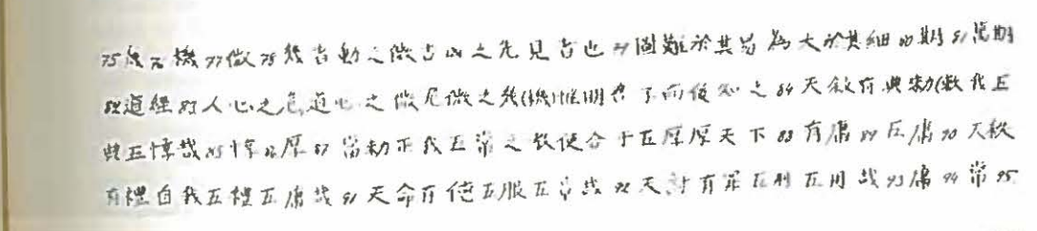
c. **»Heaven gives charges to those who have virtue, (there are) five (degrees of) garments and their five (classes of) emblems».**

d. **»Heaven punishes those who have guilt, (there are) five punishments and their five (uses =) applications»** (one »use» for each of the five).

1309. T s ī w o y u l i, w u y u n g t s a i *90*.

For the transl. see Gl. 1308. There are various theories about the »five rites».

A. Cheng Hüan: they are those pertaining to: 1. the king (t ' i e n t s ī); 2. the feudal lords (c h u h o u); 3. the ministers and dignitaries (k ' i n g, t a f u); 4. the officers (s h ī); 5. the common people (s h u m i n). This is based on Li: K'ü li, where in several ritual contexts (their demeanour, the ritual terms for their wives) these classes of society



are enumerated. The king's wife was styled f e i *98*, the feudal lord's f u j e n *99*, the dignitary's (t a f u) j u j e n *100*, the officer's f u j e n *1*, the commoner's t s' i *2*. — **B.** PK'ung: they are the rites pertaining to the well-known 5 classes of feudal lords: k u n g, h o u, p o, t s ī, n a n (see e. g. Li: Wang chī). — **C.** Wang Su: they are those pertaining to the 5 classes of nobility (with exclusion of the s h u m i n commoners): the king, the three k u n g highest lords, the k' i n g ministers, the t a f u dignitaries, s h ī the officers. This is based on Li: Wang chī (»The son of Heaven has s a n k u n g three lords (ministers) of the highest rank, nine k' i n g, twenty seven t a f u, eighty one s h ī). — **D.** Kiang Sheng objects to A above that Li: K'ü li says that »the rites do not go down to the common people», and hence s h u m i n cannot be intended under one of the 5 rites; the commoners followed the ceremonies of the s h ī and did not form a ritual category of their own. On the other hand the 5 kinds of feudal lords formed, from a ritual point of view, 3 classes as expounded in Chou li: Tien ming: k u n g who had 9 emblems, h o u and p o who had 7 emblems, t s ī and n a n who had 5 emblems (cf. Gl. 1265). Our »five rites» thus pertained to: 1. k u n g; 2 h o u and p o; 3 t s ī and n a n; 4. k' i n g and t a f u; 5 s h ī. — **E.** Yü Yüe points ont that there is another division of the 5 classes of feudal lords into 2 ritual categories. Tso: Hi 29 says: »li according to the rites, a k' i n g (minister) does not hold a meeting with a k u n g or a h o u, he may hold a meeting with a p o, a t s ī or a n a n». This division in two ritual rank classes is indeed the earliest text we have on this subject. Hence acc. to Yü Yüe the »5 rites» were those pertaining to: 1. the king; 2. the k u n g and h o u princes; 3. the p o, t s ī and n a n princes; 4. k' i n g ministers and t a f u dignitaries; 5 s h ī officers and s h u m i n commoners. — It must be conceded that Yü Yüe (E) has penetrated the problem most thoroughly.

1310. T' i e n t s' u n g m i n g, t s ī w o m i n t s' u n g m i n g, t' i e n m i n g w e i t s ï w o m i n m i n g w e i *4*.

For w e i *5*, Ma Jung's and Cheng Hüan's version had *6* — the two words are etym. identical (both **·jwər*).

A. Cheng Hüan (ap. the T'ang comm. [Cheng yi] in Ode 260) says: *7* »(the question) whom Heaven considers intelligent and virtuous, (follows depends on) the people». This means that both t s' u n g m i n g and m i n g w e i above are taken as transitive verbs: »When Heaven considers (someone) intelligent (properly: »hearing and seeing»), it follows our people's considering (him) intelligent, when Heaven brightly overawes (somebody), it follows our people's brightly overawing (him)» (i. e. revolting against him). This was followed by Kiang Sheng. — **B.** PK'ung: **»Heaven's hearing and seeing (proceeds from =) works through our people's hearing and seeing; Heaven's (enlightenment =) discernment and (fearsomeness =) severity works through our people's discerment and severity» (sc. against bad rulers).** The first line is conclusively corroborated by Meng: Wan Chang, shang, quoting the now lost Shu chapter T'ai shī: *8* »When Heaven sees, through our people it sees, when Heaven hears, through our people it hears». The second line is confirmed by a par. in Shu: Lü hing, see below. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en, while accepting B for the first line, explains the second differently, finding an antithesis, not a coördination between m i n g and w e i: m i n g means *9* 'to make bright' in the sense of 'to make illustrious, to honour', w e i being the opposite: 'to overawe, to terrify', thus: »Heaven's honouring (sc. the good) or overawing (sc. the wicked)». Sun Sing-yen supports this, saying that m i n g and w e i refer to *10* rewarding and *11* punishing respectively, and quoting, for m i n g = h i e n, Kyü: Chou yü *12* 'to esteem the prominent and (make bright =) honour the wise». For the antithesis of m i n g and w e i (as against A and B above) he refers to our Lü hing ex. below, in which he follows interpr. A there. — It is obvious, that just as in the first line t s' u n g m i n g are two very analogous

notions, coördinated, so in the second line m i n g w e i should be analogous and coördinated, with interpr. B, which is well supported by Shu parallels. — We compare:

Shu: Lü hing: T ê w e i w e i w e i t ê m i n g w e i m i n g *13*.

For *6*, Li: Piao ki and Mo: Shang hien quote *5*.

A. Cheng Hüan (ap. comm. on Li: Piao ki): »By his virtue he overawed (the wicked ones) and they became overawed; by his virtue he (made bright =) honoured (the good ones), and they became honoured». This is the same idea of s h a n g f a rewards and punisments as in C above, but it is very far-fetched to take m i n g in the sense of 'to distinguish, to honour' here. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes m i n g in its ordinary sense of 'to enlighten, enlightened': »By his virtue he overawed (them) and they became overawed; by his virtue he enlightened (them), and they became enlightened». This is certainly much more natural but it might be further simplified: T ê w e i is not a finite clause (»by his virtue he overawed») here, but means '(his) virtuous (overawing =) severity', since it balances and forms a contrast to a corresponding phrase in an earlier line: *14* n ü e w e i »tyrannical severity» — the Miao prince exercising a n ü e w e i »tyrannical severity», whereas Shun practised a t ê w e i »virtuous severity». We thus obtain: **»His virtuous severity overawed them, his virtuous enlightenment enlightened them».**

1311. T a y ü s h a n g h i a *15*.

A. PK'ung: »It (sc. the distinguishing of good and bad by Heaven through the people) reaches to those above (those in high positions) and those below (the commoners)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: s h a n g refers to t' i e n Heaven, h i a refers to m i n the people: **»There is (communication =) correspondence between the upper and the lower (world)».** Both Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen have accepted this, and it forms a logical summing up of the preceding lines. It is further confirmed by a similar use of s h a n g h i a in the beginning of the Yao tien: *16* »He reached to (Heaven) above and (Earth) below», see Gl. 1209.

N a i y e n c h ī k' o t s i see Gl. 1252.

1312. Y ü w e i y u c h ī s ī y ü e t s a n t s a n s i a n g t s a i *17*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien skips y ü e *18*, evidently taking it as a particle, and paraphrases: *19*; Chang Shou-tsie has understood this thus: »I have no knowledge, but I ponder and assist in (following) the (ancient) way». As Sun Sing-yen points out, this is all wrong, for Sï-ma's t a o *20* is merely the briefer way of writing t a o *21* 'to guide' (as often). T s a n *22* is very common meaning 'to assist' in the sense of 'to guide' (as a ceremony master assists i. e. guides a guest etc.; cf. Kyü: Chou yü *23* »The Nei-shī [assisted =] guided him», on which Wei Chao: t s a n *22* = *20*). Since Sï-ma has taken t s a n t s a n s i a n g as equal to t s a n t a o *23a* 'to assist and guide', he evidently considered s i a n g *24* as practically synonymous with t s a n, but such a meaning of s i a n g *24* is not attested by text parallels. — **B.** Cheng Hüan carries s ī *25* to the first line, and says t s a n *22* = *26* 'to make bright', and s i a n g *24* = *27* 'to raise' (he says nothing of *18* y ü e), interpreting: »I have no knowledge or thought, I (make bright =) glorify (the emperor's virtue) and (raise =) manifest (my loyalty)». Sun Sing-yen believes that Cheng by his m i n g *26*, glossing t s a n, meant *28* ('to make

用 2敢 77悼行孝第 78起 79夫人 100瑶人 乂婦人 2.妻 3公 4天聰明自我民聰明天明
威自我民明威 5威 6畏 7天之所謂聰明有德者由民也 8天視自我民視天聽自我
民聽 9顯 10當 11罰 12尊賢 明賢 13他威惟畏他明惟明 14虐威 15達于上下 16格于上
下 17予未有知思曰賢賢哉 18曰 19余未有知思皆道也 20道 21尊 22賢 23內史賢之

an effort' = 'to assist'), but that is wrong. It is based on Yi: Shuo kua *29* »He (mysteriously =) with deep wisdom brought light on the divine intelligences», on which Han K'ang-po (Eastern Tsin time, probably basing himself on some now lost gloss of Cheng Hüan's) says t s a n *22* = *26*; yet this interpretation of the Yi text is contested and uncertain. As to s i a n g, it is well attested in the sense of 'to rise', and could hence be construed to mean 'to raise, to manifest'. But the whole of the B interpr. is exceedingly forced and scholastic. — **C.** PK'ung and Wang Su divide the lines in the same way as B, but take t s a n t s a n as = t s a n t s o u *30* 'to report' (evidently taking t s a n as = m i n g *26* in the sense of 'to make clear, to explain') and s i a n g 'to raise' in the sense of 'to quote': »I have no knowledge or thought; I report (about ancient deeds) and (raise =) quote them». K'ung Ying-ta insists that the y ü e *18* should have its sense of *31* 'to speak': »y ü e what I have said t s a n t s a n reports and s i a n g quotes». All this is even worse than B. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en carries s ï to the second line and alters y ü e *18* into the similar j ï *32*; he takes s i a n g *24* in the well-attested sense of 'to achieve' (Tso: Ting 15, phr. *33* »They could not achieve the affair», on which Tu Yü: s i a n g *24* = *34*). Thus: **»I have no knowledge, I (think =) wish daily to assist in achieving (the government)».** Ma Jung had already defined s i a n g *24* as = 因. This is rather obscure, but possibly by y i n he meant 'to continue, to follow up, bring to a successful end', which is essentially the same idea as this *34* 'to achieve'. — D is certainly most natural and reasonable. Sun Sing-yen, however, does not accept Ts'ai's emendation of y ü e *18* into j ï *32*; he says that y ü e being a common particle (see Gl. 791) s ï y ü e *36* probably is wrong for y ü e s ï *37*. Ts'ai's emendation, however, is conclusively confirmed by the very next line, where we find: *38* »I (think =) wish daily to be energetic». (When Sun says that s ï *25* here is a particle — as it often is, see Gl. 700 — he is certainly wide of the mark).

In the orthodox version the chapter Yi Tsi starts here, but in reality it is only the second part of the original Kao Yao mo.

1313. H i a m i n h u n t i e n *39*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases *40*; Chavannes translates this f u y ü s h u e i by 'accablé par l'eau' (properly: subdued, vanquished by the water), but, as Sun Sing-yen points out, f u *41* is probably only a loan char. for the homophonous *42* (both **b'i̯ŭk*). Thus: »The lower people all fell down into the water» (f u *42* meaning 'to fall down prostrate', and t i e n *43* meaning 'to throw down, *zu stürzen*', text ex. in Chuang: Wai wu). It seems probable that Sï-ma's version has never had h u n *44* but the graphically similar k i e *45* 'all'. — **B.** Cheng Hüan: h u n *44* = *46* 'to sink (sc. in water)', thus practically synon. with the following t i e n. In order to confirm this Kiang Sheng says: *47* »When the sun goes down, it is called h u n *44*», hence h u n can have a meaning 'to go down (be submerged)'. But of course the word-stem h u n (**χmwən*) has no such sense, it means fundamentally 'dark'. — **C.** PK'ung therefore takes h u n in a sense derived from the fundamental 'dark', saying h u n = *48* 'blinded, troubled eyesight, deluded': »The lower people were (darkened, blinded =) confused and thrown down (in the water)». This extended meaning 'obscured, deluded, confused' of h u n 'dark' is quite common, but it suits the context here badly. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: h u n *44* (**χmwən*) is a variant for *49* (**mi̯ən*) 'to ruin, destroy' (ex. in Shï): »The lower people were destroyed and thrown down». — **E.** It seems better, with Chu Tsün-sheng, to take h u n *44* in the sense it has in the expression y a o h u n *50* 'to die a premature death' (Tso. Chao 19), in which sense it also occurs with the enlarged char. *51* (one reading **χmwən*, like *44*) 'to die', e. g. Lü: Lun wei *52* »the place of death» (comm.: *51* = *53* 'breath cut off'). Thus: **»The lower people are killed and (thrown down =) submerged».** —

It is tempting to evade the difficult h u n by accepting Sï-ma's k i e *45* (A), but that is hardly allowable, since Sï-ma after all often makes very free with the text in his paraphrases. D therefore seems preferable.

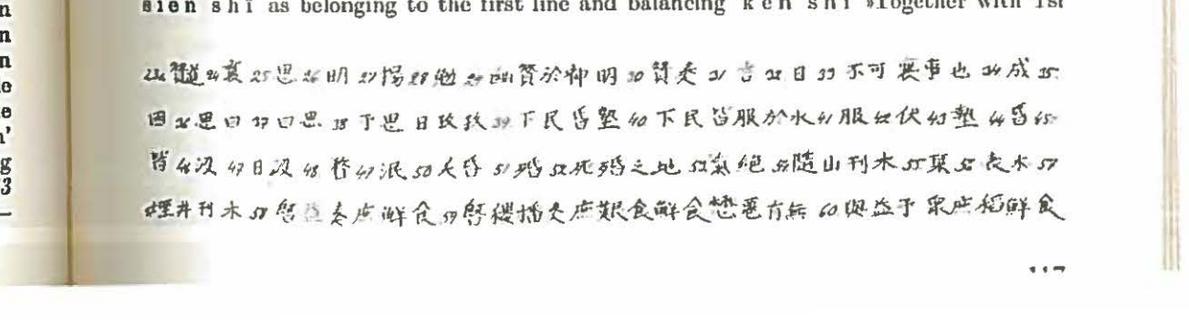
1314. S u e i s h a n k ' a n m u *54*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien in Hia pen ki has the variant *55* for k ' a n (both **k'ân*, even tone), and he takes it to mean 'to cut' in the sense of 'to cut notches' (marks) in the tree stems, which is revealed by his paraphrase *56* 'to mark the trees' — thus cutting notches to indicate the road. Hü in Shuowen has followed this, and in recent times Kiang Sheng (cf. Chavannes MH I, p. 100). — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en: k ' a n m u »cut down the trees». Cf. Tso: Siang 25, phr. *57* »They filled in the wells and cut down the trees». — The Tso ex. shows that k ' a n m u was the term for felling trees, which confirms B.

1315. a. K i Y i t s o u s h u s i e n s h ï *58*;

b. K i T s i p o t s o u s h u k i e n s h ï s i e n s h ï m o u t s ' i e n y u w u *59*.

A. Sï-ma paraphrases a. thus: *60*, thus taking t s o u *61* = 'to give' (the fundamental sense being 'to bring forward') and s h u as = 'the multitudes', and adding a t a o *62* 'rice' that is not in the Shu text. Since Ma Jung says s i e n *63* = *64* 'raw' and s i e n is very common in the sense of 'fresh meat or fish' (e. g. Tso: Süan 12, there quite unambiguous), P'ei Yin believes that Sï-ma meant: »Together with Yi I gave to the multitudes rice and fresh(-meat) food», and the Shu line a. would mean the same minus Sï-ma's addition t a o 'rice'. But it is very awkward that in line b. Sï-ma, punctuating after k i e n - s h ï, renders the same s i e n s h ï by 'rarity of food': (»Together with Tsi I sowed and gave to the multitudes (difficult food =) food that was difficult to get»); when there was (rare food =) scarcity of food I exchanged what they had for what they had not» (cf. Tso: Siang 21: s i e n s h ï *65* »he took [rare food =] little food»). Sun Sing-yen tries desperately to vindicate that Sï-ma in both lines took s i e n as = 'rare' (not = 'fresh'). T a o 'rice' being 'rare' in Northern China, Sï-ma would have meant by his first line: »Together with Yi I gave to the multitudes rice, the rare food», and in the second: »When there was (rare food =) scarcity of food». This is ingenious but very speculative. — **B.** Cheng Hüan in a. takes c h u n g *66* as an attribute to s i e n s h ï: »Together with Yi I gave (the people) s h u all the s i e n s h ï fresh-(-meat) foods» (sc. of the waters: fishes and turtles). In line b. he punctuates (like Sï-ma above) after k i e n s h ï and paraphrases very freely: »Together with Tsi I taught the people to cultivate in the swamps vegetables (that were) k i e n s h ï the foods (used) in straits» (sc. inferior to grain, but passable in years of famine)». The Shu line b. would then be: »Together with Tsi I sowed and (brought forward =) gave (to the people) s h u all the k i e n s h ï foods (used in) straits». His interpunctation here, however, entails that he has to take s i e n s h ï in a. as = 'fresh(-meat) foods», but in b. as = 'scarcity of food'. — **C.** Ma Jung in line b. inst. of k i e n s h ï *67* has k e n s h ï *68*, explaining this as = 'stalk foods', i. e. grain, which shows that he took the following s i e n s h ï as belonging to the first line and balancing k e n s h ï »Together with Tsi



I sowed and gave to the multitudes (stalk foods =) grain and fresh(-meat) foods» (Yü Yüe tries to improve this by supposing that k i e n *69*, in its old variant *70*, stood for *71* = *72* as opposed to s i e n s h ī, an arbitrary speculation). This is quite tempting, but Sī-ma confirms that the text (long before Ma Jung) had really k i e n *69*. — **D.** PK'ung: in line b. k i e n s h ī refers to the places that were difficult to cultivate, and s h u is an attribute (with B above), thus: a. »Together with Yi I gave (the people) s h u all the s i e n s h ī fresh(-meat) foods»; b. »Together with Tsi I sowed and gave (the people) all k i e n s h ī the food grown in difficult places, and the s i e n s h ī fresh(-meat) foods». — **E.** Ts'ai Ch'en follows Sī-ma as to s h u, but in line b. he punctuates after s i e n s h ī: a. **»Together with Yi I gave to the multitudes the fresh(-meat) foods»**; b. **»Together with Tsi I sowed and gave to the multitudes the hard-gotten foods (sc. cultivated grain) and the fresh(-meat) foods».** — **F.** Kiang Sheng takes t s o u *61* (defined as = *73* in the Shuowen) as = »to bring forward» with the following s h u construed not as a dative but as a direct object, thus a: »Together with Yi I brought the multitudes forward to fresh(-meat) foods», i. e. (in Legge's formulation): »Along with Yi I showed the multitudes how to get flesh to eat». This is certainly no improvment on the earliest interpr. (t s o u =' to bring forward' = 'to give'). — It is quite obvious that s i e n s h ī must be translated in the same way in both lines; and since it cannot mean 'scarcity of food' in line a., this interpr. will not (with A) do in line b. either. Thus, s i e n s h ī must mean 'fresh(-meat) food' in both places, and this entails that (with C—E) s i e n s h ī in b. must be carried to the first line. It might seem strange that s i e n s h ī should be thus repeated, and it is tempting to believe that in line b. it is an erroneous addition (the words carried over there from line a.) and should be eliminated; but we dare not make this text alteration since all the ancient text versions have it in both places. As to k i e n s h ī the E explanation: »the hard-gotten foods» (the cultivated grain) as opposed to s i e n s h ī 'the fresh(-meat) foods' (immediately obtained in the woods and lakes) seems most simple and convincing. The idea thus seems to be that Yü, assisted by Yi, cut down woods in the hills — and there got meat for the people; and that he, assisted by Tsi, irrigated the lowlands — and there got both (cultivated) grain and meat (in the swamps) and fishes (in the waters) for the people.

1316. M o u t s'i e n y u w u h u a k ü *74*.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: *75*. Chavannes takes Sī-ma's last two words s i k ü, corresponding to the *76* h u a k ü of the text, to mean: »I removed their domiciles» (h u a meaning 'to transform', here then = 'to exchange' — moving people from poor tracts to rich). But, as Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen point out, this was hardly Sī-ma's idea. T'i a o *77* normally means 'to adjust, to dispose', here then 'to barter, to exchange'. Li Shan in comm. on Wsüan quotes our Shu line *78*, having *79* (**mlug / mə̨u /* m o u) inst. of the *80* (**mug / mə̨u /* m o u), of the orthodox text (from certain Sung and Yüan quotations it would seem that Shang shu ta chuan already had that reading), and Sī-ma's paraphrase t'i a o *77* clearly reveals that his Shu text had *79* and not *80*. On the other hand, k ü *81* is well attested in a sense of ('to station' =) 'to hoard', e. g. Kyü: Tsin yü 8, phr. *82* »He hoards treasures». And h u a *83* regularly occurs on Chou time coins with the legend *84*, which is equal to *85* »Legal (valuables =) currency of Ts'i» (that h u a *83* here is merely a short-form for h u o *86* is proved by later coins' having the legend h u o t s'ü a n *87*). Thus h u a (h u o) k ü is a binome meaning 'ware-hoard', i. e. hoard of goods. That Sī-ma really understood h u a k ü = h u o k ü in this sense might be suggested by a parallel in his chapter Lü Pu-wei chuan: *88* »This is a fine ware worth being hoarded». Now Kiang and Sun believe that Sī-ma by his t'i a o *77* rendered the m o u of the Shu text and by his s i *89* the t s'i e n *90* of the Shu, thus arraigning the two verbs side by side and letting the objects follow after,

the line m o u t s'i e n y u w u h u a (h u o) k ü being equal to m o u y u w u, t s'i e n h u a (h u o) k ü »I exchanged — and transferred — the existing and the non-existing — the hoarded goods», the 3rd phr. referring to the 1st verb and the 4th to the 2nd verb. If this was really Sī-ma's meaning, he violated the Shu text strongly. — **B.** PK'ung takes m o u *80* in its common and well-attested sense of *91* 'energetic, to make an effort, to stimulate', and h u a *83* 'to transform' in the sense of *92* 'to change, to exchange', thus: »I stimulated (the people) to t s'i e n transfer y u the existing to the w u non-existing, and to h u a exchange k ü the hoards», explaining that fish and salt were brought to the mountainous regions, and wood to the regions of rivers and swamps. Ts'ai Ch'en followed this (Couvreur: Impuli ut transferrent habita et non habentes, commutarent reposita). The Han shu (Shī huo chī) had the short-form *93*, and (Sü chuan) the loan char. *94* (just as *94* is loan for *80* 'to stimulate' in Tso: Chao 8 etc.). — It must be conceded that version A, with the two very analogous words m o u *79* 'to barter, to exchange' and t s'i e n *90* 'to transfer' is far more plausible than text B. M o u - t s'i e n is practically a binome (the *80* of the B text is then a loan char: **mug* for **mlug*). But the explanation of y u w u is grammatically faulty in all the interpr. above. We must take y u w u as attributes to the following h u o k ü: **»I (bartered =) exchanged and transferred those who had and those who had not any hoards of (wares =) stores»**, (bringing those wealthy in stores to poor regions and those poor in stores to rich regions).

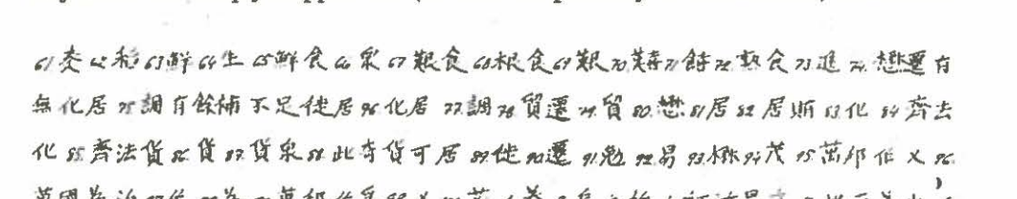
C h e n g m i n n a i l i see Gl. 1087.

1317. W a n p a n g t s o y i *95*.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: *96* »All the states have become (regulated =) well-governed». T s o *97* (rendered by w e i *98*) should not be stressed too much. **»The myriad states (have made governing =) have become well-ordered»**, is quite analogous to Ode 235, phr. *99* »All the states will (make confidence =) have confidence», see Gl. 769. — **B.** Cheng Hüan reads *99a* (= *100*) a i = *1* 'to nourish' (after Erya), interpreting: »The myriad states t s o a i (make nourishing =) perform (the rites of mutual) nourishing». This is very strained, and the sense of 'to nourish' for a i is not attested by safe text ex., see Gl. 1245. — **C.** PK'ung, in the main following A, tries to give some particular force to t s o, interpreting: »All the states made (this) (the basis of) government», which is not reconcilable with the Shu text. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes t s o *97* in its well-attested meaning of 'to rise' = 'to start', and takes y i *99a* as a transitive verb: »All the states rise and y i (regulate =) order their works». — **E.** Wang Yin-chī takes t s o *97* as = c h a *2*, which he defines as = *3* »The myriad states now first became well-ordered». But this meaning of c h a is modern; in early texts it means 'suddenly'. — No reason to abandon A.

1318. S h ī j u c h'a n g y e n *4*.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien curiously renders this by *5* »This is your beautiful (speach)» (*6* = *7*). Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that s h ī *8* stands for *9*, and Kiang Sheng thinks *8* is an erroneous char. introduced because of sound similarity, which is impossible (*8* **ṣi̯ər* : *9* **ṣi̯ĕg*). Probably Sī-ma has simply skipped s h ī (he often simplifies by an abbreviation) and renders



ju ch'ang yen by his *5*. — **B.** PK'ung: shī *8* = *10* (common): **»We shall (take as master =) take as norm your splendid words».**

1319. An ju chī *11*.

A. Cheng Hüan: **»Be quiet in (your stopping-place =) the position which you occupy»** (sc. on the throne), and he further explains: »do not recklessly move (act), if you move, you disturb the people». — **B.** PK'ung takes chī to refer to moral things: »Find your rest in (that in which you stop =) your (moral) platform». This meaning of chī is well attested, e. g. Li: Ta hüe: *13* »To rest in the highest goodness»; *ibid. 14* »Being a ruler, he rested in kindness». — **C.** Chavannes translates: »Vous obtiendrez le calme en étant parvenu au but», which is wide of the mark. — A refers to the constantly recurring theme of the wu wei »non-action» on the throne of the good ruler, and it balances the wei tung p'ei ying a few lines later: »If you (move) act (sc. through your assistants) there will be a grand response». That chī *12* »your stopping-place» means »your (high) position» sc. the throne is further confirmed by the context; it follows up the preceding shen nai tsai wei »Be careful about your being in the high position».

1320. Wei ki wei k'ang *15*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *16* »Think of the minutiae (first symptoms of coming happenings) and so preserve the peace». Thus the Shu line: »Think of the minutiae, (then) there will be peace». This really means that PK'ung took the first wei *17* as the verb 'to think', but the second wei as a particle, which is unacceptable. Moreover the wei as introducing a line recurs immediately below: wei tung p'ei ying *18*, and there it cannot possibly mean 'to think'. — **B.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen in the same way take the first wei *17* = *19* 'to think of', but since Erya says ki *20* = *21* 'danger' and Shuowen says ki = *22* 'there is danger of', they interpret: »Think of the danger(s) (so as to have) peace». Cf. Tso: Süan 12, phr. *23* »I have made my gain from the perils of others». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en realizes that the two wei *17* must mean the same. He takes them both as verbs, and ki (with PK'ung) as = 'small, minutiae': »Think of the small beginnings (of happenings), think of the peace» (Legge: »Attend to the springs of things, study stability»). For ki 'first symptoms', of important happenings (hence also 'spring', the small motive force of a greater complex), as we had it in *24*, see Gl. 1307 above. — **D.** The construction of the line has to be judged in the light of the parallelism with the following; there are four lines, which correspond two and two:

An ju chī — wei ki wei k'ang,
K'i pi tê — wei tung p'ei ying.

Since the last obviously must mean: »If you (move =) act, there will be a grand response», our line wei ki wei k'ang should be construed in an analogous way. In fact, the first two lines describe the ruler in »non-action» (wu wei); himself only directs the course of events by attending to ki »the minutiae», the first symptoms, without noticeable active interference; the following two lines describe how the ruler works through his ministers: through them he really tung (moves =) acts, and all the realm readily responds. We thus obtain: **»Be quiet in the position you occupy — if you (are minute =) attend to the smallest beginnings, you will have peace; your assistants should be virtuous — if you (move =) act (through them), there will be a grand response».** It should be added that the PK'ung text read k'i pi chī *25* »your assistants should be straight (upright)», but Sī-ma renders it *26*, which reveals that the oldest text version probably had *27*(= *28*), of which *29* is merely a short-form. — We should study here:

Shu: Kao Yao mo (further below): Wei shī wei ki *30* (following upon: »In rightly disposing the mandate of Heaven»), see Gl. 1348.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien (Yüe shu) renders this: *31*, which — whatever it may mean (»Those

first signs of happenings will be tranquil»? or, with Sun Sing-yen: »Those perils will be tranquillized»?) — certainly cannot be brought into accord with the Shu text. Evidently, however, Sī-ma took shī *32* to be the demonstrative = *33* (common). — **B.** PK'ung: **»There are the (proper) times, there are the (minutiae =) first symptoms of happenings» (to attend to).** — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »It is shī *32* constantly and ki in all first symptoms (that one must be careful)». — **D.** Chang Ping-lin says ki *20* = *34* 'time', which was declined in Gl. 1307 above. — B leaves less unexpressed and to be supplied than C.

1320a. Hi chī yi chao shou Shang ti *35*.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: *36*. Some scholars take Sī-ma's first two words: ts'ing yi as belonging to the preceding line wei tung p'ei ying *18*, e. g. Chavannes: »... l'empire répondra universellement à votre pensée pure». But it is quite evident (with Sun Sing-yen) that Sī-ma carried hi chī *37* to the following line, for he renders hi *38* by tai *39* 'to wait for' (text ex. in Shu: T'ang shī), and he transfers tai from the opening phrase and lets it replace the shou 'to receive' of the Shu text: »With a pure mind they will brightly wait for the orders of God on High». By this splitting up of hi chī and adding a notion ts'ing 'pure' that is not in the Shu text, Sī-ma deviates too badly from the latter. And if we restore the order and translate hi chī as an adverbial phrase to the following shou: »With a (waiting =) expectant mind they will brightly receive (the will of) God on High», this will be rather nonsensical in the context. — **B.** PK'ung places hi chī *37* in a logical connection with the preceding line: (if you act, there will be a grand response), they will wait for your will, and you will brightly receive (the gifts of) God on High». — **C.** Whereas Sī-ma (A above) filled out shou Shang ti into 'Shang ti ming' »the orders of God on High» and PK'ung into »the gifts (recompense) of God on High» (*40*), Ts'ai Ch'en rightly rejects this and considers shou Shang ti as equal to shou yü Shang ti *41*, which certainly does better justice to the Shu text. Thus: »(There will be a grand response), **they will wait for your will, and so it will be manifest that you have received (your mandate) from God on High».** — C is most logical and in agreement with the traditional philosophy; the lines here are in fact a condensed programmatic declaration of the fundamental theory of kingship: the king himself is inactive (an ju chī) but for his attention to incipient symptoms, by directing which he can remain at peace (wei ki wei k'ang); he intercedes actively only through his good ministers (k'i pi tê), and then the whole people responds (wei tung p'ei ying), they wait for his will (hi chī); and the people's willing acceptance of his rule is the proof that he has the mandate of God (yi chao shou Shang ti).

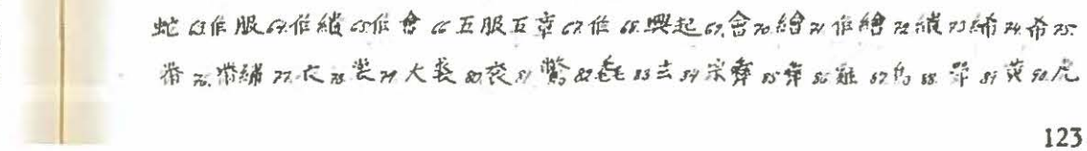
1321. Jī yüe sing ch'en shan lung hua ch'ung tso hui tsung yi tsao huo fen mi fu fuh ch'ī siu yi wu ts'ai chang shī yü wu sê tso fu *42*.

This long passage, following upon: »I want to see the siang *43* symbols (emblems) of the ancient men», has given rise to all kinds of speculations.

而不波 2 師 3 斯 4 法 5 以安汝止 6 止 7 止於至善 8 為人君止於仁 9 惟幾惟康 10 念.
虞舜儆以保其安 11 惟 12 惟動丕應 13 思 14 艾 15 危 16 殆 17 利人之幾 18 一日二日萬幾
19 其弼直 20 輔德 21 直 22 德 23 直 24 惟時惟幾 25 維是安 26 時 27 是 28 期 29 儆志以昭
受上帝 30 清意以昭侍上帝命 31 儆志 32 儆 33 侍 34 承天之報施. 35 受于上帝 36 日月星辰
山龍華蟲作會宗 彝藻火粉米 37 黼黻絺繡 38 以五采彰施于五色作服 39 以章 40 繢 41 青 42

A. The oldest text which undoubtedly alludes to it is K'ao kung ki (Chouli): Hua huei. »The task of the hua huei *44* 'painter' is to combine the 5 colours; east is *45* blue (green), south is *46* red, west is *47* white, north is *48* black, Heaven is *49* dark, Earth is *50* yellow (these are indeed 6 colours, but only 5 of them come into play in the following colour scheme; the dark of Heaven being left out, is is therefore said '5 colours'); (a combination of) blue and red is called wen *51*, of red and white is called chang *52*, of white and black is called fu *53*, of black and blue is called fuh *54*, when all 5 colours are complete, it is called siu *55*; earth *56* is (represented) by yellow, its symbol siang *43* is square; Heaven changes (sc. in its representation) with the seasons; fire *57* is (represented) by a circle *58*, mountain *59* by a chang *52* (meaning of this much discussed), water *60* by a dragon *61*; (and there are) birds, beasts and snakes *62* . . .« In this passage we recognize various of the siang 'symbols' in our Shu line, namely shan 'mountain', lung 'dragon', huo 'fire' and possibly hua ch'ung 'the flowery animal', if this corresponds to 'birds, beasts and snakes', further fu 'white and black' (pattern)', fuh 'black and blue (pattern)'; (for practical purposes I distinguish the two words by different spelling fu and fuh); and siu '(pattern in) five colours'. On the other hand, the Chouli passage does not exhaust the list of the Shu, and nowhere in it is there anything to suggest that it is a question of emblems on garments — it may equally well be such on banners (sun, moon and stars on banners, c. g. Tso: Huan 2; dragon banners and falcon banners, e. g. Shī; banners with 9 chang *52* emblems, among which sun, moon, dragon, tiger, bird, snake, c. g. Kuan: Ping fa). The important point in our Chouli text is that in the same paragraph where siang *43* 'symbols' are enumerated, among them 'mountain, dragon, fire', we find fu *53*, fuh *54* and siu *55* defined as 'white and black pattern' and 'black and blue pattern' and '5-colour pattern' respectively. To the K'ao kung ki author fu, fuh and siu must reasonably have had this sense in the Shu paragraph. — B. Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan (a short extract of its text in Suei shu: Li yi chī deviates on some points from the extensive extracts in the Li shu of Ch'en Siang-tao, Sung-time) is the first to apply the major part of the Shu enumeration of »symbols« to garments and to refer it all to the tso fu *63* »make garments« at the end. And Fu Sheng has tso huei *64* (**g'wəd*) inst. of the tso huei *65* (**g'wâd*) of the orthodox text; but we cannot accept this as an earlier and better reading, for it is probably a correction made by Fu Sheng under influence of the K'ao kung ki passage in A above, since he has a colour-scheme speculation alluding to that K'ao kung ki text; he says: shan lung mountain and dragon are blue (green) *45*; hua ch'ung (»the flowery animal«) is yellow *50*; tso huei *64* is black *48*; tsung yi ancestral-temple vase is white *47*; tsao huo water-plant and fire are red *46*. He thus takes tso huei as an »emblem« analogous to hua ch'ung etc. And though he really has 7 emblems, he combines some of them so as to obtain »5 emblems for the 5 (classes of) garments *66*«. He manages this in the following way: The Son of Heaven on his garments had 5 kinds of emblems: 1. hua ch'ung; 2. tso huei; 3. tsung yi; 4. tsao huo (water-plant and fire); 5 shan lung (mountain and dragon); the higher feudal lords had only n:is 2—5 of those; the lower feudal lords (tsī, nan) had only n:is 3—5; the dignitaries (ta fu) had only n:is 4 and 5; and the nobles (shī) had only n:o 5 (shan lung). In fact, Fu Sheng in this way does not recognize as »symbols« (emblems) the sun, moon and stars, nor the fen mi, the fu, the fuh the ch'ī siu of the Shu text. What he meant by tso huei *64* is very obscure. The Ts'ing scholar P'i Si-juei believes that tso *67* here means *68* 'raised, sticking out, elevated' (»the raised ornament«, whatever that may be). Though this Fu Sheng commentary in no way satisfies the Shu text, it has had a great influence in so far that the scholars of all later ages have interpreted all the »symbols«

as emblems on garments. (Sī-ma Ts'ien has contracted the long Shu passage into a few words in this vein; to the idea of emblems on garments may have contributed a passage in Li: Ming t'ang wei to the effect that on the knee covers the Hia dynasty had shan mountains, the Yin huo fire and the Chou lung dragons as emblems). — C. Cheng Hüan takes the cue about »garment emblems« from Fu Sheng, but elaborates a totally different scheme. He does not take tso huei as an emblem, but as a verb, which balances the ch'ī siu later in the line. Huei *69* acc. to him is a short-form for *70* (Shuowen quotes our Shu line *71*) and this again is equal to *72*, and so tso huei *64* means »to make painted (ornaments)«, as opposed to siu *55* which means »embroidered« (ornaments). The ch'ī *73* of the orthodox text he regards as an erroneous enlargment of *74*, and this again as a corruption of chī *75*, and so he obtains a binome chī siu *76* 'embroidered'. And he gives a nicely balanced scheme: there were 12 symbols, six of them painted on the yi *77* upper garment (jacket), six of them embroidered on the shang *78* lower garment (skirt). The former were sun, moon, stars, mountain, dragon and hua ch'ung, the latter were tsung yi, water-plant, fire, white rice (fen-mi), fu *53*, and fuh *54*. In order to determine the value of hua ch'ung 'the flowery animal', Cheng draws upon the Chouli: Sī-fu, which enumerates 6 kinds of sacrificial garments of the king: »the great fur« *79*, kun *80* the dragon robe, pi *81* the pheasant robe, ts'uei *82* the felt robe, hi *74* (Cheng =) the embroidered robe, hūan *83* the dark undecorated robe. Since kun here, Cheng points out, is equal to the lung dragon of our Shu text, pi *91* 'pheasant' must correspond to the hua ch'ung 'flowery animal', this latter emblem thus being the figure of a pheasant. And then he takes one bold step further. Tsung yi *84* 'ancestral-temple vases' were not depicted on the clothes, but tsung yi here stands for »tiger and monkey«, which formed the décor on the ancestral vases. And the emblems tiger and monkey probably were applied to the ts'uei *82* felt robe of the Chouli (sic)! How has Cheng arrived at this eccentric idea? In Chouli: Sī tsun there is the enumeration of yi *85* vases: ki yi *86* chicken vase; niao yi *87* bird vase; kia yi *88* kia-vase; huang yi *89* yellow vase; hu yi *90* tiger vase; wei yi *90b* monkey vase. And since Li: Ming t'ang wei says that the Hia dynasty had »chicken yi vases«, the Yin kia-yi vases, the Chou huang-mu *90c* vases, the only thing left for pre-Hia times evidently were hu yi 'tiger vases' and wei yi 'monkey vases'. Ergo the emblem tsung-yi ('ancestral-temple vase') in our Shu line means the emblems 'tiger' and 'monkey'(!). And in this case Cheng seems to have borrowed that brilliant idea from his teacher Ma Jung, who says: tsung-yi 'ancestral-temple vase', that means hu *90* 'tiger'. As to fu *53* and fuh *54*, Cheng does not define them. Thus our Shu line according to Cheng: »Sun, moon, stars, mountain, dragon, (flowery animal =) pheasant are the painted (emblems, sc. of the jacket); tiger and monkey, waterplant, fire, white rice, the fu emblem, the fuh emblem are the 5-colour-embroidered (emblems, sc. on the skirt)«. All this seems very ingenious and systematical, and it has been received with the greatest reverence by the commentators of later ages (even great scholars like Kiang Sheng and Sun Yi-jang). But first the tsung-yi = 'tiger and monkey' is an appalling speculation, and secondly Cheng's theory of the 1st series of 6 emblems that were huei 'painted', being on the jacket, as opposed to the 2nd series of 6 emblems



that were chī-siu embroidered, being on the skirt, breaks down entirely if tested by pre-Han texts. Ode 130 says: fuh yi siu shang *91* »jacket with fuh emblems and embroidered skirts» — here the fuh is on the jacket, not (with Cheng) on the skirt. On the other hand, Sün: Ai kung wen says: »fu yi fuh shang *92* »jacket with fu emblems and skirt with fuh emblems» — here the fu is on the jacket (against Cheng) and the fuh on the skirt (with Cheng, against the Ode). In short, these emblems fu and fuh had no fixed placing on jacket or skirt respectively, and so Cheng's ingenious structure tumbles down. — **D.** PK'ung, while still accepting the early idea of all the symbols being applied to garments, has a different scheme. He leaves out tsung-yi as a »symbol», and takes hua and ch'ung separately and likewise fen and mi separately (Hü Shen in Shuowen also took fen as separate from mi); fen, PK'ung says, is = *93* 'ice-crystal of grain', probably he meant the white grain after peeling; fu *53* he defines as the figure of a fu *94* 'axe' and fuh *54* as a figure *95* consisting of two *96* back to back. As to tso huei he follows Shuowen (huei = painting combining 5 colours). Thus: »Sun, moon, stars, mountain, dragon, hua flower ch'ung (animal =) pheasant form the (emblems) painted in 5 colours; (some of them are likewise on) tsung yi ancestral-temple vases; water-plant, fire, peeled grain, rice, axe, fuh-figure are siu embroidered on ch'ī fine dolichos cloth». PK'ung thus has 13 »symbols» as against Cheng's 12. His construction of tsung yi as a parenthesis without verb is, of course, impossible. In regard to the fu and fuh symbols, PK'ung followed Sun Yen (3rd c. A. D., comm. on Erya) and Tu Yü (3rd c., comm. on Tso: Huan 2) who both, however, combine it with the Chouli definition in A above: the fu axe was made in white and black, the fuh symbol in blue and black. As to fu = axe, there is the substantiation that Yi li: Kin li *97* »a screen with axes (as ornament)» corresponds to Chouli: Sī ki yen *98*, same meaning, and that in Shu: Ku ming the same object is called *99*. This is fairly conclusive. As to fuh, on the other hand, Sun Yen's idea that it was two ki *96* back to back was modified by Yen Shī-ku (T'ang time, comm. on Han shu K. 73) that it was the symbol *95*, which was »an ancient form of fu *100*» (which is not at all confirmed by the bronze inscriptions), and Yüan Yüan took this to be two bows back to back (identifying it with the Ya hing *2* of the bronze inscriptions which, acc. to Yüan, would mean *3* 'to assist'). But for all these speculations there is not the slightest pre-Han text support. We simply cannot know what the fuh symbol was like and what it depicted. When PK'ung rejects Cheng Hüan's emendation of ch'ī *73* into *75*, and gives the ordinary meaning to ch'ī 'fine dolichos choth', he follows Huai-nan-tsī, who (Huai: Chu shu) says: *4*, evidently with our Shu line in mind, and probably Sī-ma Ts'ien was of the same opinion, for (in Wu ti pen ki) he says that »Yao gave Shun *5* a garment of fine dolichos cloth». — **E.** There are various other attempts at interpretations in later times, with different calculations, which cannot all be related here. As an example may be quoted Sü Hao (Shuo wen kie tsī chu tsien, Ts'ing time): fu and fuh were not among the siang symbols: fu *53* simply means 'skirt' and fuh *54* means 'knee cover' (well attested in this sense in early texts); the symbols were those: sun, moon, stars, mountain, dragon, hua flower, ch'ung pheasant — 7 symbols were painted (on the jacket); tsung yi (ancestral-temple vase), waterplant, fire, fen grain, mi rice — 5 symbols, on fu *53* skirt and fuh *54* knee-covers, were chī siu embroidered. — **F.** Whichever line of interpretation we adopt of the preceding (B—E), we are always brought up against the difficulty of tsung-yi 'ancestral-temple vase'; it cannot mean 'tiger and monkey' (C), nor be a loosely inserted paranthesis (D), and to conclude that the »temple-vase» was one of the symbols »painted» on the jacket is very little plausible, to say the least. In fact, the fundamental error in all those speculations is the idea that all the siang symbols were

on the garments. If we make ourselves free from this fixed idea of the scholasts, we recognize at once that we need not alter huei *69* into *70* or *72*, nor chī *73* into *75*, and that these lines naturally divide into two sections which balance each other, each ending by a tso *67* 'to make': tso huei tsung yi *6* »they are made and combined on the ancestral-tempel vases», tso fu *7* »they are made on the garments». Shun wants to see the »symbols» of the »ancient men» such as they are manifest at the solemn sacrifices. The ritual paraphernalia in those sacrifices are of two kinds: the temple vases and the ritual garments of the officiants. The first section refers to the former, the second to the latter: **»Sun, moon, stars, mountain, dragon, flowery animal (pheasant or phoenix?), those are made and combined on the ancestral-temple vases; water-plant, fire, peeled grain, rice, white-and-black figure (axe), black and blue figure, five-colour-embroidery on fine dolichos cloth, with five pigments applied into five colours, those are made on the garments».** The latter series certainly refer to textile and embroidery patterns (»the water-plant pattern», »the fire pattern» etc.) which we cannot now identify, since early Chou textiles have not been preserved. But the former series »made and combined on the ancestral-temple vases» should be identifiable. »Sun, moon and stars» probably refers to certain archaic symbols, well-known on early bronzes, which I have called »whorl-circle» *8* (e. g. BMFEA 9, pl. 5) and the closely related symbol *9* (e. g. BMFEA 8, pl. 28); possibly also to the symbol called »square with crescent» *10* (e. g. BMFEA 9, pl. 38). Though the latter was probably originally a stylization of a dragon figure (cf. BMFEA 9, Pl. 32, vessel 132), the writer of our Shu chapter in early Chou time could know nothing of the art evolution in Yin time, and it was reasonable that he took these various symbols to refer to heavenly bodies. Shan 'mountain' probably refers to the design which I have called »rising blades» (e. g. BMFEA 9, Pl. 13, 25) which is identical with the earliest form of the char. *12* 'mountain'. The lung dragon is identical with the earliest form of the char. *12* 'mountain'. The lung dragon is ubiquitous on the bronzes and the »flowery animal» — whether phoenix or pheasant — is a very apt description of the conspicious bird figure on many early Chou bronzes.

1322. Tsai chī hu yi ch'u na wu yen *13*.

The line follows upon »I want to hear *14* the 6 pitch-pipes, *15* the 5 notes, *16* the (8 sounds =) sounds of the 8 kinds of instruments».

A. The above is the reading of the PK'ung version, and he explains: tsai *17* = *18* (well attested, see Gl. 751), and hu *19* = *20* 'careless' (hu in this sense in Chuang: T'ien ti), so chī: hu form an antithesis: »I will examine the good government or neglect (of my officers) in order to bring out and (bring in =) receive the five discourses» — the latter being the discourses on the five virtues (jen, yi, li, chī, sin). This has been accepted by Ts'ai Ch'en, yet with the modification that wu yen *21* does not mean »the 5 discourses» but »the 5 kinds of odes» (corresponding to the 5 sheng notes), ch'u brought out from the court to the people or na presented to the court from the people. The logical connection with the preceding would be that a correct music corresponds to and reveals a correct government. This theme of the correspondence between music and government has been fully treated and embroidered in Li: Yüe ki. But it is evident that with fundamentally the same meaning of the words, a better sense of the whole could be attained, the line simply referring to the music: »(I want to hear the 6 pitch-pipes, the 5 notes, the sounds of the 8 kinds of instruments)

and to examine whether they are c h ī well-regulated or h u neglected, in order to (bring out and bring back =) sing antiphonally the 5 (kinds of) words (to the music)». What is meant by »5 (kinds of) words» we can of course merely guess at. If we examine the early odes preserved (Shī king), there are, for instance, love songs, lamentations, songs of the daily life of the gentry, feast hymns, and songs about heroes and their sacrifices. But the categories intended by this early Shu author may have been something quite different. — **B.** Wang Yin-chī would improve PK'ung's interpr. on one point: h u *19* does not mean 'to be careless, neglect' but stands for k u *22* = *23* 'to trouble, disturb, disorder' (well-attested word). Thus the antithesis is not »good government or neglect» but: »good government or disorder». Wang evidently thought *19* (**χmwət*) was phonetic loan char. for *22* (**kwət*). But Sun Sing-yen points out that the char. *24* (**kwət* / *kuət* / k u), which in a loan char. sense means 'to disturb, disorder' (then id. w. *22*) in its primary sense means 'to flow' and in this sense has a Shuowen variant *25*; and he thinks the A version h u *19* is merely a graphical error for this *25* = *24* = *22* 'to disorder'. For all these speculations there is really only one feeble support. Sī-ma Ts'ien renders the line by l a i s h ī k u *26*, which admittedly makes no sense and must be a corrupted text; but the last word *22* would be this 'to disorder' demanded by the context as contrast to c h ī in the PK'ung version, which is there written *19*. — **C.** Cheng Hüan inst. of h u *19* has the version *27* which he takes as equal to h u *28* 'writing tablet', and he carries this word to the second line, explaining: »I want to hear the 6 pitch-pipes etc.) and to t s a i c h ī examine the government, h u y i c h' u n a w u y e n by means of writing-tablets giving out and receiving back the 5 statements», these »5 statements» meaning the orders given to and reports handed in by the 5 classes of officers. An obviously impossible speculation, particularly since it has no logical connection with the preceding lines on music. Sun Sing-yen believes that the *27* of Cheng's text again is a corruption of the *25* of Shuowen, see B above, which is very unlikely. Yü Yüe believes *27* is simply »a particle», for which there is no text support whatever. — **D.** In Han shu: Lü li chī the Shu text is quoted t s' i s h ī y u n g y i c h' u n a w u y e n *29*. The Suei shu: Lü li chī quotes h ü n *30* inst. of y u n g *31*, and Tuan Yü-ts'ai advocates this version, but it is easily seen that in this connection (musical terms and performances) y u n g 'to sing' makes much better sense than h ü n *32* (which Tuan explains as = *33* 'to accord' and thinks is phonetically similar [*32* **χiwən*] to the *19* **χmwət* of the A version, which is very wrong). Pan Ku takes this t s' i s h ī »the seven beginnings» to refer to *34* »the affairs of Heaven, earth, the four seasons and man», interpreting: »(I want to hear the 6 pitch-pipes, the 5 notes, the 8 kinds of instruments) and t s' i s h ī (according to) the 7 (beginnings =) primary things bring out and receive the 5 discourses» (the discourses on the 5 c h' a n g constant norms, j e n, y i, l i, c h ī, s i n, see A above). But long before this scholastic speculation a more reasonable and concrete interpretation was given by Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan, when he coördinates t s' i s h ī with the preceding numerical categories, thus clearly indicating that he took it to refer to music; he says *35*: »He fixes them by the 6 pitch-pipes, the 5 notes, the 8 sounds (8 kinds of instruments) and the 7 primary (tones)». Indeed, a set of 7 in the musical categories is well known from pre-Han texts, though nowhere else called t s' i s h ī. It is called t s' i l ü *36* in Kyü: Chou yü, hia, and t s' i y i n *37* in Tso: Chao 20 and Chao 25. That the Han scholars considered these three terms as synonomous is shown by the fact that the same enumeration (the tones h u a n g c h u n g, t' a i t s u, k u s i e n, l i n c h u n g, n a n l ü, y i n g c h u n g, j u c i p i n) is given by Cheng Hüan in explaining the t s' i s h ī of the Ta chuan, by Kia K'uei in defining the t s' i l ü of Kyü and by Tu Yü in defining the t s' i y i n of Tso. The Tso passages are particularly valuable,

because they clearly confirm that we have to do with a category of tones (Tso: Chao 20): *38* »The 5 notes, the 6 pitch-pipes, the 7 tones, the 8 airs (f e n g being really a pun, meaning at the same time 'an air, a tune', see Gl. 757, and 'wind', the 8 airs corresponding to the 8 winds), the 9 songs». With this concrete and natural interpretation we need no speculations about »heaven, earth, four seasons and man». The passage, with y u n g *31* carried to the second line, means: »(I want to hear the 6 pitch-pipes, the 5 notes, the sounds of the 8 kinds of instrument) and t s' i s h ī **the 7 primary tones,** y u n g y i c h' u n a w u y e n **sung in order to (send out and bring back =) bring out antiphonally the 5 (kinds of) words (to the music)».** This version, the oldest attested (t s' i s h ī in Ta chuan) being obviously the best in the context, must be preferred to the A and C texts. It is easy to see how the t s a i c h ī *39* of A and C have originated. In Chou script t s a i *17* was *40* and t s' i *41* was *42* — nearly identical; nothing was easier than to misread t s a i for a correct t s' i. The second word was probably (in Chou fashion) simply written *43*, supplied with the (correct) radical 'woman' *44* in one Han school (Ta chuan, Shī ki), by the (wrong) radical 'water' (*45*) in another (Cheng Hüan, PK'ung). Further, there was a common Han time variant of t s' i *41* 'seven' wr. *46*, and this has been misunderstood and corrupted into l a i *47* in Sī-ma Ts'ien's version *26*. Finally Sī-ma Cheng tells us that the Kin-wen version read the line *48*; here t s' a i *49* is an obvious corruption of *46* (= *41*), and c h e n g *50* paraphrases its synonym c h ī *45*. Thus both Sī-mas Ts'ien's version and the Kin-wen version are mixed products, half D, half A (Sī-ma: l a i s h ī *51*, corruption of t s' i s h ī *52* = *53*, D version; k u *22* rendering *19*, A version; Kin-wen t s' a i *49* corruption of t s' i *46* = *41*, D version, c h e n g h u *48* rendering the c h ī h u *13* of the A version). No wonder that Sī-ma's line is quite unintelligible, and that the Kin-wen line is even more strained than the A line (t s' a i c h e n g h u: »I want to gather the good government or the neglect», namely I want to distinguish between them, is nearly impossible). — The oldest attested version in its concrete sense is the only plausible one.

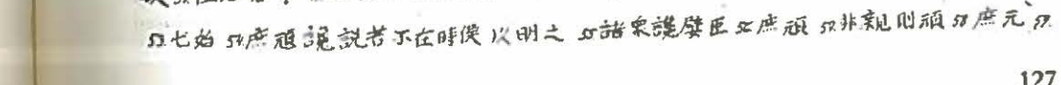
1323. S h u w a n c h' a n s h u o j o p u t s a i s h ī h o u y i m i n g c h ī *54*.

S h u w a n c h' a n s h u o:

PK'ung takes this in its natural way: **»All the stupid ones and caluminating talkers».** Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases it very freely *55* »All the caluminating and fawning ministers», skipping the word w a n 'stupid' and rendering s h u by c h u - c h u n g 'the many, all'. Some scholars would press Sī-ma's line to correspond more closely to the Shu phrase: c h u c h u n g 'the many' would render s h u w a n *56*. Sun Sing-yen refers to Kyü: Cheng yü *57*, which, acc. to him, means: »If they are not near relatives, they are (the many:) the great crowd». But the context there shows that it means: »If they are not near relatives (of the royal house), they are stupid ones (i. e. barbarians, outside China proper)». Thus this gives no support. Chang Ping-lin proposes that Sī-ma took s h u w a n *56* to stand for *58*, which would mean 'all the crowd,' which is very unlikely. No reason to abandon the simple and natural ancient interpr.

The whole line:

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases very freely: »All calumniators, *59* if the k ü n prince's



virtue is sincerely applied, will become t s' i n g pure». This means that he skips the difficult j o p u t s a i s h ī, and takes h o u *60* in the sence of 'prince' (common) and m i n g *61* in that of 'to make bright, to enlighten', thus: h o u y i m i n g c h ī *62* »by the prince one enlightens them». — **B.** PK'ung: s h ī *63* = *64*, but in the sense of 'right' (as opp. to wrong); h o u *60* = 'target' (common), m i n g *61* 'to make clear' = 'to distinguish, to discern', thus: »All the stupid ones and calumniating talkers, if they do not (dwell in =) abide in what is right, by the target (i. e. archery tests) one (makes clear =) reveals them». This idea of archery as the test of moral qualities is ancient and fully developed in Li: Shī yi. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: s h ī *63* = *64*, referring to the preceding line: »If I err, you shall assistingly correct me; you shall not to my face accord with me, but, when having retired, have (other) words afterwards». Thus: **»All the stupid ones and calumniating talkers, if they do not abide in those (principles just mentioned), by the target (archery tests) one (makes clear =) reveals them».** — **D.** Kiang Sheng: t s a i *17* = *18*: »J o p u t s a i s h ī = if they do not (investigate =) show discernment in this». It is true that t s a i can mean c h' a *18* as in Yao tien *65* »He examined the s ü n stone apparatus». As stated in Gl. 751, however, t s a i in this sense of c h' a is simply an extension of meaning: »to dwell upon, keep the mind on» = »to study, investigate»; it is really no improvement to take t s a i in this secondary sense instead of the primary sense in interpr. C. — **E.** Sun Sing-yen reverts to Sī-ma's idea that h o u *60* means 'prince', and, like Kiang, he takes t s a i *17* = c h' a *18*: »All the stupid ones and calumniating talkers, if one (cannot) (investigate =) discern those, by princes one reveals them», the idea being that the king has his feudal princes as his coadjutors in detecting which subjects are good or bad. The parallelism with the following lines: »by the scourge one imprints it on their memory, by the documents one records it» shows that the »target», of interpr. B—D is far better, a concrete instrument in the hand of the ruler.

1323a. T' a y i k i c h ī *66*.

A. PK'ung: »By the scourge one (causes them to remember =) imprints it on their memory». — **B.** Sun Yi-jang: k i *67* is a loan char. for k i *68*: »By the scourge one (causes them to abstain =) deters them». — B is, of course, quite possible, but A balances better the following »By the documents one records it».

1324. Y ü p i n g s h e n g t s a i *69*.

A. PK'ung: »One wishes that they shall live along with (the rest)», thus taking s h e n g *70* as an intransitive verb. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: *70* = *71*: **»Ones wishes to keep them alive along with (the rest)».** — **C.** Kiang Sheng: s h e n g *70* = *72*: »One wishes to make them advance (towards goodness) along with (the rest)». But s h e n g has no such meaning. — A and B are both possible, but B, which takes s h e n g as a transitive verb parallel to all the preceding (m i n g, k i, s h ī) is most consistent.

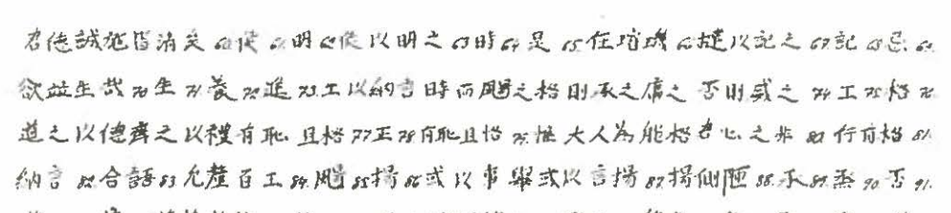
1325. K u n g y i n a y e n, s h ī e r y a n g c h ī, k o t s ê c h' e n g c h ī, y u n g c h ī, f o u t s ê w e i c h ī *73*.

A. PK'ung, who believes that k u n g *74* means 'the music masters' (a common meaning of the word e. g. in Li: Yüe ki, Yili: Yen li, Tso: Siang 4), takes the first half to refer to the king, and n a y e n 'to introduce words' = 'to remonstrate' (by odes sung as remonstrances); and the second part to refer to t' i e n h i a c h ī j e n »the people of the realm»; thus: »K u n g the music-masters y i n a y e n by (introduced words =) songs sung in remonstrance s h ī correct (the king) and y a n g (lift =) lead him on; if (men) arrive (at goodness), one receives and employs them, if not, one overawes them (by punishments).» — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en refers the whole to the wicked men mentioned in the preceding lines: »The music masters take their (sc. the miscreants') (introduced words =) presented songs and constantly (lift =) recite them; if they k o become reformed, one receives and employs them, if not, one overawes them». For k o *75* = 'to become reformed' Ts'ai refers to Lun: Wei cheng *76* »Guide them by virtue, normalize them by the rites, and then they will feel shame and become corrected (reformed)». This is Ho Hiu's interpr. (k o *75* = *77* 'to correct'); but in Li: Tsi yi this Lun yü clause is paraphrased so as to show that the Li author took k o *75* in its sense of 'to come': »then they will feel shame and come (to you)»; and the Ts'i school of Lun yü (ap. a Han-time inscription) had another version: *78* »they will feel shame and be respectful» (so paraphrased in Han shu: Huo chī chuan). Thus the Lun text par. gives no safe support at all for Ts'ai's interpr. A better and safer par. is Meng: Li Lou, shang: *79* »Is is only the great man who can correct the faults of the ruler's (heart =) mind» (Chao K'i: *75* = *77*). In fact k o is attested in the sense of 'law, norm, rule', e. g. Li: Tsī yi *80* »The conduct has its norms», and by extension of meaning 'to put a norm for, to regulate' = 'to correct', as in the Meng ex. But even though k o can thus have this sense, it is infinitely more common in the sense of 'to come'. And the whole idea that the reformation of the wicked men is revealed by the songs they present at court sung by the music masters, is, of course, ridiculous. Kiang Sheng, in the main, follows Ts'ai but says that n a y e n *81* 'to introduce words' refers to the rite of h o y ü *82* 'conversations at general reunions', described in Li: Wen wang shī tsī. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen takes k u n g *74* in its general sense of 'officer, official', as we already had it in Yao tien *83* »If you earnestly control all the functionaries», etc. (very common); y a n g *84* is equal to *85* 'to lift', as already stated in A-B above, but not in the senses there proposed but in the sense of 'to recommend, to promote', as in Li: Wen wang shī tsī: *86* »Some are promoted because of their deeds, some are (raised, lifted =) promoted because of their speeches». Cf. Yao tien above: *87* »Raise one humble and mean». So far Sun is undoubtedly right. But then he goes on saying that c h' e n g *88* is equal to c h e n g *89* 'to promote', an unnecessary text alteration; and that f o u *90* should not be read f o u 'not' but p e i 'to obstruct', as in Yi: Kua 12, the last words meaning »if (the officials) obstruct them (do not let them come forwards) they are overawed (by punishment)» — an interpr. which entirely misses the antithesis expressed by f o u. The lines, which refer to the wicked men whose reformation was described in the preceding paragraph, therefore mean: **»Through the officials reports are brought in (about them); if they are s h ī (correct =) good, one y a n g promotes them; if they come, one receives them and employs them, if not, one overawes them (into obedience)».** — C alone is simple and logical in the context.

1326. T s' a n g s h e n g *91*.

T s' a n g *92* means both 'green', e. g. Ode 129, phr. *93* »The reeds and rushes are very green», and 'azure', e. g. Ode 65, phr. *94* t s' a n g t' i e n »the azure Heaven».

A. PK'ung carries the phr. to the preceding: *95* »Even to the green vegetation of the corners of the seas». This is very unlikely — why should the extreme borders by the seas be described as having a »green vegetation»? — **B.** Li Shan in comm. on Wsüan asserts that t s' a n g s h e n g is equal to the phr. k' i e n s h o u *96* 'black heads' = 'the



people' known from Li: Tsi yi and from various texts of the 3rd c. B. C. T s ' a n g 'green' would then be extended to mean 'dark, black' generally: »Even to the (dark living things =) black(-haired) people of the corners of the seas». There is no pre-Han support whatever for this speculation. — **C.** Another interpr. T s ' a n g s h e n g should be carried to the following line: t s ' a n g s h e n g w a n p a n g: **»The (greenly-growing =) flourishing myriad states».**

1327. L i h i e n *97*.

For l i = 'numerous, all', not 'black-haired', see Gl. 430. The general meaning of h i e n *98* is well established. Erya says = *99* 'sage', and Yi Chou shu: Shī fa (posthumous names) says »the one who is intelligent and wise is called h i e n». But the true etymology has been variously explained. Cheng Hüan (comm. on Lun: Pa yi) says *98* (**χi̯ăn / χi̯ɒn / h i e n*) = *100* (**g'ien / γien / h i e n*); but **χi̯ăn* cannot very well be a loanword for **g'ien*. Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Wang Yin-chī believe that *98* **χi̯ăn* is loan char. for *1* **ngia / ngji̯ɐ / y i* 'righteous' because Shu: Ta kao *2* is rendered *3* by Fu Sheng in Ta chuan, and because in Chouli: Sī tsun yi the comm. Cheng Chung quite arbitrarily says h i e n *98* is read like *4* **χia / χji̯ɐ / h i* or like *1* **ngia* (which is phonetically excluded). In fact, several Han-time inscriptions have the binome l i y i *5* in the same sense as the l i h i e n of our Shu passage, and it is possible that the Kin-wen version really had l i y i *5* inst. of the l i h i e n of the Ku-wen version. But in any case the latter (**χi̯ăn*) cannot be a loan char. for the former (**ngia*), the phonetic discrepancy being too great. Now h i e n, fundamental meaning 'to present, bring forward', is well attested in the sense of 'to exhibit, to display, to show', e. g. Ode 220, phr. *6* »Display your skill in shooting», and, taken passively, h i e n thus can mean 'displayed, exhibited, conspicuous'. Our phr. l i h i e n thus: **»The numerous (conspicuous =) eminent ones».**

1328. F u n a y i y e n, m i n g s h u y i k u n g *7*.

In Yao tien above we had correspondingly: *8* »Extensively they made reports by their words; they were clearly tested by their achievements». In Tso: Hi 27 a »Book of the Hia» is quoted, having *9*. T s o u *10* and n a *11* being practically synonymous: »to make report», the discrepancy concerns f u and s h ī ∽ s h u.

As to f u *14*, an imperial edict of 19 B. C. quotes *12*, where *13* (**pi̯wo*) is simply a loan char. for *14* (**p'i̯wo*), just as in Ode 304, phr. *15* »Extensively he applied his valour» is written *16* in the Ts'i school (Ta Tai li), with the same loan char. But the f u *17* in Tso is more complicated, since Tu Yü says *17* means *18* 'to take', and f u n a y i y e n would then mean: »They are taken and introduced according to their speech». But in fact *17* (**pi̯wo*) likewise can serve as loan char. for *14* (**p'i̯wo*) 'to spread out, extensively', for in Ode 260 we find *19* »He causes the bright decrees to be promulgated» (Mao comm. f u *17* = *20* 'to spread out'). Thus, the f u n a, whether written *7* or *12* or *9*, means (the first being to correct reading): **»Extensively they make reports».** As to s h u *21* inst. of s h ī *22* it is a poor expedient to say that s h u is »erroneous» for s h ī (Kiang Sheng), there being neither similarity in sound nor in the graphs. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en tried to maintain the ordinary sense of s h u 'many, a crowd', but then they had to make »the emperor» the subject of the second clause: »Extensively they make reports by their words, (the emperor) will m i n g distinguish s h u (the crowd =) all the officers by their merits», which entirely misses the parallelism of the lines. S h u *21* certainly should have an analogous sense to that of s h ī *22*, and it seems very probable, with Chang Ping-lin, that *21* simply stands for the graphically very similar *23* t o 'to measure', thus: **»They are clearly (measured =) tested by their achievements»,** which conciliates the two versions in a very natural way.

1329. T i p u s h ī f u t ' u n g j ī t s o u w a n g k u n g *24*.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: *25*. »If the emperor does not (act) like this, and if he

(extensively =) everywhere coequals (the good and the bad); then there will be no achievements». This shows that he punctuated and interpreted the Shu line thus: T i p u s h ī, f u t ' u n g . . . w a n g k u n g, and simply skipped the two difficult words j ī t s o u. Kiang Sheng, who follows Sī-ma, supplies the missing phrase: »T i p u s h ī if the emperor does not (act) like this, f u t ' u n g he (extensively =) everywhere coequals (the good and the bad), and j ī t s o u (even if) they daily make reports (about their work), w a n g k u n g there will be no achievements». — **B.** PK'ung explains t s o u *10* by t s i n *26* (after Shuowen), and interprets: »T i p u s h ī if the emperor does not (act) like this, then he (extensively =) everywhere coequals (the distant and the near ones), j ī t s o u w a n g k u n g and he daily advances in having no achievements» (*27*). He thus takes t s o u as an intransitive verb; but t s o u is really equal to *26* as a transitive verb: »to bring forward», and K'ung Ying-ta therefore modifies the last line: j ī t s o u w a n g k u n g »he daily (advances =) promotes those who have no merits». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »If the emperor does not (act) like this, f u (extensively =) everywhere t ' u n g and all together j ī t s o u w a n g k u n g they (the bad servants) will daily advance in having no achievements». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: f u *14* here means f e n *28* 'to cleave, to separate, distinguish': t i p u s h ī f u »If the emperor does not distinguish those (wicked men from the good ones), t ' u n g j ī t s o u they will in the same day (as the good ones) be (advanced =) promoted, and w a n g k u n g there will be no achievements». As support for his astonishing definition of f u, Sun adduces Shu: Yü kung *29* »Yü (spread out, laid out, distributed =) disposed the lands», where Ma Jung says f u *14* = *28* 'to distribute'. But Ma's f e n here has a totally different sense from the 'to separate, to distinguish' proposed by Sun in our present phr.; f u *14* has no such meaning, and his intepr. is inadmissible. — **E.** Another interpretation. It is quite evident that the line refers to the phrase a few lines earlier: f u n a y i y e n *7*, which was formulated slightly differently in Yao tien: f u t s o u y i y e n *8* »extensively t s o u make reports by their words». We have exactly the same f u 'extensively' here, combined with the same t s o u *10* 'to report'. This can hardly be a coincidence and it forces us to reject all the various interpr. above. Just as a few lines earlier in T i k u a n g t ' i e n c h ī h i a *30*, the first word, t i, is a vocative: »Oh emperor, extensively (*31* = *32*) all under Heaven . . .», so it is here. The lines refer to all the servants (ministers, officials) of the emperor, of whom it was said above: f u t s o u y i y e n »they extensively make reports by their words»; here the same idea is further embroidered: **»Oh emperor,** p u s h ī **if they do not thus** f u t ' u n g j ī t s o u **extensively and all together daily make reports, there will be no achievements».**

1329 a. W u j o T a n C h u a o. Both the Kin-wen and Ku-wen version had an introducing T i y ü e »the Emperor said», see Sun Sing-yen. PK'ung has tampered with this, cutting out t i y ü e and making the following section be a continuation of Yü's speech. K'ung Kuang-sen has the ingenious idea that since the Yao tien says S i a n g a o *33* »Siang was arrogant», our line here means »Do not be like Tan Chu and Ao ('the arrogant one')», which however is refuted by the next line, where a o reverts as an ordinary adjective — it is little likely that it would function first as a nickname and then immediately as an ordinary word in the same passage.

民獻 3. 民儀 4. 犧 5. 黎儀 6. 獻爾發功 7. 敷納以言明庶以功 8. 敷奏以言明試以功 9. 賦納以言明試以功 10. 奏 11. 納 12. 傅納 13. 傅 14. 敷 15. 敷奏其勇 16. 傅奏 17. 日試 18. 取 19. 明命使賦 20. 布 21. 庶 22. 試 23. 度 24. 帝不時敷同日奏罔功 25. 帝即不時布同善惡則毋功 26. 遲 27. 日進於無功 28. 分 29. 禹敷土 30. 帝光天之下 31. 光 32. 桄 33. 象徵 34. 罔晝夜頻頻 35. 罔水

1330. W a n g c h o u y e n g o n g o *34.*

A. Cheng Hüan carries this to the following w a n g s h u e i h i n g c h o u *35* »With no (difference between) day and night he n g o - n g o - wise without water went in boat» (sc. made men push the boat forward on land). This should be rejected, for in the line of five words ending by n g o (both rhythm and rime determine the line thus: w a n g c h o u y e n g o n g o) this n g o can certainly not be an adverbial phrase defining the verb h i n g following in the next line. Cheng, besides, does not define the meaning of »n g o - n g o - wise». — **B.** PK'ung connects the line with the preceding a o n ü e s h ī t s o *36* »arrogance and oppression, those he practised», and that is correct, for the lines are tied into a pair by the rime. He paraphrases: *37* »Without (difference between) day and night he constantly n g o n g o and was licentious and bad (having no rest =) continuously». It is not at all clear what PK'ung thought n g o n g o meant; probably he took it (**ngl̆ăk / ngvk* / n g o) to be a loan char. for *39* (**·âk / ·âk* / n g o) and expounds it by his s ī - n g o *40* 'licentious and bad': »Without (difference between) day and night he was bad». — **C.** K'ung Ying-ta, foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en, thinks that PK'ung by his last words w u h i u s i expounded the enigmatic n g o n g o and believes that he follows PK'ung in interpreting: »Without (difference between) day and night, continuously». But it is evident that PK'ung by his w u h i u s i simply followed up and expounded more fully the initial »without (difference between) day and night» and that his w u h i u s i thus glossed w a n g c h o u y e and not n g o n g o. In any case, there are no text par. whatever in support of the meaning 'continuously' for n g o - n g o. — **D.** The char. n g o *38*, in later times wr. *41*, means 'forehead' (Ki tsiu p'ien, Fang yen, Shuowen, still so in modern Mandarin). It is evident that *38* is loan char. for some other char. of the series *42* (in other words: in the Han-time transcription of the ancient text, the rad. *43* was wrongly applied). The only other word of the series, occurring reduplicated, which can come into question, is the homophonous *44* (**ngl̆ăk / ngvk* / n g o), which *inter alia* means 'to dispute, to oppose by strong words', e. g. Mo: Ts'in shī: »(A prince must have criticizing ministers), *45* a ruler must have oppositional subordinates». The fundamental sense is really 'to be obstreperous, to oppose by noisy and sharp words'. That *38* serves for this *44* was already proposed by Wang Yün (comm. on Shuowen). In Ts'ien fu lun: Tuan sung our Shu line is quoted *46*, and this *47* (**ngâk / ngâk* / n g o) was a phonetically similar word with an analogous sense, properly written *48* (**ngâk*) 'to speak sharply and frankly' (text. ex. in Lie, in Shī ki etc.). We have this same *47* for *48* e. g. in Ta Tai: Tseng tsī li shī: *49* »The sage pronounces himself in sharp words». Our Shu line thus means: »(Arrogance and oppression, those he practised), **without (difference between) day and night he was obstreperous**».

1331. P ' e n g y i n y ü k i a *50.*

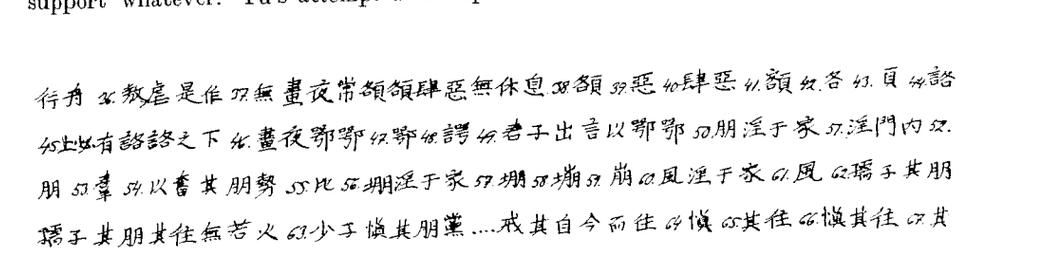
Sī-ma Ts'ien reads in the same way.

A. Cheng Hüan foll. by Kiang Sheng paraphrases: *51* »There was licentiousness (inside the gates =) in the house (family)», thus referring p ' e n g to the people belonging to the house (family) — when Chavannes translates »il se livra à une débauche incestueuse dans sa propre famille» and believes this to be Kiang Sheng's opinion, he is wide of the mark. — **B.** PK'ung with greater precision says that p ' e n g *52* = *53* 'the crowd, the herd' refers to the wife and concubines, thus: »The crowd (of women) were licentious in the house». For p ' e n g in this sense cf. Kyü: Wu yü *54* »in order to stimulate the forces of his crowd» (sc. officers and soldiers). — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes p ' e n g *52* as a verb = *55*: **»He (associated =) formed a gang of cronies and was licentious in the house».** For a Shu par. with p ' e n g as a verb like this see the Lo kao ex. below. — **D.** Couvreur takes p ' e n g as the ordinary noun 'friend, associate', but with an understood preposition: »(With) friends he was licentious in the house». This is grammatically weak, and

we should then rather have to take p ' e n g as the subject: »His associates (friends, cronies) were licentious in the house». — **E.** Shuowen quotes the line p e n g y i n y ü k i a *56*. It has generally been admitted that the *57* (**pəng*) of Hü's version was simply a loan char. for p ' e n g *52* (**b'əng*), but that is not so sure; *57* or *58* was **pəng / pəng / p e n g* (falling tone) and means 'to sink (the coffin) in the ground' (ex. in Tso), and it fundamentally means simply 'to sink, to cause to sink', being a causative form of the same verb stem as *59* **pəng / pəng / p e n g*) (even tone) 'to fall down, to collapse' (intransitive). Thus: »He was sunk in license in the house». — **F.** Another school in an edict (ap. Hou Han shu: Lo ch'eng Tsing wang chuan) of emperor An (107—125 A. D.) read: f e n g y i n y ü k i a *60*. F e n g means 'to run wild when on heat', said of horses and cattle (Tso: Hi 4,28). Thus: »He was riotously licentious in his house». This version is quite independent of the A version, for *61* **pi̯um* cannot be loan char. for *52* **b'əng*, nor *vice versa*. — F. is very tempting, since f e n g y i n would be an excellent binome, and Sun Sing-yen favours this. But after all version A is attested 200 years earlier (Sī-ma) and we should abide by it; for the same reason E has to be declined. C, which makes the criticized Tan Chu himself the subject of the clause, is certainly best, p ' e n g y i n being a natural coördination of two verbs. — We compare:

Shu: Lo kao: J u t s ī k ' i p ' e n g, j u t s ī k ' i p ' e n g k ' i w a n g, w u j o h u o *62*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *63* »My young son should be careful about his associates, and take care about his (from now onwards =) future». This introduces a verb s h e n *64* 'to be careful about' which is not in the Shu text; j u t s ī k ' i p ' e n g of course can never be construed to mean »my young son should be careful about his associates», still less can k ' i w a n g be construed to mean »he should be careful about the future». — **B.** Kiang Sheng follows A in the first part, but carries k ' i w a n g to the following line: »The young son should be careful about his associates, k ' i w a n g (= t s ī k i n e r w a n g) from now onwards, he should not be like the fire . . .». This is even worse than A, since it construes k ' i p ' e n g and k ' i w a n g (which are obviously parallel and analogous) in two different ways. — **C.** Hou Han shu: Yüan Yen chuan explains k ' i p ' e n g in the same way, but takes k ' i w a n g = *66* »he should be careful about to whom he goes» as likewise referring to his choice of associates. Again, there is introduced here this notion of s h e n 'to be careful about' which is not reconcilable with the formulation in the Shu. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes p ' e n g as a verb = 'to associate' in the sense of 'to be partial to, to favour', and takes the first k ' i *67* as an interrogative, the second as a modal particle: »My young son, can he be partial? (If) my young son is partial, (from now and onwards =) in future (will it not be like fire =) it will be like fire . . .». This grammatical inconsistency is unacceptable. — **E.** Yü Yüe: Kuangya says p ' e n g *68* = *69* 'not', and our p ' e n g *52* is a short form for this *68*. Thus: »My young son, k ' i p ' e n g may he not (do like that)»; k ' i w a n g then means »may he go» sc. to the new city. For the Kuangya meaning of *68* there exists no text support whatever. Yü's attempt at interpr. is absurd. — **F.** Chang Ping-lin: the for-



mulation is »stuttering», and k'i p'eng k'i wang is equal to a simple ju tsï k'i p'eng wang *70* »My young son, may he with the crowd go», i. e. follow the officers to the new capital. — **G.** Yü Sing-wu: p'eng *52* stands for feng *71*, which means *72* 'great': »My young son, may he grow great, may he grow great». Yü does not explain the following k'i wang. — **H.** Another interpr. It is quite obvious that k'i is the exhortative modal particle, on the analogy of the preceding ju k'i si tsï kiao kung *73* »you should in everything yourself instruct them to achievements» (see Gl. 1759), and the following ju k'i king *74* »You should be reverent»; p'eng and wang are thus coördinated verbs, governed by the modal k'i and turned into exhortative phrases. It would be tempting to take them as contrasting: »Ju tsï k'i p'eng, k'i wang »the young son should associate (sc. with the good), or he should (go away from =) keep aloof (sc. from the bad)». But that is not admissible, for wang 'to go' regularly means 'to go to', not 'to go away, to leave'. Hence p'eng and wang are almost synonymous: **»The young son should (associate =) find associates, the young son should find associates, he should (go to them =) frequent them; but he should not be like a fire (i. e. too fervent in his friendships): it first flames up, and where it blazes, by and by it cannot be extinguished».** The theme in this clause: that the ruler should rely on associates, is but a further elaboration of the content in the preceding lines.

1332. Yü ch'uang jo shï *75*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien makes this the last clause in Shun's speach and renders it by *76* »I cannot accord with this»; Sun Sing-yen expounds: ch'uang *77* means *78* 'to wound', and the line properly means »I (am wounded =) feel hurt by according with this», i. e. I do not accord with it. Very strained. — **B.** PK'ung (who takes Yü as the speaker all way through): ch'uang *77* 'to wound' means *79* 'to chastise': »I have been chastised (had a painful warning) by its jo shï being like this», or, more literally, with Kiang Sheng: »I (am wounded =) suffer from its being like this». There are numerous ancient words meaning 'to suffer from = be sorry, grieve over', but I know of no par. text where ch'uang is used with this extension of meaning. — **C.** Whereas Sï-ma Ts'ien starts the next line by »Yü said» *80*, Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Wen K'ung) places this before our present line, contracting the two lines of the PK'ung version *81* into one: Yü yüe, yü ts'ü jo shï *82*. This very happily gives us the clue to the meaning of our embarrassing ch'uang *77*. Our line is not the last in Shun's speech, but the first in Yü's, and the words Yü yüe have to be moved, in accordance with Wang Ch'ung, in front of the line: Yü yüe: yü ch'uang jo shï, ts'ü yü T'u shan »Yü said: **»When I started work like that** (as described earlier in the chapter), **I married in T'u-shan».** Ch'uang *77* = 'to start, to initiate, to start work' is a well-attested meaning: Kyü: Chou yü *83* »to institute the rules of the empire»; Lun: Hien wen *84* »Pi Shen roughly (initiated =) drafted them (the orders)»; Meng: Liang Huei wang, hia *85* »The lord (initiates, begins, founds =) lays the foundation of the inheritance»; etc. (common).

1333. Ts'ü yü T'u shan sin jen kuei kia, K'i ku ku er k'i yü fu tsï *86*.

A. Cheng Hüan and PK'ung interpret: **»I married in T'u-shan** (sc. the lady of the T'u-shan house), **on the days sin, jen, kuei, kia** (sc. I stayed with her for 4 days only); **when (my son) K'i wailed and wept, I did not treat him as a son»** (I had no leisure to go into the house and attend to him). — **B.** Hü Shen in Shuowen (under the variant *87*) has a slightly different interpr., saying that »the people took wives on the days sin, jen, kuei, kia», and the phr. would then mean that Yü had followed the custom of the land, marrying the lady on those days (a 4-days feast?). The comm. on Shuei king tries to reconcile these views, quoting Lü shï ch'un ts'iu to the effect that since Yü stayed with his wife

these 4 days, it became the custom of the people in that region to marry on those days! (Lü shï ch'un ts'iu has no such passage — this is one of those spurious quotations so common in medieval commentaries). — **C.** Sï-ma Ts'ien has inverted the word-sequence fatally, reading: *88* »On the days sin and jen I married (the lady of) T'u-shan, on the days kuei and kia I begat K'i, I did not treat him as a son», which is obviously a corruption, the latter half being inane. It is, besides, quite clear that the 4 words sin jen kuei kia should be read together, since they form a sequence in the decimal cycle. — **D.** Liu Hiang (Lie nü chuan: Mu yi) narrates: (Yü of Hia took the lady of T'u-shan for wife), *89* »When she had born K'i, on the days sin, jen, kuei, kia K'i wailed and wept, but Yü went away and regulated the waters». This means that Liu in the Shu line carried sin jen kuei kia to the following phrase: »I married in T'u-shan (sc. the lady of the T'u-shan house); (for 4 days =) on the days sin, jen, kuei, kia, K'i wailed and wept, but I did not treat him as a son». — D. is quite plausible in itself, but A is certainly superior, showing how the busy Yü first had to neglect his wife and then his son.

Wei huang to t'u kung *90*. For huang *91* = 'extensively' (with Erya and Cheng), not 'brought into order, cultivated' *92* (PK'ung) see Gl. 287 and 1077: **»I extensively planned the land works».**

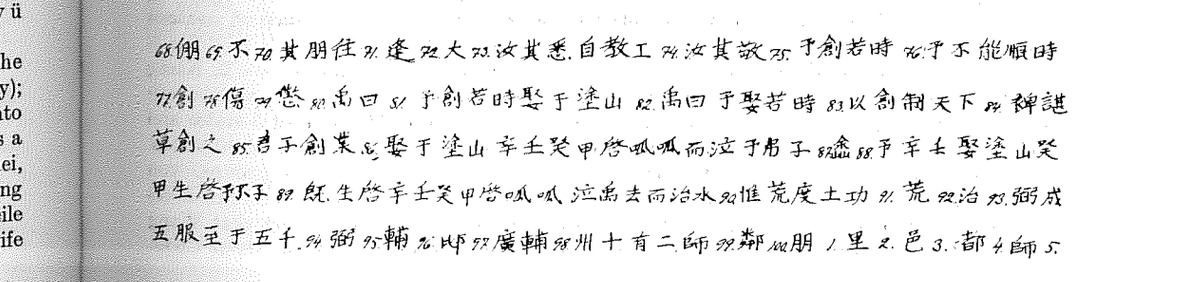
1334. Pi ch'eng wu fu, chï yü wu ts'ien *93*.

Sï-ma Ts'ien (after Erya) renders pi *94* by fu *95* 'to aid', the regular meaning of *94*; Shuowen has the variant *96*, same meaning.

A. Cheng Hüan expounds pi by *97*, thus: »I (aided =) supplemented and achieved the 5 dependencies, as far as to 5000 (li)», adding some elaborate computations of the various areas and distances, which do not deserve to be recapitulated here., cf Gl. 1384. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»I assisted in establishing the 5 dependencies, as far as 5000 (li)».** I. e. Yü assisted the sovereign in the disposition of the realm that was properly the emperor's prerogative to decide. — We have pi *94* in this very sense of 'to assist' (the sovereign) in the beginning of the same Shu chapter (Kao Yao mo) and *passim* in the Shu, which speaks in favour of B.

1335. Chou shï yu er shï *98*.

A. The oldest interpr. is that of Shang shu ta chuan: 8 families are a lin *99*, (3 lin =) 24 families are a p'eng *100*, (3 p'eng =) 72 families are a li *1*, (5 li =) 360 families are a yi *2*, (10 yi =) 3600 families are a tu *3*, (10 tu =) 36000 families are a shï *4*, and chou shï yu er shï (referring to our Shu passage above) *98* **»In a chou province there are 12 shï districts (of 36000 families)»** i. e. 430,000 families. This comes as a very natural sequel to the preceding. »I assisted in establishing the 5 dependencies, as far as to 5000 li», here describing the size of the various provinces, expressed in the figures of their population. — **B.** Cheng Hüan: shï *4* = *5*: »The provinces have 12 leaders (masters, tutors)», i. e. princes who were leaders over the other feudal lords within the provinces. There has been much speculation about these »12 shï leaders». Wu Ch'eng (Yüan dynasty) adduces Yao tien



(»Shun tien»), where it is said on the one hand that Shun *6* established 12 provinces, on the other hand that Shun says: *7* »Oh, you 12 Pastors» i. e. governors of the 12 provinces, and he insists that our c h o u s h ī y u e r s h ī *98* »In the provinces there were 12 s h ï», refers to them, thus one s h ī to each province (so also Legge), a s h ī being but another term for the m u Pastor. But that is not tenable, for Yü instituted not 12 but 9 provinces, and in our chapter Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi) above, it is Yü himself who gives an account of his works and in this account he speaks of the 12 s h ī. It is futile to speculate whether Shun first made 12 provinces and Yü then altered this into 9 provinces or *vice versa*. The two figures 12 and 9 are not reconcilable, they represent two different traditions about the early political geography of the realm. In any case Yü would not in referring to his own institutions speak of 12 s h ī in the sense of »12 Pastors» over 12 provinces, since he had made 9 provinces, not 12. Cheng Hüan has realized this and concludes that in each province, under the m u 'Pastors' were 12 prominent feudal lords as his coadjutors. But then we are out in the field of pure guesses, for this theory lacks every text support. There are several texts referring to »leaders»: Li: K'ü li says that when the »c h a n g leaders of the 9 provinces» (*8*) came to the royal court, they were called m u *9* Pastors. Li: Wang chī says that outside the Royal domain proper (forming 1 c h o u province) there were 8 c h o u provinces: 5 feudal states *10* formed a s h u *11* led by a c h a n g *5*; 10 states (k u o) together formed a l i e n *12*, led by a s h u a i *13*; 30 states together formed a t s u *14*, led by a c h e n g *15*; 210 states together formed a c h o u *16* province, led by a p o *17*; there were thus 8 (in 9 provinces minus 1, the Royal domain) f a n g p o *18* »regional leaders». These texts in the Rituals refer, not to primeval times but to the Chou era (and, moreover, are late theorizing speculations which have little to do with historical facts). A more ancient text, referring to early Chou time, is Tso: Hi 4, where Shao Kung of Ts'i is made to say: *19* »The 5 (kinds of) feudal lords, and the 9 leaders, you shall truly punish them». Here there are 9 p o leaders (including the leader of the princes in the Royal domain, thus leaders of the princes in 9 provinces). But the important fact is that nowhere is there a term s h ī *4* in the sense of a »leader» over other princes. Thus Cheng's interpretation of the »12 s h ī» hangs entirely in the air. — **C.** PK'ung says: in each province he (Yü) used 30000 men's work (sc. in regulating the waters and establishing the provinces). This shows that PK'ung took s h ī *4* in the sense of 'army, regiment', i. e. conscription soldiers who did the work, basing himself on Chouli: Hia kuan, introduction: »2500 men made a s h ī regiment» (12 s h ī thus making 30000 men, PK'ung's figure). Thus our Shu line: *98* »In (each) province there were 12 regiments» (to my aid). — The oldest interpr. (A) certainly suits the context best. — We compare:

Shu: P'an Keng: P a n g p o s h ī c h a n g p o c h ī s h ī c h ī j e n *20*.

A. We have no gloss of Cheng Hüan's on this passage, but since he above defined s h ī *4* as = c h a n g *5* it seems reasonable to conclude that he took our phr. s h ī c h a n g *21* here as = 'leaders (of provinces)'. — **B.** PK'ung takes s h ī c h a n g simply as = *22*: **»You rulers of states, you leaders of the multitude, you hundred (kinds of) managers of affairs».** For s h ī in this sense see Gl. 1305 above. — **C.** K'ung Ying-ta modifies B into *23* »The leaders of all (the officers)», a very unlikely construction. — **D.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen refer to the Li: Wang chī passage quoted above, and believe that our c h a n g *5* refers to the c h a n g leaders of a s h u *11* group of 5 states and that our s h ī *4* corresponds to the s h u a i *13* leaders of a l i e n group of 10 states. Thus: »You p a n g p o rulers of states, you s h ī leaders of 10-state groups, you c h a n g leaders of 5-state groups and p o c h ī s h ī c h ī j e n you hundred (kinds of) managers of affairs». This is extremely unlikely. Quite apart from the fact that Wang chī is a late Li chapter and very scholastic, being a theorizing speculation about Chou-

time institutions, it is quite arbitrary to identify s h ī *4* with s h u a i *13*, and moreover the rhythm indicates that s h ī - c h a n g is one thing, not two: p a n g - p o — s h ī - c h a n g. Thus B remains the most simple and plausible interpr.

1336. W a i p o s ī h a i, h i e n k i e n w u c h a n g *24*.

P o *25* means 'to press upon, to come close to', as often (Tso etc.).

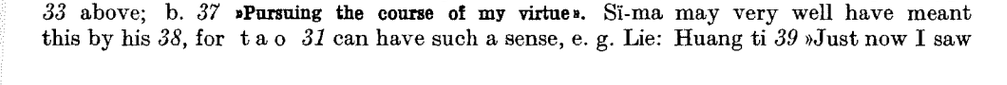
A. Cheng Hüan foll. by PK'ung: »Outside (the provinces of China proper) I came all to the four seas, and h i e n in all those regions I established five-state leaders». Thus, in the border regions, those of the barbarians, for every 5 states he nominated a prince as their leader. Cheng is here evidently influenced by the Li: Wang chī passage quoted in Gl. 1335 above: 5 feudal states *10* formed a s h u *11* led by a c h a n g *5*. There it refers to China proper, but Cheng here applies it to the barbarian regions, taking the w u c h a n g *26* of the Shu text as = »the leader of 5 (states)». Cheng is also influenced by his own interpretation of s h ī *4* = 'leader' in the preceding line, taking the c h e n g here as a term balancing the s h ī there. But, as we have seen, his interpr. of s h ī cannot be sustained. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Outside (the provinces of China proper) I came all to the four seas, and h i e n (everywhere =) in each of those regions I established five leaders»; thus in the east selecting 5 princes as leaders for the rest, and likewise in the south, west and north. (Legge, skipping the h i e n *27*, simplifies: »establishing, in the regions beyond, extending to the four seas, five Presidents»; thus only 5 inst. of Ts'ai's 5×4 = 20). Even more far-fetched than A. — **C.** Wu Ch'eng (Yüan dynasty): w u c h a n g »the five (classes of) chiefs» refers to the ordinary 5 classes of feudal lords (k u n g, h o u, p o, t s ī, n a n), and the last clause h i e n k i e n w u c h a n g does not refer particularly to the preceding w a i p o s ī h a i but to the whole passage: »I assisted in establishing the 5 dependencies; [in each province there were 12 s h ī districts of 36000 families, see Gl. 1335 above]; **outside (the provinces of China proper) I came all to the four seas;** h i e n **everywhere (sc. in the whole realm) I established the 5 (classes of) chiefs (feudal lords)».** Chavannes has accepted this, and it is obviously right.

1337. a. K o t i y u k u n g *28*;

b. T i c h e n t ê *29*.

Sī-ma Ts'ien in both cases renders t i *30* by t a o *31*, which is just as ambiguous. In fact t i *30* can mean (intransitive) 'to advance', e. g. Ode 257, phr. *32* »He does not seek (office) he does not advance (i. e. push himself forward)», see Gl. 979. Or it can mean (transitive) 'to tread on, to walk in, to pursue the course of', e. g. Shu: Wu yi *33* »These four men (walked in wisdom =) pursued the course of wisdom»; the same with understood object: Shu: P'an keng *34* »If there are inauspicious ones and such who do not (walk it =) pursue the (proper) course». Or it can be transitive and causative: 'to cause to walk' = 'to lead', e. g. Shu: P'an Keng *35*: »They lead on the high sovereign, grandly to . . .» etc. (see Gl. 1459). In our Shu lines above:

A. PK'ung paraphrases: a. *36* **»Each one** (walks in that which has merit =) **pursues a course that is meritorious»,** thus taking y u k u n g as object of t i, according to type *33* above; b. *37* **»Pursuing the course of my virtue».** Sī-ma may very well have meant this by his *38*, for t a o *31* can have such a sense, e. g. Lie: Huang ti *39* »Just now I saw



you walking it». When Erya has an entry: t i *30* = *40* 'to make, to enact (to practise)', this is only a freer way of expressing the same (to walk in = to practise). — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta in a. takes t i as having an understood object (as in phr. *34* above) and makes y u k u n g an independent finite clause: »Each one pursues the (proper) course and has merits» (Chavannes turns this in yet another way: »chacun de ceux qui se conduisaient bien vit son mérite reconnu»). In b., on the contrary, K'ung Ying-ta has to construe w u t ê as object of t i: »pursuing the course of my virtue». — **C.** Kiang Sheng takes t i as the transitive 'to lead' (as in the phr. *35*); Sï-ma's *41* would then be meant as = *42*. Thus: »Each one leads on (his subordinate princes) to have merit». But then b. t i c h e n t ê = *43* would make no sense. — A, which consistently takes t i as = 'to walk in, to practise' with a following object (y u k u n g and c h e n t ê respectively) is certainly best, and tallies with a similar phr. in the beginning of Kao Yao mo: *44* »If he sincerely pursues the course of his virtue».

1338. M i a o w a n f u t s i k u n g *45*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien reads *46*, thus: **»But (the prince of) Miao is foolish and has not attained to merit»**. — **B.** PK'ung read as *45* above, explaining k u n g *47* as = *48* 'officer, official' (common), thus: »But (the prince of) Miao is foolish and has not attained to (becoming an) officer». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en, reading like B: »and has not gone to his work» (has not done his duty). — A is obviously right since the k u n g *49* here balances the *49* of the preceding line.

K a o Y a o f a n g c h ï k ü e s ü see Gl. 1234. F a n g s h ï s i a n g h i n g see Gl. 1266.

1339. K ' u e i y ü e k i a k i etc. *50*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien does not render this as a speech of K'uei, but says: K'uei then made music . . . , and Sun Sing-yen therefore takes y ü e *52* as equal to y ü a n *53*, the particle (common): »K'uei then struck . . .». — **B.** Cheng Hüan: **»K'uei said . . .»** etc. B is evidently right, since a few lines later we again have: K ' u e i y ü e »K'uei said». (For this second K ' u e i y ü e see Gl. 1347 below.) It would be strange indeed if in two consecutive passages K ' u e i y ü e would have two totally different meanings.

1340. K i a k i m i n g k ' i u p o f u k ' i n s ê y i y u n g *54*.

K i a k i *55* was **kɛt-kiek*. Yang Hiung (ap. Han Shu: Yang Hiung chuan) quotes the line k i k ó *56* **kịĕt-klĕk*. (Li Shan in comm. on Wsüan says *57* should here be read like *58*, but this does not tally with the phonetic of the graph). The same binome occurs in Li (see below) wr. *59* **kɛt-kiek*.

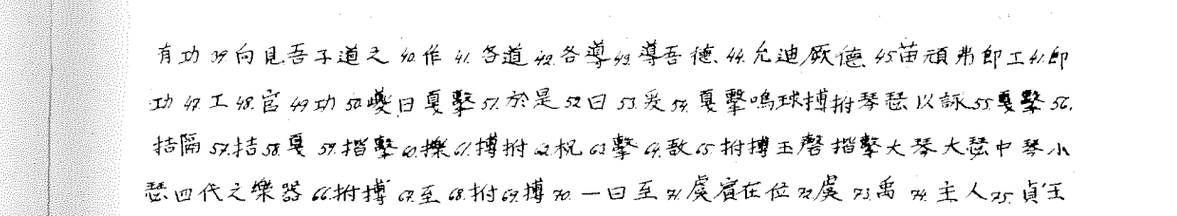
A. Cheng Hüan takes k i a k i *55* as a verb (this after Ma Jung: *58* = *60*) 'to strike', but p o - f u *61* as the name of a musical instrument; Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan had already defined the p o - f u as a small leathern drum, and Cheng adds that it was filled with chaff. Thus: »When one strikes the singing k ' i u -stone, the small leathern drum, the guitar and the lute and with them sings». For k i a *58* in the sense of 'to strike' there are no early text par. — **B.** PK'ung takes k i a k i *55* to be nouns: names of musical instruments, identifying the k i a *58* with the c h u *62* the music-starting sounding-box and the k i *63* with the y ü *64* music-stopping sounding-box (acc. to Han scholars: Cheng Chung, Hü Shen, Cheng Hüan and others, the former was a square wooden box with an upright, the latter tiger-shaped, with a row of dents on the back — not confirmed by any pre-Han texts). Thus: **»The sounding-boxes, the singing k ' i u -stone, the small leathern drum, the guitar and the lute, when with them one sings»**. For this PK'ung bases himself on Li: Ming t'ang wei: *65* »The f u - p o small leathern drum, the musical stone of jade, the k i a k i sounding-boxes, the great quitar, the great lute, the middle guitar and the small lute, those were the musical instruments of the four dynasties». There can be no doubt that in this text the f u - p o *66* is the same as the

p o - f u *61* in our Shu line and is, sure enough, a musical instrument (it recurs wr. *66* in Ta Tai: Li san pen, there again clearly an instrument); and that the y ü k ' i n g musical stone of jade corresponds to our m i n g k ' i u, and that the k i a k i *59* corresponds to our k i a k i *55* (and to Yang Hiung's *56*) and is the name of instruments — the enumeration being essentially the same. In his comm. on this Li passage the same Cheng Hüan, who in A above took k i a k i *55* to be a verb 'to strike', here in Li correctly realizes that k i a k i were musical instruments (which is conclusively shown by the context) and he identifies them with the c h u *62* and y ü *64*. PK'ung thus has simply followed Cheng Hüan's Li ki gloss, against his Shu king gloss. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en not only takes k i a k i *55* as = 'to strike' (with A; unsupported by texts, as far as k i a is concerned), but even p o f u *61* he takes as verbs. P o he defines as = *67* 'to reach to', and f u *68* as = 'to go along, to stroke'. The former is based on Shuowen (p o *69* = 'to grasp, seize', *70* »one meaning being c h ï 'to reach to'). Thus: »If one strikes the singing k ' i u -stone, if one (reaches =) touches and strokes the guitar and the lute and with them sings». Legge and Couvreur curiously have construed a distinction that the first word k i a means to tap lightly and the second k i to strike strongly; but that on the contrary the first verb p o means 'to strike strongly' and the second f u 'to strike lightly'. For all this there is no foundation. — Since p o - f u is well attested to be the name of an instrument in several texts and in unambiguous contexts, C (p o f u = verbs) should be rejected. In the choice between A and B, the Li: Ming t'ang wei parallel clearly decides in favour of B.

1341. Y ü p i n t s a i w e i *71*.

A. Fu Sheng (Shang shu ta chuan): »(Yü *72* =) Shun is guest in the high position», i. e. Shun is ceding the regency to Yü *73* and hence at the sacrifice described takes the place of an honoured guest, whereas Yü *73* is *74* host. — **B.** From a passage in Ch'un ts'iu fan lu: Wang tao it would seem that Tung Chung-shu understood: »The guests of Yü *72* (Shun) are in the fine positions», in the sense that the feudal lords assist at the sacrifice. — **C.** Pan Ku (Po hu t'ung: Wang chê pu ch'en), followed by Cheng Hüan, PK'ung and most later comm.: »Shun's guest (i. e. Tan Chu) is in the high position». Yao's son Tan Chu (Chu of Tan), who did not receive the empire, is treated by Shun not as a subject but as a »guest». — **D.** Another interpr. In the oracle-bone inscriptions we constantly meet with the formula *75* »to inquiry from the king's guest So-and-so (a dead king)», and it has long been recognized (Lo Chen-yü, Wang Kuo-wei and others) that w a n g p i n »the king's guest» was a technical term for the spirits of the royal ancestors used in sacrifice and divination. Our Shu passage precisely describes such a sacrifice, ant the context here is: t s u k ' a o l a i k o *76* »The dead ancestors arrive, Y ü p i n t s a i w e i **»Shun's guests (sc. the spirits) are in their high positions» (sc. at the sacrifice)**. Y ü p i n »Shun's guests», the spirits of the ancestors, is a phrase quite analogous to the w a n g p i n »the king's guest» of the oracle bones. — We compare:

Shu: Lo kao: W a n g p i n s h a y i n h i e n k o *77*.



A. PK'ung punctuates thus: w a n g p i n, s h a y i n, h i e n k o and interprets: »The king treated (him, sc. the Chou Kung just mentioned) as a guest (sc. not as a subject); he killed (victims) and made a pure sacrifice; to all (sc. to both Wen's and Wu's temples) he went». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »The king's guests because of his killing (victims) and sacrifice all came»; the king's guests referring to such feudal lords who were representatives of earlier dynasties (the prince of K'i *78* representing the Hia, the prince of Sung *79* repr. Shang-Yin). This is in keeping with interpr. C in our Kao Yao mo line above. — **C.** Chuang Shu-tsu has an eccentric idea that s h a *80* is a graphical corruption of p i n g *81* and that k o *82* stands for *83* which again stands for *84*: »The king's guests (descendants of earlier dynasties) p i n g y i n holding sceptres (?) all are blessed». — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: p i n *85* is a short-form for *86*: »The king p i n brought forward as guests (Chou Kung and his son), and (then) killed (victims) and sacrificed» (Sun does not tell how the remaining h i e n k o will then make sense). — **E.** Lo Chen-yü: w a n g p i n must here be the same term so well known from the oracle inscriptions (*75*) and refer to the dead kings: **»The king's guests (i. e. the royal Spirits) at the killing and sacrifice all came».** — Since we have here in W a n g p i n .... h i e n k o the same verb k o *82* 'to arrive, to come', which in Kao Yao mo is said of the ancestral Spirits »coming» to partake of the sacrifice: t s u k' a o l a i k o *76*, it is quite obvious that E here is right and that the w a n g p i n »king's guests» who k o »came» were the Royal Spirits. But then, since such Spirits are called p i n 'guests' in the Shu language as well as in the Yin oracle language, this confirms that the Y ü p i n »Shun's guests» of the Kao Yao mo refer to the 'ancestors' mentioned immediately before. Lo Chen-yü's explanation being correct for the Lo kao, it must be applied likewise to the Kao Yao mo.

1342. K' ü n h o u t ê j a n g *87*.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien renders this: *88* »All the princes (mutually yield =) are modest towards each other». This shows that he took t ê simply as an averbial attribute to j a n g, thus: **»All the princes (virtuously yield =) are virtuously modest».** — **B.** PK'ung: »All the princes (with reference to virtue yield =) modestly yield to the most virtuous»; very scholastic. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: Shuowen defines t ê *89* as = *90* 'to rise, to ascend, to raise'. This is supported by no single safe text ex., but Sun adduces that t ê *89* (**tək*) was phonetically close to c h ī *9* (**tiək*) and to t e n g *92* (**təng*), which both have that meaning, and *89* **tək* would then be a variation of the same stem. Thus: »All the princes ascend and (yield =) are modestly polite». This speculation of Sun's is much too weakly founded.

1343. H o c h ī c h u y ü *93*.

A. The oldest interpr. is revealed by Erya: Shī yüe, which says: »that with which one strikes the c h u sounding-box is called c h ī *94*». This can only mean that c h ī is a noun, denoting some kind of hammer, and the line should then be taken together with the preceding: »(Below, there are the flutes and hand-drums and drums), h o **jointly (with them)** c h ī **there are the hammer, and the c h u and y ü sounding-boxes».** There is no other text ex. of c h ī in this sense, but since c h ī fundamentally means 'foot', there is nothing unnatural in a hammer for striking a sounding-box being called 'a stamper'; moreover, it is quite possible that the shape of the hammer in question was such that it invited to its being called ('a foot' =) 'a stamper'. There is no reason whatever for doubting this Erya entry about the striking instrument for the sounding-box being called a c h ī. — **B.** Cheng Hüan, PK'ung and following commentators take h o and c h ī as verbs governing an understood y ü e music: h o y ü e 'to bring together (the instruments in) the music' = 'to start the music', and c h ī y ü e 'to stop the music'. The former, h o, would refer to the c h u, the latter to y ü. Thus: »The (collecting =) starting and the stopping c h u sounding-box and y ü -sounding-box (respectively) =

»the starting c h u -sounding-box and the stopping y ü -sounding-box». (For their pretended shapes: a square and a tiger-shaped box respectively, there are likewise only Han-time *points d'appui*, cf. gl. 1340). It is easily realized how strained this explanation is, that h o c h ī c h u y ü would be equal to h o c h u c h ī y ü. It is entirely built up on the word c h ī *94*, which commonly means 'to stop'. If we could be sure that the c h u really started the music and the y ü stopped it, we could still be tempted to accept this violent metathesis. But there are no pre-Han texts stating anything of the sort; the theory of the »starting» c h u and the »stopping» y ü is earliest championed by a row of Han time commentators. It is quite possible that this theory, in its turn, is based precisely on our Shu phrase above, such as it was understood by many Han scholars, and thus we move in a circle. — Interpr. A, which is the oldest, does best justice to the parallelism between the lines. In the preceding we have h i a — k u a n, t' a o, k u (first an adverb »below», and than 3 instruments: flutes, hand-drums and drums); in our present line we have: h o — c h ī, c h u, y ü (first the adverb »jointly», and then 3 instruments: hammer, c h u -box and y ü -box). This is simple and logical and saves us from the unnatural metathesis of interpr. B.

1344. N i a o s h o u t s' i a n g t s' i a n g *95*.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien interprets: **»Birds and beasts dance».** Cheng Hüan, while writing *96*, still defines this as = 'to dance'. For ex. of t s' i a n g *97* 'to move rhythmically' see Gl. 266. — **B.** Shuowen quotes n i a o s h o u t s' i a n g t s' i a n g *98*, like Cheng above, but explains this t s' i a n g as = »the sound of the animals coming to eat». Thus: »The animals (make an eating sound) t s' i a n g - t s' i a n g». This making no sense in the context, Sun Sing-yen is possibly right in supposing that Hü only means a metaphor: »(the music sounds like) animals' (crunching sounds) t s' i a n g - t s' i a n g». For t s' i a n g t s' i a n g as onomatope for sounds cf. C. next. But for the »sound made by eating animals» there is no text par. — **C.** Ma Jung: birds and beasts, that means s ü n k ü *99* the crossbeams and vertical posts of the frames for the musical instruments. We know from various texts that these were either shaped as or decorated with animals' figures (Chouli: K'ao kung ki, Tsï jen; Li: Ming t'ang wei) and Ma evidently meant that t s' i a n g t s' i a n g depicts the resounding of the frames: »The birds and beasts (of the frames) resound t s' i a n g t s' i a n g». In Shuo yüan: Pien wu our line is quoted *100* (t s' i a n g), and this t s' i a n g means 'to resound' e. g. in Ode 302, phr. *1* »The eight bells (resound =) tinkle». — C is very ingenious and tempting, but after all the line must be understood in relation to the following: »K'uei said: when I strike the stone, when I knock on the stone, all the animals follow (it) and dance» (a repetition of a line which already occurred in the Yao tien), which confirms A. The theme of the music-master playing so as to make the animals dance reverts in Lü: Ku yüe (there the music-master is Chī *1a* under Yao — possibly but another name for K'uei?). And in Chouli: Ta sī yüe this phenomenon is fitted into the general magical and ritual system: »By one change (section) of the music one brings forward the feathered animals and comes in contact with the Spirits of rivers and marshes; by a second change one brings forward the naked animals and comes into contact with the Spirits of the hills and forests» etc.

1345. S i a o s h a o k i u c h' e n g *3*.

That s i a o s h a o (so also wr. by Sī-ma Ts'ien) was the name of Shun's music is

德讓 88 聾右相讓 89 德 90 升 91 陟 92 登 93 合止柷敔 94 止 95 鳥獸蹌蹌 96 蹌蹌 97 蹌 98 鳥獸蹌蹌 99 筍簴 100 鳥獸鷹鷹 1 八 鸞鷹鷹 2 質之篇韶九成 3 蕭紹 4 簫韶 5 韶簫 6 簫 7

generally admitted. In this reading it has been explained (Sung Yün, Eastern Han time) as equal to *3* »The respectful continuation» (sc. of Yao's work), a typical scholastic speculation. PK'ung takes s i a o in its ordinary sense of Pan-flute: **»The s h a o - music of the Pan-flutes»**. However, Shuowen has the variant *4*, and Tso: Siang 29 the inverted form *5*, and it is uncertain whether this *6* should be read **siôg / sieu / s i a o* like *7* 'Pan-flute', then being a mere variant for that word, or **sŭk / ṣâk / s h u o* which Shuowen defines as a word meaning 'to strike a man with a pole'; If so, *4* might mean »the s h a o music with spears» (sc. in the hands of the dancers). Finally this music in 9 sections (k i u c h' e n g as above) is called, besides *8 *đ̂i̯og / źi̯äu / s h a o* (Chouli var. *9*, same reading), also 招 (**t̂i̯og / tśi̯äu / c h a o*): *10* (Lü: Ku yüe; Shï ki: Wu ti pen ki), which makes it very doubtful whether the name has anything to do with *11* (**đ̂i̯og*) 'to continue'. Ts'ai Ch'en therefore says that s i a o - s h a o has to be taken as a whole simply as the name of Shun's music. But the context favours PK'ung's idea that s i a o really meant the Pan-flute, s h a o being the name, and that *6* is merely a variant graph for the former.

1346. F e n g h u a n g l a i y i *12*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien (in Wu ti pen ki) renders this by l a i s i a n g *13* »The male and female phoenixes come flying». So also Shuo yüan: Siu wen. But y i *14* has no such sense. — **B.** PK'ung takes y i *14* in its normal sense of *15* 'proper deportment, fine demeanour, fine attitude', thus: »The male and female phoenixes come and (are fine-demeanoured =) strike fine attitudes». This being very hair-drawn, Ts'ai Ch'en has felt compelled to improve it: »they come and dance and have a fine bearing». But y i has no sense 'to dance'. — **C.** Just as Ma Jung in the preceding line thought that »the birds and beasts» referred to the décor of the bell-frames, so here Ying Shao (Feng su t'ung yi: Yin sheng) believes that »the phoenixes» are only a metaphor for the Pan-flutes: »In the Pan-flute s h a o music of 9 sections) the phoenixes come and figure» would mean that the Pan-flutes, with their 10 pipes of different lengths, look like the wings of a phoenix. This might seem tempting, but we have very early testimony that real phoenixes are intended. Sün: Kie pi quotes a now lost ode *16*: »The male and female phoenixes . . . (meaning of t s ' i u uncertain), their wings are like shields, their voices are like Pan-flutes, there is one male and one female, they rejoice the emperor's heart». This ode nicely explains why our Shu line says that the phoenixes come after »the Pan-flute s h a o -music in 9 sections» — their voices resemble the Pan-flute, the Pan-flute music draws them. — **D.** Cheng Hüan: y i *14* = *16a* 'a mate', as in Ode 45, phr. *17* »He is my mate»; Kyü: Chou yü »Tan Chu . . . y i c h ï *18* mated with her (copulated with her)». Thus: »The male and female phoenixes come and mate» — that the phoenixes build their nest and mate in the court is a happy omen. That the f e n g h u a n g are auspicious birds is told in Li: Li yün (the four divine animals being unicorn, phoenix, turtle and dragon). — **E.** Fu Sheng (Shang shu ta chuan as quoted in Lun heng: Kiang juei) paraphrases the line *19*: »The male and female phoenixes are on their several trees», which shows that he took y i in the sense of 'well-mannered, orderly', thus: »The male and female phoenixes come and (are orderly =) arrange themselves in their proper places». — **F.** Another interpr. In all the preceding (A-E), the interpr. of y i *14* is more or less strained. In Fang yen, k. 2, we find *20* »y i and k o mean l a i to come». y i being the word used in the districts of Ch'en and Ying. Thus we have proof that in middle Han time y i *14* (**ngia*) was colloquially current in the sense of 'to come'. Possibly the word in archaic times was more general, and survived only as a dialect word in Ch'en. We could not, however, dare to assume that **ngia* = 'to come' existed in Shu times, merely on the strength of the much later Fang-yen, since there are no good pre-Han text examples. But the fact that it is here combined with l a i into a binome

makes the supposition plausible: l a i y i *21* 'to come and arrive' is then quite analogous to the l a i k o *22* 'to come and arrive' which we had a few lines earlier in our chapter (*76*) and which occurs in Shï and Li. Thus: **»The male and female phoenixes come and (arrive) put in an appearance»** (as a happy auspice).

1347. K ' u e i y ü e, w u, y ü k i s h ï f u s h ï, p o s h o u s h u a i w u *23*.

»K'uei said: Oh, when I strike the stone, when I knock on the stone, all the animals follow (it) and dance». This is a verbal repetition of a line at the end of Yao tien. Sï-ma Ts'ien, who took all the preceding not as a speech of K'uei's but as a narrative (see Gl. 1339 above) here again has no line corresponding to the first 8 characters (K'uei said: when I strike the stone, when I knock on the stone), and takes the p o s h o u s h u a i w u as a narrative following directly upon f e n g h u a n g l a i y i (the male and female phoenixes came, all the animals followed and danced). That this was general in the Kin-wen school follows from quotations in edicts in Süan ti's and Ming-ti's reigns. On the other hand, the Ku-wen school certainly had the whole passage, so it was not wrongly introduced (after Yao tien) by PK'ung; Cheng Hüan (ap. comm. on Chouli: Ta sï yüe) quotes: »K'uei again said . . .». And in a text just as old as Shï ki, sc. Lie: Huang ti, we find: »Yao (not Shun!) ordered K'uei to rule the music, k i s h ï f u s h ï, p o s h o u s h u a i w u, f e n g h u a n g l a i y i, s i a o c h a o k i u c h ' e n g. Here, it is true, this is given narratively (without any K'uei yüe), but all the lines in our Shu passage are rendered (though inverted) and it shows that together with s i a o s h a o k i u c h ' e n g, f e n g h u a n g l a i y i . . . p o s h o u s h u a i w u, there should go (acc. to the text which Lie-tsï had) a phr. k i s h ï f u s h ï, in accordance with the Ku-wen, as against the Kin-wen. And there is a fact which quite definitely decides in favour of the Ku-wen version: the whole of the chapter Kao Yao mo consists of speaches, there are really no narratives at all. It is therefore clear that the version which starts both these passages with K ' u e i y ü e »K'uei said» are more consistent and in agreement with the rest of the chapter.

1348. C h ' ï t ' i e n c h ï m i n g *24*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien (Hia pen ki) renders this: *25* »Ascending to the mandate of Heaven» and possibly this was the Kin-wen version. But Sï-ma certainly also knew of the (Ku-wen) version with c h ' ï *26*, cf. B below. — **B.** PK'ung paraphrases: *27* »receiving and (regulating =) disposing the mandate of Heaven». One of the well-established meanings of c h ' ï *26* is *28* 'to regulate, to arrange, to dispose, to order' (ex. in Ode 209 and Yi: Kua 21, see Gl. 670). To PK'ung's f e n g *29* 'to receive' there is no corresponding phr. in the Shu line, which will simply be: **»Rightly disposing the mandate of Heaven»**. Apparently a different sense, but in fact merely an extension of meaning is c h ' ï *26* = *31* (Shuowen) 'to be careful', for it properly means: 'carefully to dispose, meticulously to arrange, regulate, carefully to attend to', as in our phr. (beginning of Kao Yao mo) *21* »We carefully regulate our five rules». An exact par. to our phr. *24* here is Shu: To shï *32* »We have rightly disposed the mandate of Yin»; here PK'ung says c h ' ï = *33* 'to depose, eliminate' (»We have eliminated the mandate of Yin»), but that is only a free paraphrase, for with K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en c h ' ï here again simply means

篇 8.詔 9.磬 10.九招 11.紹 12.鳳凰來儀 13.來翔 14.儀 15.容儀 16.鳳凰 17.秋秋其翼 18.若干 19.其聲若 篇有鳳有鳳樂帝之心 20.匹 21.賓 22.我儀 23.儀之 24.鳳凰在列樹 25.儀倍來也 26.來儀 27.來 格 28.嬰曰於予擊石拊石百獸率舞 29.勅(勅)天之命 30.陟天之命 31.敷 32.奉天之命 33.正 34.奉 35.試 36.敷我五典 37.勅厥命 38.黜 39.君臣相敷 40.正天之命 41.敷正厥命 42.陟 43.贈言

28 'to regulate, to dispose properly'. In Shī ki: Yüe shu (first lines), Sī-ma Ts'ien referring to our Shu passage says: k ü n c h ' e n s i a n g c h ' ī *34* »The sovereign (sc. Shun) and the subject (sc. Kao Yao), (correct =) admonish each other»; though this does not directly paraphrase our Shu line, it still shows that Sī-ma had before his eyes a version (Ku-wen) with the char. c h ' ī *26*. — Kiang Sheng very strongly advocates Sī-ma's reading (A) as the proper one, and says that the orthodox version c h ' ī t ' i e n c h ī m i n g *24* does not make sense, and that its B paraphrase: *35* likewise is impossible. But in Shu: To shī, this same Kiang Sheng calmly glosses c h ' ī Y i n m i n g *32* by *36* (in full accordance with the B reading and interpretation of our phr. above). Since we know that Sī-ma very often replaced the difficult words of the Shu text with other words of his own, we dare not accept his c h ī *32* 'to ascend' in preference to the transmitted c h ' ī *26*, all the more as Sī-ma evidently has seen a text with this c h ' ī *26*. And our c h ' ī t ' i e n c h ī m i n g here is strongly supported by the To shī par. c h ' ī Y i n m i n g.

W e i s h ī w e i k i see Gl. 1320. P o k u n g h i t s a i see Gl. 1229.

1349. Y a n g y e n y ü e *38*.

Sī-ma Ts'ien writes *39*. The two forms of y a n g are interchangeable.

A. PK'ung: **»Raising the voice he spoke and said».** Cf. Ode 299, phr. *40* »They do not shout, they do not raise their voice». — **B.** Erya (Shī ku) has an entry: *41* k e n g and y a n g mean 'to continue', and since a few lines later we have this very k e n g *42* in that sense, the gloss evidently has our Shu passage in view. Thus: »Continuing he spoke and said». There are no safe text par. Ho Yi-hang believes that in Shu: Li cheng *43* »to extol the brilliant deeds of Wu wang», y a n g should really mean »to continue the brilliant» etc. But that is quite inadmissible, y a n g 'to lift' being common in the sense of 'to extol' in similar phr., e. g. Ode 262, phr. *44* »In response he extolled the king's grace».

1350. S h u a i t s o h i n g s h ī s h e n n a i h i e n *45*.

A. PK'ung: »Lead on (your officials) to do and (raise) initiate the works; you should be careful about your laws». — **B.** Couvreur, rightly dissatisfied with a construction with first a s h u a i with an understood object and then two verbs t s o h i n g with an object s h ī, divides the line thus: s h u a i t s o, h i n g s h ī »Dirigis inceptia, excitas opera (freely paraphrased: »vous êtes chargé de diriger les entreprises, de promouvoir les œuvres»). — **C.** Another interpr. S h u a i is well attested in the sense of 'all' (see Gl. 642): S h u a i t s o **In all actions and** h i n g s h ī **works initiated, carefully attend to your laws».**

1351. N a i k e n g t s a i k o y ü e *46*.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien renders this: *47* **»And then (continuing =) in his turn he made a song, saying»,** thus taking t s a i *48* = *49* 'to make'. Erya has an entry t s a i *48* = *50*, and this w e i *50* ('to concoct') is etym. the same stem as w e i *49* 'to make' (for full documentation on this point, see Ho Yi-hang comm. on Erya). The fundamental sense of t s a i is here really *51* 'to start' (cf. Gl. 311), by an extension of meaning secondarily 'to initiate, to create' (common see Gl. 1233), thus: »He created a song» = »he made a song». That the sense t s a i *48* 'to create' is sometimes faded so as to be equal simply to 'to make' is exemplified by Chouli: Ta tsung po: *52* »At the great reunion of guests he vicariously makes the libation» (*53*), on which Cheng Hüan says t s a i *48* = *49*. — **B.** Cheng Hüan says: t s a i *48* = *51* 'to start' (common, see Gl. 311). Cheng's idea has been differently expounded. Either: »He k e n g continued t s a i k o the (starting =) first song» (sc. that of the emperor, sung earlier); or: »He continued and (first sung =) sung his first song» (the second following later). — **C.** PK'ung: t s a i *48* = *54* 'to achieve': »He continued and achieved (completed, followed up) the song» (of the emperor). This is based on Po hu t'ung: Sī shi, which gives an etymology of

t s a i *48* in the sense of 'a year': t s a i that means c h ' e n g *54* the achievement (the result)». But this speculation of Pan Ku's is hardly corroborated by pre-Han texts. There are 3 cases in Kyü on which Kao Yu says t s a i *48* = *54* 'to achieve', but his interpr. is not convincing: Kyü: Chou yü *55* »For (ample =) many generations they have (Kao Yu: achieved, completed their virtue, but rather:) (loaded up =) accumulated virtue». Kyü: Tsin yü 4, phr. *56* »The prince of Tsin daily (Kao Yu: completes his hatred», but rather:) (loads up =) accumulates his hatred»; Kyü: Tsin yü 2, phr. *57* »If you, my lord, want to establish the prince of Tsin and (Kao Yu: achieve him, make him complete, but rather:) start him» (cf. Gl. 311). Thus there are no safe text par. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen mentions a theory that t s a i *48* (**tsəg*) is loan char. for *58* (**tsəg*): »He continued and in the second place (sc. after the emperor as the first) sung». — A, the earliest interpr., is strongly supported by the par. a couple of lines earlier: *59*; to the t s o *60* 'to make' there corresponds the t s a i *48* 'to create, to make' here.

Yü kung.

S u e i s h a n k ' a n m u see Gl. 1314.

1352. K i c h o u k i t s a i H u k ' o u c h ī L i a n g k ī K ' i *61*.

A. The oldest interpreters punctuate K i c h o u k i t s a i, H u k ' o u c h ī L i a n g k i K ' i; and then there are several possibilities. — *α*. Sī-ma Ts'ien has *62*: »When Yü made his tour, he started from Ki-chou . . .» It seems that he first paraphrases the first four words, taking t s a i *63* in its common meaning of 'to start', and then repeats the Shu line verbally, taking it to mean: »Ki-chou was begun». — *β*. Ma Jung: t s a i *63* = 'to record' (common): »Ki-chou was recorded (in the books)». — *γ*. Cheng Hüan: t s a i *63* = *64* 'action, work', cf. Gl. 767 (with text ex.); in this sense t s a i is really an extension of meaning from 'to start': 'initiative, undertaking, action'. Thus: »Ki-chou was (undertaken =) brought under work». In all these cases (A *α*—*γ*) the remainder of the line: H u k ' o u c h ī L i a n g k i K ' i will be awkward, since Hu-k'ou seems to hang in the air; it should have to be taken as an adverbial phr.: ». . . . (at) Hu-k'ou, he regulated Liang and K'i». The reason for this cutting of the line: K i c h o u k i t s a i, is the parallelism with several later passages in the Yü kung: *65*, *66*, *67* etc. But with this cutting of the line, the rhythm in the sequel is entirely spoiled (H u k ' o u c h ī L i a n g k i K ' i). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates: K i - c h o u, k i t s a i H u - k ' o u, c h ī L i a n g k i K ' i. This corresponds, in construction, to the following sections, e. g. *68*: »(Between) Tsi and Ho is Yen-chou; the nine rivers were conducted . . .», with the sole exception that: »Ki-chou» is briefer than the corresponding »T s i H o w e i Y e n - c h o u», having no confines defined. And the rhythm is excellent (4-word groups). Moreover it is confirmed by the very next line K i s i u T ' a i y ü a n *69*, which forms an exact par. to K i t s a i H u - k ' o u. There can thus be no doubt about the correctness of Ts'ai's interpunctation (accepted by Chavannes, even for Sī-ma's text). Ts'ai expounds t s a i *63* by *70* 'to lay out and regulate', which, I suppose, is a free

曰 31揚言 32 不哭 不揚 33 賡揚 續也 34 賡 35 以 揚武王之大烈 36 對揚王休 37 率作興事 慎乃憲 38 乃 賡載歌曰 39 乃 更為 歌曰 40 載 41 為 50 偽 51 始 52 大賓客則攝而載果 53 祼 54 成 55 奕世載德 56 言侯日載 其從 57 君若求置晉君而載之 58 再 59 帝庸作歌 60 作 61 冀州既載 壺口 治梁及岐 62 禹行自冀州始冀州既載— 63 載 64 事 65 九河既道 66 碣石 既略 67 到 蠡既猪 68 濟河惟兗州 九河既道 69 既修太原 70 經始治 71 成 72 始 73 倣載南

elaboration of the shī *64* 'action, to work' of A γ above, thus: »He (worked on =) regulated Hu-k'ou . . .». Yü Yüe prefers the interpr. tsai *63* = *71* (see Gl. 1351 C): »He completed Hu-k'ou», but that interpr. is weakly substantiated (see the said gloss). The best is certainly to take tsai *63* with its common meaning of *71* 'to start, to begin': **»In Ki-chou, he started work on Hu-k'ou, he regulated Liang and K'i»**. Cf. Ode 21, phr. *73* »We start work on the southern acres».

Tao yi p'i fu *74*; for another and more correct version of the name: Niao yi *75* in Ta Tai: Wu ti tê and Shī ki, cf. Chavannes, MH I, pp. 90 and 120.

1353. Küe t'u hei fen *76*.

A. Ma Jung: fen *77* = *78*, thus: **»Its soil in black and fat»**. *77* (**b'i̯wən / b'i̯uən /* fen) is then a variation of the same word stem as *79* (**b'i̯wər / b'i̯wɛi̯ /* fei) 'fat, rich'; a stem alternation *-n* ∽ *-r* is very common, e. g. *80* both **siən / sien /* sien and **siər / siei /* si; *81* **g'i̯en* 'famine': *82* **ki̯ər* 'famine', scores of ex., see Karlgren, BMFEA 5. Except a Chouli ex. (see below) there are no pre-Han text par., but the word would be id. w. *83* 'juicy' (earliest text ex. in Kia Yi's Sin shu: Hiung nu, 2nd c. B. C., but recorded in San ts'ang, pre-Han); and the char. *83* is read alt. **b'i̯wən / b'i̯uən /* fen and **b'i̯wər / bj'wɛi̯ /* fei in Ts'ie yün. — **B.** PK'ung (foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en): fen *77* = *84* 'to rise', here meaning 'to bulge', to rise in small mounds, thus: »Its soil is black and bulging». Fen is common in the sense of 'mound', and here 'to form mounds, to bulge' is a quite well-attested sense, cf. Tso: Hi 4 »(He dropped the poison on the earth), *85* the earth rose (swelled up, bulged)». — Before deciding, we have to examine:

Chouli: Ts'ao jen: fen jang *86*. Jang means 'mellow earth, mold', and Cheng Hüan considers fen jang as a binome = *87* 'moist and loose (earth)', thus taking fen in the same sense as A above ('moist, fat, rich'). But Cheng Chung has the B interpr. above: fen = 'bulging' (forming small raised mounds), but with yet another etymological idea: *77* (**b'i̯wən*) would stand for *88* (**b'i̯wən*) 'mole', and fen jang thus would mean 'mole(-hill) mold'. — It is quite evident that in the Chouli ex. interpr. A is preferable, giving a natural binome. Though the B meaning is better attested in unambiguous texts, the early existence in accord with the A interpr. of a var. **b'i̯wən* of the common word-stem *79* **b'i̯wər* 'fat, rich' may be taken as fairly well established, and interpr. A adopted (with Legge), which certainly gives a more plausible sense.

1354. Küe fu cheng tso shī san tsai nai t'ung *89*.

This follows upon *90* »Its fields are of the lower 2nd class».

A. Cheng Hüan reads cheng tso together. He says cheng *91* = *92*: »Its revenues, (after) (correcting =) improving work of 13 years, agreed with (those of the 8 other provinces)». *91* (**ti̯ĕng*) was certainly closely cognate to *92* (**î̯ĕng*) and had a similar meaning. Cheng adds that the category of revenues must have been *93* »the lower 3rd class» (Cheng so quoted in Shī ki: Hia pen ki, gloss, Po na edition), i. .e. the 9th class, just as this Yen chou was the 9th of the provinces: it was the last to be made ready (after 13 years), hence it was the 9th! Cheng means that Yü himself worked for 13 years, in this basing himself upon a »Hia shu» Book of the Hia (some now lost Shu chapter) quoted by Sï-ma in Shī ki: Ho k'ü shu, which says that Yü »lived outside (away from home) for 13 years». (Ma Jung had another computation: Yü's father Kun worked on the floods for 9 years, Yü followed it up for 3 years, after these 12 years 8 provinces were ready, Yen-chou followed only in the next, i. e. 13th year). Let us add that Yü Yüe would emendate Cheng's gloss in a totally arbitrary way which does not deserve to be discussed. — **B.** PK'ung punctuates after küe fu cheng: cheng = *94* 'correctly corresponding': »Its revenues were exactly corresponding (i. e. of the 9th class, just as the province was the 9th); after work of 13 years, (only then) they were (exacted) in the same way (as in other provinces)». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: cheng *91* = *92* means

'correct', in the sense of 'barely what could be exacted': »Its revenues were barely what could be exacted; (after) work of 13 years (only then) they were (exacted) in the same way (as in other provinces)». This interpr. of cheng is very curious. — **D.** Another interpr.: t'ung *95* 'to agree' means simply 'to tally', with reference to the preceding; and for the rest, the oldest interpr. (A) is best: »(Its fields are of the lower 2nd class), **its revenues, after (correcting =) improving work of 13 years, tallied with that (sc. the quality of the fields)»**.

1355. Yü yi ki lüe *96*.

A. Ma Jung and PK'ung: lüe *97* = 'summarily' (common: Meng, Kung-yang etc.): »Yü-yi was summarily treated». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: lüe *97* = 'to trace out, draw the boundaries for' (common: Tso etc.): **»Yü-yi was defined»**. — **C.** Yü Yüe: lüe *97* (**gli̯ăk / li̯ăk /* lüe) is a loan char. for *98* ho (**glăk / γɒk /* ho) 'water drying off land' thus: »Yü-yi was drained» (no pre-Han text ex.). An arbitrary loan speculation. — Since it is a question of laying out and regulating provinces, B is certainly most natural.

1356. Lai yi tso mu *99*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien renders tso by *100*: **»The Lai-yi barbarians are herdsmen»**. — **B.** Wu Ch'eng coördinates tso and mu as verbs: »The Lai-yi barbarians till and pasture». — B is unlikely, since the sequel says their tribute was silk from the wild mountain mulberry. — PK'ung says Lai-yi was a place-name, but essentially it must, of course, refer to a tribe.

1357. Ta ye ki chu *1*.

A. All from Ma Jung, the comm. take *2* as a short-form for *3* (**ti̯o / î̯wo /* chu) 'stagnant water, pool', e. g. Chouli: Tao jen *4* »By a pool (pond, reservoir) he accumulates water», thus: **»The Ta-ye (marsh) was (pooled =) drained into a lake»** (Legge renders this very freely: »The (lake of) Ta ye was confined within its proper limits», and likewise Chavannes: »Le lac Ta ye fut enfermé dans des limites fixes»; Couvreur quite wrongly: »A Ta ye il y eut un lac»). Cf. Li: T'an Kung *5* »They swamped his palace and made a stagnant pool there», with the same short-form: *2* for *3*. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien renders the line *6*, and this tu *7* (**to / tuo /* tu) Cheng Hüan (in gloss on Li: T'an Kung) says means the same: »pool», the *2* **ti̯o* being a »southern» pronounciation corresponding to the **to* *7* of the north. Of course Cheng's linguistic speculations (a millennium later than the Shu text) have no value. But it would seem that tu *7* really could have a sense of 'accumulation', here then »an accumulation of water», a concentration of the marsh waters into a pool; Ku liang: Hi 16 says *8* »Where the people assemble is called tu (capital)»; Kuan: Shuei ti *9* »The low place . . . . . the water uses that for its assembling and dwelling» (thus both **to* *7* and **ti̯o* *3* are variations of the same stem as in *10* **d'i̯o* 'to accumulate'). Further on in our Shu chapter there is the marsh called Meng-chu *11* (Han shu: Ti li chï *12*) which is rendered Ming-tu *13* in Shïki: Hia pen ki and Meng-chu *14* in Tso: Wen 10. In Erya: Shï k'iu there is an entry: *15* »When in a marsh there is a hill, (it is called) a tu k'iu. In these examples it would seem that tu ∽ chu serve more in the sense of 'marsh' (diffused water) than of 'pool' (accumulated, concentrated water), but of course the »marsh» in question may have had the name the »Meng-pool»

after some central pool, and a »hill in a marsh» might be called a »pool-hill» for a similar reason.

1358. K ü e t' u ch' ī sh ī f e n *16*.

For the last word: f e n = 'fat, rich' see Gl. 1353 above.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien has this reading *17*, adopted also by PK'ung, who here follows the Kin-wen as against the Ku-wen. PK'ung explains *17* (**đ̣i̯ək / źi̯ək / s h ī*) as meaning 'sticky, clayey' (the same does Liu Hi in Shï ming). In the sense of '(potter's) clay' the word is common (Lao, Chuang, Sün, Chouli). Thus: **»Its soil is red, clayey and fat».** — **B.** The Ku-wen version ap. Cheng Hüan had *18* inst. of *17*, and Cheng and Wang Su considered this as a short-form for *19* **î'i̯əg / tś'i / c h ' ī* 'blazing, fiery red', thus: »Its soil is red, fiery in colour and fat». The version with *18* is indirectly attested as early as the Han shu; this has now *17*, but that is probably a correction after Shï ki, for Wei Chao in a sound gloss on Han shu says *18* should be read **śi̯əg / śi / s h ī*. Cheng's interpr. is, of course, due to the context, the word following upon *20* 'red'. But in Chouli: Kung jen *21* »the various kinds of glue» there is an »ancient version» (acc. to Cheng Chung) which read *22*, the *23* thus meaning 'glue, sticky matter', and it is evident that the *18* of the Shu: Ku-wen version is a short-form for this *23*, which makes the meaning id. with that of the Kin-wen (A): »Its soil is red, (sticky =) clayey and rich». — **C.** Yü Yüe, accepting the B text version, says s h ī *18* means *24* 'parti-coloured': »Its soil is red or parti-coloured and fat». For this he has a very slender support. In Yi: Kua 16, we find *25*. In this line, the last word t s a n is defined by Wang Pi as = *26* 'quickly': »You will have great attainments; do not doubt, and the friends will h o assemble round you t s a n rapidly». But for the last word there is a whole series of early variants: *27*. The last one, that of Yü Fan (Eastern Han), is certainly best, since it makes rime: *28* **tək* : **ngi̯əg* : **đ̣i̯ək*, and Yü Yüe believes that it forms a binome with h o : h o - s h ī = *29*: »the friends will assemble» (hence s h ī in our Shu line will mean 'assembled colours' i. e. 'vari-coloured'). But, as Tsiao Sün (Yi chang kü) points out, it probably means 'to glue, to be adhesive, to stick to' (just as in B above), thus: »The friends will assemble and fasten themselves on to you, stick to you», just as the line in Wang Pi's version *30* means: »The friends will assemble and (pin themselves on to =) stick to you». Thus the Yi example, if it has any value at all (which the rime seems to corroborate), will rather support B than C.

T s ' a o m u t s i e n p a o see Gl. 365.

1359. Y ü k ü a n h i a t i *31*.

A. Cheng Hüan in comm. on Chouli: Jan jen defines h i a *32* as = 'five-coloured', i. e. variegated, as gloss on the phr. *33* »In the autumn he dyes in 5 colours». But he adds that h i a has got this sense from the word h i a t i of our Shu phrase, this being the ame of a kind of pheasant, so that the Chouli phr. would be an abbreviation of t s ' i u j a n h i a - t i and fundamentally mean: »In the autumn he dyes in pheasant(-colour-ing)». This has caused K'ung Ying-ta to insist that the h i a in our Shu line should not be taken separately but h i a - t i as a whole denoting the pheasant: »Pheasants of the Yü valley» (Chavannes follows this). But it is easily seen that Cheng's etymological expl. of the Chouli line *33* is very forced. — **B.** Chu Tsün-sheng therefore attributes the sense of 'variegated' to the word h i a itself, thus: **»Variegated pheasants of the Yü valley»,** and he says it is »loan char. for *34* 'flowery', which frequently means 'variegated' (e. g. *35*, see Gl. 1321 above). It is better to say that *32* **g'å* is a variation of the same stem as *34* **g'wå*. An alternation inside a stem of forms with and without medial *w* is very common, e. g. *36* **g'ăng* 'crosswise': *37* **g'wăng* 'crosswise'; *38* **k'ân* 'to see': *39* **kwân* 'to see', etc. — B is obviously right.

1360. H u a i y i p ' i n (p ' i e n) c h u *40*.

H u a i y i:

A. Ma Jung (foll. by PK'ung): Huai and Yi were two rivers. — **B.** Cheng Hüan: Huai yi is the tribe name: »The Huai yi barbarians». In this sense Huai yi is attested in scores of ex. in the Odes and other Chou texts, and also in early bronze inscriptions. B is evidently right.

P ' i n c h u:

41 was **b'i̯ĕn / b'i̯ĕn* / p ' i n and **b'ien / b'ien* / p ' i e n. Variant *42* (earliest ap. Wei Chao's comm. on Han shu); this is read like the preceding in Ts'ie yün (**b'i̯ĕn* and **b'ien*), but Wei Chao read **b'iər / b'iei* / p ' i. — **A.** Wei Chao: it means *43* 'oyster', thus: **»The oyster pearls of the Huai yi barbarians».** Cf. Chuang: Chï lo *44* 'frogs and oysters'. — **B.** Shuowen: it means *45* 'pearl'. P ' i n - c h u would then be a binome of synonyms. Thus: »The pearls of the Huai yi barbarians». PK'ung followed this. (When Cheng Hüan says »p ' i n c h u is the name of a c h u pearl», it is not clear whether he meant A or B.) — The Chuang par. decides in favour of A.

1361. K ü e f e i h ü a n s i e n k a o *46*.

A. Cheng Hüan and PK'ung define s i e n *47* as = *48* 'small, fine-textured', and PK'ung adds that h ü a n means 'black silk', k a o 'white silk'. But then PK'ung, troubled by the incongruence of the second word with the first and third: »black silk — fine-textured — white silk», concludes that since s i e n »stands in the middle» it refers to both stuffs: »black silk (that is) fine-textured and fine-textured white silk», a grammatically impossible construction. By his gloss s i e n = 'fine-textured' Cheng Hüan may have meant this word to be analogous with the rest, thus: »In its baskets are black silk, fine-textured silk, white silk» (so Chavannes). S i e n is well attested in the sense of 'small, fine, slender' (Chouli: Lun jen; Ts'ê : Ts'i ts'ê; Kuan: Ch'en Sheng ma). But since Sï-ma Piao, in gloss on Tsï hü fu, says k a o *49* = *50* 'fine-textured silk', Kiang Sheng believes that in the Shu line s i e n (= s i) is an attribute to k a o, thus: **»In its baskets there are black silk and fine-textured white silk»,** which nicely disposes of the incongruence in a tripartite series h ü a n — s i e n — k a o. In middle-Han colloquial (Fang yen) »fine-textured white silk» was still called s i e n *47*. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en wants the three words to be coördinated and analogous (all three referring to colours) and he therefore seizes upon a gloss of Cheng Hüan's on Li: Kien chuan: s i e n *47* = 'silk with black warp and white woof', thus: »In its baskets there are white silk, black-warped and white-woofed silk, and white silk». But this definition of Cheng's in the Li is quite arbitrary and lacks every support; s i e n in the Kien chuan may very well have its ordinary well-attested sense of 'small, fine' and mean 'fine-textured silk'.

1362. Y a n g n i a o y u k ü *51*.

A. Cheng Hüan: y a n g n i a o »the sunlight-birds» means wild geese who followed the sun (the seasons) as migratory birds. Thus: »Where the sunlight-birds settle». There is no text par. to confirm this bold guess that the migratory birds were called y a n g n i a o »the sunlight-birds»; it is much more natural to take y a n g as = 'south' (as opp. to y i n 'north') here functioning as a verb: »Where the (»southing» birds =) birds going south (sc. for the winter) dwell». — **B.** Lin Chï-k'i argues that parallelism with

the descriptions of the other provinces demands that Yang niao was a place name. Yü Yüe elaborates this further. N i a o *52* is equal to t a o *53* 'island' (just as earlier under prov. Ki-chou the orthodox Shu text has T a o y i *54* whereas Shï ki (basing itself on Ta Tai: Wu ti tê) has N i a o y i *55*. He suggests that this Y a n g t a o *56* may be the same as Lü: Shï kün Y a n g t a o *57*, a people of the Y i *58* barbarians. Now Y a n g n i a o has k ü 'to dwell' for verb, which means that the place name should have to be taken as name of its people, as often (cf. Ode 263, phr. *59* »The [people of] the Sü country came to court»), thus: »Where (the people of) Yang-niao (or: Yang-tao) dwell». — B may seem quite tempting, but once it is a people and not a place that is recorded, the desired parallelism with the other paragraphs is again lost. Moreover our line is not (with Legge and Chavannes) an independent clause but closely connected with the preceding (*60* = *61* 'there where, *quo*'), and describes the marsh lands: **The P'eng-li marsh was (pooled =) drained into a lake, (that is) where the (southing birds =) birds that go south (for the winter) dwell».**

1363. K ü e t s' a o w e i y a o *62*.

Mao Heng in comm. on Ode 6 had defined y a o *63* as = *64* 'young and vigorous', and Ma Jung here says it means *65* 'long, tall'; PK'ung tries to reconcile these definitions and says *66* 'young and long' (!). The word really means 'delicate', hence also 'slender'; thus: **»Its grass is delicately slender»**, see. Gl. 23.

1364. K ü e k u n g w e i k i n s a n p' i n *67*.

A. Cheng Hüan: k i n s a n p' i n means *68* **»bronze of three (colours =) qualities».** — **B.** Wang Su and PK'ung: »metal of three colours» means gold, silver and copper» (Legge follows this). — Whereas K'ung Ying-ta in gloss on our Shu line accepts B (referring to Erya which calls gold h u a n g k i n »yellow metal» and silver p o k i n »white metal»), in his gloss on Ode 299 the same K'ung Ying-ta advocates Cheng's view (A): since further on in Yü kung gold and silver as articles of tribute have their special terms (*69* and *70*), it is evident that k i n here does not mean any of them but 'bronze', its most common meaning in the classics. Cheng is here obviously right.

1365. K ü e f e i c h ï p e i *71*.

A. Cheng Hüan: c h ï p e i is the name of a kind of fabric, the same that is called p e i k i n *72* in Ode 200: 'shell brocade', the pattern reminding of the veins in cowries. Thus: **»In its baskets (there are) (»woven cowries» =) woven stuffs in cowrie pattern».** — **B.** PK'ung: c h ï means *73* 'fine-textured hemp' and p e i has its ordinary meaning, thus: »In its baskets (there are) fine hemp-fabrics and cowries». — There is no reason whatever why c h ï, which simply means »woven stuff», should be precisely hemp; and parallelism with other paragraphs shows that the »baskets» only contained fabrics, so c h ï p e i is sure to be a binome, with A.

1366. K ü e p a o k ü y u s i k u n g *74*.

A. Cheng Hüan punctuates after y u: »In the bundles there are oranges and pummeloes; (if there is) tin, it is sent in tribute». This strange interpr. of the two words s i k u n g is due to the fact that in each section the text first describes the k u n g *75* tribute, and then the content of *76* »the baskets». Here, after these two regular entries, there comes the line above, and Cheng thinks that it refers to a not regular but occasional tribute, depending upon whether the province could supply it or not. This has been accepted both by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen. — **B.** PK'ung: S i k u n g means *77* »when there was given order, then they were (tributed =) sent as tribute», thus: »In the bundles there are oranges and pummeloes, which s i (on order) given k u n g are sent in tribute». The idea that s i 'to give' alone is equal to s i m i n g 'to give order' is, of course, quite ridiculous. And yet, when further on, under the prov. Yü chou, we find s i k u n g k' i n g t s' o *78*, even Kiang sheng and Sun Sing-yen,

realizing that the A interpr. is inapplicable here, quite inconsistently turn round and follow PK'ung (B): »The k u n g tribute (sent in) s i (on order) given, is musical stones and whetstones». Ts'ai Ch'en, Legge, Chavannes, Couvreur all accept this impossible construction in both cases. — **C.** Chang Ping-lin: s i *79* should be *80* = 'to transmit', see Gl. 1244. This theory is too weakly substantiated. — **D.** Another interpr. S i *79* is common meaning 'to give, to present'. After the regular and obligatory k u n g, and after the contributions in »baskets», there come, in these instances, tribute that was given, presented of free will, not as an obligation. Thus *74*: **»In the bundles (there are) oranges and pummeloes, (which are) presented (i. e. voluntary) tribute».** In the same way *78*: **»The presented (i. e. voluntary) tribute is musical stones and whetstones».** Similarly under King-chou *81*: **»The (region of) the Nine Kiang brings in the voluntarily presented great tortoises».**

C h' a o t s u n g y ü h a i see Gl. 483.

1367. K i u K i a n g k' u n g y i n *82*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien renders this by *83*. Y i n *84* = *85* is based on Erya, and c h u n g here has the sense of 'to hit the centre, hit the mark', hence 'to define, determine' as in Yao tien *86* »Thereby he determined midspring». Thus: **»The Nine Kiang (rivers) were greatly (determined =) regulated».** PK'ung turns it differently: c h u n g 'to hit the mark' here means *87*: »The Nine Rivers greatly suited themselves to the physical features of the earth». Kiang Sheng, on the other hand, takes c h u n g 'middle' in its fundamental sense: »The Nine Rivers greatly (hit the centre =) kept to the centre (of the land)». For this he has no lesser authority than Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia, which in describing Yü's works says: *88* »The waters passed through the middle of the lands» (not spreading out over the whole surface), and it is quite possible that Mencius in writing this had our Shu line in mind. But our phr. is parallel to earlier phrases like *89* »The Nine Streams were directed (conducted)»; *90* »Yü yi was defined», etc. (like these, our phr. stands at the very beginning of the description of the province); and it is followed immediately by: *91*. It should therefore refer to the regulating works of Yü, which decides in favour of the first interpr. above. — **B.** Cheng Hüan takes k' u n g *92* in its primary sense of 'hole' and y i n *84* = 'ample, many' (common), thus: »Of the Nine Rivers the (holes =) gully mouths (from which they came) were numerous» (i. e. they were difficult to regulate). A hopeless speculation.

C h' u n k a n k u a i p o — 4 kinds of trees, with Cheng Hüan and PK'ung, not 3 (k a n = 'bow stem', Ts'ai Ch'en), see notes by Legge and Chavannes.

1368. K ü e m i n g p a o k u e i t s i n g m a o *93*.

K ü e m i n g: **A.** Ma Jung and PK'ung carry these two words to the preceding: k ü n l u h u s a n p a n g c h ï k u n g *94*: »The k ü n and l u bamboos and the h u trees, three countries furnish them as tribute; k ü e m i n g their fame (is good)». Since the last phrase is interpreted in a grammatically unsatisfactory way, Ts'ai Ch'en has improved it: »The k ü n and l u bamboos and the h u trees, three countries furnish as tribute k ü e m i n g the most famous of them», which at least is grammatically

50.陽島 51.揚島 52.鳥 53.徐方 來庭 54.攸 55.所 56.厥草惟夭 57.夭 58.少壯 59.長 60.少長 61.厥貢惟金三品 62.銅三色 63.錫 64.銀 65.厥篚織貝 66.貝錦 67.織紵 68.厥包橘柚錫貢 69.貢 70.篚 71.錫命乃貢 72.錫貢磬錯 73.錫 74.易 75.九江納錫大龜 76.九江孔殷 77.九江 其中 78.殷 79.中 80.以殷仲春 81.得地勢之中 82.水由地中行 83.九河既道 導 84.嵎夷 既略 85.沱潛既道 86.孔 87.厥名包匭菁茅 88.圖絡括三邦底貢厥名 89.厥包橘柚 90.菁 91.菁茅 92.爾貢包

impeccable. — **B.** Cheng Hüan carries k ü e m i n g to the following phr., as above; since t s i n g m a o were objects used for the ancestral temple, they were highly esteemed, which is expressed by k ü e m i n g »The most renowned (thing) is the p a o k u e i t s i n g m a o». This seems quite convincing, and is followed by Kiang Sheng. (Yü Yüe has the bizarre idea that k ü e m i n g means »inscribed».)

P a o k u e i t s i n g m a o: **A.** PK'ung takes p a o separately, referring to the phr. *95* »In the bundles (there are) oranges and pummeloes» in an earlier line; he distinguishes between t s i n g *96* 'rape turnip', as in Chouli: Hai jen *97* »salted turnips», and m a o = the m a o grass used for straining wine as described in Tso: Hi 4, phr. *98*: »Your tribute of wrapped m a o - grass is not delivered, the king's sacrifices are not supplied, there is nothing wherewith to strain the wine». Finally he defines k u e i *99* as = *100* 'box'. But such a sense of the char. is only attested from T'ang-time and onwards and is a secondary phenomenon, probably directly based on this very PK'ung gloss. Thus: »p a o the bundled things (sc. oranges and pummeloes), k u e i t s i n g m a o the (»boxed =) box-packed rape turnips and m a o - grass». This is rhythmically bad, and moreover the par. in Tso: Hi 4 clearly shows that p a o should connect with m a o. — **B.** Cheng Hüan had already correctly seen that t s i n g - m a o is a binome, being the name of a kind of rush, mentioned in Kuan: K'ing chung: *2* »Between the Kiang and the Huai, there is a m a o - grass with three (spines =) ridges, it is called t s i n g m a o.» This text support is conclusive. As to p a o k u e i *3* (quoted *4* in certain glosses; the two p a o are etym. the same word), Cheng proposes that *99* (**kịwəg / kjwi* / k u e i) means 'to tie' (which probably means that he took it to be a loan char. for *5* **kịôg / kịu* / k i u 'to twist, to plait'), thus: »The wrapped and tied-up t s i n g - m a o grass». — **C.** It is not really necessary to accept this rather improbable loan speculation. Shuowen says *99* (**kịwəg / kjwi* / k u e i) was a variant for *6* (**kịwəg / kjwi* / k u e i), and though the bronze inscriptions do not confirm this, we have in Yi: Kua 41, phr. *7* »two Kuei vessels» written *8* in several early versions of the Yi text; similarly in Yili: Kung shī ta fu li *9* was wr. *10* in the Ku-wen version; *11* is merely an elucidating enlargement (radical) of the char. (what Sī-ma Ts'ien in T'ai shī kung tsī sü writes *6*, he writes *99* in Li Sī chuan). Now the k u e i, as a specialized ritual vase, was a low and broad bowl with lid, for containing grain at the sacrifices. But of course the various names of vessels were not necessarily limited to the ritual vessels; thus h u *12* was at the same time a ritual vessel and a very common lay word = 'flask'. In the same way k u e i certainly merely means '(low) bowl, tureen', and there is no reason why the word in our line should not have its simple and ordinary sense. Thus: **»The most renowned (tribute) is the three-ridged mao-grass that is wrapped and (»bowled» =) presented in bowls».**

1369. K ü e f e i h ü a n h ü n k i t s u *13*.

A. Ma Jung has (ap. Shīwen) the short and enigmatic gloss *14*, which probably refers to the words k i t s u (Sun Sing-yen even believes that Ma's gloss is corrupted and should be k i t s u w e n y e) and means: k i is the (ornament =) pattern of the silk-strings. Thus: »In its baskets (there are) dark and purple stuffs and pearl-patterned silk-strings». — **B.** PK'ung and Ts'ai-Ch'en: »In its baskets (there are) dark and purple stuffs, pearls and silk-strings». This is very unlikely, as shown by the parallels of »basket» contents, which were always textiles. — **C.** Wang Yin-chī: *15* (**kịər / kịei* / k i) is a loan char. for *16* (**g'ịəd / g'ji* / k i) 'and', thus: ».....dark and purple stuffs and silk strings». Phonetically quite excluded. — **D.** Kiang Sheng: **»In its baskets (there are) dark and purple stuffs and (pearl-strings =) silk-strings (for threading) pearls».** D is certainly most simple and plausible.

K i u K i a n g n a s i t a k u e i see Gl. 1366.

1370. K ü e t' u w e i j a n g, h i a t' u f e n l u *17*.

For f e n 'fat, rich', not 'bulging, forming mounds' see Gl. 1353 above.

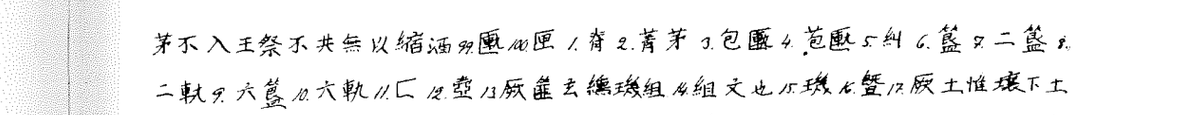
A. Ma Jung: the soil had 3 classes (j a n g, f e n, l u); the latter (l u *18*) meaning *19* 'bluish', i. e. 'black'. Thus: »Its soil is mouldy; (but) the low-lying soil is (either) fat or black». Shuowen defines *18* (**lo / luo* / l u, even tone) as = *20* »black and hard soil». For a sense 'hard' there is no support. On the other hand the sense 'black' is well confirmed. Shu: Wen hou chī ming *21* »a black bow» (*22* **lo / luo* / l u, even tone). The w. was often wr. *23* in Han time (e. g. in Yang Hiung: Fa yen). It is cognate to *24* (**glo / luo* / l u) 'black', e. g. Tso: Hi 28, phr. *25* 'a black bow'. — **B.** Cheng Hüan: l u = *26* 'poor', (cf. Han shu: Kou hü chī: *27* »the soil is poor and bad»). The more precise idea of Cheng's s u *26* is hard to determine, since it is a char. with many meanings; either 'sparse' = 'thin' (not deep and rich); or 'loose' (not dense). — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en tries to evade the difficulty by combining A and B: l u means *28* 'dark and poor', a comical trick. — The sense of 'black' for l u is the only one that really can be corroborated (with A). The line is best translated: **»Its soil is mouldy; the low-lying soil is fat and black».**

S i k u n g k' i n g t s' o see Gl. 1366.

1371. T s' a i M e n g l ü p' i n g *29*.

Whereas Cheng Hüan takes Ts'ai-meng as one mountain, PK'ung takes Ts'ai and Meng as two.

A. PK'ung: l ü *30* means a sacrifice to a mountain (common, e. g. Lun: Pa yi *31* »The chief of the Ki family made l ü sacrifice to the T'ai-shan»); thus: »(At) Ts'ai and Meng he made l ü sacrifice (to =) on the occasion of their regulation» (Chavannes: »A Ts'ai et Mong il célébra par des sacrifices le rétablissement de l'ordre»; Couvreur turns it differently: »Ts'ai et Meng ad sacrificandum compositi sunt», i. e. »were put in order for sacrificing»). But it has been rightly objected that the Yü kung does not register sacrifices, and that many mountains more famous than these two pass in review without notice of any cult. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: Wei Chao (ap. Shīwen) says that *30* (**glịo / lịwo* / l ü) here should be read like *22* (**lo*), but he must mean that it should be read as *32* (**lịo / lịwo* / l ü) 'to display, set out' (as in Kyü: Tsin yü *33* »set forth words [i. e. spread rumours] in the market place»). Be this as it may, l ü *30* is common in the sense of 'to set out, arrange, display', e. g. Ode 220, phr. *34* »The viands and kernel(-fruits) are displayed»; Tso: Chuang 22, phr. *35* »The court is full of the (set out =) displayed hundreds (of gifts)». Kiang takes l ü as a transitive verb governing the following p' i n g *36* as object: »(At) Ts'ai-meng he displayed his regulating (work)». But Su Yü (*37*) much better takes l ü - p' i n g as a binome of analogous words: **»Ts'ai-meng was (laid out =) arranged and regulated».** — **C.** Wang Nien-sun: Erya: Shī kung has an entry l ü *30* = *38* 'road', and this is the meaning here: »The Ts'ai-meng was (roaded =) purveyed with roads and regulated». But this sense is poorly documented by texts; there is one single instance: Li: Kiao t'ê sheng *39*, where Cheng Hüan defines l ü as = *40*: »Towered gateway and (road screen =) screen towards the road». But there Cheng's expl. (of course based on Erya) is very uncertain; l ü may very well have its common meaning (see B above) of *41*: »a screen (duly) set-out, disposed». — B in its formulation by Su Yü gives



a natural binome and has good text corroboration. This meaning recurs in two more Yü kung passages: K i n g K ' i k i l ü *42* **»The King and K'i mountains were** (laid out =) **arranged»**; *43* **»The nine mountains had their trees cut and were (laid out =) arranged».**

1372. K ü e t ' u t s ' i n g l i *44.*

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien inst. of *45* (**liər / liei / l i*) has *46* (**lieg / liei / l i*) — both words well attested in the sense of 'black'. Thus: **»Its soil is bluish black».** — **B.** Ma Jung, evidently because in parallel paragraphs the text has first a colour and then a quality of the soil, would have l i *45* to mean some quality, saying: l i = *47*, whatever that may mean, cf. Gl. 1370 (s u 'sparse'? or 'loose'?); Tuan Yü-ts'ai does not elucidate the obscure gloss by asserting that *45* (**liər*) is equal to *48* (**lia*). Legge renders it by »light». No text support. — **C.** PK'ung: l i *45* = *49* 'moist and mellow'. No text support. — A alone is corroborated by par. texts.

1373. K ü e f u h i a c h u n g s a n t s ' o *50.*

»Its revenues are of the middle 3rd class with 3 admixtures». — **A.** PK'ung believes that this means 3 classes, the regular one inclusive, thus: »with some instance of the upper and lower 3rd». Cheng Hüan, on the other hand, means that the »3 admixtures» were outside the regular class, thus: **»with some instances of the upper and lower 3rd, and lower 2nd classes».** Cf. prov. Yang-chou: K ü e f u h i a s h a n g, s h a n g t s ' o *50a* »Its revenue is of the upper 3rd class, with admixture upwards (some instances of the next higher class)». This principle applied to our case here will mean that »mixing» with the classes next above (upper 3rd) and next below (lower 3rd) (i. e. s h a n g t s ' o and h i a t s ' o) will make only »two mixings»; hence the »three mixings» of the text must mean one class more, i. e. the lower 2nd. That is logically inevitable.

K ü e k u n g k i u (l i u) t ' i e — for this see Chavannes' note, vol. I, p. 129.

1374. H i u n g p ' i h u l i c h ï p ' i s i k ' i n g *51.*

A. Cheng Hüan punctuates after l i: »Its tribute is black bears, brown-and-white bears, foxes and wild-cats». After this he starts a new paragraph, saying *52*. This does not mean, as Wang Ming-sheng has imagined, that Cheng took Chï p'i as the name of a »Western Jung country», for later on, under Yung-chou, in the phr. C h ï p ' i K ' u n l u n S i c h ï K ' ü s o u, s i J u n g t s i s ü *53*, he says: *54* »The peoples who wear skins live here», thus defining C h ï p ' i not as a place name but as »the chï-p'i(-wearing) K'un-lun, Si-chï, K'ü-sou, (these) western Jung . . .». His gloss *52* on our line above thus means: »C h ï - p ' i, that refers to the countries of the Western Jung», i. e. those who are »chï-p'i(-wearing)». C h ï p ' i, acc. to PK'ung (see B below), means *55* 'felt' (stuff made of woven hair), and Cheng evidently had the same idea; thus: C h ï p ' i s i k ' i n g **»The felt(-wearing) peoples of Si-k'ing»** (the Western Slopes, name of a mountain range), just as in the later passage *53* he interprets: **»The felt(-wearing) (peoples of) K'un-lun, Si-chï, K'ü sou, (these) western Jung . . .».** — **B.** PK'ung carries c h ï p ' i to the preceding, saying: *56* (so quoted in Shï ki tsi kie; in the Shï san king chu su his gloss is corrupted) »c h ï p ' i (»woven skins», i. e. »woven hairs») is the present k i felt». But then some later comm. have insisted that p ' i *57* 'skin' belonged to both phrases: h i u n g p ' i h u l i (p ' i), and c h ï (p ' i), and Ts'ai Ch'en explains that »of the skins as such one could make furs, of their finest down one could weave felt», which has caused Legge to translate »the skins of bears . . . . . and articles woven with their hair» (likewise Couvreur and Chavannes). But this is very unreasonable. The k i *55* we know was made of sheep's hair and sometimes camel's hair, but certainly not from (selected tiny) hairs of bears, foxes and wildcats(!). Thus the line in the B interpr. should be: »(Its tribute was . . .) black bears, brown-and-white bears, foxes, wildcats and felt». — A and B both have strong advocates. B might seem to be supported by a passage in Yi Chou shu: Wang Huei, where Yi Yin on T'ang's order determines the tributes to be sent in:

»In K'un-lun *58* etc. (9 countries) in *59* the straight west, they are ordered to tribute . . . . *60* felt . . . .» Very likely the Yi Chou shu author has understood our Shu passage in B fashion, and this has decided Sun Sing-yen in favour of B. But it is easily seen that interpr. A is inevitable in the Yung-chou passage *53*. »The felt(-wearing) K'un-lun . . . . .» etc. Chavannes has realized this (»Les Koen loen qui ont des tissus faits de peaux»). If we accept B in our present Liang-chou passage, the phr. c h ï p ' i would indicate tribute in the first, the dress of the peoples in the second paragraph, which is quite inconsistent. (Legge realizing this has translated the 2nd: »Hair-cloth and skins [were brought from] Kwăn-lun . . . .», which is quite impossible; the tribute in that paragraph was disposed of in an earlier line). Thus we are brought back to interpr. A as the only one applicable in both lines, with Kiang Sheng.

1375. C h ï p ' i S i k ' i n g y i n H u a n s h ï l a i *61.*

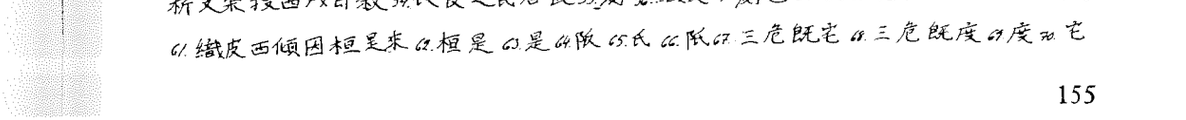
A. Ma Jung, who evidently like PK'ung carries c h ï p ' i to a preceding line (see Gl. 1374) and starts the paragr. with s i k ' i n g, explains: »In (regulating) the Si k'ing (mountain), following the Huan (river) thus he came». — **B.** Cheng Hüan takes H u a n - s h ï *62* as the name of a mountain: »The felt(-wearing) Si-k'ing (peoples) come along the Huan-shï (mountain)». He further explains that s h ï *63* (**đ'i̯ĕg / źi̯ĕ / s h ï*) was a popular word for *64* 'a slope, a rising height', hence entering into the name Huan-shï. Shuowen says the char. *65* (**đ'i̯ĕg / źi̯ĕ / s h ï*) originally meant »a mountain in Pa Shu» (i. e. Sï-ch'uan), and the Ts'ing scholars believe that Cheng took *63* as a loan char. for the homophonous *65* (both **đ'i̯ĕg*). But that is not correct, for *65* in the sense of 'height' is but a short-form for *66* which was **d'i̯ĕg / đ'i̯ĕ / c h ' ï*, so Cheng's idea comes to *63* **đ'i̯ĕg* being a loan char. for *66* **d'i̯ĕg*. — **C.** K'ung Ying-ta: Since Huan was a well-known river-name in Han time (Han shu: Ti li chï), Ma (A) is right in taking it as a river name here, not a hill name (B). The line refers to the peoples of Si K'ing. Thus (carrying the words c h ï p ' i to this line, in acc. w. Gloss 1374), we obtain: **»The felt(-wearing) (peoples of) Si-k'ing (»the Western Slopes»), following the Huan (river) (thus =) this way come».**

L u a n y ü h o: for l u a n see Gl. 906. K i n g s h u W e i j u e i see Gl. 910. K i n g K ' i k i l ü see Gl. 1371.

1376. S a n w e i k i t s ê *67.*

Sï-ma Ts'ien writes: *68*. We have a sure case in which *69* **d'âk* serves as loan char. for *70* *d'ăk*: Ode 244, where (Mao version) *71* »He took his residence in the Hao capital» is rendered *72* in Li: Fang ki (Ts'i version); cf Gl. 794.

A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en take *70* as the proper graph (and presumably Sï-ma's *69* is a loan for it, as in Ode 244), and interpret: »The (country of) San-wei was already habitable». But all the phrases with k i *73* in the Yü kung refer to the works achieved (k i) by Yü, e. g. (under Ki-chou) *74* »Ta-lu was brought under cultivation», and so the A interpr. has to be modified into: »The (country of) San-wei was made inhabited» (Legge's »was made habitable» is not quite to the point). — **B.** Kiang Sheng takes the Shï ki reading *69* as the proper one (*70* consequently being loan char.: just as *70* **d'âk* can serve as loan for **d'ăk* in Ode 244, so the opposite is quite admissible here); thus: **»The (country of) San-wei was (measured out =) regulated»** (Chavannes follows this). — B forms a better par. to the next line: *75*.



1377. T u n g h u e i t s ê w e i P ' e n g l i *76.*

A. Cheng Hüan: *77* (**g'wər / yuậi / h u e i*) is = *78* (same sound) 'to turn round', and similarly PK'ung = *79*. Thus: »In the east it (sc. the Han river) whirls (forming) a t s ê lake, that is P'eng-li». This is grammatically faulty: h u e i t s ê cannot be construed like that. We should therefore have to modify the interpr. into: »In the east it (sc. the Han river) whirled in the marsh and formed (the lake) P'eng-li». — **B.** Tuan Yü-ts'ai, while retaining Cheng's expl. *77* = *78*, construes without the Han river as subject and with *78* meaning 'to surround' (= *80*): »In the east, rounding up (and receiving) (all the) marshes, there is the P'eng-li (lake)»; a very forced expl. — **C.** Sï-ma Cheng (T'ang Time; comm. on Shï ki: Wu ti pen ki): h u e i *77* is the name of a marsh: **»In the east, the Huei marsh forms the (lake) P'eng-li».** This is confirmed a few lines later: p e i h u e i y ü H u e i *81* »In the north it joined with the Huei»; to construe here a h u e i *77* = 'to whirl': »In the north it joins with the whirling (sc. Han)» is much too unnatural. The phr. is par. to several others with a place name corresp. to our Huei, e. g. (some lines below) *82* »To the North-east it joins with the Wen» etc.

1378. T u n g y i *83.*

A. Ma Jung defines y i as = *84*, which is quite obscure. — **B.** PK'ung: y i = *85* 'to overflow'; no text par. — **C.** Shuo-wen: y i = 'to go slantingly, **to deflect**' (text par. in Chouli: Kung jen), cf. also Gl. 49.

1379. Y i w e i J u n g *86.*

Both the Kin-wen version (ap. Sï-ma Ts'ien) and the Ku-wen version (ap. comm. on Chouli: Chï fang shï) read *87* **»It rushes out and forms the Jung (marsh)».** The form *85* (Legge: »it flowed out») is probably a correction made by Wei Pao *88* (9th c.).

K i u c h o u y u t ' u n g »The nine provinces were made uniform» — for y u as a mere mark of the passive see Gl. 679.

1380. S ï y ü k i t s ê *89.*

Sï-ma Ts'ien, Shang shu ta chuan and Pan Ku (Han shu: Tï li chï) write *90*. PK'ung (as above) writes *89*, and that this is not a later correction in his text (Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that Wei Pao introduced it) but original is proved by Kyü: Chou yü *91* (probably wrong for *89*, as shown by Yü Yüe), clearly alluding to our Shu text, which testifies to the early existence of a version with *92*. Ts'ie Yün and Yü p'ien read *93*. The words of this series have to a large extent double readings: **·ôg / ·au* / a o and *·i̯ôk / ·i̯u* / y ü, and there is much uncertainty among the glossists whether in a certain sense of the word the reading is **·ôg* or **·i̯ôk* or both. The characters frequently serve as loan char. for one another.

A. Cheng Hüan (in comm. on Ta chuan) says *94* means *95* 'the interior, inside', and Wei Chao (comm. on Chou yü) says *92* means *95*. Thus: **»The (four inside areas =) areas inside the four quarters were made inhabited».** In fact, the fundamental sense of the whole word stem (written with one or other of the char. above) was really 'inside, interior', be it 'inside of a house', i. e. the most protected southwestern corner, or 'inside of a river bend', i. e. a cove, or 'hidden, secret', etc. Cf. particularly Tso: Chao 13, phr *96*, which K'ung Ying-ta explains: *97* »The country has an (interior lord =) leader inside (the state)». — **B.** PK'ung expounds *98* as = *99* »the houses of the four quarters», taking *92* = *94* = 'the S. W. corner, the interior of a house' = 'house'; thus properly: »The four [quarters'] (interiors =) houses were made inhabited». — **C.** Shuowen has an entry *100* = *1* »a habitable place within the four quarters» (a word unknown from other texts), and since Yü p'ien quotes our Shu line with *93*, Ku Ye-wang evidently attributed this sense to the passage, later expressly followed by Yen Shï-ku (comm. on Han shu). Thus: »The four (quarters') habitable places were made inhabited». — **D.** Shuowen says *92* means *2* »the bank of a river cove» (the »interior» of the bend), and though there are no

text ex. of this, the simple *94* has this sense in Ode 55. Ts'ai Ch'en seizes upon this *98*: *3* »the cove banks of the four (seas)», thus: »The banks along the four (seas') coves were made inhabited», which is so strained that Legge has had to paraphrase it: »The grounds along the waters(!) were everywhere made habitable» (Couvreur: »Quattuor [marium] littora fuerunt habitabilia»). — **E.** Chavannes translates: »Dans les quatre directions, les terrains bas furent inhabités». How y ü could have the sense of »low-land» he does not tell. — **F.** Yü Yüe proposes that *98* refers to the four extreme points to which Yao sent his astronomers (Yü-yi in the East, Nan-kiao in the south etc.), but does not explain how it can have that sense. — C would certainly be best, if such a word really existed; but it is evidently fabricated *ad hoc* to suit this very Shu passage (the char. specifyingly enlarged by rad. 'earth'), and its meaning is deduced from the context. This being so, the oldest interpr. (A) is certainly the only acceptable.

K i u s h a n k ' a n l ü see Gl. 1371.

1381. S ï h a i h u e i t ' u n g *4.*

A. PK'ung explains: *5*. Legge in a curious way has misunderstood this gloss, translating: »Access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas». Legge understood PK'ung thus: »(all within) the four seas made h u e i t ' u n g meets at the capital», and he believes that this refers to Lun: Sien Tsin: *6*, which he translates: »At the services of the ancestral temple, and at the audiences of the princes with the emperor». This is, indeed, Ho Yen's interpr., who says that occasional visits to court were called h u e i *7* and regular unions in grand style were called t ' u n g *8*. This Lun passage would thus seem to support the idea that our Shu line referred to such h u e i t ' u n g meets. But unfortunately, as Liu Pao-nan has proved, Ho Yen is at fault: h u e i t ' u n g is a general term for meetings between feudal lords (not with the king in the capital), as is clearly stated in Tso: Ting 4 (the princes met *7* for a covenant, and an orator said: *9* »meetings are a difficult affair»). This robs Legge's interpr. of its foundation. And in fact PK'ung's idea was quite different, for he adds *10*, his whole gloss thus meaning: »(all within) the four seas were made uniform with the capital, the 9 provinces had the same customs, the myriad states had the same usages». Briefly, the Shu line *4* would mean: »(All within) the four seas were made uniform», i. e. the culture, customs and standards of the royal court were spread everywhere in the great realm. In fact, PK'ung simply builds on Kyü: Chou yü hia which, describing Yü's work, paraphrases the whole of our Shu passage here and renders our line by *11* »he made uniform (all within) the four seas» (on which Wei Chao: *12* »he caused them to have the same gauge», a common expression for uniformity of customs). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»The four seas (were joined =) got their affluents»,** i. e. all rivers were conducted to the seas. He bases himself on a phr. in the Ki-chou paragraph: *13* »Lei-hia was formed into a marsh, and (the rivers) Yung and Tsü joined it», where we have precisely the binome h u e i t ' u n g in the technical sense of a river flowing out into a greater water. This par. is a very strong confirmation. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »(All within) the four seas were brought into communication with each other», sc. after Yü's great regulating works had made contacts possible (Chavannes

71. 宅 是鎬京 72. 度 是鎬京 73. 既 74. 大陸既作 75. 三苗 丕敘 76. 東匯澤為彭蠡 77. 匯 78. 回 79. 迴 80. 圍 81. 北會于匯 82. 又北會于汶 83. 東迤(迆) 84. 靡 85. 溢 86. 溢為榮 87. 汶為榮 88. 衛包 87. 四隩既宅 90. 四奧 91. 宅為九隩 92. 隩 93. 四墺 94. 奧 95. 內 96. 國有奧主 97. 有國內之主 98. 四隩 99. 四方之宅 100. 墺 1. 四方之土可定居者 2. 水隈厓也 3. 四海之隩 4. 四海會同 5. 四

translates: »dans l'intérieur des quatre mers tout fut uni et harmonieux», believing this to be Kiang Sheng's idea, which is not correct). — The oldest interpr. (A, that of Kyü) would be most appealing, if we had not already had a few lines earlier: *14* »The nine provinces were harmonized (made uniform)»; a tautological: »(All within) the four seas were made uniform» would be meaningless. The Yü kung par. for h u e i t' u n g is decisive in favour of B, all the more since the context favours it: the mountains had their trees thinned and regulated, the rivers had their springs cleaned, the marshes were banked, the seas got their affluents.

1382. C h u n g p a n g *15*.

A. Cheng Hüan reads this together with the following: *16* **»In the central kingdom he conferred lands and clan-names».** — **B.** K'ung-Ying-ta and Yen Shī-ku (both T'ang time) and Ts'ai Ch'en read it together with the preceding: *17* »One established the revenues for the central kingdom». — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr.

1383. C h ī y i t ê s i e n p u k ü c h e n h i n g *18*.

A. Cheng Hüan believes that *19* is a short-form for *20* and paraphrases: *21* »Their respecting and rejoicing in the king's virtue was (primary =) the chief matter and further they did not go counter to the king's course of government». Thus the Shu line: »(Their) respecting and rejoicing in the virtue was (primary =) the chief matter, they did not go counter to our (king's) course». That c h e n h i n g should mean »our (king's) course» is, of course, excluded. — **B.** PK'ung: since c h e n *22* is the pronoun, y i *19* should likewise be the common pronoun »I, we». He gives this paraphrase: *23* »When the ruler always himself considers the respecting of my virtue as the chief matter, then in the world there will be none who go counter to my course». This curious mixing of *oratio recta* and *obliqua* of course will not do; we should either have to interpret the Shu line thus: »When his respectful attendance to (my virtue =) his own virtue is the chief matter, they will not go counter to (my course =) his course», which is to force the text too badly; or take it as a direct quotation: »(the king said:) When my respectful attendance to my virtue is the chief matter, they will not go counter to my course». But the whole Yü kung is a dry and matter-of-fact narrative, and such a sudden insertion of a speech of the king's is highly improbable. — **C.** Yen Shī-ku: y i *19* = *24* (this after Fang yen, Western Han colloquial), paraphrasing *25*; thus the Shu line: »C h ī y i (among) the respectfully (nourished =) cultivated things, t ê s i e n the virtue is the first, (therefore one will not go counter to my (our?) course»; which is rather nonsensical. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en again takes the line as an *oratio recta*: »(The king said:) respectfully attending to my virtue I go before (i. c. lead on the people), and (then) they will not go counter to my course». — **E.** Liu Feng-lu: c h e n *22* should be *25b*, which Shuowen says is a variant for *26*; thus *27* means »the (instructed =) assigned course». Very little convincing. — **F.** Chang Ping-lin: *19* **diəg* / *i* / y i is loan char. for *28* **dziəg* / *zi* / s ī, thus: »(He conferred land and clan names [on the feudal lords]) respectfully to succeed to the virtuous ancestors . . .» — **G.** Yü Sing-wu: in several late Chou bronze inscriptions the char. *19* stands for y i *29*, and *30* is simply equal to *31*. C h ī is common in the sense of »only». So far Yü is undoubtedly right. But when he paraphrases *32*: »I only make the virtuous influence the first matter», he is less convincing. The line should be understood in direct

海之內會同于京師 6. 宗廟之事如會同 7. 會 8. 同 9. 會同難 10. 九州同風萬國共貫 11.
合通四海 12. 使之同軌 13. 雷夏既澤灉沮會同 14. 九州攸同 15. 中邦 16. 中邦錫土姓 17. 成賦
中邦 18. 祇台德先不距朕行 19. 台 20. 怡 21. 其敬悅天子之德既先又不距違我天子政教

connection with the preceding: »He conferred lands and clan-names (on the feudal lords), **only according to their virtue they (advanced =) were promoted, (such who) did not go counter to our course».**

1384. W u p o l i t i e n f u, p o l i f u n a t s u n g, e r p o l i n a c h ī . . . w u p o l i h o u f u . . . w u p o l i s u e i f u . . . y a o f u . . . h u a n g f u *33*.

Sī-ma Ts'ien introduces this passage with 7 words of his own: l i n g t' i e n t s ï c h ī k u o y i w a i (w u p o l i etc.) *34*; they have given occasion for much speculation, which can only be briefly mentioned here (Chavannes' translation: »il établit pour le royaume du fils du ciel et pour ceux qui lui sont extérieurs» differs from all the commentators and can hardly be sustained):

A. PK'ung maintains that w u p o l i t i e n f u means: »500 li (in every direction from the capital) is the t i e n - f u = royal domain proper», i. e. from the capital to the north 500 li, to the south 500 li, together 1000 li. That t i e n f u really means »the royal domain» is in accordance with Li: Wang chï *35* »The t i e n domain of the Son of Heaven is a square (with a side of) 1000 li» (i. e. what in Ode 303 is called *36*), and when Kyü: Chou yü, shang says *37* »Inside of the (royal) state is t i e n f u, outside the state is h o u f u» etc. it is quite evident that the orator means the same. It is still more fully and clearly expressed in Kyü: Chou yü, chung: »Anciently, when my ancestors possessed the realm, a square (with a side of) 1000 li was the t i e n f u *38* royal domain to supply the sacrifices to Shang ti, the mountains and rivers and the hundred Spirits». Those commentators who believe that Sï-ma meant the same, interpret his introductory words thus: »He ordered that outside the k u o capital city of the Son of Heaven 500 li [in every direction] were the t i e n f u». And on the basis of this, PK'ung obtains a scheme of the type in Fig. 1 (only the left half drawn here). The side of the square representing the total realm was thus 5000 li. — **B.** Kia K'uei and Ma Jung believe that the t i e n

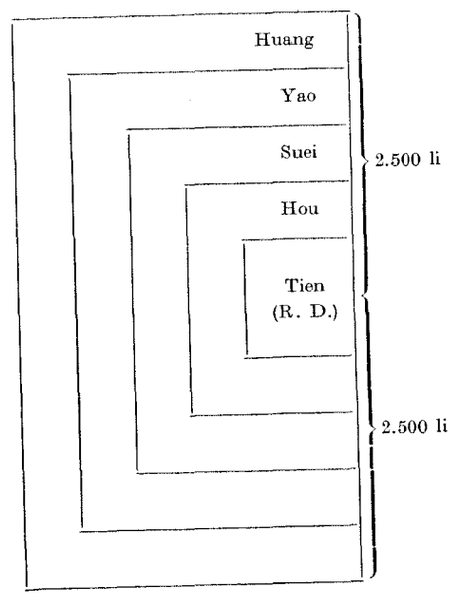


Fig. 1.

f u in our Shu chapter means the first zone outside the royal domain. This is because they interpret Sï-ma's introductory line thus: »He ordered that outside the k u o state (domain proper) of the Son of Heaven, 500 li were the t i e n f u» etc. Thus they obtain the scheme in fig. 2 a. The distance from the capital in each direction being 3000 li, the side of the total square is 6000 li. For this interpr. there is (besides Sïma's line, if so understood) another argument. Chouli: Ta sï ma and and Chï fang shï have another scheme, describing the Chou realm, with 9 zones outside the royal domain: *39*, arranged as in Fig. 2 b. The total square will then have a side of 10000 li. This scheme can, in part at least, boast a high age, for in Shu: K'ang kao we find: »officers from the h o u, t i e n and n a n states, and (the zones of) t s ' a i and w e i», which confirms the inner five of the »zones» outside the royal domain. Kia and Ma conclude that since t i e n f u is here outside the w a n g k ' i *40* 'royal domain proper', it should be so also in our Yü kung passage; but they cannot avoid (such as the wording of Yü kung is) to make a contrary sequel; in Yü kung: royal domain — t i e n — h o u etc: in K'ang kao (and Chouli): royal domain — h o u — t i e n etc. Thus the (theoretical) scheme made up about Yü's realm in the Yü kung cannot be made to agree entirely with the (equally theoretical) scheme of the early Chou realm in the K'ang kao. Yet another scheme, taking an intermediary position, is given in Kyü: Chou yü, which says: *41* »Inside the (royal) state is the t i e n f u; outside the (royal) state is the h o u f u; h o u and w e i are the p i n f u (sc. »guest» zone — the lords coming as »guests» to court); y i and m a n are the y a o f u; j u n g and t i are the h u a n g f u». This gives the scheme in Fig. 2 c. In this scheme there are no figures. If we take Kyü's four outer

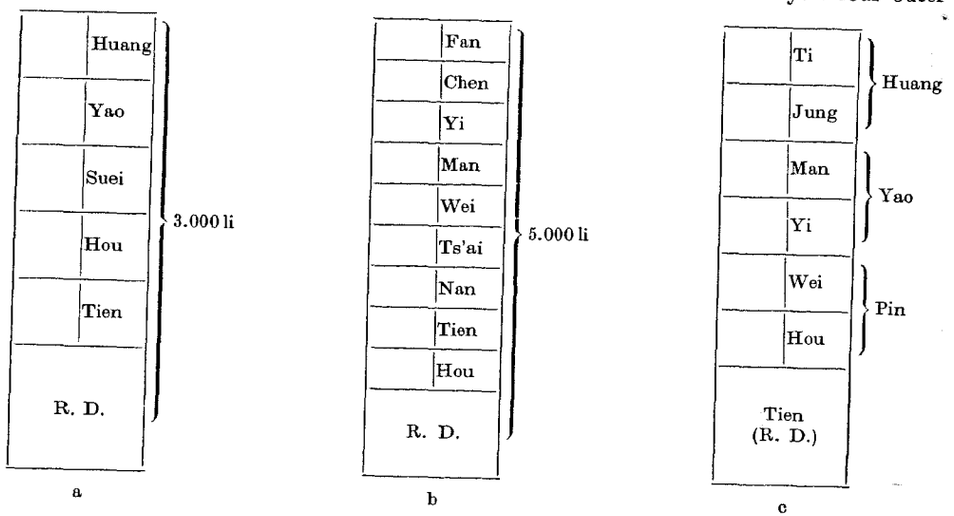


Fig. 2.

zones (y i — m a n — j u n g — t i) to correspond to Chouli's four outer zones (m a n — y i — c h e n — f a n), it still does not correspond to our Yü kung, for later in our text, whereas the y i are sure enough placed in the y a o f u, the m a n are placed in the h u a n g f u. Moreover, corresponding to K'ang-kao's and Chouli's five zones h o u - t i e n - n a n - t s ' a i - w e i we here have only two h o u - w e i, together = p i n f u (it will not do to say, with Wei Chao, that h o u w e i means »from

h o u to w e i [inclusive]» = »h o u - t i e n - n a n - t s ' a i - w e i», for in the Kyü scheme t i e n is not in this group but is = the royal dom ain). On the other hand, the Kyü text continues by enumerating 5 kinds of offerings corresponding to t i e n, h o u, p i n, y a o and h u a n g respectively, which seems to indicate a 5-zone division similar to that of Yü kung. We would then have, not (as in fig. 2 c) four principal zones (t i e n, p i n, y a o, h u a n g) but 5: t i e n, h o u, p i n, y a o, h u a n g, the 3rd (p i n) subdivided in 3 a h o u and 3 b w e i. This, however, would entail that there were two consecutive zones (2 and 3 a) both called h o u (the same character) but strictly distinguished, which is absurd, unless the second h o u is a mistake for something else, for which we have no support. Thus the Kyü passage is, after all, very enigmatical. — Several other schemes crop up in the early literature, Shu: Tsiu kao: »Outside (the royal domain), the princes of the states of the h o u, t i e n, n a n, w e i» — here four zones instead of K'ang-kao's five (likewise in K'ang wang chï kao). Tso: Siang 15: »The king and the princes, and the dignitaries of the t i e n, t s ' a i, w e i» — only 3 out of the 5 of K'ang kao. Again, Yi Chou shu: Wang huei: »Inside a square (with a side of) 1000 li is p i f u *42*; inside one of 2000 li (i. e. from 1000—2000 li) is y a o f u; inside one of 3000 li (i. e. from 2000—3000) is h u a n g - f u».

In the choice between A and B there seems to be a strong support for B in the fact that the texts speak of w u f u *43* »the 5 dependencies» (e. g. in Kao Yao mo above), just as Chouli speaks of k i u f u »the 9 dependencies»; in Chouli the 9 are all outside the royal domain (not including the latter in the figure), and on this analogy w u f u »the 5 dependencies» should be 5 outside the royal domain, with B. On the other hand, when Kao Yao mo says: »I assisted in establishing the 5 dependencies, all to 5000 (li)», this agrees well with the A scheme (5000 li from the extreme north to the extreme south) but can only be reconciled with the B scheme in counting first 2500 li from the extreme north down to the northern line of the royal domain, then skipping the 1000 li of the latter and again counting 2500 to the south of it, which is certainly very far-fetched. In fact, it is impossible to reconcile all the various schemes above, each text must be taken by itself and not forced to agree with the speculations of other theorizing schools. Viewed by itself, the Yü kung passage is certainly best suited to the A scheme. Since there were feudal lords also inside the royal domain of 1000 li square, and since the whole passage refers to the creation of feudal lords and their duties in regard to tribute, it is inconceivable that the royal domain should be left out of the description, this latter starting only with the first zone outside the royal domain. Thus we should translate: **»500 li (in each direction from the capital city) is the t i e n f u royal domain»** (with Legge and Chavannes).

1385. (Wu po li tien fu) p o l i f u n a t s u n g, e r p o l i n a c h ï *33*.

T s u n g *44* fundamentally means 'to tie together, to bundle', here 'bundled grain', i. e. grain with the straw, in sheaves.

A. PK'ung: (500 li [in every direction from the capital] were the t i e n f u royal domain), **(the first) 100 li (from the capital) bring as revenue bundled grain with the straw,**

所行 22.朕 23.王者常自以敬我德為先則天下無距違我行者 24.養 25.所敬養者惟德為先故無距我之行者 25.侯 26.訓 27.侯行 28.嗣 29.以 30.台德 31.以德 32.通以德化為先 33.五百里甸服百里賦納總二百里納銍…五百里侯服…五百里綏服…要服…荒服 34.令天子之國以外 35.天子之甸 方千里 36.邦畿千里 37.邦內甸服邦外侯服 38.甸服 39.侯甸男采衛蠻夷鎮藩 40.王畿 41.邦內甸服邦外侯服侯衛賓服夷蠻要服戎狄荒服 42.比服 43.五

he 2nd 100 li bring the ears», etc. PK'ung thus considers these 5 distances: from 1—100 li, from 100—200 li, from 200—300 li, from 300—400 li, from 400—500 li as subdivisions of the t i e n f u. — **B.** Cheng Hüan has a curious speculation. In Yao's time, the w u f u five dependencies were still only of 500 li (i. e. from the capital to the outer limit of t i e n f u 500 li, from this limit to the outer limit of h o u f u 500 li etc.) in accordance with scheme A, Fig. 1. But Yü enlarged these by additional districts: to the 500 li (from the capital) of the t i e n f u were laid 100 li which presented bundled grain, outside those again 100 li which presented the ears etc., up to 500, so that the enlarged t i e n f u had 1000 li from the capital to the northern (eastern, southern and western) confines, thus corresponding to the w a n g k' i + h o u f u of the Chouli scheme, Fig. 2 b. The original h o u f u, of 500 li from its inner to its outer confines, likewise was enlarged so as to attain 1000 li from its inner to its outer confines, thus corresponding to Chouli's t i e n and n a n f u; similarly the original s u e i f u by doubling came to correspond to Chouli's t s' a i and w e i f u; the original y a o f u to correspond to Chouli's m a n f u and y i f u; and the original h u a n g f u to correspond to Chouli's c h e n f u and f a n f u. This comical speculation is due exclusively to Cheng's desire to bring the Yü kung scheme into accordance with the Chouli scheme; but a slight support for it might be adduced: Yü kung says that h o u f u contains the *45* n a n states and the c h u h o u — the n a n *45* is a Chouli zone which acc. to Cheng's computation would come into the enlarged h o u f u; and it says that s u e i f u contains a district which is energetic in war w u and defence w e i *46* — w e i *47* is a Chouli zone which acc. to Cheng's computation would come into the enlarged s u e i f u; but, again, it says that the h u a n g f u contains a district with m a n *48*, and here Cheng's theory breaks down, for Chouli's m a n f u falls into Cheng's enlarged y a o f u category, not his enlarged h u a n g f u. — B, of course, is typical scholastics.

1386. S a n p o l i n a k i a f u *49*.

For *50* ***kat** / kat* / k i a there are the variants *51* (Ma Jung and Cheng in gloss on Li, same sound), *52* (Shīwen, same sound), *53* (Han shu: Ti li chī, same sound) — four ways of writing the same word.

A. PK'ung says simply that *50* is = *54* 'stalk of grain, straw', and so does Yen Shī-ku on the *53* of Han shu. Shuowen defines *52* as = *55* 'peeled stalks of grain' (used for weaving certain mats). PK'ung defines f u *56* as = *57* »the service of (presenting) the straw» (f u = 'service-work' is common) (for another but erroneous interpr. of PK'ung's gloss see Gl. 871). Ts'ai Ch'en believes that all the 3 first districts (from 0—300 li) had to f u *56* do transport service. But there is nothing to define the f u as = service of transport; rather the 3 nearest districts (0—300 from the capital) had to do f u labour service for public works, when required — those further away could not be called in. Thus: **»The 3rd 100 li bring the straw; (these three zones) do labour duty»**. For the meaning of k i a two passages in Li: Kiao t'ê sheng and Li: Li k'i, in both of which we have the binome *58* 'straw' used for making mats, are quite decisive: it means 'straw', and quite possibly, with Shuowen, 'peeled straw'. — **B.** Cheng Hüan is curiously inconsistent. In his Shu comm., having defined the preceding c h ī *59* as = *60* 'one cuts off and removes the straw', i. e. 'the ears, freed from the straw', he here says: *61* »k i a on the other hand (means that) one removes the ears', i. e. the 'straw freed from the ears'. But in Li: Li k'i he says (quoting our Yü kung) *62* »the ear of grain, with the (fruit =) kernels removed is called k i a», thus: 'emptied ears'. Since these could not very well serve for making mats, he must, in this latter case, have meant 'straw with emptied ear still on' (Tuan Yü-ts'ai has made an elaborate attempt to explain Cheng's views differently: by y i n g *63* he did not mean 'ear of grain' but the upper part (»neck») of the stalk; but even with this strained expl. he cannot successfully reconcile Cheng's different glosses). —

C. Ch'en Huan: f u *56* belongs together with k i a *50*: k i a = *64* 'the fruit' i. e. »the kernels, the grain», f u = 'the covering, the pellicle' (*56* ***b'i̯ŭk*** being »phonetically similar» to *65* ***p'i̯ug*** 'pellicle'). There is no text support for this. — A alone tallies with the text parallels in Li.

1387. W u p o l i h o u f u, p o l i t s' a i, e r p o l i n a n p a n g, s a n p o l i c h u h o u *66*.

A. Since the 500 li (next outside the t i e n f u) are called the h o u f u zone, and the 2nd subdivision inside this is called n a n p a n g, whereas the 3rd subdivision is called c h u hóu »the feudal princes», Sï-ma Ts'ien concludes that n a n *45* cannot here be equal to the fifth category of c h u h o u (k u n g, h o u, p o, t s ï, n a n), and so he paraphrases n a n p a n g, by j e n k u o *67* »the states entrusted with some charge», taking *45* ***nəm*** to stand for *68* ***ńi̯əm*** (in this etymological speculation he bases himself on Ta Tai: Pen ming). PK'ung follows up this idea by concluding that the h o u in h o u f u can just as little mean 'prince', and for the same reason (the 3rd subdivision only of the h o u f u belonging to the c h u h o u), and so he speculates that h o u *69* (***g'u***, even tone) in h o u f u stands for *70* (***g'u***, falling tone), and means 'to scout, to keep lookout', sc. for the enemies from without, protecting the inner zones (an idea already propounded in Po hu t'ung: Tsüe p'ien). On the analogy of this, the t s' a i *71* of the first subdivision means *72* 'business, work, task' (common), thus: »those who have tasks» (expl. made by Ma Jung). These are typical scholastic speculations. When Cheng Hüan (in comm. on Li: Wang chī) proposes that t s' a i *71* means 'to cull, to select' and refers to the valuable objects 'selected' to be sent as tribute from this sub-zone (instead of grain), he is wide of the mark: the whole of this paragraph has no references to tribute. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en soberly maintains that h o u and n a n have their ordinary meanings, ant that t s' a i *71* means 'cullable land' = 'appanage' for ministers and dignitaries'. Cf. Li: Li yün *73* »The c h u h o u feudal princes have k u o states for placing their sons and grandsons, t a f u dignitaries have t s' a i appanages for placing their sons and grandsons». The scheme thus becomes quite clear: in the nearest sub-zone (100 li) there were only dignitaries with appanages t s' a i; in the 2nd sub-zone (the 2nd 100 li) were only feudal princes of the lowest grade, n a n; in the 3rd sub-zone (from 200—500 li) were c h u h o u 'feudal princes' of all categories (k u n g h o u, p o, t s ï, n a n); the big zone as a whole was called, with a summary name, h o u f u »the princes' zone». Thus: **»(The next) 500 li are the h o u f u 'princes' zone'; (within that), (the 1st) 100 li are the t s' a i appanages, (the 2nd) 100 li are the states of the n a n princes, the (remaining) 300 li are the (lands of) c h u h o u the feudal princes (generally)»**. (So also Legge).

1388. W u p o l i y a o f u *74*.

A. PK'ung: y a o *75* means *76* 'to force, to restrain' (common), referring to the cultural influence mentioned in the preceding zone (*77*), thus: »The zone of coercion». — **B.** Wei Chao (comm. on Kyü: Chou yü): y a o *75* means *78* 'to make a compact' (common, ex. see Couvreur's Dict.), thus: **»The zone of compacts»**. Cf. Lun: Hien wen *79* »An old agreement not being forgotten»; Tso: Ai 14, phr. *80* »Send Ki Lu to make a

服 *44* 總 *45* 男 *46* 武衛 *47* 衛 *48* 蠻 *49* 三百納結服 *50* 結 *51* 鞂 *52* 稭 *53* 稾 *54* 稾 *55* 稾去其皮 *56* 服 *57* 稾役 *58* 稾結 *59* 銍 *60* 斷去稾也 *61* 結又去穎也 *62* 穗去實曰穅 *63* 穎 *64* 實 *65* 銍 *66* 五百里侯服百里采二百里男邦三百里諸侯 *67* 任國 *68* 任 *69* 侯 *70* 侯 *71* 采 *72* 事 *73* 諸侯有國以處其子孫大夫有采以處其子孫 *74* 五百里要服 *75* 要 *76* 要束 *77* 撥文教 *78* 要結好

compact with me». — B is certainly more plausible. After the h o u f u »zone of the princes», regular part of the empire proper, follows the s u e i f u *81* »tranquillized zone», the peoples of which were brought to peaceful submission without having directly feudal lords, after that again the y a o f u »zone of compacts», the chieftains of which simply were tied to the king by treaties, and finally h u a n g f u *82* »the wild zone».

1389. S a n p o l i y i *83*.

These 300 li were the first inside the y a o f u, see the preceding.

A. Though Y i *84* here corresponds to M a n *85* in the next line and though these Yi and Man are the well-known terms for the barbarian tribes, the early commentators would read some deeper significance into the terms here. **A.** Ma Jung: Y i *84* = *86*. Yao tien's phrase *87* »The people are at ease» is rendered by *86* in Shī ki (see Gl. 1224), which has caused Ma's gloss. Thus: »The (first) 300 li are (at ease =) quiet and peaceful». (Wang Sien-k'ien believes that Ma by his *86* meant »changeable», i. e. possible to reform in regard to customs, which is little likely). — **B.** PK'ung: Y i *84* = *88* 'even' in the sense of *89* 'ordinary'. »The first 300 li are ordinary» (i. e. receive the ordinary directions from the king). — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: Y i *84* is the ordinary tribe name: **»The first 300 li are the Yi barbarians»**. — **C** is obviously right.

1390. E r p o l i t s ' a i *90*.

A. Ma Jung: t s ' a i *91* (**ts'âd / ts'âi / t s ' a i*) = *92*, expounding: *93* »They only had to submit to the king's penal laws». Thus: »(The next) 200 li are (the people under) penal laws». T s ' a i *91* has no such sense, and the gloss shows that Ma took *91* **ts'âd* as loan char. for *94* **sat / ṣat / s h a* 'to kill, to execute'. In fact, in the bronze inscriptions the state Ts'ai *91* is written *95*, which is certainly the phonetic in *94*. Thus the Shu text probably originally had this *95*, and it could have been a short-form for *94*. — **B.** Cheng Hüan: *91* = *94* (cf. A above) in the reading **sǎd / ṣǎi / s h a i* 'diminished, reduced' (common), thus: »(The next) 200 li are (those with) reduced (revenues)». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: t s ' a i *91* means *96* 'to banish'. Thus: »(The next) 200 li are (those of) the banished ones». In support of this he adduces Tso: Chao 1, phr. *97*, which Tu Yü interprets as: »He killed Kuan Shu and banished (*91* = *96*) Ts'ai Shu». But, as expounded in Gl. 1272 above, the *91* in that Tso passage has a quite different meaning and thus Ts'ai Ch'en has no safe corroboration for his interpr. Moreover it is quite unreasonable that a whole principal zone in the world-conception of the early Chinese should have its name after the few culprits condemned to live there as a punishment. — **D.** Another interpr. The char. *91* is defined in Shuowen as = *98* 'grass'. This meaning is earliest attested in the Kiu Huai by Wang Pao (dead 61 B. C.), but the word (**ts'âd / ts'âi / t s ' a i*) is probably closely cognate to *99* (**ts'i̯wad / ts'i̯wäi / t s ' u e i*) 'down, fine hair' — it is quite common that the grass covering the soil is called m a o *100* 'hair' (e. g. Tso: Chao 17, phr. *1* »Those who eat the herbs of the soil»). An alternation of forms with and without the medial vowels *i̯*, *w* inside a word stem is quite common (see BMFEA 5, p. 107—109); cf. also *2* **ts'wâd / ts'uâi / t s ' u e i*, Shuowen = *98* 'grass' (of which, however, there are no early text ex.). Thus: **»(The next) 200 li are the (grass-land =) steppe (people)»**. This balances the l i u *3* in the next line.

1391. S a n p o l i M a n *4*.

A. Just as in the case of Yi *84* above (Gl. 1389), the early comm. would give Man a more pregnant meaning than simply the name of the barbarians. Ma Jung: m a n *85* (**mlwan*) = *5* (**man*) »the careless ones», i. e. those with imperfect rites. Cheng Hüan: m a n *85* = *6* (**mi̯ən*) 'a cord': »Those who are (led by a string, a halter =) conducted». Yen Shī-ku: m a n means to *7* cover them by civilization (evidently taking m a n as = *8* **mwân*). (From PK'ung's formulation it is not clear whether he followed Cheng or

he already had Yen's idea). All such speculations are pure scholastics. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»(The first) 300 li are the Man barbarians»**.

1392. E r p o l i l i u *9*.

A. Ma Jung: l i u *3* 'flowing' means »ambulating», without fixed residences. Thus: **»(The next) 200 li are the nomads»**. — **B.** PK'ung: l i u *3* »flowing» means 'of unstable, changeable customs'. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: l i u *3* means 'to banish' (common), thus: »(The next) 200 li are (the zone of) the banished ones». This is just as unlikely as a name for a principal zone in the world scheme of the archaic Chinese, as the t s ' a i = 'banished' proposed in Gl. 1390 B. With Chavannes, A should be followed.

1393. T u n g t s i e n y ü h a i, s i p e i y ü L i u s h a *10*.

The commentators do not indicate what they think is the subject. PK'ung simply says t s i e n *11* = *12* 'to enter', and p e i *13* = *14* 'to reach to'.

A. Legge thinks that the subject is the s h e n g k i a o *15* which follows afterwards: »On the east reaching to the sea, on the west extending to the moving sands ..... (his fame and influence .....)». Such a construction is entirely un-Chinese. — **B.** Chavannes takes Yü as understood subject: »A l'est (Yü) s'avanca jusqu'à la mer, a l'ouest il alla jusqu'aux sables mouvantes». This is not acceptable. T s i e n means fundamentally 'to drip, to soak'. It is true that it is sometimes defined as = *16* 'to advance', but it has then always the sense of 'dropwise, little by little, gradually, advancing step by step' (common). We should then have to interpret: »In the east he (Yü) (dropwise =) gradually advanced to the sea», which is far-fetched. — **C.** Couvreur understands »the realm» as the subject, and he construes y ü h a i and y ü l i u s h a as agents: »In the east it (the realm) is soaked by the sea, in the west it is (covered =) limited by the floating sands» (Couvreur in his Dict. Classique interprets quite differently: »il se déverse dans la mer»). That the realm is the understood subject is correct, as confirmed by the context; the preceding lines have precisely described the zones of the great realm, and here its farthest confines are described. But Couvreur's passive construction is much too modern to suit an early Shu passage. — **D.** Forke (Lun Heng II, p. 255) takes t u n g and s i as subjects, and accepts Couvreur's passive construction: »The east is washed by the ocean, and the west covered with flying sand». This is very unlikely, for all through the Yü kung, the phrases t u n g, s i, t u n g p e i etc. are invariably adverbial phrases: »in the east, in the west, in the north-east» etc. — **E.** Ts'ai Ch'en defines t s i e n by its fundamental sense *17* 'to soak', and evidently understands 'the realm' as subject (followed on this point by Couvreur, C above). We should accept this and construe the phrases with y ü *18* as meaning »in .....»: **In the east it (the realm) (soaks in =) dips down into the sea, in the west it extends to the floating sands»**. This is probably also PK'ung's opinion, when he briefly says that t s i e n *11* = *12* 'to enter': it (the land) (soaks in =) enters the sea.

1394. S h u o n a n k i s h e n g k i a o k i y ü s ī h a i *19*.

Han shu: Ti li chī reads *20* inst. of *21* (both **g'i̯ed / g'ji / k i*); these char. are inter-

倍 1.久要不忘 2.使季路要我 3.綏服 4.荒服 5.三百里夷 6.夷 7.蠻 8.易 9.威民者 10.平 11.平常 12.二百里蔡 13.蔡 14.法 15.受王者刑法而已 16.殺 17.李 18.放 19.殺管叔而蔡蔡叔 20.艸 21.毳 22.毛 1.食土之毛 2.藪 3.流 4.三百里蠻 5.慢 6.蝠 7.幕 8.幔 9.二百里流 10.東漸于海西被于流沙 11.漸 12.入 13.被 14.及 15.聲教 16.進 17.濆 18.于 19.朔南暨聲教訖于四海 20.泉 21.暨 22.罪 23.義暨和 24.訖 25.迄 26.與聲教 27.及 28.塗不暨於棺 29.上求不暨

changeable. *20* means 'to be together with, together with, along with, and' (common in bronze inscriptions: wr. *22*), and *21* is frequently loan char for this (Yao tien *23* etc., very common). Inst. of *24* Han shu: Kia Küan-chï chuan reads *25*.

A. The Han scholars punctuated after k i a o: S h u o n a n k i s h e n g k i a o. Oldest ex. in Han shu (*loc. cit.*), a memorial by Kia Küan-chï (middle of 1st c. B. C.) who interprets k i s h e n g k i a o as equal to *26*. Thus »The North and the South (were together with, associated with =) participated in the famous instructions» (sc. of the king); *20* would then be the fundamental word and *21* a loan char. for it, as often. PK'ung has followed this. But since »to be together with the famous instructions» is certainly strained, Yen Shï-ku prefers to take *20* as a loan char. for *21* in the sense of *27* 'to reach to, to attain to'; thus: »The North and the South attained to the famous instructions» (of the king). Cf. Li: Sang ta ki *28* »The plastering did not reach to the coffin» (Cheng Hüan: k i *21* = *27*); Kyü: Chou yü *29* »Though the superiors demand them, they do not come» (Wei chao: k i *21* = *30*); Chuang: Lie Yü-k'ou *31* »He reached him at the door». (S h e n g k i a o has mostly been interpreted as two coördinated words: »The fame and the instructions»: I think it better to take it as a whole). The same interpunctation: s h u o n a n k i s h e n g k i a o is upheld by Sün Yüe in Han ki (2nd c. A. D.) and by Tu Tu *32* (ap. Hou Han shu: Tu Tu chuan) (early 1st c. A. D.). It was evidently generally accepted in Han time. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: Shuowen defines the char. *21* as = *33* 'the sun only partially visible', and this is the meaning here: »S h u o n a n in the north and south, k i (where there is any sun at all =) whereever the sun shines, s h e n g k i a o (there are) the famous instructions (of the king)». There is, however, no text ex. whatever of Shuowen's definition, and Kiang's speculation is quite hopeless (Chavannes has understood Kiang's interpr. differently and moreover attributed it to Cheng Hüan). — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after k i saying k i *21* = *27* (cf A above): S h u o n a n k i, s h e n g k i a o k i y ü s i h a i: »In the north and south it reached (to the utmost points), the famous instructions reached to the four seas». K i *21* 'to reach' would then stand by itself and mean 'to reach the utmost point'. This is not impossible, cf. Tso: Hi 15, phr. *34* »How dare I (reach =) go to the extreme?», where c h ï *30* 'to reach, to come to', synonymous with our k i *21*, is used in the same absolute way (acc. to the Sung comm. Lin Yao-sou). — **D.** It is not necessary, nor even desirable, to abandon the oldest way (Han time) of dividing the line. There should be a rhythmical correspondence between the lines concerning the east, the west and the north and south: t u n g t s i e n y ü h a i — s i p e i y ü l i u s h a — s h u o n a n k i s h e n g k i a o. But just as in the preceding lines t u n g and s i are adverbial phrases »in the east», »in the west», so s h u o n a n should here (with C) mean »in the north and in the south». K i *21* (for which *20* is a loan char.) 'to reach, to come' is here a transitive (causative) verb: 'to cause to reach, cause to come, *faire parvenir*': **»In the east it (the realm) dips down into the sea; in the west it extends to the floating sands; in the north and the south it (causes to come =) brings the famous (royal) instructions (i. e. the Chinese civilization); it reaches all to the four seas».** The difference between east and west on the one hand, and north and south on the other was that whereas the definite limits in the former directions (the sea and the desert respectively) were known to the Chinese, no such limits were known in north and south, where never-ending zones of foreign peoples lived, and to them the Chinese realm extended its civilization. For k i *24* 'to reach, to come' taken as a transitive verb 'to cause to come, to bring' cf. the synonymous c h ï *30*: Tso: Chao 20: »Feng Yang ordered the people of Ch'eng-fu *35* to seize himself and (cause him to come =) bring him (to the king)».

1395. K i y ü s ï h a i *36*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien writes *37* **kiət* / *kiət* / k i. PK'ung defines this as = *38*, expounding:

Yü's work was *39* (exhaustively =) everywhere applied to the (land between) the four seas». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen (after Shuowen): k i *37* = *40*, without further comment. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: k i *37* (**kiət*) is loan char. for *41* (**ngiət*), which Shuowen says means *42*, thus: »going straight to the four seas». But of this dictionary word there are no text ex. — **D.** In the memorial of Kia Küan-chï (see Gl. 1394 A above), less than a century later than Sï-ma's quotation, Kia reads *43* **»it reached all to the four seas».** *44* **χiət* / *χiət* / h i 'to reach, to come to' is common. This gives obviously the best meaning. Probably the Shu text originally had only *45* without radical (Chou fashion), and the Han scholars have supplied rad. *46* or *47*, according as they interpreted the line. — Erya says that s ï h a i *48* (»the [land between] the four seas») means the Yi, Ti, Jung and Man barbarians, i. e. the peoples outside China proper, and Sun Yen expounds that h a i *49* (**χməg* / *χâi* / h a i) here does not mean 'sea' but stands for *50* (**χmwəg* / *χuâi* / h u e i) 'darkened' i. e. unenlightened in regard to rites and justice, thus S ï - h a i »the four unenlightened ones» (the barbarians). Scholastics that are quite amusing.

1396. Y ü s i h ü a n k u e i k a o k ü e c h ' e n g k u n g *51*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien (foll. by PK'ung) understands thus: **»Yü was given (sc. by the emperor) a black k u e i sceptre, announcing that he had achieved his work».** As pointed out by Yü Sing-wu, this formula X s i »X was presented with . . .» occurs in Chou bronze inscriptions. — **B.** Another Han-time school understood: Yü was given (by Heaven, as a good omen) a black k u e i sceptre». On the steles at the tomb of pseudo-Wu Liang (1st c. A. D.), among the miraculously appearing objects of good auspice there is the h ü a n k u e i »black k u e i», and the inscription says: »When the rivers and springs follow their course, and the four seas get their affluents, then the h ü a n k u e i appears» (Chavannes: Mission archéol. fig. 93). — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Yü presented a black k u e i sceptre» (to the emperor). — No reason for abandoning the oldest interpr. (A).

Kan shï.

For the question whether this chapter refers to Yü or to his son K'i see BMFEA 18, p. 304.

1397. W a n g y ü e t s ü e l i u s h ï c h ï j e n *52*.

A. Cheng Hüan: when it was said before l i u k ' i n g *53* »Six ministers-generals» (of the armies) and here it is said l i u s h ï *54*, this change of expression indicates that s h ï 'business(-holders)' refers to all those who s h ï *55* do service, officers and simple soldiers, in the armies; thus: »Oh, all you men of service (in the army)». — **B.** PK'ung: l i u s h ï »six functionaries» = six ministers refers precisely to the l i u k ' i n g above. Thus: **»Oh, you six (functionaries =) ministers».** This is evidently right; cf. Ode 193, phr. *56* »He selected three (functionaries =) ministers»; Ode 263, phr. *57* »You three (functionaries =) ministers, go to your work» (see Gl. 1047). S h ï or y u s h ï is thus a technical term for the highest office-holders, the ministers, who here, at the same time, are generals of the army.

1398. W e i w u w u h i n g *58*.

A. W e i w u is explained as meaning *59* 'to violate and go counter to' by Cheng Hüan, as = *60* 'to maltreat (violate) and despise' by PK'ung, which comes to the same. Thus: **»He violates and despises the 5 elements».** — **B.** Wang Yin-chï: w e i *61* is a corruption

30 至 31 蹙乎門 32 杜篤 33 日頗見 34 豈敢以至 35 執己以至 36 說于四海 37 說 38 盡 39 盡加于四海 40 止 41 趾 42 直行 43 迄于四海 44 迄 45 气 46 言 47 乘 48 四海 49 海 50 晦 51 禹錫玄圭告厥成功 52 王曰嗟 六事之人 53 六卿 54 六事 55 事 56 擇三有事 57 三事就緒 58 威

of *62*, which again stands for *63*, the latter meaning *64* 'to despise'. Thus: »He despises the 5 elements».Since *62* both in Ts'ie yün and King tien shī wen is read **χmi̯wat / χi̯wät / h ü e* (only the Tsī lin reads it **mi̯at*, confounding it with *65*), we should then rather have to say that *61* is wrong for *62* as a short-form for *65* **mi̯at*; and then either this has its proper meaning (»He destroys and despises the 5 elements») or, with Wang Yin-chī, it is loan char. for *63* (**mi̯at*). (This *63* can, with Wang, mean 'to despise', but it need not: it can also mean 'to destroy', cognate to and synonymous with *65*). The only real reason for all this speculation is that in Yi Chou shu: K'o Yin we find *66*: »He despises and destroys the Spirits», and that this in Shī ki: Chou pen ki is rendered *67*. — The text tradition of the Yi Chou shu is little known and often unreliable (to witness, the variant for its m i e appearing in the Shī ki); on the other hand the reading w e i w u *68* occurs not only in the orthodox PK'ung version but already in Sī-ma Ts'ien and in Mo: Ming kuei. The latter is particularly important, since its text transmission is very independent of that of the Shu. An »error» of w e i *61* for (*62* short for:) *65* in all these three versions is exceedingly unlikely. No reason to abandon A.

1399. T a i k' i s a n c h e n g *69*.

This follows upon: »The lord of Hu violates and despises the 5 elements», see the preceding gloss.

A. Fu Sheng (Shang shu ta chuan): s a n c h e n g *70* means the three different months which successively served as new-year months. Ma Jung adopts this (»the t s ī, c h' o u and y i n months»). Thus: »He neglects and discards the 3 year-regulating (months)», i. e. he opposes the calendaric decrees which the king alone has the prerogative of promulgating (= he is a rebel). This would mean that the rotation in respect to the new-year months (a new dynasty choosing another new-year month than the preceding) had already obtained before the Hia house and that the king here referred to these successive changes — an impossibly forced idea. In Han time the term s a n c h e n g *70* sure enough had this sense of »the three (successively used) new-year months» (see Pan ku: Po hu t'ung, which has a whole chapter on the subject), but evidently cannot apply to our Shu passage, composed in early Chou time. — **B.** In a quite analogous text in the T'ai Shī (the authentic T'ai shī, the passage in question only known through a quotation in Shī ki: Chou pen ki and gloss by Ma) which runs *71*, the same Ma Jung has this quite different interpr.: s a n c h e n g »the three governing forces» are those of *72* »Heaven, Earth and Man», thus: **»Now the king of Yin, Chou, ... has cut himself off from Heaven and ruined and corrupted the 3 governing forces (of Heaven, Earth and Man)»**. In our passage above, Cheng Hüan has adopted this: »(The lord of Hu violates and despises the 5 elements), **he neglects and discards the 3 governing forces (of Heaven, Earth and Man)»**. This interpr. seems in fact to be based on another passage in Fu Sheng's Shang shu ta chuan, which says that t s' i c h e n g *73* (see Gl. 1255 above) »the 7 directors, the 7 governing forces» were the 4 seasons, the configurations of Heaven, the formations on Earth, and the j e n t a o principles of Man» (an interpr. that, as we saw there, is not plausible); since, acc. to Cheng, the w u h i n g *74* »5 elements» in our line above are equal to the 4 seasons (in accordance with the exposé in Li: Yüe ling), there remain, out of the t s' i c h e n g *73*, after substraction of 4, precisely 3, i. e. those referring to Heaven, Earth and Man (*75* = our *70*)! This is all very speculative and scholastic; but in fact the theme of the triad Heaven, Earth and Man as governing forces is quite early and general in the early literature. Cf. Yi: Shuo kua: »Anciently when the sages made the Yi (king) . . . they exhibited *76* the norm of Heaven, this being y i n and y a n g, *77* the norm of Earth, this being the soft and the hard, *78* the norm of Man, this being goodness and righteousness; they combined these s a n t s' a i *79* three capacities (forces) . . . .»; Tso: Ch'eng 15, phr. *80* »The good Man is the norm of Heaven

and Earth» (the human counterpart of the forces of Heaven and Earth). The theme is treated in several places in the Hiao king. — **C.** Yü Yüe: in Tso: Siang 25 it is said *81* »The men of Ts'i bribed the six generals of Tsin»; here c h e n g *82* (common in the sense of 'governor, leading official') means 'army general'. According to Chouli, the king had 6 armies, and a great feudal lord had 3 armies. Our s a n - c h e n g thus means »the three generals» (of the lord's of Hu). Now, since the generals had the high rank of k' i n g *83*, they were appointed by the king, not by the lord of Hu himself, and our phr. *69* means: »(The lord of Hu outrages the 5 elements) and neglects and discards the 3 generals» (appointed for him by the king, and appoints his own men); a comical idea, which in any case is not applicable to the par. text in T'ai shī *71*. — **D.** Yü Sing-wu therefore modifies Yü Yüe's theory: s a n c h e n g »the 3 governors» means the same as s a n k u n g *84*, the three highest officials of the king's. In fact, it is common that the highest functionaries were called c h e n g, e. g. Ode 258: »Reduced to extremities are the s h u c h e n g *85* heads of departments» (high officials). Thus: »He neglects and discards the 3 highest dignitaries». The par. text of the T'ai shī would then mean: *71* h u e i h u a i k' i s a n c h e n g »He ruins and corrupts the 3 highest dignitaries». — D is not impossible, but it misses the parallellism with the preceding w e i w u w u h i n g »He violates and despises the 5 elements»; it is quite evident that the second half of the line should describe some analogous violation of cosmogonic forces, which decides in favour of B. It is quite plausible to consider our s a n c h e n g as synonymous with the s a n t s' a i *79* of the Yi king.

1400. After the phr. T' i e n y u n g t s i a o t s ü e k' i m i n g »Heaven therefore has cut off his mandate», there is a clause which has been lost in the orthodox Shu version but which is preserved in a quotation in Mo: Ming kuei: *86*. (In this *87* is = *88*, *89* = *90*). Forke, after Tosaki, believes that the first words refer to a saying of the rebel lord: »And further he says: The sun culminates» (i. e. I am at the height of power). This seems much too bold, when a sufficiently good sense can be made in a more ordinary fashion. — Early editions had s h ī *91* inst. of t' u *92*, an obvious graphical error. Sun Yi-jang thinks that *89* = *90* means p a o *93* 'a fort, a small walled town' (*90* in this sense common, e. g. Li: T'an kung); but only a few lines earlier in Mo's text we find *94* »the guarding of the earth here below» (as in Ode 259, phr. *95*: »protect the land of the South»), and evidently p a o *89* here has the same verbal function in the phr. p a o t' u *96*. We thus obtain: **(The king) further said: during the day, now with the lord of Hu I shall fight about (one day's fate =) the fate to be decided in one day; and you, ministers, dignitaries and commoners, I do not covet your fields or your guarded lands»**. There exists in the early literature a considerable number of quotations from the Shu king, sometimes with indications of chapters, giving passages which are not to be found in the present Shu, or only inserted in the spurious chapters by the faker in the 3rd c. A. D. In most cases it is not possible to place such passages exactly in the proper chapters, and then I never insert them here (I hope to revert to them later on); only such cases

侮五行 57 暴逆 58 威虐侮慢 59 威 60 威 61 黃 62 輕 63 滅 64 侮滅神祇 65 侮黃 66 威侮 67 怠棄三正 70 三正 71 今殷王紂…自絕于天毀壞其三正 72 天地人 73 七政 74 五行 75 三政 76 天道 77 地道 78 人道 79 三才 80 善人天地之紀 81 齊人賂晉六正 82 正 83 卿 84 三公 85 庶正 86 有曰日中今予與有屆氏爭一日之命且爾卿大夫庶人予非爾田野葆土之欲 87 有 88 又 89 葆 90 保 91 士 92 土 93 堡 94 下土之保 95 南土是保 96 葆土 97 今予惟恭行天

are incorporated — like the present one — in which the quotation is such that a part of the present Shu text is adjoined, thus making an exact placing of the additional passage feasible.

1401. a. K i n y ü w e i k u n g h i n g t' i e n c h ī f a *97*;
b. J u p u k u n g m i n g *98*.

Sī-ma Ts'ien in both cases writes *99* and *100*; Mo: Ming kuei, hia does the same; in the same way in Tso: Ai 3 we find: *1*. On the other hand Pan Ku both in Han shu: Sü chuan and in Tung tu fu writes *2*, and the same does Kao Yu in comm. on Lü: Sien ki. The earliest attested quotation with *3* is Po hu t'ung: San kün (but this may be a later correction, since Pan Ku in the other places had *4*). Now in the series *5*, character loans are very common. *5* often serves both for *6* and for *3*, and the question is for which of them it stands here, and likewise whether *4* means the same as *6* or as *3*.

A. The meaning is *6* = *7* 'to furnish, deliver', thus: a. **»Now I (furnish and practise =) execute Heaven's punishment»**; b. **»You do not (furnish =) execute my orders»**. This is PK'ung's opinion, since he defines k u n g as = *8*. It therefore seems likely that his text really, like Sī-ma's, had simply *5*, and that the now orthodox form *3*, carried through in his version, is a correction made by Wei Pao (as Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes). Hü Shen, who defines *4* by *7*, may already have had our Shu passages in mind and meant that *4* is equal to *6*. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: *3* = *9*: a. »Now I respectfully practise Heaven's punishment»; b. »You do not show respect for my orders». This must have been the opinion of those scholars (all from T'ang time) who wrote *10* and *11*, and, since they must have known of Sī-ma's and Pan Ku's readings *5* and *4* respectively, they must have considered these graphs as loan characters for *3*. When Lu Tê-ming in gloss on the Tso passage *1* says »*5* has the sound *4*», he evidently held this opinion. — Both A and B are quite plausible. But there is a very significant par. in Tso: Siang 30, phr. *12* »We fear that we do not (furnish =) execute the orders (given us)». This k i m i n g *13* is obviously quite synonymous with our phr. k u n g m i n g *100* above and k u n g *5* consequently stands for *6*. This decides in favour of A. There are many cases of this same alternative. In Shu: P'an Keng we have, in the orthodox version: *14* »Each one of you respectfully (attend to) your work», but the stone classics of 175 A. D. have *15*, where again *5* is equal to *6* **»Each one of you, (furnish =) execute your work»**. — On the other hand, it is not always, even in Shu, that *5* stands for *6*, it can also serve for *3*, see Gl. 1468.

1402. Y ü f e i k' i m a c h ī c h e n g *16*...

A. Mo: Ming kuei and Sī-ma Ts'ien both read c h e n g *17* inst. of *18*, and so did Cheng Hüan (in gloss on Ode 168): **»If the charioteers do not (govern =) correctly manage their horses»**. In order to emphasize that c h e n g is a verb, with the pronoun c h ī as anteposed object resuming the preceding: »The horses — them — govern», *17* was altered into *18*, probably by Wei Pao. — **B.** Yü Yüe would alter c h e n g *17* into k u n g *19*, considering it to be a scribe's error, thus: »If the charioteers do not do their work on their horses», this in order to obtain a par. to the preceding t s o p u k u n g y ü t s o *20* etc. »If those on the left do not do their work on the left» etc. But this emendation is too bold, as the form *17* is so well confirmed in all the earliest versions.

1403. Y ü t s ê n u l u j u *21*.

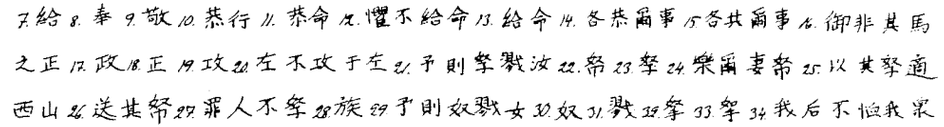
A. Sī-ma Ts'ien writes *22* inst. of *23*; they are interchangeable. PK'ung says n u *23* means 'child, children'. Cf. Ode 164, phr. *24* »Give joy to your wife and children». Here this sense is unambiguous: n u here means 'children' exclusively. But in other contexts it certainly means 'wife and children', i. e. family. Cf. Kyü: Tsin yü *25* »With his wife and children he went to the Western mountains»; Tso: Wen 6 »Süan tsï let Yü P'ien *26* escort his wife and children» — in these (and many more ex.: Kyü: Cheng yü, Ch'u

yü, Tso: Wen 7, 13, 18, Siang 25, Chao 18 etc.) the comm. rightly define n u as = 'wife and children' (it is obvious that it cannot always be a question of the children only). Therefore, whereas PK'ung in our Shu passage interprets n u as children only: »Then I will with the children kill you», Chao K'i, in comm. on the analogous phr. in Meng: Liang Huei wang, hia *27* says n u = 'wife and children', and our phr. will thus mean **»Then I will kill you with your wives and children»**. Yü Yüe objects to this that the word sequence is then wrong; it should be y ü t s ê l u j u n u »I then will kill j u you and n u your wives and children»; a n u placed before, adverb-fashion = 'with your children' will not do. This is to misunderstand the construction: n u and l u are both verbs. Just as t s u *28* 'clan' occurs as verb: t s u c h ī »he clanned him» = »he killed him with his whole clan», so n u means 'to wife-and-children' = »to kill the wife and children of» (somebody). Thus: »Then I will (wife-and-children-ing kill you =) kill you along with you wives and children». That n u is really a verb and alone means 'to kill the wife and children' follows from the Meng ex. *27* above: »The culprits were not (wife-and-children'ed =) punished with their wives and children». — **B.** Han shu: Wang Mang chuan, and Cheng Chung's comm. on Chouli: Sï li quote *29* and Yen Shï-ku says tha n u *30* 'slave' has its ordinary meaning (here verb): »Then I will enslave and kill you». — **C.** Yü Yüe while accepting the *30* of B as the original graph, points out, that since in the preceding line l u *31* clearly means 'to kill' (»those who do not obey my orders, I will kill at the altar of the Soil»), this n u *30* **no / nuo / n u* cannot with B mean 'slave, to make slaves' (this would indeed be a curious anticlimax after the categorical »killing» of the preceding line) but is a short-form for *32* (**nå / ńa / n a*) 'to seize': »I will seize and kill you». This n a, registred in Ts'ang kie p'ien, is not known from any pre-Han text, but its variant *33* (**nå / ńa / n a*) occurs in Chuang: Yü fu. This C interpr. is very tempting, but the difficulty is the Meng par. adduced: t s u e i j e n p u n u *27*. Here n u *23* cannot stand for *32* 'to seize', which would make no sense, but must either be interpreted as A above: »The culprits were not killed with wives and children», or, with *23*, as an erroneous enlargement of *30*: »The culprits were not made slaves». We would thus have two entirely different interpretations in our Shu and Meng passages; and yet they are so obviously analogous, the n u (whether wr. *30* or *23*) referring to some punishment of culprits in both cases. Since it cannot mean 'to enslave' in the Shu ex., it should not mean that in Meng either. And since it cannot mean *32* in Meng, it should not mean that in Shu either. There remains only A in Chao K'i's interpr., the generally admitted one (Ts'ai Ch'en, Legge etc.), which satisfies both texts.

T'ang shï.

1404. W o h o u p u s ü w o c h u n g, s h ê w o s ê s h ī e r k o c h e n g H i a *34*.

A. Neither Sī-ma Ts'ien nor the original PK'ung version had any H i a *35* at the end (as pointed out by Tuan Yü-ts'ai, it has been wrongly added as a consequence of a gloss of K'ung Ying-ta). Moreover Sī-ma inst. of *36* has *37*. PK'ung refers h o u to Kie, the last Hia king: **»Our ruler (King Kie) has no compassionate care for our multitude, he sets aside our husbandry works and (cuttingly governs =) has an injurious government»**



(PK'ung thus takes *36* as = the *37* of Sï-ma's). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en has accepted the falsely added Hia at the end, and refers h o u to T'ang: »Our ruler (sc. T'ang) has no compassionate care for our multitude, he sets aside our husbandry work and (goes to) cut off and (correct =) punish the Hia». K'ung Kuang-sen, troubled by this disrespectful utterance about the sage T'ang, says that the phr. »he sets aside our husbandry work» is merely a metaphor: he postpones the important government work (metaphorically called »husbandry work») for this important expedition (!). — **C.** Yü Yüe, while admitting that B is unacceptable since it adopts a faulty text version, still believes that it is right in referring to T'ang. He takes k o *38* (**kât*) as equal to h a i *39* (**g'âd*) — indeed the two char. are sometimes confused (cf. Gl. 1234): in Shu: Ta kao we have *40* »Heaven sends down harm on my house», and here k o *38* obviously stands for h a i *39* (Ma Jung's version indeed had h a i). (In bronze inscriptions both *38* and *39* are used as loan char. for *41* **kâd* 'to beg'.) Now this *39* (**g'âd*) is often used as an interrogative pronoun (for *42* **g'ât*) = *43*, e. g. Ode 2, phr. *44* »Which shall I wash, which not?» Acc. to Yü then *45* = *46* = *47* »whom punish?» (a similar thesis of Chu Pin is that *38* **kât* directly is a loan char. for *42* **g'ât*). Thus: »Our ruler (T'ang) has no . . . , he sets aside our husbandry works, whom will he (correct =) punish?», Answer in the next line: »I have heard the words of your multitude: the lord of Hia has guilt, I fear God on High, I dare not but punish him» *48*. The advantage of this interpr. is that c h e n g *36* is taken in the same sense in both lines: »to correct, to punish», which it is not in PK'ung's interpr. This would seem to decide in favour of C, in spite of the loan char. theories that this C necessitates, if it were not that the oldest version attested, Sï-ma Ts'ien's, had *37* in the first line, *36* in the second, and thus does not at all demand the same sense in both. That obviates this obstacle to the A interpr., which is simple and satisfactory without all loan char. speculations. — **D.** Chang Ping-lin likewise refers the line to T'ang, and says k o *38* means *49*, the phr. k o c h e n g thus being a binome meaning »to regulate, to arrange», referring to the troops: »Our ruler . . . has no . . . , he sets aside . . , and arranges (his troops)». He adduces Sün: Kie pi *50* »to fashion the great principles». That 'to regulate, arrange' should mean to arrange the troops is very unconvincing.

1405. K i n j u k' i y ü e H i a t s u e i k' i j u y i *51*.

The same phr. k' i j u y i *52* recurs in P'an Keng, Kao tsung yung jï and Si po k'an li, but in no other ancient text.

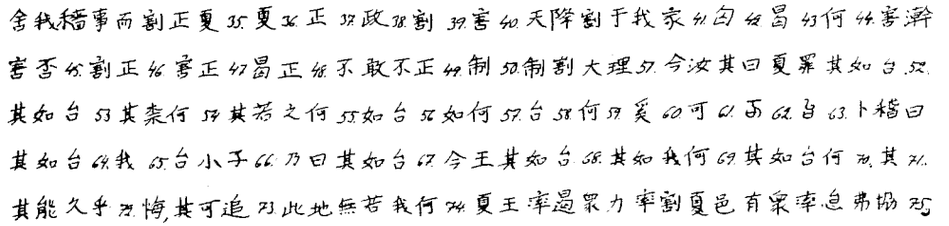
A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases it by *53*, thus: »The guilt of Hia, what about it (what can we do about it)?»; the phr. would then correspond to the common *54* (Tso *passim*), and j u y i *55* would be equal to j u h o *56*. Wang Yin-chï and Tuan Yü-ts'ai adduce examples in which Yang Hiung (Fa yen: Wen tao) and Pan Ku (Tien yin) use j u y i *55* in the sense of j u h o *56*, thus accepting Sï-ma's idea and alluding to the phrase of the Shu. There is, however, no other example in which y i *57* has this interrogative meaning *58* 'what, how'. Sun Sing-yen desperately tries to explain it by a »sound similarity» of *57* (**dịəg / i* / y i) with *59* (**g'ieg / yiei* / h i), which is obviously impossible. It might be tempting to say that h o *58*, written with *60* as a short-form (without radical, Chou fashion), has been corrupted into *57*, and that j u y i *55* is merely a graphical corruption of j u h o *56*; but after all the Chou-time graphs of the two characters are not very similar (*61* and *62* respectively). Finally — and most fatal — this interpr. is hardly applicable in the chapter P'an Keng. There the king describes how the people suffers from poverty and continues: p u k i y ü e k' i j u y i *63*. In order to make this tally with interpr. A, Kiang Sheng has to explain: »I have taken tortoise oracle and enquired, saying: what about it?» (what shall we do?). This is unreasonable, for as already realized by PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en, the words k' i j u y i must be the answer of the oracle; the following lines contain no such answer, and it would be ridiculous of the king

in his grand speech to relate his own question (what about it?) but not the answer of the Spirits, which latter is precisely the salient point: the Spirits side with the king in his measures. There are thus double reasons to reject interpr. A. — **B.** PK'ung soberly attributes to y i *57* the same meaning *64* »I, we» as it had a few lines earlier (*55* »I, the little child») and interprets: **»Now you will surely say that Hia's guilt is (in accordance with me =) such as I say».** In the P'an Keng phr.: **»I have taken tortoise oracle and enquired, and (the Spirits) say that it is (in accordance with me =) as I say».** Kao tsung yung jï *66* **»And thus I (say =) tell you: it is (in accordance with me =) as I say».** Si po K'an li *67* **»Now may the king (accord =) agree with me».** — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en likewise takes y i *57* = *64* »I, we», but says: k' i j u y i is equal to k' i j u w o h o *68* »what has it to do with us?» This is very arbitrary and grammatically unsatisfactory. Ts'ai adds precisely that word: the interrogative h o, missing in k' i j u y i, which is necessary to construe such a meaning; a phrase *69* k' i j u y i h o could not throw off its essential word h o without becoming meaningless. If Ts'ai in a general way were right in his conception, we should have to lay the interrogative in the word k' i *70*. This frequently introduces interrogative phrases; it is then mostly combined with an interrogative particle at the end, e. g. Tso: Huan 2, phr. *71* »Can it endure long?», but occasionally it alone marks the question: Tso: Ai 16, phr. *72* »Even if you regret it, can you undo it?» Our k' i j u y i *52* could, on this analogy, be construed to mean: »Can it concern us?», can it have anything to do with us? But here again P'an Keng vetoes this interpr., for in that chapter Ts'ai must resort to quite another interpr.: »I have taken tortoise oracle and enquired, and it said: »can [this place] suit us?» (paraphrase: *73*), an obviously impossible interpretation; the Spirits answer by an oratorical question (!). — B alone satisfies all the text examples.

1406. H i a w a n g s h u a i n g o c h u n g l i, s h u a i k o H i a y i, y u c h u n g s h u a i t a i f u h i e *74*.

Legge and Couvreur translate H i a y i in the plural: »The Hia cities»; but Sï-ma renders it H i a k u o 'the state of Hia' in the singular, and there is no sufficient reason for abandoning this.

A. Ma Jung explains the last of the three s h u a i *75* as = *76* 'to lead on one another', and PK'ung has applied this sense throughout: »The Hia king leads on (his officers) to (stop =) obstruct the efforts of the multitude, he leads on (his officers) to injure the city of Hia, the multitude lead on (one another) to be slack and disaffected». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: s h u a i = *77* 'all' (a well-attested meaning, see Gl. 642): »The Hia king **in all (ways) obstructs the efforts of the multitude, in all (ways) he injures the city of Hia, the multitude are all slack and disaffected».** — **C.** Wang Nien-sun and Sun Sing-yen: s h u a i *75* **slịwət / sịuĕt* / s h u a i is a loan char. for the particle *78* **bịwət* (?) / *ịuĕt* / y ü 'then, thereupon'. It would then be better to say that it is loan for *79* **đ'ịwət / dź'ịuĕt* / s h u which is attested as being a particle meaning 'then, thereupon', see Gl. 1406. But even so, this loan idea is both arbitrary, unnecessary and phonetically



unconvincing. Wang has the same idea of s h u a i *75* = the particle *78* in several more Shu passages (Tsï ts'ai, Kün Shï, Li cheng), with just as weak foundation.

1407. Y ü e s h ï j ï h o s a n g, y ü k i j u k i e w a n g *80*.

A. Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang, quotes the line *81*, adding: *82*. This has been explained in two ways: — *α*. Chao K'i says that h a i *83* means *84* 'great' and that T'ang is the speaker: »I say: on that day he will greatly perish, I together with you will (cause him to die =) kill him» — the people wished, together with him (T'ang) to kill (Kie), although he (Kie) had towers, ponds, birds and beasts, how could he enjoy it alone?» This is very unreasonable: the change of person as subject (now T'ang, now Kie) is very strained, h a i *83* never means 'great', and that w a n g *85* should be transitive = 'to kill' is forced. — *β*. PK'ung foll. by Su Shï and Chu Hi: the people are speaking, and *83* (**g'âd*) is loan char. for the *86* (**g'ât*) of the traditional Shu text: »They say: (that sun =) you sun there, when will you perish? We will die together with you; the people were willing to die together with him — although he had towers, etc.» In other words the people likened Kie to the sun, and hated him so much that they were willing to die, if only he died too. This is obviously the correct interpr. of Meng-tsï's passage, and reveals the oldest interpr. of the Shu line. But at the same time it must be conceded that it is a highly sophisticated interpr. — **B.** Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan has a story (unknown in pre-Han sources): Kie was warned by Yi Yin that his destruction was imminent, but he laughed and said: Heaven's having the sun is like my having the people. Will the sun perish? When the sun perishes, I shall perish». This shows that Fu understood the Shu line thus »He (Kie) says: (that sun =) you sun there, when will you perish? (Then) I together with you will perish». Cheng Hüan turns it slightly differently: »(That sun =) you sun there, when have you ever perished? (When you do) I together with you will perish». It is interesting to observe that the Han scholars did not feel bound to follow Mencius — he became authoritative only at a later epoch. It is easy to discern that the story about Kie's boast that he is just as imperishable as the sun, a story entirely unknown in pre-Han sources, has been composed *ad hoc*, precisely to furnish an explanation of the famous Shu line in question. — **C.** Another interpr. The oldest version of the line which we possess is that of Meng-tsï *81*: Fu Sheng believed that h a i *83* (**g'âd*) here was a loan for h o *86* (**g'ât*), just as in Ode 2, phr. *87* (»Which shall I wash, which not?»), and Sï-ma Ts'ien, basing himself on Fu, altered the text into h o s a n g *80* and was followed in this by PK'ung. But all this was a mistake, and h a i *83* has its ordinary meaning; the clause follows up the preceding line very closely: »(The Hia king in all ways obstructs the efforts of the multitude, in all ways he injures the city of Hia, the multitude are all slack and disaffected;) **they say: that one (sc. Kie) daily injures and destroys, I and you shall all together perish».** For s h ï *88* cf. Ode 245, phr. *89* »(That one =) he was Hou Tsi»; s a n g = 'to destroy' is common (e. g. Tso *passim*).

P'an Keng.

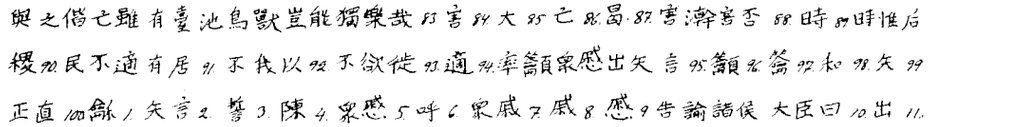
1408. M i n p u s h ï y u k ü *90* (following upon: »P'an Keng moved to Yin»).

A. PK'ung: **»The people would not go and (have a dwelling =) settle there».** S h ï *93* = 'to go' is common. PK'ung reads a »did not wish to, would not» into the text, which is not expressed, but this is common in the early texts. Cf. Ode 22, phr. *91*: »She would not take us», etc. This, besides, was already the opinion of Sï-ma Ts'ien, who narrates: »The people were annoyed, *92* and did not wish to move». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: s h ï *93* = 'to like, to be pleased with' (common), thus: »The people did not like to settle there». Yü Yüe turns it differently: (P'an Keng had moved to Yin, and) »the people did not like the dwellings they had», thus placing the event after the definite removal. This, however,

tallies badly with the following line: »Our (earlier) king came and settled here», i. e. in the place now to be left, as shown by the context. — In Gl. 194 I accepted interpr. B, but after all the ancient interpr. sponsored both by Sï-ma and PK'ung is based on the commonest sense of the char. *93*, so there are no sufficient reasons for abandoning it.

1409. S h u a i y ü c h u n g t s ' i c h ' u s h ï y e n *94*.

A. PK'ung: y ü *95* (both Ts'ieyün and Shïwen read it **d̨iug / i̯u / y ü*, which is astonishing, since the phonetic is *96* **d̨iok / i̯ak / y ü e*) = *97* 'harmonious, harmonize' and s h ï *98* = *99* 'straight'. Thus: »He led on and (harmonized =) pacified all the grieving (men), and issued these straight words». PK'ung repeats this definition of y ü further on in our chapter, but abandons it in the chapters Shao kao and Li cheng, see below. Possibly, however, PK'ung imagined that *95* was a variant of *100*, which is the same as *97*. The meaning *97* 'to harmonize' is not applicable in those later examples. As to s h ï *98*, it would then mean 'arrow-like, straight like an arrow'. But s h ï y e n *1* certainly, with Ts'ai Ch'en and later comm., means 'a solemn declaration', s h ï *98* (**ś̨i̯ər / śi / s h ï*) being synonymous with s h ï *2* (**d̂i̯ad / ź̨i̯äi / s h ï*) 'oath, solemn declaration' (they were certainly not the same word, as often stated, merely synonymous). For confirmation see Gl. 783. (Sun Sing-yen adds an alternative interpr. s h ï = *3* 'to array, display' and s h ï y e n 'arrayed words' would then be equal to 'a declaration'; this is not superior to the preceding interpr.). That c h u n g t s ' i *4* would mean 'all the grieving ones' is very forced; we should then rather expect t s ' i c h u n g 'the grieving crowd'. — **B.** Shuowen: y ü *95* = *5* 'to call', quoting our line with *6* (without rad. 'heart' in the last word). Ts'ai Ch'en accepts this (taking s h u a i - y ü 'to lead on and call' as practically a binome) and interprets: »He called all the grieving (men), and issued this solemn declaration». — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen both follow Shuowen (B) as to y ü (when Sun moreover says s h u a i *75* is a particle = *78*, this should be rejected, see Gl. 1406 above). But since the char. *7* — the oldest version here attested (Shuowen, see B above) — in pre-Han texts means both 'kin, kindred' and 'grief, to grieve, anxious', they conclude that the char. *8* is a form introduced by Wei Pao in T'ang time, because he took t s ' i *7* here to mean *8* 'to grieve'. They prefer to interpret it as = 'kin, kindred', the king speaking to the leading henchmen of his own clan, thus: »He called all his kinsmen, and issued the solemn declaration». This conception of the word t s ' i is really the oldest, for Sï-ma Ts'ien narrates the event thus *9*: »P'an Keng then instructed the feudal lords and great functionaries, saying». But, after all, this is far from convincing: why should he convoke and speak to his kinsmen only? — **D.** Tuan Yü-ts'ai (in comm. on Shuowen) likewise accepts Shuowen's y ü *95* = h u *5*, but turns the whole passage quite differently. He believes (after Yao Nai) that the whole following passage from w o w a n g l a i as far as s u e i s ï f a n g, altogether 94 characters, are words uttered by the discontented people, thus: »All calling out (to one another) the crowd grieved and brought out a declaration (to this effect): when our king came . . . . .» etc. A comical idea that »the crowd» would unisonally proffer a »declaration» of 94 words! — **E.** Liu Feng-lu would punctuate after c h u n g, and take c h ' u *10* as a short-form for t u *11* 'to scold': »He called the crowd, and (anxiously and scoldingly =) with anxious reproof he made a declaration». He adduces as a par. Shu: To fang *12* »He was



not willing (anxiously =) solicitously to speak to the people». In fact, Liu is obviously right in stopping after c h u n g 'the multitude', which tallies much better with many parallel passages; all the more since the par. adduced (To fang: t s' i y e n y ü m i n) conclusively shows that t s' i belongs to the following. But the speculation about c h' u *10* = *11* is quite arbitrary, unnecessary and unconvincing. We must therefore modify his interpr. thus: **»He called the multitude, and solicitously issued this solemn declaration».** — **F.** Yü Sing-wu: *95* is a variant for *13* in the sense of *14* 'sacrifice'; c h u n g *15* is a corruption of t a *15* 'to join, together with', and t s' i *7* is a place name; thus: »Sacrificing and (joining Ts'i =) coming to Ts'i he issued a solemn declaration». A very unconvincing text alteration. — We must compare:

Shu: P'an Keng (later in the chapter): Y ü j o y ü h u a i t s ī s i n y i y i w e i j u k u y i p' e i t s' u n g k ü e c h ī *17*.

A. PK'ung: j o *18* = *19* and y ü *95* = *97* (as above), thus: »(When) I compliantly and harmoniously cherish this new city, it is for your sake, and therefore I grandly follow my purpose» (sc. to settle here). — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta follows A but (after Erya) takes h u a i *20* = *21*: »When I .... went to this new city, it was for your sake ....» But in spite of the Erya, a sense of 'come to, go to' of h u a i *20* is not safely attested, see Gl. 110 a, 771, 1156. Here that sense is all the more improbable, since only a couple of lines earlier we have h u a i *20* in its proper sense: 'to cherish'. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: y ü *95* = *5* (after Shuowen, see above); and he takes j o *18* = 'if' and h u a i *20* = 'to come' (criticised under B), thus: »If I call you to come to this new city, it is for your sake, in order grandly to follow your wish». This last making sheer nonsense (since the people bitterly opposed the removal), later expounders have had great pains to explain it as: »to follow what was properly good for the people, that which they ought to desire»(!). — **D.** Sun Sing-yen again takes j o *18* = *19*, h u a i *20* = 'to come' (sea above), y ü = *5*, and, curiously, says p' e i *22* is a »particle» which he leaves untranslated: »(When) I compliantly call you to come to this new city, it is for your sake, and hence (you should) follow my wish» — thus (like PK'ung above) referring k ü e *23* to the speaker (k ü e c h ī = »my wish»). — **E.** Kiang Sheng has some curious ideas about the latter part: he punctuates after y i *24* (*25*, where *24* = *28*; cf. Tso: Chao 13, phr. *27* »That we do not give contributions, Lu causes it»); he reads p' e i *22* as p u *28* and interprets: »That I compliantly call you to come to this new city, it is you who have caused it; I do not follow your (foolish) wishes». This is certainly no improvement. — **F.** Yü Yüe: j o *18* = 'you', and hence y ü j o y ü *29* = *30* »I call you». But then j o is wrongly placed, and moreover, in Shu »you» is never j o but always j u *31*, and a j u 'you' follows immediately in our line; it is unlikely that there should be one j o and one j u both = 'you' in the same line. — **G.** Yü Sing-wu: y ü *95* = *14* (as above) and h u a i = *32*: »(That) I sacrifice and find peace in this new city». Very improbable. — **H.** Another interpr. J o *18* very often stands alone as an absolute expression, equal to j o s h ī *33* 'thus', in this way', e. g. in the frequent phr. w a n g j o y ü e *34* »The king spoke thus». This is its sense here: **»That I thus call you to cherish this new city is because of yourselves: because you so greatly follow your (own) wishes».**

Shu: Shao kao: Y i a i y ü t' i e n *35*.

A. Here PK'ung follows Shuowen (y ü = *5*): **»Wailing and calling to Heaven».** — **B.** Yü Sing-wu »Wailing and sacrificing to Heaven»; entirely vetoed by the context.

Shu: Li cheng: N a i y u s h ī t a k i n g y ü t s ü n t s u n s h a n g t i *36*.

A. PK'ung: **»Then (the possessors of houses =) the great families were very strong, and**

they called prominent men to honour God on High». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en refers the line to the just-mentioned king of Hia: »When (the possessed house =) his house was very strong and he called prominent men to honour God on High». The following lines, however, describe how the dignitaries recommend wise men to the king, which decides in favour of A as against B. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: *37* = *38* = *39*; *40* = *41* = *42*; y ü *43* = *14*, thus: »Then the great families revered and sacrificed to and estimated and honoured God on High». Exceedingly forced. — To sum up: Shuowen's definition (the earliest available) of y ü *43* = h u *44* is suitable to all the four Shu examples, and there is no reason whatever for rejecting it.

1410. W o w a n g l a i, k i y ü a n t s ê y ü t s ī *45*.

Since y ü a n *46* as a particle means 'then, thereupon', we must take k i *47* as a finite verb (common), thus: **»Our (earlier) king came, and having done so, he settled here».** There have been different ideas about the historical facts referred to. PK'ung and most following comm. think that »our king» was Tsu Yi, but Liu Feng-lu insists that it was P'an Keng's immediate predecessor Yang Kia. Again, since the Preface to Shu (Shu sü) says that Tsu Yi resided in Keng *48* (Sï-ma Ts'ien writes *49*; Sï-ma Cheng says this is a mere variant and should be read Keng as well, which seems very doubtful), and PK'ung and later comm. have followed this and believe that our »settled here» refers to this Keng. But acc. to the authentic Chu shu ki nien, Tsu Yi resided, not in Keng, but in Pi *49*, and so did several of his followers, whereas Yang Kia, P'an Keng's immediate predecessor, resided in Yen *50*. It is, of course, quite futile to try to determine which potentate and which place are referred to in our text. As a mere curiosity may be mentioned that Yü Yüe believes that the line is not spoken by P'an Keng himself but on his behalf by the officials, and that therefore »our king» refers to P'an Keng himself; further that Yü thinks y ü a n *46* means *51*: »Our king has come, and changing (place) settled here». In support of this he adduces that the term y ü a n t' i e n *52* in Tso: Hi 15 is defined by Tu Yü as = *53*. But the sense of this y ü a n is quite different, see Gl. 207.

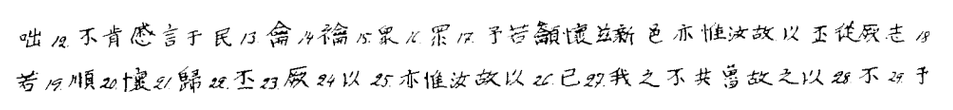
1411. C h u n g w o m i n w u t s i n l i u *54*.

A. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases so as to show that he took t s i n *55* with its common meaning of ('exhaustively' =) 'all': »He attached great importance to our people, and would not kill them all». This makes a comical sense. — **B.** T s i n *55* is obviously a verb, coördinated with l i u: »He attached great importance to the people, (so that) they should not be destroyed and killed». Cf. Tso: Ch'eng 12: »They (the lords) quarrel about a fathom or a double-fathom (of territory) *56* and for that they (exhaust, make an end of =) destroy their people».

Y ü e k' i j u y i see Gl. 1405.

1412. S i e n w a n g y u f u k' o k i n t' i e n m i n g *57*.

A. PK'ung and later comm.: **»When the former kings had some business, they reverently (attended to =) obeyed the commands of Heaven».** — **B.** Yü Sing-wu believes that since



the characters for t'ien *58* 'Heaven' and ta *59* 'great' were practically identical in the early script, and since the Han scholars in several attested cases mistook a real ta for a t'ien; and since, on the other hand, kin *60* was probably originally written without radical (*61*) and could equally well be filled out into k'in *62* as into *60*, we ought to read k'in ta ming *63* »diligently worked for the great command (appointment)». The phr. t'ien ming *64*, however, is very common in the early texts, and it would be quite unreasonable to alter it into ta ming in all these cases. Yü's emendation is arbitrary and unnecessary. — **C.** Yü Yüe thinks that fu *65* does not mean 'business' but 'regulation, law, rule'; the text parallels he adduces in support (Tso: Siang 30, Lü: Yüe ch'eng) are questionable. No reason to abandon the common and well-attested meaning of fu in A.

1413. Jo tien mu chī yu yu nie (ngo) *66*.

For *67* (**ngiat / ngiät* / nie and **ngât / ngât* / ngo) there are (in Shuowen) the variants *68* and *69* (**ngât / ngât* / ngo). Shuowen defines them all as = *70* 'the remains of a felled tree', i. e. the stump of a tree, but in fact it always means 'new shoots from a tree stump' (so in Ode 304, in Meng: Kao tsï, shang, in Kyü: Lu yü).

A. PK'ung renders yu *71* by yung *72*: »Just like a fallen tree has yu something-by-which nie it has new shoots». This is very forced, and moreover the definition of yu = yung, based on a gloss of Mao Heng's in Ode 66, is not acceptable, see Gl. 200. — **B.** Shuowen writes *73* for *71*, defining it as = 'shoots from a tree'. Yu-nie (yu-ngo) is then a binome of synonyms: **»Just like a fallen tree has new shoots»**. The Ts'ing scholars agree that in Tso: Chao 8, phr. *74* »It (the state of Ch'en) will still revive», the yu *71* has this sense. In fact *71* and *73* are homophonous (**diôg / i̯ə̯u* / yu) and the fundamental sense of yu *71* being 'to come out from', the yu here, whether wr. *71* or with the special form *73*, means 'that which comes out' = 'the shoot', i. e. it is etymologically the same stem as the ordinary yu *71* 'to come out'.

1414. Yu nai tsai wei *75*.

This follows upon: »P'an Keng instructed the people» (*76*).

A. PK'ung takes this to be an *oratio recta*, and says yu *71* = *72*, interpreting: »Use (the commands of) your men in positions» (i. e. officers). This sense of yu is not acceptable, see Gl. 1413 above. Moreover, the line cannot be an *oratio recta*, since it is not introduced by any yüe *77*, but the next line on the contrary begins with this yüe. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »(When P'an Keng instructed the people), yu he started with tsai wei those in high positions» (i. e. officers). Ts'ai says nothing of the inconvenient nai *78*, which really makes no sense in Ts'ai's interpr. Now, however, nai was *79* in Archaic script and küe was *80* and they were frequently confounded by the Han scholars who transcribed the archaic Shu text (see B. Karlgren, The Pronoun küe in the Shu king, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 1933). Our text here should be emendated into yu küe tsai wei *81* **»He started with those of them who were in high positions»**, küe tsai wei being equal to *82*, which is grammatically impeccable. — **C.** Wang Yin-chï: Fang yen (middle-Han colloquial) says yu *71* = *83* 'to correct'. It is not very clear how Wang then understood the line, and no pre-Han support is available for that sense of yu. — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: in the bronze inscriptions there is a char. wr. *84* (Mao Kung Ting) or without rad. 'mouth', and Yü transcribes this as *85*. He concludes that the traditional yu nai *86* is a wrong reading of this char., which in the inscriptions stands in the phrases *87* »to *x* my high position» and *88* »to *x* the king's position», corresponding to our *75* here. This seems at first very ingenious. But even if Yü were right that *x* meant something like 'to support': »to support the king's high position» etc., such a verb with tsai wei as object would make no sense. And, moreover, Yü's reading of the unknown bronze graph is very hypothetical. — **E.** Yü

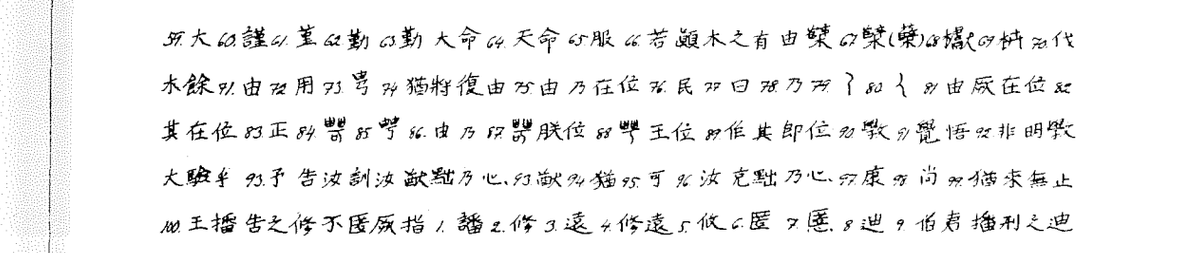
Yüe: *90* is defined in Shuowen as = *91*, which need not mean (transitive): 'to waken, to cause to understand, to teach' but (intransitive) 'to awaken, to come to insight, to realize'. Here: »P'an Keng hiao yü min realized about the people yu nai tsai wei that they followed those in the official positions» (i. e. the bad example of the officers). But *90* is well attested to mean (transitive) 'to teach', e. g. Ta Tai: Li ch'a *92* »Is that not a clear instruction and a great proof?» — **F.** Liu Feng-lu: the phr. yu nai tsai wei is analogous to a line in Shu: Wu yi: tso k'i tsi wei *89*. It is difficult to see how yu nai could then be construed. — **G.** Cheng Hüan, followed by various comm., believes that P'an Keng at this time was not yet king, and that the following: wang jo yüe »The king spoke thus», really means: »The »king says», P'an Keng quoting and passing on to the crowd an utterance of king Yang Kia. There is, however, not the slightest support in the text for this speculation.

1415. Yü kao ju hün ju yu ch'u nai sin *93*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after hün: yü kao ju hün, ju yu ch'u nai sin, interpreting: »I will announce to you my instructions: you should plan for expurgating your hearts». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen divides the line differently: yü kao ju, hün ju yu, ch'u nai sin: »I will tell you and teach you (good) counsels: you should expurgate your hearts». This is better rhythmically, the whole passage being: wang jo yüe, ko ju chung, yü kao ju, hün ju yu, ch'u nai sin, wu-ao ts'ung k'ang. — **C.** Yü Yüe divides thus: yü kao ju hün ju, yu ch'u nai sin, adding that yu *93* = *94* = *71* and that *71* is defined as = *72* by Mao in comm. on the Odes; thus: »I will tell you and instruct you, and (using this =) thereby you shall expurgate your hearts». But yu *93* = *72* is quite unsupported. — D. Chang Ping-lin punctuates like Yü (C): Yü kao ju, hün ju, yu ch'u nai sin, wu ao ts'ung k'ang; it is easily seen that this is rhythmically far superior to A, and also to B. He says that yu *93* with Erya: Shï yen means *95*, and points out that later in our chapter we have ju k'o ch'u nai sin *96* »If you can expurgate your hearts», thus here: »You should be able to expurgate your hearts». (He adds that the following k'ang *97* should mean 'emptiness' and not 'ease', which is certainly no improvement.) But though the Erya gloss is of little value (see Gl. 277), Chang is certainly right in saying that yu should be taken together with ch'u. The graphs *93* and *94* are often interchangeable, and yu *94*, synon. with shang *98*, is frequent as expressing a wish, an exhortation, cf. Ode 110, phr. *99* »May you still come and not stop there!» So we have yu here as a mark of the optative: **»I will tell you and teach you, may you still expurgate your hearts».**

1416. Wang po kao chï siu pu ni küe chï *100*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after siu: »When the king proclaimed and told them his (governing) measures, they did not conceal his aims» (sc. but explained them to the people and carried them out). Siu 'to cultivate, elaborate', here, then, as a noun: that which he elaborated, his governing actions, the measures taken. — **B.** Hü Shen in Shuowen, who has the variant *1*, quotes: wang po kao chï, which shows that



he carried s i u to the following line. Then there are several possibilities: — *α*. Kiang Sheng: **»When the king made a proclamation or announcement to them, they s i u elaborated it (made it perfectly clear) and did not conceal its (aim =) purport».** — *β*. Sun Sing-yen: »When the king made a proclamation or announcement to them, far away they did not conceal its purport» (i. e. they made it known all over the realm). Sun says s i u *2 = 3*; we have it meaning 'long' in Shī, and Ch'u: Li sao says »the way is s i u y ü a n *4* long and far(-going)». — *γ*. Yü Sing-wu: s i u stands for y u *5* (this after Sun Yi-jang), which Yü believes means *72*(!). N i *6* is a short-form for t ' ê *7* (as often). Thus: »When the king made a proclamation or announcement to them, then they did not (make erroneous, distort =) change its purport». This construction of a surmised y u *5* is quite impossible. — **C.** Yü Yüe reverts to PK'ung's interpunctation: w a n g p o k a o c h ī s i u, but he believes that s i u *2* (**si̯ôg / si̯ə̯u* / s i u) is a loan char. for *8* (**d'i̯ôk / d'i̯ek* / t i) in the sense of 'road'. His reasons are, first that in Shu: To fang for t i *8* in the orthodox version Ma Jung's version had y u *5* (**di̯ôg / di̯ə̯u* / y u), and secondly that in Shu: Lü hing there is a line P o Y i p o h i n g c h ī t i *9* which reminds of the present line, if we read s i u here as t i. These reasons are quite insufficient, and the theory is phonetically highly improbable. — If PK'ung, though he must have known of the earlier (Shuowen) punctuation (after k a o c h ī), divided the line thus: w a n g p o k a o c h ī s i u (with s i u as an object after Kao), it was probably because in our earlier line he read y ü k a o j u h ü n *93* with an analogous construction. We saw, however (Gl. 1415), that it is rhythmically better in that line to stop after j u: y ü k a o j u, and on this analogy we should here stop, as Shuowen does, after c h ī: w a n g p o k a o c h ī (B). Interpr. B*α* then seems most logical and natural.

1417. W a n g y u n g p ' e i k ' i n, w a n g y u y i y e n *10*.

A. PK'ung: **»The king therefore was reverently attentive (sc. in his orders) and had no frivolous words».** — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »The king therefore greatly respected (them, his officers), and there were no (let-loose words, too-far-going words =) untruthful words». This is certainly no improvement; in the early Shu chapters k ' i n *11* is regularly used in the sense of 'to be reverently attentive', and A suits the context better. — **C.** Liu Feng-lu: k ' i n *11* is a short-form for h i n *12* 'to set forth, display', thus: »The king therefore greatly (set forth =) promoted (those officers)» etc. A very unnecessary loan speculation.

1418. M i n y u n g p ' e i p i e n *13*.

The traditional interpr. is: »The people were greatly transformed» (by the good influence of the king and his ministers). But it is certainly preferable to read the line in its logical context. The present people would not listen to the king and move. In older times, when the king made a proclamation (about a removal of capital), the ministers loyally supported and furthered his aims, and **»the people therefore were greatly (changeable =) amenable»** (sc. to the king's wishes).

1419. K i n j u k u o k u o *14*.

A. Shuowen quotes the line with *15*, variant *16* (**kwât / kuât* / k u o) and defines it (as quoted in Shīwen) *17* 'resisting what is good, and self-opinionated'. Ma Jung defines the *18* of the orthodox text in the same way; Cheng Hüan says it is = *19* 'difficult to tell someting to', i. e. unwilling to hear, and PK'ung *20* 'who has no understanding' — various ways of expressing the idea of 'self-opinionated'. — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en: k u o k u o means 'garrulous', the idea, however, being properly: 'noisy talk, chattering noisily, clamour, vociferous'. — It is evident (against Tuan Yü-ts'ai and followers) that there are not two words but one: **kwât / kuât* / k u o *18*, of which *16* is merely a variant (further varied as *15*). It is attested, on the one hand, in the sense of 'noisy talk', e. g. Tso: Siang 26, phr. *21* »Chatting noisily he talked with him» (Wei Chao:

k u o = *22* 'to shout'); Chuang: T'ien hia *23* »They strongly vociferated and would not give up». On the other hand, in the sense of 'to deafen, to make such noise as to deafen the ear', e. g. Han fei: Hien hüe *24* »The sound deafens the ear». The question is which of these cognate meanings is the one obtaining in our Shu line. The A interpr. means: »Now you (are deafened =) turn a deaf ear» (i. e. are self-opinionated, will take no reason); the B interpr. means: **»Now you are (making a deafening noise =) clamouring».** The former would suit the context admirably, since the king complains that the people will not listen to reason and move. But, after all, the latter is strongly supported by the reduplication: k u o - k u o, which shows that the author felt the word te be a descriptive, probably onomatopoetic word.

1420. K ' i s i n h i e n f u *25*.

All the commentators believe that h i e n f u are attributes to an understood y e n *26* words.

A. PK'ung does not explain the line more than defining f u *27* 'skin' as = f u s h o u *28* 'received by the skin' i. e. 'superficial, shallow' (f u s h o u being a phr. in Lun: Yen Yüan). K'ung Ying-ta expounds: »K ' i in your (starts =) undertakings, you believe wicked and superficial (words)». H i e n *29* 'precipitous', dangerous also often means 'oblique, crooked, wicked', e. g. Tso: Ai 16, phr. *30* »He who seeks fortune by wicked means» (Tu Yü: h i e n = *31*); this is really an extension of meaning: 'risky, adventurous, unorthodox, incorrect'. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en construes differently: »K ' i s i n that which raises confidence (of the people, in you) h i e n f u is wicked and superficial (words)». Legge modifies this by taking h i e n in its fundamental sense: »You get the confidence (of the people) by alarming and shallow speeches». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen turns it differently: »You (raise =) set going and believe wicked and superficial words». — **D.** Kiang Sheng: s i n *32* means *33* 'to extend' = 'to repeat' (as often) and f u *27* (**pli̯wo / pi̯u* / f u) means *34* **b'i̯ôg / b'i̯ə̯u* / f o u 'to float': 'floating words' = 'rumours'. Thus: »You (raise=) set going and repeat wicked rumours». Kiang was deluded by a slight phonetic similarity in the modern forms (f u : f o u). — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: h i e n *29* stands for t s ' i e n *35* 'all' and f u *27* for *36* 'to expose, narrate', as in Kyü: Tsin yü *37* »He listened to (exposed =) narrated talk in the market». (H i e n f u =) t s ' i e n l u *38* would then mean: »You (all = in all places =) everywhere narrate». Utterly unlikely. — **F.** Another interpr. All comm. have stared themselves blind on the axiom that y e n 'words' should be understood. Nothing is less necessary. The text is simple and easy as it stands: »(Now you are clamouring); **in order to (raise =) invite confidence you endanger your skins,** (but I do not know what you are wrangling about)». The line means that the rebellious leaders are bold and take considerable risks in order to have their way. For h i e n *29* 'danger' taken as a transitive verb: 'to endanger' cf. Tso: Chao 31, phr. *39* »endangering the great men».

1421. F e i y ü t s ī h u a n g t s ī t ê, w e i j u h a n t ê p u t ' i y ü y i j e n *40*.

A. PK'ung: »It is not that I myself (lay waste =) neglect this (virtue =) mentality (sc. goodwill between ruler and subjects), it is (your held virtue =) the mentality that you hold (sc. that is bad), you do not fear me, the one man». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: h a n

10.王用丕釱罔有逸言 11 釱 12 厥 13 民用丕變 14 今汝聒聒 15 憸 16 聲 17 拒善自用 18 聒 19 讙告之兇 20 無知之兇 21 聒而踈之言 22. 讙 23 強聒而不舍 24 聲聒耳 25 起信險膚 26 言 27 膚 28 膚受 29 險 30 以險徼幸者 31 惡. 32 信 33 伸 34 浮 35 會 36 朧 37 聽朧言於市 38. 會朧 39 以險危大人 40 非予自荒茲德惟汝含德不惕予一人 41 含 42 嗛 43 厭 44 含德 45

41 'to contain, to hold' = 'to keep hidden', thus: »It is not that I myself neglect this (virtue =) goodwill (sc. between ruler and subjects), it is you who (hold, keep shut up =) conceal this goodness and do not fear me, the one man». — **C.** Chang Ping-lin: h a n *41* (**g'əm / γậm / h a n*) and *42* (**k'liam / k'iem /* k ' i e n) both mean 'to hold in the mouth' and »are really the same word»(!). Now *42* serves as loan char. for *43* (*k'liam*) 'deficient' in Kyü: Tsin yü, and our *41* does the same here, so h a n t ê *44* means 'a (deficient =) small virtue': »It is you who have a small virtue». In contrast to this the preceding h u a n g t ê *45* means 'great virtue'. A curious speculation. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: Sï-ma Ts'ien, paraphrasing these ideas in a few lines, says: *46* »Throwing it away and not exerting oneself, how can one achieve the virtue». This shows that the curious h a n *41* of the orthodox text is a graphical error for s h ê *47*, which makes a clear and easy sense: **»It is not that I myself neglect this goodwill (sc. between ruler and subjects), it is you who reject the goodwill and do not (fear =) respect me, the one man».**

1422. P u t ' i y ü y i j e n *48*.

A. PK'ung: **»You do not (fear =) respect me, the one man».** T ' i (**t'iek / t'iek /* t ' i) in the sense 'to fear' is common (Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, shang; Kyü: Ch'u yü etc.). — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: Erya says t ' i t ' i *49* means 'to love', and the Han school applied this sense to a line in Ode 142 (*50*). T ' i would mean the same here: »You do not love me, the one man». But this meaning of the char. lacks corroboration, see Gl. 345. — **C.** Another school (ap. Po hu t'ung: T'ung hao) reads *51*. The meaning of *52* (**śia / śię /* s h ī) here is obscure, since this char. has a great many meanings. One very common is 'to give, to bestow', and the present case might be an extension of this meaning: »You (bestow nothing on =) are not generous to me»(?). (When Tuan Yü-ts'ai argues that *53* and *52* were phonetically kindred, he is quite mistaken). — A is simple and convincing.

1423. Y ü j o k u a n h u o y ü y i c h o m o u t s o n a i y i *54*.

A. PK'ung: »(I can see your minds) as if I looked at a fire; but I also have stupidly planned, and caused your (license =) fault»; in other words: I ought to have severely forced you to obey, instead of humouring you. A forced expl. — **B.** In comm. on Chou li: Sï kuan shï, Cheng Hüan says: *55* is read like the k u a n *56* in Shang shu's phr. *57*». So far he only gives a sound gloss. But then he continues: »Now, in Yen, colloquially one calls the heat of hot fluid k u a n *56*». From this it appears that Cheng really thought k u a n *56* could mean 'hot' and stand for the (acc. to him) homophonous *58*. Many Ts'ing scholars believe that this shows that Cheng interpreted our Shu phr. k u a n h u o *59* as = (*60* =) 'hot fire'. On the other hand, Shuowen quotes the latter part: *61* (when Hü adds: t u j o *62* it is read like *63*, it is only a sound gloss; he does not mean that it stands for *63*, for then he would have said t u w e i *64*; on the other hand, when Wang Ming-sheng believes that the *63* of the orthodox text is a correction of a primary *65*, based on Shuowen's gloss, this is a quite arbitrary conclusion). This rather confirms the preceding suggestion about k u a n, for then there would have existed a version with h u o 'fire' in both k u a n and c h o. Unfortunately the char. *65* is known from no other text, and whereas Shuowen in its present version defines it as = *66* 'fire being brilliant' (the brilliance of fire), Shuowen as quoted in Lei p'ien has just the opposite *67* 'fire not being brilliant' (an obscured brightness). Kiang Sheng follows the latter: »I am like a blazing fire; but I have been obscured in my prestige, and caused you to be (licentious =) undisciplined» (how m o u in c h o m o u *68* can be twisted in Kiang's way, so that c h o m o u would mean 'lacking in prestige' is difficult to see). Sun Sing-yen carries m o u to the last line: »(Though) I am like a blazing fire, I have become obscured (i. e. I am not so awe-inspiring as I really should be); I am planning to (create your ease =) make it comfortable for you». It must be admitted that both these interpr. make very poor sense. (Chang Ping-lin has an even more eccentric interpr.: »I am like a beacon

fire, I also c h o belch out smoke, planning to t s o raise you from your ease»). It would be slightly better to accept the orthodox Shuowen version for c h o *65*: »I am like a blazing fire, and I also have brilliantly planned for (creating your ease =) making it comfortable for you». But the fact remains that there is no pre-Han support whatever for c h o *65* (be it in the sense of 'brilliant' or 'obscured'), and the B version is therefore exceedingly unsafe. — **C.** Another interpr. With the readings of the A version it is still easily possible to make a more natural sense out of the lines: **»I am as if watching a conflagration (i. e. this sedition); and yet I have (only) (ineptly =) according to my poor capacity planned to (create your ease =) make it comfortable for you».** »I have ineptly planned» is the earliest ex. of this c h o *63* being used in the modest and self-depreciating way in which it is still employed in modern Chinese. Y i *69* in the adversative sense of 'and yet, still, *pourtant*' is common, e. g. Tso: Huan 5 »(An arrow hit the king's shoulder) *70* and yet the king was able to (the king was still, none the less, able to) maintain the fight». H u o *71* 'fire' in the sense of 'conflagration' is likewise common, see Ch'un ts'iu: Siang 9; Tso: Hi 24 etc.

1424. N a i p u w e i j u n g t u y ü y ü a n e r *72*.

N a i here does not mean 'you' (which is always j u in the nominative and objective case in the P'an Keng, n a i being exclusively genitive), but the temporal particle: 'then, now'.

A. PK'ung says simply j u n g *73* = *74* 'great' (common e. g. in the Odes), and K'ung Ying-ta expounds more in detail: »Now you do not fear the great (poison =) harm in a distant or near (future)», thus taking y ü a n e r to refer to time. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Now you do not fear (to be submerged in) great harm in far away and near (places)» — referring, acc. to Legge, to the inundations around the old capital, from which P'an Keng is supposed to have fled. Couvreur, on the contrary, takes y ü a n e r to refer to persons: »Vous ne redoutez pas les grands maux qui menacent vos parents et les étrangers». — **C.** Kiang Sheng construes very curiously: »Now you do not fear the great harm, (calculating only) as to far or near», i. e. you think only of the distance you have to move. The single preposition y ü *75* certainly cannot express all this. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: Erya (Shï yen) says j u n g *73* = *76*, so that j u n g t u *77* means *78*: »You do not fear to become hated far and near». But the Erya gloss means j u n g *73* = s i a n g *76* in the sense of 'to aid' (referring to Ode 164, see Gl. 387), and certainly not = s i a n g *76* as the reciprocal particle. Fundamentally, however, Sun is certainly right in taking t u to mean, not 'harm' (as A—C) but 'to hate, hatred' (a common meaning of t u). Adhering to A's gloss j u n g = t a we thus obtain: **»Now you do not fear the great hatred (you incur) far and near».** That this is the correct interpr. of t u follows from the next line: *79* »When you do not friendlily and nicely speak to the people, you (yourself for yourself produce hatred =) create hatred against yourself». Here the very context proves that t u has its sense of 'to hate'. Simularly in Li: Tsi yi *80*: »Only the noble man can love the righteous, the small man hates the righteous» (here h a o 'to love': t u 'to hate' are quite unambiguous).

1425. P u h u n t s o l a o *81.*

A. Cheng Hüan: h u n *82* (**χmwən / χuən /* h u n) is a short-form for *83* (**mi̯wɛn / mi̯wĕn /* m i n) = *84* 'to make an effort, energetic'. We have this latter meaning 'strong, forceful, violent' in Shu: K'ang kao and Li cheng. Thus: »(When a lazy farmer takes his own ease) and does not energetically toil». This would entail that we should really read it m i n (**mi̯wɛn*) here, not h u n (**χmwən*). — **B.** In Erya: Shī-ku, however, we find an entry: *85* »*x* and *y* both mean strong». By this the Erya author e i t h e r meant that *x 82* and *y 83* here are two equivalent variants, and we are then authorized to read *82* as well as *83 *mi̯wɛn / mi̯wĕn /* m i n; o r meant to distinguish them as two synonymous words, and then the first should be read, not **mi̯wɛn* but **χmwən / χuən /* h u n. The comm. Sun Yen (3rd c. A. D.) was of the latter opinion — indeed it is improbable that the Erya author would have registered first a short-form *82* and then the complete character *83*, so that in all probability he meant to distinguish them. Sun Yen defines *82* = *86* 'the (strength =) exertion of morning and evening', reading *82 *χmwən / χuən /* h u n. Thus our Shu line: »**(When a lazy farmer takes his own ease) and does not (»evening-wise» =) unto evening toil**». Whether this was already the idea of the Erya author, when defining h u n *82* as = k ' i a n g 'strong', thus taking the latter in the sense of 'persevering', is of course uncertain. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en simply follow Erya's definition *82* = *87* without reflecting upon how it could mean this. — The word **mi̯wɛn* 'strong' is known, besides wr. *83*, in several other variants: *88*, but in no other case abbreviated into *82*. In both of the certain Shu cases it is written by the full form *83*, and there are no variant readings having any short-form *82*. That the *82* in our present chapter could be a short-form of *83* seems therefore unlikely. In following B we need not operate with any short-form speculation (reading m i n inst. of h u n) but we can take the *82* as it stands and read it h u n in its ordinary way; it makes good sense. Cheng's speculation (A) is therefore unnecessary.

J u p o h o k i y e n see Gl. 1451.

1426. N a i k i s i e n n g o (w u) y ü m i n *89.*

A. PK'ung, followed by most later comm.: s i e n n g o *90* = 'to go before in evil'; thus: »When you now have taken the lead in evil among the people». — **B.** Wang Sien-k'ien: *91* should here be read w u 'to hate', not n g o 'evil': »**When you now first have become hated by the people**». Since this follows up the preceding: »W e i j u t s ī s h e n g t u (*79*) »you create hatred against yourself», it is strikingly plausible.

1427. J u h u e i s h e n h o k i *92.*

A. This is the orthodox version: »(When you now have become hated by the people, and then receive the pain), that you regret (the effect on) your persons, what will it avail?» — **B.** The oldest version attestable is in the stone classics of 175 A. D. which reads *93* »**That you regret your fate, what does it avail**». — B is clearly superior.

1428. S i a n g s h ī t s ' i e n (s i e n) m i n *94.*

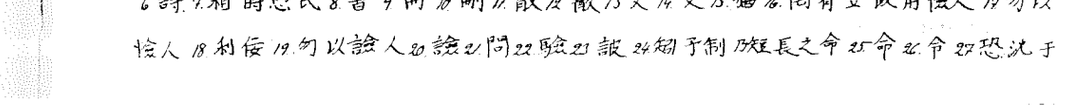
K'ung Ying-ta takes a w o 'I' as understood subject: »I see those . . . . . people»; but it is obvious that s i a n g *95* is an imperative: »Look at», as frequently in the Odes (Odes 52, 165, 197 etc.).

A. Ma Jung defines t s ' i e n *96* as = *97* 'glib-tongued and petty-minded'. Shuowen similarly says that char. means *98* 'fawning, ingratiating'. Thus: »Look at those ingratiating people». For a sure par. see Shu: Li cheng below. The char. is read **k'si̯am*(?) / *ts'i̯äm /* t s ' i e n (Ts'ie yün, Shīwen) or **gsi̯am*(?) / *si̯äm /* s i e n (Shīwen alt.). But it is doubtful whether these readings are right. We have the word h i e n *99* in this sense of 'ingratiating, fawning' both in Chuang: Yü fu and Han fei: Kuei shī. That this has there its ordinary reading **χli̯am / χi̯äm /* h i e n follows from its being merely an extension of meaning from its ordinary sense, as shown by the binome h i e n p i *100*, properly 'sloping, oblique, leaning towards one side', hence 'fawning on, ingratiating',

which occurs in this sense in Sün: Ch'eng siang and Lü: Kün shou. It seems possible that *96* is only a variant with rad. 'heart' in this special sense of *99* (sloping =) 'ingratiating' and that it should really be read h i e n. — **B.** PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en: t s ' i e n m i n *1* = *2* 'the small people'. For this there is not the slightest foundation. Possibly they guessed that *ts'i̯äm*, *si̯äm* was the same stem as *3* (**si̯am / si̯äm /* s i e n) 'thin, slender'? — **C.** Shuowen has a char. *4* defined as = *5* 'glib-tongued', quoting: »The Ode *6* says *7*». »The Ode» must here be wrong for »The Document» *8* and the line is a quotation from our chapter here. Ts'ie yün reads this *4 si̯äm*, but that is obviously because Lu Fa-yen identified it with the *96* in A above, and it is just as clearly wrong: the *9* (short for *10*) series must end in *-n*; this is confirmed by the version in the stone classics of 175 A. D., which has *11* instead. This is generally recognized to be a variant of *12 *sân / sân /* s a n 'to scatter, to disperse', which is quite safe (the radicals *13* and *14* having kindred meanings), and the line in this version means: »**Look at those dispersed (homeless) people**», sc. those suffering from the floods. It seems reasonable to assume that *4* (phon. *10*) was merely a variant of this *12 *sân*, stressing the mental side (rad. »heart») of the idea: dispersed and suffering. If so, Hü Shen has given his *4* a wrong interpr., influenced by his knowledge of the alternative reading *96*, and his version with *4* should instead be joined to that of the stone classics with *11* = *12*. The two versions with *-m* and *-n* respectively are equally early attested (Ma Jung **k'si̯am*, Hü Shen **sân*, both 1st c. A. D.). But A makes a far less natural sense than B: »Look at those fawning (ingratiating) people — even they are considerate in their remonstrating words»; here the y u *15* »even they» is quite unreasonable. B is far better: »Look at those dispersed (homeless) people, even they (sc. in spite of their extreme suffering) are considerate in their remonstrating words, lest in their utterances they should have reckless mouths». We compare:

Shu: Li cheng: W a n g y u l i c h e n g y u n g t s ' i e n (s i e n) j e n *16*, and next line: w u y i t s ' i e n j e n *17*.

A. Here again Ma Jung says t s ' i e n = *18* 'glib-tongued, ingratiating'. Thus: »**It has never occurred that in establishing the government one has employed ingratiating (insincere) men**». (When Shīwen says: »originally also written *4*», this is not an ancient alternative version in this chapter, but a note based on the variant in chapter P'an Keng above). — **B.** Shuowen quotes *19*; defining *20* as = *21* 'to inquire'. It is quite evident that by this definition Hü Shen means that *20* is the proper graph for the word that is generally written (by a loan char.) *22* 'to test, try, verify' (**ngli̯am / ngi̯äm /* y e n). It is doubtful how Hü understood our line. Did he mean: »men to be inquired about, men that should be tested»? Kuang yün says *20* = *23* 'fawning', and the author evidently thinks that the *20* of Hü's version was merely a loan char. for *96*; but that, at any rate, was not Hü's opinion, for his formulation indicates that he illustrates his sense definition by this Shu phr. — A is here clearly superior, as far as the meaning: 'fawning, ingratiating' is concerned; but it is still doubtful whether the char. should be read t s ' i e n (s i e n), as an independent word, or it is merely a variant of *99* and should be read h i e n (see above).



1429. Shen yü chī nai tuan ch'ang chī ming *24.*

A. PK'ung: »How much the more, since I determine your short or long lives», sc. should you be considerate in your utterances. The weakness of this interpr. is that the essential part of the passage is not expressed but left to be supplied. It assumes a violent ellipsis. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: ming *25* here means ling *26* 'an order' (as often): »(Even those homeless people are considerate in their remonstrating words etc.); **how much the more then I, in formulating your short or long orders?**». B, which obviates the ellipsis, is certainly more plausible.

1430. K'ung ch'en yü chung *27.*

A. PK'ung: »I fear that you will be submerged in all kinds (sc. of miseries)». A comical ellipsis. — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta: »I fear that you ch'en cause submersion (sc. in misery) yü chung to the multitude». This construction of ch'en is, of course, impossible (Kiang Sheng makes the same fault). — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: k'ung is transitive: »k'ung you scare and ch'en submerge (in misery) chung the people». Ts'ai has simply skipped the inconvenient yü *28.* — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: »(You excite each other by loose talk), **I fear that it will sink down deep in the multitude**». D is grammatically faultless and obviously right.

1431. Before the words jo huo chī liao yü yüan *29*, there are four characters: ngo chī yi ye *30* in this passage as quoted by Tso. Since this quotation (»Shang-shu says: ngo chī yi ye, ju *(31)* huo chī liao yü yüan») occurs both in Yin 6 and Chuang 14, there can be no doubt that those words really belonged to the Shu text read by the Tso author, and should be restituted. An orator in Tso: Yin 6 paraphrases yi *32* by *33* 'to extend', thus: »The (extending =) spreading of evil is like a fire's flaming in the plain». But this word has no such sense as 'to extend' (when Ts'ing scholars would identify it with *34*, this will not do, since they were all **dia / iɐ̯ /* yi). Cf. also Gl. 1244. There is no reason why yi should not have its original sense: **»The (facility =) easy success of evil is like a fire's flaming in the field».**

1432. Tsï tso fu tsing *35.*

A. Ma Jung: tsing *36* = *37* 'quiet, rest'. In Kyü: Chou yü, hia, an orator defines tsing as = *38* 'harmony, concordance', which comes to much the same thing (as also the tsing = *39* 'good' proposed by Wang Nien-sun, based on a Han-school gloss, see Gl. 233): **»You yourselves create the unrest».** — **B.** PK'ung (after Erya): tsing = *40*, thus: »You yourselves have made not (well-)planned (things)», i. e. rash actions. For the refutation of this expl. see in detail Gl. 653.

1433. Sü ki yi k'in *41.*

A. PK'ung reads thus, and so the line was already quoted by Hü Shen in Wu king yi yi; thus: **»They (together came to =) shared ease and toil».** — **B.** Another version (ap. a stone inscription by Ts'ai Yung, 2nd c. A. D.) reads sü ki yi k'in *42*, inst. of yi *43* (**diɛ̯ĕt / i̯ĕt /* yi) 'escape, leisure, ease' having yi *44* (**diɔd / i /* yi) 'toil' (for par. ex. see Shï). Yi-k'in is then a synonym compound: »They shared the labours». — Both versions make good sense. We can only abide by the version that is earliest attested (A, Hü Shen, 1st c. A. D.).

1434. Shï süan er lao *45.*

A. PK'ung: süan *46* = *47* 'to count', thus: »For generations they have counted your labours». For par. in the Odes see Gl. 68, 267. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: süan *46* = *48* 'to select', in the sense of 'to pick, critically examine': »In generations they have examined your labours». — **C.** Yü Yüe: süan *46* (**si̯wan* and **swân*) is loan char. for *49* (**tswân*) 'to continue': »For generations you have continued your labours (merits)». A very arbitrary and unnecessary loan speculation. No reason to abandon the oldest interpr. which is well corroborated.

1435. Yü pu yen er shan *50.*

A. PK'ung reads thus: »I do not (cover =) conceal your good points». — Another version ap. Hü Shen: Wu king yi yi reads: yü pu tsüe er shan *51* **»I do not cut off your (good things =) prosperity»**, referring to their official positions and emoluments. From a long disquisition in Shang shu ta chuan we can see that Fu Sheng had the B version (with tsüe *52*), not the A version (with *52a*). B is thus much earlier attested and should be followed. Moreover the contrast: süan lao »to count the labours» (»record the merits and reward them») and tsüe shan »to cut off the prosperity» (to make an end to the hereditary emoluments) corresponds precisely to the following tso fu tso tsai, see next gloss.

1436. Tso fu tso tsai yü yi pu kan tung yung fei tê *53.*

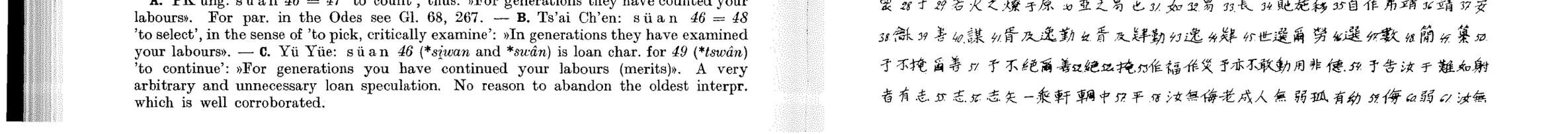
A. PK'ung believes that an understood »you» is the subject: »You create your fortune, you create your disaster, I also dare not apply and use an incorrect (virtue =) goodness» (sc. give you unmerited rewards). — **B.** From Ts'ai Ch'en's paraphrase it is not clear whether he means: »(The Spirits) cause fortune, cause disaster» to their descendants, or: »(When) I make your fortune or make your disaster». — **C.** Kiang Sheng insists that »I» is the subject. In fact the line logically connects with the preceding, the question of rewarding by hereditary positions and the punishment by »cutting off» such positions. Thus: **»When I make your fortune or make your disaster, I likewise dare not apply and use incorrect (virtue =) morals».**

1437. Yü kao ju yü nan, ju shê chê yu chī *54.*

A. PK'ung: **»I tell you about (i. e. point out to you) the difficulties, just as an archer (has =) does his aiming (at the goal)».** Chī in this sense 'to aim at' is common (Legge misses the sense entirely: »My will is that of an archer»). — **B.** Kiang Sheng (after Huei Tung): chī *55* has here the technical sense of 'a practice-arrow'. This is attested in Yi li: Ki si li: *56* »(There are) practice-arrows, one set of four, the front part and back part (of the arrow) (talleying in weight =) being equally heavy». Erya: Shï k'i says that an arrow with bone head and untrimmed feather is called chī *55*. Since this arrow, in contrast to the ordinary arrow with a heavy (bronze) head, is well-balanced, *57* »equalized», it is used metaphorically here: »I tell you about the difficulties, just as the archer has his equalized arrow» (sc. my orders are well-balanced). An exceedingly far-fetched expl. — A is simple and plausible.

1438. Ju wu wu lao ch'eng jen wu jo ku yu yu *58.*

A. This is the present orthodox version, current ever since K'ung Ying-ta's time. Here wu *59* and jo *60* serve as the corresponding transitive verbs: »Do not wu (insult =) despise lao ch'eng jen the old and grown-up men, do not jo (consider weak =) make little of ku the (lone =) helpless and yu yu (»having youth») =) young ones». This was followed by Ts'ai Ch'en. — **B.** The original Ku-wen version of Han time, however, read ju wu lao wu ch'eng jen etc. *61.* So it was still cut in the stone classics of the T'ang dynasty, and Cheng Hüan says »lao *62* and jo *60* both mean 'to despise», which shows that in his version it was lao and not wu that balanced



j o, thus confirming this sequence of the stone classics. Thus: **»Do not** l a o **consider (too) old and** w u **despise** c h' e n g j e n **the grown-up men, do not** j o **consider (too) weak and** k u **helpless** y u y u **the young ones»**. The inversion from the original w u l a o w u c h' e n g j e n into the w u w u l a o c h' e n g j e n of the orthodox version is undoubtedly due to influence from Ode 255, phr. *63* »Though there are no old and perfected men». — **B.** The Kin-wen version (ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D.; first 6 char. also so quoted in Tung kuan yü lun, Sung time) read differently: J u w u h i w u c h' e n g j e n, w u l i u (k u y u y u) *64*. The h i *65* must obviously be a loan char.; Tuan Yü-ts'ai proposes *65* (**χi̯əp / χi̯əp / h i*) for *66* (**g'ap / γap / h i a*) 'to treat contemptuously'; P'i Si-juei proposes **χi̯əp* for *67* **χi̯ăp / χi̯ɐp / h i e* 'to constrain'. The latter is phonetically clearly preferable. Thus: »Do not constrain and insult the grown-up men». As to l i u *68*, Sun Sing-yen says l i u = *69* 'to be impolite', referring to a gloss by Cheng Hüan on Li: Hiang yin tsiu yi, which, however, is not applicable here. P'i Si-juei better says l i u = 'to scatter, to throw about', thus: »Do not throw about and make helpless the young ones». All this is very doubtful. — The A version, which makes good sense, is attested (Cheng Hüan) just as early as the very obscure B version and should be preferred.

1439. K o c h a n g y ü k ŭ e k ü, m i e n c h' u n a i l i *70*.

PK'ung's paraphrase does not reveal how he read and understood *71*.

A. Lu Tê-ming: *71* is read **ti̯ang / t̂i̯ang / c h a n g*, which indicates that, acc. to Lu, it does not mean 'long' but 'senior, president, to preside'. Thus: **»May each of you preside over his abode (sc. his district in the new capital), strive to exert your strength»**. Cf. Ode 241, phr. *72* »He was able to preside, to be ruler» (*71* here read **ti̯ang*). — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta reads *71* **d'i̯ang / d̂'i̯ang / c h' a n g* = 'long': »May each of you (think of) staying long in your abodes (in the new capital), and . . . .» etc. K'ung here must supply a »think of» which is not in the text (PK'ung had already read such a s ï *73* into the line), and B is therefore inferior to A.

1440. T' i n g y ü y i j e n c h ī t s o y u *74*.

A. PK'ung: **»and listen to the plans, which I, the one man, make»**. — **B.** Tuan Yü-ts'ai: Erya says y u *75* = y i *76* 'to finish', and t s o y u here means 'to make an end to, to stop'. There are, in fact, some cases in the classics, where a y u *77* has been defined as = *76* by the early glossists, but not in this sense; and moreover his interpr. ill suits the context.

1441. Y u n g t s u e i f a k ü e s ï, y u n g t ê c h a n g k ü e s h a n *78*.

A. PK'ung has observed that s ï *79* 'to die' and s h a n *80* 'good' balance each other, and concludes that s ï does not refer to the death penalty but to the mode of action of the culprit. He interprets: »By t s u e i punishments I will f a (cut away =) eliminate your s ï lethal ways (i. e. ways leading to death), by (virtue =) benevolent attention I will display your goodness». Thus PK'ung refers the y u n g to the speaker (»by my using punishments»). His construction of s ï is desperate. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en refers the y u n g to those addressed: **»If you (use =) commit crimes, I will punish you by death, if you (use virtue =) have a good behaviour, I will display your goodness»**. This is undoubtedly right, though it sacrifices the strict parallelism, but the difficulty is to explain how f a k ü e s ï can mean »punish you by death». It must be a brachylogy for f a c h ī k ü e s ï *81* »I will punishing effectuate your death».

K o k u n g e r s h ï see Gl. 1401.

1442. T u n a i k' o u *82*.

A. PK'ung explains t u *83* by *84* 'laws and rules', and Ts'ai follows him. Thus: **»(Rule =) regulate your mouths»**. — **B.** Kiang Sheng and most Ts'ing scholars: t u *83* is a short-form for t u *85*, which Shuowen defines as = *86* 'to shut'. This char. is very

rare, but in Shu: Pi shï, where the orthodox text has *87*, Cheng Hüan's text (ap. comm. on Chouli: Yung shï) had *88*, so *88* t u (**d'âg / d'uo / t u*) and t u *89* (**d'o / d'uo / t u*) 'to block, to stop up' are evidently synonymous (the Ts'ing scholars mostly say that *89* is loan char. for *83*, which is phonetically excluded). Thus: »Shut your mouths». — B is quite possible in itself, but the ancient interpr., which takes the char. as it stands, without any short-form speculation, suits the parallelism better: t u *83* 'to rule' here matches the preceding t s' i *90* 'to regulate'.

1443. P' a n K e n g t s o w e i s h ê h o y i m i n t s' i e n *91*.

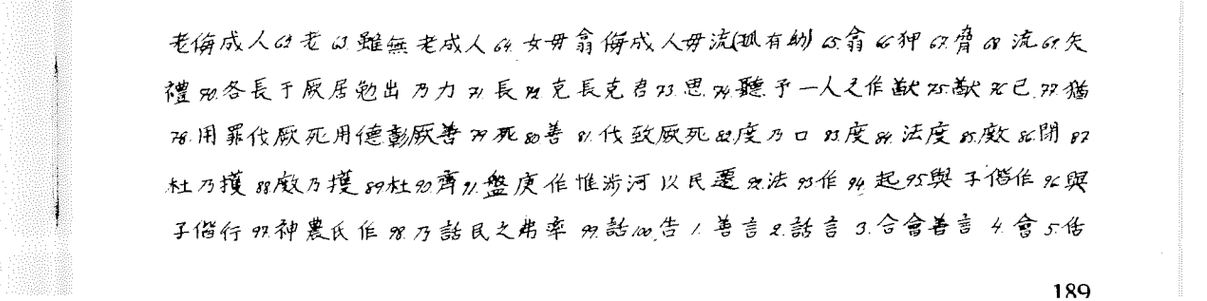
A. PK'ung reads t s o w e i s h ê h o together and construes w e i s h ê h o as a direct object of t s o and therefore has to supply an understood *92* 'means': »P'an Keng made cross-the-river [means =]» = »P'an Keng made means for crossing the river». An impossible construction. — **B.** Cheng Hüan: t s o *93* 'to make' refers to boats and oars: »P'an Keng fabricated (boats and oars) and crossed the river». A comical ellipsis. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: t s o *93* = *94* 'to rise, to start' thus: **»P'an Keng (rose =) started and crossed the River»**. This is confirmed by a good Shï par.: Ode 133, phr. *95* »Together with you I will (rise =) start (sc. on the expedition)»; here t s o is defined as = *94* by Mao, and the line balances *96* »Together with you I will march». — **D.** Yü Yüe likewise takes t s o *93* as = 'to rise', but in the sense of 'to ascend the throne' (as in Yi: Hi ts'ï *97* »When Shen Nung ascended the throne»), thus: »When P'an Keng had become king, he crossed the River». Though D of course is quite possible, C certainly comes most naturally in the context.

1444. N a i h u a m i n c h ī f u s h u a i *98*.

A. Ma Jung: h u a *99* = *100* »He addressed those of the people who would not follow». PK'ung rightly insists that h u a has not simply this fundamental sense but a certain nuance: *1* 'good words', valuable words. Indeed the phr. h u a y e n *2* is well attested in the sense of 'a lesson', see Gl. 959. Thus: **»Then he lectured those of the people who would not follow»**. — **B.** Hü Shen in Shuowen defines h u a as = *3* »good (valuable) words at a reunion», quoting a Tso line with the phr. h u a y e n *2* 'lecture' (see A above). This, as often, is an attempt at etymology of Hü's (*4* **g'wâd* : *99* **g'wad*) but of course it does not prove any fundamental meaning of 'to unite, assemble' of h u a *99*. When Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen explain our line: »Then he assembled those of the people who would not follow», this is entirely unwarranted. We should then, with Yü Yüe, have to say that h u a *99* (**g'wad*) is a loan char. for *5* (**g'wât* and **kwât*) 'to join, to unite' (ex. of this word in Ode 66, see Gl. 198). But this loan theory is quite unnecessary, since the word *99* makes a good and attested sense as it stands.

1445. H i e n t s' a o w u s i e t s a i w a n g t' i n g *6*.

A. PK'ung: *7* read t s' a o = 'to come' (common); thus: »They all came and without (familiarity =) impropriety they were in the king's hall». — **B.** Ma Jung says *7* read t s a o = *8*. It is quite obscure how Ma understood the line; Sun Sing-yen believes he meant that t s a o 'to make' refers to making boats for crossing. »They all fabricated (sc.



boats)». Sun then has to twist some sense into the remaining words and he says that s i e *9* 'familiar, unceremonious' fundamentally means 'close-standing, intimate' and hence here means 'near', thus: »They were not near to the king's hall». A hopeless forcing of the text. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en in the main follows A, but would have the word w u *10* to indicate an imperative, which it does as a rule: »All came, (the king warning them:) do not be (familiar =) improper in the king's hall!» But this is really not necessary, for w u *10* sometimes serves as an ordinary negation, equal to p u *11* or w u *12*, e. g. Ode 109, phr. *13* »Indeed they give it no thought». It is then particularly common with verbs indicating a mental function or act of the will (»they will not think»), e. g. Tso: Wen 10: »He feasted lady Mi of Kiang, *16* but was not respectful (would not be respectful)», and this is precisely the case in our line here with A: w u s i e »they were not (familiar =) improper» (would not be familiar). There are many such par. cases and they clearly prove that w u *10* here need not be construed as an imperative, and should not, since it would require an ellipsis. — **D.** Kiang Sheng believes, with Hü Shen, that *10* was the primary graph for w u *15* in the sense of »pennon» (*15* has this sense in Chouli: Sï ch'ang) — indeed *10* occurs as short-form for this char. *15* in Ho Kuan-tsï: Wang fu — and that *9* (**s̥iat*) is an error for *16* (**sl̥iwət*) = *17* 'to lead' because of sound similarity(!). Thus: »All (created =) set up pennons and led (the people) to be in the king's hall». A dreadful speculation. Chuang Shu-tsu carries this idea *in absurdum* by taking the t a n *18* 'sincere' in the preceding line (*19* »with sincerity») to be a short-form for *20* 'flag', *7* short-form for *21* 'assistant', and *9* in the sense of *22* 'a familiar, a servant'. — **E.** Yü Sing-wu, in part following ideas expressed by Sun Yi-jang, likewise would read the preceding y u n g t a n *19* together with our line, and since Ma Jung's version had *23* inst. of *18* (the two are often interchangeable), and since *23* often serves as short-form for *24* 'to exhaust' (see Gl. 423), the line *25* would mean: »Therefore exhausting the crowd that there was, they all came». The following s i e *9* Yü would take as an enlarged form of c h ï *26*, but his expl. of c h ï t s a i w a n g t' i n g *27* makes poor sense. — **F.** Chung king yin yi 15 quotes the line *28*, the *29* being merely a variant for *9*. If this is right, the *10* of the A text is a short-form for *30*. H u s i e undoubtedly makes a good and natural binome: **»All came, but carelessly and (familiarly =) nonchalantly they (were in =) stood in the king's hall»** — describing the still very insubordinate attitude of the people making further appeals necessary. — A is perfectly admissible. But that F is the best reading and meaning follows from the whole context: »He lectured those of the people who would not follow, grandly he informed them, with sincerity; the crowd that there was (sc. of malcontents) all came, but carelessly and nonchalantly they stood in the king's hall» — and then he gave them a long sermon.

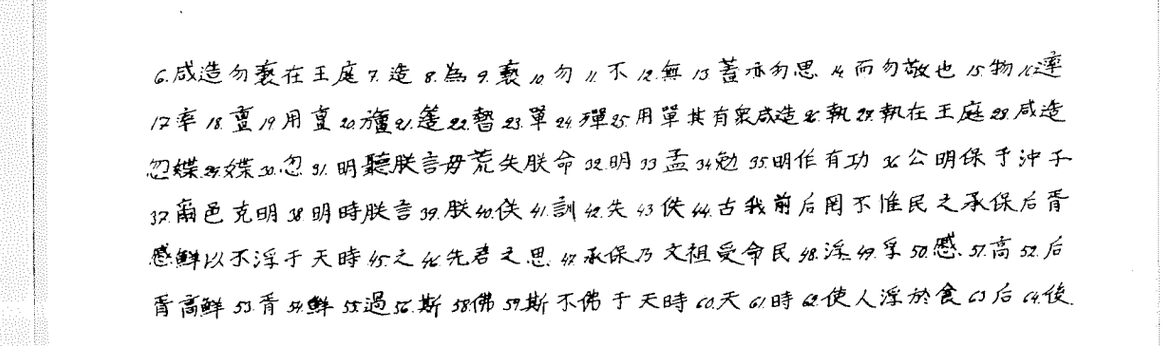
1446. M i n g t' i n g c h e n y e n, w u h u a n g s h ï c h e n m i n g *31*.

Wang Nien-sun would take m i n g *32* as a variant for m e n g *33*, which in Erya is defined as = *34* 'to make an effort, energetic' (he has the same proposal in Lo kao *35* and *36*, To fang *37*, Ku ming *38*). Chuang Shu-tsu proposes to correct the first c h e n *39* into *40*, a variant of *41*, so that there would be »listen to the instructing words». And Kiang Sheng insists that s h ï *42* is a short-form for y i *43* (the meaning, however, being much the same). Nothing is gained by such arbitrary and unnecessary emendations.

1447. K u w o t s' i e n h o u w a n g p u w e i m i n c h ï c h' e n g p a o h o u s ü t s' i s i e n y i p u f o u y ü t' i e n s h ï *44*.

It should be remarked first that c h ï *45* in w e i m i n c h ï c h' e n g is the pronoun in the objective case, resuming the anteposed object m i n: non erant qui non populum — eum curabant, a common construction, e. g. Ode 28, phr. *46* »The former princes, of them I think», Ode 40: y e n y ü a n c h ï k' i u »A beautiful one, him she sought», etc.

A. PK'ung punctuates after c h' e n g, interpreting: »Anciently, of our former princes, there were none who did not (receive, take charge of =) take care of the people; (and the people) p a o h o u held on to the princes and s ü t s' i (reciprocally worried =) cared for them in return; it was rare that they did not move (in accordance) with the times of Heaven». F o u 'to float' would then mean 'to move along'. This, of course is quite unacceptable, the change of subject (first »the princes» and then suddenly »the people») being too unnatural. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en accepts A but for the last line: f o u 'to float' means 'to surmount, overcome': »It was rare that they did not overcome (the difficulties of) the times of Heaven». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen points out that in Shu: Lo kao we have: C h' e n g p a o n a i w e n t s u s h o u m i n g m i n *47*, which shows that c h' e n g p a o is a phrase and the two belong together, and we should punctuate after p a o: w a n g p u w e i m i n c h ï c h' e n g p a o (undoubtedly correct). He further says f o u *48* is loan char. for f u *49* 'to trust'. Thus: »Anciently, of our former princes, there were none who did not take care of and protect the people, h o u the princes s ü together with (the people) t s' i were full of concern, it was rare that they did not trust each other in the times of Heaven». — **D.** The stone classics of 175 A. D. inst. of t s' i *50* had k a o *51* and this gives Kiang Sheng occasion for a bold speculation. He reads the central line thus: H o u s ü k a o s i e n *52*, defines s ü *53* as = 'to inspect' (refuted in our Gl. 790), s i e n *54* 'small mountain separated from big mountains' (after Mao on Ode 241, refuted in our Gl. 838) and finally f o u *48* 'to float' = *55* 'to pass over'. Thus: »The princes inspected the heights and the small mountains (and moved there), and did not transgress the times of Heaven». This weird speculation has been warmly recommended by Ch'en K'iao-tsung, accepted by Liu Feng-lu and approved at least alternatively by Wang Sien-k'ien. — **E.** Yü Yüe follows C for the first part, but in the line s i e n y i p u f o u y ü t' i e n s h ï he says *54* (**s̥iən / s̥iən* / s i e n) is a loan char. for *56* (**s̥iĕg / si* / s ï); and *48* (**b'i̯ôg / b'i̯ə̯u* / f o u) is loan char. for *58* (**b'i̯wət / b'i̯uət* / f u), and the line is equal to *59* »and so they did not act contrary to the times of Heaven». He crowns this dreadful speculation by saying that the *51* (**kog / kâu* / k a o) of the Kin-wen version is merely a loan char. for the *50* (**ts'iôk / ts'iek* / t s' i) of the Ku-wen version, finishing off with an admonition to students to pay careful attention to the phonetic loans! — **F.** Sun Yi-jang accepts the impossible *54* **s̥iən* = *57* **s̥iĕg* of E above, and ends the line with t' i e n *60*, carrying s h ï *61* to the next line. He says f o u *48* = *55* 'to surpass', as in Li: Fang ki *62* »Let the man surpass his emoluments». Thus: ..... h o u s ü etc.: »The prince together with (the people) worried about s ï this, and thus did not (surpass Heaven =) offend Heaven». — **G.** Chang Ping-lin: h o u *63* is equal to *64*, s ü *53* to *65* and *50* to *66*, thus: P a o h o u s u t s' i »They preserved their followers and distant (rela-



tives =) descendants». — **H.** Yü Sing-wu adopts the s ü *53* = 'to inspect' of D, and the *48* = *58* of E, but adds that s i e n *54* is a corruption of *67*, which in bronze inscriptions is equal to *68* 'I'; and the t s ' i *66* is a place name, thus: »The prince inspected Ts'i; and I (we?) therefore did not transgress the times of Heaven». Quite apart from the violent text alterations, this makes very poor sense in the context. — **I.** Another interpr. Of all the attempts to explain this difficult passage, Sun Sing-yen's alone (C) is coolly reasonable. But I think his interpr. can be improved on two points. First h o u s ü t s ' i is rhythmically very abrupt, as pointed out by Legge, and rhythmically it is much better to divide after s i e n: h o u s ü t s ' i s i e n, y i p u f o u y ü t ' i e n s h ī, which also places the y i *69* in a more natural position. But s i e n *54* then does not mean 'rare' but 'good', a sense in which it is well attested (see Gl. 122), e. g. Shu: Wu yi *70* »He was kind and good to widowers and widows». H o u s ü t s ' i s i e n *71* is then equal to *72*; s ü = s i a n g = 'towards them' (sc. the people): »The princes towards them were (worried, anxious =) thoughtful and good». (The punctuation h o u s ü t s ' i s i e n was already advocated by Chu Pin.) Secondly f o u *48* need not be altered into f u *49*, for f o u *48* 'floating' often means 'unreliable, fickle, frivolous', e. g. *73* 'frivolous words, unreliable rumours'. The passage then becomes clear: the last line refers to the moving of the capital because of the t ' i e n s h ī »times of Heaven: **»Anciently, of our former princes there were none who did not take care of and guard the people, the princes towards them were thoughtful and good; therefore they were not frivolous in regard to the times of Heaven»** (sc. the epochs of natural disasters). The Kin-wen version: h o u s ü k a o s i e n *52* likewise gives a good meaning, fairly analogous: »The princes towards them were loftily good». It is quite impossible to decide which version best represents the original Shu.

1448. Y i n k i a n g t a n ü e *74*.

A. Cheng Hüan and PK'ung take y i n as the name of the royal house, and then have to place the word in a absolute position: »As to (the) Yin (house), when (Heaven) sent down great calamities». Grammatically strained, this is unreasonable in content: P'an Keng was just moving to Yin, and could not possibly, at this stage, call his house in its past generations »the Yin (house)». — **B.** Chuang Shu-tsu: y i n *75* is a short-form for *76*; thus: »When painfully there were sent down great calamities». — **C.** Chuang is right in regard to the construction: y i n is undoubtedly an adverbial phrase. But it is not necessary to take it as a short-form. Y i n *75* is well attested in the sense of *77* 'great': Li: Sang ta ki *78* »The host prepared the rites for a great offering» (Cheng Hüan: y i n = *77*); Chuang: Ts'iu shuei *79* »The essence is the smallest of the small; the mass is the greatest of the great» (here the contrast confirms that y i n really means 'great'); etc. (common). Thus: **»When greatly there were sent down grand calamities».**

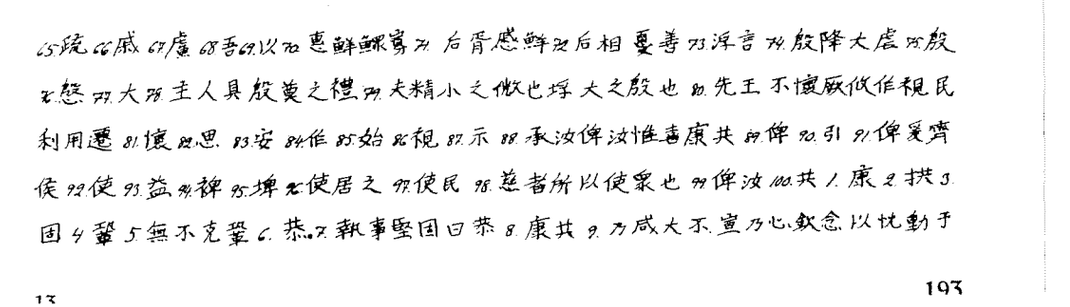
1449. S i e n w a n g p u h u a i k ü e y u t s o s h ī m i n l i y u n g t s ' i e n *80*.

A. PK'ung: h u a i *81* = *82* 'to think of, to cherish' (common): »The former kings did not cherish (the old place), but in what they did they considered the people's profit and then moved». Ts'ai Ch'en modifies this slightly by defining h u a i *81* as = *83* 'to find peace in': »The former princes did not find their peace in (the old place)», an extension of meaning from 'to cherish', not uncommon in early texts. — **B.** K'ung Kuang-sen takes the line in present time: »The (Spirits of) the former kings do not h u a i give peace to (i. e. protect) k ü e y u t s o what they have made» (the city they themselves built) — they want us to remove. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen does not want a h u a i with understood object, hence he carries k ü e y u t s o to the preceding and defines t s o *84* as = *85* 'to begin, to start'. He likewise takes h u a i 'to cherish' with the extension of meaning just said: 'to find peace in'. This is really not necessary, and we may abide by the fundamental meaning 'to carry in the bosom' = 'to cherish'. Thus: **The former**

princes did not cherish (that where they started =) their original place, they considered the people's profit and then moved». Since t s o = 'to rise, to start' is common, this is certainly much better. — **D.** Kiang Sheng punctuates like PK'ung but takes s h ī *86* as equal to *87*: »The former kings did not (cherish =) find their peace (in their place), by what they did they showed the people that it was profitable to (use moving =) move». This is certainly much more far-fetched.

1450. C h ' e n g j u p e i j u w e i h i k ' a n g k u n g *88*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: c h ' e n g j u, p e i j u, w e i h i k ' a n g k u n g: »I take care of you and direct you (sc. to move), in order to k u n g together with you have h i joy and k ' a n g peace». This is not reconcilable with the placing of k u n g; the line should then have run: w e i k u n g h i k ' a n g (Ts'ai Ch'en's: »in order to rejoice in our common peace» is no better, for the line should then be: w e i h i k u n g k ' a n g). — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: »I take care of you and direct you, (so that you) h i will enjoy k ' a n g peace and k u n g (furnish =) do your work». Even worse than A. Wang Sien-k'ien therefore tries to better it: »I take care ....., I h i enjoy k ' a n g to (ease you =) give you ease and k u n g furnish you», which is hardly an improvement. — **C.** Liu Feng-lu: p e i *89* = *90* 'to pull forward': »I take care of you and bring you forward». In support Liu adduces a line in Shu: Ku ming *91*, in which, however, p e i after all has its ordinary sense of *92* 'to cause'. — **D.** Y ü Yüe: p e i *89* in its ordinary sense of 'to cause, to make (somebody) do (something)' requires a following verb, and cannot stand in an sense absolute = 'to order, to direct'. Hence it must have another meaning here. Shuowen defines it as = *93* 'to augment, to add', thus: »I take care of you, I (augment you =) enrich you». There are no text ex. of *89* (**pi̯ĕg / pji̯ę / p e i*) in this sense, but Hü Shen took it simply as variant for *94* (**pi̯ĕg / pji̯ę / p e i*) 'to supplement, to add' (ex. in Kyü: Tsin yü 4, Mo: Shang hien, chung), a word cognate to *95* (**b'i̯ĕg*) 'to accumulate' (Ode 40). This, in itself, is quite possible. But there is no reason for not giving p e i its ordinary meaning. P e i is quite synonymous with s h ī *92* 'to order, to cause'. This s h ī frequently has a following verb: *96* »He caused him to reside in it» (Tso: Yin 1). But very often it stands in an absolute sense = 'to direct the people'; Li: Ta hüe *98* »Kindness is that by which one directs the multitude». This is perfectly analogous to our present p e i j u *99* »I direct you». Yü further insists that k u n g *100*, placed at the end of the sentence, cannot have its ordinary meaning of 'all together, in common', but must be analogous to the preceding k ' a n g *1*. He is undoubtedly right. Even if we force the sentence w e i h i k ' a n g k u n g into grammatical correctness: »It is only that h i I like k ' a n g peacefully k u n g to share with you», this ill suits the context. Yü believes that k u n g *100* (**ki̯ung / ki̯wong / k u n g*) is a short-form of *2* (**ki̯ung*), in Kuang ya defined as = *3* 'solid, steady, safe'. Of *2* in this sense there are no text ex., but the word **ki̯ung / ki̯wong* / k u n g 'solid, steady' is well attested: we have it wr. *4* in Ode 264, phr. *5* »There is nobody whom it [Heaven] cannot steady»; we have it wr. *6* in Yi Chou shu: Shī fa: *7* »The one who manages affairs solidly and steadily is called k u n g» (*6* here has not its



ordinary sense of 'respectful'). K'ang-kung *8* 'peace and (steadiness =) safety' makes an excellent phrase in our context. Thus: »**(When) I take care of you and direct you, it is only that you shall rejoice in peace and (steadiness =) safety**». — **F.** Some authors (mentioned by Liu Feng-lu) would punctuate thus: Ch'eng ju, pei ju hi k'ang kung: »I take care of you and cause you to rejoice» etc. But our ch'eng ju, pei ju here is certainly analogous to the kao ju, hün ju earlier in our chapter, see Gl. 1415 above.

Yü jo yü huai tsï sin yi etc. see Gl. 1409.

1451. Nai hien ta pu süan nai sin k'in nien yi ch'en tung yü yi jen *9*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: nai hien ta pu süan nai sin, k'in nien yi ch'en tung yü yi jen, interpreting: **You all greatly do not proclaim your (hearts) ideas or respectfully think of moving me, the one man, by sincerity**». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen punctuates in the same way, but after Wang Yin-chï he takes süan to stand for ho *10*, thus: »You all greatly do not make your hearts concordant (sc. with my wishes), respectfully thinking with sincerity». Yü Yüe had followed that same idea earlier in our chapter, insisting that the phr. *11* »When you do not friendlily and nicely speak to the people», should be emendated into: *12* »When you do not proclaim good words» etc. The reasons for this curious speculation are two. In Yü kung, phr. *13* »In the (region of the) Ho yi barbarians he effected achievements», Cheng Hüan says Ho *10* (**g'wâ / yuâ* / ho) should be read Huan *14* (**g'wân / yuân* / huan), and *14* (**g'wân*) and *15* (**sịwan*) have the same phonetic (*16*), hence *10* can stand for *15* and vice versa — a bad piece of speculation based on a phonetic fantasy in a commentary of the 2nd c. A. D. On the other hand, Wang Yin-chï compares Chouli: T'ai tsai *17* with Chouli: Siao sï k'ou *18*, and concludes that *10* in the former should be altered into *15* and read together with the following pu (Sun Yi-jang accepts this curious emendation). The whole theory is phonetically utterly impossible. — **C.** Yü Yüe, who in an earlier line followed the **g'wâ = *sịwan* speculation of B above, does not accept it here, but punctuates differently: Nai hien ta pu süan, nai sin k'in, nien yi ch'en tung yü yi jen. He says süan *15* is often = ming *19* 'to make clear = to proclaim' and here it means 'to make clear to oneself', thus: »You all are (not making it clear =) not understanding (you are stupid); your hearts (should be) fervent, (you should) think of moving me, the one man, by your sincerity». But the fundamental sense of süan *15* 'to proclaim' is really 'to spread out, to propagate' and pu süan certainly cannot mean »you are not understanding». No reason to abandon A.

1452. Er ch'en pu chu wei sü yi ch'en *20*.

A. Ma Jung: chu *21* (**tịuk*) stands for *22* (**d'uk*). It is doubtful how he understood the line, but probably he took ch'en *23* 'sincere, sincerity' as an adverbial phr. 'sincerely' = 'really, truly': »**You are truly not alone, we shall all together sink in ruin**». There are many semantic parallels to this: ch'eng *24*, sin *25*, sün *26*, tan *27* all mean 'sincere', and as adverbs 'truly, really'. And further, if the early graph was simply *28* (loan char. without radical, Chou fashion), it is quite conceivable that it was wrongly enlarged by the transcribing early Han scholars into *21* instead of into *22* (just as *29* was sometimes wrongly enlarged into *30* instead of *31* etc.). For a confusion of the two characters, cf. that the name of a famous sword is written chu-lou *32* (**tịuk*) in Tso: Ai 11, but tu-lu *33* (**d'uk*) in Sün: Ch'eng siang. This affords a strong support for Ma's interpr. Yü Yüe would alter ch'en *34* 'sincere' into *35* 'to sink': »You, in sinking, are not alone, all together you will sink», a repetition which is not very likely. — **B.** PK'ung: »Since your (sincerity =) loyalty is not (connecting with =) reaching (sc. the ancient standard), you shall together sink in ruin». An absurd interpr. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Since

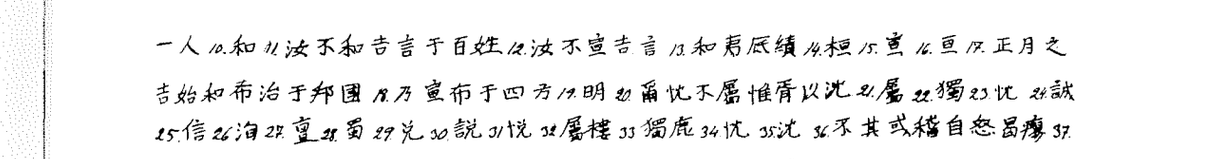
your (sincerity =) loyalty (is not connected =) is broken to pieces, you shall all together sink into ruin». — **D.** Kiang Sheng: »If your (sincerity =) loyalty does not attach itself (to me), we shall together sink into ruin». — **E.** Sun Sing-yen connects the line with the preceding simile of the boat crossing the water: »If you do not sincerely (attach yourself to =) concentrate upon it (sc. the crossing), you will all together sink». — D and E are both possible, but after all the oldest interpr. (A) gives the simplest and most natural sense.

1453. Pu k'i huo ki, tsï nu ho ch'ou *36*.

A. PK'ung reads thus and interprets: »If maybe you do not examine it, to be angry against yourself (sc. afterwards), what does it (cure =) help?» PK'ung says »examine» by aid of the former kings, and K'ung Ying-ta expounds this into: »If maybe you do not (examine =) verify it (by aid of the removals made by the former kings)». Ts'ai Ch'en, more generally: »If maybe you do not examine (what is good or bad) . . . . .» — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: ki *37* has a sense *38* 'to stop, to detain, to stay', e. g. Kuan: Kün ch'en *39* »Orders are given out, but they do not (tarry =) remain in force for long» (comm.: ki = *40*). Thus: »If maybe you stay (sc. and do not go to the new place), (afterwards) to be angry with yourselves, what does it help?» A curious interpr., since Sun simply skips the negation pu 'not'. — **C.** The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read pu k'i huo ti, tsï yüan ho ch'ou *41*. — *α*. Kiang Sheng accepts this, and says: huo *42* = yu *43*. He connects the line logically with the preceding: »(you will all sink) and *44* there will exist no (way =) chance (of life)». The idea that *42 *g'wək / ywək* / huo could serve as loan char. for *43 *gịŭg / jịŭg* / yu (so Kuang ya: Shïku) crops up quite early. Shu: Hung-fan *45* is rendered as *46* in Lü: Kuei kung; Shu: Wei tsï *47* is rendered by Sï-ma Ts'ien (Sung shï kia) *48*; and in consequence the gloss huo *42* = yu *43* is given by Kao Yu on Lü: Kuei kung, PK'ung on Shu: Wei tsï, Cheng Hüan on Ode 166 and on Li: Tsi yi etc. But, after all, in all these cases huo *42* can very well have its ordinary meanings, either 'perhaps, maybe', or 'some, somebody, in some way' and need not at all be taken as a loan graph for *43*, which is phonetically very improbable. Similarly some scholars have thought that *49* (**gịwək*) can serve as loan char. for *43* (**gịŭg*), but erroneously, see Gl. 304 and 875. — *β*. Ti *50* is well attested in the sense of *51* 'to go forward, to advance' (Erya), e. g. Ode 257, phr. *52* »He does not seek (office), he does not (advance =) push himself forward». (Mao Heng: ti *50* = *51*). Thus: »**If you perchance do not go forward (sc. to the new place), to be angry against yourselves (afterwards), what does it (cure =) help?**». — C is the oldest version attested, and in its *β* interpretation makes a clear and natural sense.

1454. Ju tan k'üan yu *53*.

A. PK'ung gives no clear expl., and K'ung Ying-ta fills out: »You greatly stimulate yourself with disastrous (principles)». This is grammatically unacceptable. — **B.** Kiang Sheng rightly considers yu to be a direct object of k'üan. He says our k'üan yu must be equal to the chao yu *54* 'to presage (anticipate) disaster' in Tso: Chao 1.



It is difficult to see how k'üan could have that sense. Sun Sing-yen (after Kuang ya) says k'üan *55* = *56* 'to assist'. More precisely it has its ordinary sense of 'to encourage', thus: **»You greatly encourage the grief (to come)«**. The Han stone classics inst. of tan *57* have *58*, which is less suitable in the context.

1455. Ju ho sheng tsai shang *59*.

A. PK'ung: »How will you be able to live above (the people)» — the king speaks to the leaders, so tsai shang »above» means »above the people». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: *58b* »What (reason of) life will you have (above =) from Heaven?». — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: **»How will you be able to live (above =) upon earth«** (sc. not land in the grave).

1456. Kin yü ming ju yi wu k'i wei yi tsï ch'ou *59b*.

A. PK'ung filled out by K'ung Ying-ta: »Now I order you one single thing (sc. with my whole mind concentrated upon one thing); do not (raise =) start doing (dirty =) wicked things, thus making yourselves foul». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Now I order you to yi (unite =) be of one mind», etc. — **C.** Yü Yüe punctuates after ju, and defines yi = 'one' as = 'the totality, all', as in Ta Tai: Wei tsiang kün Wen tsï *60* »They all are (capable of being) ministers to feudal princes» — yi here is equal to the common phr. yi ts'ie *61* in the latter language. Cf. also Sün: K'üan hüe *62* »They all are worth being taken as patterns» (Yang Liang: yi = *63* 'all'). Thus: **»Now I order you, all (not to start =) to beware of starting (dirty =) wicked things, and making yourselves foul«.** It might seem strange with yi = 'all' before a negation: yi pu k'i »all not to start», but that is quite in good order, for we have numerous parallels with kie, e. g. Tso: Siang 9, phr. *64* »the princes all did not wish to fight»; Tso: Ting 8 phr. *65* »All did not get their will (= nobody got his will) with Ki shï». Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang *66* »All were not willing (= nobody was willing)». — C is well supported and strikingly plausible.

1457. Yü ya sü nai ming yü t'ien *67*.

Yen Shï-ku (K'uang miu cheng su) quotes *68*, still read ya sü: *69*, *70* and *71* **ngâ* / *nga* / ya are interchangeable, meaning *72* 'to meet, to go to meet, to welcome'.

A. Both PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en simply define ya as = *72*, without explaining the obscure phr. ya sü. K'ung Ying-ta curiously expounds ya and sü as contrasting verbs: if Heaven is favourable to you, I ya (go to meet =) welcome it, if Heaven wants to destroy your (endowment =) life I try to (continue =) preserve it. Thus »I welcome (in case of favour), or I try to preserve (in case of disfavour) your endowment from Heaven». This is very forced. Still less can Legge be accepted: »I ya am going forward sü to a continuance of your lives from Heaven». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: **»I go to welcome and to preserve your endowment from Heaven«** (sc. in the new place).

1458. Yü nien wo sien shen hou chï lao er sien, yü p'ei k'o siu er yung huai er jan shï yü cheng *73*.

Wo sien shen hou: PK'ung followed by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen thinks this refers to T'ang, the founder of the royal house. But only a few lines later we have wo sien hou, and there the context clearly indicates that it means »our former rulers», PK'ung quite rightly understanding it like that. Thus here as well, we must, with Ts'ai Ch'en, interpret: »Our former divine rulers».

The whole passage: **A.** PK'ung reads lao in the falling tone = 'to recognize the toils of' = 'to reward for the toils, to recompense'. He defines siu *74* as = *75* 'to bring forward, to promote', and huai = 'to tranquillize' (cf. Gl. 1449 above). And he punctuates: . . . . . yung huai er, jan, shï yü cheng, thus taking jan as an elliptical clause of its own: »I think of our former divine rulers' rewarding your forefathers for their toil; I grandly can promote you, and so tranquillize you; and yet (you do not obey); I have failed

in the government» etc. This construction of the jan is, of course, impossible, and it is not necessary to take huai with an extension of meaning. But as to lao and siu, which logically match each other, PK'ung has good corroboration. Lao in falling tone = 'to recompense' is common: Ode 153, phr. *76* »The prince of Sün rewards them for their toil». Siu *74* is defined as = *75* in Erya, and though this is mostly in the sense of 'to bring forward' as a present or food, yet it is also attested in the sense of 'to let advance, to promote': Kyü: Tsai 9, phr. *77* »He had martial capacity and hence was promoted to first-rank minister (i. e. leader of an army)». We might slightly modify PK'ung by taking huai in its fundamental sense and carrying jan to the following line, thus: »I think of our former divine rulers' rewarding your forefathers for their toil; I grandly can promote you, and thus (cherish you =) show you kindness; but I have failed in the government» etc. With these modifications, A is worth serious consideration. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: siu *74* = *78* 'to nourish, to sustain'. In fact, siu is common in the sense of 'to present food to', e. g. Tso: Chao 27, phr. *79* »those who brought food». Ts'ai does not explain lao in lao er sien, but since it balances his »I can (nourish =) sustain you», and thus refers to the work of the ruler for his subjects, he must have meant »to toil for your forefathers» (with Legge); cf. Shu: Kin t'eng *80* »Anciently the prince toiled for the royal house». Ts'ai carries jan *81* to the preceding and construes: yü k'o siu er — huai er jan »that I can nourish you is so because I cherish you». This is far-fetched; it is better to carry jan to the following. Thus: **»I think of our former divine rulers' toiling for your forefathers; I (also) can grandly (nourish =) sustain you, and thus (cherish you =) show you kindness,** jan **but I have failed in the government«** etc. — **C.** The stone classics of 175 A. D. have *82* inst. of *83*. In Chou inscriptions in fact *82* served for both pu 'not' and p'ei 'grandly', without bottom stroke in the latter, so this variant need make no difference. But on the other hand it could of course mean pu 'not', and Kiang Sheng interprets: pu k'o I have not been able to siu bring you forward (to the good region) yung huai er and thus tranquillize you, jan that this is so, shï yü cheng is because I have failed in the government». — **D.** The authors of the Jï kiang »Daily explanations» (in K'anghi time) take lao as a transitive verb: »I think of our former divine rulers'» fatiguing your forefathers (sc. by the migrations)». Before making our choice we should examine an analogous case a few lines later:

Ku wo sien hou ki lao nai tsu nai fu, ju kung tso wo hü min *84*.

A. PK'ung explains *85*: »He put them to toil in governing people along with himself; and *86*: »You along with me govern the people». Thus: »Anciently our former rulers put toil (sc. administrative duties) on your grandfathers and fathers; you along with (me) are my hü upbringers of the people». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»Anciently our former rulers**

弗求弗迪汝誕勸憂汝兆憂汝勤汝助汝誕汝永汝汝何生在上汝汝有何生理于天
乎汝今予命汝一無起穡以自臭亦則一諸侯之相也亦一切亦一可以為法則亦皆亦
諸侯皆不欲戰亦皆不得志於季氏亦皆不欲也亦予迺續乃命于天亦御續汝御汝迺
汝誥汝迎汝予念我先神后之勞爾先予丕克羞爾用懷爾然先于玫汝羞汝進汝爾伯
勞之汝有武德以羞為正卿汝羞汝羞者汝昔公勤勞王家汝然汝不汝丕汝古我先后
既勞乃祖乃父汝共伯我畜民汝勞之共治人汝汝共我治民汝順于道不逆于倫是之

toiled for your grandfathers and fathers; you all are my (people to be nourished =) people whom I sustain». — **C.** Kiang Sheng takes h ü in an enlarged sense: 'to bring up' = 'to educate, to discipline', referring to Li: Tsi t'ung *87*: »To obey the (way =) proper principles and not go counter to the natural relations, that is called h ü». Thus: »Anciently our former rulers fatigued your grandfathers and fathers (by migrations); you all should be my (brought-up =) disciplined (obedient) people». — It should be observed that Ts'ai Ch'en alone (B) has fully realized the close parallelism between the two passages and he alone interprets them in a strictly analogous way. In the first, l a o e r s i e n corresponds to l a o n a i t s u n a i f u in the second; in the first, s i u 'to present food to' corresponds to h ü 'to nourish, to sustain' in the second. That this is the real sense of h ü is further comfirmed by a line immediately before, where we had y u n g f e n g h ü j u c h u n g *90* »By this I take care of and (nourish =) sustain you all». There can be no doubt that Ts'ai, who has the advantage of this obvious parallelism, is right. — We should compare:

Shu: Tsiu kao: E r t a k' o s i u k o u w e i k ü n, e r n a i y i n s h ī t s u e i p a o *91*.

A. PK'ung believes that the line is addressed to K'ang Shu, the first prince of Wei; s i u *74* = *75* (cf. above): »If you grandly can advance in (the principles of) (aged ones =) wise old men, you will be a ruler, and then you (can rightly) drink and eat to satiety». A most extravagant expl., since the crowd of officers have just been exhorted to receive an address. Moreover the line cannot be construed to give this sense. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en says he does not understand the w e i k ü n but interprets s i u k o u *92* as = *93* »to present food to the aged», the well-known rite fully described in the rituals. The compilers of the Jī kiang »Daily explanations» fill out the gap by explaining w e i k ü n *94* as = *95*; thus »When you have grandly been able to present food to the aged and to serve your prince, you (are able to) drink and eat to satiety». But of course w e i k ü n can have no such sense, and probably the compilers took k ü n as a second object to s i u, with w e i as = 'and': »present food to the aged and to the prince»; but w e i has no such meaning. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: s i u k o u w e i k ü n is equal to *96*: »When you (bring forward =) present aged persons to the prince, you can drink and eat to satiety». That w e i k ü n should mean y ü k ü n »to the prince» is quite out of the question. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen punctuates after k o u: »If you grandly can advance (sc. progress in wisdom) to (becoming) aged ones (wise old men), the prince will let you drink and eat to satiety». But how could a line like w e i k ü n e r n a i y i n s h ī *97* make this sense or, for that matter, any sense at all? — **E.** Yü Yüe: w e i *98* means *99* 'and'; and k ü n *100* does not mean 'prince' but 'elders'; t a *1* means nothing, being a »particle» (this latter after Chu Pin); thus: »If you can s i u (bring forward =) present (your) aged ones and elders, you (can) drink and eat to satiety». Utterly impossible. — **F.** Ts'ai (B) is undoubtedly right in assuming that s i u k o u means *11* »(to present food to =) to feast the aged», the well-known rite, since the context shows that it is a question of feasting: drinking and eating to satiety. But w e i k ü n *94* must be correctly construed: (**»For your grandly being able to feast the aged, there is the prince»** =) **»That you can grandly (present food to =) feast the aged, depends on the prince; then you can drink and eat to satiety».** Cf. Tso: Hi 33 phr. *2* »As to late or soon, there is your order» = »whether late or soon, depends upon your order»; Tso: Siang 9, phr. *3* »As to whom they (the Spirits) approach, there is the good faith» = »whom they approach, depends on the good faith», etc. (common).

Shu: Tsiu kao (shortly after the preceding line): E r s h a n g k' o s i u k u e i s ī *4*.

A. PK'ung take s i u *5* = *6* as a transitive verb (common) and k u e i s ī as object: **»You may still be able to (bring forward =) present the food offerings»** (sc. to the Spirits).

K u e i *7* as a noun = 'food' is common: Ode 65 phr. *8* »I set out viands»; Tso: Chao 4, phr. *9* »He placed the food in a side-room». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: »May you be able to s i u (advance =) come forward (i. e. be chosen) to k u e i s ī assist at the sacrifices» (for this curious idea that k u e i s ī would mean 'to assist at a sacrifice' he bases himself on Cheng Hüan). — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: »May you be able to advance (sc. progress in wisdom) (so as to do the) k u e i s ī sacrifice of cooked offerings». — B and C are very forced, A is simple and applies the ordinary sense of 'to present (food)' to our s i u. It is curious that many Ts'ing scholars should be so eager to find the most forced explanations simply in order to avoid agreeing with PK'ung and Ts'ai. — We have seen that in all the passages above s i u is a transitive verb 'to present to', esp. 'to present food to', and that those comm. who take it as an intransitive verb 'to advance, go forward, progress' are not acceptable. From this point of view we should examine some more Shu passages:

Shu: P'an Keng (end): K i n w o k i s i u ·k a o e r y ü c h e n c h ī *10*.

»Now I have presented to you and told you about my will». Here s i u is clearly transitive.

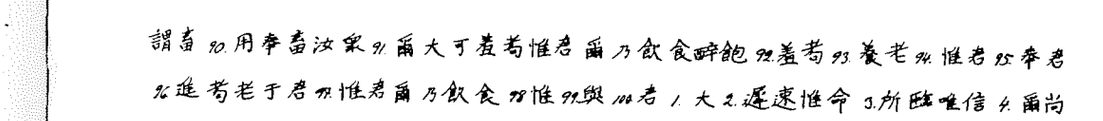
Shu: Hung fan: S h ī s i u k' i h i n g e r p a n g k' i c h' a n g *11*.

This follows upon: »When there are men who have ability and activity . .»

— **A.** Wang Fu (2nd c. A. D.) in Ts'ien fu lun: Sī hien paraphrases: *12* »If there are men who have ability, cause them to follow their road»; evidently Wang took s i u k' i h i n g to mean »to advance in their road». (When Tuan Yü-ts'ai says that Wang's s ü n *13* is a corruption of the similar *14*, and this again a phonetic loan for s i u *5*, this is all arbitrary guesswork.) — **B.** PK'ung paraphrases: *15*. This is, in fact, quite ambiguous. K'ung Ying ta has understood PK'ung thus: »Cause them to advance in their (walk =) conduct, and the state will be prosperous» (s i u intransitive). But evidently PK'ung might also have meant: »Cause them to (bring forward =) perfect their conduct» (s i u transitive). — **C.** Wang Su paraphrases: *16*. The second half: »entrust them with the government» reveals that Wang believed the first meant their putting their ability into action. Thus: **»Cause them to bring forth their (actions =) achievements, and the state will be prosperous».** Kiang Sheng has followed this. S i u has here its ordinary, transitive sense of 'to bring forward'. C here is the natural sequence to the preceding line and therefore preferable; h i n g *17* as a noun = 'actions' is common, e. g. Lun: Li jen *18* n o y ü y e n e r m i n y ü h i n g »slow in his speech but energetic in his actions».

Shu: Li cheng: W e i s i u h i n g p a o t ê c h ī j e n t' u n g y ü k ü e p a n g *19*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *20*. This is indeed just as ambiguous as the Shu text itself. It can be divided thus: w e i t s i n — y u n g h i n g y ü p a o t ê c h ī j e n »He (advanced =) promoted men who used punishments and (p a o t ê a violent character =) violence»; or; w e i t s i n y u n g — h i n g y ü p a o t ê c h ī j e n »He s i u promoted and used h i n g punishing and p a o t ê violent-natured men». Ts'ai Ch'en and



Kiang Sheng understood it in the latter way. — **B.** Yü Yüe, rightly making the criticism that s i u — h i n g p a o tê — c h ī j e n, with the monosyllabic h i n g coördinated with the dissyllabic p a o tê, is an impossible rhythm, proposes that h i n g *21* really means y u n g *22* in the sense of *23*; thus: »He s i u promoted men who h i n g used p a o tê violence». In support Yü adduces two cases of the phr. h i n g y u n g *24* (in Shao kao and To fang) which he believes to be synonym-compounds (h i n g meaning 'to use') and a case in Tso: Chao 12 where *25* would mean »to use the people's force» — all very untenable (we revert to that in gloss on Shao kao). — **C.** Legge has clearly seen that all the above, who take s i u as = 'to promote', with the king as understood subject of the clause and j e n as object must be wrong. The absolute parallelism with next line: S h u s i y i tê c h ī j e n t' u n g y ü k ü e c h e n g *26*, in which j e n 'men' is in the nominative as subject of the clause: »A crowd of familiars (favourites) and men of a licentious character were his associates in his government», proves definitely that in our line as well j e n must be a nominative as subject, s i u h i n g and p a o tê being coördinated. So far Legge is obviously right. But when he interprets: »men who s i u h i n g advanced punishments (as the proper method)», it is impossible to follow him. — **D.** Another interpr. As to the construction, C is certainly right. But as long as we insist on s i u meaning *6* 'to advance' or 'to promote', every interpr. will be inadmissible or at least far-fetched. S i u very frequently means 'shame, to be ashamed'. Thus: **»(Shamed =) disgraced (punished ones =) criminals and men of a violent character were his associates in his state».**

1459. K a o h o u p' e i n a i c h' u n g k i a n g t s u e i t s i *27*.

A. This is PK'ung's version. »The high rulers (ancestors) grandly heavily send down suffering for the crimes». The accumulation of adverbs: p' e i n a i c h' u n g is unnatural. — **B.** Kiang Sheng again (cf. Gl. 1458) takes p' e i n a i *28* to stand for p u n a i *29*: »Will not the high etc.» This, however, entails that in the sequel he has to be consistent: in the phr. *30* (»Your grandfathers and fathers grandly report to my high rulers [ancestors] saying») Kiang likewise must take p' e i n a i to stand for p u n a i and make it a rhetorical question: ».... do they not report ....», which is very far-fetched. In fact this par. shows that p' e i has its ordinary reading and meaning. — **C.** The stone classics of 175 A. D., the oldest version preserved, have: *31*, thus with *32* 'to know', inst. of the c h' u n g *33* 'heavy' of the Ku-wen version. Thus: **»The high rulers (ancestors) grandly know about it and send down suffering for the crime».** This is grammatically impeccable. — We must compare a few lines later:

T i k a o h o u p' e i n a i c h' u n g k i a n g f u s i a n g *34*.

A. This is the PK'ung version: »They lead the high rulers (ancestors) grandly to heavily send down inauspicious things». The same unnatural combination of adverbs p' e i and c h' u n g. — **B.** Kiang Sheng again says p' e i n a i — p u n a i, but then the clause cannot be correctly construed. Sun Sing-yen declares that p' e i = p u and leaves it out entirely in his paraphrase, evidently taking this p u to be an »empty particle» (very wrong, see Gl. 759). Moreover, he has an extraordinary speculation that f u s i a n g *35* does not mean 'inauspicious' but *36* 'not long', which would make no reasonable sense in the context; his theory is certainly due to a wish to reconcile the s i a n g of A with the y u n g *37* of C next. — C. The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read n a i h i n g k i a n g p u y u n g *38*. The Ts'ing scholars have given no reasonable expl. of this. The char. s i a n g *39*, however, is very often written with the short-form *40* in Han-time (esp. on mirrors: *41* »to eliminate the inauspicious»). The characters *40* and *37* are easily confused. The p u y u n g *42* of the stone classics is probably simply a corruption of *43* = the *44* of the Ku-wen version. Thus: **»They lead on the high rulers (ancestors) grandly to rise and send down inauspicious things».**

1460. J u w a n m i n n a i p u s h e n g s h e n g k i y ü y i j e n y u t' u n g s i n *45*.

A. PK'ung: s h e n g s h e n g *46* = *47* 'to advance steadily', the idea, as K'ung Ying-ta points out, being 'growingly' (s h e n g = 'to grow'). Thus: »If you, the myriad people, do not steadily advance and plan to be of the same mind with me, the one man». Later in our chapter we have w a n g t s a i s h e n g s h e n g *48*, and here PK'ung is even more explicit: »w a n g from now onwards, s h e n g s h e n g advance steadily [in goodness]» (he simply skips the inconvenient t s a i).[1] — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: s h e n g s h e n g *46* »to make life vigorous» = to act with vigour. »If you, the myriad people, do not act with vigour and plan to ....» — **C.** Sun Sing-yen and Kiang Sheng take s h e n g s h e n g as a verb with object, and Sun rightly cites Chuang: Ta tsung shī: *49* »to (kill) extinguish life does not constitute death, to keep alive the life does not constitute life». Thus: **»You, the myriad people, if you do not (keep alive the life =) make your livelihood, and with me, the one man, (plan =) endeavour to be of one mind».** — For the line *50* in P'an Keng see Gl. 1486.

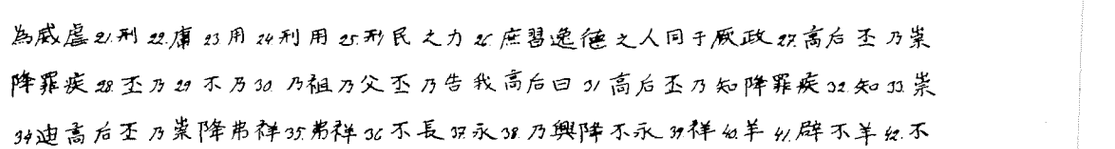
1461. K u y u s h u a n g t ê t s ī s h a n g k' i f a j u *51*.

A. PK'ung (who still believes that the understood subject is T'ang alone, not the ancestors generally): s h u a n g *52* = *53* 'bright' (common): »Thus, since he has a (bright = brightseeing =) perspicacious power of mind, he will punish you from above». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: s h u a n g t ê = *54* 'a failing virtue', followed by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen, who take it in the sense of *55* or *56* (Erya) 'to aberr, to deviate' very well attested (for text par. see Gl. 181): **»Thus, if you have (an aberrant =) a faulty virtue, from above they will punish you».** The term s h u a n g t ê is well attested in the sense of 'aberrant virtue' both in Shī and in Kyü (see Gl. 181) and must mean the same here.

K u w o s i e n h o u k i l a o n a i t s u etc. see Gl. 1458.

1462. J u y u t s' i a n g t s ê t s a i n a i s i n *57*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *58* »If you have a mind to injure people» and Ts'ai Ch'en similarly: *59* »If you have injury in your hearts», which does not follow the text but skips the t s ê *60*. We should have (with K'ung Ying-ta) to put it more precisely: »If you have something injurious, then it is in your hearts». (Legge tries desperately to better it: »Your conduct is injurious — it is cherished in your hearts».) This makes poor sense. — **B.** Kiang Sheng therefore takes t s a i *61* = *62* (common, see Gl. 751 above), interpreting: »If you have something injurious, they (sc. the ancestors) scrutinize your hearts» (i. e. they will know it). Sun Sing-yen turns it slightly differently: »If you have some injury (that befalls you), they (the ancestors) scrutinize your hearts» (they will know it). — **C.** Liu Feng-lu: t s ê *60* (**tsək*) is loan char. for *63* (**dz'ək*), and t s' i a n g - t s ê is a binome: **»If you have (injury =) injurious intents in your hearts».** In the famous inscr. of the San shī P'an the word t s ê *63* is wr. *64*, which might be taken to be 'man' and 'cowry' and



'dagger-axe', but just as well *65* 'dagger-axe' and t s ê *60* (with Wang Kuo-wei). Our t s ê *60* here could then be simply a short-form. Cf. the pronouncement in Kyü: Lu yü, shang: *66* »The one who destroys the law (**tsək*) is a malefactor (**dz'ək*)»; a fanciful attempt at etymology, but revealing that to the Kyü author the char. *63* contained the char. *66*. All this strongly supports Liu's interpr. — **D.** The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. reads *67*. Sun Sing-yen, in order to interpret this, takes t s ê *60* as = *68*: »You have a near pattern in your hearts» (i. e. you should follow the example of your ancestors). Very strained. The Ku-wen version gives a much better sense (with C).

1463. W o s i e n h o u s u e i n a i t s u n a i f u, n a i t s u n a i f u n a i t u a n k' i j u p u k i u n a i s ĭ *69*.

A. PK'ung: »Our former rulers s u e i reposed in (the loyalty of) your grandfathers and fathers». This makes no sense in connection with the following: »Your grandfathers and fathers will reject you and not save you from death». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Our former rulers comforted your grandfathers and fathers» (sc. so that they will be affectionate towards them and not oppose your punishment). — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: »Our former rulers (tranquillized =) found a peaceful place for your grandfathers and fathers (sc. by moving the capital); (now that you do not follow me) your grandfathers and fathers will reject you» etc. — **D.** Kiang Sheng: s u e i *70* = *71* 'to stop': **»Our former rulers will (stop =) restrain your grandfathers and fathers, (so that) your grandfathers and fathers will reject you and not save you from death».** Cf. Kyü: Ts'i yü *72* »He will stop slanderous talk», on which Wei Chao: s u e i *70* = *71*. Tso: Wen 12, phr. *73* »Both sides went out to battle but (reciprocally =) both (desisted =) withdrew». This sense is really an extension of meaning: 'to tranquillize slanderous talk' = to stop it; both armies became tranquillized, still, i. e. stopped fighting (Yü Yüe on the contrary believes that *70* [**snịwər* or = *74* **t'nwâr*] is merely a variant for *75* **t'wəd* 'to retreat, to cause to retreat', which is phonetically impossible). Here then: the former rulers will (tranquillize =) restrain your ancestors. — D is by far the best in the context and is well supported.

1464. T s ĭ y ü y u l u a n (s ĭ) c h e n g t' u n g w e i *76*.

PK'ung (after Erya): l u a n *77* = *78* 'to regulate, to order'. It may seem strange that the same char. *77* means both 'disorder, confusion' and 'to bring into order', but that is only apparently so. The former sense occurs in thousands of cases, the latter in several undeniable and unambiguous cases, e. g. Shu: Kao Yao mo *79* »He is regulating and yet (careful =) cautious»; Tso: Siang 28 phr. *80* »Wu wang had (regulating =) governing ministers, 10 men» etc. From a linguistic point of view it would, of course, be absurd that one and the same word **lwân* (falling tone) shold mean both 'disorder' and its opposite: 'to regulate', and the secret is, that wherever the char. *77* occurs meaning 'to regulate, to govern', it should really not be read l u a n but s ĭ (**sịəg* / *si* / s ĭ); this word, in modern script *81*, was in the Chou inscriptions as a rule wr. *82* or *83* 'to regulate, govern', and obviously in Han time the transcribers wrongly used the common *77* by mistake for the rare *82*. To revert to our Shu line here, evidently our *84*, read l u a n c h e n g, might mean 'a disorderly government', but it can just as well be a binome, with PK'ung: (l u a n =) s ĭ c h e n g, and there is no reason to reject this oldest interpr. **A.** PK'ung: t' u n g w e i refers to the ancestors: »Now I have a s ĭ c h e n g government with t' u n g w e i the same offices (as their ancestors)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»Now I have such who share the high positions in the government».**

T i k a o h o u p' e i n a i c h' u n g k i a n g f u s i a n g see Gl. 1459.

1465. K i n y ü k a o j u p u y i *85*.

A. Cheng Hün reads **dịĕk* / *ịäk* / y i 'to change, alter': »Now I tell you something unalterable» (a course that cannot be altered). — **B.** PK'ung and Wang Su read **dịĕg* / *ịg* / y i 'easy': **»Now I tell you about something that is not easy».** Since this corresponds exactly to an earlier passage in our chapter: *86* »I tell you about the difficulties», it is obviously preferable.

1466. Y u n g k i n g t a s ü, w u s ü t s ü e y ü a n *87*.

A. PK'ung: »Perpetually respect (my words), t a s ü and greatly be anxious about (carrying them out), do not (reciprocally =) all together (cut off and remove =) reject (them)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Perpetually pay careful attention to (my great anxiety =) that which I am greatly worried about, do not cut off and alienate yourselves from me». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: »Perpetually be respectful (to your superior) in the great (anxieties) difficulties» etc. — A combination of B and C comes nearest to the text: **»Perpetually pay careful attention to the great (anxieties =) difficulties, do not cut off and alienate yourselves (from me)».**

1467. J u f e n y u n i e n y i s i a n g t s' u n g *88*.

A. PK'ung: f e n *89* = *90* 'to distinguish clearly', thus: »You should distinctly plan and ponder and so follow me». — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta: »You should (separately =) each in his place plan and ponder» etc. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »You should share in my planning and pondering» etc. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: f e n *89* = 'diverging, dissentient': »As to your dissentient plans, you should think of following (me)». This is decidedly inferior, since it separates y u and n i e n; those two: y u 'to plan, to consider' and n i e n 'to ponder, to think' are so analogous that they should certainly be taken together as a binominal phr. — **E.** The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read: j u p i y u n i e n y i s i a n g t s' u n g *91*. This has been variously interpreted. Kiang Sheng takes p i *92* = *93* 'to attach oneself to, to join, to concur with': »You should p i y u concur in the plan (sc. to move) and n i e n y i s i a n g t s' u n g think of following me». Sun Sing-yen: p i y u = *94*, thus: »You should compliantly think of following me». Both these interpr. have the disadvantage criticized above, viz. that they separate y u and n i e n, which should go together. But Kiang is certainly right in thinking that p i should have the same sense as it had a few lines earlier. There the ancestors reproach: »why do you not p i (join =) concur with our young descendant?» Here the king admonishes: **»You should** p i **(join =) concur in** y u n i e n **my plans and thoughts,** y i **and so** s i a n g t s' u n g **follow me».** This dividing of she line: j u p i y u n i e n, y i s i a n g t s' u n g is also rhythmically the best. — It might be possible to see the reason for the divergence between text versions A and E. The char. *95* **pịwər* / *pjwẹi* / f e i serves as loan char. for *89* (**pịwən* / *pịuən* / f e n) in Chouli: Lin jen and possibly our *89* (**pịwən*) of version A is merely a phonetic loan char. for *92* (**pịər* / *pji* / p i) or *vice versa*. On the other hand, the one or the other may be due to a scribe's error. In bronze inscr. *89* is wr. *96*, but it can also be turned in the opposite direction, as in the compound *97* wr. *98* (see Grammata Serica p. 246). Now this *99* was sufficiently similar to p i *92*, wr. *100*, to make it easy for a scribe to mistake a p i for a f e n or *vice versa*. In any case, since both versions make good sense and a choice between them cannot be made on that ground, we should follow the one (E) that is earliest attested.

64 賊 65 弋 66 毀則者為賊 67 女有近則在乃心 68 法 69 我 先后 綏乃祖乃父乃祖 乃父 乃斷棄汝不救乃死 70 綏 71 止 72 綏謗言 73 皆出戰交綏 74 爰 75 退 76 茲予有亂政同位 77 亂 78 治 79 亂而敬 80 武王有亂臣十人 81 司 82 閤 83 嗣 84 亂政 85 今予告汝不易 86 予告汝于難 87 永敬大恤無胥絕遠 88 汝分猷念以相從 89 分 90 分明 91 女比猶念以相從 92 比 93 附 94 比順 95 匪 96 分 97 盈 98 鑒 99 人 100 1. 各設中于乃心. 2. 各翕中于乃心. 3. 設

1467a. K o shê c h u n g yü n a i s i n *1.*

A. This is PK'ung's version: »Each one of you should establish the correct norm in your heart». — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. reads *2*: **»Each one of you should conform to the correct norm in your heart».** — **C.** Wang Yin-chī: Kuang ya says *3* = *4* 'to accord with, to conform to', and thus the A text means the same as the B text. In support of the Kuang-ya gloss, Wang Nien-sun had already adduced Li: Li k'i *5*, saying that since s h e *3* here matches h o, s h u n and h o respectively, it must mean the same: h o 'to conform to'. But that, of course, is not conclusive, s h ê has its ordinary sense: »As to the ritual gifts, they should conform to the seasons, they should be (put up =) presented from among the resources of the soil, they should be agreable to the Spirits and conform to the minds of men». When Chang Yi (3rd c.) wrote the Kuang ya and said s h ê *3* = *4*, he probably had our Shu passage in mind: knowing the Kin-wen to have h i c h u n g *6* and the Ku-wen to have s h ê c h u n g *7*, he concluded that the latter was an error for the former, and would correct this error by means of his gloss. — B is the earliest version attested.

1468. T i e n y ü e p u k u n g *8.*

K u n g: Tso: Ai 11, quoting this and the following lines (in an abbreviated form), reads *9*. Now this k u n g *10* often serves as short-form for *11* and likewise very often as short-form for *12*. Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Kiang Sheng believe that the original *10* stood for *12* »not furnishing» = »not doing their duty» as in several earlier passages (see Gl. 1401), and this was probably already PK'ung's idea. Tuan concludes that the k u n g *11* of the present orthodox version was introduced by Wei Pao in his famous re-editing of the Shu text (in the t'ien-pao period 742—755 A. D.). But Ch'en K'iao-tsung points out that K'ung Ying-ta (in comm. on Tso) more than a century before Wei Pao quotes Shu as having *13*, and that Sï-ma Ts'ien (Wu Tsï-sü chuan) and Shuo yüan (Cheng kien) both have this reading — that both these Han texts should have been »corrected» after Wei Pao is too unlikely. Thus the earliest Han tradition was that that Shu really had *10* in the sense of *11* 'respectful'.

T i e n y ü e *14*:

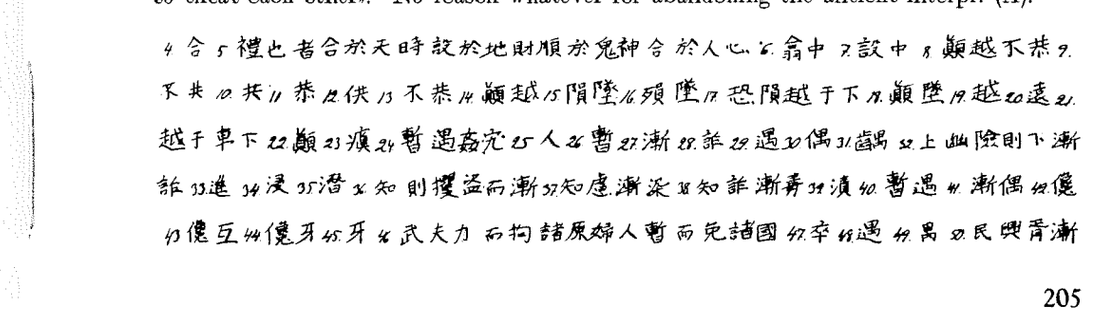
A. PK'ung: t i e n y ü e = *15* 'to fall down' (this after Fu K'ien, 2nd c. A. D., who in comm. on Tso: Ai 11 says t i e n y ü e means *16*); PK'ung takes t i e n - y ü e as a binome; thus: **»Who are fallen and disrespectful».** Cf. Tso: Hi 9, phr. *17* »I fear that it will fall down low», on which Tu Yü: y ü n y ü e = *18*. Y ü e *19* fundamentally means 'to transgress, to pass beyond, to go far away' (**gi̯wăt*, closely cognate to *20* **gi̯wăn*), but in the binome t i e n y ü e 'to fall and pass' = 'to fall down', it simply expresses the movement, passing from one place to another. It is then common in the sense of 'to fall down', e. g. Tso: Ch'en 2, phr. *21* »He fell down under the chariot». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes the words separately: »Who overturn and transgress and do not respect (the king's orders)». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen; t i e n *22* is a loan char. for *23* 'mad', thus: *Who are mad and transgressing . . . .». — The Tso par. decides in favour of A.

1469. C h a n y ü k i e n k i u *24.*

A. PK'ung believes that y ü 'to meet' has an understood j e n *25* as object: »Who when c h a n occasionally y ü meeting (people) are villainous and traitorous» (i. e. rob them). A comical interpr. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Who, c h a n for a short time y ü (meeting, coming across =) having a chance, are villainous and traitorous», little better than A. — **C.** Couvreur, who in his Shu translation follows B (»qui profitent d'une occasion pour se rendre coupables de révolte ou de perfidie»), in his Dictionnaire takes the line as a separate clause: »C h a n y ü s'il se rencontre soudain k i e n k i u des rebelles ou des traitres», which, however, will not do in the context. — **D.** Wang Yin-chī: c h a n *26* (**dz'âm*) is a loan char. for t s i e n *27* (**tsi̯am*, **dz'i̯am*), which here has the sense of *28* 'treacherous'; and y ü *29* (**ngi̯u* / *ngi̯u* / y ü) is a loan char. for *30* (**ngu* / **ngo̯u* / o u), which here is equal to *31* (**ngu*) 'uneven', and means 'deflected, depraved'. Thus: »Who are treacherous and depraved, villainous and traitorous.» For o u *30* in this sense Wang adduces a very obscure and debatable phr. in Huai: Yüan tao. For t s i e n *27* = 'false, treacherous' he quotes (besides an ex. in Shu: Lü hing, see below) Sün: Cheng lun *32* »If the ruler is hidden and inaccessible, the subjects become false (treacherous)»; Yang Liang had taken t s i e n as = *33* 'gradually' (properly 'drop-wise'): »The subjects become more and more false»; or, alternatively = *34* (*27* = 'to moisten, soak'): »the subject become imbued with falseness»; Ho Yi-hang believes that *27* **dz'i̯am* is merely a loan char. for *35* (**dz'i̯ɛm* / *dz'i̯ăm* / t s ' i e n) 'hidden, deep': »The subjects become deep and false». Further: Sün: Pu kou *36*: Wang: »If they are clever, they are predatory and false»; Yang Liang had taken it as = *33*: »they are predatory and increasingly so», which is bad, and hence Ho Yi-hang: »they are predatory and deep (scheming)». In fact Ho's interpr. is confirmed by Sün 2: 18, phr. *37* »The knowledge being deep», where t s i e n s h e n is a synonym-compound; but it is not necessary to consider it (with Ho) as loan for *35*; the meaning 'deep' can be an extension from 'to soak through, to imbue, penetrating deeply'. Further: Chuang: K'ie k'ie *38*: Wang: »Clever deceptions and false (poisons =) poisonous ideas»; but the comm. Li Yi had taken t s i e n as = *39* 'to soak through, to imbue': »Clever deceptions and imbuing poisonous ideas». Wang Yin-chī's idea is certainly clever, but all ancient comm. go against it, and neither Erya nor Kuang ya has such a meaning for t s i e n, and all the ex. adduced can equally well be interpreted with t s i e n in one or other of its well-attested meanings. If **tsi̯am* = 'false' is thus far from confirmed, it is even less probable that our *40* **dz'âm-ngi̯u* is a loan for a *41* **dz'i̯am-ngu*. — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: C h a n *26* (**dz'âm*) is a loan char. for c h ' a n *42* (**dz'am*, **dz'ăm*) 'uneven, irregular', and c h a n y ü *40* is really the same binome that Shuowen gives as c h ' a n h u *43*, which should really be c h ' a n y a *44* (*45* **ngâ* = *29* **ngi̯u*) = 'irregular'. There are, however, no pre-Han ex. whatever of such a binome. — **F.** Another interpr. C h a n *26* has the same meaning 'rash' as it has in Tso: Hi 33, phr. *46* »The warriors by their strength captured them (sc. the prisoners) in the field; a woman by her rashness liberated them in the city»; on which Tu Yü: c h a n *26* = *47* (**ts'wət*) 'brusque, rash'. The fundamental sense being 'for a short time', the extension of meaning 'instantaneously, on the spur of the moment, brusquely, hasty, rash' is very natural. Y ü *29* (**ngi̯u*) stands for the homoponous yü *48* (**ngi̯u*) 'stupid' (in other words: the Chou-time text had simply *49* without radical, wrongly filled out into *29* instead of into *48*). Thus: **»Rash and stupid, villainous and traitorous».** In this way the text phonetically reads as it stands: **dz'âm-ngi̯u*. — We should notice here:

Shu: Lü hing: M i n h i n g s ü t s i e n *50.*

A. PK'ung: **»The people started to imbue each other».** Kiang Sheng accepts this, pointing out that the same word 'to moisten, to soak through, to imbue' occurs wr. *51* (**tsi̯am*). — — **B.** Sun Sing-yen (following Wang Yin-chī above) t s i e n *27* = *28*: »The people started to cheat each other». No reason whatever for abandoning the ancient interpr. (A).



1470. W o n a i y i t i e n m i e c h ī *52.*

A. PK'ung takes y i t i e n as a binome: **»I will destroy and annihilate them».** Yi wr. *53* or *54* means 'to cut the nose', but also more generally 'to mutilate', and then even more general: 'to cut off, to destroy', as in Shu: To fang *55*. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes y i and t i e n separately: »I will either cut their noses (for smaller crimes) or t i e n m i e annihilate them (for greater crimes)». This does not suit the context, since it presupposes that some, though mutilated, survived, which is forbidden by the sequel.

1471. W u y i y ü *56.*

A. Tu Yü in comm. on Tso: Ai 11, where our line is quoted, says y ü *57* = *58* and this is repeated by PK'ung, who adds the paraphrase *59*. This shows that PK'ung read *58* **d'i̯ang / d̂'i̯ang /* c h ' a n g: »I will not leave over and prolong (their kind)». — **B.** But Tu Yü may not have had the same idea with his y ü *57* = *58*. In fact Lu Tê-ming in both places (Shu and Tso) reads *58* **ti̯ang / t̂i̯ang /* c h a n g 'to grow up, to cause to grow up, to bring up', and this is really the sense of y ü *57* ('to breed, to rear'). Thus: **»There will be no remaining (reared ones =) children brought up».** — **C.** Wang Yin-chī, after criticizing A, says y ü *57* (**di̯ôk / i̯uk /* y ü) should be read *60* (**d'i̯ôg / d̂'i̯ə̯u /* c h o u) 'descendant', thus: »There will be no descendants». He refers to the case fully discussed in Gl. 1288 above. *57* **di̯ôk* and *60* **d'i̯ôg* are certainly cognate words, but there is no reason whatever for considering the former as loan char. for the latter and reading **d'i̯ôg* instead of **d'i̯ôk*.

W u p e i y i c h u n g y ü t s ī s i n y i see Gl. 1244.

1472. N a i c h e n g k ü e w e i *61.*

This follows upon: »When P'an Keng had moved, he fixed their (where they dwelled =) dwelling-places».

A. Cheng Hüan and PK'ung explain w e i *62* as the official buildings (temples, altars, palace). Thus: **»And then he determined their (public) emplacements».** Cf. Shu: Shao kao *63* »With all the Yin people he started work on the (public) emplacements at the nook of the Lo (river)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: w e i refers to the difference between »ruler and subjects, between superior and inferior», thus: »He adjusted the rank positions» (Couvreur: »il régla les dignités et les charges»). Ts'ai has failed to see the parallelism with the Shao kao passage just quoted.

1473. S u e i y ü a n y u c h u n g *64.*

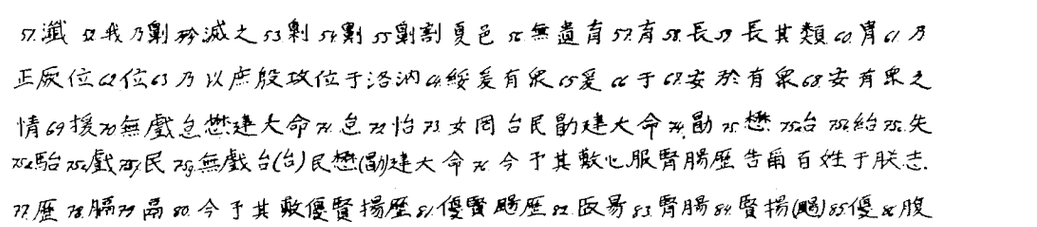
A. PK'ung (after Erya *65* = *66*) paraphrases the line *67*, thus: »He tranquillized (the multitude he had =) his multitude». This seems to have been accepted by all later comm. But in the first place, in spite of Erya, the common particle y ü a n *65* never functions as a preposition equivalent to y ü *66*, and secondly s u e i is a transitive verb and should have no preposition between itself and its object. Ts'ai Ch'en has felt this and simply skipped the inconvenient y ü a n, paraphrasing: *68* »He tranquillized the feelings of his multitude». — **B.** Another interpr. *65* **g̊i̯wăn / j̊i̯wɒn /* y ü a n is a short-form for the homophonous *69* 'to pull up, to lift, to raise, to succour», thus: **»He tranquillized and (lifted =) encouraged his multitude».**

1474. W u h i t a i m o u k i e n t a m i n g *70.*

A. PK'ung has this version: »Do not play and be slack, exert yourselves in firmly establishing the great mandate». — **B.** Yü Sing-wu believes that *71* **d'əg / d'âi /* t a i is a loan char. for *72* **di̯əg / i /* y i 'cheerful, pleased», thus: »Do not play and rejoice». A quite unnecessary loan speculation, since the text as it stands makes a good and natural sense. — **C.** The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read: *73*. As to *74* **χi̯uk / χi̯wok /* h ü 'to stimulate', here 'to stimulate oneself' it gives the same meaning as the *75* **mug / mə̯u /* m o u 'to exert oneself'. But the first half is radically different from the A version. — *α*. Kiang Sheng proposes that *75a* (**di̯əg*) is a short-form for *75b* **d'əg / d'âi /* t a i 'to cheat' (ex. of this w. in Kuliang: Hi 1); thus: »Do not cheat the people». — *β*. Sun Sing-yen refers to Fang-yen 1 (middle-Han colloquial), which says *75a* = *75c* 'to lose, to miss, to neglect', thus: »Do not neglect the people». It is quite uncertain how this Han word was read; Ts'ao Hien (7th c. A. D.) believed **di̯əg / i /* y i, even tone, but probably it was simply a short-form for the *71* **d'əg / d'âi /* t a i, rising tone, 'to be slack, lazy, idle, to neglect' of version A. Another variation of the same word stem is *75d* **d'əg / d'âi /* t ' a i, even tone, 'loose, slack' (ex. in Chuang: T'ien hia). — Probably the original version had *75a* in the sense of *71*, and was elucidatingly enlarged in that way (*71*) by the scribes of the Ku-wen school, whereas the Kin-wen school kept the ancient short-form *75a*. But neither the h i *75e* of A nor the m i n *75f* of B could very well be free inventions, and so the true text probably ran: w u h i t a i m i n, m o u (or h ü) k i e n t a m i n g *75g*. **»Do not play and neglect the people, exert yourselves in firmly establishing the great mandate».** This also makes the best rhythm.

1475. K i n y ü k ' i f u s i n f u s h e n c h ' a n g, l i k a o e r p o s i n g y ü c h e n c h ī *76.*

A. This is the Ku-wen version, attested on this point as having been that of the Hia-hou school of Han time (see K'ung Ying-ta, comm. on Yao tien), and adopted by PK'ung. **»Now I will (spread out =) disclose my heart and belly, reins and bowels, and** (*seriatim* =) **in all details tell you people my will».** (Chang Ping-lin would improve this by taking *77* **liek / liek /* l i as loan char. for *78* **klĕk / kɛk /* k o 'diaphragm', since in the Wei stone classics there is *79* as loan char. for *77*. But this goes against the rhythm: s i n - f u s h e n - c h ' a n g l i — there would surely have been one more word after l i, if the latter were analogous to s i n - f u and s h e n - c h ' a n g). — **B.** The Kin-wen version, as drawn upon by Tso Sī (3rd c. A. D.) in Wei tu fu and directly quoted in comm. on that, read: k i n y ü k i f u y u h i e n y a n g l i *80* (carrying l i *77* to the preceding y a n g). A Han-time poem (Sung) by T'ang Fu (ap. Li shī) has *81*, which testifies to the existence of this version just as early as the A text. Thus: »Now I will f u widely y u h i e n be liberal towards the wise men and y a n g l i signalize their exploits; I will tell you people my will». — It is easily seen that the original Chou text may have had »phonetics» without radicals: *82*, which the Ku-wen scribes filled out into *83*, the Kin-wen scribes into *84*. And if, in the same way, we operate with y u *85* and f u *86* written without radicals (Chou fashion), it might be possible that y u *87* and s i n f u *88* derive from one and the same pre-Han graph or graphs: either y u has been erroneously cut up into two: s i n f u by the Ku-wen scribes; or s i n f u has been erroneously coalesced into one: y u by the Kin-wen scribes. Two reasons favour the latter alternative. First, in Tso: Süan 12 an orator says: *89* »I presume to (spread out =) disclose my belly and heart», which is very likely an allusion to our Shu passage here; and secondly the A sense is simple and natural, whereas the B sense is more incoherent. A is therefore preferable.



1476. K u w o s i e n w a n g t s i a n g t o y ü t s' i e n k u n g *90*.

As earlier, the comm. believe that s i e n w a n g refers to T'ang alone; I have stated previously (Gl. 1458) my reasons for taking it in the plural.

A. K'ung Ying-ta takes t s i a n g *91* as = *92*, this mark of the future thus expressing an intention: »The ancient king(s), (going to =) wishing to add to the earlier achievements». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: t s i a n g *91* = *93* 'great' (common, see Gl. 15): »Anciently, our former king(s), greatly adding to .....». Both in A and in Kiang's interpr. B here t o is thus taken as a verb, which is strained. Sun Sing-yen therefore turns it slightly differently: »they t s i a n g enlarged so as to make them big(ger) the former achievements», which, however, skips the inconvenient y ü *94*. — **C.** Another interpretation. T s i a n g *91* is very common in the sense 'to take, to bring', (which is really the fundamental sense of the char.), thus: **»Anciently our former kings (brought much to =) added much to the earlier achievements».**

1477. Y u n g k i a n g w o h i u n g t ê k i a t s i y ü c h e n p a n g *95*.

The Kin-wen version (ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D.) has s u e i *96* 'peaceful' inst. of k i a *97* 'good'. The passage follows upon: »Anciently, our former kings added much to the earlier achievements; they went to the mountains».

A. PK'ung explains *98* by 𢦏 'bring down and take away': »Thus they (brought down =) vanquished our evil dispositions (sc. of mind) and had fine achievements in our state». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en believes that h i u n g t ê refers to the evil conditions of the low places, as against the high mountains, and hence Legge expounds: w o h i u n g t ê = »our suffering conditions», and he translates: »Thereby he removed our evils»(!); Couvreur: »Il supprima ainsi la cause de nos malheurs»(!!); I suppose with this view we should have to define h i u n g t ê as = 'baleful forces'. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: *98* means *100* 'to go down and rescue'; there should be a comma after h i u n g; t ê *1* means *2* 'to ascend' (after Shuo wen), and the Kin-wen s u e i *96* is preferable to the Ku-wen k i a *97*. Thus: »Therefore they descended (sc. helpingly) (to) us in the calamitous (lowlands), they ascended (to the high places) and made peaceful achievements in the state». K i a n g = 'to go down and rescue' is certainly strained, and for t ê *1* = *2* there is no text confirmation, see Gl. 1342. Sun Yi-jang would turn the t ê *1* = *2* in another way: »He t ê raised k i a t s i fine achievements», but this will not do for the same reason. — **D.** Yü Sing-wu points our that h i u n g t ê is a phr. recurring in Shu: To fang, so Kiang's speculation is impossible. So far so good. But then Yü goes on: s u e i *96* = 'continously' and t s i *3* stands for t s ê *4*, thus: »They continuously made reproaches in our land», a very eccentric idea. — **E.** Another interpr. K i a n g *98* with »luck» or »misfortune» as object, always means 'to send down', with Heaven as either expressed or merely understood subject: Ode 166, phr. *5* »It (Heaven, mentioned in the preceding line) sends down to you a far-reaching felicity»; Ode 194, phr. *6* »It sends down death and famine»; Ode 274, phr. *7* »(Heaven) sends down blessings that are very great» — the preceding lines here contain no »Heaven», so this has to be supplied; quite the same is true of Ode 279, phr. *8* and Ode 284 phr. *9*. In the Shu we have this same idea in To fang: *10* »Heaven sent down that ruin (on him)». Further, h i u n g t ê does not mean »baleful forces» i. e. calamities or evils (as supposed in B), but refers (with A) to the minds of men. The decisive parallels on this point are two: Ode 255, phr. *11* »Heaven sent down (to them) a reckless disposition»; Shu: To fang, see below. Thus: **»(Anciently, our former kings added much to the earlier achievements, they went to the mountains); therefore, when (Heaven) sent down to us (sc. our people) evil dispositions (sc. recalcitrant minds), they (yet) had fine achievements in our state».** — We compare for the phr. h i u n g - t ê:

Shu: To fang: E r s h a n g p u k i y ü h i u n g t ê *12*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases *13* and K'ung Ying-ta expounds this thus: »May you not hate

(each other) and (fall into) an evil disposition», an impossible construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »May you (officers) not have fear of the evil disposition» (of the people). — **C.** Another version ap. Shuowen reads *14* **»When your superiors have no aversion for your evil dispositions (i. e. have forgiven your rebellion)».** — C is the earliest version attested and the A version may very well have the same meaning. — We should also study some disputed cases of k i a n g *98*:

a. Shu: To shï: Y ü t a k i a n g e r s ï k u o m i n m i n g *15*;
b. Shu: To fang: W o w e i t a k i a n g e r m i n g *16*;
c. Shu: To fang: N a i y u p u y u n g w o c h i a n g e r m i n g *17*.

A. PK'ung: m i n m i n g *18* means *19* 'the ruler, sovereign'. And in ex. b and c m i n g *20* alone is equal to the m i n m i n g *18* of a. (K'ung Ying-ta tries desperately to explain this: the ruler is the one who determines life and death of the subject, thus: »the people's life(-determiner)»; but probably PK'ung simply thought of the phr. recurring later in our chapter: *21* »I (the king) take care of the people's life», see Gl. 1480 below). Thus: a. »I have grandly (brought down =) vanquished your four states' rulers»; b. »I have grandly (brought down =) vanquished your ruler»; c. »If there are such who do not use (my orders), I will (throw down =) vanquish your rulers». An absurd interpretation. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: k i a n g *98* means 'to lower, to reduce, to diminish', and k i a n g m i n g 'to diminish — life' would mean »to mitigate (the punishment so as to spare) the life». This curious interpr. has been swallowed by Legge: a. »I greatly mitigated the penalty in favour of the lives of the people of your four countries»; b. »I dealt very leniently as regards your lives»; c. »If you do not take advantage of the leniency with which I have spared your lives». — **C.** The lines obviously mean, with Kiang Sheng: a. **»I grandly sent down orders (commands) to the peoples of your four states»**; B. **»I grandly (send down orders to you =) give you my commands»**; c. **»If there are such who do not (use =) obey the order I have sent down to you».**

1478. E r w e i c h e n h o c h e n t u n g w a n m i n y i t s' i e n *22*.

A. This is PK'ung's version: **»You say to me: why do you (shake =) scare and (move =) excite the myriad people by the removal?»** — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read: k i n e r h u e i c h e n h o c h ï t u n g w a n m i n y i t s' i e n *23*. The c h ï *24* (**t̂i̯ər / tśi* / c h ï) 'to revere, to respect' is only a variation ('to fear' = 'to revere') of the same stem as *25* or *26* **t̂i̯ən / tśi̯ĕn* / c h e n 'to shake, to fear'. H u e i *27* is defined as = *28* 'to accord with, to obey' in Erya, and this is attested by good text ex., see Gl. 1281. Kiang Sheng interprets: »If now you obey me, why do you scare and (move =) excite the people as to this removal» — this said to the leaders. Sun Sing-yen believes, since Erya: Shï yen has an entry *29* = *30*, that h o *29* could have the sense of 'why not': »If now you obey me, why do you not scare and excite the myriad people so that they move». But that Erya sense of h o *29* is confirmed by no texts. —

It is true that version B is attested a century earlier than version A; but if h u e i *27* is taken in the sense of 'to obey' it is far less natural in the context. The e r w e i c h e n *31* of A is analogous to the *32* earlier in the chapter. Probably B *27* **g'iwəd / ɣiwei* / h u e i is simply a loan char. for A *33* **gi̯wəd / ɣu̯ei* / w e i.

1479. L u a n y üe w o k i a *34*.

A. PK'ung: »l u a n bringing order y üe in w o k i a our house». Y üe *35* (**gi̯wə̆t*) is a variant graph for *36* or *37* as a particle (see Gl. 1207), and since this particle is defined as = *38* or *39* in Erya, PK'ung followed by the Ts'ing scholars considers y üe w o k i a as equal to *40*. But there are no safe text par. in which y üe, written in one fashion or another, is equal to *38* as a preposition indicating the locative. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en therefore renders y üe *35* 'to go far away, to pass on' by *41*: »so that l u a n orderly government y üe (passes on to =) reaches to our house». — **C.** Another interpr. Kuang ya: Shī ku 3 says y üe *35* = *42* 'to regulate' — the same meaning as l u a n (s ï) *93* (see Gl. 1464) with which it is here combined, evidently a binome: s ï - y üe »(regulating =) putting in order w o k i a our house». This meaning of y üe *35* is well attested in Han time (e. g. Shuo yüan: Chï wu *44*) but from pre-Han texts only one ex. has been adduced, and even that debatable: Kyü: Chou yü hia *45*, where Wei Chao says y üe means *46* 'to raise' which makes poor sense, and Wang Nien-sun therefore interprets: »They regulated the 9 plains». This idea of Wang's has good support in our binome (l u a n =) s ï - y üe here. Probably the sense 'to regulate' of y üe is simply an extension of meaning from y üe 'to pass on': 'to cause to pass on, keep going'.

1480. C h e n k i t u k i n g k u n g c h 'e n g m i n m i n g *47*.

A. PK'ung: »I will together with reliable and careful (men) respectfully (uphold =) take care of the people's life». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: *41* is a short-form for *48*. Kungyang: Yin 1 says *41* = *48* and k i - k i *48* means 'eagerly' in Li: Wen sang. We should then rather say that *41* is a short-form (Chou fashion) for *50* which is really *51* (both **kɨəp*). Indeed *49* in Li is simply a loan char. for *50*. Thus: **»I will eagerly and honestly, carefully and respectfully take care of the people».** — Since interpr. A must cut up the line so as to separate k i n g from k u n g, which is very unplausible, whereas B obtains organic and natural binominal phrases: k i t u *52* »eagerly and honestly» and k i n g k u n g »carefully and respectfully», B is certainly preferable.

1481. F e i f e i k üe m o u t i a o y u l i n g *53*.

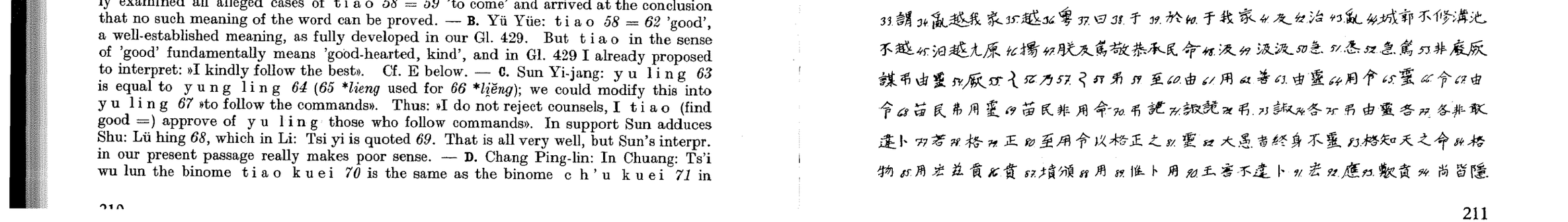
K üe *54*, archaically wr. *55*, is probably wrong for n a i *56*, arch. *57*.

A. PK'ung: t i a o *58* = *59* (this after Erya) and y u *60* = *61* (this after Mao Heng). Thus: »I do not reject your counsels t i a o when they come y u I use l i n g the best ones». I have had repeated occasion to state that y u cannot be proved ever to have meant 'to use', in spite of Mao Heng, cf. Gl. 200 and 1413, and Sun Sing-yen better says y u = 'to follow': »When they come, I follow the best ones». (Kiang Sheng instead: y u l i n g = »I follow the divine one», sc. the tortoise oracle). But in Gl. 429 I have extensively examined all alleged cases of t i a o *58* = *59* 'to come' and arrived at the conclusion that no such meaning of the word can be proved. — **B.** Yü Yüe: t i a o *58* = *62* 'good', a well-established meaning, as fully developed in our Gl. 429. But t i a o in the sense of 'good' fundamentally means 'good-hearted, kind', and in Gl. 429 I already proposed to interpret: »I kindly follow the best». Cf. E below. — **C.** Sun Yi-jang: y u l i n g *63* is equal to y u n g l i n g *64* (*65* **lieng* used for *66* **liĕng*); we could modify this into y u l i n g *67* »to follow the commands». Thus: »I do not reject counsels, I t i a o (find good =) approve of y u l i n g those who follow commands». In support Sun adduces Shu: Lü hing *68*, which in Li: Tsi yi is quoted *69*. That is all very well, but Sun's interpr. in our present passage really makes poor sense. — **D.** Chang Ping-lin: In Chuang: Ts'i wu lun the binome t i a o k u e i *70* is the same as the binome c h 'u k u e i *71* in

Chuang: T'ien hia; and *72* **tiôk* can thus serve as short-form for *73* **t'i̯ôk / ts'i̯uk* / c h ' u 'deceitful'. Hence our t i a o y u l i n g means »I (deceitfully =) cunningly use magic». A very fanciful speculation. — **E.** Yü Sing-wu points out that for rhythmical reasons the first word k o *74* of the next line must be carried here: f e i f e i k üe m o u, t i a o y u l i n g k o *75*. This is obviously right, all the more since in a line K o f e i k a n w e i p u *76* the k o comes in very quaintly (Yü Yüe therefore has to declare it to be »an empty particle», this after Kuang ya: Shī ku 4; but in comm. on that Wang Nien-sun rightly points out that k o *74* there must be a corruption of j o *77*). Now in Chou inscriptions k o *74* is regularly a short-form of k o *78*, and Yü defines the latter as = *79*, and following C above he paraphrases *80*, whatever that may mean (I can make no sense of it). But in fact k o *78* makes an excellent binome with the preceding l i n g *81* which *inter alia* means 'intelligent, clever', e. g. Chuang: T'ien ti *82* »The one who is greatly stupid will all his life not become intelligent». K o *78* means 'to penetrate, to understand perfectly, to comprehend', as in Shu: Ta kao *83* »to comprehend and know the commands of Heaven»; Li: Ta hüe *84* »(to investigate, penetrate =) to comprehend the phenomena in the world», etc. (common). Thus: **»I do not reject your counsels, I graciously follow the intelligent and discerning ones;** but I dare not disobey the tortoise oracle», etc.

1482. Y u n g h u n g t s ï f e n *85*.

A. PK'ung takes both h u n g and f e n as meaning 'great': **»And so I make grand this great (undertaking)».** *86* (**b'i̯wən / b'i̯uən* / f e n) in this sense is well attested (e. g. Ode 242); it is then etym. the s. w. as *87* and *88*. — **B.** Wang Yin-chï would read *86* **pi̯ŭr / pji̯ę* / p i 'ornate'; for text ex. of this see Gl. 489. Thus: »And so I make grand this (ornate =) beautiful (undertaking)». — There is really no advantage in B. The apparent pleonasm in A is very typical Chinese: »to make grand, to enhance, to make even grander this (already) great thing». — Yü Yüe would carry our y u n g *88* here to the preceding: f e i k a n w e i p u *76*, because in Ta kao we have twice the phr. w e i p u y u n g *89*. But the grammatical context is different: there it means »only the oracle employ» = »to follow nothing but the oracle», with y u n g as verb and p u as an object anteposed because of emphasis. Here the principal verb is k a n, and a y u n g at the end would make no sense. Our phr., on the contrary, is analogous to Ta kao: W a n g h o p u w e i p u *90* (p u last word before a new passage). — **C.** Chang Ping-lin: Erya: Shī yü says a three-legged tortoise is called a f e n *86* (or: p e n; or: p i), and Po hu t'ung: Shī ying repeats this (also Lun heng: Shī ying). Our f e n should have this sense. Since h u n g *91* 'vast' in Shuowen is defined as = »a room being deep and reverberating», Chang believes it means here 'to reverberate', which he expresses by y i n g *92* 'to respond', thus: »I respond to this tortoise». In regard to Ta kao, phr. f u f e n *93* (cf. Gl. 1591) he likewise says this means »to display the tortoise». But there are no pre-Han text ex. of *86* in this sense, and in Ta kao it fails entirely in the context.



P a n g p o s h ï c h a n g see Gl. 1335.

1483. S h a n g k i e y i n t s a i *94.*

A. PK'ung: y i n *95* = *96*, a variant for *97* 'a carpenters' correcting frame' (for straightening crooked wood). Y i n *98* is attested in Sün: Sing-ngo, and PK'ung took *95* as short-form for this. In the same way it occurs with this short-form *95* in Hanfei: Hien hüe. Thus: **»May you all** (»correcting-frame yourselves» =) **correct yourselves».** — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: y i n *95* = *99* 'to be pained', sc. in the sense it has in Meng: Liang Huei wang *100* 'to suffer with, be compassionate': »May you all be compassionate». — **C.** The stone classics of 175 A. D. read s h a n g k i e c h ' e n g t s a i *1.* Kiang Sheng refers to Cheng Hüan's gloss on Ode 154: ch'eng *2* = *3*: »May you all (govern =) carry out your government». But Cheng's definition there is very obscure and unsupported, see our Gl. 376. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: Erya: Shï yen says y i n *95* = *4*, thus: »May you all prognosticate». But, as Sun as well as Ho Yi-hang and Shao Tsin-han in comm. on Erya point out, from the primary sense of 'prognosticate', by extension of meaning, y i n could (with Kuangya) mean 'to compute, to calculate' and our line would then mean: »May you all (compute, calculate =) consider». Sun further adduces ex. in which the c h ' e n g *2* of the C text version has the same sense of *5* 'to calculate', and the meaning would thus be the same. As to y i n, the primary Erya sense 'to prognosticate' has no text confirmation. The extended sense 'to compute' is weakly supported. Kuan: Kin ts'ang *6* is expl. »in order to (compute, measure =) examine oneself» (y i n = *7*) by the comm., but it might just as well (with the sense of A above) mean: »in order to correct oneself». In Li: Shao yi *8* Cheng Hüan says y i n = *9* 'to calculate': »to calculate the conditions»; but Ch'en Hao more naturally says »to conceal one's feelings». (The Ts'ing scholars insist that *95* *·*i̯ən* was »phonetically similar» to *9* *·*i̯əg* or *10* *·*i̯ək* and therefore could serve for them, which is quite wrong). On the other hand, the meaning of c h ' e n g *2* = 'to calculate' is safely attested in Chouli: Kao jen etc. — **E.** Yü Yüe: A is right in regard to y i n: it means 'to correct by a straightening frame'. The c h ' e n g *2* of version C (**d̑'i̯əng* / *dź'i̯əng* / c h ' e n g) serves as loan word for *11* (**d̑'i̯əng* / *dź'i̯əng* / s h e n g) in Mao's version of Ode 237 and so it does in our text C here. It means 'to plumb-line' = 'to correct by the plumb-line', just as the y i n *95* of A means 'to correct by the straightening-frame'. *11* 'a cord, a line' in this sense of a verb 'to correct by the cord' is common, e. g. Li: Yüe ki *12* »in order to correct the ampleness of the virtue». — The choice is difficult here, but A, supported by E, which finds a close correspondence between both text versions, seems most convincing. — Yü Sing-wu adduces a long series of Shu lines in which we have the optative s h a n g *13* »would that, may you . . . », and proposes in all these cases to consider s h a n g *13* as a short-form for c h ' a n g *14* »constantly». It is difficult to see any plausible reason for this.

1484. Y ü k ' i m o u k i e n s i a n g e r *15.*

A. PK'ung: k i e n *16* = *17* 'great' (common) and s i a n g *18* = *19* 'to assist' (common): »I will exert myself in greatly assisting you». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: k i e n = *20* 'to select' and s i a n g 'to assist' means 'to guide': »I will exert myself in selecting and guiding you». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: k i e n = *21* 'to examine' (common) and s i a n g = *22* 'to see, to inspect' (common): **»I will exert myself in examining and inspecting you».** — C, which takes the two verbs as analogous notions, is evidently right.

1485. N i e n k i n g w o c h u n g *23.*

A. PK'ung: »You should think of and be careful about my multitude». — **B.** Chuang Shu-tsu: n i e n *24* is a short-form for s h e n *25* 'to announce, to tell, to remonstrate' (for text ex. see Gl. 404), and k i n g *26* is a short-form of *27* 'to warn' (common), thus: **»I tell and warn (you) my multitude».** — B is infinitely better in keeping with the preceding: »I will exert myself in examining and inspecting you», being a severe warning, than A.

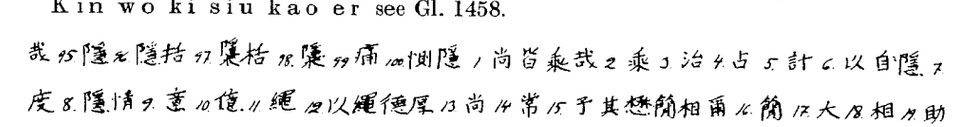
Short-forms like these are the rule rather than the exception in bronze inscriptions; it is exceedingly common that no »radicals» are added.

1486. C h e n p u k i e n h a o h u o k a n k u n g s h e n g s h e n g k ü j e n m o u j e n c h ï p a o k ü s ü k ' i n *28.*

For different ideas about s h e n g s h e n g see Gl. 1460. Here, as in several other places, the ancient text had k u n g *29*, not *30*, see Gl. 1401.

A. PK'ung: k i e n *31* 'shoulder' means *32* 'to put a burden on' = 'to give office to'; s h e n g s h e n g *33* means *34* 'to advance steadily in goodness'; k ü *35* means *36* 'exhausted'. And he interprets: »I do not give office to such who love riches; such who dare to (furnish =) achieve and advance in (goodness), and such who, in regard to destitute men, plan for the secure residence of (these) men, I will classify (for offices) and respect them». An absurd interpr. as a whole, and with several very weak points: how can k i e n 'shoulder' mean 'to charge, to give office to'? ('to cause to shoulder'?). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, while admitting that the line is in part obscure, tentatively says: k ü *35* = *37* 'to nourish' (ex. of this in Ode 202), and he interprets: »I do not give office to such who love riches; such who k a n courageously k u n g are careful about (the people's) s h e n g s h e n g living vigourously, who nourish people and plan for people's secure residences, I classify them (for office) and respect them». Hardly better than A (the latter half: »who nourish people» etc. goes back to a gloss by Cheng Hüan). — **C.** Kiang Sheng has a very curious speculation, taking s h e n g s h e n g not as = 'to make a livelihood', as earlier (see Gl. 1460), but 'to make a profit'; and he quotes Shuowen's definition: k a n *38* = *39* 'to go forwards and take', thus: »I do not give office to such who love riches, or such who k a n grab (such things which) k u n g contribute to s h e n g s h e n g making profit; such who nourish» etc. (like B above). — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: Erya: Shï ku says k i e n *31* = *40*, thus here: »I do not do wealth-loving (things)». But for this Erya definition there is no support in par. text ex. — **E.** Chuang Shu-tsu: k ' i n *41* is a short-form for h i n *42* 'to raise': »I will (classifyingly =) according to merit raise them» (to office). Chang Ping-lin likewise says *41* = *42* in the sense of *43* = *44* 'to array' and p a o *45* = *46* (Shuowen = *47* 'to follow in a sequence', no text ex.), thus: m o u j e n c h ï p a o k ü s ü (k ' i n =) h i n »I plan for people's p a o k ü arrayed dwellings and s ü h i n sequences». — **F.** Another interpr. The entire passage is of quite a different purport from those proposed above. K i e n *31* 'shoulder, to shoulder' means by extension 'to carry' generally. Thus **»I do not (shoulder =) carry anly love of riches, I (only) presume to furnish the means to make your livelihood, to nourish people, to plan for people's secure residences; may you** (s e r i a t i m =) **each in his place respect this!».** There is support for this interpr. first in the fact that k i e n *31* means 'to carry' a few lines later and precisely in an analogous, abstract sense: y u n g k i e n y i s i n »forever carry a single mind», and secondly in that we there have the same order of ideas. Just as here the king does not indulge in riches but only wants to secure the livelihood of the people, so there the leaders are exhorted not to be bent on riches but work for the securing of a livelihood.

K i n w o k i s i u k a o e r see Gl. 1458.



1487. W u t s u n g y ü h u o p a o, s h e n g s h e n g t s ī y u n g *48*.

For s h e n g s h e n g cf. Gl. 1460 and 1486 above.

A. PK'ung: »Do not amass riches and precious things, advance steadily and yourselves use (virtue)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en briefly says that y u n g *49* means *50* 'merit', thus t s ī y u n g = »make yourselves meritorious». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: y u n g *49* = *51*: »Do not amass riches and precious things, s h e n g s h e n g make your livelihood t s ī y u n g for your own (use =) consumption». — **D.** In all the preceding the comm. have simply skipped the inconvenient y ü *52*, as if the line had run: w u t s u n g h u o p a o. But the fundamental sense of t s u n g *53* is 'to bind, to tie' (secondarily: 'a bundle, to bundle, to heap'), hence also 'to fasten to, to attach to', as in Ch'u: Li sao *54* »I (tie, fasten =) attach my reins (of my horses) to the Fu-sang tree»; and here we have it in the reflexive; t s ī y u n g means 'to use oneself' = 'to devote oneself to'; thus: **»Do not attach yourselves to riches and precious things, employ yourselves in making your livelihood».**

1488. S h ī f u m i n t ê *55*.

A. PK'ung: s h ī *56* = *57* 'to use' (common): »Using (this), (spread out before the people =) show the people the virtue (they should possess)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: s h ī *56* = *57*, thus (in Legge's formulation): »Reverently display your virtue in behalf of the people». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »Using (this), bestow upon the people your bounty». — **D.** Another interpr. There is no reason not to give s h ī its full value as a verb, coördinated with f u: **»Use and propagate the people's virtue».** For s h ī *56* = 'to use', see text ex. in Gl. 103.

Kao Tsung jung jï.

1489. W e i s i e n k o w a n g c h e n g k ü e s h ī *58*.

This is the Ku-wen version; the Kin-wen version ap. Han shu: Ch'eng ti ki and K'ung Kuang chuan had *59*; k o *60* and k i a *61* were synon. and interchangeable, see Gl. 1265.

A. PK'ung: »The former (arrived kings =) kings who attained (the highest principles) corrected their affairs». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: k o *60* = 'to correct'; thus: »First (one must) correct the king, (then one can) correct his affair» (sc. the sacrifice). For k o *60* 'to correct' see corroborating ex. in Gl. 1325 above. But this interpr. excludes the Kin-wen k i a *61* which can have no such meaning. — **C.** Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: *62* »The king should not be anxious, but first correct his governing affairs». Sun Sing-yen proposes that Sī-ma took k i a *61* as equal to h i a *63* 'leisure, at ease' and displaced the s i e n. In the original order: w e i s i e n h i a, w a n g c h e n g k ü e s h ī, the line would then mean: »(first =) for the present be at ease, the king should correct his governing affairs». Whatever Sī-ma may have intended, that was surely not the meaning of the Shu text. — **D.** In Han shu: Ch'eng ti ki there is an edict of the year 32 B. C., on the occasion of a bad omen, which quotes our Shu line and adds: »All you dignitaries are eager and s h u a i s i e n p o l i a o *69* lead forward all the officers to repair my faults». This shows that to the edict author s i e n *65* in our text means 'to come forward', and that he hence understood the k i a *61* in its ordinary sense: **»We shall come forward and go to the king, and correct his (sacrificial) performance».** S h ī *66* often has this technical meaning of 'sacrifice', e. g. Ch'un ts'iu: Chao 15, phr. *67* »There was a (service, performance =) sacrifice in the temple of Wu», etc. The fact that we have no preposition: k o w a n g, not k o y ü w a n g, is no obstacle, since verbs of motion are frequently construed transitively both in literary and in modern Chinese (*68*, etc.). — **E.** Chuang Shu-tsu: k i a *61* is a loan char. for *69* (same sound): »k i a w a n g »to bring blessing on the king». An unnecessary loan speculation. — D, which suits both text versions and which takes k o in its commonest sense, is obviously best; and, apart from the impossible construction of Sī-ma's, it is the oldest interpr. recorded. — We should compare:

Shu: Si po k'an li: K o j e n y ü a n k u e i w a n g k a n c h ī k i *70*.

Sī-ma Ts'ien has the usual Kin-wen reading k i a *61* inst. of k o *60*.

A. Wang Ch'ung (1st c. A. D., Lun heng: Pu shï) paraphrases k o j e n *71* by h i e n j e n *72* 'wise men'. PK'ung explains this by k o *60* = *73* 'to arrive, to attain': 'arrived men' (men who have attained to the highest virtue); Sun Sing-yen: k o *60* = *74*, thus »normative men». The latter might do for k o *60* (see text par. in Gl. 1325) but not for k i a *61*, so that PK'ung is in fact better. Yü Yüe, on the other hand, explains k i a j e n *75* as = »the great men» (well attested meaning, see Gl. 758); this will do for k i a *61* but not for k o *60*, and here again PK'ung is better. Thus: »The (arrived =) perfected men and the great tortoise dare not (know of =) foresee any luck». — **B.** Wang Fu (2nd c. A. D. in Ts'ien fu lun: Pu lie) quotes *76*. In Li: K'ü li we find *77* and Ch'en Hao (14th c.) defines k i a *61* here as = *78*: »We base ourselves on (depend on) you, great tortoise, (you who have) constant norms». This would then be an extension of meaning from k i a = 'to borrow': »We avail ourselves of you»; but evidently k i a could equally well, and better, have its common meaning of 'to arrive': »We come to you, great tortoise». In any case, this is evidently a fixed formula in addressing the oracle. Kiang Sheng believes that the B text version (Wang Fu's) in our Shu line is the correct one, and that the j e n *79* of version A is a corruption of *80*, short-form of *81*. Thus: **»(We have said:) we come to you, great tortoise», but it (the oracle) has not dared to foresee any luck».** Kiang believes that j e n in the k i a j e n *75* of Sī-ma Ts'ien is a later correction made after PK'ung's *71*, which is very unlikely. In any case Wang Ch'ung's j e n *79* cannot be due to a correction, since he paraphrases his k i a j e n *75* by h i e n j e n *72*. Thus in early Han time there surely existed a version with j e n and not e r. This, however, by no means prevents an e r *80* having been erroneously turned into j e n *79* before Sī-ma's time, and in fact the Li parallel must be said to be decisive on this point: it would be strange indeed if that oracle formula and our Shu line, so exceedingly similar, were quite independent and had different meanings. Quite decisive in this direction is furthermore the fact that it is an oracle, and certainly not any »wise men» who foresee whether something is k i *82* auspicious or h i u n g *83* nefarious.

Shu: Lü hing: S h u y u k o m i n g *84*.

A. Cheng Hüan (after Erya): k o *85* = *86* 'to ascend', interpreting: »May you all have a (highly-ascending =) long life». K o 'to arrive, *parvenir*' may sometimes by extension of meaning come to mean 'to ascend', as in the Lü hing: *87* »There was no descending or ascending». But the idea that m i n g here refers to long life is impossible in the context. — **B.** PK'ung simply says k o *85* = *88* (so also Ts'ai Ch'en), and K'ung Ying-ta fills out: c h ī = *89*, thus: »May you have a perfected life» (still referring to high age). — **C.** Since the »life» idea makes no sense, Legge and Couvreur take m i n g as = 'charge, order', but still adhere to the B idea of k o *85* as = *88* 'attaining (the utmost point), perfected': Legge: »You will receive a most important charge»; Couvreur, somewhat differently: »Vous trouverez, j'espère, d'excellentes prescriptions». — **D.** Wang Yin-chï: *85* is loan char. for *90* 'great': »May you get a great charge». We should

54總 54余 55曾 56子 57扶 58桑 59式 60敷 61民 62德 63式 64敬 65惟 66先 67格 68王 69正 70厥 71事 72惟 73先 74假 75王 76正 77厥 78事 79格 80假 81王 82勻 83爨 84先 85修 86政 87事 88暇 89舒 90先 91百 92僚 93先 94王 95事 96有 97事 98于 99武 100宮 101人 102城 103則 104來 105假 106格 107人 108元 109龜 110罔 111敢 112知 113吉 114格 115人 116賢 117人 118至 119于 120正 121假 122人 123假 124爾 125元 126龜 127假 128爾 129泰 130龜 131有 132常 133人 134之 135所 136不 137爾 138或 139吉 140必 141有 142庶 143有 144格 145命 146格 147于 148登 149人 150有 151陟 152降 153格 154于 155天 156于 157帝 158其 159降 160格 161嘉 162假

then have to say that k o *85* stands for *91*, because these synonymous words (but not homophonous: *85* **klăk* : *91* **kå*) are often interchangeable, and that k i a is a loan char. for k i a *90*. But if so, it is strange that no ancient text version here has k i a *91*; k o *85* alone is attested. — **E.** Wang Sien-k'ien: k o *85* = *86* (with A), but m i n g *92* means *93* '(heavenly) charge': »May it occur that you ascend to (heavenly) charges» (a long row of persons being addressed). We might modify this by giving k o *85* its commoner meaning of 'to arrive, to attain to', and take m i n g 'charge' simply in its ordinary sense of office: **»May it occur that you (all) attain to charges».** This suits the context best.

1490. M i n y u p u j o tê, p u t' i n g t s u e i *94*.

A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en take j o and t' i n g as finite verbs: **»When among the people there are such who do not comply with virtue and do not acknowledge their guilt».** T' i n g t s u e i *95* means 'to listen to their guilt' i. e. acknowledge their guilt. We have an exact par. in Li: Yüe ki *96* »The inferior man because of that acknowledges his faults» (here the sense is quite unambiguous). — **B.** Kiang Sheng takes p u j o as an attribute to tê and t' i n g as an attribute to t s u e i. P u j o 'not conforming' (to the right) = 'not good': t' i n g 'to hear' means 'to investigate and judge, to condemn' as *passim* in Li: Wang chï. Moreover he connects it with the preceding: »(They themselves in the middle cut off their lives because) the people have a (not-conforming =) aberrant virtue and (not heard crimes =) crimes that have not been judged». — The grammatical construction of A really makes a better sense, for it is here not a question of »the people» (as a whole) being wicked but that some are good and get a long life and some are wicked and get a short life. And the Li par. offers a strong support for t' i n g t s u e i. There is really no reason for abandoning the ancient interpr.

1491. T' i e n k i f u m i n g c h e n g k ü e tê *97*.

A. PK'ung: f u *98* (**p'i̯ug*) = *99* 'true, truly', thus: »Heaven has f u truly m i n g granted life (sc. short for the culprits) and corrected their virtue». F u *98* = 'true, sincere', is common. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: f u *98* 'sincerity' here means *100* 'token of reliability', i. e. 'evidence', referring to warning omina in the shape of premature death for the wicked. Thus: »Heaven has f u given evidence and m i n g given orders (that they should) correct their virtue». — **C.** Whereas the Ku-wen version had *98* above (**p'i̯ug*), the Kin-wen version had f u *1* 'to deliver, to give' (**pi̯u* / *pi̯u* / f u); so read in the stone classics of 175 A. D. and so quoted by K'ung Kuang (Han shu: K'ung Kuang chuan), late 1st c. B. C.; Sï-ma Ts'ien has instead *2* (**b'i̯u* / *b'i̯u* / f u) 'to apply', a cognate word. Thus: **»Heaven has given its grant of life, (adjusting =) determining their virtue».** — C follows up directly the idea expressed in the preceding line. It is also the oldest version attested.

1492. W a n g s ï k i n g m i n w a n g f e i t' i e n y i n t i e n s ï w u f e n g y ü n i *3*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after t i e n, interpreting. »The king s ï presides over k i n g and cares about m i n the people; there is nothing that is not t' i e n y i n by Heaven continued t i e n (norms =) institutions; s ï in regard to the sacrifices, do not be over-rich in the (near one =) father's shrine». The char. *4* (**ni̯ət* / *ńi̯ĕt* / n i) means 'near, close' (common). But Tuan Yü-ts'ai proposes that our text originally had simply *5* (**ni̯ər* / *ńi* / n i) 'near, close', a cognate word (altered into *4* by Wei Pao) and this would here mean the same as (the cognate word) *6* (**niər* / *niei* / n i) 'dead father, dead father's shrine', the etymology of the latter being in fact 'the near one' as opposed to more remote ancestors (to the same word stem belongs *7* **ńi̯ĕr* 'near, close'). The definition of our n i as having this sense was adopted by PK'ung from Ma Jung. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after y i n, interpreting: »The kings s ï have for duty k i n g m i n to care for the people;

there are none who are not the successors of Heaven; t i e n s ï in arranging the sacrifices, do not be over-rich in the father's shrine». — **C.** Sï-ma Ts'ien renders the line thus: w a n g s ï (*11*) k i n g m i n w a n g f e i t' i e n k i (*13*) c h' a n g s ï w u l i (*9*) y ü k' i t a o (some editors have f e n g *8* inst. of l i *9*, but that is a correction after Shu; the Sung Po-na edition has l i). Now, s ï *10* and s ï *11* are interchangeable in Chou inscriptions and either the *10* of A is equal to the *11* of C in its sense of 'to continue, to succeed', or the *11* of C means *10* 'to govern' (common in bronze inscr.); the former, however, is more plausible, since it matches the following y i n *12* (Sï-ma = *13*) 'to continue, inherit'. As to f e n g *8* and l i *9*, the latter without radical *14* (so written, meaning 'ritual vase' in a bronze inscr., see Grammata p. 278), they are so similar that a confusion was easy, and it is hard to tell which was the original reading in our Shu line. Indeed the archaic graphs for f e n g *8* and l i *14* are hardly distinguishable (see Grammata pp. 278 and 395), and the Han scholars in transcribing such a graph might just as well take it to be the one as the other. Sï-ma renders t i e n s ï by c h' a n g s ï 'regular, standard sacrifices', thus taking t i e n as an attribute to s ï. And obviously he does not take n i *5* as = 'father's shrine', since he paraphrases it by 'k' i t a o 'neglecting the proper principles', but he took it as = *4* 'intimate, familiar, unceremonious'. Thus: **»When the kings become successors in taking care of the people, there are none who are not successors of Heaven; in the standard sacrifice (sc. to the Royal spirits), do not perform rites in familiarity».** (Chavannes has understood this Shï ki passage quite differently.) Kiang Sheng follows this as far as t i e n s ï but for the rest accepts B. — **D.** Yü Yüe punctuates differently: W a n g s ï k i n g m i n, w a n g f e i t' i e n, y i n t i e n s ï, w u f e n g y ü n i; he takes *10* as = *11*, after Shï ki, and takes t i e n *15* (**tiən*) 'standard, norm' as a loan char. for *16* (**d'iən*) 'to cut off', interpreting: »When the kings become successors in taking care of the people, w a n g f e i t' i e n there is nothing that is not Heaven (i. e. due to Heaven's command); y i n t i e n s ï you should continue the interrupted sacrifices, w u f e n g y ü n i and not be over-rich in the father's shrine». This is certainly no improvement, the clause w a n g f e i t' i e n being strained and the loan **tiən* for **d'iən* not very convincing. — **E.** Yü Sing-wu: *8* should not be read f e n g but l i, being properly *14* (with Sï-ma, C above). N i *5* is a corruption of *17*, and this again is the same as s h ï *18* »the corpse», the representative of the dead at a sacrifice. T i e n s ï *19* is the name of an office »the regulator of sacrifices», as recorded in Chouli: Tien sï. As to s ï *10*, he follows B. Thus: »The kings have for duty to care for the people, there are none who are not the successors of Heaven; (but now) the t i e n s ï regulator of sacrifices has no courtesy towards the s h ï representative of the dead». This is very ingenious, as far as t i e n s ï is concerned, *5* = *18* being much less convincing. Yü has a long discussion whether Chou offices were the same as those of the Yin, an unnecessary worry since certainly no Shu text was written earlier than Western Chou: the authors naively applied the Chou-time institutions to Yin times. But then it is decisive that the duty of the t i e n - s ï according to Chouli (the only text in which he occurs) was to preserve, cleanse and guard the open altars in the suburbs. He really could have nothing to do with the »representative of the dead» in the ancestral sacrifices in the temple. If, with Yü, we were to take t i e n s ï as the name of an office, it would be someting quite different from that recorded in the Chouli, and

假 *22* 命 *23* 天命 *24* 民有不若德不聽罪 *25* 聽罪 *26* 小人 *27* 聽通 *28* 天既孚命正厥德 *29* 孚 *30* 信 *31* 符信 *1* 付 *2* 附 *3* 王司敬民罔非天胤典祀無豐于昵 *4* 昵 *5* 尼 *6* 禰 *7* 通 *8* 豐 *9* 禮 *10* 司 *11* 嗣 *12* 胤 *13* 鬱 *14* 豐 *15* 典 *16* 殄 *17* 尸 *18* 尸 *19* 典祀 *20* 西伯既戡黎 *21* 黎 *22* 智 *23*

then we are in the field of pure guess-work. — If we take n i *4* as it stands, without any loan speculation (= *6*), giving it its normal meaning 'intimate, familiar', we can follow the oldest interpr. attested (C).

Si po k'an Li.

1493. S i p o k i k' a n L i *20*.

For L i *21* (**liər*) (Shuowen *22* **liər*) Shang shu ta chuan has K'i *23* (**g'i̯ĕr*), and Sï-ma Ts'ien has both this latter and K i *24* (**ki̯ĕr*) and K i *25* (**ki̯ĕr*). There has been a heated discussion whether these are variants of the same ancient place name, or whether the Han scholars incorrectly mixed up two different warfares, erroneously identifying a K'i or Ki with the Li of the Shu. The word *26* is wr. *27* in Shang shu ta chuan and Shuowen; since both are **k'əm / k'ậm* / k ' a n, even tone, they are obviously merely variant graphs for the same word.

A. Erya, foll. by PK'ung: k ' a n = 'to vanquish', thus: »When the Prince of the West had vanquished Li». — **B.** Shuowen defines *26* as = *28* 'to pierce' and *27* as = *29* 'to kill', thus: **»When the Prince of the West had killed (the prince of) Li».** Cf. Shï ki: Ts'ï k'o chuan *30* »With the right hand he pierced (stabbed) his breast». It is true that this par. is only from early W. Han time, but it helps greatly to define the precise concrete sense of the word, from which the sense 'to vanquish' is merely an extension.

K o j e n y ü a n k u e i w a n g k a n c h ï k i see Gl. 1489.

1494. W e i w a n g y i n h i *31*.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »The king is dissolute and sporting». — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien has *32* **»The king is dissolute and tyrannical».** This was not only the Kin-wen version, but also the original Ku-wen version, since Cheng Hüan expounds it by *33*. PK'ung's h i *34* is therefore a mere corruption due to similarity in the graphs.

1495. P u y ü t ' i e n s i n g *35*.

A. Cheng Hüan: **»(The king) does not consider his heavenly nature».** Y ü *36* = 'to estimate, calculate, consider' is the normal meaning. — **B.** Sun Yi-jang: y ü *36* = *37* 'to rejoice' (then really = *38*), thus: »(The king) does not rejoice in his heavenly nature». Cf. Meng: Tsin sin *39* »rejoicing and cheerful». — **C.** Chang Ping-lin: The preceding line p u y u k ' a n g s h ï *40* does not mean »we have no (means of) eating our food in tranquillity», but k ' a n g *41* stands for *42* 'chaff, bran', and »the people» is an understood subject. Y ü *36*, with B, is = *38* = *37*, and 't ' i e n s i n g *43* does not mean 'the heavenly nature' but is = s h e n g *44* 'life'. Thus: »(The people) have not (even) bran food, they do not enjoy the (heavenly =) by Heaven given life». A series of arbitrary loan theories; moreover t ' i e n - s i n g is a well-known and frequently occurring binome, whereas no t ' i e n s h e n g exists. — A, besides being an ancient interpr., really makes better sense in the context than B.

1496. P u t i s h u a i t i e n *45*.

A. PK'ung: t i *46* = *47* 'to walk in, pursue the course of', see full discussion in Gl. 1337 above; s h u a i *48* = *49* 'to follow' (common); t i - s h u a i then simply becomes a binome = 'to follow'. Thus: **»(The king) does not follow the statutes».** — **B.** Sun Yi-jang, basing himself on some theories of Wang Nien-sun and Wang Yin-chï, proposes that t i *46* is equal to *50*, and this is = y u n g *51* (refuted in Gl. 200); further that s h u a i *48* is 'a particle' simply to be skipped (cf. Gl. 1406). Thus the line would be equal to *52* »He does not (use =) observe the statutes». An arbitrary and ill-founded speculation.

1497. T a m i n g p u c h ï *53*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien renders c h ï *54* by *55* 'to come', and Shuowen quotes *56* = 'to come'. This latter graph is known from no other text. Thus: »The great mandate (sc. to another family) does not come». This interpr. is weak in that it leaves an important item: »to another family» unexpressed and to be supplied. Erya says c h ï *54* = *57* 'to come', cf. Li: Yüe ling *58* »Snow and frost greatly come». — **B.** Yü Sing-wu: c h ï *54* is a corruption of y i *59* (a person named *60* in Lü: Sien shï is called *61* in Huai: Fan lun) and this y i *59* (**ngi̯ad / ngi̯äi* / y i) is loan chr. for *62* (**ńi̯ĕr / ńźi̯ę* / e r), thus: »The great mandate is not (coming near =) approaching». Phonetically quite excluded. — **C.** The proper and fundamental meaning of c h ï *54* (**t̂i̯əb / tśi* / c h ï), a word closely cognate to *63* (**t̂i̯əp / tśi̯əp* / c h ï) 'to seize' is 'to grasp, to seize, to catch', e. g. Li: K'ü li *64* 'beasts of prey'; Ta Tai: Hia siao cheng *65* »The hawk commences to seize». It has its ori-g inal sense here: »(Why does Heaven not send down its terror,) **(why has) the great mandate not been seized?»**

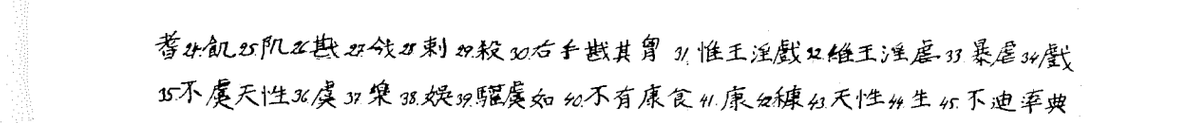
K i n w a n g k ' i j u y i see Gl. 1405.

1498. Y i n c h ï t s i s a n g, c h ï n a i k u n g *66*.

A. PK'ung: »That Yin is on the point of perishing (points to =) signalizes your deeds». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes c h ï n a i k u n g together with the following line: »When Yin now presently will perish, (pointing to =) in view of your deeds (you cannot but be killed in your state)». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »When Yin presently will perish, one will (point out =) signalize your deeds». — **D.** Yü Yüe: c h ï *67* (**t̂i̯ər / tśi* / c h ï (rising tone) is a loan char. for *68* (same sound) 'to effectuate, accomplish', and has the same phonetic in the graph. In ode 285 we find *69* »You have (effectuated and settled =) established your (deeds) merits» (for a full discussion of which see Gl. 820) and the Ode's c h ï e r k u n g and our c h ï n a i k u n g here must reasonably be the same, all the more since Ode 241, phr. *72* »God on High settled it» is quoted *73* in Ts'ien fu lun: Pan lu (Lu school) with the same loan of *67* for *68* as here. Thus: **»When Yin is on the point of perishing, if you (effectuate =) carry through your deeds,** (you cannot but be killed in your state)». The word **t̂i̯ər / tśi* / c h ï *68* is also often wr. *74* or *75* and it is closely cognate to **ti̯ər t̂i* / c h ï *76* 'to effectuate, bring about, settle', see in detail Gl. 820. — **E.** Yü Sing-wu: *67* stands for *77* in the reading **ki̯ər / kiei* / k i 'to calculate, to count'. Thus: »When Yin is on the point of perishing, in counting your deeds (you cannot but die in your state)». — All these alternatives are quite admissible, and before deciding we have to study another case:

Shu: Wei tsï: K i n e r w u c h ï k a o y ü t i e n t s i j o c h ï h o k i *78*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien (Sung shï kia) renders this: k i n j u w u k u k a o, y ü t i e n t s i, j u c h ï h o k i *86*, thus cutting the line after k a o: »Now you shall without (special) designs tell me: if I collapse, what is to be done?» C h ï *67* is common in this sense of 'purport, aim, scope, design', and is likewise often wr. without radical *79* (in later times wr. *80*, which is not a pre-Han graph). We had it like that in P'an Keng *81*: »They did not conceal its (aim) purport»; Yi: Hi ts'ï *82* »Its purport is far-reaching»; etc. (common). In spite of the char. t s i *83* (PK'ung text *84*), which properly means 'to ascend', Ma Jung



says the word here means 'to fall', forming a binome with t i e n : t i e n - t s i = 'to collapse'. Curiously enough Shuowen under *83* = 'to ascend' quotes our line here. But *83* (*84*) **tsiər*, even tone, is merely a loan char. for *85* **tsiər*, rising tone = 'to push', as in Tso: Chao 13, phr. *86* »pushed (down) into the ditches», thus: t i e n t s i = 'to be overthrown and pushed' = 'to collapse'. Sï-ma's idea, that w u c h ï *87* means »without (sly) designs» is very far-fetched. Kiang Sheng therefore, punctuating in the same way, tries to take the first line interrogatively: »Have you no aim to tell me?» But there is nothing in the text to indicate a question. Wang Sien-k'ien turns it differently: »(If) you have no aim to tell me». — **B.** Wang Yin-chï: the line should, with Sï-ma, be punctuated after k a o (and so also Hü Shen understood it, since under *83* he quotes: y ü t i e n t s i *89*). W u *90* is »a particle» and should simply be skipped. C h ï *67* (**t̂i̯ər*) is equal to *68* or *74* **t̂i̯ər* / *tśi* / c h ï 'to effectuate' (see D above) and closely cognate to *76* **ti̯ər* / *t̂i* / c h ï 'to effectuate' (see *ibid.*); our c h ï k a o *91* here means *92* 'to (effectuate =) make an announcement'. That same phr. we had in P'an Keng above: »You all *93* should effectuate the announcement». In Tso: Siang 9 we have: *94* »There is nowhere (to go and) (effectuate) make announcement». Thus our: e r w u c h ï k a o *95* is equal to *96*: »You should make an announcement». I have ofter had occasion to point out the fallacy of taking p u *97* and w u *90* as »empty particles» (see e. g. Gl. 759), but with this modification, Wang's interpr. is quite plausible: **»Now you do not (effectuate =) make any announcement (to me)».** — **C.** Yü Sing-wu (as above): c h ï *67* stands for *77* k i 'to count': »Now you do not calculate and tell me». — **D.** PK'ung punctuates thus: k i n e r w u c h ï k a o y ü, t i e n, j o c h ï h o k i : »Now you do not c h ï indicate and k a o tell me; when there is collapse (sc. of the Yin realm), what is to be done?» — **E.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates: K i n e r w u c h ï, k a o y ü t i e n t s i, j o c h ï h o k i : »Now you have nothing to indicate (sc. no good advice), you (simply) tell me the (impending) collapse, what is to be done?». The only advantage of this is the good rhythm in lines of 4 syllables. — With Wang Yin-chï we must admit that c h ï k a o *92*, c h ï k a o *94* and our c h ï k a o *91* here cannot very well be entirely different and unrelated phrases, all the more so since in Ode 285 c h ï *67* is the Lu school loan char. for c h ï *68* 'to effectuate' which is id. with *74*. Thus in our Wei tsï line we necessarily have to accept B. But then consistency demands that in the Si po k'an li line *66* we should follow D, and in this we have a strong support in the Ode par. adduced: our c h ï n a i k u n g *71* must tally with c h ï e r k u n g *70* of Ode 285.

Wei tsï.

Y i n k' i f u h u o l u a n c h e n g s ï f a n g see Gl. 1453 (C).

1499. W o t s u c h ï s u e i c h' e n y ü s h a n g *98*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien drops the c h ï *99*, thus indicating c h ï s u e i as a binome, and PK'ung interprets: »Our ancestor accomplished and achieved (merits), it was displayed (above =) in former ages», defining y ü s h a n g *100* as = *1*. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen refers to Han shu: Ai ti ki, where the word c h' e n *2* has been glossed as = *3* 'way, principle' by a comm. Li Fei, and Sun interprets: »Our ancestor c h ï s u e i has achieved c h' e n the proper principles y ü s h a n g (above =) previously». But it was already shown by the comm. Ju Ch'un that in the Han shu passage quoted Ch'en was simply a family name. Indeed c h' e n can mean 'road', but then as a technical term (properly: »the expanse») for the path leading from the gate to the hall (Ode 199), and this sense of course is not applicable here. — **C.** Sun Yi-jang: c h' e n *2* (**d'i̯ĕn*) is a loan char. for t i e n (**d'ien*), just as the word t i e n *4* in Ode 210 is quoted *5* in Cheng Hüan's comm. on Chouli: Shao jen. Thus: »Our ancestor accomplished t i e n to lay out for cultivation (sc. our land Shang) in former ages». It would thus be analogous to the phr. *6* in Shu:

To shï. But a t i e n standing like that without an object is very unnatural, and the theory is an unnecessary loan speculation. — **D.** Chang Ping-lin: s u e i *7* has the sense it possesses in the binome s u e i - k u *8* »in the far-off antiquity» (see the 1st line in Ch'u: T'ien wen) and c h' e n *2* means *9* 'a long time', thus: »Our ancestors achieved antiquity and a long time in former ages» (whatever that may mean). — **E.** Another interpr. Y ü s h a n g *100* 'above' cannot mean »in former ages», since it balances the following y ü h i a *10* 'below' which certainly cannot, with Ma Jung, mean *11* »in these after.times». As usual in the Shu, y ü s h a n g 'above' means in Heaven, as opposed to y ü h i a 'below' = here below on earth. Thus: **»What our ancestor achieved and accomplished was (displayed =) signalized above (sc. in Heaven)».**

1500. C h' e n h ü y ü t s i u *12*.

A. This is PK'ung's version, and Shïwen reads *13* **χi̯u* / *χi̯u* / h ü; Shuowen has a *14* with the same reading and sense 'mad with drink', evidently merely a variant. »We are plunged in and mad with wine». — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. Sï-ma Ts'ien and Han shu: Sü chuan reads *15* »We are plunged in wine». The binome c h' e n - m i e n *16* (**d'i̯əm-mi̯an*) is very common in Han literature, evidently under the influence of this Shu passage, competing with the analogous t a n - m i e n *17* (**təm-mi̯an*). Wang Yin-chï would take c h' e n *18* (**d'i̯əm*) as a loan char. for *19* (**di̯əm* / *i̯əm* / y i n), a cognate word meaning 'to soak' and by extension 'licentious, dissolute', because a binome y i n - m i e n *20* also exists (Lü: Tang wu); but the combination with t s i u 'spirits' makes it natural to take *18* in its primary reading and sense: 'to sink, to plunge into, to steep in'. Cf. Ode 256, Lu and Ts'i versions *21* (Mao version correspondingly *22*): »Excessively (plunged in =) steeped in wine»; Ode 255, phr. *23* »Heaven does not steep you in wine» (see Gl. 940). — Undecidable whether A or B best represents the orig. Shu.

1501. Y i n w a n g p u s i a o t a h a o etc. *24*.

A. PK'ung: **»Among the Yin there are none who do not — whether small or great — love to»** etc. This is grammatically correct. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: *25* »Among the Yin, (not having small, not having great» =) with no distinction between small and great». This is quite wrong, for the text should then be either w a n g s i a o w a n g t a *26* or w a n g s i a o t a *27*, cf. Ode 136, phr. *28* »whether winter or summer»; Lun: Yao yüe *29* »(Not having =) not distinguishing between many and few, between small and great» (see further Gl. 939). — **C.** Sï-ma Ts'ien renders the line *30*. This really makes no sense. It has been proposed that *31* stands for *32* which again would be = *33* = *34*. But this is all very obscure.

1502. H a o t s' a o t s' i e k i e n k i u *35*.

A. PK'ung: »They love in the (grass =) open fields to rob and to commit villainy and treachery». T s' a o 'grass' is common in the compound t s' a o - m a n g *36* 'the wilds' (Tso: *passim*) and in Kyü: Wu yü we find *37* »he is a man from the wilds and the

無故告于顚蹠 88.無指 89.于顚蹠 90.無 91.指告 92.致告 93.其惟致告 94.無所底告 95.爾無指告 96.爾致告 97.不 98.我祖底遂陳于上 99.底 100.于上 1 于上世 2.陳 3.道 4.旬 5.歷 6.旬四方 7.遂 8.遂古 9.久 10.于下 11.於後世 12.沈湎于酒 13.湎 14.酗 15.沈湎于酒 16.沈湎 17.湛湎 18.沈 19.淫 20.淫湎 21.沈于酒 22.湛于酒 23.天不湎爾于酒 24.殷罔不小大好 25.無小無大 26.罔小罔大 27.罔小大 28.無冬無夏 29.無衆寡無小大 30.殷既小大 31.既 32.死 33.无 34.無 35.好草竊姦宄 36.草莽 37.草鄙之人 38.竊 39.莠 40.草竊 41.草 42.鈔 43.草莽 44.粗 45.

border lands». But after all t s ' i e *38* means 'to steal' (furtively), not 'to rob', which makes this interpr. improbable. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: t s ' a o means *39* 'nocuous weed': He refers to Lü: Pien t'u, where the phr. t s ' a o t s ' i e *40* 'herbs stealing' means 'weeds encroaching' (upon the growing grain), and he believes we have the same simile here: »They love to (weed-encroach =) encroach upon others like nocuous weeds». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: t s ' a o *41* **ts'ôg* is loan char. for c h ' a o *42* (**tṣ'ŏg*) = to rob'. This latter was coll. current in middle Han time (Fang yen) but is known from no earlier text. — **D.** Yü Yüe has a bold speculation that t s ' a o t s ' i e stands for a phr. t s ' a o t s ' a i *43*, which he tries to explain as meaning 'disorderly'. But he has no single text par., only dictionary items, which he forces badly. — **E.** T s ' a o *41* is sometimes defined as = *44* 'coarse, rough', and Chavannes has followed this: »Ils se plaisent à agir grossièrement, a voler . . . . .». T s ' a o means 'coarse' as opposed to s i *45* 'fine, detailed, delicate', as in Lun: Hien wen: »Pei Shen *46* coarsely commenced it», i. e. made the coarse draft (of the document). It seems better to take t s ' a o t s ' i e together (as the following k i e n k i u is practically a binome), cf. Germ. »grobes Diebstahl», thus: **»They love grossly to steal and to do villainy and treachery».**

K ' i n g s h ī s h ī s h ī f e i t u see Gl. 1305.

1503. N a i w a n g h e n g h u o *47*.

Sï-ma Ts'ien replaces h e n g 'constant (norm)' by *48* 'rule'. The line follows upon: »They all have guilt».

A. PK'ung: »There are none who h e n g have regular norms and h u o attain to (the proper mean)». Chavannes turns it thus: »Il n'y en a aucun qui se conduise suivant la règle et observe (son devoir)». — **B.** Cheng Hüan: »There are none who in a regular way obtain (their emoluments)». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »(Of all those who have guilt) there are none who obtain their (guilt =) punishment» (he simply skips the inconvenient h e n g). — **D.** Wu Ch'eng: »(They all have guilt), but there is nobody who h e n g with the regular law h u o catches (them)». — **E.** Kiang Sheng: »They do not constantly (regularly) get (sc. what they ought to get as consequences of their actions)». — **F.** Yü Yüe: »(They all have guilt) **but they are not regularly caught».**

S i a o m i n f a n g h i n g see Gl. 1234.

1504. K i n Y i n k ' i l u n s a n g *49*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien reads K i n Y i n k ' i t i e n s a n g *50*. This has been variously explained: — *α*. Sü Kuang (foll. by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen): t i e n *51* means *52* »the state's statutes»: »Now Yin's statutes have been lost». In fact, the word sequence should then properly be: k i n Y i n t i e n k ' i s a n g, so that we have to construe the line thus: **»Now in Yin, its statutes have been lost».** Sun points out how Lü: Sien yi has a story about the N e i s h ī annalist of the last Yin king: he »loaded on a carriage his t ' u f a *53* tablets and laws and fled to Chou», which certainly is an allusion to our Shu passage and confirms the early existence of the version t i e n *51*, and in this *α*. interpr. — *β*. Ts'ien Ta-hin and Yen Jo-kü: *51* **t'iən / tien* / t i e n is loan char. for *54* **d'iən / d'ien* / t ' i e n 'to destroy', thus: »Yin will be destroyed and perish». In Chouli: Chou jen *51* is expl. as loan char. for *54* by Cheng Chung; and in Yi li: Yen li in one text version *54* stands for *55*. — **B.** The PK'ung version has, as above: l u n s a n g *56*. — *α*. PK'ung (after Shuo-wen) says l u n *57* = *58* 'to sink in water, to drown': »Now Yin will drown and perish». But, as fully discussed in Gl. 564, no such sense of the char. *57* can be confirmed. It is probably a meaning fabricated to suit this char. which has the rad. 'water', and possibly Hü Shen has really had our Shu passage in mind and been influenced by a simile in the following line about a boat crossing a river. — *β*. L u n *57* may simply be a loan char. for l u n *59* 'principle, norm': »Now, in Yin, its (norms =) laws have been lost». If so, the meaning comes to the same as A *α*. — The element *60* forms part both of *51* and

of *61*, and probably the Chou text had some such simple graph, which was interpreted by some Han scholars as t i e n *51*, by others as l u n *61*; the latter, which should really be enlarged into *59*, has been wrongly enlarged into *57* (by Hü Shen? or by PK'ung?). We have every reason to accept the earliest attested deciphering (t i e n) as attested in Sï-ma, and in its *α* interpr., which does not operate with any loan speculations and is proved by the Lü anecdote to go back to pre-Han times.

1505. W o k ' i f a c h ' u k ' u a n g *62*.

A. Sï-ma reads *63* **»I will start and go away».** Since Cheng Hüan in his paraphrase likewise has *64*, this was obviously both the Ku-wen and Kin-wen version, and B below is a corruption. Sun Yi-jang would read f a *65* as = *66* (i. e. the word wr. without radical, common in Chou time): »I will give it up and go away», adducing Lun: Wei tsï *67*, in Cheng Hüan's version wr. *68*. That, of course, is quite possible; but the combination »start and go away» is certainly more natural than Sun's proposal. — **B.** PK'ungs' version is as above: k ' u a n g, and this has been variously explained: — *α*. PK'ung himself paraphrases: *69* (»When I think of Yin's ruin), we (sc. the king and his house) have f a broken out (in sickness) and (produced madness =) become mad». — *β*. Ts'ai Ch'en takes f a - c h ' u together: »We have manifested madness». — *γ*. Sun Yi-jang: k ' u a n g means *70* 'quickly'. — *δ*. Yü Sing-wu: there are already cases in the oracle bones in which *71* was wr. in the sense of *72* 'to go', so that even version B, if it existed early, had the same sense as version A. This is clearly right.

1506. W u k i a m a o s u n y ü h u a n g *73*.

A. Cheng Hüan says m a o *74* means *75* 'confused', and PK'ung, accepting this, interprets: »Our house is confused (in disorder), I withdraw to the wilds». M a o *74* really means 'very old' and hence also 'senile, dotard' (cf. F. below), confused in mind because of sensility. That this sense should here be extended to mean 'confused, disorderly' generally (my house is [dotard =] in disorder) is unlikely. — **B.** Since Ma Jung says: ministers and dignitaries are called k i a *76* 'houses', Kiang Sheng, accepting Cheng's expl. of m a o (A above), interprets: »Our (houses =) feudal lords are either m a o dotard or s u n y ü h u a n g have withdrawn to the wilds». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes m a o in its ordinary sense. »Our house's old men have withdrawn to the wilds». Sun Sing-yen in a curious way takes w u k i a »my house» as equal to 'I': »I am old and retire to the wilds», which of course is inadmissible. — **D.** Sï-ma Ts'ien (Sung shï kia) has a strongly aberrant formulation: w u k i a p a o y ü s a n g *77*. This has been interpr. variously: — *α*. The old and natural expl. is Sü Kuang's: »(I will start and go away), (and thus) my house will be preserved in the ruin (of Yin)». — *β*. Kiang Sheng, still with a view to Ma Jung's gloss (see under B), explains: »Our (feudal) houses are p a o (keeping themselves =) remaining passive in the ruin». — *γ*. P'i Si-juei refers to Sï-ma's introductory words, that Wei-tsï was uncertain whether to leave or to stay and die for his king, and interprets: (»I will either start and go away, or) in the house keep steadfast y ü s a n g unto death». Exceedingly forced. — **E.** Yü Yüe says s u n *77a* (**swən*) is equal to s ü n *78* (**dziwən*) which he defines as = 'to follow', and h u a n g *79* is equal to w a n g *80*; adopting the view of P'i above (D *γ*) he interprets:

細 *66* 草創之 *67* 乃 圖 恆 *68* 維 *69* 今 殷 其 淪 喪 *70* 今 殷 其 典 喪 *57* 典 *52* 國 典 *53* 圖 法 *54* 矜 *55* 腆 *56* 淪 喪 *57* 淪 *58* 沒 *59* 倫 *60* 冏 *61* 侖 *62* 我 其 發 出 狂 *63* 我 其 發 出 往 *64* 出 往 *65* 發 *66* 廢 *67* 廢 中 權 *68* 發 中 權 *69* 發 疾 生 狂 *70* 遽 *71* 狂 *72* 往 *73* 吾 家 耄 遜 于 荒 *74* 耄 *75* 昏 亂 *76* 家 *77* 吾 家 保 于 喪 *77* 遜 *78* 馴 *79* 荒 *80* 亡 *81* 保 *82* 喪 *83* 老 將 知 而 耄 及 之 *84* 則 武 王 之 志 荒 矣 *85*

»(I will either start and go away, or) my house being confused, I will s u n follow it y ü h u a n g in the destruction». And then Yü easily disposes of the Shī ki version (D) above: p a o *81* stands for m a o *74* because they are »similar in sound»(!); s a n g *82* means the same as h u a n g *79*, and the s u n *77a* that is lacking in Sï-ma's text has evidently been lost through error(!). — **F.** Another interpr. It is really quite impossible to reconcile the Shu text with Sï-ma Ts'ien's passage. Since Sï-ma very often deviates strongly from the Shu, we cannot here, without corroboration from other early sources, consider his line to represent the Kin-wen version, but we have to concentrate on the A text. We have here a combination of m a o *74* and h u a n g *79*, which recurs in Shu: Lü hing, both meaning there, as seen below, 'very old, senile, dotard'. For m a o *74*, cf. Tso: Chao 1, phr. *83* »When an old man is on the point of becoming wise, senility comes upon him». For h u a n g *79* cf. Li: Yüe ki *84* »Then Wu wang's mind was senile». It would be strange indeed if, in our line above, we had h u a n g *79*, though combined with m a o 'senile', in quite another sense (either: 'the wilds', or 'destruction, ruin', as proposed above). Wei tsï complains that the eldest of the house, who should be the pillars of the state and guides of the wicked king, are dotards: **»The old men of our house have withdrawn in senility».** — We compare:

Shu: Lü hing: W a n g h i a n g k u o p o n i e n m a o h u a n g t o t s o h i n g *85*.

A. In Han-shu: Hing fa chī we find: *86*. This slightly paraphrasing rendering shows that Pan Ku punctuated after h u a n g, and so did PK'ung. The latter took h u a n g = *87*, thus: »When the king had enjoyed the state a hundred years, he was old and careless, but he calculated (the exigencies of the times) and made penal laws». Thus PK'ung followed Pan Ku in taking t o *88* as = *89* »calculating (the times)». The Ts'ing scholars generally believe that the Kin-wen text had this s h ī *90* (Sun Sing-yen even speculates: t o s h ī = »calculated what was good»), but since the rest of Pan's quotation deviates on several points from the Shu wording, his t o s h ī for the simple t o is likewise a paraphrase. On the other hand, Cheng Hüan in comm. on Chouli cites t o t s o s i a n g h i n g *91* »He made detailed penal laws», and again many Ts'ing scholars have believed that s i a n g *92* belonged to the original Shu text; but Pan Ku's quotation above, agreeing with PK'ung, shows that there should originally be no s i a n g. PK'ung's h u a n g *79* = *87* 'careless' is quite bad, as recognized both by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: h u a n g has here its meaning of 'senile' as in Li: Yüe ki (see *84* above). Further, t o *88* obviously has no understood object (*90*) but directs the following phr. Thus: **»When the king had enjoyed the state for a hundred years, he was very old and senile, but he (still) planned to make penal laws».** — **B.** Su Shī (foll. by Legge) would punctuate after m a o : »When the king had enjoyed the state a hundred years, m a o he was very old; (but) h u a n g t o he grandly planned to make penal laws». This is tempting, since we had the phr. h u a n g t o in Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi): *93* »I extensively planned the land works». But the ancient interpr. (A) keeps together two words m a o h u a n g as a synonym-compound which are attested as being synonymous (see above) and it is therefore preferable.

K i n e r w u c h ī k a o etc. see Gl. 1498.

1507. T ' i e n t u k i a n g t s a i h u a n g Y i n p a n g *94*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien has: *95*. Thus: **»Heaven (massively =) heavily sends down disaster and wastes the state of Yin».** Cf. Ode 265, phr. *96* »Heaven heavily sends down death». T u *97* was **tôk*. — **B.** The PK'ung version reads as above; K'ung Ying-ta defines t u *98* 'poison' as = *99*: »Heaven cruelly sends down disaster»; acc. to Ts'ai Ch'en t u *98* would be a verb: »Heaven (hating =) in its aversion sends down disaster»; text par. to this in Tso: Hi 15. T u *98* was **d'ôk*. Possibly this **d'ôk* is only a phonetic loan char. for the

**tôk* of A (Hü Shen may already have held this view, since he defines t u *98* as = *100* 'thick, ample'); in any case that reading is well supported by the Shī par.

F a n g h i n g c h ' e n h ü y ü t s i u *1*.

These six char. do not exist in Sï-ma Ts'ien's rendering; they break the context and are taken from two earlier lines (s i a o m i n f a n g h i n g and c h ' e n h ü y ü t s i u), which do not belong together. The Ts'ing scholars are evidently right in proposing that these 6 char. are erroneous and have been inserted through some lapsus.

1508. J a n g t s ' i e s h e n c h ī c h ī h i t s ' ü a n s h e n g y u n g y i j u n g t s i a n g s h ī w u t s a i *2*.

As to h i *3*, which Cheng Hüan defines as = 'one-coloured', it probably meant simply 'happy, auspicious', see Gl. 1166. Sï-ma Ts'ien deviates too strongly from the Shu in this line to be of any aid.

A. PK'ung punctuates after y u n g, defining y u n g *4* as = *5* 'the contents of the (sacrificial) vessels', properly then »the (stuff) used (in sacrifice)»; and t s i a n g *6* = *7*. Thus: »They steal the Spirits' one-coloured and (bodily) faultless sacrificial animals and the (stuff) used (in sacrifice, i. e. grain), j u n g allowing each other t s i a n g s h ī to commit the eating (of them), w u t s a i there being nobody to (lay disaster on them =) blame them». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after s h e n g and interprets: »They steal . . . . . animals, y u n g y i j u n g and consequently (the officers) (permit =) connive at it, t s i a n g s h ī they take and eat them, w u t s a i there being no disaster (= punishment)». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: j u n g *8* refers to king: »They steal . . . . . animals, y u n g y i j u n g and then he receives them, (and they say:) t s i a n g s h ī if we are going to eat them, w u t s a i there will be no disaster.» — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu: t s i a n g *6*, which has caused such strained explanations, is merely a short-form for *9*, which Chuang says is a variant for Shuowen's *10* and Sï-ma Ts'ien's (Feng shan shu) *11* s h a n g 'to cook'. This is partly wrong, for *9* only occurs (Chuang: Lie Yü-k'ou) as variant for *12*. But fundamentally the idea is right, for *6* may be a short-form for *13*, which (inst. of Chuang's *9*) is the real archaic graph for **śiang / śiang /* s h a n g 'to cook, to boil', a word well attested in bronze inscriptions (see Grammata p. 314). Further, Chuang takes j u n g *8* in its sense of 'to adorn', cf. Ode 62, phr. *14* »Who likes to adorn oneself?». So far, very good. But Chuang then says that probably w u t s a i *15* was originally wr. *16* and that this is a corruption of t ' i e n t s a i *17* »disaster from Heaven», and he attaches the k i a n g *18* from the next line here, which is very forced (see next gloss). With elimination of this last item, we obtain: **»They steal the auspicious and faultless sacrificial animals of the Spirits of Heaven and Earth,** y u n g y i j u n g s h a n g s h ī **and use them to (adorn =) make fine their (cooking and eating =) repasts,** w u t s a i **without (fear of) disaster».** — D is strikingly plausible.

1509. K i a n g k i e n Y i n m i n y u n g y i c h ' o u l i e n c h a o t i c h ' o u p u t a i *19*.

Y u n g y i *20*: PK'ung paraphrases this *21*; K'ung Ying-ta understands it thus:

王享國百年耄荒度作刑 86.穆王既荒命甫侯度時作刑 87.忽. 88.度 89.度時 90.時 91.度作詳刑 92.詳 93.荒度土功 94.天毒降災荒殷邦 95.天篤下災亡殷國 96.天篤降喪 97.篤 98.毒 99.酷毒 100.厚 1.方與沈酗于酒 2.擾龏神祇之犧牲牲用以容將食無災 3.犧 4.用 5.器實 6.將 7.行 8.容 9.爨 10.羹 11.鬲 12.鬻 13.糜 14.誰遹為容 15.無災 16.无災 17.天災 18.降 19.降罰殷民用乂雖敘召敵雖不迪. 20.用乂 21.所用治者 22.雖 23.稱 24.時 25.井 26.乂 27.刈 28.

»Those who are used for governing» i. e. the officials; Ts'ai Ch'en on the other hand: »That which one uses for governing» i. e. »The methods one uses for governing». It is better not to accept PK'ung's construction but translate verbally: »In (using =) applying government. . .».

A. With the modification above, PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en interpret thus: »When I look down on and survey the people of Yin, (I find that) in y u n g y i (using =) applying the government, c h ' o u l i e n one (inimically =) tyrannically levies taxes, c h a o t i c h ' o u one (attracts =) incurs hostility and enmity (untiringly =) incessantly». — **B.** Shīwen says that Ma Jung inst. of *22* **đ̂i̯ôg / źi̯ə̯u / c h ' o u had *23* **đ'i̯ôg / đ̂'i̯ə̯u / c h ' o u 'dense, thick, ample'. Since this is not suitable in the second line, we may take it to refer only to the c h ' o u in the first line; thus: **»When I look down and survey the people of Yin, (I find that) in applying the government, one (amply =) heavily levies taxes, and one incurs hostility and enmity, (untiringly =) incessantly»**. — **C.** Shīwen further says that Cheng Hüan read *22* like *24* (**đ'i̯ôg / đ̂'i̯ə̯u / c h ' o u), and some scholars believe that this only means that Cheng took *22* as a loan char. for the *23* of Ma Jung's text (*23* and *24* being homophonous). But Yü Yüe has another theory: Cheng really meant that *22* was a loan char. for *24*, which *inter alia* can mean the »company» of 9 farmers in a t s i n g *25* (cf. Chao K'i's comm. on Meng: Tsin sin). In consequence, y i *26* must be a short-form for *27* 'to mow'. The government had no right to levy taxes on the private fields of the 9 farmers, only on the k u n g t ' i e n *28*, but now it tyrannically did so: »When I look down and survey the people of Yin, (I find that) y u n g y i using the (time of the) mowing c h ' o u l i e n one on the private fields levies taxes». It seems more than doubtful whether this was really Cheng Hüan's idea; in any case it is exceedingly far-fetched. — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu: The first word k i a n g *29* belongs to the preceding line: *15*, which ought to be *30* »Heaven's disaster descends». But this should be rejected, for it would then be t ' i e n k i a n g t s a i *31*, according to hundreds of parallels. Chuang further interprets: »(When Heaven's disaster descends), k i e n Y i n m i n y u n g y i I (survey =) see that the Yin people y u n g thereby y i corrects itself; but c h ' o u l i e n the hostility (of the rulers) accumulates and c h a o t i attracts enmity (from the people), and yet c h ' o u p u t a i the hostility does not relax». An appalling construction. — **E.** Liu Feng-lu would carry l i e n to the following c h a o, reading l i e n c h a o t i c h ' o u together: »one gathers and attracts hostility and enmity», referring to a Shī par. (Ode 255, phr. *32* »To heap ill-will upon yourself you consider a virtue».) Sun Yi-jang, approving of this, adds that since t a i *33* has the phonetic *34*, which again has the phonetic *35*, w u t a i *36* really should be *37* (a very unnecessary speculation). With C he takes *26* = *27*. He punctuates and interprets thus: ». . . (I find that) y u n g y i c h ' o u one applies (cutting =) attack and hostility, l i e n c h a o t i c h ' o u and gathers and attracts hostility and enmity w u y i without end.» This is certainly no improvement. — **F.** Yü Sing-wu, basing himself on a speculation of Wang Kuo-wei's, thinks that y i *26* should be equal to a bronze-inscription graph which means 'to assist', and interprets y i c h ' o u as = *38* »to assist hostility», whatever that may mean; and he proposes that l i e n *39* is wrong and should be t s ' i e n *40*: »all attract» etc. — The earliest interpretation attested, that of Ma Jung (B), is both the simplest and the most plausible.

S h a n g k ' i l u n s a n g see Gl. 1504.

1510. C h a o w a n g t s ī c h ' u t i w o k i u y ü n k ' o t s ī *41*.

A. PK'ung: k ' o *42* 'to cut' here = *43* (to be cut =) 'to suffer': »I tell you, king's son, to go away, (it is) to follow the (proper) course; I formerly spoke (in favour of you), and I am pained for you (that you did not become king)». There is indeed a whole lot to be supplied that is not expressed, if we are to accept this interpr. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en

construes the second clause differently: ». . . when I formerly spoke (in your favour), I (cut =) injured you» (sc. making the present king hate you). This is hardly better than A. — **C.** Ma Jung: k ' o *42* = *44*. Further, we certainly need not follow the forced construction of t i *45* in A, but, since it simply means 'to advance, go forward', take it with c h ' u as a binome. Sun Sing-yen expounds Ma Jung thus: **»I tell you, king's son, to proceed; I long ago said that one would injure you»**. This is far better than A or B. K ' o *42* mostly means 'to cut' in the sense of 'to carve, to engrave', but it also occurs in a more general sense, e. g. Sün: Li lun *46* »to cut off from the dead and add to the living». Just as k o *47* first means 'to cut' and then by extension 'to harm, to injure', so k ' o *42* 'to cut' would have the same extension here. Cf. Ts'ê: Ts'in ts'ê *48* »He is very (cutting =) cruel and of little clemency». On the other hand, *42* **k'ə̯k* could (with Chu Tsün-sheng) be a loan char. for the homophonous *49* (**k'ə̯k*) 'to vanquish, crush, get the better of', the meaning coming to much the same. We have *50* **k'ə̯k* in the sense of 'to injure' in the Ta Yü Ting inscr.: *51* »You should not injure (maltreat) me, your lord». — **D.** Another version and interpr. even older than C we find in Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Pen sing). He has h a i *52* inst. of k ' o *42* and adds three char. which alter the whole sense; moreover he takes the passage together with a following line: (Chao wang tsī ch'u); W e i t s ī y ü e, w o k i u y ü n h a i t s ī w a n g t s ī p u c h ' u *53*. Thus: »(I tell you, king's son, to go away); the Prince of Wei said: »I long ago said that the child (sc. Chou) among the king's son's did not stand out (as remarkable)». The impossibility of this is obvious; that w a n g t s ī c h ' u in the 1st line and w a n g t s ī p u c h ' u in the 3rd line should have entirely different meanings is, of course, excluded. — **E.** Kiang Sheng therefore rejects C as a whole, but accepts its h a i *52* inst. of k ' o *42*: »I tell you, king's son, to proceed; I long ago told about the child» (sc. that he would ruin the state). — **F.** Chuang Shu-tsu has a construction of his own which is very eccentric; he punctuates: C h a o w a n g t s ī c h ' u; t i w o k i u y ü n k ' o t s ī. And he takes k i u *54* to stand for *55* 'calamity', and k ' o *42* as wrong for h a i *56*, y ü n being an empty particle; he says t i *57* = 'to act, to do': »I tell you, king's son, to go away; we will make our calamity, on the days (k u e i -) h a i and (k i a -) t s ī». — **G.** Sun Yi-jang takes t i *57* to be equal to y u *58*(!). Further, accepting an idea of Tsiao Sün's, he says k ' o t s ī *59* is wrong for *60*. The words k a i t s ī *61* (**kəg-tsi̯ə̯g*) are used, by a pun, for K i t s ī *62* (**ki̯əg-tsi̯ə̯g*) in Han shu: Ju lin chuan (Meng Hi), and Tsiao concludes that our supposed K a i t s ī *60* is equal to K i t s ī; thus: »I tell you, king's son, to go away: y u just as I long ago told Ki t s ī (to go)». This adventurous expl. has been supported by Yü Sing-wu with some slight modifications. — The only sober interpr., which demands no supplying of unexpressed things, is C.

1511. T s ī t s i n g j e n t s ī h i e n y ü s i e n w a n g, w o p u k u h i n g t u n *63*.

A. PK'ung (after Erya): t s i n g *64* = *65* 'to plan, to ponder' (cf. Gl. 653) and he takes the line as the sequel of the Senior Master's speech: »May we ourselves ponder, and j e n each of us himself bring forward (his decision) to the (Spirits of) the former kings; I do not (consider =) think of escaping». — **B.** Ma Jung inst. of t s i n g *64* reads t s ' i n g

公田29降30天災降31天降災32斂怨以為德33怠34台35已36無怠37無已38輔繼39斂40念41詔王子出迪我舊云刻子42劇43病44侵刻45迪46刻死附生47劉48深刻寡恩49克50剋51女勿剋余乃辟52孩53(詔王子出)倣子曰我舊云孩子王子不出54舊55告56亥57迪58猶59刻子60羔子61黃茲62簧子63自靖人自獻于先王我不顧行遯64靖

66, defining this as = *67*: »May we purify ourselves»; for the rest we do not know how Ma understood the line. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: t s i n g *64* = *68* 'to be quiet, to find peace in' (this is the ordinary sense of t s i n g, etym. id. with *69*; and the *66* of Ma's version may very well, with Sun Sing-yen, be a short-form of *70*, see Grammata, group 812: j[1]): »May we ourselves find peace in (our duty)», etc. (for the rest id. w. A). — **D.** Kiang Sheng, like A—C above, takes the Senior Master as the speaker, but reverts to t s i n g *64* = *65*, yet turning it differently: »May you yourself ponder; (then) j e n a man can himself (bring himself forward =) give an account of himself to the (Spirits of) the former kings». — **E.** Sun Sing-yen believes that the line is spoken by Wei-tsï in answer to the Senior Master; from his paraphrase it would seem that he punctuated: t s ï t s i n g j e n, t s ï h i e n etc.: »May you yourself (sc. you who stay) pacify (Spirits and) men, may you yourself bring sacrifices to the former kings; I do not turn the head backwards, but I go away». — **F.** Sun' idea (E) that Wei tsï says the last line is very unlikely; in that case there should certainly have been a W e i t s ï y ü e before it. On the other hand, the idea that the Senior Master says he himself will stay (A, C) is not satisfactory, since it does not agree with the oldest version of the legend we have (Shï ki: Chou pen ki), acc. to which the Senior Master and the Junior Master, far from staying, took their sacred musical instrument and fled to Chou, just as Wei-tsï fled from the Yin. Our line has to be understood in logical sequence to the preceding. The Master says he has long been warning Wei Tsï that he would be injured and he exhorts him to go away; fearing that Wei-tsï will be ashamed of fleeing, he gives his opinion that this should not be considered: by escaping, he could serve the Spirits of the former kings. T s ï *71* as usual is reflexive: *ipse — ipsum*; just as a W a n g t s ï s h a *72* means »the king himself killed himself», so here t s ï t s i n g *73* means 'to give peace to oneself'. We punctuate: t s ï t s i n g j e n, t s ï h i e n etc. Thus: »T s ï k i n g j e n **the man who (brings peace to himself =) saves himself,** t s ï h i e n **(presents himself to =) devotes himself to (the Spirits of) the former kings; let us not take into consideration that we abscond (sc. it is nothing to be ashamed of)**».

Mu shï.

1512. W o y u p a n g c h u n g k ü n *74*.

Sï-ma Ts'ien inst. of y u p a n g *74a* 'friendly states' has *75* »possessing states», y u 'to have' and y u 'friend' being homophonous (both **gi̯ŭg*, rising tone), but there is no reason to abandon the orthodox text, which the Ts'ing scholars support with a passage from Chouli: Ta Tsung po, where the king receives the feudal lords by a ritual shooting feast and they are called *76* »friends of old standing».

Y a l ü s h ï s h ï cf. Gl. 1118.

1513. W e i k i a c h ï s o *77*.

A. PK'ung: s o *78* = *79* 'to exhaust, to make an end of': »It will be the (exhaustion =) destruction of the family». Cf. Tso: Siang 8, phr. *80* »We exhausted all your levies» (Tu Yü: s o = t s i n); Yi li: Hiang shê li *81* »You have taken arrows not (exhaustingly =) to the full number» (Cheng Hüan: s o = t s i n). Ts'ai Ch'en gives it a slightly different shade: s o is equal to the binome s i a o s o *82* 'desolate', but this is not current in pre-Han texts. Sun Sing-yen, basing himself on Shï ming: *78* = *83*, similarly defines s o as = *84* 'empty', but there is no text support for this. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: s o *78* = *85* 'to scatter', thus: »It will be the scattering of the family». He refers to Li: T'an Kung *86* »I have left the herd and live apart here», on which Cheng Hüan: s o *78* = *85*, meaning to live »in dispersion». — **C.** Yü Yüe: s o 'to ransack' was a technical term in exorcising. In Chouli: Fang siang shï we have: *87* »Ransacking the houses, he drives away the epidemics», s o here referring to the searching for baleful influences. Thus in our Shu line: »If the hen calls the morning (a bad omen), **(there is the ransacking of the house =) the house should be ransacked for baleful influences**». Since we have on the one hand s o s h ï *88*, on the other hand s o k i a *89*, Yü is evidently right.

1514. H u n k ' i k ü e s ï s ï f u t a *90*.

H u n k ' i:

A. PK'ung: »He (darkened in mind =) disorderly rejects». H u n *91* in this sense of l u a n *92* is very common. — **B.** Wang Yin-chï: h u n *91* (**χmwən*) is a loan char. for m i n *93* (**mi̯ən*) (i. e. an original loan char. *94*, without radical, has been wrongly filled out into *91* instead of the correct *93*), which we have in the binome m i n k ' i *95* in Tso: Chao 29, phr. *96*: »If they destroy and reject them» (sc. their functions). The binome must necessarily be the same in both texts, and since **'destroy and reject'** are more analogous constituents than 'disorderly reject', the former is preferable.

S ï s ï *97*:

A. PK'ung: s ï *98* = *99* 'to display, set forth'. Thus: **»He destroys and rejects his (already) set forth sacrifices»**. Ts'ai Ch'en tampers with this: »his to-be-set-forth sacrifices» i. e. the sacrifices which he should set forth; s ï s ï, of course, cannot mean this. For s ï *98* cf. Ode 282, phr. *100* »Assist us in setting forth the sacrifice». — **B.** Cheng Hüan: s ï s ï is the name of a special kind of sacrifice. He here alludes to Li: Kiao t'ê sheng, which enumerates four kinds of offering the meat in sacrifices, of which the 2nd is s ï *98*, the bodies of the victims being presented raw but cut up. Thus: »He destroys and rejects his cut-up-meat sacrifices». Very unplausible.

F u t a:

A. PK'ung: **»He does not (respond =) show any gratitude»**. — **B.** Cheng Hüan: t a = *1*, thus: »and he does not ask (about them)» (i. e. he does not care about them). Kiang Sheng has followed this. But t a really can have no such meaning, and probably Cheng's gloss has been corrupted (Ts'ê fu yüan kuei quotes him as saying = *2* 'to requite', which agrees with A).

1515. H u n (m i n) k ' i k ü e y i w a n g f u m u t i p u t i *3*.

For h u n k ' i = m i n k ' i 'to destroy and reject', see Gl. 1514 above. For w a n g f u and m u t i, see Legge's note and Chavannes' satisfactory expl. MH I, p. 228. For w a n g f u *4*, the stone classics of the 175 A. D. have j e n f u *5*, which is probably a mere error (*6* for *7*), since Sï-ma has w a n g f u both here and in a quotation from the lost T'ai shï with the same phr. w a n g - f u m u - t i as here.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien renders the line thus: *8* »He destroys and rejects his house and state, and he y i sets aside his uncles and brothers, and does not employ them». This would seem to indicate that Sï-ma had a text with k i a k u o after k ü e, and a second k ü e *9* after y i *10*. This is tempting, since the traditional h u n k ' i k ü e y i w a n g f u is awkward, as long as we take y i *10* to mean 'to set aside'. But after all the stone version has k ü e y i w a n g f u *11* just as well as the PK'ung version, so we dare not make an emendation after Sï-ma. His p u t i *12* = *13* 'not employ' simply means that he took t i 'to advance' as a transitive (causative) verb: »he does not (cause them to

65 謀 66 清 67 潔 68 安 69 靜 70 瀞 71 自 72 王 自 殺 73 自 靖 74 我 友 邦 冢 君 74. 友 邦 75 有 國 76 舊 故 朋 友 77 惟 家 之 索 78 索 79 盡 80 悉 索 敝 賦 81 取 矢 不 索 82 蕭 索 83 素 84 空 85 散 86 吾 離 羣 而 索 居 87 以 索 室 敺 疫 88 索 89 索 求 90 昏 棄 厥 肆 祀 弗 答 91 昏 92 亂 93 泯 94 民 95 泯 棄 96 若 泯 棄 之 97 肆 祀 98 肆 99 陳 100 相 于 肆 祀 / 問 2. 報 3 昏 棄 厥 遺 王 父 母 弟 不 迪 4 王 父 5 任 父 6 壬 7 王 8 昏 棄 其 家 國 遺 其 王 父 母 弟 不 用 9 厥 10 遺 11 厥 遺 王 父 12 不 迪 13.

advance =) promote them». — **B.** PK'ung says nothing of the difficult y i *10*; and he explains p u t i as = 'he does not treat them according to the proper course» (*verbatim* then: »he does not course them», which is evidently impossible). — **C.** Yü Sing-wu would take the j e n *14* of the stone classics as the best reading and w a n g *7* as a corruption due to similarity. He explains j e n *14* (**ńi̯əm*) as a variant for n a n *15* (**nəm*), adducing several early examples where j e n *14* is used for n a n *15*. But if, with Yü, k ü e y i j e n *16* means *17* »Their (sc. the ancestors') (left-over males =) still living men», it is difficult to see how the following f u m u t i could be construed. — Yü Sing-wu is certainly right that y i *10* means 'left over, still living', and then, with p u t i construed acc. to A, we obtain: **»He destroys and rejects his (left-over =) still living uncles and brothers and does not promote them».**

K i n y ü w e i k u n g h i n g t' i e n c h ī f a see Gl. 1401.

1516. N a i c h ī t s' i y e n *18*.

A. PK'ung: »(Do not exceed 6 steps, 7 steps) **and then stop and adjust (your ranks)».** — **B.** Cheng Hüan alludes to a passage in Tso: Ch'eng 16, where it is said that the martial excellence of Tsin consists in their loving equally *19* 'to keep order' and *20* 'to take leisure (rest)'; he believes that c h ī t s' i above refers to the rest (pause) and the 'making of order' (forming the ranks again), thus: »(Do not exceed 6 steps, 7 steps), then take a rest, and then range yourselves». A curious idea.

1517. S h a n g h u a n h u a n *21*.

A. This is the reading of Sï-ma's and PK'ung's. Cheng Hüan: h u a n h u a n = *22*, thus: **»May you be martial».** H u a n *23* in this sense is well attested (Ode 294 etc.). — **B.** Shuowen reads *24*, defining this h u a n *25* (homophonous with *23*) as = *26* 'a dog running', thus: »May you run swiftly». (Observe that Hü did not mean that *25* was a loan char. for *23* in the Shu line quoted: he would then have said: t u j o »read like»). For this sense there is no text par.

1518. J u h u j u p' i j u h i u n g j u p i *27*.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »Be like tigers, like leopards, like black bears, like brown-and-white bears». For p' i cf. Gl. 1034. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien reads: j u h u j u **pï**, j u c h' a i j u l i *28* (some versions have t s' a i *29* instead but the Sung Po-na ed. has *30*). L i, with Sü Kuang, must be a variant for c h' ī *31* or *32* or *33*, a beast-shaped mountain demon. In fact the Ou-yang school of Shu read either *31* (quoted in Shuowen) or *32* (quoted in comm. on Wsüan: Si tu fu), in both cases defined as = 'a fierce animal'. Thus: »Be like tigers, like brown-and-white bears, like wolves, like ch'ï-beasts». — A contains the couple: h i u n g - p i which stylistically is a traditional combination in early Chou time, cf. Odes 189, 203, 261; but B is a riming phrase: c h' ï (**t'i̯ə*): p i (**pi̯a*), which is certainly in its favour. Hü Shen in Shuowen quotes j u h u j u p' i in accordance with A, and so does Pan Ku in Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan. But Pan also knew of the B version (evidently through Sï-ma), since he alludes to it in several places. It is in fact impossible to decide which of them best repr. the orig. Shu.

1519. F u y a k' o p e n, y i y i s i t' u *34*.

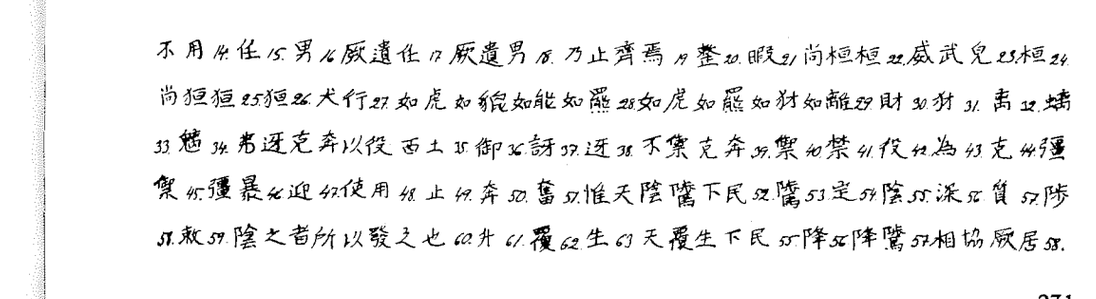
Y a (**ngå / nga / y a*): The PK'ung version in all probability originally had *35* (so quoted in the T'ang work K'uang miu cheng su, by Yen Shï-ku), which could be read both **ngi̯o / ngi̯wo / y ü* and **ngå / nga / y a*, in the latter reading meaning 'to meet' and then id. w. *36* or *37* (see Gl. 37); and since PK'ung took it in the sense of 'to meet', *35* has been replaced in the text by *37*, probably by Wei Pao. —

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien writes *38*, and Ma Jung likewise reads *39*, defining it as = *40* 'to stop, obstruct'. It is in fact not uncommon that *35* serves as short-form for *39* (Ode 35; Tso: Siang 4). Ma further defines y i *41* as = *42* 'to do, to work', and Wang Su expounds: »Do not stop those who are able to (run =) flee, so that they (can) y i do work in our western land». — **B.** Cheng Hüan: y ü *39* means 'to maltreat', and k' o *43* 'to crush' in the sense of 'to kill', thus: »Do not maltreat and kill those who flee, so that they (can) y i do (compulsory) service in our Western land». Cheng thinks of the Ode phr. *44* (Odes 255, 260) and says this is equal to *45* 'to oppress, to maltreat', but that is quite wrong: k' i a n g y ü means 'violent and refractory', and this sense is not applicable here. — **C.** PK'ung: y a (*35, 37*) = *46* 'to meet', in the sense of 'to meet and strike'; y i *41* means (to cause to work =) *47* 'to employ', thus: »Do not meet (and strike) those who can flee, and thus employ the (righteous principles of) the Western land». An absurd interpr. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Do not meet (and strike) those who can flee, and thereby toil (your men from) the Western land». — **E.** Sun Sing-yen combines C (y a = 'to meet') and B (k' o = 'to crush, kill'): »Do not meet and crush those who can flee, so that they (can) y i do service in the Western land». — **F.** Yü Yüe: y ü *39* means *48* 'to stop'; p e n *49* is loan char. for f e n *50* 'to exert oneself'; y i *41* means 'to work for'. The line is an address to the allied troops to do their best for the Chou force: »Do not stop; you can exert yourselves in working for the Western land». This is very strained; moreover y ü means 'to stop' in the transitive sense of 'to obstruct', not intrans. 'to stop' = 'to stay'. — In following Sï-ma as to y ü and Cheng Hüan for the rest, we obtain a concrete, simple and reasonable interpr.: **»Do not stop and crush those who flee, so that they (can) serve in the Western land».**

Hung fan.

1520. W e i t' i e n y i n c h ī h i a m i n *51*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien renders c h ī *52* by t i n g *53*, and PK'ung expounds: »Heaven (darkly =) silently fixes the people here below». (Wang Su says y i n *54* = *55* 'deeply': 'hiddenly' = mysteriously, deeply). But for this sense of c h ī *52* = *53* there is no support whatever. K'ung Ying-ta suggests that Sï-ma took it as loan char. for *56* (**tśi̯ĕt / c h ī*) and Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that Lu Tê-ming held the same opinion and therefore gave the char. the reading *tśi̯ĕt / c h ī* (the Ts'ie yün mss. also have this reading), in spite of its phonetic being *57* (**ti̯ək / ĥi̯ək / c h ī*). But c h ī *56* does not mean *53*, and the theory has little value. When Yü Yüe says that Sï-ma took c h ī *52* as loan char. for *58*, this is likewise a mere guess. — **B.** The oldest interpr. is in Lü: Kün shou, in a taoistic diatribe about ignorance being the true knowledge, wisdom being hidden in the heart and invisible to the outside world. After quoting our Shu line, Lü says: *59*. Here he takes y i n and c h ī as two coördinated transitive verbs: »Heaven y i n (obscures =) makes ignorant and (thereby) c h ī lifts up the people here below — to (obscure them =) make them ignorant is that by which it brings them forward». This taoistic meaning (which has been grossly maltreated by the comm. Kao Yu) is certainly not the true sense in our Shu line. But Lü is important in showing that he took c h ī *52* as = *60* 'to rise, raise, lift' (with Erya). The char. *52* also means 'stallion' (Shuowen), hence the addition of rad. 'horse', but the sense is the same: 'the ascender', and Fu K'ien (2nd



c. A. D.) says »it is read like *57* (**tiə̯k*) 'to ascend'» which means that it is only a variant of that word (and should not, with Ts'ie yün and Shīwen, be read *tśi̯ĕt* / c h ī). The sense of 'to rise, to raise, to lift' is thus well confirmed. — **C.** Ma Jung, Ying Shao and Kao Yu all define y i n *54* as = *61* 'to cover' and c h ī *52* = *60* (see B above) 'to rise, to raise, to lift', but in the extended sense of *62* 'to bear, to create'. When Ying and Kao both paraphrase *63*, I suppose they mean: »Heaven (covers, overshadows =) shelters and (raises =) produces the people here below». We can accept this, yet without the unnecessary extension of meaning, thus: **»Heaven (covers =) shelters and raises the people here below»**. For par. with y i n in this sense of 'to shelter' see Gl. 984. — **D.** Liu Feng-lu: y i n *54* (**·i̯əm*) and *55* (**kə̦ng*) were »similar in sound», so y i n c h ī is equal to *56* 'to lower and to raise'(!).

1521. S i a n g h i e k ü e k ü *57*.

A. PK'ung: **»It (heaven) aids and harmonizes its (the people's) (dwelling =) living conditions»**, expounding that this refers to its resources for a continued subsistence. — **B.** Kao Yu (in comm. on Lü) and Ying Shao (in comm. on Han shu: Wu hing chī) suppose an understood »the king» as the subject and take k ü *55* abstractly = 'to rest in, abide': »(The king) aids (Heaven) in harmonizing their abiding in (its good principles)». Very scholastic.

K i n t s ê k i s ī — for k i *59* 'to kill' see BMFEA 18, p. 249.

1522. K i n g y u n g w u s h ī *60*.

A. This is PK'ung's version, which already was that of Cheng Hüan (ap. comm. on Ode 195): »carefully to use the five conducts». — **B.** Pan Ku (Han shu: Wu hing chī and K'ung Kuang chuan) reads s i u y u n g w u s h ī *61*, s i u *62* expl. by Yen Shī-ku as = *63* 'to bring forward, bring forth' (common meaning). Thus: **»To bring forth and use the five conducts»**. — The archaic graphs for k i n g and s i u were (in some variants) very similar, cf. k i n g *64*: s i u *65* (see Grammata pp. 339 and 407), and a confusion was easy. The Ts'ing scholars as a rule have concluded that s i u *62* (B) is an error for k i n g *65* (A). But on the contrary it is the other way round, and B (the oldest text version attested) is preferable, for it is confirmed by a par. later in our chapter: *66* »Cause them to bring forth their (actions =) achievements», see Gl. 1458.

1523. N u n g y u n g p a c h e n g *67*.

A. Ma Jung, followed by Chang Yen (3rd c.) and Wang Su, take n u n g *68* in its proper sense of 'agriculture'. K'ung Ying-ta says they must have divided the line (n u n g y u n g — p a c h e n g »agriculture being employed, there being eight rules of government»), but that, of course, is not necessary: »For the agriculture (of the realm) to use eight rules of government». — **B.** Cheng Hüan, foll. by PK'ung: *68 *nông* / *nuong* / n u n g is loan char. for *69 *nu̯ung* / *ńu̯wong* / n u n g 'thick', thus: »Amply to use the eight rules of government». — **C.** Wang Nien-sun: Kuang ya says n u n g *68* = *70* 'to exert' and our n u n g y u n g is equal to m i e n y u n g: **»Energetically to use the eight rules of government»**. Cf. Tso: Siang 13, phr. *71* »The small men exert their strength in serving their superiors» (Legge's: »They labour vigorously at their husbandry, to serve. .» is impossible; that would demand l i n u n g inst. of n u n g l i). Here n u n g l i is so obviously id. with the common phr. n u l i *72* that Wang believes *68 *nông* and *73 *no* are two variations of the same word stem, which is unlikely. The n u n g in this sense is rather an extension of meaning: 'to work the soil': 'to toil'. Be this as it may, the interpr. here is evidently right, for just as in the preceding line s i u y u n g *61* the s i u *62* is a verb, so here in n u n g y u n g the n u n g should be a verb.

1524. K i e n y u n g h u a n g k i *74*.

A. As to h u a n g *75*, Shang shu ta chuan renders it by w a n g *76* 'royal', whereas all Han comm. define it by *77* 'great'. 'August' will express both shades. K i *78* is

already defined as = *79* 'the middle (way)' by K'ung Kuang (1st c. B. C.). This meaning is safely attested (see Gl. 182, 1205), but in many cases where it has been proposed by commentators other meanings are preferable (see Gl. 671, 1040, 1058). Thus: **»To establish and use the august (middle way =) correctness»**. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes k i *78* in its commonest sense: 'the extreme point', thus: »To establish and use the august perfection» (so also Legge, Couvreur and Chavannes). — B may be quite plausible in itself, but there is no sufficient reason to abandon the ancient interpr. (A).

1525. H i a n g y u n g w u f u w e i y u n g l i u k i *80*.

A. Ma Jung, foll. by PK'ung, imagines »Heaven» as understood subject, and takes h i a n g *81* 'to approach' as a transitive-causative verb. Thus: »For (causing to go forward =) encouraging (people), (Heaven's) use of the five felicities, for scaring (people), (Heaven's) use of the six extremities (i. e. calamities)». Even in Legge's brushed-up formulation: »The hortative use of the five happinesses, the awing use of the six extremities», this interpr. remains very forced. — **B.** Another version earlier attested (ap. Han shu: Ku Yung chuan) has *82* inst. of *83* and reads *84*; this h i a n g *85* being etym. s. w. a. *86* 'to enjoy', thus: **»enjoyingly to use the five felicities»**. In the corresponding w e i y u n g l i u k i »fearingly to use the six extremities (sc. calamities)», the two verbs combined seem to make poor sense. But »fearingly to use the 6 extremities» really means **»with due awe to accept the six extremities (i. e. calamities)»**, which forms an exact counterpart to h i a n g y u n g w u f u.

T ' u y ü a n k i a s ê *87*.

Sī-ma Ts'ien inst. of y ü a n *88* (**gi̯wan*) has y ü e *89* (**gi̯wăt*) which tallies with the preceding lines and is preferable.

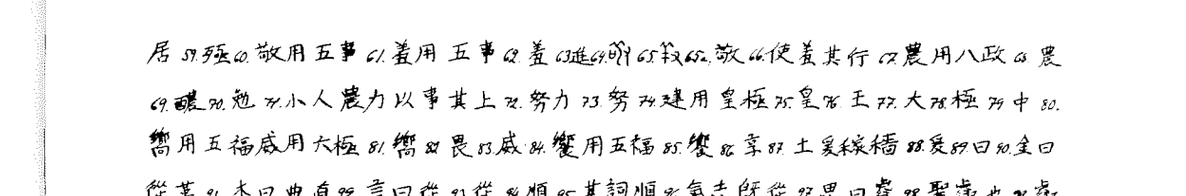
1526. K i n y ü e t s ' u n g k o *90*.

A. Ma Jung: **»Metal is said to obey and change»**. Thus t s ' u n g and k o express the same thing in two formulations. Ma expounds: »to obey man's wish»; Kiang Sheng on the contrary: »to obey (the fire)». — **B.** Yü Yüe: Just as in the preceding m u y ü e k ' ü c h ī *91* there should be two contrasting meanings here: »Wood is said either to curve or to straighten (having no unalterable shape), metal is said to follow (its nature) or to change (i. e. have no definite state of aggregation)». — B is ingenious, but after all t s ' u n g 'to follow' as an ellipsis for 'to follow its nature' is very forced.

1527. Y e n y ü e t s ' u n g *92*.

A. Tung Chung-shu (Ch'un ts'iu fan lu: Wu hing wu shī): »The speech is said to be (followable =) worth to be followed». This was accepted by Ma Jung and PK'ung. — **B.** Pan Ku (Han shu: Wu hing chī) t s ' u n g *93* 'to follow' = *94* 'to be compliant' (sc. with reason), 'reasonable'. T s ' u n g is indeed synonymous with s h u n, and s h u n very often has this sense of 'reasonable', e. g. Tso: Wen 14, phr. *95* »His speech is reasonable». Thus: **»The speech is said to be (compliant =) reasonable»**. This was followed by Ts'ai Ch'en. Cf. Li: K'ung tsī hien kü *96* »The spirit and will are compliant (reasonable)». This is a strong confirmation. — B is obviously preferable.

1528. S ī y ü e j u e i *97*.



A. This version, adhered to by all the Ku-wen champions (Ma Jung, Cheng Hüan, Wei Chao, Wang Su, PK'ung etc.), is already to be found in Sï-ma Ts'ien (Sung shï kia); and that this was not a correction in Sï-ma's text by some later hand follows from the fact that Mao Heng (2nd c. B. C.) in comm. on Ode 32 reveals that he had the same version; he says *98* »sage means penetrating (perspicacious)», which alludes to our phr. *99* here. Thus: »The thinking is said to be penetrating». — **B.** Another version (Kin-wen), equally early attested: Tung Chung-shu (Ch'un ts'iu fan lu: Wu hing wu shï) read s ï y ü e j u n g *100*, explaining it as meaning 'capacious' in the sense of 'large-minded, liberal' (common). Same version in Shang shu ta chuan, in Shuo yüan: Kün tso, in Kao Yu comm. on Ts'ê etc. Thus: **»The thinking is said to be (large-minded =) liberal».** In expounding this Pan Ku (Han shu: Wu hing chï, hia), saying j u n g *1 = 2* 'wide, liberal', quotes Confucius (Lun: Pa yi): *3* »If the one who is in a superior position is not large-minded . . .». — The char. *4* and *1* are so similar that originally one of them must be a mistake for the other. It is very difficult to decide which one was the primary version. When in Yi Chou shu: Shï fa we find »j u e i *99* means s h e n g *5*», and in Kyü: Ch'u yü *6*: »They called him (after death) the perspicacious and sage Wu-kung», these passages clearly allude to our Shu chapter and prove that the A version already existed in pre-Han time. But on the other hand, as pointed out by Ts'ien Ta-hin and Chu Tsün-sheng, the B version is supported by the rimes: the whole passage here has a rimed formulation: m a o y ü e k u n g (**kung*): y e n y ü e t s ' u n g (**dz'i̯ung*): s h ï y ü e m i n g (**mi̯āng*): t ' i n g y ü e t s ' u n g (**ts'ung*): s ï y ü e j u n g *1* (**di̯ung*). (For the aberrant rime **miāng* in the 3rd line cf. the »free» rime system studied in Karlgren: The poetical parts in Lao-tsï, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 1932). This phenomenon is really quite decisive in favour of the Kin-wen version (B). Cf. also Shu: Ts'in shï 7, which expresses the same idea.

1529. T s ' u n g t s o m o u *8*.

A. Ma Jung and Cheng Hüan: if the ruler has good hearing i. e. is willing to hear his subordinates, they will present their counsels. Thus: »Being perceptive in hearing produces (the presentation of) good counsels». This is obviously excluded, since it fails in the parallellism with the rest: »Being respectful produces gravity, being clear-slighted produces wisdom» etc., in which the coupled terms are analogous in meaning. — **B.** PK'ung therefore: **»Being perceptive in hearing produces deliberation»**, i. e. the one who listens to various opinions in a case, can deliberate and form his own opinion. — **C.** Wang Yin-chï considers that even in B the two terms are not sufficiently analogous. He points out that Ho Yen *9* (3rd c. A. D.) in his King fu tien fu has *10*, which is obviously an allusion to our Shu line, and he concludes that there must have existed an early version with *11*. The char. *12* is now read m i n, but as proved in Gl. 866 it must originally have been read either **məg / mi̯ŭ /* m o u or **mwəg / muâi /* m e i, and Wang believes that *13 mi̯ŭg /* (**mi̯ŭ /* m o u) is merely a loan char. for *12*. He adduces Li: Chung yung *14*, where Cheng Hüan records a variant version *15*, the two characters thus being interchangeable. (In fact the phonetics *16* and *17* are interchangeable: in Ode 20 the word *18* is wr. *19* in the Han version). Further in Kyü: Tsin yü *20* »The cleverness and smartness of Yang-kuo Chï» we have this same combination of t s ' u n g and *12* (m i n =) m o u as in Ho Y e n 's poem, which attests to its being really a standing phr. in archaic Chinese. Thus: »Being perceptive in hearing produces (quickness =) smartness». — C is quite plausible and even very tempting, especially with a view to the Kyü phr. adduced. But after all Sï-ma already had *13*, and since this, in the B interpr., makes excellent sense without any loan char. speculations, there is really no sufficient reason for abandoning it.

J ï y ü e s i n g c h ' e n see Gl. 1215.

1530. H u a n g k i e n k ' i y u k i, l i e n s h ï w u f u, y u n g f u s i k ü e s h u m i n, w e i s h ï k ü e s h u m i n y ü j u k i, s i j u p a o k i *21*.

We have already stated in Gl. 1524 that the ancient definition of k i *22* as = *23* 'the middle way, the correctness' is preferable to the later interpr. 'perfection'.

A. All the comm. from Ma Jung and onwards have punctuated as above, explaining: »When the august one firmly establishes the correctness he possesses, he brings together those five felicities and largely bestows them upon his people; then the people takes correctness (in =) from you (or: rests in your correctness), and bestows upon you (makes it possible for you) to preserve the correctness». The weakness of this interpr. is evident. In the line: w e i s h ï k ü e s h u m i n y ü j u k i, the three words y ü j u k i *24* is paraphrased by Ma Jung: *25* »in (i. e. from) you take the correctness», which contains a verb t s ' ü 'to take' which is not in the text, and this is allowable only if k i is made a verb: (they) y ü j u in you k i (»are middled» =) become corrected — which is very unfortunate, since it would mean that the first and third k i are the noun 'correctness', whereas the second would be a verb 'to become corrected'. It is no better, with Ts'ai Ch'en and Legge, to take y ü *26* as a pregnant verb: »(they) y ü dwell in (rest in) your correctness». — **B.** Another interpr. We should punctuate after the second s i: w e i s h ï k ü e s h u m i n y ü j u k i s i, j u p a o k i. The idea of the whole passage is that the w u f u five felicities are a practical outcome of the king's k i correctness; when he s i bestows the felicities on the people, they *eo ipso* s i become endowed with his k i correctness; and this having thus become universal, he can preserve it. Thus: **»When the august one firmly establishes the correctness he possesses, he (thereby) brings together those five felicities and largely bestows them upon his people; then the people with your correctness becomes endowed, and you (can) preserve the correctness».**

1531. W e i h u a n g t s o k i *27*.

A. PK'ung curiously takes h u a n g here as a general adverb without reference to the idea of »august» (sc. belonging to the king) which it has all through this section: »Then (the whole world) will grandly (make correctness =) be correct». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»It is that the august one (makes =) creates the correctness».**

1532. E r k ' a n g e r s ê y ü e y ü y u h a o t ê j u t s ê s i c h ï f u *28*.

K'ung Ying-ta says that Cheng Hüan's and Wang Su's versions had not the word t ê *29*; if so, they were faulty, for the passage is rimed: s ê (**si̯ək*): t ê (**tək*): f u (**pi̯ŭk*).

A. PK'ung: e r *30 = 31* 'you' (common, see Gl. 936 and particularly 1536 and 1548 below), interpreting: »You should make quiet your mien (i. e. be modest); and (if some) say: »what we love is the virtue», then you shall give them happiness (i. e. emoluments)». K'ung Kuang-sen reminds that Erya has an entry k ' a n g *32 = 33* 'empty' (properly: 'husk'): »You should make empty your mien». This is hardly any improvement. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes e r as the ordinary particle; moreover he paraphrases as if the second e r did not exist: »And (if) with tranquil mien (some) say: what we love . . .» etc. E r k ' a n g e r s ê of course cannot be construed like that. Legge tries to save Ts'ai's idea by coördinating k ' a n g and s ê as verbs: »When they k ' a n g are pleased s ê and

作聖100思曰睿1睿之寬3居上不寬4咎5聖6謂之睿聖武7其心休休焉其如有容8聰作謀9何晏10克明克哲克聰克敏11聰作敏12敏13謀14人道敏政15人道謀政16每17某18梅19楳20羊舌職之聰敏21皇建其有極斂時五福用敷錫厥庶民惟時厥庶民于汝極錫汝保極22極23中24于汝極25于汝取中正26于27惟皇作極28而康而色曰予攸好德汝則錫之福29德30而31汝32康33虛34時人斯其惟皇之極35是人此

look so, y ü e saying» — a very curious attempt. Chavannes similarly: s'il en est qui, paisibles et contents, disent»; how s ê could mean »contented» is difficult to see. — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen revert to the A idea of e r, but make the king the speaker: **»You should make (tranquil =) serene your mien and say: »what I love is the virtue»; and then you should give them happiness (i. e. emoluments, offices)».** — C alone will do.

1533. S h ī j e n s ī k' i w e i h u a n g c h ī k i *34*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *35*, whatever that may mean. K'ung Ying-ta and many later expounders save themselves by introducing a verb which does not exist in the Shu text, e. g. K'ung: *36* »Those men thus will (make =) effectuate the principle of the great correctness» — the verb w e i 'to make' being freely added. (Legge: »Those men will in this way advance to the perfection of the sovereign — the 'advance' being freely invented). — **B.** Kiang Sheng, who has honestly faced the difficulty and does not want to smuggle into the text a verb that becomes fundamental to the construction, proposes that k.' i *37* means *38* 'to hope for and exert oneself' (*37* would then be a short-form for *39*), thus: »What those men thus will be bent on is the august one's correctness». This seems a rather desperate expedient. — **C.** Another interpr. Kiang is right that somewhere there must be a verb as key to the whole sentence. W e i *40* is attested to mean 'to think of' (Erya w e i = *41*), e. g. Ode 245 phr. *42* »And then we lay plans, we think it over». So it means in our line above: **»Those men thus will think of the august one's correctness».** That Sï-ma Ts'ien has *43* inst. of *40* is no obstacle; as pointed out by Yen Shï-ku in K'uang miu cheng su, the Kin-wen version always has *43* for the *40* of the Ku-wen version, so the two are interchangeable graphs. This construction of the phrase is strongly supported by a par. later on in our chapter. There we have s h ï j e n s ï k' i k u *44* »Those men then will commit offences». Just as k u here in s ï k' i k u, so our w e i should be a verb in s ï k' i w e i. For another Shu case of w e i *40* = 'to think' see Gl. 1587.

1534. W u n ü e k' i u n g t u, e r w e i k a o m i n g *45*.

This is the Ku-wen version. The Kin-wen version inst. of k' i u n g t u had k u a n k u a *46*, the meaning being practically the same.

A. Ma Jung: **»Do not oppress those who are (solitary =) helpless and alone, while fearing those who are high and illustrious».** — **B.** Cheng Hüan believes that w e i *47* (*·ĭwər*, falling tone) stands for w e i *48* (*·ĭwər*, even tone), which is merely another aspect of the same word stem. Thus: »Do not oppress those who are helpless and alone, but (you should) overawe those who are high and illustrious». No reason for abandoning the oldest interpr. (A).

S h ï s i u k' i h i n g etc. see Gl. 1458.

1535. F a n k ü e c h e n g j e n k i f u f a n g k u *49*.

C h e n g j e n *50* does not, with PK'ung, mean 'straight (correct) men', but (with Ts'ai Ch'en = officers) properly: »The principal men» (the leaders, the superiors), see Gl. 539. Wang Yin-chï (King yi shu wen) has a very full documentation on this point. —

A. PK'ung takes k u as a transitive verb: »(All the principal men) when f u they have been remunerated (with offices), they k u should be treated with goodness». For k u as loan char. for 'good' (common), see Gl. 491. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: When they have been remunerated, then they (can be required to) be good». Sun Sing-yen (and Legge and Couvreur) more simply: **»When they have been remunerated, then they will be good».** Cf. Gl. 491. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: k i *51* = *52* 'to exhaust'; f a n g *53* = *54* 'regular'; thus: »All the principal men (sc. leading officers), exhaustively remunerate them with regular (good =) emoluments». A very forced interpr.

1536. J u f u n e n g s h ï y u h a o y ü e r k i a, s h ï j e n s ï k' i k u *55*.

A. PK'ung explains y ü e r k i a by y ü k u o k i a *56*, which shows that he correctly

took e r *57* = 'you', as in an earlier line. He does not explain the difficult y u h a o, but K'ung Ying-ta supplies this by expounding: *58* »to have friendliness towards your state». Finally PK'ung has a strange expl. of the last line: »Those men then will k u allege guilt (and go away)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: *59* »If you cannot cause them to be concordant with your house, those men then will k u commit offenses». Couvreur has understood Ts'ai thus: »If you cannot cause them to have harmony (concord) in your families» — all the families of the people really belonging to the king and therefore called »your families»(!). — **C.** Legge reads h a o in falling tone, and explains e r k i a as = »their families» »the e r being taken as merely a pause or rest of the voice»(!). Thus: »If you cannot make men have what they love in their families». Grammatically utterly erroneous. Chavannes in part is influenced by Legge: »Si vous ne pouvez pas faire qu'ils trouvent leur avantage dans l'état». — **D.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: **»If you cannot cause them to have friendliness towards your house, those men then will commit offences»,** which comes very near to B.

1537. Y ü k' i w u h a o t ê.

The t ê here did not exist in Sï-ma Ts'iens version, nor in Cheng Hüan's. It has been wrongly introduced by PK'ung on the analogy of y ü y u h a o t ê a few lines earlier. T ê is in fact not admissible, since the line should end with h a o (**χôg*), which rimes with k i u 'fault' (**g'ĭôg*). Thus: **»As to those who are not good».**

1538. K' i t s o j u y u n g k i u *60*.

This follows upon: »As to those who are not good, even though you give them happiness (i. e. emoluments) . . .».

A. Cheng Hüan paraphrases: *61*. **»In acting for you they will use wickedness»,** Cheng expounding that they will cause alienation between ruler and people. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: *61*, thus: »In acting for you they will employ wicked ones» (Legge and Couvreur understand Ts'ai thus: »They will cause you to employ wicked ones», i. e. themselves [C.: illi facient ut tu adhibeas improbos]; I do not believe that this was Ts'ai's idea). — **C.** Chavannes: »Leur conduite ne fera que vous (donner la réputation d')avoir mal agi». It is difficult to see how this could be reconcilable with the text. — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr. (A).

1539. W a n g t a o t a n g t a n g *62*.

A. The oldest interpr. is Kao Yu in comm. on Lü: Kuei kung, where our Shu line is quoted: t a n g t a n g = *63* 'smooth and easy', which is based on Mao's comm. on Ode 101, phr. *64* »The road to Lu is smooth and easy» (Mao: t a n g = *63*). Thus: **»The king's way is smooth and easy».** — **B.** PK'ung: t a n g t a n g means *65*, thus: »The king's way is (opened up =) wide-open». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: t a n g t a n g = *66*, thus: »The king's way is wide and far-reaching». T a n g *67* is well attested in the sense of 'grand, extensive', see Gl. 921. — Since Mao's definition 'smooth and easy' of t a n g as epithet to 'way, road' is the earliest attainable (2nd c. B. C.), we had better follow it (A).

其惟大之中 *36* 是人 此其惟為大中之道 *37* 其 *38* 期勉 *39* 期 *40* 惟 *41* 思 *42* 載謀載惟 *43* 維 *44* 時人斯其辜 *45* 無虐煢獨而畏高明 *46* 鰥寡 *47* 畏 *48* 威 *49* 凡厥正人既富方穀 *50* 正人 *51* 既 *52* 盡 *53* 方 *54* 常 *55* 汝弗能使有好于而家時人斯辜 *56* 於國家 *57* 而 *58* 有好善於汝國家 *59* 不能使其和好於而家 *60* 其惟 汝用咎 *61* 其動惟為汝用惡 *62* 為 汝用咎惡之人 *63* 王道蕩蕩 *64* 平易 *65* 曁道有蕩 *66* 開闢 *67* 廣遠 *68* 蕩 *69* 王道平平 *70* 平 *71* 乘 *72* 辨 *73* 辨

1540. W a n g t a o p i e n p i e n *68.*

The char. p ' i n g *69* is a corruption of p i e n *70*, equal to *71* or *72*, cf. Gl. 1212 and 1217. Hence Shī ki, k. 102, Tsan, quotes *73*, var. *74*. The phr. therefore means, with PK'ung, *75* **'well-arranged'**, not, with Ts'ai Ch'en, 'even and easy'.

1541. H u e i k ' i y u k i, k u e i k ' i y u k i *76.*

A. Cheng Hüan: **»If you bring together those who have correctness, then they will turn to the one who has correctness (sc. yourself)».** — **B.** PK'ung: »If you bring together the correctness you possess, (all in the world) will turn to the correctness». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Gather round the (king's) correctness, turn to the (king's) correctness». — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr. (A).

1542. H u a n g k i c h ī f u y e n, s h ī y i s h ī h ü n, y ü t i k ' i h ü n *77.*

The line is introduced by a y ü e *78*, which hardly should be translated »he said» — it is merely a »namely, thus».

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien inst. of h u a n g *79* has w a n g *80*, and for the second h ü n he has s h u n *81*. From Ma Jung's paraphr. it is evident that his text agreed with Sï-ma's. He interprets: »W a n g the king k i c h ī exhausts it (i. e. carries it through completely) and f u y e n propagates and preaches it; s h ī y i he makes that (sc. the correctness) the constant norm, s h ī h ü n that he teaches (to the world), y ü t i k ' i s h u n and (then) with the Sovereign (sc. Heaven) there will be compliance». This is very bad, for k i *82*, which throughout this chapter is a noun meaning ('the middle way' =) 'correctness', is here all of a sudden taken as a transitive verb = 'to exhaust' (with c h ī *83* as object). But so far Ma is undoubtedly right that w a n g *80* (or h u a n g *79*) does not here form a binome with the following k i, as it did in several earlier passages, but is a noun and subject, for to our w a n g k i c h ī f u y e n *84* here corresponds, in the next line, f a n k ü e s h u m i n k i c h ī f u y e n *85*, so that our w a n g (h u a n g) balances s h u m i n 'the people'. — **B.** PK'ung takes h ü n in both cases as = s h u n *81*. In fact, h ü n can mean 'to instruct, to teach', but also 'to be instructed, to let oneself be taught, to be docile, compliant'. Thus: »(As to) the propagation and preaching of the august correctness, s h ī y i if one makes that a constant norm, s h ī h ü n (all people) will comply with that, it is compliant with the Sovereign (sc. Heaven)». A very clumsy way of construing this difficult passage. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes both h ü n as = 'to instruct', first as a noun: 'instruction, teaching, lesson', and secondly as a verb: »The king's propagation and preaching of the correctness, that is the (eternal) norm, that is the lesson, by the Sovereign (God) it is taught». That is all very well, but Ts'ai, who here takes h u a n g as a possessive genitive: »the king's (teaching)», and the k i c h ī as an objective genitive: »(the teaching) of the correctness» (Couvreur: imperatoris — summae virtutis — explicata expositio) cannot at all apply that construction to the balancing case in next line (s h u m i n k i c h ī f u y e n), which is fatal, since the parallelism is strict. — **D.** Another interpr. With Ma above (A), h u a n g (or w a n g) is a noun and subject. Word for word: **»The king — the correctness's propagation and teaching, that he makes his norm, that he complies with, and with the Sovereign (God) he will then comply; all the people — the correctness's propagation and teaching, that they comply with, that they carry into practice, and thereby they will come near to the glory of the Son of Heaven».** This interpr. expresses effectively the fundamental parallelism between the lines. For s h ī *86* as an anteposed object resuming an earlier phr., a very common construction (15 cases in the Odes alone, see Gl. 845), cf. e. g. Ode 2, Shī y i s h ī h u o »that I cut, that I boil».

1543. Y i y ü e c h e n g c h ī, e r y ü e k a n g k ' o, s a n y ü e j o u k ' o *87.*

A. Cheng Hüan: k ' o *88* = *89*, expounding: »The first is called to be (straight =) just (neither too hard nor to weak); the second is called to be hard but capable (of being soft); the third is called to be soft but capable (of being hard)». A cursious interpr. Chavannes tries to improve it without abandoning the definition k ' o = n e n g 'able': k a n g k ' o »la faculté d'être sévère». But this will not do, for then it should be k ' o k a n g. — **B.** PK'ung: »The first is called to (be able to) correct (people's crookedness); the second is called to (vanquish, dominate =) rule with hardness; the third is called to rule with softness». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: the »three virtues» refer to j e n t a o 'the principle of man', t ' i e n t a o 'the principle of Heaven' and t i t a o 'the principle of Earth'. K ' o means (after Ma Jung) s h e n g *90* 'to predominate'. Thus: »The first is called straightness (the principle of man); the second is called the hardness predominating (the principle of Heaven); the third is called the softness predominating (the principle of Earth)». — **D.** Yü Yüe: the three virtues refer to one's influence on others, and just as in k a n g k ' o and j o u k ' o the first word is an adverbial phrase and the second a transitive verb, so it should also be in c h e n g c h ī: »The first is called: by straightness to correct (others); the second is called: by hardness to (conquer =) govern (others); the third is called: by softness to govern (others)». This is very ingenious; but since we had only a few lines earlier w a n g t a o c h e n g c h ī *91* »The king's way is straight», where c h e n g c h ī is the ordinary binome of synonyms, it would be very bold to analyse it here as meaning 'by straightness to correct'. — After all interpr. C., which in part at least is based on Ma Jung, the earliest comm. attainable, is the most simple and plausible if we only free it from the cosmogonic speculation: **»The first is called straightness (the strict mean); the second is called hardness predominating; the third is called softness predominating».**

1544. P ' i n g k ' a n g c h e n g c h ī *92.*

A. Cheng Hüan: »For a peaceful (state), (one uses) straight (men to govern it)» — **B.** PK'ung: »In peaceful (times), there is straightness (used for governing)». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»For (treating) the peaceful ones there is the straightness (the strict mean)».**

1545. K ' i a n g f u y u k a n g k ' o *93.*

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien already had *94* »For (treating) the violent and unfriendly, there is the hardness predominating». — **B.** Another interpr. K ' i a n g f u y u is rhythmically faulty; we should have two syllables on the analogy of the preceding p ' i n g k ' a n g *95* and the following s i e y u *96*. Probably our y u *97* in k ' i a n g f u y u has erroneously slipped in from the next line, and the original text had k ' i a n g f u *98*, in which f u *99* is short-form for *100* **b'i̯wət* / *b'i̯uət* / f u, as in Yao tien *1* »Oh, he is offensive», Wei tsï *2* »One offends the aged elders». Thus: **»For (treating) the violent and offensive ones, there is the hardness predominating».** This text corruption must have taken place very early (before Sï-ma Ts'ien).

1546. C h ' e n t s ' i e n k a n g k ' o, k a o m i n g j o u k ' o *2.*

Tso: Wen 5 (foll. by Sï-ma Ts'ien) reads: c h ' e n t s i e n *4* and Han shu: Ku Yung chuan reads t a n t s i e n *5*.

A. Ma Jung: c h ' e n *6* = *7* 'hidden, secret', and t s ' i e n *8* = *9* 'to lie down hidden',

73 王道便便 74 辨辨 75 辯治 76 會其有極歸其有極 77 皇極之敷言是彝是訓于帝其訓
78 曰 79 皇 80 王 81 順 82 極 83 之 84 王極之敷言 85 凡厥庶民極之敷言 86 是 87 一曰 正直
二曰 剛克三曰 柔克 88 克 89 能 90 勝 91 王道正直 92 平康正直 93 彊弗友剛克 94 彊不友
剛克 95 平康 96 燮友 97 友 98 彊弗 99 弗 100 咈 1 吁咈哉 2 咈其耆長 3 沈潛剛克 高明柔
克 4 沈漸 5 潛漸 6 沈 7 陰 8 潛 9 伏 10 漸 11 剛德 12 溫和 13 俊朗 14 深遐 15 中 16 我沈

interpreting: »For (treating) those who keep hidden and lie concealed (sc. with seditious plans)». Chavannes (with P'ei Yin) keeps closer to Sï-ma's variant reading: »A l'égard de celui qui agit d'une manière cachée et qui t s i e n *10* accumule graduellement (les mauvaises actions)». — **B.** In Tso: Wen 5 somebody criticizes a dignitary for his hardness, quotes our Shu line, and says the man is always on the hard side. But, he continues, »Heaven has k a n g t ê *11* the hard nature, and yet it does not obstruct the (change of the) 4 seasons» (i. e. it can still be soft). This has given PK'ung his clue: c h ' e n t s ' i e n (the sinking and retiring) that is Earth, and k a o m i n g (the high and bright) that is Heaven; but even though Earth is soft, it can produce hardness (metal and stone); and even though Heaven is hard, it can still show softness in not obstructing the seasons. Thus: »The sinking and retiring can have hardness; the high and bright can have softness». And he adds that this is an innuendo, that the (weak ones =) ministers should be able to show hardness towards the king, and the (hard one =) king show softness towards the ministers. All so much scholastics. — **C.** Tu Yü, in comm. on Tso, refers the line to the control over one's own character, not the treatment of others: »The sunk and swamped ones (the weak ones) should by hardness conquer (themselves); the high and bright ones should by softness conquer (themselves)». — **D.** Chang Shou-tsie (T'ang time): c h ' e n t s ' i e n means *12* 'mild', k a o m i n g means *13* 'prominent and bright', thus: »For (treating) the mild ones (who are in office), one must be able to show hardness; for (treating) the prominent and bright ones (in office) one must be able to show softness». It is difficult to see how c h ' e n t s ' i e n could come to having this sense. — **E.** Ts'ai Ch'en: c h ' e n t s ' i e n means *14* 'deep and retiring', meaning such as do not come up to the c h u n g *15* correct mean; k a o m i n g means 'lofty and brilliant', such who exceed the correct mean. Legge formulates this: »For the reserved and retiring, there is the strong rule, for the lofty and intelligent, there is the mild rule»; whereas Couvreur turns it thus: »il faut gouverner avec fermeté ceux qui croupissent dans l'indolence, et avec douceur ceux qui se distinguent par leurs talents et leurs bonnes dispositions». — **F.** Another interpr. C h ' e n *6* means 'to sink' (transitive and intransitive), and sometimes in the sense of 'to sink in, plunge in, to be soaked in'. This may refer more particularly to »wine» as in Shu: Wei tsï *16* »We are plunged in and mad with wine»; Mo: Fei huang hia *17*: »I have plunged and soaked Chou of Yin in wine»; Shï ki: Sung shï kia *18* »Chou was plunged and soaked in wine». For this *6* (**d'i̯əm / d̂'i̯əm /* c h ' e n) there is a variation (another aspect of the same stem) *19* **təm / tə̂m /* t a m, e. g. Kuan: Sï ch'eng *20* »Plunged and soaked in wine»; Ode 256, phr. *21* »Excessively steeped in wine» (Lu version *22*). Or the word may refer more generally to »pleasure» or »vice», e. g. Ode 256, phr. *23* »You are bent on being steeped in pleasure» (cf. Shu: Wu yi *24*, with another graph for the same word stem). Observe that in our Shu line above we have the same variants: *6* ∽ *19* as in Ode 256. On the other hand, *8* **dz'i̯ɛm / dz'i̯ăm /* t s ' i e n primarily means 'to plunge in the deep», as in Ode 184, phr. *25* »The fish plunges in the deep» (for more ex. see Gl. 1099). And again *10* read **tsi̯am / tsi̯ăm /* t s i e n means 'to dip down into, to moisten, to soak', e. g. Sün: K'üan hüe *26* »Soak it in manure». All these *-m* words are cognate and form one great word family. It seems evident that the phrase, whether written c h ' e n t s ' i e n *3* (**d'i̯əm-dz'i̯ɛm*) or c h ' e n t s i e n *4* (**d'i̯əm-tsi̯am*) or t a n t s i e n *5* (**təm-tsi̯am*), is a binome meaning 'to plunge in, to steep, to soak', since both members have that sense. For the phonetic variation of the binome, cf. Gl. 98, 334, 832. It is a constantly recurring theme in the earliest texts that the leaders are »plunged» in wine or pleasure, and that is obviously the sense here. Thus: **»For (treating) those who are plunged and soaked (sc. in wine and pleasure), there is the hardness predominating, for those who are high-standing and (bright =) enlightened there is the softness predominating».**

1547. W e i p i y ü s h ï *27*.

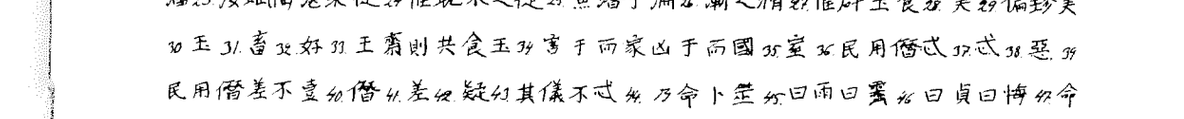
A. Ma Jung says y ü s h ï »jade food» simply means *28* fine food, and Cheng Hüan *29* »a complete array of precious dishes». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »the precious food» is what the subjects present to the ruler, thus: »It is the ruler who eats the precious food (given in tribute)». Legge turns this into: »who receives the revenues of the empire»(!). — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: *30* (**ngi̯uk / ngi̯wok /* y ü) stands for *31* (**χi̯ôk / χi̯uk /* h ü) — for the same speculation by Yüan Yüan on an ode line, see Gl. 920 — and this again is equal to *32* **χôg / χâu /* h a o, thus: »good food». A phonetically impossible theory. — **D.** Chang Ping-lin adduces Chouli: Yü fu, which says *33*, which both Cheng Chung and Cheng Hüan take to mean: »When the king fasts, he (the y ü f u) furnishes the jade to be eaten» saying it was pulverized and eaten. That this was a taoistic practice in Han time is well attested, but there are no pre-Han text ex. (except a line in Ch'u: Li sao, which could be interpreted to that effect) and Sun Yi-jang sums up various reasons for believing that it simply meant: »He furnishes the meal jades» in the sense of the jade utensils or jade-adorned utensils used in serving the food. Whichever interpr. is right, it seems quite possible that our Shu line (with Chang Ping-lin) has this sense. But after all it is here a question of Royal prerogatives and the use of jade utensils could certainly not have been forbidden the princes and dignitaries, nor the eating of jade (if such existed in pre-Han time), since jade-cicadas laid in the corpse's mouth was by no means restricted to the king's use. — **E.** It seems unlikely that »jade food» i. e. »precious food» simply means that the ruler had fine and complete food; it must refer to his power, his activity, just as in the preceding phrases his dispensing of favours and punishments. It seems reasonable to conclude that it refers to the ritual eating of certain special dishes in the Ming-t'ang »Hall of Brightness», which inaugurates and sets in motion the seasons of the year, one of the most solemn and religiously important functions of the king, see Li: Yüe ling. Thus: **»It is the ruler who eats the precious food (the ritual food)».**

1548. H a i y ü e r k i a, h i u n g y ü e r k u o *34*.

A. Cheng Hüan: **»It is injurious to your house and baleful to your state»** — addressed to the king: the luck will leave your *35* house, and calamity strike your state. — **B.** Wang Sü: k i a refers to the »dignitary houses», thus: »It is injurious to your (great feudal) houses, and (hence) baleful to your state». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »(The dignitaries) will be injurious in your houses, and (the feudal lords) will be baleful in your states». — The oldest interpr. (A) is by far the simplest and most natural.

1549. M i n y u n g t s i e n t ' ê *36*.

A. Ma Jung: t ' ê *37* = *38* 'wicked': **»The people thereby become (transgressing =) offensive and (erring =) wicked».** T ' ê properly means 'error, to err'. — **B.** In Han shu: Wang Kia chuan the line is paraphrased by Wang Kia (end of 1st c. B. C.): *39*. Kiang Sheng says that this means: »The people become deviating and (doubting =) distrustful» i. e. disloyal, by Wang expressed in p u y i »not united». It is true that Mao Heng in gloss on Ode 256 defines t s i e n *40* as = *41* 'to deviate, to err', but there it really means 'to be untruthful', see Gl. 958. And in Ode 152 Mao says t ' ê *37* = *42*, but in fact there *43* means »His fine demeanour is without fault» (Mao freely: not to be doubted, faultless). Thus the support for B is very poor (it is interesting, on the other hand,



as a proof of the influential position the Mao commentary on the Odes already had at that early time). — No reason to abandon A.

1550. N a i m i n g p u s h ī *44.*

A. PK'ung, followed by Ts'ai Ch'en, takes m i n g in its ordinary sense of 'to order, to command': »They are ordered to take tortoise oracle and to take milford oracle». In consequence, when the line continues: y ü e y ü, y ü e t s i etc. *45*, he supplies: (the configurations on the tortoise shell have an appearance so that) they are called »rain» and »clearing» etc. In other words, the lines on the shell resemble »rain», »clearing sky» etc. But this interpr. breaks down when we come to the 6th and 7th (the milfoil) y ü e c h e n g y ü e h u e i *46* »they are called c h e n g and h u e i (the technical names of the lower and upper trigrams respectively of the hexagram): here there are no configurations that look like c h e n g and h u e i. Thus PK'ung's interpr. cannot be carried through in the whole passage. Moreover we know from the ample oracle bone materials that the lines on the shells and bones could not possibly be said to resemble 'rain' or 'clearing sky' etc. — **B.** Cheng Hüan: m i n g *47* is common in the sense of 'to name', to give a m i n g *48* 'name', 'to denominate', e. g. Tso: Huan 2, phr. *49* »They gave him name, calling him K'iu» (very common). Thus: **»Then one makes denominations for the tortoise and milfoil oracles: they are called (oracles about) »rain», clearing up»....; and (they are called) c h e n g (lower trigram) and h u e i (upper trigram)».** — **C.** Wang Yin-chī: The phrases m i n g k u e i *50* 'to announce the inquiry to the tortoise' and m i n g s h ï 'to announce the inquiry to the milfoil' are technical terms, occurring e. g. in Yili: Shī sang li and in Chouli: T'ai pu (In Tso: Wen 18 we have the synon. phr. l i n g k u e i *51*, in Shu: Kin t'eng *52*). This is the meaning here: »And then one announces the inquiries to the tortoise and the milfoil; they are called (inquiries about) rain, about clearing sky . . .» etc. This interpr. is tempting. But again, when it comes to the 6th and 7th, it is not applicable: »One announces the inquiries to the milfoil . . . they are called (inquiries about) c h e n g the lower trigram and h u e i the upper trigram»; this makes no sense. — In fact B, which interprets m i n g *47* as = 'to denominate, denomination', tallies with the fact that we know, from an early text, that (the 6th:) c h e n g and (the 7th:) h u e i were really denominations, technical terms for the lower and the upper trigrams of the hexagram. Tso: Hi 15: »The c h e n g lower trigram of the hexagram k u is 'wind', the h u e i upper trigram, is 'mountain'. This confirms B, which was also accepted by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen.

1551. Y ü e y ü y ü e t s i y ü e m e n g y ü e y i y ü e k ' o *53.*

For t s i *54* Sī-ma Ts'ien has the var. *55*, same meaning. For m e n g *56* both Sī-ma and Cheng Hüan had w u *57* and Wang Su and K'ung Ying-ta the variant *58* 'fog'; hence the m e n g *56* of the current text is evidently a corruption introduced by Wei Pao in the 8th c. In the same way, both Hü Shen, Cheng Hüan and K'ung Ying-ta had *59* instead of *60*, the latter again introduced by Wei Pao after PK'ung's comm.

A. Shuowen defines y i *59* (**diĭăk / iäk / y i*) as = *61* 'to turn round, to whirl', quoting our Shu line and adding: 'rising clouds half existing, half not existing', i. e. 'intermittent'. For the first sense ('to whorl') there is no text support whatever. The second meaning 'intermittent, disconnected' (clouds) Hü Shen has evidently construed by considering *59* as a loan word for *60* (**diĭăk / iäk / y i*) 'by relays': »clouds by relays» would be intermittent clouds. PK'ung has seized upon this and adds that k ' o *62* means »the oracle lines *63* crossing each other». K ' o has no such meaning, but he bases himself on Wang Su, who says that k ' o 'to vanquish' here means that the oracle lines »invade and enter upon each other». Legge has tried to make sense of all this nonsense, translating: »(The appearance of) rain, clearing up, cloudiness, want of connection and crossing»(!). Couvreur has at least endeavoured to carry through the »weather» theme: »(Les apparences)

de la pluie, d'un ciel qui redevient serain, d'un ciel entièrement couvert, d'un ciel semé de nuages séparés, d'un ciel dans lequel les nuages se croisent». — **B.** Cheng Hüan likewise, since y ü, t s i and w u obviously refer to the weather, tries to make the remaining two describe weather phenomena. He says y i *59* means 'bright, brightness' and k ' o *62* means *64* miasmas attacking and crushing each other, thus: Rain, clearing up, darkness (fog), brightness (bright weather) and (miasmas) vanquishing (each other)». In the whole phonetic series of *65*, however, there is not the slightest example of any meaning »bright» (Chu Tsün-sheng believes Cheng meant that y i *59* was loan char. for t s ê *66* 'moist, glossy', hence 'bright') and the expl. of k ' o is, of course, impossible. — **C.** The earliest version known has neither y i *59* nor y i *60* but t ' i *67* (ap. Sī-ma Ts'ien) or t i *68* (ap. Cheng, gloss on Ode 105) or t ' i *69* (ap. K'ung Ying-ta's comm. on that ode) — evidently the original text had simply *68* without radical (Chou fashion), and the early scholars were uncertain which elucidating radical they had to supply, Sī-ma deciding that *68* stood for *67* 'to weep, tears' (his line runs, with an inversion, *70*). The word t ' i *67* has caused later comm. great misgivings, since it deviates so badly from the A text, and Sī-ma Cheng (T'ang time) boldly decides that *67* (**t'iər / t'iei* / t ' i) »should be read like y i *71*» (he means: like *59* **diĭăk / iäk* / y i), which of course is excluded. Sī-ma Ts'ien certainly meant tears, and therefore Sü Kuang had a version of his text that wrote *72* 'tears'. Chavannes, however, has not dared to accept this, but agrees with the theory that Sī-ma's *67* is an »error» for *59*, for which he accepts Cheng Hüan's unfounded definition »bright (weather)». — **D.** Wang Yin-chī, unhampered by the ancient speculations, realized that all five do not refer to the weather but that k ' o *62* refers to victory, which he confirms by a passage in Tso: Siang 28, where they took tortoise oracle about a coming battle, and the answer was k ' o »victory». This, in fact, is conclusive, and we can then also accept the earliest interpretation (Sī-ma Ts'ien's) about the preceding t ' i: **»They are called (oracles about) rain, clearing up, fog, tears (i. e. calamity) and victory (triumph)».** In short, the three first refer to weather (so important in the oracle bone materials we possess) and the second two to misfortune and fortune. But there remains the enigma of the y i *59* or y i *60* of the A text. Evidently here again the original text had simply *65*, without radical (Chou fashion), and the question is how to fill it out by elucidating radicals. Hü and Cheng filled it out into *59*, PK'ung believed this was a loan char. for *60*. From the analogy of the C text we conclude that the char. should be *73* (**tâg / tuo* / t u) 'destruction', variant *74*, which we had earlier in our chapter (*75* »whereby the constant norms were destroyed»; Ode 258, phr. *76* »He wastes and destroys the earth below»). The sense then comes very near to that of version C: **»Rain, clearing up, fog, destruction and victory».** — It is undecidable which version best represents the original Shu.

1552. P u w u c h a n y u n g e r y e n t ' ê *77.*

Sī-ma Ts'ien reads c h a n c h ï y u n g *78* and has the variant *79* for *80*.

A. Ma Jung takes c h a n *81* to mean *82* 'milfoil oracle', as opposed to p u *83* 'tortoise oracle', and he evidently punctuated after e r, obtaining a good parallelism and rhythm, yet with y e n t ' ê as a kind of additional phrase to the second member: p u w u **»The tortoise oracles are 5,** c h a n (c h ï) y u n g e r **the applications of the milfoil oracles are 2**

48 名 49 命之曰仇 50 令龜 51 令龜 52 令于元龜 53 曰雨曰霽曰蒙曰驛曰克 54 霽 55 濟 56 蒙 57 霧 58 雾 59 圛 60 驛 61 回行 62 克 63 相交錯 64 浸 65 皋 66 澤 67 涕 68 弟 69 悌 70 曰雨曰濟曰涕曰霧曰克 71 亦 72 涕 73 驛 74 斁 75 舞倫攸斁 76 耗斁下土 77 卜五占用二衍式 78 占之用 79 貳 80 式 81 占 82 筮 83 卜 84 推衍其爻之義以極其意 85 態 86 三人占 87 兆 88 玉

(sc. the lower upper trigrams), y e n t ' ê with extensive (changes =) combinations (of them)». T ' ê *80* means 'to aberr, to deviate', hence 'to change'. It has been objected that in early texts c h a n *81* means »the pronouncement» in a prognostication generally, this not being limited to the milfoil oracle but pertaining to the tortoise oracle as well, as already in our next line. That is true, but it is quite conceivable that the author here took it in a narrower sense; it is indeed almost imperative to refer the phr. »the p u are 5, the c h a n c h ï y u n g are 2», to the preceding line, which gives 5 tortoise oracle terms and 2 milfoil oracle terms. — **B.** Cheng Hüan punctuates p u w u c h a n c h ï y u n g, e r y e n t ' ê, and interprets: »p u the tortoise oracles are w u c h a n c h ï y u n g the applications of the 5 prognostications (about »rain» etc. as above); e r 2 are the (elements in) y e n t ' ê the extensive changes» (i. e. the lower and upper trigrams, combined in many ways). From the point of view of parallelism and rhythm, this is inferior to A. — **C.** Wang Su follows A as to the first two lines, but explains the final y e n t ' ê : it means *84* »One enlarges upon the meaning of the hexagrams in order to exhaust their purport». K'ung Ying-ta accepts this, yet referring the phrase not only to the hexagrams but to the tortoise oracles as well. T ' ê *80* can certainly have no such meaning directly (yet cf. E below), so we should then have to construe (with K'ung): »Y e n one enlarges upon (the meaning of) t ' ê the changes». — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en follows C closely, but explains t ' ê *80* with its normal meaning 'to err, error': »The tortoise oracles are 5, the applications of the milfoil oracles are 2, (by them all) y e n t ' ê one enlarges upon (extensively explains) errors (of men)». — **E.** Kiang Sheng: *80, 99* (**t'ək / t'ək / t ' ê*) is loan char. for *85* **t'nəg / t ' ậ i / t ' a i* 'apparition, attitude, manner', explaining: »p u in regard to the tortoise oracles, w u c h a n c h ï y u n g there is the application of the 5 explaining pronouncements; e r in regard to the two (i. e. milfoil oracle elements: lower and upper trigram) y e n t ' ê one enlarges upon their (attitudes =) meanings». A forced construction. — The oldest interpr. is simple, rhythmically good, and suits the context.

1553. S a n j e n c h a n *86*.

»When 3 men prognosticate». The commentators have all kinds of speculations. PK'ung: the Hia, Yin and Chou had different ways of performing both the tortoise and the milfoil oracles, and for safety's sake the Chou kings employed all three modes simultaneously(!). Cheng Hüan refers to Chouli: T'ai pu, which says that the Great Diviner had 3 kinds of *87* tortoise signs, called y ü c h a o *88* jade signs, w a c h a o *89* tile signs and y ü a n c h a o *90* (whatever that may mean); and that he had three kinds of milfoil divinations, acc. to the three manuals Lien-shan *91*, Kuei-tsang *92* and Chou Yi *93* (the present Yi king). Hence there were »3 men» for each branch, etc. Ts'ai Ch'en rightly brushes all this aside, insisting that we should read no more into the Shu passage then the text contains. Cf. Tso: Ch'eng 6, where our Shu line is quoted only to prove that it is always best to follow the majority.

1554. T s ï s u n k ' i f e n g k i *94*.

A. The earliest attested interpr. is to take f e n g *95* in its ordinary sense of *96* 'to meet', thus: »Your sons and grandsons will meet luck». So the line was already understood in late W. Han time (Han shu: Wang Mang chuan), and by most Eastern Han scholars (Ma Jung: Tien yin, Ts'ien fu lun: Meng lie, Lun heng: Pu shï) and this was accepted by PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en. It would be tempting to find a support for this in a phrase from Shu: Kin t'eng *97*, which is quoted *98* in Lun heng: Pu shï (see Gl. 1575 below). But this, of course, cannot be decisive. — **B.** Ma Jung: f e n g *95* = *99* 'great'. We do not know how Ma took the line as a whole (whether he read t a k i »great luck»), but Wang Nien-sun, Kiang Sheng, Sun Sing-yen and others all rightly insist that we should punctuate after f e n g, the final k i = »It is auspicious» forming a clause by itself, as repeatedly in the following lines. Thus: **»Your**

sons and grandsons will be great; it is auspicious». This is strongly confirmed by the rimes: *100* **dz'i̯ung*: *1* **d'ung*: *95* **b'i̯ung*. F e n g = 'great' is well attested: Li Ju hing, phr. *2* »a garment with large sleeves»; Sün: Fei shï er tsï *3* »His garment was large»; Ch'u: T'ien wen *4* »His descendants became great and prominent». The Ts'ing scholars suggest that *95* **b'i̯ung / b'i̯wong* / f e n g is then cognate to *5* **p'i̯ông / p'i̯ung* / f e n g 'abundant'. It seems much more likely that it is closely cognate to *6* **pi̯ung / pi̯wong* / f e n g, which is well attested in the sense of *99* 'great', see Gl. 1074a (*7* is phon. in both *6* and *95*). — The rimes and the construction par. for k i are decisive in favour of B.

1555. Y ü e y ü y ü e y a n g y ü e y ü y ü e h a n y ü e f e n g y ü e s h ï w u c h ê l a i p e i *8*. Sï-ma Ts'ien has the same text.

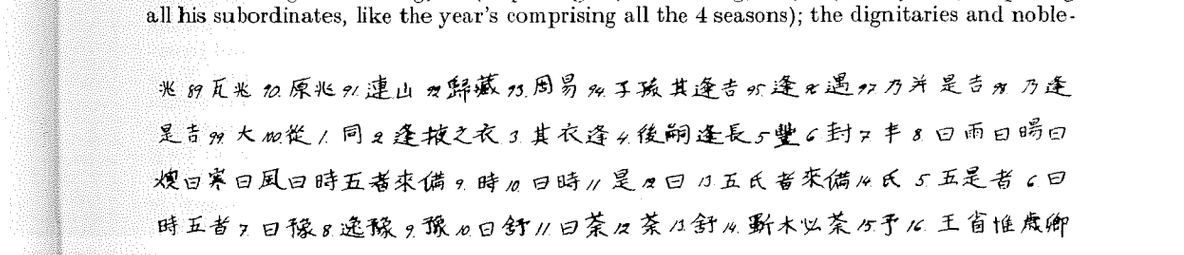
A. PK'ung punctuates after s h ï *9*, interpreting: **»They are called rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind and their seasonableness; when the 5 come in a complete way ....».** — **B.** Since the earliest comm. only discuss the 5 (rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind), Fu Sheng in Ta chuan combining them with the »5 conducts» above, and Cheng Hüan with the »5 elements» above, the Ts'ing scholars carry y ü e s h ï *10* to the second line, taking s h ï *9* as equal to *11* (common), thus: »When those 5 come in a complete way». But the y ü e *12* is then very embarrassing: on the one hand, it continues in a natural way the preceding enumeration: y ü e y ü y ü e y a n g ... y ü e s h ï, which is all in favour of A; on the other hand, if carried to the second line, it has to be interpreted differently from all the preceding y ü e : either as the initial particle, or, with Chavannes: »(the Prince of Ki) said» — both very awkward. Tuan Yü-ts'ai has tried to find a way out: the original text had no y ü e, but only s h ï *9* = *11*; witness Li Yün, 2nd c. A. D. (Hou Han shu k. 87), who quotes *13*, where *14* (**d̂i̯ĕg*) is a variant for the homophonous *11*. Consequently, Tuan says, Sï-ma originally had *15* and his present y ü e s h ï w u c h ê *6* is a correction after PK'ung. And Sï-ma's version, thus reconstituted, should be given preference. — Be Tuan's speculation about Sï-ma's text as it may; the decisive point is that in all the subsequent lines there is s h ï *9* = »seasonal» as qualification of all the 5 »verifications» (rain, sunshine etc.), which amply and definitely confirms A, whatever Sï-ma's ideas may have been.

1556. Y ü e y ü *7*.

B. This is PK'ung's version, by him defined as = *8* 'ease and amusement' Y ü *9* (**di̯o / i̯wo* / y ü) in this sense is common. But no other early version has this. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien, Pan Ku, Wang Ch'ung, Cheng Hüan and Wang Su all had y ü e s h u *10* (**śi̯o / śi̯wo* / s h u) »slowness, laziness, **indolence**». Fu Sheng (Shang shu ta chuan) read *11*, where this *12* (**d'o / d'uo* / t ' u) is loan char. for *13* (**śi̯o*); cf. Chouli: Kung jen *14* »The smoothing of the knots (in the wood) should be slow», likewise with *12* loan for *13*. — The orig. text evidently had simply *15* without radical (Chou fashion) and this has been filled out into *13* by some school or schools, into *9* by another school. But we should follow the earliest attested (B), which was generally accepted in Han time.

1557. W a n g s i n g w e i s u e i, k ' i n g s h ï w e i y ü e, s h ï y i n w e i j ï *16*.

A. Ma Jung: »The king, in (inspecting =) controlling, is (like) the year (comprising all his subordinates, like the year's comprising all the 4 seasons); the dignitaries and noble-



men are (like) the months (having only a partial sway and being controlled by the year); all the many lower officials are (like) the days (having very limited functions, and being controlled by the months).» We could, of course, also construe: w a n g s i n g what the king controls is (comprehensive like) the year (Chavannes: »Ce qui fait l'objet de l'administration du roi est comme l'année»); but then the sequel: k' i n g s h ī w e i y ü e etc. would have to be taken as a very awkward ellipsis. The idea of this interpr. is that where there are disturbances in the seasons, it shows a wrong distribution of power between higher and lower functionaries. But though accepted by PK'ung, it is very unnatural and far-fetched. — **B.** Chang Shou-tsie (T'ang time): **»What the king scrutinizes is the year (as to its natural phenomena), the dignitaries and noblemen the months, the many lower officials the days» (sc. for verifications of their government).** Ts'ai Ch'en accepts this, and it forms a logical introduction to the sequel. For s h ī y i n see next gloss.

1558. S h ī y i n *17.*

A. PK'ung: **»The many lower officials».** — **B.** Wang Kuo-wei (Kuan t'ang tsi lin 6: 4 b, repeated in Kuan t'ang pie tsi, pu yi p. l) has a very extravagant theory about s h ī y i n *17.* He starts from Sun Yi-jang's theory that the n e i s h ī *18* »Scribe of the Interior» had the alternative title t s o t s' ê *19* »maker of brevets», and tries to support that with bronze inscriptions. This carries him further, so that the same official would also have the titels t s o m i n g *20,* and also the title t s o t s' ê n e i s h ī *21.* This latter combination should have warned Wang that t s o t s' ê is not a real title — a pleonasm like tso-ts'ê-nei-shī would be meaningless if the two were synonymous — but a phrase meaning 'to make a brevet' (see in detail Gl. 1794). Now there are some inscriptions where we have n e i s h ī Y i n *22,* and though this is quite analogous to numerous inscr. cases where n e i s h ī is followed by a name (n e i s h i W u *23,* n e i s h ī S i e n *29* etc.), Wang here surmises (with no other proof than his own belief) that Y i n *25* is not a name but means 'chief' and that n e i s h ī y i n again is a title for the »principal scribe of the interior». He believes this is the same as another inscr. phr. t s o t s' ê Y i n *26,* which would be an alternative title (here again t s o t s' ê is in fact no title at all and does not belong together with the following Yin: the text runs [Shī Ch'en Ting inscr., Grammata inscr. 161] *27* »The king ordered t s o t s' ê to make a brevet, and Yin made a brevet [t s' ê m i n g] for Shī Ch'en»). This speculation has carried him further, so that when in Ode 263 and in several bronze inscriptions we have the name Y i n s h ī *28,* this would in fact not be a name but yet another alternative title for the n e i s h ī y i n »principal scribe of the interior». And in another inscription m i n g y i n *29* is one more alternative for the same official. Again, when we have, in Ode 191, the name Shī Yin *17* »Master Yin», this acc. to Wang is after all no name but means »The s h ī Master and the y i n principal scribe», being two different officials(!). This would likewise be the meaning of s h ī y i n w e i j ī *30* in our Shu line here. Wang Kuo-wei thus arrives at the almost ludicrous result that the principal scribe could have 9 different titles in early Chou time: nei shī, tso ts'ê, tso ming, tso ts'ê nei shī, nei shī yin, tso ts'ê yin, yin shī, ming yin and yin. But even so, Wang is not satisfied. Since in Shu: Ta kao we have the Y i n s h ī *28* (»The [local] officials»), which Wang believes means »principal scribe», and since in Shu: To fang there is the phr. *31* (»You officials and [common] people of the Prince of Yin»), this latter would be a corruption and should be Y i n h o u Y i n s h ī *32* »You principal scribe of the Prince of Yin» (which in fact would make sheer nonsense in the context there!). — From the context in our Shu line above it is obvious that the s h ī y i n *17* were men of lower status than the preceding k' i n g s h ī dignitaries and noblemen, and they are obviously the same who are called p o y i n *33* »the hundred officials» in Shu: Ku ming. S h ī *34* = *35* 'numerous, many' is very common.

1559. S h u m i n w e i s i n g etc. *36.*

A. PK'ung interprets: »The common people are (like) stars; there are stars which favour wind, there are stars which favour rain (sc. so also the people has its predilections) through the course of sun and moon there is winter and summer (sc. there are regular laws, and so all citizens should follow their proper norms); when the moon follows (particular) stars, there is (too much) wind and rain (sc. so, when the government follows the people's desires, there is disorder)». This scholastic speculation was accepted and further expounded by Chavannes MH IV, p. 230. — **B.** Another interpr. The phrase is obviously parallel to the previous W a n g s i n g w e i s u e i, k' i n g s h ī w e i y ü e, s h ī y i n w e i j ī, see Gl. 1558 above: »What the king scrutinizes is the year, the dignitaries and noblemen the months, the many lower officials the days». Here we have the sequel: **»What the common people (scrutinizes) is the stars; there are stars which favour wind, there are stars which favour rain; (due to) the course of sun and moon there is winter and summer; according as the moon follows the (various) stars, there is wind and rain»** (sc. the people can judge the indications in the sky and so participate in the »verifications»).

1560. S ī y ü e y u h a o t ê *37.*

A. Cheng Hüan paraphrases: *38* »The people all love those who have virtue»; since this is not compatible with the wording of the text, Wang Su and PK'ung turn it more precisely (y u *39* = *40*): »That which is loved being the virtue» = »love of virtue». In either case h a o is read in falling tone = 'to love'. — **B.** Yü Yüe quotes a Han inscription (Chang Piao pei): *41* »The good virtue was cultivated», where y u *39* is obviously a short-form for *42* 'to cultivate'. He concludes that this may be an allusion to our Shu line, and that some early school took the phr. to mean s i u h a o t ê *43* **»the cultivation of a fine virtue»** (h a o read in rising tone). — The construction acc. to A is very unnatural: y u h a o , t ê. The idea »love of virtue» should simply have been expressed by a h a o t ê. B, which explains the first word in a natural way, is clearly superior.

1561. H i u n g t u a n c h ê *44.*

Pan Ku (Han shu: Wu hing chī) says h i u n g means death of men, t u a n death of animals and c h ê death of plants and trees; or, alternatively, he says, h i u n g means premature death: when an elder brother loses a younger brother it is called h i u n g, when a father his son, it is called c h ê. Cheng Hüan explains that h i u n g means to die before dentition, t u a n to die before taking the cap of manhood, and c h ê to die before marriage. PK'ung, on the other hand, takes h i u n g = 'to be unlucky', t u a n to die before 60 years of age and c h ê to die before 30. Ts'ai Ch'en is certainly right in insisting that the words should not be pressed like that; they simply mean: 'unluckily to be broken short', i. e. **»premature death».**

1562. Y ü e n g o *45.*

A. The oldest interpr. can be gleaned from Fu Sheng: Shang shu ta chuan, who says that when »the outer appearance *46* is not respectful, its extreme result is n g o *47*», which thus means **'ugliness'**, and so it has been understood by Cheng Hüan and PK'ung. Pan ku (Han shu: Wu hing chī) proposes this alternatively, adding that the ugliness may be due to bodily punishments(!). — **B.** Pan Ku (*ibid.*) alternatively explains it by »wicked-

士惟月師尹惟日 17.師尹 18 内史 19作册 20.作命 21.作册内史 22 内史尹 23.受 24.先 25.尹 26.作册尹 27.王呼作册尹册命師晨 28.尹氏 29 命尹 30.師尹惟日 31.惟爾殷侯尹民 32.殷侯尹氏 33.百尹 34.師 35.衆 36.庶民惟星 37.四 曰攸好德 38.民皆好有德.39.攸 40.所 41.令德攸 芍 42.修 43.修好德 44.凶 短折 45.曰 惡 46.貌 47.惡.48.我 其為王稽卜 49.穆 50.繆 51.敬 52.二公

ness» and Ts'ai Ch'en follows this. P'i Si-juei insists that this is preferable, since »wickedness» would balance the y u (s i u) h a o t ê »cultivation of a fine virtue» among the felicities immediately before, whereas among them there is no counterpart to any 'ugliness'. But there is really no strict parallelism between the two series (one of 5, one of 6). In fact the 6 »extremities (calamities)» all describe conditions which make life hard to a man and »ugliness» fits in much better than the moral »wickedness». Moreover the »cultivation of a fine virtue» among the »felicities» refers rather to the cultivated mode of demeanour, which makes life happy to a man (one of the »felicities») than to the moral goodness itself. — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr. (A).

Kin t'eng.

1563. W o k' i w e i w a n g m u p u *48.*

Sï-ma Ts'ien (Lu shï kia) for *49* has the variant *50*, a common phenomenon (see Gl. 757).

A. PK'ung (after Erya): m u *49* = *51*, thus: »We shall for the king respectfully take tortoise oracle». This sense of m u is not very well attested; it means rather 'dignified, solemn' (see Gl. 757), thus: **»We shall for the king solemnly take tortoise oracle».** — **B.** Cheng Hüan paraphrases: *52* »The two princes wished to go to Wen Wang's temple and take tortoise oracle». This shows that he read w a n g m u together = »the royal ancestor of the m u odd series», i. e. Wen Wang — Wen Wang was m u »of the odd series», whereas Wu Wang (the sick king) was c h' a o *53* »of the even series», as attested in Shu: Tsiu kao: n a i m u k' a o W e n w a n g *54* »Your dead father of the odd series, Wen Wang» (for full details see Gl. 1102). Thus: »We shall take tortoise oracle from (the royal ancestor of the odd series =) the dead father». This is quite plausible in itself, but later on in our chapter we have: w o k' i w u m u p u *55* »Let us not solemnly take tortoise oracle» (see Gl. 1582), which shows that m u p u belong together and are a standard phrase.

1564. W e i k' o y i t s' i w o s i e n w a n g *56.*

A. Cheng Hüan: t s' i *57* = *58* (common). Thus: **»One cannot distress our former king (sc. Wen Wang)».** — **B.** PK'ung: t s' i *57* = *59*, expounding: *60*. K'ung Ying-ta has understood him thus: »(The king) cannot by dying (approach =) go to our former king», but that was certainly not PK'ung's idea. The line is Chou Kung's refusal to the proposal of the two princes, and PK'ung meant: »One cannot approach our former king (sc. with this death affair)». It is true that t s' i can mean 'near-standing', in the sense of 'closely related, a relative', but that construction of it here is strained. Sun Sing-yen therefore interprets: »One cannot (treat-as-near =) be particularly familiar with (and consult only) our former king (Wen Wang)» — we should consult all the ancestors. Liu Feng-lu turns the »near» idea in yet another way: »You (two princes) cannot (be near to, be familiar with =) take the oracle from our former king» — you are not his near kin, as I am myself. — The earliest interpr. (A) which takes t s' i in one of its commonest meanings: we must not disturb and distress the dead king by going to his temple (I have another way out: the following scene with self-dedication) is sufficiently plausible.

1565. K u n g n a i t s ï y i w e i k u n g *61.*

A. PK'ung: k u n g *62* = *63* 'business, work', thus: »The prince then made it into a work for himself», i. e. took the work upon himself. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien (Lu shï kia) has: k u n g n a i t s ï y i w e i c h ï *64* »The prince then proffered himself as a pledge» (sc. to the Spirits). But later on in our chapter Sï-ma has the line repeated and then in the wording of the orthodox text: t s ï y i w e i k u n g. This has caused Kiang Sheng, who generally prefers Sïma's version to PK'ung's, in this case to follow B. Wang Sien-k'ien, on the other hand, insists that the second passage in Sï-ma has been altered after PK'ung, and should still properly be read t s ï y i w e i c h ï. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen has

tried to reconcile the two versions. He points out that Erya: Shï ku says k u n g *62* and c h ï *65* both mean c h' e n g *66*, and since they thus are synonymous, the k u n g of A must mean the same as the c h ï of B, i. e. 'to pledge, a pledge'. Now the Erya entry is really no proof, for k u n g means c h' e n g *66* in the sense of 'achievement', whereas c h ï *65* means c h' e n g *66* in the sense of *67* 'good faith, evidence of good faith, hostage, pledge' (see Gl. 802, 951). But Sun is very near to the truth. We may confidently assume that the original Shu text had simply k u n g *68*, without radical (Chou fashion), and that this was enlarged into *62* by Han scholars who took it to mean 'business, work, task', with A above. But Sï-ma has not understood it so, but as = 'to proffer', in which sense the char. is usually enlarged into *69*, and interpreted the line: »The prince then proffered himself». This is why he paraphrased it by c h ï *65* 'to proffer as a pledge' in the first instance, but kept the k u n g *68* (= *69*) in the 2nd instance, where it has then been later completed into *62* in the wake of PK'ung. For k u n g *69* = 'to proffer, to present' cf. Tso: Ting 13, phr. *70* »The 500 families presented by Wei»; Li: Shê yi *71* »Yearly they present and offer scholars to the Son of Heaven» (etc., common).

1566. C h ï p i p i n g k u e i *72.*

A. Cheng Hüan, foll. by PK'ung, says c h ï *73* »is the ancient char. for chï *74* 'to place'». The Ts'ing scholars try to confirm this by Lun: Wei tsï *75* »He (placed erect =) planted his staff (in the ground)», for which the stone classics of 175 A. D. have *76* »He laid his staff». This is in no way conclusive. It only shows that the orig. Lun text had simply *72* without radical (Chou fashion), and that some Han scholars filled this out into *73* and others into *74*. The two words are by no means identical. The *73* **đi̯ək / i̯ək / s h ï* (Ts'ie yün and Shïwen) or alt. **d'i̯əg / đ'i / c h ï* (Ts'ie yün and Shïwen) means 'to place erect, to plant, fra. *dresser*', e. g. Chouli: T'ien p'u *78* »to hold upright the banner» (»dresser le drapeau»); here c h ï cannot possibly mean 'to lay down'. *74* was **ti̯əg / ti / c h ï* 'to place, to lay, to put down'. Cheng Hüan, with his theory, interprets: »He laid down p i jade discs (on the altars)», but we might just as well interpret: »he placed erect p i jade discs (on the altars)» — the round discs (with a hole in the centre) standing vertically, in a stand. In either case, if the p i were to be on the altars, p i must be taken in the plural: jade discs. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien has t a i p i *79* (repeated in Han shu: Wang Mang chuan). T a i *80* (**təg*) means 'to carry on the head' and Chavannes translates: »il portait sur la tête le jade rond . . .» But Yi lin: Sü chï wang reads t s a i p i *81*, and this t s a i (**tsəg*) can be absolutely synon. with the c h ï *73* of our A text (which strongly supports *73* as against *74*), e. g. Tso: Huan 16, phr. *82* »Shou-tsï raised his banner and went in front». Now t a i and t s a i are so similar characters that they are often confused in Han time (Ode 292: Mao version t s a i p i e n *83*, Han version t a i p i e n *84*, etc.) and we may suspect that either Sï-ma's t a i is a scribe's error for t s a i, or Yi-lin's t s a i a corruption of t a i. The former is more probable, since t s a i *85* agrees with the meaning of version A ('to hold upright'), whereas »to carry on the head a p i disc» is very little convincing. But even so, if c h ï *73* (A) and t s a i *85* (B) both mean 'to place erect, to erect,

欲就文王廟卜53.昭54.乃稽考文王55我其勿稽卜56未可以戚我先王57戚58憂59近
60未可以死近我先王61.公乃自以為功62功63事64公乃自以為質65質66成67誠68
工69貢70衛貢五百家71歲獻貢士於天子72植璧秉珪73植74置75植其杖76置其杖
77直78植旌79戴璧秉圭80戴81.戴璧82壽子戴其旌以先83載弁84.戴弁85載86.執87.

dresser', there remains the question whether (with Cheng and PK'ung) the jade was placed on the altar (then in an upright position) — in that case 3 jade discs for the 3 altars; or it was held upright by the officiant — in that case it was one jade disc. In fact, the latter is much more probable: both the p i jade and the k u e i jade were carried by the officiant in the rites. Indeed the p i jades were held just as well as the k u e i jade: Chouli: Tien juei describes how at the great reunions of the feudatories in the king's court (where they above all assisted in the sacrifices) the first 3 ranks k u n g, h o u, p o held *86* k u e i rectangular jades (of different kinds), and that the following two ranks, t s ī and n a n, held *86* p i jade discs (of different kinds). Even more instructive is Tso: Chao 13, where a prince of Ch'u, for choosing an heir apparent among his sons, sacrificed to k ' ü n w a n g *87* all the mountains and rivers of his state: *88* »All round he with a p i jade disc appeared before (the altars of) all the Distant Ones»; and afterwards he buried the p i, letting the son who found it become his successor. Here there were many altars (p i e n »all round») but only one p i, which was not deposited but carried by the officiant from altar to altar, and then buried. Thus: **»He held upright a p i jade disc and he grasped a k u e i rectangular jade.** — **C.** Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Ch'en K'iao-tsung would abide by Cheng Hüan's idea that the p i were deposited. And since t s a i *85* can mean simply 'to place on' (common), and t a i *80* is merely a variant for t s a i, version B would mean, just as well as A (in Cheng's interpr.): »He put down (on the altars) the p i jade discs». But then it would seem curious that he deposited the p.i but grasped (held in the hand) the k u e i, and therefore they propose that p i n g *89* (**pi̯ăng*) is short for *90* which is the s. w. a. p i n g *91* (**pi̯ăng*) 'a handle'. A »handle» for the k u e i would here mean some kind of stand on which it was placed on the altar. Thus: »He put down the p i jade discs and he (»handled» =) put on stands k u e i rectangular jades (on the 3 altars)». An exceedingly far-fetched theory. — Since c h ī k u e i *92* 'to grasp a k u e i' and c h ī p i *93* 'to grasp a p i' are common phr., and since p i n g frequently indicates the same mode of grasping (holding in the hand), e. g. p i n g y ü e *95* 'to (grasp) hold the battle-axe' (Ode 304), p i n g p i *96* 'to grasp the pen' (Kyü: Tsin Yü 9), it would be strange indeed if our p i n g k u e i here meant something quite different. And this being so, the balancing c h ī p i (or t s a i p i) certainly, with B, meant: »to hold upright the p i».

1567. S h ī n a i t s ' ê c h u *97*.

A. Cheng Hüan takes t s ' ê as a noun and c h u as a verb: »The scribe then t s ' ê after the tablets c h u read the prayer». This is an awkward grammatical construction. — **B.** PK'ung takes t s ' ê as a verb and c h u as a noun: **»The scribe then put on tablets the prayer».** Grammatically much better. — **C.** Shuowen has a char. t s ' ê *98* defined as = 'to announce', and Sun Sing-yen believes that our *99* stands for this: »The scribe then announced (to the Spirits) the prayer». No text par. whatever.

1568. K o u l i n ü e t s i *100*.

A. PK'ung simply says l i *1* (properly meaning 'sharp') = *2* 'danger, dangerous' and n ü e *3* = *4* 'violent'. But then there are two possibilities: — *α*. He may have meant — as Ts'ai Ch'en has it — the line as one phrase: »He has met with a (sharp =) dangerous and violent sickness». But that is rhythmically poor: y ü — l i n ü e — t s i. — *β*. Hence K'ung Ying-ta prefers to interpret PK'ung differently: y ü l i he has met with (sharpness =) danger (sc. to his life) and n ü e t s i is violently sick». As a construction that is better. The definition l i *1* = w e i *2* 'danger' (so also Kuang ya) recurs in Wang Pi's gloss on Y i: Kua 1. — **B.** Another interpr. L i *1* is common as a variant for l i *5* 'epidemic sickness', and since it is here precisely a question of sickness, it would be strange indeed if this were not the meaning. Thus: **»He has met with an epidemic sickness and is violently ill».** Cf. Yi Chou shu: Shī hün *6* »The people have much epidemics and sicknesses»;

Kuan: Wu hing *7* »The growing grain dies and the people become sick»; Tso: Chao 1, phr. *8* »epidemic» (var. *5*); Lie: Huang-ti *9* 'sickness'. — **C.** Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: *10*, with the variant y e n *11* for t s u *12*. »He has fatigued himself and is . . . sick». L i *1* can also be a short-form for l i *13* 'to stimulate, to be stimulated, to exert oneself', and so Sī-ma has understood it: »He has met with exertions» = »he has fatigued himself. Very far-fetched. That the n ü e in n ü e t s i '(oppressive =) violent sickness' of the Shu is rendered by t s u *12* 'to obstruct' or y e n *11* 'to soak, to delay' is obscure. Sun Sing-yen explains that t s u *12* means 'precipitous', hence 'dangerous'; h i e n (**χli̯am*) is a synonym: 'precipitous, dangerous', and *11* (**·i̯am*) is merely a loan char. for this. This is, of course, a poor and desperate expl. Though we do not know which was Sï-ma's proper reading (t s u or y e n), the meaning will be much the same: »He has an (obstructive =) cumbersome sickness», or: »a (delaying =) long-drawn sickness.» We should abide by the orthodox Shu text, with the B interpr.

1569. J o e r s a n w a n g s h ï y u p ' e i t s ï c h ï t s ê y ü t ' i e n *14*.

A. Ma Jung reads *15* **p'i̯əg* / *p'jwi* / p ' e i = 'great' (common) and PK'ung follows this, paraphrasing so as to show that he understood: **»If you three kings really [have the debt of a great son towards Heaven =] owe a great son to Heaven» (sc. if he must die).** This suits the context admirably, the sequel being: »substitute me, Tan, for So-and-so's person». The only difficulty is s h ï *16*; with this interpr. it must be an adverbial phrase = 'really'. It is then a short-form for *17*, cf. Shu: Ts'in shï *18*, in Li: Ta hüe quoted *19* (var. *20*). T s ê (c h a i) *21* 'debt' is common, e. g. Tso: Ch'eng 2, phr. *22* »He remitted the debts». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes t s ê *21* = 'responsibility' (common), thus: »If you 3 kings really have the responsibility for the great son towards Heaven». This is quite plausible in itself but suits the context less well than A, see the sequel. — **C.** Sï-ma Ts'ien inst. of p ' e i t s ï *23* reads f u t s ï *24*, and many comm. have thought that the *15* **p'i̯əg* / *p'jwi* / p ' e i of version A was merely a loan char. for the *25* **b'i̯ŭg* / *b'i̯ə̯u* / f u of version C. But if so, there are still a great many possibilities. — *α*. K'ung Ying-ta takes f u t s ê *26* with its common meaning of 'to carry a dept, to owe', thus: »If you 3 kings really (carry the debt of a son towards =) owe a son to Heaven». That is all very well, but it simply skips y u *27* and thus fails in construing the line grammatically. — *β*. Sï-ma Cheng: »If you 3 kings f u carry t s ï c h ï t s ê the responsibility for the son y ü t ' i e n towards Heaven». Same fault as the preceding, in skipping the y u. — *γ*. Kungyang: Huan 16 has a term *28* f u t s ï meaning 'to be sick' said of a prince, and Po hu t'ung (as quoted in K'ung Ying-ta's comm. on Li: K'ü li; the present P. h. t. has lost the passage) says a king's sickness is called p u y ü *29* (as in our Shu line above), a prince's sickness is called f u t s ï *30*. The analysis of this phrase is obscure and debated, but its meaning is certain from the context in Kungyang. Undoubtedly some ancient school took f u t s ï *30* of Sï-ma's text in this sense (p u y ü and f u t s ï matching each other, which shows that they had our Shu passage in mind). Thus: »If you 3 kings have t s ê responsibility for f u t s ï the sick one towards Heaven». Yü Yüe, however, has another idea. The f u t s ï cannot refer to the sick king, since f u t s ï refers to princes, whereas p u y ü refers to kings; hence it must refer to the dead »three kings» who, though called »kings»,

87. 辜望 88. 乃徧以璧見於辜望 89. 秉 90. 棟 91. 柄 92. 執珪 93. 執璧 94. 秉鉞 95. 秉筆 96. 史乃冊祝 97. 告 98. 冊 99. 遺厲虐疾 1. 厲 2. 危 3. 虐 4. 暴 5. 癘 6. 民多厲疾 7. 苗死民厲 8. 厲疫 9. 疵厲 10. 勤勞阻疾 11. 淹 12. 阻 13. 勵 14. 若爾三王是有丕子之責于天 15. 丕 16. 是 17. 寧 18. 是能容之 19. 寧能容之 20. 寧能 21. 責 22. 已 責 23. 丕 子 24. 負子 25. 負 26. 負責 27. 有 28. 負茲 29. 不

had really never been more than princes. Thus: »If you 3 kings really have any sickness duties (i. e. duties incumbent on somebody to care for you when you are sick) in Heaven». An absurd attempt. — *δ*. Chu Hi: »If you 3 kings really shall have (somebody to) carry a son's duties (towards you) in Heaven». — *ε*. Tuan Yü-ts'ai: f u *25* means *31* 'to turn the back on' (common): »As to you 3 kings, since s h ī he (sc. Wu wang) (has the turn-back-on-children blame towards Heaven =) has the guilt towards Heaven of turning the back on his children (sc. the people)», i. e. of dying. This is strained and suits the context badly. — *ζ*. Liu Feng-lu punctuates j o e r w a n g s h ī y u, f u t s ī etc., taking y u *27* as loan char. for y u *32*; f u t s ī = 'sickness', with *β* above. Thus: »As to you 3 kings s h ī y u you should protect him; the responsibility for the sick (prince) rests with Heaven»; which is rather nonsensical. — *η*. K'ung Kuang-sen punctuates after w a n g: »You 3 kings, if he (Wu wang) has f u - t s ī c h ī t s ê a sick prince's blame vis-à-vis Heaven», i. e. if he has become guilty towards Heaven and hence become sick (»by modesty» Chou Kung says f u t s ī and not p u y ü, as if Wu wang were merely a prince and not a king!). — **D.** Cheng Hüan: p ' e i *15* is equal to p u *33* (the graphs are in fact interchangeable, the archaic graph *33* regularly serving for both p u *33* and p ' e i *15* in the Chou inscriptions) and t s ī *34* is a verb meaning 'to treat as children, to cherish'. Thus: »If you 3 kings (do not save him), s h ī then you will have the (blame =) guilt towards Heaven of p u t s ī not cherishing your children». A very funny idea, that j o e r s a n w a n g »if you 3 kings» could be a brachylogy for: »if you 3 kings do not save him»! — If the *15* (**p'i̯əg*) of the A version has been deemed a loan char. for the f u *25* (**b'i̯ŭg*) of version C, it is just as plausible to say that the f u *25* of C is a loan char. for the p ' e i *15* of A, and accept this latter as the proper reading. Of all the various interpretations related above, the first (A) best interprets the text as it stands, without any loan speculations or elliptical constructions, and it suits the context best of all.

1570. Y ü j e n j o k ' a o n e n g t o t s ' a i t o y i *35*.

A. This is PK'ung's version, interpr. by him: »I have been good and obedient to my father, I am capable of having much talent and much skill». Ts'ai Ch'en finds it unreasonable that in adressing his three forefathers he says »obedient to my father», so he takes k ' a o *36* to mean *37* 'forefathers', a meaning which k ' a o certainly has not. The combination n e n g t o t s ' a i »I am capable of having much talent» is, of course, a very unnatural pleonasm. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien renders the line: T a n k ' i a o n e n g t o t s ' a i t o y i *38* »I, Tan, am clever and capable; I have much talent and much skill». Here k ' i a o - n e n g forms a natural binome, and obviates the bad pleonasm in the second part of A above. The Ts'ing scholars agree that the original text probably simply had *39*, without radical (Chou fashion, cf. that in the inscr. of T'ung Kuei *40*, W. Chou time, *39* is used for *36*) and that this has been understood as and filled out into k ' a o *36* in the A school and into k ' i a o *41* in the B school. But with the latter there are several possibilities. — *α*. Kiang Sheng is the most radical. In j e n j o k ' a o n e n g *42* of the A text, the two words j e n j o are erroneous and should be eliminated, the phrase to be corrected into k ' i a o n e n g *43*, in accordance with text B. Yet the A j e n j o k ' a o n e n g . . . . is attested earlier than PK'ung; we have it in the 1st c. A. D. (Lun heng: Sï wei), and Tuan Yü-ts'ai's conclusion that the Lun heng text has been corrected after PK'ung is very arbitrary and improbable. — *β*. Sun Sing-yen, who does not want to alter a traditional text unnecessarily, says j e n j o k ' a o n e n g *42* means *44* **»I am good and compliant, clever and capable, I have much talent and much skill»**, and Sï-ma Ts'ien has simply skipped the first two words, as he often does. — *γ*. Wang Nien-sun: j o *45* is equal to e r *46* »I am good and clever, . . .». He gives two text par., which after all could be explained differently. But it is true that j o sometimes simply means »and» (though more often »or»), e. g. Shu: Shao kao *47* »I present it to the king

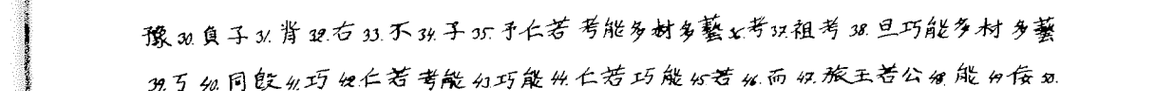
and the prince», and it is not excluded that it has this sense here. — *δ*. Yü Yüe goes several steps further: not only is j o *45* = *46* e r with *γ*, but also **nang 48* is but a variant for *46* **ńi̯əg* (many text par. in Wang Yin-chï: King chuan shï ts'ï k. 6). Moreover in the char. n i n g *49* 'smart' the upper part is j e n *50*, hence *50* here is but a short-form for n i n g, and the whole line is equal to: y ü n i n g e r k ' i a o e r t o t s a i . . . . *51* »I am smart and clever and have much talent». It has not struck Yü how exceedingly unlikely it is that e r *46* should have been replaced by two different loan characters (j o and n e n g) in the same line. By playing with the text as some of these Ts'ing scholars do, arbitrarily substituting one thing for another *ad libitum*, we could arrive at practically any result we wished. — **C.** Chuang Shu-tsu reverts to the A text and interpunctation, but (with B *γ*) takes j o *45* = *46*, and he says j e n *50* = *52* 'to keep alive' and k ' a o *36* = 'old' (common), thus: »I am still living and old, I can have much talent, much skill». Evidently he alludes to a line in Li: Chung-ni yen kü *53* »that is whereby one shows goodness to the Spirits»; here Cheng Hüan sure enough says j e n ('to show goodness to') = *52* 'to keep alive'. The par. is hopeless for Chuang's purpose. — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: In the Chou inscriptions there is no difference in graph between k ' a o *36* and h i a o *54*; k ' a o *36* very often means 'filial'. Here (with j o *45* = *46*, acc. to B, *γ*) the line y ü j e n j o k ' a o (the A text version being preferable) means: »I am good and filial». — It is quite clear that the oldest interpr: that of Sï-ma, who rendered the first part by k ' i a o n e n g *43*, is best, since it has a very natural binome, matching the following t o t s ' a i t o y i admirably (the A reading is vitiated by the n e n g having to be hanged on to the following t o t s ' a i). The k ' i a o n e n g having thus been accepted, the cautious and conscientious interpr. of Sun Sing-yen (B *β*), who does not tamper with the text unnecessarily, is certainly best.

1571. P u j o T a n t o t s ' a i *55*.

A. All the ancient comm.: **»He (the king) not like me, Tan, has much talent».** — **B.** Sun Sing-yen will not believe that Chou Kung spoke disparagingly of the king, so he would read p u *33* as p ' e i *15*: »He grandly, just like me, Tan, has much talent» — but he has got the charge here below, so he cannot leave this earth. Sun fails to appreciate the charming simplicity with which Chou Kung tries to persuade the Spirits to prefer his life to the king's.

1572. F u y u s ï f a n g *56*.

A. Ma Jung: »To spread (the good principles) and assist the (regions of) the four quarters». — **B.** Wang Yin-chï: f u *56a* means 'extensively, vastly, everywere' (for text ex. see Gl. 1037), thus: »Everywhere to assist the (regions of) the four quarters». — **C.** Yü Yüe: y u *57* is really a vulgar char. and the orig. graph for the word 'to assist' was simply *58*. But here this y u (**gi̯ŭg*, falling tone) is only a loan char. for *59* (**gi̯ŭg*, rising tone). In Kung-yang: Süan 15, phr. *60* »The Ti barbarians did not help him» *59* is loan for *58*, and here we have the opposite (in fact, the original character probably was simply the »phonetic», without radical). Thus the line is equal to *61* **»Extensively to possess (the regions of) the four quarters».** Wang Kuo-wei supports this by adducing a par. in the inscr. on the famous Yü Ting: *62*.



1573. K i n w o t s i m i n g y ü y ü a n k u e i *63*.

A. PK'ung (foll. by all later comm.): »Now I will m i n g be commanded y ü y ü a n k u e i by the great tortoise», i. e. I will take your orders through the tortoise. — **B.** M i n g k u e i *64*, here m i n g y ü k u e i, was a current technical term meaning »to announce an inquiry to the tortoise», see Gl. 1550 C. There is no reason whatever why it should not have its proper sense here: »Now I will announce the inquiry to the great tortoise». Cf. also Gl. 1594 below.

1574. K ' i y ü e k i e n s h u *65*.

A. Ma Jung (and Wang Su as quoted in comm. on Shï ki) says: y ü e *66* = *67*. Chavannes has understood this so: a tube for keeping the oracle documents; thus: **»He opened the bamboo tubes (sc. receptacles for written slips) and looked at the documents».** This was probably never Ma's meaning, cf. B. below. But none the less it is a very plausible explanation, bamboo tubes having always been used in China as receptacles. And y ü e *66* 'flute' certainly fundamentally means 'tube', just as k u a n *68* = 'tube' and 'flute'. Observe that in Lao 5 we have it in the sense of an air tube from a bellows to blow upon a fire. — **B.** Cheng Hüan (and Wang Su as quoted by K'ung Ying-ta) explains the two words k ' i y ü e *69* by *70*, expounding further: *71* »He opened the store-room for the oracle documents with a k u a n key». Since Cheng was a pupil of Ma Jung's, it seems certain that Ma (see A above) never meant k u a n = 'tube', but that he defined y ü e = t s ' a n g p u c h a o s h u k u a n *67* 'the key which locked up the oracle documents' (so Wang Yin-chï and others have understood Ma). It is true that Siao Erya says y ü e *66* is equal to k i e n *72* 'a lock', or 'a bolt', and if that were right, the line would make sense: »He opened the lock (the bolt) (sc. of the store) and looked at the documents». But in fact Siao Erya is wrong. Y ü e *66* does not mean 'lock' but 'key'. This is quite clear from Li: Yüe ling: *73* »One repairs the locks (bolts) and pays attention to the keys». Even to day the word is current in the sense of 'key', now in the binome *74*. This is really an extension of meaning from the fundamental sense of 'tube', the key inserted in the lock having the shape of a tube. But since this is so, the B interpr. becomes impossible, as pointed out by Wang Yin-shï: you can »open a lock» but you cannot *75* 'open a key'. It is, on the other hand, grammatically unallowable to explain k ' i y ü e *75* as = *76* »to open with a key», as Cheng has done. We should then rather have to take k ' i as a causative verb: 'to cause to open': »He made the key open up (the store)», which is too strained. — **C.** Shuowen defines y ü e *66* as a kind of writing tablets or slips, and Wang Yin-chï, foll. by Sun Sing-yen, thinks this is the meaning here: »He opened up the (package of) writing slips and looked at the documents». The difficulty is here that there are no safe pre-Han ex. of this meaning. Wang quotes a passage in Li: Shao yi which is traditionally interpreted thus: »H u writing tablets, s h u *78* documents, dried meat, parcels wrapped in reads, bows, mattresses, mats, pillows, small tables, spikes, staffs, luths, tubes encasing sharp weapons, t s ' ê *79* divining stalks, y ü e *66* flutes, these all were carried with the left hand above (the right)». Wang insists that t s ' ê y ü e would be more naturally coupled if we understood: »divining stalks and writing slips» than the heterogeneous: »divining stalks and flutes». This is far from convincing, since so disparate objects are enumerated in the series, and moreover, if y ü e had meant 'writing slips' it ought to have come at the beginning, after h u 'writing tablets' and s h u 'documents'. Thus his theory remains unsupported. — **D.** Shuowen has a char. y ü e *80* defined as = *81* 'the lower »male» part of a bar', meaning a vertical stick going from the middle of a door bar to the earth and propping up the bar. Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that our y ü e *66* is a loan char. for this (homophonous) y ü e *80* (both **ŋi̯ok*). And Tuan concludes that in the Yüe ling passage above y ü e is likewise this vertical stick, not a key. Thus here: »He opened the (vertical) bar stick and looked at the

documents». But there are no other pre-Han text ex. The word y ü e *80* is earliest known as a colloquial Han-time word (Fang yen 5), though it is there identified with the k i e n *72* 'lock' or 'bolt'. — The only interpretation supportable with pre-Han text par. is after all A, since B 'he opened the key' makes no sense, as justly emphasized by Wang Yin-chï.

1575. N a i p i n g s h ï k i *82*.

A. This is the PK'ung version: **»They likewise (made this auspicious =) indicated this as auspicious».** — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. Lun heng: Pu shï read: *83*, and this must also have been Sï-ma Ts'ien's version, since he paraphrases it by *84* »he met with auspiciousness». In this version, however, the s h ï *85* is awkward to construe, and the A version is grammatically better. It might be imagined that the B version is supported by an analogy in Hung fan above: t s ï s u n k ' i f e n g k i *86*. But that line is no real parallel, for, as explained in Gl. 1554 above, it must be punctuated and explained quite differently: t s ï s u n k ' i f e n g, k i »Your sons and grandsons will be great; it is auspicious». In the light of that line, our present B line should rather be explained: »They greatly (made this auspicious =) indicated this as auspicious», which would explain the s h ï *85* better than is possible with Sï-ma's interpr. (Yü Yüe's theory that B's f e n g *87* **b'i̯ung* is but a loan char. for *88* **pi̯ĕng* = *89* **b'i̯eng* is phonetically unacceptable). In any case the p i n g 'likewise' of version A suits the context best.

1576. Y ü s i a o t s ï s i n m i n g y ü s a n w a n g, w e i y u n g c h u n g s h ï t ' u, t s ï y u s h ï, n e n g n i e n y ü y i j e n *90*.

A. All the expounders have thought that this was a continuation of Chou Kung's speech, which has involved them all in great difficulties. Sï-ma Ts'ien thus replaces y ü s i a o t s ï »I, the little child» by »(I) Tan», i. e. Chou Kung.

A. PK'ung: »I, the little child, have just now obtained an order from the three kings, that to a distant end he (sc. the king) will plan (for Chou's principles); now what is to be (waited for =) expected is that he shall be able to think of our One Man's (affairs)». An appalling construction. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien renders the latter half thus: *91*, thus replacing t s ï y u s h ï *92* by t s ï t a o *93*. Kiang Sheng here arbitrarily says that Sï-ma's reading is »preferable», and he carries t s ï t a o to the preceding: w e i y u n g c h u n g s h ï t ' u s ï t a o: »to a distant end I plan for these principles», which construction makes the s h ï *85* very unnatural. Chavannes has mistranslated Sï-ma's text (»je viens de recevoir l'ordre des trois rois qui est de prolonger jusqu'à la fin ce qui est projeté; cela explique que [les trois rois] peuvent veiller sur notre homme unique»). Tuan Yü-ts'ai has a curious speculation that Sï-ma's t a o *94* would paraphrase a y u *95* which would stand in his Shu text inst. of PK'ung's y u *96* (it is then impossible to construe the following s h ï *97*). In fact Sï-ma simply paraphrased t s ï y u s h ï *98* »What I now expect is . . . .» by t s ï t a o *99* »Now I (say =) think that . . .». Ts'ai Ch'en has realized this and construes our Shu line very close to Sï-ma's rendering: »I, the little child, just now have obtained an order from the three kings; for a distant end I (plan =) hope; what I am now waiting for (expecting) is that they shall be able to think of our

One Man». Sun Sing-yen very nearly accepts this, yet with the modification (after Kiang Sheng) that s i n m i n g *100* means, not »I just now have obtained an order» but »renewing (myself, sc. by purification) I have obtained . . .» a curious idea. — **C.** Tuan Yü-ts'ai: t s ī y u s h ī *92* = *1* »Here I therefore am waiting» (sc. that he will get well and I die). Y u *96* = y u n g *2* has no text support. — **D.** Yü Yüe: »I have now received an appointment from the three kings, and for a distant end I am planning» means that he had got the answer that he himself would live on as well as the king. — **E.** Another interpr. All the preceding interpretations are more or less awkward — the best being undoubtedly Ts'ai's — and all suffer from the great fault that y ü y i j e n *3*, which regularly means »I, the One Man» (cf. P'an Keng *4*: »speak slanderingly of me, the One Man»), has to be taken as = »our One Man». The very existence of this phrase at once reveals that the whole line is Wu Wang's answer to Chou Kung's report. The phr. s i a o t s ī *5* »I, the little child» is likewise a standing phrase used by the king, recurring in that function a few lines later, see Gl. 1583. Chou Kung said: »According to the (oracle) content (pronouncement), the king will have no harm». (The king said): **»I, the little child, anew have obtained an appointment from the three kings (i. e. a new spell of life); for a distant end I shall plan; what I now expect is that they will (think of =) care about me, the One Man».** In this way the whole passage becomes lucid, logical and simple. That the words »the king said» are missing is no obstacle. They often do. Even a great style master like Mencius sometimes skips such introductory words, e. g. Liang Huei wang, shang: y ü e, w u y i y i y e; y i j e n y ü c h e n g, y u y i y i h u »He (the king) said: there is no difference; (Mencius said:) to kill by weapon or by government, is there any difference?» Here »Mencius said» has to be supplied.

1577. W o c h ī f u p i *6*.

A. The oldest interpr. attainable is that revealed by Mo-tsï: Keng chu: »Anciently, Chou Kung Tan disapproved of Kuan Shu, resigned his position as s a n k u n g one of the 3 highest dignitaries and dwelt in the east in Shang and (Kai =) Yen». This shows that Mo took p i *7* as short-form for *8* 'to avoid, to withdraw' (very common), and that he understood our passage thus: »If I do not withdraw, (I shall have nothing to answer our former kings; Chou Kung dwelt in the east two years)». Ma Jung and Cheng Hüan adopt this idea, Cheng adding that Chou Kung waited for the king's investigation. The disadvantage of this interpr. is that it takes »he dwelt in the east two years» to be a quiet retirement, whereas other, more detailed pre-Han sources clearly indicate Chou Kung's stay in the east as a warlike expedition. Yi Chou shu: Tso Lo kie narrates how a great many eastern states (Sü, Yen etc.) rebelled and how, after Wu Wang's burial, Chou Kung went east on a great expedition, to Wei and Yin, forced Kuan Shu to suicide and captured Ts'ai Shu. And already in the venerable Ode 157 we find: *9* »When Chou Kung marched to the East, the states of the four quarters, them he corrected». That there should have been two spells of residence in the East: one warlike expedition and one quiet retirement, is not plausible. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien understands p i *7* in the same way as A, i. e. as = = *8*, but construes differently: »That I have not withdrawn (sc. but managed the government) is (because) I (otherwise) would have nothing to answer our former kings» (sc. I have the responsibility). — **C.** Shuowen has a char. p i *10* (rad. *11*) = *12* 'to correct', quoting our Shu line: *13*. P i *7* is common in the sense of 'to correct, to regulate'. Thus: **»If I do not correct (them), I shall have nothing to answer our former kings;** (Chou Kung dwelt in the East for two years . . .)». Kiang Sheng would modify this into: »If I do not correct (the slander)», which is certainly no improvement. PK'ung defines p i *7* as = *14*: »If I am not lawful» in the sense of »If I am not applying the law (to them)», which comes much to the same. — A and C are best in the context, since they both logically and better than B connect our phr. with the following. A has to cede to C,

because it does not tally with our only W. Chou source, Ode 157, which indicates the »dwelling in the East» as a warlike expedition.

1578. C h o u k u n g k ü t u n g e r n i e n, t s ê t s u e i j e n s ī t ê *15*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien takes t s u e i j e n as referring to the rebellious princes, thus: **»Chou kung dwelt in the East for two years, and then the criminal men (sc. the slanderers) were apprehended».** — **B.** Cheng Hüan curiously imagines that t s u e i j e n refers to Chou Kung's partisans in the capital: »Chou Kung dwelt in the East for two years (sc. waiting for punishment from the king), and then the (criminals =) men accused of crime (his adherents) were apprehended (by the king)». — A agrees with the pre-Han traditions, see Gl. 1577.

1579. Y i y i w a n g *16*.

A. This is Sï-ma Ts'ien's and PK'ung's version: **»and presented it to the king».** — **B.** Cheng Hüan reads *17* »in order to please the king». — No reason to abandon the earliest version.

1580. W a n g y i w e i k a n t s i a o K u n g *18*.

A. This is the orthodox version: **»The king still did not dare to blame the prince».** T s i a o *19* in this sense e. g. in Lü: Yi sï. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien reads h ü n *20* inst. of t s i a o *19* in this sense e. g. in Lü: Yi sï. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien reads h ü n *20* inst. of t s i a o *19* in this sense e. g. in Lü: Yi sï. Later scholars have tried various ways to explain away this: either that it is simply a »faulty character»; or that some scribe had abbreviated *19* into *21*, which then was corrupted into *20*; or that this *19* is a corruption of a *22* which Tsiyün says is a variant of s i n *23* (so Tuan Yü-ts'ai; hence: »The king still did not dare to trust the prince»). We might add, that if *20* must necessarily be a corruption, it would be natural to believe it to be a corruption of the similar *24* 'to vilify': »The king still did not dare to speak ill of the prince», which would come near to the meaning of A. Sun Sing-yen, however, accepts the reading h ü n *19*, and says h ü n is here equal to s h u n *25*: »The king still did not agree with the prince». I fail to see the use of all these speculations. H ü n *20* means 'to teach, to lecture', and here it is Sï-ma's paraphrase of t s i a o: »The king still did not dare to (lecture =) upbraid the prince», a quite good paraphrase of the A text.

1581. T ' i e n t a l e i t i e n y i f e n g *26*.

Wang Yin-chï adduces a score of Han-time quotations which all have l e i y ü y i f e n g *27*. This is therefore certainly a preferable reading.

T u e i y ü e s i n y i cf. Gl. 1055.

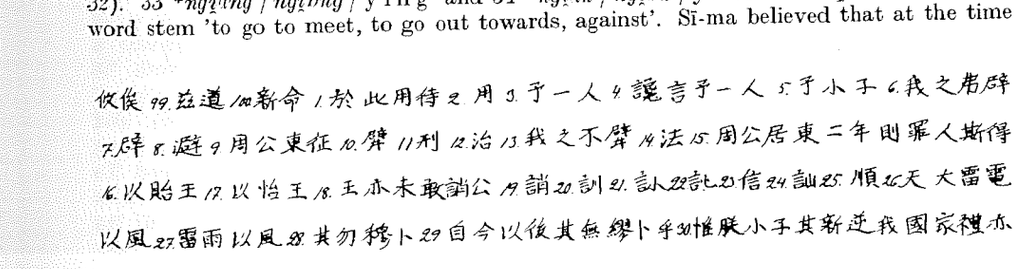
1582. K ' i w u m u p u *28*.

The glosses mostly define m u as 'respectful'; it seems better to render it by 'dignified, solemn', see Gl. 757.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien paraphrases this as a rhetorical question: *29*, Thus: »Shall we not (in future) solemnly divine?», sc. in order to make no more such mistakes. — **B.** PK'ung: **»Let us not solemnly take tortoise oracle»** — the matter is already clear. The negation w u, usual with imperative, speaks in favour of B.

1583. W e i c h e n s i a o t s ï k ' i s i n y i, w o k u o k i a l i y i y i c h ī *30*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien reads: w e i c h e n s i a o t s ï k ' i y i n g *31* (without any s i n *32*). *33* **ngiĕng* / *ngiuŋg* / y i n g and *34* **ngiăk* / *ngiuk* / y i are two aspects of the same word stem 'to go to meet, to go out towards, against'. Sï-ma believed that at the time



of the omen Chou Kung was already dead. His line has been variously understood: *α*. Sun Sing-yen thinks that he took y i n g *33* = *34* in the sense of 'to go against': »I, the little child, have gone against (sc. the proper rites and thus caused the omen), with the rites of our royal house we shall y i c h ï put it to right», referring to Po hu t'ung: Sang tsang which, quoting these Shu lines, narrates how the king buried Chou Kung with the rites of a king. Since Sï-ma has y i n g *33* and not y i *34*, this is an unlikely interpr. — *β*. Chavannes translates: »I, the little child, will go to meet him», but concludes that since he was dead this only refers to some sacrifice by which he would »meet» his spirit. — *γ*. Fu Sheng in Ta chuan already had another opinion. He describes how the king goes to bury Chou Kung not in Ch'eng Chou but in Pi, where Wen Wang's grave was. The line: »I will go to meet him, the rites of our Royal house also justify this» thus refers to the solemn bringing home of the corpse. This idea was current in Han time: Ku Yung (end of 1st c. B. C.) says (Han shu: Ju lin chuan) that Ch'eng Wang buried Chou Kung with *35* »changed rites» (finer rites than normal), and Po hu t'ung as quoted under *α* alludes to the same tradition. — **B.** The Ku-wen school is of the opinion that Chou Kung was still living at the time of the omen, and Ma Jung has this text: w e i c h e n s i a o t s ï t s ' i n y i n g etc. *36* **»I, the little child, will in person go and meet him, the rites of our Royal house also justify this».** So the episode was understood by Mao Heng (2nd c. B. C.) in comm. on Ode 159, and Yüe tsüe shu 3 has the same story that the king went in person to meet Chou Kung. — **C.** Cheng Hüan reads w e i c h e n s i a o t s ï s i n y i *37* (PK'ung as above s i n y i *38*, same meaning): »I, the little child, shall renew myself (sc. alter my conduct) and meet him». Very scholastic. The original graph may simply have been *39* (without radical, Chou fashion) and the Han scholars have filled it out according as they understood the context, Ma Jung into t s ' i n *40*, Cheng Hüan into s i n *41*. — A *γ* and B both give the same translation and we may leave the vexed question open whether Chou Kung was met as a corpse or as a living person.

1584. W a n g c h ' u k i a o *42*.

A. Sï-ma interpreted thus: »The king went out and made the k i a o (suburban) sacrifice» (sc. to Heaven), for he adds that after this the favour was granted to Chou kung's state Lu to make the k i a o sacrifice, which was really a Royal prerogative. Lu's exceptional right to the k i a o sacrifice is alluded to *passim* in the rituals (Li: Liyün etc.). PK'ung follows this. — **B.** Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Kan lei) interprets: »The king went out to the suburbs (to look at the omen)». Ts'ai Ch'en improves this into: **»When the king came out to the suburbs (sc. on his way to meet Chou Kung),** (Heaven rained etc.)». — Ts'ai's interpr. is directly indicated by the context.

Ta kao.

1585. Y u t a k a o e r t o p a n g *43*.

A. This is PK'ung's version, and he paraphrases: *44* »(Following the great) way (= principle) I tell you, (princes of) the numerous states». The definition y u *45* = *46* 'way' is very common in the early comm.; the word (wr. *45* or *47*) frequently means 'a plan, a consideration', hence also 'a norm, principle, method, way' and, as a verb, 'to plan, to consider', cf. Gl. 577. But PK'ung has inverted the position of the t a 'great' in thi Shu line. — **B.** Ma Jung's version had t a k a o y u *48* (var. for *45*), and Cheng Hüan had *49*. This sequence is attested in a paraphrase by Wang Mang (middle Han time, ap. Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan). In Shu: To fang and To shï we have repeatedly y u k a o e r *50*, with y u k a o as a binome (synon. with a k a o k a o *60* 'to inform and tell' in Shu: To fang). Erya says y u *45* = *61* 'to speak, to tell', probably referring to these Shu ex., and the extension of meaning is easy

to discern: 'to plan, to consider: to reason, to discourse, to expound'; thus: **»I will greatly tell and discourse to you».** (In the other Shu ex. inverted: **»I will discourse and tell you»**). When Chang Ping-lin would take the t a o *46* of the glosses as *62* 'to lead, to guide', he spoils the binominal nature of y u - k a o and k a o - y u (with nearly synonymous members). Even more so does Wang Yin-chï, who would take k a o y u *63* = *64* to mean *65* »to tell to» and the y u k a o *66* with the words inverted to be text corruptions. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en follows the A text version, and says y u *45* is an interjection: »Oh, I will tell you (princes of) the numerous states». It is solely the wording and word sequence in this line which has given rise to this idea, for there is no text support for it elsewhere. And in the moment we find that the sequence y u, t a k a o is probably a corruption, the earlier attested version being different, this feeble support is lost.

F u t i a o t ' i e n »the merciless Heaven», see the detailed discussion in Gl. 429.

K i a n g k o y ü w o k i a see Gl. 1234.

1586. P u s h a o y e n *67*.

A. Ma Jung punctuates after y e n and explains: »(Heaven sends down injury on our house), not a little, and extends it». — **B.** PK'ung punctuates after s h a o, and carries y e n to the following line: »(Heaven . . . . . house), not a little; y e n h u n g *68* extensively and greatly» . . . etc. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en, with the A punctuation: **»without the slightest delay».**

1587. H u n g w e i w o y u c h ' u n g j e n *69*.

A. PK'ung (who carried the preceding y e n *70* here: y e n h u n g w e i w o) paraphrases w e i *71* by *72* 'to implicate, entangle', which shows that he read *73* 'to bind' (the char. *71* and *73* are largely interchangeable in the Shu): »They (the injuries) extend and become large and entangle me, little young man». — **B.** Wang Su (foll. by Yen Shï-ku and Ts'ai Ch'en): w e i *71* = 'to think' (common), thus: **»I greatly think of how I, little young man . . .»** (connecting with the following). For w e i in this sense, Shu text par. in Gl. 1533. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: h u n g *74* is an empty »particle», simply to be skipped. He quotes a line in To fang: *75* as a par., but there is no reason whatever why h u n g should be a 'particle' in any of these lines. Many Ts'ing scholars had a predilection for explaining obscure words as »particles». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: h u n g *74* stands for h u n g *76*, which in Erya is defined as = *77* 'to change'. In fact in Shu: K'ang kao *78*, Cheng Hüan reads *76*, interpreting it *79*: »He on behalf of (the king) greatly announced the work to be done». The Erya entry may have had this in view, but since there are no conclusive and unambiguous text par., this is of little value. There is no word-stem ending in -u n g which has the meaning of 'to change, alter, substitute'. PK'ung, who naturally takes h u n g t a as a synonym-binome, is far more convincing: »He grandly announced the work to be done». In our present line: h u n g w e i etc., a meaning 'on behalf of' would be even more unnatural. — B is simple and plausible.

1588. S ï w u k i a n g t a l i f u *80*.

A. Wang Mang (in Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases f u by *81*, and PK'ung,

宜之 31.惟朕小子其迎 32.新 33.迎 34.迓 35.變禮 36.惟朕小子親迎 37.惟朕小子新迎 38.新迓 39.亲 40.親 41.新 42.王出郊 43.猷大告爾多邦 44.順大道而告 45.猷 46.道 47.猶 48.大告繇 49.大告猷 50.猷告爾 60.誥告 61.言 62.尊 63.告猷 64.告繇 65.告於 66.猷告 67.不少延 68.延洪 69.洪惟我幼沖人 70.延 71.惟 72.惟累 73.維 74.洪 75.洪惟圖天之命 76.鴻 77.代 78.乃 洪大告治 79.代 80.嗣無疆大歷服 81.服事 82.無窮大數 83.服行其政 84.天之歷數在爾躬 85.列次

punctuating after l i, explains: the descendant succeeds to the ancestors' *82* boundlessly great (numbers, series, sequence =) succession, and *83* manages the government. PK'ung undoubtedly is influenced by Lun: Yao yüe: *84*. Sï-ma Ts'ien interprets this latter as: »Heaven's calendaric numbers rests with your person» (you have the task of determining the calendar), but Ho Yen (middle of 3rd c. A. D.) says l i s h u 'the successive numbers' means *85* 'the sequence' thus: »Heaven's succession rests in your person», and so PK'ung has understood that line and our l i *86* = l i s h u here. Thus: »I have succeeded to the boundlessly great (sequence =) succession (inheritance), and f u shall manage it» (sc. the government). — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta has a curious speculation: k i a n g 'limit' refers to the boundaries of the realm, the latter being »boundlessly great», and the t a l i 'great number' refers to the »30 generations and 700 years» which had been predicted for the Chou(!). Thus: »I have succeeded to a boundless (realm) and a great number (of future generations for the dynasty), and f u shall manage it». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: f u *87* refers to the *88* 'five dependencies' of the realm: »I have succeeded to the boundlessly great (sequence =) succession and the dependencies». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen takes (after Wang Mang) f u *87* as = *89* 'affair, work, task' (common) and makes w u k i a n g t a l i attributes to f u as principal word: **»I have succeeded to (tasks without bounds and in great numbers =) boundless and greatly numerous tasks».** For l i *86* or *90* (the two char. are largely interchangeable) = *91* in the sense of 'number', cf. Kuan: Hai wang: »(A man eats so and so many s h e n g of salt, a woman so and so many . . . .) t s'ï k'i t a l i *92* »these are the greatest numbers (highest figures)». — **E.** Sun Yi-jang: Kuang ya says l i *86* = *93*, and l i f u therefore means: »to (practise =) manage the affairs», thus: »I have succeeded to boundlessly and greatly to manage the affairs». — The choice can only be between D and E, which are both plausible. But D is certainly preferable since w u k i a n g (boundless) and t a l i 'of great numbers' are two analogous epithets to f u, and make an excellent rhythm: w u k i a n g — t a l i — f u.

1589. F u t s a o c h ê *94*.

A. PK'ung: *95* (**dz'ôg / dz'âu / t s a o*) = *96* (after Erya) 'to make, to create': »I do not achieve wisdom» (and lead the people to tranquillity). — **B.** Wang Mang (ap. Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases: *97* »I have not (met with =) found wise (men)» (sc. to help me). Wang thus took *95* **dz'ôg* as a loan char. for *98* **tsôg / tsâu / t s a o*. — **C.** Wu Ch'eng reads *95* **ts'ôg / ts'âu / t s' a o*: »I do not (go to =) pursue wisdom». — **D.** Another interpr. T s a o *95* 'to achieve' is an almost technical term meaning 'perfected' (»gebildet») in the sense of educated, formed in the polite arts: t s a o s h ï *99* 'a perfected nobleman' (Li: Wang chï) is a gentleman fully formed by the school education, see Gl. 817, with a Shï par. Thus: **»I am not perfected and wise».** Cf. Shu: Kün Shï: k o u t s a o t ê *100* »old and of perfected virtue». — We compare, later in our chapter:

Y ü t s a o t'i e n y i y i t a t'o u k i e n y ü c h e n s h e n *1*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after t'i e n y i, and defines (as above) t s a o by w e i *96*: »I (do =) perform Heaven's service; y i t a it has left to me a very great (task), and thrown difficulties on my person». The construction of y i t a as a separate clause is, of course, quite impossible. Ts'ai Ch'en turns it slightly differently: y ü t s a o »What I do, t'i e n y i Heaven sets the task (for me)», with y i *2* as a transitive verb = *3*. This is certainly no improvement. — **B.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) renders it: *4*, with t s a o *98* inst. of *95*, as above, and with k i e *5* inst. of t'o u *6*. Yen Shï-ku then thinks the line should here be punctuated after the 2nd y i, thus: y ü t s a o t'i e n y i y i: »I have met with Heaven's task's being left (to me); the great solving of the difficulties lies with my person». This construing of the text is very strained. When Ma Jung here says t s a o *95* = *7*, it is possible (with Tuan Yü-ts'ai) that

y i *7* is a corruption of the similar t s a o *98*; in which case Ma would have thought that *95* is a loan char. for *98* (in acc. with Wang Mang). But his gloss is very uncertain. — **C.** Sun Yi-jang says t s a o *95* means simply t s o *8*: »I (make =) am a Heaven's servant»; but he does not explain the awkward remainder. — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: y i y i *9* is a corruption of k i k'i e n *10*, and *11* is simply an enlarged form of *12* which means y ü *13* and k'i e n *14* is short for *15*; thus: »I meet with that Heaven *16* gives me reproof». (!) — **E.** Another interpr. The line should be punctuated as in B, but there is no reason for assuming a loan (*95* for *98*), with Wang Mang. The line means: **»In performing Heaven's service I have been remiss, and greatly thrown difficulties on my person».** Y i *7* in the sense of 'neglectful, remiss' is common, cf. Shu: Shao kao *17* »May he not neglect the aged elders; »Yi: Kua *11*, phr. *18* »Not to be remiss in regard to the distant»; Meng: Liang Huei wang *19* »to neglect one's parents», etc.

Shu: Wen hou chï ming: M i n y ü s i a o t s ï s ï t s a o t'i e n p'e i k'i e n *20*.

A. Wang Su and PK'ung: t s a o *95* = *98* »Pitiable am I, the little child, when succeeding (to the throne), I have met with Heaven's greatly blaming (me)». K'i e n *21* 'error, fault' would then be construed as a transitive verb = 'to find fault with, to blame'. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: s ï t s a o means *22* »In the beginning of my succeeding (to the throne), Heaven greatly blamed (me)». T s a o sure enough means 'to initiate, to create', but as a noun = 'the beginning' it is far from convincing. It is no better to turn it like Couvreur: »When I *succedere coepi* started to succeed (on the throne)». — **C.** Another interpr. It is not at all necessary to take t s a o *95* to be a loan char. The line means: **»Pitiable am I, the little child; when succeeding (to the throne) I have committed great errors towards Heaven».** T'i e n is thus an objective genitive: t'i e n c h ï k'i e n »error towards Heaven». For such a construction with objective genitive (common), cf. for instance Meng: Kao tsï, hia *23* »They were sinners against the three kings».

1590. K'i y u n e n g k o c h ï t'i e n m i n g *24*.

A. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases: *25* »How can I go and know Heaven's commands». K o *26* 'to come to, to go to' is common. — **B.** PK'ung paraphrases k o c h ï by *27*, and he may have meant no more than A above (w a n g *28* 'to go') by his c h ï *29* 'to arrive, to come'. In any case K'ung Ying-ta paraphrases it *30* »How can I attain to knowing». But in fact k o *26* has (with Ts'ai Ch'en) yet another shade of meaning: »to come all through, to penetrate, to understand perfectly, to comprehend', as shown by a Li par., see Gl. 1481 above. Thus: **»How should I be able to comprehend and know the commands of Heaven».** — **C.** Chang Ping-lin: k o *26* means h i a *31* 'far, distant': »How should I be able far-reachingly to understand the commands of Heaven». It is true that *26* **klăk / kvk / k o* 'to come, to go to' and *32* **kâ / ka / k i a* 'to come, to go to' (synonymous but not identical, nor even cognate) are often interchanged as variants in early texts, but this of course cannot prove that k o *26* (**klăk*) could serve for a *31* **g'â / ya / h i a*. There is but one possible support: Tso: Chao 7 has *33*, which Tu Yü interprets: »My uncle has ascended, to be reverent» (in the service of

etc.), the ordinary meaning of k'o *34*; but some Ts'ing scholars believe that it means »My uncle has ascended far away» (synon. with *35*). If the latter is right, and there was a word **36 *k'lāk / k'ɒk /* k'o = 'far away', the *26* of our text could, with Chang, be a loan char. for it. But all this is much too uncertain.

1591. Fu fen fu ts'ien jen shou ming *36*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases fu fen *37* by *38* 'to spread and practise the great principles', *39* (**b'i̯wən / b'i̯uən /* fen) being well attested in the sense of 'great', as in P'an Keng *40* »And so I make grand this great (undertaking)», see Gl. 1482. Thus: »I (must) spread the great (principles) and (spread =) extend the mandate received by the former men (i. e. princes)». On the analogy of the P'an Keng par. we had better modify this into: **I shall extend the great thing (sc. the realm) and extend the mandate received by the former men (i. e. princes)».** — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en (in the wake of Su Shï, see Legge's note) would read *39 *pi̯ŭr / pi̯iç /* pi 'ornated': »I (must) spread the elegant (institutions) . .» etc. A curious idea. — **C.** Wang Mang (Han Shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases so as to show that he skipped the first fu *41*: He takes fen *39* as = *42* in the sense of pen tsou *43* 'to run about' (in service) and fu as equal to *44*, the line thus becoming: *45*. Now all the comm. have believed that our chapter was spoken by Chou Kung on behalf of the king, and that the introductory words wang jo yüe »The king spoke thus» should mean: »The king says», Chou Kung reporting his message. Wang Mang was of the same opinion, and understood: »I will pen (hurry on service =) eagerly serve and fu be near to (the one to whom) the former men have given the mandate». This is very strained. And there is, in fact, not the slightest support for the traditional opinion that the discourse was made by Chou Kung (which goes back to the Shu sü). The discourse throughout has a tenor of a king himself speaking and wang jo yüe certainly means: »The king spoke thus». — **D.** Kiang Sheng tries to preserve Wang Mang's fen *39* = pen *42* and his fu *41* = *44* but carries the two words fu pen *46* to the preceding: (»I go and seek where I can cross [the water]» *47*), thus: »I go and seek fu pen such who will attend and serve me chen yu tsi when I cross». Even worse, if possible, than C. — **E.** Sü Miao (ap. Shïwen) would read fen *39* (**b'i̯wən*) as a short-form for *48* (**b'i̯wən*) 'eager'. How he understood the line is unknown, but Chuang Shu-tsu takes up his idea about fen: the speaker here suddenly exhorts the princes and officers: »Expand your eagerness and extend the mandate received by the former men». This suits the context very poorly. — **F.** Chang Ping-lin: fu fen *37* means »I will display the tortoise», see Gl. 1482 above. But as stated there, fen is not attested in that sense in pre-Han texts, and the meaning does not suit the context here. — A in its modified form, which gives a good meaning without any loan char. speculations, is strongly supported by the P'an Keng par. *40*, which even in the construction of the phr. is very similar.

1592. Tsï pu wang ta kung *49*.

A. PK'ung: **»Now I do not forget the great (work =) task».** — **B.** Wang Yin-chï quite arbitrarily would read wang *50* as *51*: »I shall not ruin the great work». He proposes the same in Tsiu kao: yung pu wang kia *52*, where it is even less suitable.

1593. Yü pu kan pi yü t'ien kiang wei yung ning wang yi wo ta pao kuei *53*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after yung: I dare not (shut against =) raise obstacles to Heaven's sending down the application of its severity; the tranquillizing king (= Wen Wang) has handed down to me a great precious tortoise», etc. For pi *54* 'to shut (a door)' = 'to obstruct' cf. Tso: Chao 1, phr. *55* »Do not let there be anything that blocks up and obstructs (sc. the fluids in the body)», etc. (common). Kiang Sheng modifies this by punctuating after wei, and, after Cheng Hüan, he says ning wang

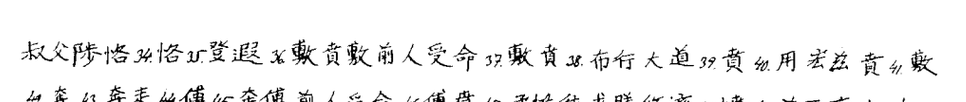
means a king who *56* has received the mandate. Ning *57* 'peace' would then mean more generally 'bliss, happiness': a »favoured king». This is rather far-fetched. It would seem better to refer to the dead king's serenity, freedom from care: »The serene (dead) kings». (Sun Yi-jang proposes that since Wen *58* in bronze inscriptions is sometimes written with a 'heart' *59*, the ning is an error for wen: Wen Wang; that is very ingenious, but after all the archaic graphs for wen and ning are not sufficiently similar to warrant this emendation, cf. Grammata p. 246 and 347). Thus: **»I dare not raise obstacles to Heaven's sending down its (severity =) inflictions; I have used the great precious tortoise handed down to me by the serene (dead) kings».** — **B.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) takes *54 *pied / piei /* pi as loan char. for *60 *pi̯ər / pji /* pi 'to compare', skipping yü *61*. He punctuates after pi: »I dare not compare myself (to my predecessors); Heaven sends down its majesty, and tranquillizes the (king =) king's house; it has given me a great precious tortoise». Since the loan idea is very unsatisfactory, Sun Sing-yen tries to improve it by interpreting: yü pu kan pi *54* »I dare not obstruct (the glory of my predecessors)», and he says yü *61* is = *62*, the initial particle. This cannot save the B disposition of the lines.

1594. Shao t'ien ming tsi ming *63*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases *64*: »in order to continue Heaven's brightness, and to (approach =) conform to its commands». K'ung Ying-ta, realizing that »to continue Heaven's brightness» is rather nonsensical, fills it out: »to continue Heaven's bright (commands)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: shao *65* means *66* 'to act as mediator, to connect': In order to transmit Heaven's bright (commands), tsi I went (to the tortoise) and ming was told». The following passage being the pronouncement of the oracle. — **C.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) understood the line thus: »In following up Heaven's bright (meaning), I have (gone to =) accepted the mandate». This was accepted by Kiang Sheng. — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: shao *65* = *67* 'to aid', which practically coincides with B. Further tsi ming *68*, here as in Kin t'eng, means 'to announce an inquiry to the oracle', being a technical term, see Gl. 1550 C and 1573. The whole subsequent passage then relates what the king said to the tortoise. Thus our line: (I have used the precious tortoise handed down to me by the serene [dead] kings), **to transmit Heaven's bright (will); I announced the inquiry, (saying)».** Sun is obviously right.

1595. Yin siao t'ien *69*.

A. Cheng Hüan: t'ien *70* = *71* 'a small state', thus proposing that in the word t'ien itself there would be the sense of 'small', siao t'ien thus being synonymous: »Yin is very small». No text par. — **B.** Ma Jung: t'ien *70* = chï *72* 'to come, arrive'. This making no sense, Tuan Yü-ts'ai proposes that chï *72* is a corruption of chu *73*, see C next. If so, the mistake is early, for Kuang ya has repeated Ma's t'ien = chï. — **C.** Wang Su: t'ien *70* = *73*, thus: **»The small ruler of Yin».** This really means that Wang Su took it to stand for *74* (the rad. *75* being wrongly added) tien, which frequently means 'to govern, to rule over', e. g. Ts'ê: Ch'u ts'ê *76* »to rule over the eastern



lands». (Shuowen in this sense has the specialized char. *77*, which, however, occurs in no texts). — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en (after Kuang ya): t'ien = *78* 'ample' (Shuowen = to *79* 'much') thus: »Yin is of little ampleness (prosperity)», i. e. a poor state. For t'ien 'ample', cf. Shu: Tsiu kao *80* »You are not (ample =) excessive in wine». See also the Tsiu kao line discussed below. In Tso: Chao 7, phr. *81*, Tu Yü defines t'ien as = *78* 'ample': »Though Cheng is not (ample =) prosperous»; but in fact wu t'ien here is synon. with the pu t'ien in E below and means »has no goodness» (= is no good). — **E.** Sun Sing-yen: there is a very common phr.: *82* pu t'ien 'no good', in which t'ien means *83* 'good', e. g. Tso: Hi 30, phr. *84* »our no-good and unworthy city»; and our phr. siao t'ien 'of little goodness' is an analogous phrase, thus: »Yin being (of little goodness) worthless». — **F.** Sun Yi-jang: t'ien *70* (**t'iən*) is loan char. for *85* **d'iən* / *d'ien* / t'ien 'to injure, destroy, (cf. Gl. 124), and this would mean here: »Yin is a small (injury =) defect», referring to the *86* 'flaw' in a later line. — Both C, D and E are possible (hardly F), but after all C makes the simplest and best sense. It is quite natural to assume that the original text had only *74* (without radical, Chou fashion) and that this has been enlarged into *70* by the Han-time philologists who erroneously attributed to it one or other of the meanings of the char. t'ien *70*. There may even be a touch of contempt in the choice of word: Wu-fu is not called hou 'prince' of Yin but simply tien 'the governor, the ruler', sent by the Chou to govern Yin's small remaining dominion. — We study here:

Shu: Tsiu kao: Tsï sien t'ien chï yung tsiu *87*.

A. PK'ung: »They should tsï sien purify themselves and t'ien amply provide the wine for use» (t'ien = *78*). — **B.** Ma Jung is quoted in Shïwen as saying sien *88* = *89*, which makes no sense and which (with Sun Sing-yen) is surely a corruption for *90* Shuowen = 'to wash (vessels)'. Thus: **»They should themselves sien wash (sc. the vessels) and t'ien make it ample (sc. the food) and bring forward the wine to be used».** So expounded by Sun Sing-yen, who take sien and t'ien as two coördinated verbs (Kiang Sheng: »They should themselves wash [the vessels] and t'ien in a good way bring forward» etc. is less good). In fact this was already the opinion of Hü Shen, since Shuowen has: t'ien *70* = *91* 'to set forward dishes ample and many', which in all probability refers to our Shu line here. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »You shall yourselves (wash =) purify and t'ien (make good =) make strong and bring forward the wine to be used». It seems improbable that the word sien 'to wash' could be used for clarifying spirits.

1596. T'ien kiang wei chï wo kuo yu ts'ï *92*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien foll. by PK'ung believes that this refers to Wu Wang's death and the treachery of the princes; thus: **»When Heaven (now) sends down its (severity =) inflictions, he (the prince of Yin) knows that our state has a flaw».** — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »(Though) Heaven has sent down its inflictions (on the house of Yin), (yet) he knows . . .» etc. — A is logically much better.

1597. Yüe yü fu, fan pi wo Chou pang *93*.

A. PK'ung: **»He (the prince of Yin) says: We shall come back (sc. into power); and he (on the contrary = contrary to what should be expected =) even despises our Chou state».** Cf. Tso: Chao 16: »Though we all observed the rites, *94* they would still despise us». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »He says: I will restore (the Yin realm), and he will fan bring back and pi make a border city of our Chou state». — **C.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê-Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases so as to show that he read the whole as one phrase: »(Heaven, sending down inflictions, knows that our state has a flaw, and that the people are not tranquil, but) it says: yü I (sc. Heaven) fu-fan repeatedly pi have helped the Chou state». Fu-fan *95* would thus be an inversion of the common fan-fu *96* 'to reiterate'. How pi could mean 'to help' has worried the Ts'ing scholars. Chuang Shu-tsu, for instance,

believes that the text originally had *98*, which stood for t'u *99* 'to plan for' = 'to help'. — A and B, which take the line as logically following up the preceding, are much better than C. And though both A and B are plausible, we have no reason to abandon the ancient interpr. (A), well supported by an exact text par.

1598. Kin ch'un kin yi jï min hien yu shï fu *100*.

For *1* **χiən* / *χiʊn* / hien '(exhibited =) conspicuous, prominent' in the Ku-wen version, the Kin-wen version (ap. Shang shu ta chuan) had *2* **ngia* / *ngjiɛ* / yi 'model', the meaning being much the same: worthy men. The Ts'ing scholars have insisted that the phonetic similarity between **χiən*: **ngia* explains why both mean 'prominent men'; but in both cases independently it is through extension of meaning: **χiən* 'to present, exhibit, make conspicuous', and **ngia* 'correct norm, model, a model man', cf. Gl. 1327. — **A.** PK'ung, followed by most later comm., has punctuated: kin ch'un, kin yi jï, min hien yu shï fu »Now they (the rebels) are moving, and now on the next-following day there have been worthy ones among the people, ten men . . .» This is very unsatisfactory. — **B.** Yü Yüe: the phr. yi jï 'the next day' was orig. written *3* or *4* and as a loan char. variant for this there cropped up *5*. Our text thus certainly originally had the graphs *4*, »corrected» into *5* by Wei Pao (so conclusively Tuan Yü-ts'ai). PK'ung (A) of course believed that *4* meant »the next-following day». But in fact we should punctuate: kin ch'un kin yi, jï min hien yu shï fu. Ch'un *6* means 'to move and crawl', said of insects; the char. yi *7* properly means 'to fly' (Shuowen), and though we have no earlier text ex. than a poem by Mei Sheng (early 2nd c. B. C.), the combination in our phrase confirms the meaning: »Now they (the enemies) crawl, now they buzz about». Jï *8* thus belongs to the following line, and it means 'recently' (= *9*), cf. Tso: Wen 7, phr. *10* »Recently Wei has not been concordant»; Tso Siang 28, phr. *11* »Recently when he passed here», etc. (other ex. in Ch'eng 16, Siang 3, Chao 4, Chao 7, Chao 16, Chao 20 etc.), and Yü draws the legitimate conclusion that the Tso author here follows the style pattern of the Shu. Thus: **»Now they (the enemies) crawl about, now they buzz about; but recently, there have been ten worthy men among the people . . .».** This is strikingly convincing.

1599. Yü yi yi yü *12*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: »They have come to help us Chou». The final yü meaning 'to go' (common e. g. in the Odes), he must have understood the line thus: »Us helping, they have gone». But then the first yü is wrongly placed; it should be yi yü *13*. — **B.** From Wang Mang's paraphrase (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan), which contracts this and the following line strongly, it is clear that he correctly understood the first yü as subject and he renders *14* yi by *15* 'respectfully', a well-attested meaning (see in detail Gl. 433). Thus: **»I respectfully go with them».**

1600. Mi ning wu t'u kung *16*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: mi ning wu, t'u kung = »to mi ning still wu the war t'u kung and plan for merits». He defines mi *17* as = *18* 'to pacify',

厚所多80不腆于酒81鄭難無腆82不腆83善84不腆敝邑85紓86疵87自洗腆致用酒88洗89盡90溢91設膳腆腆多也92天降威知我國有疵93曰予復反鄙我周邦94天猶誖我95復反96反復97鄙98啚99圖100今矗今翼日民獻有十夫1獻2儀3翌日4翊日5翼日6矗7翊8日9迺日10日衝不睦11日其禍此反予翼以于13翼予14翼15敬16敉寧武圖功17敉18撫19武20繼21寧武22寧王23不可不成乃寧考圖功24予不

tranquillize' (after Erya), taking m i - n i n g as a binome. — **B.** Wang Mang (in Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) took w u *19* in the sense of *20* 'to continue' (after Erya). The line would then be: »m i n i n g to establish peace w u t' u k u n g and continue the planned work». W u *19* really means 'footprints, to follow in the footsteps of', hence 'to continue', see Ode 243, stanzas 1 and 5. — **C.** Sun Yi-jang: m i n i n g do not belong together but n i n g W u *21* form a phr. meaning Wu Wang, king Wu, analogous to the n i n g w a n g *22* we had above. (Liu Feng-lu had already realised that w u meant neither 'war' not 'continue' but W u t' u k u n g »Wu Wang's planned works»; but he still took m i - n i n g together). It is quite certain that Sun is right. We have several conclusive parallels further on in our chapter: p u k' o p u ch' e n g n a i n i n g k' a o t' u k u n g *23*: »You cannot but achieve your n i n g k' a o serene (dead) father's planned work»; y ü p u k a n p u k i t s u n i n g w a n g t' u s h ï *24* »I dare not but go to the end with and finish the serene (dead) king's planned affairs». (Here Wang Yin-chï would take k i *25* as = 'quickly' which is less plausible than to take, with PK'ung, k i t s u *26* as a binome of two analogous words: »go to the end with and finish»); t s' i e n n i n g j e n t' u k u n g »the past serene (dead) men's planned work». On these analogies it is evident that n i n g W u t' u k u n g belong together. There remains the word m i *17*. With Chang Ping-lin and Wang Kuo-wei it means *27* 'to finish, to achieve'. Thus: **»To achieve the serene (dead) Wu's planned work».**

This interpr. necessitates a discussion. As stated above, Erya says m i *17* = f u *18*. Now this is very ambiguous, since f u can have many meanings. In our line here PK'ung and later comm., as already stated, all have taken m i = f u in its frequently occurring sense of 'to pacify, tranquillize', and Cheng Hüan in comm. on Chouli: Siao chu likewise says m i = *28* 'to tranquillize'. But then we have other Shu cases:

α. Ta kao (later): m i n i n g w a n g t a m i n g *29*.

A. Whereas Wang Mang simply renders m i *17* by f u *18* without revealing how he understood the latter, PK'ung here takes m i *17* = *18* in quite another sense: f u = *30* 'to follow, to accord with', as in Kao Yao mo *31* »Follow the five periods». Thus: »To (follow =) accord with the serene (dead) king's great mandate». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, on the other hand, paraphrases it by f u t s' u n *32* and Kiang Sheng by f u t i n g *33*, thus: »To (tranquillize =) stabilize the serene (dead) king's great mandate».

β. Shu: Lo kao: Y i w e i k' o m i k u n g k u n g *34*.

Shuowen, quoting this line, says m i *17* = *18* (like Erya above). **A.** Here PK'ung says m i = f u s h u n *35*, meaning the same as f u s ü n *30* above. »I have not been able to (follow =) accord with the prince's work». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en renders m i by *36* (same meaning as in *α* above): »I have not been able to stabilize the prince's work». Cheng Hüan here likewise says m i = *28* 'to tranquillize' (Wu Ch'eng has a curious speculation that 'to tranquillize' would here mean 'to honour and reward', see Legge's note; Wang Yin-chï would divide the line differently, carrying k u n g k u n g to the next line, but, as Hü Shen already realized, the par. with our line above [mi ning Wu t'u kung] determines our line to be: . . . . . m i k u n g k u n g).

γ. Shu: Li Cheng: S h u a i w e i m i k u n g *37*.

A. PK'ung here takes mi *17* = f u *18* in the sense of 'to pacify': »He followed (Wen Wang's) tranquillizing work» (pacifying the people). The w e i *38* is then very awkwardly placed. Ts'ai and Kiang the same. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: s h u a i *39* is a »particle» (cf. Gl. 1406): »He (tranquillized =) safely settled the work».

It stands to reason that though the char. f u *18* has two meanings 'to tranquillize' and 'to follow', the word m i *17* must not have those two different meanings simply because Erya defines m i *17* as = *18*. In fact, in spite of Erya, the char. m i *17* seems to have had neither. Chang Ping-lin and Wang Kuo-wei (Kuan t'ang tsi lin) propose that *17*

mjĭr / mjiɛ̆ / m i* is simply a variant for the homophonous *40* **mjĭr / mjiɛ̆ / m i* = *41* 'to carry through to the end, to achieve', a well-attested word. This is very plausible and obviates all the forced and heteregeneous explanations above. Thus: *α* (*29*) **»To achieve the serene (dead) king's mandate»; *β* (*34*) **»I have also been unable to achieve the prince's work»**; *γ* (*37*) **»He followed and achieved the work».**

1601. Y ü f a Y i n p u p o c h' e n *42*.

A. PK'ung: The line refers to Wu Keng Lu-fu, son of the last Yin king. C h' e n 'servant, subject' refers to his position as a prominent subject of the Chou king. Thus: **»I shall go and attack the fugitive and thrown-out (king's servant =) grandee of the Yin (house)».** — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »I shall go and attack the fugitive and thrown-out ministers of Yin». — No reason whatever for abandoning the oldest interpr. (A), which is logically superior.

1602. Y ü e y ü s i a o t s ï k' a o y i p u k' o c h e n g w a n g h a i p u w e i p u *43*.

A. PK'ung: »I, the little child, k' a o have inquired (sc. from the oracle) and y i respectfully attended (to the principles); (if) they (the rebels) cannot be attacked, w a n g h a i the king will be harmed; p u w e i p u I (cannot) go counter to the oracle». — **B.** Wang Mang (Han Shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan): »(You say that) they (the rebels) are my, the little child's, k' a o elders, y i they should be revered and should not be attacked; why does the king not go counter to the oracle?» (The last line is turned quite differently by Wang Mang, and the interpr. given above is that of Kiang Sheng, h a i *44* being taken as = *45*, as often). — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en, basing himself on Cheng Hüan in a gloss on a similar phr. later in our chapter (see below), says: k' a o y i means *46*, thus: »We, the little children, and (the old respectful ones =) the old men who respectfully attend to the affairs (all say) that you should not attack; why does the king not go counter to the oracle?». Couvreur tries to improve this: »We, the little children, and the old assistants». — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: k' a o y i *47* means »the respected elders». More precisely »the old and revered ones», the rebel princes being in fact the king's uncles. Cf. Tsiu kao: *48* »to serve their old men and seniors». But y i *49* in fact means 'respectful, reverent' (see Gl. 433) and k' a o y i would thus rather than »old and revered ones» mean »old and reverent ones», which does not suit the context. — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: y i *49* (**gjək*) is a loan char. for k o *50* (**kək*). The latter is defined in Fang-yen (Middle Han coll.) as = *51* 'old' (properly: »leathery», with the skin dry and leather-like), and k' a o y i is therefore a synonym-compound = 'old'. — **F.** Yü Sing-wu: *49* is Wei Pao's alteration of *52*, and this again is a corruption of a *53*. In an early Chou inscription (Kün ku lu kin wen 2: 2, 68) there is a phr. *54*, which Wu Shï-fen tentatively interpreted as = h i a o y u *55* (cf. Ode 177, phr. *56*: »Chang Chung, the filial and friendly»). Our k' a o y i *47* would thus be equal to this h i a o y u; a very adventurous theory. — **G.** It seems best to make use of Couvreur's idea (in C above) that y i *49* here has its common meaning of 'to help, to assist' (see Gl. 433), but turn the line quite differently from Ts'ai's construction. This is necessary because s i a o t s ï »the little child» as a rule always means the king himself, not his subjects. We closely follow the oldest interpr. (Wang Mang, B), with exception for the word y i. Thus: **»(You say that) they (the rebel**

敢不極卒寧王圖事 *43* 極 *44* 極卒 *45* 終 *46* 安 *47* 敉寧王大命 *50* 撫循 *51* 撫于五辰 *52* 撫存 *53* 撫定 *54* 亦未克敉公功 *55* 撫順 *56* 安定 *57* 率惟敉功 *58* 惟 *59* 率 *60* 彌 *61* 終 *62* 于伐殷逋播臣 *63* 越予小子考翼不可征王害不違卜 *64* 害 *65* 曷 *66* 父老敬事者 *67* 考翼 *68* 事厥考厥長 *69* 翼如蒿 *57* 老 *52* 耋 *53* 昏 *59* 考昏 *55* 孝友 *56* 張仲孝友 *52* 厥考翼其肯曰予有後 *58*

princes) are my, the little child's, old coadjutors, they should not be attacked; why does the king not go counter to the oracle?» — This interpr., however, would seem to be vetoed by another phr. later in our chapter:

K ü e k ' a o y i k ' i k ' e n y ü e y ü y u h o u *57.*

This line has troubled the commentators greatly, since k ' a o y i here cannot well be made to tally with the k ' a o y i discussed above. But Wang Yin-chï has convincingly argued that the word y i *49* should be eliminated (having been erroneously carried over here from the earlier passage). The parallelism with the preceding lines j o k ' a o t s o s h ï *58* »If a father makes a house», and: k ü e f u t s ï *59* »(When) the father breaks the ground», shows that here we should simply have: K ü e k ' a o k ' i k ' e n y ü e **»Will the father be willing to say, I have a successor ...».** — Hence this line is no obstacle to our interpr. G above.

Y ü t s a o t ' i e n y i y i etc. see Gl. 1589.

1603. Y i e r p a n g k ü n . . . . . s u e i y ü e *61.*

A. PK'ung: »I shall y i give justice to your princes of states . . . .; and you (should) soothe me saying . . . . .». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »y i according to what is right, you princes of states (should) soothe me . . . .». This comes fairly near to the more precise interpr. of Chu Pin: y i *62* (**ngĭa*, falling tone) is = *63* (**ngia*, even tone): **»It is (right =) proper that you, princes of states ... soothe me ...».** The two are indeed but two aspects of the same word stem, the one in even tone also wr. *64*, see Gl. 768. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: y i *62* = *64*, and the latter acc. to Shuowen means *65* 'to measure, to judge' (properly: to decide what is right), thus: »I judge about you, princes of states, that you (should) soothe me . . .» This is ceratinly no improvement. And when Sun Sing-yen says y i *62* = *64* = *66* 'good', his paraphrase of the line makes no sense.

1604. We shall study here 8 lines containing the word *67* **pi̯ĕd / pji / p i*. Outside the Shu this w. occurs only in 2 cases in the Shï, in both meaning s h e n *68*, either 'to be careful' or 'to make careful': Ode 289, phr. *69* »I will (be careful about =) guard against future calamities»; Ode 257, phr. *70* »I plan for you, I caution you».

α. Ta kao here: w u p i y ü s ü *71.*

A. PK'ung: p i *67* = l a o *72* (this after Wang Mang, see *β* below), paraphrasing *73*. Sun Sing-yen has understood this as *74* **»Do not be (toiled =) distressed by the anxieties».** But K'ung Ying-ta understood: »Do not toil in (these) anxieties», i. e. do not go yourself to the war, let your lords do the work. And it is possible that after all PK'ung meant it in yet a slightly different way. Since s h e n *68* (see above and B next) is synon. w. k i n *75* 'to be careful' and this frequently means 'carefully to attend to, take pains about', PK'ung may have meant his l a o *72* as = 'to take pains about, be assiduous about', all the more since in *γ* below he renders k ' i n p i by l a o s h e n *76*. — **B.** Shuowen (after Erya): p i *67* = s h e n *68* 'to be careful, to caution', quoting our Shu line. The line has then been variously construed. Kiang Sheng: »Do not be (careful =) cautious (timid) in the anxieties» (but go to work). Liu Feng-lu: w u p i *77* = p i *67* (w u being a »particle»): »Be careful about the anxieties». Since w u can certainly not be a particle, as many scholars have proposed (see Gl. 759), we should then have to construe an oratorical question: »Should you not be careful about the anxieties?» (PK'ung may, as already stated, simply have meant this by his l a o). For the construction cf. Ode 235: w u n i e n e r t s u *78* »Should you not think of your ancestors?».

β. Ta kao (further on): T ' i e n p i p i w o c h ' e n g k u n g s o *79.*

P i *80* and p i *67* were both **pi̯ĕd / pji / p i* in Ts'ie yün and Shïwen. Yü Sing-wu (2:5) proposes that since certain archaic forms of s o and p ' i 匹 are very similar, our s o here is a Han-time mistake for p ' i. But the meaning: »to achieve the work and

p ' i become a counterpart (of Heaven)» is much too strained. Yü would make the same correction in Shao kao and Kün Shï.

A. Here PK'ung curiously defines the first p i *80* as = s h e n *68* and the 2nd p i *67* as above by l a o *72* (K'ung Ying-ta says Erya has *80* = *68*, which is wrong; Erya says *67* = *68*) and both PK'ung and his contemporary Meng K'ang paraphrase: *81*, which is just as obscure as the Shu line. K'ung Ying-ta expounds it: Heaven p i *80* cautions and p i *67* stimulates us to (reach) the place of achieved merits», which is rather nonsensical. In any case Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) already rendered the line: *82*, taking p i l a o as a synonym-binome; he certainly meant: **»In the (place =) situation when Heaven (toils us =) puts the toil on us to achieve the work»**, which logically connects with both the preceding and the following line. Thus the oldest interpr. here is p i *60* = l a o *72* 'toil'. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: p i *83* = 'to block' and p i *67* = 'difficulty, make difficult', thus: »When Heaven obstructs and makes it difficult for us, it is the place for achieving the work». — **C.** Tuan Yü-ts'ai: there should not be two p i *83* and *67*. They are two variant graphs for the same word **pi̯ĕd*, and a variant in some gloss has slipped in as a tautology in the text. This is obviously right. The text then runs: t ' i e n p i w o *84*, and this is what Wang Mang enlarged into his binome t ' i e n p i - l a o w o *82*, see A. — **D.** Sü Hao: Kuang ya says p i *67* = *85*, and since *85* can mean 'to associate with, to assist', the line means: »Heaven assists us to achieve the work». A very arbitrary speculation.

γ. Ta kao (further on): T ' i e n y i w e i k ' i n p i w o m i n j o y u t s i *86.*

A. PK'ung again renders k ' i n p i *87* by l a o s h e n *76*, explaining: »Heaven also stimulates and cautions our people, as if they had a sickness» (of which they must be cured). — **B.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) renders the line: *88* **»Heaven also toils our people, as if they had a sickness»**, k ' i n p i, being a synonym-binome. — **C.** Sü Hao as in *β* above: »Heaven also works for and helps our people».

δ. Tsiu kao: K ü e k a o p i s h u p a n g . . . . *89.*

K ü e *90*, archaic *91*, is wrong for *92*, archaic *93*.

PK'ung: **»Then he told and cautioned all the (princes of the) states ...»** Wang Nien-sun says (after Kuangya p i *94* = *95*) that p i means 'to order', and Wang Yin-chï (after Kuang yün p i *67* = *96*) that it means 'to tell'. Both, however, are merely variations of the sense 'to caution'.

ε. Tsiu kao (further on): J u k i a p i Y i n h i e n c h ' e n *97.*

A. PK'ung (after Erya) k i a *98* = *99* 'solidly, earnestly, diligently', p i *67* = s h e n *68*: **»You should earnestly caution the wise servants of Yin».** — **B.** Hü Shen: k i a *98* = *68*. K i a being a *hapax legomenon*, Hü Shen defined it by s h e n *68* simply because in our text it is combined with p i = s h e n. No reason to abandon Erya's definition.

ζ. Tsiu kao (further on): J u t i e n t ' i n g c h e n p i *100.*

»You should constantly listen to my admonitions».

η. Shao kao: P i s ï y ü s h a n g h i a *1.*

»He shall carefully sacrifice to the upper and lower (Spirits)». Same phr. p i s ï in Lo kao.

若考作室57厥父菑60厥考其肯曰61義爾邦君……綏予曰62義63宜64僕65度66善67
亟68慎69而亟後患70為謀為亟71無亟于恤(卹)72勞73無勞于憂74困于恤75謀76勞
慎77無亟78無念爾祖79天閟亟我成功所80閟81天慎勞我周家成功所在82天亟勞
我成功所83閟84天亟我85比86天亦惟勤亟我民若有疾87勤亟88天亦惟勞我民89
厥誥亟庶邦90厥91入92乃93乂94必95救96告97汝劼亟殷賢臣98劼99囯100汝典聽

θ. Lo kao: P'ing lai pi Yin *2*.

A. PK'ung: **»One has sent me to (caution =) admonish the (people of) Yin».** — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Your messenger has come to admonish the (people of) Yin.» — **C.** Sun Sing-yen here says pi *67* = *72*, but in the sense of 'to recognize the toil of' = 'to encourage': »One has sent me to encourage the people of Yin». — **D.** Sü Hao: »..to help the people of Yin». — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: yin is the name of a sacrifice: ..»carefully to make yin sacrifice». — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr.

In every one of these 8 cases some attempt has been made to carry through the meaning shen *68* 'to be careful' or 'to caution', and the question is whether the meaning lao *76* 'to toil', earliest proposed by Wang Mang, is right in some of them (the char. *67* thus serving for two different words, not for one only). The meaning shen *68* seems certain in cases *δ*, *ε*, *ζ*, *η*, *θ*. But, on the other hand, the meaning lao 'to toil' is almost inevitable in *γ* (the interpr. A there is very forced and C quite arbitrary). And if this meaning thus is attested to have existed, it makes certainly the best sense in *α* and *β* as well. **P̱ĭěd* = 'to toil' might be cognate to *3* **b'i̯ad* 'to wear out, worn out'?

1605. Pu kan t'i shang ti ming *4*.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »I dare not discard the command of God on High». — **B.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) writes: pu kan tsien Shang ti ming *5*, and Yen Shï-ku explains this tsien as = *6* 'not to believe'. It properly means 'to err' (common), here causative: 'to consider as faulty' i. e. to find fault with: **»I dare not find fault with the command of God on High».** Evidently the Kin-wen had *7*, as short-form for *8*, and this *7* was easily confused with the similar t'i *9*. — Since in the end of the chapter we have t'ien ming pu tsien *10* »Heaven's command is not faulty», also in the Ku-wen version, B is obviously preferable here, besides being the oldest attested (through Wang Mang).

1606. T'ien ming wei *11*.

A. PK'ung: »Heaven's enlightenment (virtue) is to be feared». This being too stupid, Ts'ai Ch'en would improve it: »Heaven's bright (command) is to be feared». — **B.** The Kin-wen version, ap. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan), reads *12*, the two wei being closely cognate and often practically interchangeable. Thus: **»Heaven is bright and majestic».**

1607. Pi wo p'ei p'ei ki *13*.

A. PK'ung: **»It (Heaven) (helps =) supports our very great foundation».** — **B.** In an analogous line in Shu: Li cheng *14* »They together received this great foundation», the Kin-wen version (ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D.) reads *15*. And since Wang Mang in our line above paraphrases: *16* fu [Han] shï er ta ta yi »It helps (Han's) beginning and makes it very great», Tuan Yü-ts'ai concludes that the Kin-wen version here as well read *15*; and this *17*, corresponding to Wang's *18*, should be read ki, being the final particle. Thus: *13* »It has helped us to be very great»; and *14* »Together they received this greatness». But this is not plausible, for Wang Mang obviously rendered ki *19* 'foundation' by his shï *20* 'beginning', which shows that he really understood the word as = 'foundation', not as a particle. And the form *17* in the stone classics is simply a short-form for *19*. But Wang's paraphrase shows that he took the line slightly differently from PK'ung: »It helps us, and makes very great (our) foundation». The par. in Li cheng shows, however, that PK'ung construes the clause correctly.

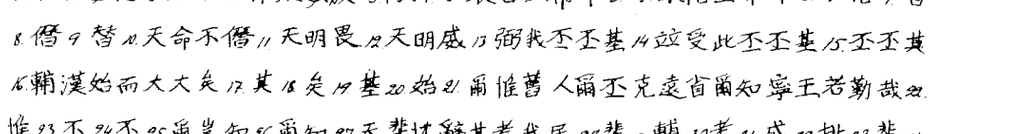
1608. Er wei kiu jen, er p'ei k'o yüan sing, er chï ning wang jo k'in tsai *21*.

A. PK'ung: **»You are veterans, you grandly can far discern, you know how the serene (dead) king toiled like this».** — **B.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases so as to show that he understood wei *22* as = 'to think' and read pu *23* inst. of p'ei *24* (the graph *23* originally served for both words). Thus: »You should think of the verterans; you cannot far discern; (how can) you know how the serene king toiled like this?» In order to make sense of the two first lines according to this reading of pu *23*, Wang has had to add a k'i in the last er k'i chï *25* »how can you know», for the er chï *26* of the Shu text. This condemns his interpr.

T'ien pi pi etc. see Gl. 1604 above.

1609. T'ien fei ch'en ts'ï k'i k'ao wo min *27*.

A. PK'ung: »Heaven helps (us who have) sincere words, it will (achieve =) perfect our people». Fei *28* = *29* 'to help' and k'ao *30* = *31* 'to achieve' are both from Erya. The latter is well attested (see Gl. 160). The former (**pi̯wər / pi̯wə̧i / fei*) recurs several times in the Shu. Meaning 'a support' in the concrete sense of a lath tied to a bow to keep it from warping, we have it in Sün: Sing ngo wr. *32* and in Kuan: K'ing chung, hia, wr. *33*. PK'ung's interpr. was already given by K'ung Kuang (end of 1st c. B. C., in Han shu K'ung Kuang chuan), who paraphrases: *34* »Those who have sincere principles, Heaven helps them». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Heaven helps me by sincere words (sc. of the 10 volunteering advisers), I can (examine =) verify it on the people» (sc. by their assent). Couvreur turns it differently: »The sincere (words =) promises of Heaven's help, I can (verify them =) reliably find them with the people». — **C.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases: *35*. The first half agrees with A, the second: t'ien k'i lei wo yi min is explained by Yen Shï-ku as: »Heaven entrusts the people to me». But the k'ao *30* of the Shu text can have no such sense, and Kiang Sheng explains this k'ao *30* as = *36* 'a blemish, a fault' (as in Huai: Shuo lin *37* »If a white pi jade has a flaw»), so that the line would be equal to *38*, whatever that may mean. Sun Sing-yen, without sufficient proof, says k'ao *30* is equal to lao *39*: »Heaven toils me by the people». — **D.** Chu Hi: fei *28* is loan char. for fei *40* 'not': »Heaven does not (sincerely =) truly speak, one can verify it (sc. its will) by our people». That fei *28* can sometimes serve for fei *40* or *41* 'not' is indubitable. Lü hing *42* is rendered in Mo: Shang hien *43*. — **E.** Yü Yüe: The line should be punctuated after ch'en: *44*, as shown by several Shu ex. of this phrase fei ch'en ending a line. We already have this later in our chapter: yüe t'ien fei ch'en *45*, also in K'ang kao and Kün Shï, see below. Sun Yi-jang confirms this further. In Han Shu: K'ung Kuang chuan there is the variant *46*. And in Ode 255 we find *47* (var. ap. Shuowen *48*) »Its (Heaven's) charge cannot be relied on», which is obviously the same expression. This was already realized in middle Han time, for Shu: Kün Shï *49* »Heaven is difficult to rely on» (Ode 236 has likewise *50*) is quoted as *51* in a document from Wang Mang's time (Han shu: Wang Mang chuan). Then ts'ï *52* has to be carried to the following line. Shuowen gives for this *52* (**dzi̯əg / zi* / sï, ts'ï) the variant *53* (cf. the variant *54*, already



cropping up in Han-fei); this *53* is frequent in Chou inscr. equal to *55* but should here be a loan char. for *56* (**dziəg / zi / s ī, t s ' ï) 'to succeed to, to continue'; it is important that in the famous Mao Kung Ting inscr. we have the word *56* 'to succeed to' wr. *57*. There can hardly be any doubt that Yü is right: *52* means *57*, i. e. *56*. Yü would take it as a verb: »succeeding (to the throne) I shall . . .», but Sun Yi-jang better as an adverb: 'succeedingly' = 'thereafter'. Thus: **»Since Heaven is not to be relied on (sc. the mandate being uncertain), I shall thereafter perfect my people»** (sc. so as to ensure its loyalty). This meaning of k ' a o = 'to perfect' balances the preceding h u a y u 'to transform and guide' said of the princes. We compare:

Shu: K'ang kao: T ' i e n w e i f e i c h ' e n *58*.

A. Feng su t'ung yi k. 5 reproduces an earlier document which quotes *59* and explains it as = *60*, thus: »Heaven's majesty helps the sincere» (agreeing with A in our earlier line). — **B.** The parallels adduced in E above are conclusive here as well. Thus: **»Heaven's majesty is not to be relied on»**. — Likewise in Shu: Kün Shï the phr. *61*, which PK'ung expl.: »In accordance with Heaven's helping the sincere ones», and Ts'ai Ch'en: »If Heaven helps (us who are) sincere», in fact means: **»Heaven is not to be relied upon»** (j o a mere particle, see Gl. 1207).

1610. There are two lines that are analogous and should be studied together:

α. Y ü h o k ' i p u y ü t s ' i e n n i n g j e n t ' u k u n g y u c h u n g *62*;

β. Y ü h o k a n p u y ü t s ' i e n m i n g j e n y u s h o u h i u p i *63*.

In line *β*, Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases the last word p i by *64* 'to help', which shows that the Kin-wen text inst. of *65* **piĕt* had *66* **b'i̯ĕt*. Yü Sing-wu would take p i *65* to be a corruption of y i *67*, but then the line cannot be satisfactorily construed.

A. PK'ung construes: *α*. »How could I not in the former pacifying man's (principles) t ' u plan for k u n g y u c h u n g the work achieved». An impossible construction. — *β*. »How dare I not in (regard to) the former pacifying man's received mandate (finish =) achieve it». — **B.** Yen Shï-ku paraphrases: *α*. *68* »How could I dare not to plan for achieving the ancestors' pacifying work»; this does not follow the text at all, but inverts the words violently and skips the y u *69*. *β*. *70* »How could I dare not to follow the ancestors' will and comfort and succour them», which misconstrues still more than in *α*. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en has a curious idea that n i n g j e n means »the pacifying men» — the ministers who aided Wen Wang: *α*. »How could I not, together with the earlier pacifying men(!), plan the work which (should) be achieved»; *β*. »How dare I not, together with the earlier pacifying men, y u s h o u h i u the received favour p i (finish =) achieve». — **D.** Another interpr. We have already seen (Gl. 1600), through various parallels, that n i n g j e n t ' u k u n g *71* must mean »the serene (dead) men's planned works». It is then quite excluded that the negation p u should be so far separated from its verb as proposed in the various paraphrases above (and other similar ones). Two lines earlier we had p u k a n p u k i t s u n i n g w a n g t ' u s h ï *72* »I dare not but go to the end with and finish the serene king's planned affairs», which is a close parallel, and here the 2nd p u is followed by the principal verb: p u k a n p u k i - t s u »I dare not not-to finish». In precisely the same way our p u *73* here should be followed by the verb: *β*. h o k a n p u y ü *74*, and *α*: h o k ' i p u y ü *75*. Consequently y ü *76* is the principal verb. Y ü *76* is well known meaning *77* 'large, vast', e. g. Li: T'an Kung *78* »As to the small (rites) they have been small, as to the great ones, they have been great». Y ü *76* was still used colloquially = 'great' in middle Han time (Fang yen). The word **gi̯wo / ji̯u / y ü* is also sometimes wr. *79* (Erya *79* = *77*), ex. in Sün: Fei shï er tsï, and it is closely cognate to an important word stem **χi̯wo / χi̯u / h ü* wr. *80* etc. (see Gl. 499). Thus: *α*. **»How should I not enlarge what was achieved of the former serene men's (i. e. dead kings') planned works?»**; *β*. **»How could I dare not to enlarge the favour and help given by the former serene men»**. The context here decidedly favours the Kin-wen reading p i *66* — it is a question of succouring distressed and suffering people.

T ' i e n y i w e i y u n g k ' i n p i w o m i n see Gl. 1604.

1611. J o s i c h ' e n k ' i s h ï *81*.

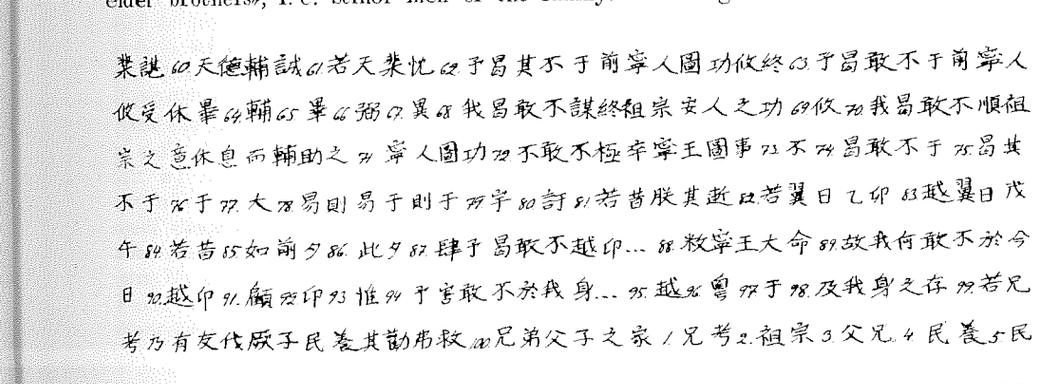
A. PK'ung: »As in ancient times, I will go» (to the war). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»The other day when I was on the point of going»** (observe the modal value of k ' i). J o, in fact, is merely an initial particle, see Gl. 1207, and we have it in the same way before a time adverb in Shu: Shao kao: *82* »The next day, y i - m a o», followed immediately by *83* with the particle y ü e. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: j o s i *84* = *85* »as to last night». — **D.** Chang Ping-lin: j o s i *84* = *86*: »This night I will go». — B is best supported by Shu parallels.

K ü e k ' a o y i k ' i k ' e n see Gl. 1602.

1612. S ï y ü h o k a n p u y ü e a n g . . . *87* (followed by: m i n i n g w a n g t a m i n g *88* »achieve the serene dead king's great mandate», see Gl. 1600). PK'ung paraphrases: *89* »Then how could I dare not, on this day, to . . . .»; that y ü e a n g *90* should mean 'on this day' is, of course, excluded. — **B.** The T'ang comm. mentions a Mr. Ku *91* who considers a n g *92* as = *93*, y ü e a n g thus being a compound particle. But for this there is no foundation. — **C.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases: *94* »How could I dare not, in my person, to . . .» etc. Y ü e *95* as a particle is interchangeable with y ü e *96*, and the latter is defined as = *97* in Erya. But there are no safe text ex. in which y ü e *96* means *97* as a preposition. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en therefore paraphrases: »How could I dare not, *98* taking advantage of my person's subsisting, to . . .» In y ü e a n g, in fact, y ü e is the common verb 'to pass over'; properly: **»How could I dare, not, when it has passed on to me, to (achieve etc.)»**. D alone is grammatically satisfactory.

1612a. J o h i u n g k ' a o n a i y u y u f a k ü e t s ï, m i n y a n g k ' i k ' ü a n f u k i u *99*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases h i u n g k ' a o by *100*. He does not explain m i n y a n g, but K'ung Ying-ta expounds thus: »If (a family of) elder (and younger) brothers and father (and son) have a friend (or: friends) who attacks the son, then the people all nourish their (feelings of) encouragement (to the attack) and give no succour» — this, PK'ung explains, being a case in which the son is so bad that the family go against him (such as the rebellions princes). An obviously impossible interpr. — **B.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) renders h i u n g k ' a o *1* by t s u t s u n g *2* 'the clan', thus making it equal to the common phr. f u h i u n g *3* »(fathers =) uncles and elder brothers», i. e. senior men of the family. H i u n g k ' a o would then be an



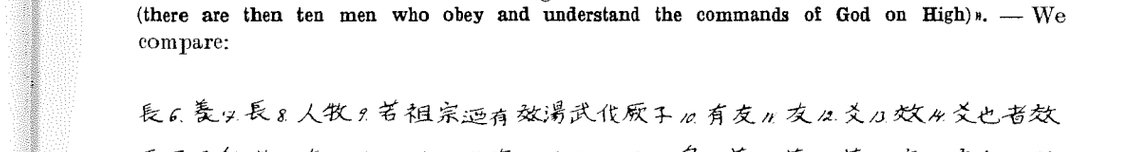
inversion of a k'ao hiung = fu hiung. Wang Mang renders min yang *4* by *5* »leaders of the people». Possibly this was a phonetic deduction (*6* **ziang* = *7* **tiang*), if so, not plausible. But min yang »the people's feeders», is evidently an analogy to the well-known binome jen mu *8* »the people's shepherds», meaning the feudal lords (Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang, etc., very common). (Su Shï believes yang has the same meaning of »servant» as in Kung yang: Süan 12, thus min yang = »the people and the [servants =] officials», which is decidedly less plausible). Further, Wang Mang paraphrases: *9* »If of the men of the clan there is someone who imitating (T'ang and Wu) attacks the son». This shows that Wang's text (Kin-wen) had not yu yu *10* »has a friend (or: friends)» but something else. Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes his text instead of yu *11* 'friend' has the similar char. yao *12*, which would have been taken as short-form for hiao *13* (as in Yi: Hi ts'ï *14*). This is likely, but if so this version with yao *12* deserves no credit, the construction of the line becoming exceedingly forced. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en, likewise says that hiung k'ao *1* is equal to fu hiung *3*, but he says this means Wu wang: since he believes that the chapter is spoken by Chou Kung on behalf of Ch'eng Wang (which is quite unsupported by the Ta kao text), his idea is: »(If my) hiung elder brother, k'ao (the king's) father has a friend who attacks his tsï children (i. e. the people)». — **D.** Kiang Sheng: hiung k'ao *1* refers to the rebellious Kuan Shu who was Chou Kung's elder brother and a k'ao = fu »(father =) uncle» of Ch'eng Wang. Kiang likewise takes Chou Kung to be the speaker. Thus: »If (my) brother (the king's) (father =) uncle has a friend who attacks the son» — the »friend» being Wu Keng Lu-fu, the prince of Yin. Chang Ping-lin would improve this by taking yu *15* as equal to *16* = *17*: »If the brother-father *18* assists a friend to attack». — **E.** Yü Sing-wu objects to B (hiung k'ao *1* = fu hiung *3*) that hiung k'ao *1* is an inadmissible inversion. The corresponding expression in inscriptions and texts is always fu hiung *3*, never hiung fu *19*. He therefore proposes that hiung *20* (**χiwăng*) is a loan char. for huang *21* (**g'wâng*), thus: »If the august father has a friend who attacks the son». Phonetically not very convincing; and the inversion is, after all, not so very strange, the nearest kin (brothers) being mentioned before those further away (uncles). He further proposes that k'üan *22* should be kuan *23* — in the Chou inscriptions we regularly find *24* (without radical) for *23*, and so it has undoubtedly been here; and this *23* has been erroneously filled out into *22* by the Han scholars. This is strikingly plausible. — **F.** Tuan Yü-ts'ai tries to evade the difficulty of hiung k'ao by taking k'ao as a verb. He still believes Chou Kung to be the speaker: »If hiung my elder brother (Wu Wang) k'ao has achieved (the work of his ancestors), and then there is a yu friend (allied prince, sc. Wu Keng of Yin) who attacks his son, should the princes then encourage each other not to succour?» It is, of course, unreasonable to take k'ao as a verb, when the preceding line, just as the present, has the contrast between k'ao father and tsï son. K'ao must be a term of kinship here. — **G.** Ch'en K'iao-tsung: Wang Mang's paraphrase shows that the Kin-wen had not yu »friend» but another word (cf. B above), and the yu »friend» of the Ku-wen in the sense of an ally is really quite foolish. He proposes that the orig. text had kiao *25*, which could easily be corrupted both into *12* and into *11*. This is obviously right, since we thus obtain the natural and attested binome kiao fa *26*. Cf. Kuliang: Chao 12, phr. *27* »With the barbarians he jointly attacked the central states». We thus obtain: **»If among the (elder brothers and uncles =) senior men of the family there are such who jointly attack his son, should the feeders of the people (i. e. the princes) look on and not succour him?»** It should be observed that the corruption of kiao *25* into yu *11* cannot have taken place early, for neither in the Chou script, not in the small seal are the two similar. It is only in the Han-time li-shu that they approach each other.

1613. Sï tsai *28*.

A. PK'ung: sï *29* = *30* 'therefore' (common). Here this is inadmissible because of the following tsai. — **B.** Yen Shï-ku (after Shuowen's *29* = *31*) says: sï *29* = *32* 'to display', expounding it: »Display (your forces)!» — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: Erya: Shï ku says sï *29* = *33*, thus: »Be forceful!». No safe text par. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en: sï *29* = *34* 'to let loose'. He conceives the phr. as an exhortation: »Relax!» (do not be anxious). — **E.** Liu Feng-lu: sï *29* has here the meaning of *35* 'to let loose' = 'to be unrestrained, lax, licentious', cf. Tso: Chao 12 phr. *36* »Mu wang wanted to sï give free reins to his (heart =) desires». Thus: **»You are lax».** Since the context shows that the king reproaches the princes who are loth to go to war, E seems best.

1614. Shuang pang yu chê *36*.

A. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases: *37* »Exert yourselves to help the state and to (walk in =) follow the wisdom». Kiang Sheng therefore tries to show that shuang *38* could mean 'to help', and Sun Sing-yen, on the other hand, that it could mean 'to strive, to exert oneself'. The former lacks every support. For the latter Sun adduces Fang yen (W. Han colloquial) and Kuang ya shuang *38* = *39* 'wild, violent'. In the two Tso ex. (Chao 3, phr. *40*, and Chao 7, phr. *41*) in which Wang Niensun would find confirmation for a meaning 'energetic, active, forceful', Tu Yü had already better taken shuang *38* in its ordinary sense of 'bright'. Thus there is really no safe pre-Han support for Wang Mang's paraphrase, either in Kiang's or Sun's interpr. — **B.** PK'ung: shuang *38* = *42* 'bright', and shuang pang means »clearly to understand the states» (affairs)». Ts'ai Ch'en better: shuang pang = »to (make bright =) to enlighten the state». The line would then best be taken together with the following: yi wei shï jen: »Enlightening the state and following the (path of) wisdom, there are the ten men». — **C.** Chang Ping-lin: *38* **śiang* / *śiang* / shuang is a loan char. for *43* which, though properly read **χiang* / *χiang* / hiang (Ts'ie yün, Shïwen) also has a reading **śiang* / *śiang* / shang (Ts'ie yün), and means 'recently, formerly'. Thus: »Formerly the state employed wise men». Little convincing and not applicable in the examples below. — **D.** Yü Sing-wu would take shuang as a corruption of a char. *44* in bronze inscr., which is unexplained and which he surmises is a »particle». All mere guesses. — **E.** Another interpr. The line is a reproach to the leaders who hesitated to follow the king to the war. Now shuang *38* in the Shu means 'bright' in the phr. mei shuang *45* 'the early (brightening =) dawn' (Mu shï), but it just as unambiguously means 'to err, to be at fault, aberrant, faulty' in Shu: P'an Keng: yu shuang tê *46* »If you have an aberrant virtue» (same expression in Kyü: Chou yü), see Gl. 1461, and in Shu: Lo kao *47* »The performances (of the sacrifices) will be faulty and disgraced» (see Gl. 1765). This meaning is really the most frequent one in early texts. We have it e. g. in Yi Chou shu: Ch'eng k'ai and Shï fa (*bis*), Kyü: Chou yü hia (*bis*), Lie: Huang-ti, Tso: Chao 15. This is the meaning here: **»If the faulty states would follow the wise men, (there are then ten men who obey and understand the commands of God on High)».** — We compare:



Shu: K'ang kao: S h u a n g w e i t' i e n k' i f a k i w o, w o k' i p u y ü a n *48*.

A. PK'ung: »I s h u a n g brightly w e i think that if Heaven punishes me, I shall not resent it». »I brightly think» is rather nonsensical. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: **»If there is any fault, Heaven will punish me, and I shall not resent it».** — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: »I shall s h u a n g w e i strive to think that if Heaven punishes me . . . .». — Here B is undoubtedly right, since the phrase is quite analogous to P'an Keng: *49* »If you have (an aberrant virtue =) a faulty virtue, from above they will punish you» (see Gl. 1461).

Shu: K'ang kao: S h u a n g w e i m i n t i k i k' a n g *50*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after t i: »I shall s h u a n g w e i brightly think of m i n t i the people's guidance, and k i k' a n g happily give it peace». — **B.** Cheng Hüan punctuates after m i n, and Ts'ai Ch'en interprets: »I shall brightly think of the people, and guide it to happiness and peace». — **C.** Kiang Sheng follows Cheng's dividing of the line but explains: »The faulty one is the people, it should be guided to happiness and peace». It seems better, however, to observe the emphatic placing of s h u a n g in exactly the same construction as in the preceding ex.: **»(In case of fault =) when it is at fault the people should be guided to happiness and peace».** — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: »You should s h u a n g energetically w e i think of guiding the people to what is good, and give it peace». — Since there are only a few lines between this phrase and the preceding one where the mening of s h u a n g = 'fault' is well confirmed, C should be preferred here as well. — These two K'ang kao examples thus confirm our interpr. E in our Ta kao line *36* above.

Y ü e t' i e n f e i c h' e n see Gl. 1609.

1615. E r s h ï w a n g k a n y i f a *51*.

A. This is PK'ung's version, and he explains: »You because of that dare not change (Heaven's) laws», which makes poor sense here. Ts'ai Ch'en believes that the line refers to the time of king Wu: »You at that time dared not (change =) disobey (the king's) ordinances». — **B.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) renders the line: e r p u t ê y i t i n g *52* and since Shuowen under f a *53* says that the Ku-wen script form was *54* and the seal form of t i n g *55* was *56*, some Ts'ing scholars have concluded that PK'ung's f a *53* is a mistake for t i n g *56*. Now it is true that the Chou inscriptions have no graph for f a like the *54* recorded by Hü Shen; but evidently in middle Han time a graph *54* was known and considered as a variant for f a *93*. And with Wang Mang's reading of t i n g inst. of f a, the meaning becomes much better: **»Do not dare now to change what has been determined».**

1616. S h e n k i n t' i e n k i a n g l i y ü C h o u p a n g *57*.

A. PK'ung: **»Moreover, when Heaven now sends down guilt on the state of Chou»** (sc. the sedition). Cf. Ode 256, phr. *58* »That is an offense»; Tso: Wen 4: »How dare I accept this great gift, *59* and myself draw upon me guilt». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en defines l i *61* by *60* 'calamity': no text par. — **C.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) defines l i *61* as = *55*: »How much the more now when Heaven has sent down a settlement in the Chou state» (determined the royal mandate). Cf. K'ang kao: *62* »They have not yet settled their minds»; Ode 256, phr. *63* »When the people is not yet settled». — Both meanings A and C of l i are well attested; but the verb k i a n g 'to send down' is quite regularly used for such terms as to send down disaster, suffering, guilt, punishment, whereas k i a n g l i = 'to send down settlement' is far-fetched. Cf. for instance Ode 265, phr. *64* »Heaven sends down crime and guilt».

1617. T a n l i n s ü f a y ü k ü e s h ï *65*.

A. PK'ung: »Those greatly near-standing attack within the house», thus taking l i n 'neighbour' in the sense of near relative. — **B.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin

chuan) paraphrases: *66* »The great rebels wish to attack within the house». Apart from y ü 'to wish', which has no correspondence in the Shu line, he renders t a n l i n *67* by *68* 'the great opponents, rebels'. Sun Sing-yen thinks that since Shuowen has a word l i n *69* defined as = *70*, t a n l i n, equal to this *69*, would mean »the great makers of difficulties», i. e. rebels. But Shuowen's definition h i n g n a n does not mean 'to make difficulties' but 'difficulty in walking' (to walk with difficulty). In fact, Wang's phr. is but a free paraphrase of C next. — **C.** Another interpr. T a n *71* 'great' can mean 'too great, extravagant, overbearing, disorderly'. Shu: Wu yi *72* »And finally they become (extravagant =) disorderly»; Tso: Chao 1, phr. *73* »For the moment you should be anxious about that Tsï Si will rebel and be (extravagant =) disorderly». It seems quite obvious that our Shu line *65* here is quite analogous: **(Extravagant =) disorderly neighbours (i. e. the rebelling princes) attack us within the house».** Observe that s ü *74* = *75* need not mean »attack each other» but can and does mean »attack us», s ü simply denoting a relation between two parties (as in Mand. w o h o t' a s i a n g h a o *76*).

T' i e n m i n g p u y i see Gl. 763.

1618. Y ü h o k' i k i p u, k a n f u y ü t s' u n g *77*.

A. PK'ung: **»How should I (first) explore to the utmost the oracle, and then dare not to follow it?»** This interpr. was in fact already indicated by Wang Mang in his paraphrase (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan); y ü *78* of course is the verb 'to go': y ü t s' u n g 'to go and follow' is analogous to y ü f a *79* 'to go and attack' a few lines earlier. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Why do I entirely follow the oracle and how dare I not follow (you =) your counsels?» — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »Why did I explore to the utmost the oracle? (Only in order to pacify you and now, that I have divined), how dare I not follow it?» (Sun Sing-yen: ». . . . how dare **I** not march» sc. to the war). — No reason whatever to abandon the oldest interpr. (A).

1619. S h u a i n i n g j e n y u c h ï k i a n g t' u *80*.

A. PK'ung: c h ï *81* = *82* 'to point out the meaning, to direct': »I follow the tranquillizing man's (sc. king Wen's) directions about (pacifying) the land». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: c h ï = *83*: »I follow the tranquillizing man, and there should be a c h ï fixation of the boundaries and lands». — **C.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) has the version *84*. Yen Shï-ku then expounds: »s h u a i following (the deeds of the ancestors) we should n i n g j e n tranquillize people and c h ï k i a n g t' u make fine the territories». Since this takes c h ï *85* alone as a transitive verb (to make fine) and skips the y u *86*, Kiang Sheng improves: y u c h ï k i a n g t' u = »have fine benefit in the territories». — **D.** Wang Su likewise had a text with c h ï *85* and not *81*, and he interprets: »I follow (Wen Wang's) tranquillizing the people, and y u c h ï have a desire for (all) the territories» (wanting them to be properly disposed). Tuan Yü-ts'ai thinks that even PK'ung (A above) had *85* and not *81* (the latter then being an alteration made by Wei Pao in T'ang time) and that he meant: »I follow the tranquillizing man's desire about (pacifying) the land». — **E.** Chang Ping-lin would read y u *86* as *87*;

其罰班我我其不忘49有爽德自上其罰汝50爽惟民迪吉康51爾時罔敢易法52爾不得易定53法54定55定56宙57矧今天降戾于周邦58亦惟斯戾59以自取戾60禍61戾62未戾厥心63民之未戾64天降罪罟65誕鄰胥伐于厥室66大逆欲相伐于厥室67誕鄰68大逆69遘70行難71誕72既誕73予姑曼予暫之欲背誕74胥75相76相好77于昌其極卜敢弗于從78于79于伐80率率人有指疆土81指82指意83指定84旨疆土85旨

Yü Sing-wu would consider chī *81* as loan char. for ki *88*, which latter he would take to mean liu *89*, thus: yu ki kiang t'u »to possess and remain in the territories». — **F.** We should certainly abide by the oldest text version, that with *85*, and translate as simply and naturally as possible. The line is a logical sequel to the preceding: (I have taken oracle, and how could I dare not to follow it?) **»Following the serene (dead) men (i. e. their directions through the oracle) we shall have fine territories».**

K'ang kao.

Tsai sheng p'o *91* does not, with PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en, mean the 16th day of the moon but the 2nd or 3rd, see Kiang Sheng and in full details Wang Kuo-wei in Kuan t'ang tsi lin 1.

Hou tien nan pang ts'ai wei cf. Gl. 1384.

1620. Chou kung ch'u ki tso sin ta yi *92*.

A. Cheng Hüan: ki *93* = *94* »Chou Kung first planned to make a new big city». — **B.** PK'ung: **»Chou Kung first laid the foundations and made a new big city».** — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: ki *93* is a loan char. for *95*, the particle: »Chou Kung first made a new great city».

1621. Po kung po min ho hien shī yü Chou *96*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases po *97* by po shuai *98*, interpreting: »The many officers po min led on the people ho to be concordantly pleased and hien shī to appear for service in Chou». Hien shī, wr. *99* 'to appear for service', is well-known in bronze inscriptions. But po has no such meaning. It means *100* 'to spread', and an extension of meaning = »to spread out» = »to distribute, to dispose» = »to lead on» would be very strained. Legge and Couvreur both take hien as a transitive verb: »The various officers stimulated the harmony of the people and hien presented them for shī work in Chou». — **B.** Kiang Sheng punctuates after po: »The many officers po (spread out =) disposed (the government in the various zones), and the people was concordant and appeared for service in Chou». Po with the object understood like this is not plausible. Hardly better is Chang Ping-lin: »The many officers (spread out =) made proclamations, min ho the people (concurred =) responded . . . .» — **C.** The line should be placed logically in its context. Chou Kung comes to Lo to build a capital, and needs corvee work from near and far: »(From the hou, tien and nan states, and from the ts'ai and wei zones) **the (hundred =) various officers and the spread-out people willingly appeared for service in Chou».**

Nai hung ta kao chī see Gl. 1587.

1622. Wang jo yüe, meng hou chen k'i ti siao tsī Feng *1*.

There are two conflicting traditions about the speaker in this chapter: **A.** Tso: Ting 4: When Chou Kung had the regency after Wu Wang's death and during the minority of Ch'eng Wang, he enfeoffed his younger brother K'ang Shu in Wei and then made the K'ang kao. Likewise in Tso: Hi 31, an orator in Wei speaks of the »sacrifices instituted (for Wei) by Ch'eng Wang and Chou Kung». This story has been accepted by Sī-ma Ts'ien and Pan Ku, and in the Preface to the Shu the author briefly expresses it thus: »Ch'eng Wang . . . . . enfeoffed K'ang Shu . . . . .». Therefore all ancient comm. believe that Chou Kung is the speaker on the young king Ch'eng's behalf. But then there are two interpr. of the phr. meng hou *2*: — *α*. Fu Sheng (Ta chuan) says that when the heir-apparent became 18 years old, he was styled meng hou *2*, with the function to meet and receive the feudatories when they came to audience (Cheng Hüan says meng *3* means *4* 'to meet', and meng hou would then either mean »the meeting prince» or »the meeter of the princes»; acc. to PK'ung meng *3* means simply chang *5* 'senior, principal': »the leading prince»). For this story of the meng hou title there is no support whatever in pre-Han texts, nor has meng *3* ever any sense of 'to meet'.

But Cheng Hüan and Chao K'i (comm. on Meng) both believe, on the authority of Fu Sheng, that meng hou refers to the young Ch'eng Wang. This leads to one or other of the following absurdities. Either Chou Kung says: »The king (Ch'eng Wang) has spoken thus (and now I, Chou Kung, speak for him:) Oh, meng hou, you heir-apparent (i. e. Ch'eng Wang), chen k'i ti and you, my younger brother . . . .». In other words, Chou Kung first says »The king has spoken thus», and then immediately he apostrophizes the same king as »you heir-apparent», which is obviously impossible. Or, since Chou Kung has the regency, wang 'king' refers to him: »The (vicarious) king spoke thus: Oh, you heir-apparent, and you, my younger brother . . .». That Chou Kung should be styled »the king» and address the real king, young Ch'eng, as meng hou is of course even more absurd. — *β*. Pan Ku in Han shu: Ti li chī therefore says that meng hou »leading prince» is a fine title given to K'ang Shu (It is still Chou Kung who is speaking): »The king has spoken thus (and I, Chou Kung, speak for him): Oh, you leading prince, my (Chou Kung's) younger brother, youngster Feng». This is less impossible than *α*; but it is still very strained, that Chou Kung should first say: »The king has spoken thus» and then immediately have: »you, my (Chou Kung's!) younger brother». Moreover, at this time Feng was certainly no longer a »youngster»; siao tsī would have to be taken as an endearing epithet. In spite of these difficulties this all has been accepted by PK'ung and K'ung Ying-ta. — **B.** The Sung school as represented *inter alia* by Su Shī, Chu Hi and Ts'ai Ch'en repudiate the Tso chuan tradition that Chou Kung on behalf of Ch'eng Wang spoke the K'ang kao — the only pre-Han source to that effect — since it is incompatible with the Shu text. The preceding lines being evidently (with Su Shī) wrongly placed here, and belonging properly to the Lo kao (as their contents prove), the K'ang kao begins with Wang jo yüe »The king spoke thus», and the speaker is Wu Wang. The whole line at once becomes simple and clear: **»The king spoke thus: Oh, you leading prince, my younger brother, youngster Feng».** During Wu Wang's reign Feng could still be a young man. It is, of course, perfectly legitimate to conclude that the very wording of the K'ang kao, which clearly shows Wu Wang to be the speaker, disavows the Tso chuan tradition that K'ang Shu was enfeoffed by Chou Kung on behalf of Ch'eng Wang, since the K'ang kao is undoubtedly several centuries older than the Tso chuan.

1623. Yung yung chī chī wei wei hien min *6*.

A. Tu Yü (comm. on Tso: Süan 15, where this phrase is quoted) and PK'ung: »He employed those to be employed, he respected those to be respected, he overawed those to be awed and became illustrious among the people». This construction of the first yung as as transitive verb and the second as an object is well known, and we have a parallel in Sün: Ta lüe, but this latter shows that we should then rather take yung *7* in the sense of 'to achieve, merit, meritorious' (common) than of 'to use' (which is also common). Sün: *8* »To treat the near ones (kinsmen) as near ones and the old friends as old friends, to yung yung acknowledge the merits of the meritorious and lao lao acknowledge the toil (recompense the toiling ones), that is the several degrees of kindness». With Sün-tsī's meaning of the phr. yung yung, but the construction still the same, we would obtain: »He acknowledged the merits of the meritorious, he respected those to be respected, he overawed those to be awed, and became illustrious among the people». From the context in Tso: Süan 15 it is clear that the Tso author understood the Shu

K 有 *81* 右 *82* 稽 *83* 留 *84* 哉 生 魄 *87* 周公 *88* 初基 作新大邑 *93* 基 *94* 謀 *95* 其 *96* 百工播民和見士于周 *97* 播 *98* 播率 *99* 見事 *100* 布 *1* 王若曰孟侯朕其弟小子封 *2* 孟侯 *3* 孟 *4* 迎 *5* 長 *6* 庸庸祇祗威威顯民 *7* 庸 *8* 親親故故庸庸勞勞仁之叔也 *9* 勞 *10* 稽稽朕文祖 *11* 于

phr. to be construed in this A fashion; and probably Sün-tsï did the same, since his y u n g y u n g is very likely an allusion to the Shu. — **B.** Erya: Shï hün says y u n g y u n g = *9* 'to toil, to work', and this in all probability refers to our text (most of the entries in Shï hün refer to Shu and Shï). Y u n g *7* is common in the sense of 'to work', also 'work achieved, merit, (working =) meritorious', see Yao tien. Thus: »**Very meritorious, very respectful, very majestic, he was illustrious among the people**». Strengthening reduplications of this kind are exceedingly common in the early texts, and expecially in laudatory epithets we already have them in W. Chou inscriptions, e. g. the Ta K'o Ting inscr. (Grammata inscr. 139) phr. *10* »Very august was my fine ancestor»; Ch'en Tsï T'o Kuei inscr. *11* (Grammata inscr. 58) »to receive orders from the very illustrious ones». That Cheng Hüan understood our phr. in this fashion (as reduplications) follows from a gloss later in our chapter, where he defines k i n g k i *12* »care and caution» as equal to *13*. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu has the idea that the text should be amended into: y u n g c h ï w e i, y u n g c h ï w e i h i e n m i n »He employed and respected and feared (the widowers and widows just mentioned); he employed and respected and feared the illustrious people». A curious speculation. — It is tempting to accept A, because it was championed by the earliest authors (Tso and Sün). But after all B is superior since the attributes y u n g y u n g, c h ï c h ï, w e i w e i become analogous to the following h i e n 'illustrious'. — Chuang Shu-tsu would carry the last two words h i e n m i n *14* to the next line, referring to Erya: h i e n = *15* 'to change, substitute': »Substituting (himself as ruler) for the people he created» etc. But for Erya's gloss there is no text support.

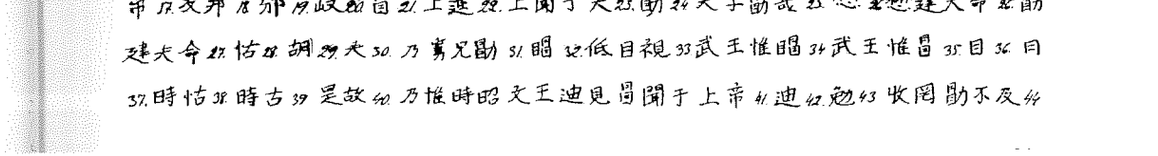
1624. Y ü e w o y i e r p a n g y i s i u w o s i t' u w e i s h ï h u m a o w e n y ü S h a n g t i *16*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after s i u and after h u, interpreting: »In our one or two states thereby s i u there was created order, and our western territories on him (sc. his good government) relied; his m a o all-covering (influence) was heard by God on High». Ts'ai Ch'en, followed by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen, explain »one or two states» as *17* »friendly states» i. e. allied states, but there is no support for that; it alludes, with Liu Feng-lu, to the Chou having first resided in Pin *18* and then moved to K'i *19*. PK'ung's explanation of m a o *20* being obviously impossible, Wang Ming-sheng (followed by Kiang Sheng) proposes that it means *21*: »it ascended and was heard by God on High». This seams already to have been Wang Ch'ung's opinion (Lun heng: Ch'u ping), for he quotes (*nota bene*: with this same division of the line): m a o w e n y ü S h a n g t i and paraphrases it by *22* (Chao K'i in comm. on Meng likewise quotes: m a o w e n y ü S h a n g t i). But m a o *20* has no such meaning. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en divides after m a o: ». . . . and our Western lands w e i s h ï h u m a o on him relied and (took him over their heads =) were overshadowed by him, and (his fame) was heard by God on High». Ts'ai thus goes against the Han scholars (Wang Ch'ung, Chao K'i) in carrying m a o together with the preceding, without obtaining a better sense. — **C.** Wang Yin-chï punctuates: Y ü e w o i e r p a n g, y i s i u w o s i t' u, w e i s h ï h u m a o, w e n y ü S h a n g t i: The first two lines he connects with the preceding: ». . . . and our one or two states, and so he brought order in our western lands . . . .» M a o *20*, he says, is a short-form for *23*. The latter is read **χi̯uk* / *χi̯wok* / h ü in both Ts'ie yün and Shïwen, such as it appears in Shu: Mu Shï, phr. *24*. »Exert yourselves, officers», but this ancient sound tradition is, acc. to Wang, all wrong,for *23* is but a variant of *25* **mug* / *mə̨u* / m o u 'to exert oneself, energetic', and should be read like that, not **χi̯uk* / *χi̯wok* / h ü. To witness, in Shu: P'an Keng, phr. *26*, the Han stone classics read *26* »Exert yourselves in firmly extablishing the great mandate». That our *20* is a mere short-form for *23* is proved by passages in Kün Shï and Ku ming

(see below) where PK'ung has *20* but Ma Jung's and Cheng Hüan's version has *23*. Wang continues: h u *27* (**g'o*) is equal to h u *28* (**g'o*) = *29* 'great', and our line w e i s h ï h u m o u w e n y ü S h a n g t i thus means »He made a great exertion and it was heard by God on High». It must be objected that the fact that the stone classics replaced m o u *25* by the synonym h ü *23* does not prove that the latter should be read m o u inst. of h ü (its well-attested normal reading). And for the variants *20*: *23* in Kün Shï and Ku ming see below. Here, it should be observed that a few lines later we have: N a i k u a h i u n g h ü *30*, with the full form of h ü; it would be strange if the PK'ung text had a short-form in one line and the complete form in another in the same chapter and section. For a refutation of h u (*28* = *29*, Kuang ya) see Gl. 553. — **D.** Another interpr. We retain the ancient way of dividing the line. M a o *20* (**môg* / *mâu* / m a o) is the same as the char. *31* (**môg* / *mâu* / m a o) which Shuowen defines as = *32* 'to lower the eyes and see', i. e. to look down on, as a highly placed person looks down upon something below him. Shuowen quotes as example of this meaning Shu: Kün Shï: W u W a n g w e i m a o *33*, where PK'ung has *34* (see below), and in fact *20* is not a short-form of *31* but its primary graph, since it already contains 'eye' *35*. When *20* serves for m a o 'to cover', this 'to look down' is on the contrary loan char. for the primary graph *36*. Of *20*, *31* 'to look, to see' there are no text ex. besides the Shu cases discussed here, but the meaning is amply confirmed (besides by the composition of the graph) by its combination here with w e n 'to hear': m a o w e n y ü S h a n g t i. The line thus means: »**In our one or two states thereby was created order, and our western territories relied on him; it was seen and heard by God on High**». (Yü Sing-wu would read *37* as *38* = *39* 'therefore', which is hardly any improvement). — We compare:

Shu: Kün Shï: N a i w e i s h ï c h a o W e n w a n g t i h i e n m a o w e n y ü S h a n g t i *40*.

A. PK'ung: »S h ï those (men) enlightened Wen Wang, so as to t i walk in the path of h i e n illustriousness and m a o (covering =) protection (to the people), and it was heard of by God on High». Ts'ai Ch'en modifies this only in taking t i *41* as transitive: »guiding him to illustriousness» etc. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: »W e i s h ï c h a o those were bright and Wen wang's (virtue) t i rose and h i e n became manifest, and m a o w e n it ascended and was heard by God on High». An impossible construction. — **C.** Shïwen says: Ma Jung reads *23* which means *42* 'to exert oneself', and Wang Yin-chï (see above), basing himself on this, says PK'ung's *20* is a short-form for *23*, which is equal to *25*. He interprets: »Those (men) enlightened Wen Wang to t i use h i e n illustriousness and (m a o =) m o u exertion; and it was heard by God on High». Only a few lines later, however, we have the phrase s h o u w a n g h ü p u k i *43* and still a few lines further on j u m i n g h ü o u w a n g *44* and the orthodox text would certainly not have a short-form *20* in one line and the full form *23* in another. This contrast shows that our *20* was different from the following *23*, and that Ma Jung has erroneously identified the former with the latter and altered the text accordingly. — **D.** Applying Shuowen's definition (as above), we obtain: »**Those (men) (enlightened =) guided Wen Wang, t i h i e n he advanced and was illustrious, and m a o w e n it was seen and heard by God on High**».



Shu Kün Shï: W e i t s ï s ï j e n c h a o W u w a n g w e i m a o p ' e i t a n c h ' e n g t ê *45*.

A. PK'ung: »These four men made bright Wu Wang's (virtue), w e i m a o so that he (covered =) protected (the whole world), and they grandly and exhaustively (lifted =) set forth his virtue». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »These four men (made bright =) distinguished Wu Wang, w e i m a o and he (covered =) protected (the world), and (the people) grandly and all praised his virtue» (to the last words we shall revert in Gl. 1875). — **C.** Shuowen reads m a o *31*, quoting this line, and defining m a o as = *32* 'to lower the eyes and see', i. e. look down (see above), *31* being really a tautologically enlarged form of *20* (which already has the rad. 'eye'). Kiang Sheng then interprets: »These four men c h a o were enlightened, W u W a n g w e i m a o Wu Wang looked at them, and grandly and entirely set forth their virtue». But on the analogy of the preceding ex. we must take Wu Wang as object of c h a o: **»These four men (enlightened =) guided Wu Wang; he looked at them and grandly and entirely set forth the virtue».** — **D.** Wang Yin-chï again takes m a o *20* as = m o u *25* »to exert oneself», and Sun Sing-yen expounds: »These four men (enlightened =) guided Wu Wang, he exerted himself, and they grandly and entirely praised his virtue». — C suits the context admirably; the passage describes precisely how the kings found good counsellors. C is the oldest interpr. (Shuowen). — On the other hand m a o *20* has its common meaning (as loan char.) of 'to cover' in another Kün Shï passage: *46* »(his work) shall grandly extend over the corners of the seas and the (rising sun =) place where the sun rises» (here again Wang Yin-chï would take m a o as = m o u, but the context makes 'to extend over' preferable, with Kiang Sheng).

Shu: Ku ming: E r w u y i C h a o m a o k u n g y ü f e i k i *47*.

A. Ma Jung read *48* h ü c h ' u n g inst. of m a o k u n g, defining c h ' u n g as = *49* 'to throw down, fall down': »Do not with Chao strive to fall down . . .», but it is unknown how he understood the line as a whole. Neither for the reading ch ' u n g (Shïwen) nor for the meaning *49* of *48* is there the slightest support. — **B.** PK'ung takes k u n g = *50* and k i *51* as = *52* 'dangerous', interpreting: »You should not with Chao m a o recklessly k u n g go forward to f e i k i wrong and dangerous (actions)». Ts'ai Ch'en modifies: k u n g y ü f e i k i = »to go forward in (the first symptoms of =) the initial stages of evil». But k u n g, which means *50* = 'to present', can certainly not mean *50* = 'go forward to'. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »Do not with Chao m a o recklessly *53* fall down in f e i k i what is not good». F e i k i can certainly not have any such meaning. (Chang Ping-lin modifies it into: f e i k i = »what is untimely»; this is no improvement). — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: In Tso: Wen 18, phr. *54* »He was greedy for drink and food and covetous for valuables and gifts», m a o means 'covetous'; likewise in Kyü: Chou yü *55* »Its ruler is covetous and depraved». Since the following k u n g *56* (of which *53* is merely a variant) means 'to offer in tribute, to present valuables', m a o should be taken in this sense. So far, Sun is convincing. Then he says that k i *57* is = *58* = *59*, thus: f e i k i = »what is not reasonable». This is not admissible. K i *57* here in fact means *60* 'how much' = 'quantity, amount', as in Ode 209, phr. *61* »According to the (how-much =) proper quantity», see Gl. 668. Our line means: **»You should not, because Chao is covetous, make him presents in (what is not the proper quantities =) improper quantities».**

1625. Y i j u n g Y i n *62*.

A. Tu Yü and PK'ung: »To kill and treat with weapons the Yin». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»To kill the great Yin».** — **C.** In Li: Chung yung it is said of Wu Wang that he y i j u n g y i *63*, which Chu Hi explains as: »He once (donned) the war garments and (thereby) possessed the realm». But Cheng Hüan had earlier proposed that y i j u n g y i *64* is an allusion to our Shu line *65*, the char. *66* *·i̯ər / ·i̯ĝi / y i being a loan char. for *67* *·i̯ən / ·i̯ən / y i n. He takes y i = 'one': »He once j u n g treated with weapons the Yin». Since it is strained to construe j u n g as a verb in this way, Chuang Shu-tsu proposes: »He united the great Yin (realm)». But evidently the form *68* may be simply a short-form (without radical, Chou fashion) for y i *69* »to kill', which suits the context best. The line is quoted with *62* in Tso: Süan 6 and in Yi Chou shu: Shang shï it is said: »God charged our father Wen *70* »to kill (exterminate) Shang's much guilty Chou», which shows that its author likewise had the word *69*. Chang Ping-lin would take j u n g as = *71* 'to eradicate», after Fang yen, but there are no pre-Han ex. of this word.

Y ü e k ü e p a n g k ü e m i n w e i s h ï s ü see Gl. 1249. N a i k u a h i u n g h ü — for k u a 'single-standing, unique' see Gl. 812.

1626. K i n m i n t s i a n g t s a i c h ï y ü n a i w e n k ' a o *72*.

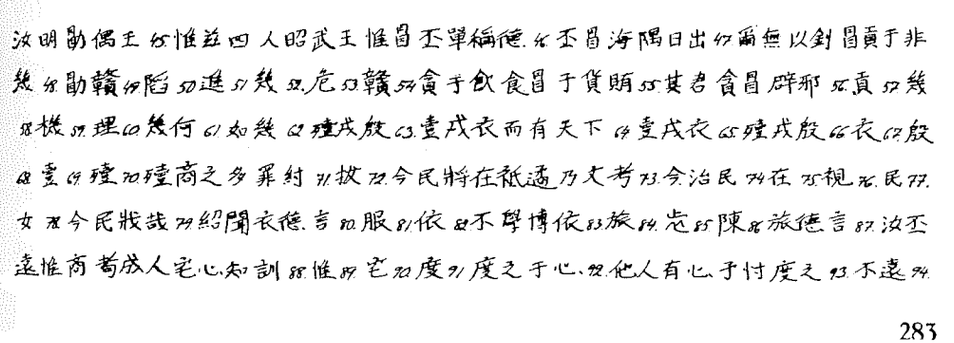
A. PK'ung paraphrases: *73* etc. »Now (to govern) the people will depend on following your fine father». To supply like that a verb 'to govern' is of course unallowable. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: t s a i *74* = *75*: »Now the people will see how (you) follow» etc. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: **»Now the people will (dwell on =) be disposed to respectfully follow your father Wen».** — **D.** Chang Ping-lin believes that m i n *76* is a corruption of j u *77* »you». An arbitrary emendation. — **E.** Yü Sing-wu: k i n m i n t s i a n g t s a i is a clause by itself, and means *78* »Now the people is hurt».

1627. S h a o w e n y i t ê y e n *79*.

A. PK'ung: y i *66* means *80* 'to don, put on' (as a dress): »To continue what you have heard and to don (and carry on) his virtuous words». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: yi *66* *·i̯ər / ·i̯ĝi / y i is loan char. for *67* *·i̯ən / ·i̯ən / y i n (cf. Gl. 1625 above): »To continue and hear Yin's virtuous words». Since we have the word y i n *67* written in its proper way in the very next line, this loan is very unlikely. — **C.** Wang Yin-chï: y i *66* is a short-form for *81*, thus: **»To continue what they have heard and to follow the virtuous words».** In Li: Hüe ki *82*, one text version had *66* as short-form for *81*. This is an exact par., and it simply means that the Chou graph, as often, had no radical added. — **D.** Yü Yüe: Shuowen for the word l ü *83* records the Ku-wen form *84*, and our text must have had this l ü, which has been corrupted into y i *66*. L ü means *85* and l ü t ê y e n *86* means »to set forth the virtuous words». — C has the advantage that the two verbs s h a o and y i are analogous and balance each other.

1628. J u p ' e i y ü a n w e i S h a n g k o u c h ' e n g j e n, t s ê s i n c h ï h ü n *87*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases so as to show that he takes w e i *88* as a verb = 'to think of', thus: »You should grandly and far (think of =) seek Shang's old and accomplished men, to establish your heart, and (thus) understand to instruct (the people)». — **B.** Kiang Sheng follows A in the first part, but says t s ê *89* (*d'ŭk) is loan char. for *90* (*d'âk) —



the two char. are in fact interchangeable, see Gl. 794. Kiang expounds: *91* »(measure =) ponder it in your heart», thus taking s i n as an adverbial phr. But for t o in combination with s i n, cf. Ode 198, phr. *92* »Other men have their (hearts =) thoughts, but I can (measure =) understand them». The idea should be the same here, thus: **»You should grandly and far think of Shang's old and accomplished men, (measure =) comprehend their (hearts =) thoughts and understand their instructions».** — **C.** Sun Sing-yen would read p u y ü a n *93* inst. of p ' e i y ü a n, but it is difficult to see how the line could then be construed.

1629. P i e k ' i u w e n y u k u s i e n c h ê w a n g *94*.

A. PK'ung: »You should (separately =) besides that seek (uncles and elder brothers) whom to ask about y u using the (principles of the) ancient former wise kings». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: y u *95* = *96*: »You should (separately =) besides that seek to w e n hear about the y u (walking =) conduct (from) the ancient former wise kings.» It is certainly simpler to take y u *95* as a preposition = 'from' (common), thus: **»You should (separately =) besides that** k ' i u w e n **seek (what is heard =) information** y u **from the ancient former wise kings»** (i. e. anterior to Yin). — **C.** Wang Yin-chï: *97* **b'i̯at* is equal to *98* or *99* **b'i̯an*, and this is equal to *100* **pian*, so p i e k ' i u *1* is equal to *2* »you should everywhere seek». A very arbitrary and inadmissible speculation.

1630. We shall study here seven cases of y ü *3*.

α. H u n g y ü t ' i e n j o t ê y ü n a i s h e n p u f e i t s a i w a n g m i n g *4*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: h u n g y ü t ' i e n, j o t ê, y ü, n a i s h e n p u f e i, t s a i w a n g m i n g, and his gloss is filled out by K'ung Ying-ta thus: »If you are great in Heaven's (principles) and comply with the virtue, and y ü amplify it, your person shall not be rejected, you shall (ever) dwell in the mandate». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates: h u n g y ü t ' i e n, j o t ê y ü n a i s h e n, p u f e i t s a i w a n g m i n g: »Expand in regard to Heaven's (principles), thus the virtue will be ample in your person, and you will not be neglectful in regard to the Royal mandate». — **C.** Sün: Fu kuo quotes the line thus: *5*, which agrees with the B punctuation. But the context in Sün is the theme of creating y ü *3* 'opulence, abundance' for the people, and Yang Liang curiously explains h u *6* by j u *7*, explaining: »If you widely (cover =) protect, like Heaven, and comply with virtue, it will make opulent your person» (and along with that, your subjects); an obviously impossible interpr. If this was really Sün's meaning, it simply shows that he made use of a detached sentence from a holy classic and applied it in a different sense from that which it has in the original context (a very common *modus operandi* in the works of the early philosophers). But since Sün's text version is centuries older than PK'ung's and the h u n g y ü t ' i e n in the latter makes poor sense. Sün's h u n g f u should be preferred; his h u *6* is synon. with the y ü *8* of the orthodox text. j o t ê 'a compliant virtue' is a standing phr., cf. the famous Mao kung Ting inscr., phr. *9* »Tell me of the compliant virtue of the former kings». F e i *10* combined with m i n g *11* regularly means 'to neglect the orders' (*passim* in bronze inscriptions) and must mean the same here. Thus: **»You will be grandly (covered =) protected by Heaven, a compliant virtue will be abundant in your person, you will not neglect to** t s a i **(dwell upon =) be intent upon the king's orders».** For y ü *3* 'abundant' said about virtue, cf. Kyü: Chou yü *12* »If you can make brilliant and abundant the great virtue»; Kuan: Shï *13* »He has an abundant virtue and seeks nothing». — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: y ü *3* is a loan char. for *14*; it must originally have been written simply *15*, without radical, and it has been wrongly enlarged into *3*. He adduces two bronze inscr. Mao kung Ting phr. *16*, and Shï X Kuei (*17*), phr. *18*, in which he believes (after Kuo Mo-jo) that *19* and *15* mean *14*. But even if this is correct (which is very doubtful; Wang Kuo-wei has another expl.), it can of course prove nothing about our y ü *3* here, the

ordinary sense ('abundant') of which is well supported by the parallels adduced under C. In order to apply his theory Yü has to divide in his own way, and paraphrases: *20*, whatever that may mean. —

β. K'ang kao (further on): K u n a i t ê y ü a n n a i y u y ü n a i y i m i n n i n g *21*.

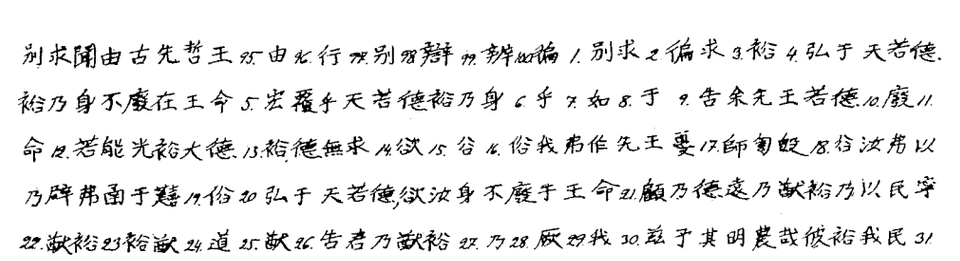
A. PK'ung divides: K u n a i t ê, y ü a n n a i y u, y ü n a i y i m i n n i n g and takes y ü 'abundant' in an extended sense of 'large-minded': »(Look at =) take care of your virtue, make far-reaching your plans; y ü if you are large-minded (in your government), you will make the people tranquil». — **B.** Wang Yin-chï: y u y ü *22* must be a binome, as proved by a par. in Kün Shï (see *γ* below). This is obviously right. Wang then continues: Fang yen (middle Han coll.) says y ü y u *23* means t a o *24* 'way', and this is the same here: y ü a n n a i y u y ü »make far-reaching your (way =) principles». Now Fang-yen does not take y ü - y u as a binome, for it says that in certain regions y ü, in other regions y u means t a o. And t a o is after all a very ambiguous definition. There is no single example, outside the Shu cases in question, in which y ü *3* could mean 'way, norm, principle'. The key to the meaning is y u *25* which means 'plan' and t a o *24* is obviously taken = 'the way, the path' in the sense of t h e i n t e n d e d c o u r s e. Now y ü *3* (**gi̯ug*) may stand for *14* (**gi̯uk*), as proposed by Yü Sing-wu in C above — possibly, as there suggested, the original graph was simply *15* (without radical). Y ü *14* means 'to desire', hence here 'intention' as combined with y u 'plan', both explained in Fang yen by t a o 'course'. Thus: **(Look at =) take care of your virtue, make far-reaching your y u y ü plans and intentions, then you will make the people tranquil.»**

γ. Shu: Kün Shï: K a o k ü n n a i y u y ü *26*.

A. PK'ung: »I tell you, prince, that your y u plans should be y ü large-minded». — **B.** With Wang Yin-chï above y u y ü is a binome. Furthermore, as shown by the context, n a i *27* is a corruption of k ü e *28*, through their great similarity in the archaic script, see Gl. 1604*δ*, as often in the Shu: **»I tell you, prince, my plans and intentions».** — **C.** Yü Sing-wu detaches y ü *3* = *14* and carries it to the next line. Wang Sien-k'ien, on the other hand, reads the first word of next line, w o *29*, together with our line here, taking y u y ü w o as connected, with y u y ü as a verb; but it is difficult to see how that can make any sense.

δ. Shu Lo kao: T s ï y ü k ' i m i n g n e n g t s a i, p i y ü w o m i n *30*.

A. PK'ung: »Here I will enlighten (instruct) the farmers (in righteousness), there large-mindedness (in government) has been granted my people». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Here I will (make bright =) cultivate the husbandry, there you should be large-minded to the people». — **C.** Here again Yü Sing-wu would take y ü *3* as = *14*, connecting the line with the following. — **D.** It is quite obvious from the context that y ü *3* here has its primary sense of 'abundant, opulent': **»Here I shall cultivate the husbandry, there you shall make opulent our people».** Y ü m i n »to make opulent the people» thus has the same



meaning as throughout the chapter in Sün: Fu kuo, where it recurs many times in that sense, said of the ruler who makes the people opulent.

ε. Shu: K'ang kao: J u y i w a n g p u k ' o k i n g t i e n n a i y u y ü m i n, w e i W e n W a n g c h ī k i n g k i n a i y ü m i n y ü e . . . . *31.*

A. PK'ung: »You should in everything respect the rules, and y u use y ü m i n the (principles of) being large-minded towards the people; thinking of Wen Wang's care and caution, you should be large-minded towards the people, saying . . . .» — **B.** Wang Yin-chī: y u *32* is interchangeable with and therefore here equal to y u *33*, which again is equal to *34*. And our y u y ü *35* is the same as the y u y ü *22* in ex. *β*, *γ* above. Having posed this, Wang has necessarily to take y u y ü = t a o *24* as a verb here: »to path» = 'to guide': »You should in everything respect the rules, and thus y u y ü guide the people; thinking of Wen Wang's care and caution, you shall guide the people and say . . . .». — **C.** Yü Sing-wu says y ü *3* = *14*, and he has then to divide differently: J u y i w a n g p u k ' o k i n g t i e n n a i y u; y ü m i n w e i W e n W a n g c h ī k i n g k i etc. It is hard to see how k i n g t i e n n a i y u can make any sense. — **D.** That y u y ü *35* reminds of y u y ü *22* is really a *lusus naturae*. Much more decisive is the fact that the phrase y ü m i n *36* which without any possible doubt means 'to make opulent the people' in phr. *30* above, and which, meaning that, forms the fundamental theme in a whole chapter in Sün, reverts here twice. It must reasonably mean the same here. Thus: **»You should in everything respect the rules, and following them make the people opulent; thinking of Wen Wang's care and caution, you should make the people opulent, saying . . . .»**

ζ. Lo kao: M i n g t s o y u k u n g, t u n t a c h ' e n g y ü *37*. **A.** PK'ung: »Brightly work and have merits and amply and greatly achieve large-mindedness». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen follows Wang Yin-chī's ideas above: y ü = *24*, thus: ». . . . amply and greatly achieve the way». — **C.** Yü Sing-wu punctuates: t u n t a c h ' e n g, carrying y ü *38* = *14* to the next line. — **D.** Y ü *38* has its fundamental sense of 'abundant, opulence': **»Brightly work and have merits, amply and greatly achieve opulence».**

η. To fang: E r h o p u c h ' e n y ü c h ī y ü e r t o f a n g *39*.

A. PK'ung: »Why do you not with sincerity y ü c h ī practise large-mindedness in your numerous regions». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: »Why do you not with sincerity guide them in your numerous regions». — **C.** Yü Sing-wu again y ü = *14*, paraphrasing *40*, of which I can make no sense. — **D.** Y ü *38* has its fundamental sense: **»Why do you not make them truly opulent in your nu erous regions».**

To sum up: y u *38* has its common and fundamental sense of 'abundant, opulent, opulence' in cases *α*, *δ*, *ε*, *ζ*, *η*; but in cases *β*, *γ* it is probably loan char. for *14*, with the sense of (wish =) 'intention', synon. with y u *25* 'plan'.

1631. T ' u n g k u a n n a i s h e n k i n g t s a i *41*.

A. Cheng Hüan expounds: »When the punishment attains to yourself, it will be painful». Thus: »You will feel pain in your person, be careful». — **B.** PK'ung: »It is (like) a sickness in your body, be careful», sc. when the people are misgoverned; you must cure it. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: »(The people's) suffering is (as if) in your body, be careful». — **D.** Another nterpr.: t ' u n g k u a n are taken as transitive verbs: »(Pain your body =) **exert yourself intensely, and be careful».** It is followed up in the next line by *42* »Go and (exhaust your heart =) do your very best».

T ' i e n w e i f e i c h ' e n see Gl. 1609.

1632. W u k ' a n g h a o y i y ü *43*.

This is PK'ung's version. But Yü Yüe adduces a long series of Shu examples where the text has simply y i *44* and PK'ung expounds it by y i y ü *45*, and he concludes that the y ü here has wrongly slipped into the text from the commentary. The rhythm is

obviously better if we read simply w u k ' a n g h a o y i, and Yü Yüe is undoubtedly right.

1635. H u e i p u h u e i m o u p u m o u *46*.

Tso chuan quotes m o u *47*, a loan char. for *48*.

A. In Tso: Chao 8 an orator quotes the line in a way which shows that he took h u e i and m o u as transitive verbs, and p u h u e i and p u m o u as objects. There are then two possibilities: — *α*. Tu Yü: »Treat kindly those who are unkind, make energetic those who are not energetic». H u e i *50* = 'kind', ex. in Wu yi *49* »He was kind and good to widowers and widows». This interpr. has the disadvantage that h u e i is an ordinary transitive verb: »treat kindly», whereas m o u is a transitive-causative verb: »cause to be energetic», which spoils the parallelism. — *β*. PK'ung therefore: h u e i *50* = *51* 'to comply' (well attested, see Gl. 1281), expounding: **»Make compliant those who are not compliant, make energetic those who are not energetic».** — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en connects the line with the preceding: »(The dissatisfaction depends on) whether you are compliant (with virtue) or not compliant, whether you are energetic or not energetic». Inst. of 'compliant' we could, of course, say: »whether you are kind or unkind». — B is indeed very tempting, since it suits the context admirably (Legge adopts B in his Shu translation but A in his Tso transl.), but since we have a sure testimony (Tso) that the line was understood in A fashion well before the end of the Chou dynasty, and A is grammatically impeccable, it is safest to adopt it.

1634. N a i f u w e i h u n g w a n g y i n g p a o Y i n m i n *52*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: n a i f u w e i h u n g w a n g, y i n g p a o Y i n m i n, explaining: »You shall f u don and carry (a good government) and h u n g make great w a n g the royal (principles), and y i n g respond to (Heaven), and p a o tranquillize the Yin people». An absurd interpr. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, punctuating in the same way, says f u *53* = *54* 'business' (common) and y i n g *55* = *56* 'to harmonize' (properly: 'to cause to respond'), thus: »Your work is to make great the king's (virtue) and to harmonize and protect the Yin people». — **C.** Tso: Chao 8 quotes the first line so as to show that he ended it by h u n g; an orator says: »(To make compliant those who are not, and to make energetic those who are not) *57* it was that by which K'ang Shu managed great (things)» (f u 'business' here taken as verb: 'to manage, carry out, achieve', Tu Yü defining it by h i n g *58*). Furthermore Wang Yin-chī has shown that y i n g *55* here means the same as *59* 'to receive' (see Gl. 1142); cf. also that the Mao Kung Ting inscr. has the phr. *60* »to receive the great mandate». Thus: **»(Yes, you youngster), you shall manage great things; when your king has received and taken in his care the Yin people,** (you shall help the king to etc.)».

1635. T s ê t ' i e n m i n g *61*.

A. PK'ung: t s ê *62* = *63* thus: »to dwell in (and obey) Heaven's orders». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: t s ê *62* = *64* **»(to settle =) consolidate Heaven's mandate».** — **C.** Wang Yin-chī and followers: t s ê *62* is loan char. for t o *65*, as often: »to (measure =) calculate Hea-

汝亦罔不克敬典乃由裕民惟文王之敬忌乃裕民曰…31由 33猶 34獻 35由裕 36裕民 37明作有功惇大成裕 38裕 39爾曷不忧裕之于爾多方 40爾曷不信且欲之于爾多方 41恫瘝乃身敬哉 42往盡乃心 43無康好逸豫 44逸 45逸豫 46惠不惠懋不懋 47茂 48懋 49惠鮮哲寡 50惠 51順 52乃服惟弘王應保殷民 53服 54事 55應 56和 57康叔所以服宏大也 58行 59齊 60雍受大命 61宅天命 62宅 63居順 64安定 65度 66自作不典式爾 67式

ven's orders». — There is really no advantage in C. B suits the context best: the Yin people had recently been subdued and now the task was to consolidate Heaven's mandate over them.

F e i s h e n g see Gl. 1269.

1636. T s ï t s o p u t i e n s h ï e r *66*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after t i e n and defines s h ï e r *67* as = f a n j u *68*. »He himself has committed p u t i e n what is unlawful and s h ï e r offended you». But s h ï *69* certainly has no such sense. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, dividing in the same way, says: s h ï *69* = *70* 'to use' (common), and s h ï e r *67* = *71* »Using (his mind) like this», i. e. doing it on purpose. A curious idea, that the salient y i *72* 'mind' is skipped. Kiang Sheng paraphrases s h ï e r by *73* »if he employs like this» = »acts in this way», likewise grammatically unsatisfactory, since no natural object to s h ï 'employ' can be supplied. In fact s h ï *69* means 'pattern, model', the pattern of action that he has set himself to follow; thus: »**He himself has committed what is unlawful (pattern-wise =) according to his set purpose**». — **C.** Chang Ping-lin would have no division of the line but take t i e n s h ï as a synonym-binome: »He has acted contrary to t i e n s h ï the laws e r in this fashion». But this misses the parallelism with the s h ï e r *74* »by chance» in the next line.

1637. K i t a o k i k'e k u *75*.

A. PK'ung: »**When you have justly probed to the end his guilt**». T a o thus = 'according to the proper norm'. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »When he has t a o told k i to the very end his guilt». — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr.

1638. Y u s ü s h ï n a i t a m i n g f u *76*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: y u s ü s h ï n a i t a m i n g, f u, interpreting: »There is a fixed order (sc. in the government and punishments); if s h ï in that you are greatly enlightened, f u (the people) will submit». Tu Yü in comm. on Tso has the same interpr. of t a m i n g f u. But it is a great weakness here that two different subjects are supplied in one line: (You) are enlightened and (the people) submit. Yang Liang in comm. on Sün (foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en) therefore takes f u as a transitive verb: »(you) will be greatly enlightened and subdue (the people)». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: both Tso: Hi 23 and Sün Fu kuo quote the Shu: n a i t a m i n g f u, which shows that s h ï *77* should be carried to the preceding. S ü *78* = *79*. Thus: »Y u s ü s h ï if you have (a method that) accords with this, (the punishments) will be greatly enlightened and (the people) will submit». Thus Kiang rejects the idea of the Tso author, from whose discourse it clearly follows that he took the king as the subject of t a m i n g »if you are greatly enlightened». And Kiang has the same weakness as PK'ung above, that he operates with two different understood subjects. — **D.** Yü Yüe has been so troubled by y u s ü s h ï, that he proposes to change it into y u s h ï s ü *80*, since we have the phr. s h ï s ü *81* twice in our K'ang kao chapter (see Gl. 1249). But in fact this is not necessary; y u s ü s h ï is equivalent to *82* »If you have order in that», referring to the degrees of guilt just discussed. — **E.** Sun Yi-jang: f u *83* does not mean 'to submit', in spite of the fact that the Tso author understood it so. It means s h ï *84* 'business, affair, work, to manage', as often. We had a few lines earlier n a i f u w e i h u n g *85* »you shall manage great things», and it recurs later in our chapter: *86* »When a son does not respectfully manage the service to his father». Sun takes f u *83* as a noun in the objective case here: »Your greatly illustrious work» (the people will *87* respond to it)». This construction with an anteposed object is not very convincing, it is better to interpret: »**If you have order in that, you will make greatly illustrious your management**». — Before deciding we should study a phr. at the end of our chapter:

K'ang kao: W u w o t'i e n h i a n g m i n g n a i f u m i n g *88*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: w u w o t'i e n, h i a n g etc. interpreting: »Do not cut

off and reject my (word); h i a n g enjoying (your state) m i n g you should make enlightened the orders which you (don =) take upon you to carry out». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates: W u w o t'i e n h i a n g, m i n g etc.: »May it not happen that I cut off your enjoyment (of the fief); make bright your f u m i n g (zone mandate =) mandate as a prince of the h o u - f u». — **C.** Kiang Sheng, punctuating like Ts'ai: »Do not for me cut off the h i a n g sacrifices (sc. pertaining to your fief); make bright your f u garments (sc. of royal mandate) and m i n g emblems (of royal mandate)». — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: m i n g and f u here again have the same meaning as above: »**May it not happen that I cut off your enjoyment (of the fief); make illustrious the mandate you manage**». — Sun Yi-jang is certainly right that in the phr. n a i t a m i n g f u *76* and m i n g n a i f u m i n g *88* it will never do, as all the other comm. above have done, to interpr. the m i n g f u *89* in two different ways, both the lines being found inside one chapter. They must be analogous, and then Sun's interpr. recommends itself as very plausible.

1639. W e i m i n k'i c h'ï m o u h o *90*.

A. This is PK'ung's reading: »The people will correct (itself) and strive to be concordant». — **B.** Sün: Fu kuo quotes this line together with the following (which in PK'ung's version runs: j o y u t s i *91*) slightly differently: *92* »**The people will with force strive to be concordant**, (and hurry to do it)». L i *93* (**liəḱ*) makes better sense than c h'ï *94* (**t'iəḱ*) since it naturally combines with m o u 'to exert oneself'. But for the rest (e r y u t s i instead of j o y u t s i) Sün is decidedly inferior, for at a scrutiny of the following lines, the parallelism reveals itself thus (as rightly realized by PK'ung): j o y u t s i: w e i m i n k'i p i k'i k i u; j o p a o c h'ï t s ï: w e i m i n k'i k'a n g y i.

1640. F e i j u F e n g h i n g j e n s h a j e n w u h u o h i n g j e n s h a j e n f e i j u F e n g y u y ü e y i e r (w a) j e n w u h u o y i e r (w a) j e n *95*.

Y i e r j e n *96*: Y i means 'to cut the nose' and *97* **ńi̯əg / ńźi / e r* is defined by Shuowen and PK'ung as = 'to cut the ears' ('to ear', etym. s. w. a. *98*). Wang Yin-chï, however, has proved in detail (see King yi shu wen) that the cutting of the ears was exclusively an act of triumph in war and did not belong to the legal punishments. The char. *97* is simply a corruption of the similar *99* w a, y ü e 'to cut the feet'. His proofs are decisive.

A. PK'ung in his explanation simply skips the inconvenient y u y ü e *100*, as if it did not exist in the text. It is tempting to conclude that his text originally did not have these two words but that they have erroneously slipped in from two lines later, where the phrase commences by y u y ü e. In fact, the parallelism, if we punctuate in a strictly balanced way, forces us to expunge the y u y ü e, unless, with Ts'ai Ch'en, we deplace it and put it before the second f e i j u F e n g: F e i j u F e n g h i n g j e n s h a j e n — w u h u o h i n g j e n s h a j e n; (y u y ü e) f e i j u F e n g y i w a j e n — w u h u o y i w a j e n. PK'ung paraphrases h u o *1* by *2*, which shows that he took it as short-form for h u o *3* 'error, erroneous' (common). He interprets: »**Is it not**

爾 68 犯汝 69 式 70 用 71 用 意如此 72 意 73 用如此 74 適爾 75 既道極厥辜 76 有敘時乃大明服 77 時 78 敘 79 順 80 有 時敘 81 時敘 82 有敘于是 83 服 84 事 85 乃服惟弘 86 子弗祇服厥父事 87 和 88 無我殄享明 89 乃服命 90 明服 91 惟民其勑懋和 92 若有疾 93 惟民其力懋和而有疾 94 力 95 勑 96 非汝封刵人殺人無或刵人殺人非汝封又曰劓刵人無或劓刵人 97 劓刵人 98 刵 99 耳 100 刖 101 又曰 1 或 2 妄 3 惑 4 無或乎王之 5 不知也 6 吾恐其或

you, Feng, who punish people and kill people? — do not erroneously punish or kill people; (and again) is it not you, Feng, who cut the nose or the legs of people? — do not erroneously cut the nose or the legs of people». H u o *1* as short-form for *3* (i. e. without radical, Chou fashion) occurs e. g. in Meng: Kao tsï, shang, *4*, Ta Tai: Tseng tsï chï yen, *5*. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »It is not you, Feng, who punish people or kill people (sc. but Heaven) — do not perchance (by yourself) punish or kill people» etc. Ts'ai has to supply a 'by yourself' which is not in the text. — **C.** Yü Yüe has tried to preserve the two words y u y ü e *100* in their traditional place, taking y u *6* as = *7* and interpreting: »It is not you, Feng, who (by your own hands) punish people and kill people; but w u h u o it does not occur that, h i n g j e n s h a j e n when one punishes or kills people, f e i j u F e n g it is not you Feng (who are governing); y u y ü e there may be such who say: cut the nose or the legs of (this) man, but w u h u o it does not occur that they cut the nose or the legs of the man (sc. it is you alone who can do it!)». A curious speculation. Chang Ping-lin similarly says y u y ü e *100* means *8*, yet without being able to construe a readable line. — A certainly is most simple and plausible.

1641. W a i s h ï j u c h ' e n s h ï n i e s ï s h ï t s ï Y i n f a y u l u n *9*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: w a i s h ï j u c h ' e n s h ï n i e, s ï s h ï, t s ï Y i n f a y u l u n »As to the external service (i. e. your being ruler over the former Yin state) you should set forth those laws, and govern the multitude, (and also use) these laws of the Yin that have good principles». He has to supply a missing principal verb in the last clause. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, quoting a Mr. Ch'en, says w a i s h ï means judicial affairs. Kiang Sheng amply corroborates this by quoting Chouli: Ch'ao shï describing this functionary who makes the w a i c h ' a o c h ï f a *10* »arrangements for the external court», the court sitting in an external courtyard for judicial performances. The whole context in our chapter confirms this. S h ï *11* is a verb = 'to take as a pattern, to imitate, to follow' (common). Ts'ai believes that s ï *12* means *13* 'the functionaries'; but Wang Kuo-wei points out that a few lines later we have c h ' e n s h ï n i e s h ï *14*, and since s ï *12* (or *15*) is sometimes equal to s h ï *16* in the inscriptions (Ode I phr. *17*: Mao Kung Ting inscr. *18*), we should read n i e - s ï *19*. This is undoubtedly right. After these modifications, we thus obtain: **»In the external (court) affairs (i. e. judicial affairs), you should set forth those** n i e s ï **law items, and** s h ï **follow those laws of the Yin that have good principles».**

F u n i e n w u l i u j ï cf. Gl. 4.

1642. J u c h ' e n s h ï n i e s h ï f a p i Y i n y i *20*.

A. PK'ung: »You should set forth those law items, and take as punishments and verdicts the norms of the Yin», thus taking f a and p i as verbs. — **B.** Several later comm. have punctuated after n i e, carrying s h ï *16* to the second line, see Legge's note. But Wang Kuo-wei has shown that PK'ung's punctuation is correct, see Gl. 1641. Chuang Shu-tsu proposes to carry the y u n g *21* of the next line here: f a p i Y i n y i y u n g: »In punishments and verdicts Yin's norms should be used»; but we should then rather expect the order: f a p i y u n g Y i n y i.

1643. W u y u n g y i t s ' ï j u F e n g *22*. Y u n g *23* = *21* as often.

A. This is PK'ung's version. He paraphrases: *24* »You should not use them so as to (approach =) accord with what your heart acquiesces in». Ts'ai Ch'en tries to explain this: t s ' ï *25* means t s ' ï s h ê *26* 'to lodge': »You should not use them so as to make them lodge with you, Feng» (stay with you, side with you), which is very forced. — **B.** Sün: Chï shï quotes *27*. Yang Liang (foll. by Kiang Sheng) believed that the Shu line ended by t s i *28* (carrying j u w e i y ü e to the following), thus: w u y u n g y i t s i »Do not use them so as to be immediate», i. e. do not apply them at once, but try first to reform the people without punishments. But that is very unnatural (the line

should then run: w u t s i y u n g), and Sün's j u certainly corresponds to the j u F e n g of the Shu text: w u y u n g y i t s i j u **»Do not use them so as to (approach =) agree with you, Feng (sc. your personal wishes)».** Evidently PK'ung had observed the quotation in Sün, and glossed his t s ' ï *25* accordingly (*28* = *29*). Tuan Yü-ts'ai proposes that *25* (**ts'i̯ər*) is a phon. loan for *28* (**tsi̯ĕt*), which is hopeless. We can only conclude that the oldest version available: that of Sün with t s i *28*, which makes a good sense, is preferable to PK'ung's t s ' ï *25*, which makes poor sense, and probably is erroneous.

Y ü e s h ï s ü see Gl. 1249.

1643 A. a. N a i j u t s i n s u n *30*;
b. W e i y u s u n s h ï *31*.

A. In both cases, PK'ung paraphrases s u n *32* by s h u n *33* 'to comply with, compliance', and in b. Sün-tsï already does the same. *32* **swən / suən* / s u n, often wr. without radical (*34*), is common in the classics meaning 'compliant, docile' etc. Thus: a. **»Then you will be entirely compliant»**; b. **»There has not yet been (a sufficient) compliance».** — **B.** Sun Yi-jang: s u n *32* (**swən*) is a loan char. for *35* (**χi̯wən*): a. »Then you will exhaustively instruct (the people)»; b. »There has not yet been any instruction». Phonetically quite excluded.

1644. W e i k ' i y u j o j u F e n g c h ï s i n c h e n s i n c h e n t ê w e i n a i c h ï *36*.

A. PK'ung very simply and naturally punctuates after the first s i n, explaining: **»There is nobody who (resembles your heart =) has a heart like you, Feng; my heart and my virtue you know».** — **B.** Kiang Sheng punctuates after the second s i n, saying s i n c h e n s i n means (»to heart my heart» =) to have the same heart as I, thus: »There is nobody who, like you Feng, has the same heart as I; and my virtue you know». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: j o *37* = *33*: »(In these punishments:) do not follow your, Feng's, heart». But how could w e i k ' i y u *38* mean w u *39* 'do not'? This is a typical example of how many Ts'ing scholars *à tout prix* try to find an interpretation different from that of PK'ung, even though the latter is simple and obvious.

1645. S h a y ü e y ü h u o *40*.

A. PK'ung: y ü e *41* = *42*, which we had in the sense of 'to fall down' in Gl. 1468. Here transitive: 'to throw down, to overthrow'; y ü h u o he paraphrases by *43* thus: »They kill and (overthrow =) destroy (people) y ü there, h u o (profiting =) taking profit». Ts'ai Ch'en's paraphrase does not reveal how he understood y ü. — **B.** Chao K'i in comm. on Meng: Wan Chang, hia, where the line is quoted, says that y ü e *41* and y ü *44* »both mean y ü *45* ('in, at, on', the preposition); and then he paraphrases *46*, whatever that may mean (»They kill among the people, and take among their goods»?). In any case, Chao adds a verb t s ' ü 'to take' to which he has no corresponding word in the text: »S h a they kill y ü e among (the people) and (take) y ü among h u o their goods», which is obviously impossible. Kiang Sheng, realizing this, takes y ü e *41* =

先也 C.又 7.有 8.有言 9.外事汝陳時臬司師茲殷罰有倫 10.外朝之法 11.師 12.司 13.有司 14.陳時臬事 15.嗣 16.事 17.三有事 18.三有嗣 19.臬司 20.汝陳時臬事罰蔽殷彝 21.用 22.勿庸以次汝封 24.勿用 以就汝封之心所安 25.次 26.次舍 27.勿庸以卽女惟曰……28.卽 29.就 30.乃汝盡遜 31.未有遜事 32.遜 33.順 34.孫 35.訓 36.未其有若汝封之心朕心朕德惟乃 37.若 38.未其有 39.勿 40.殺越于貨 41.越 42.顚越 43.於是以取貨利 44.于 45.於 46.殺於人

you, Feng, who punish people and kill people? — do not erroneously punish or kill people; (and again) is it not you, Feng, who cut the nose or the legs of people? — do not erroneously cut the nose or the legs of people». H u o *1* as short-form for *3* (i. e. without radical, Chou fashion) occurs e. g. in Meng: Kao tsï, shang, *4*, Ta Tai: Tseng tsï chï yen, *5*. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »It is not you, Feng, who punish people or kill people (sc. but Heaven) — do not perchance (by yourself) punish or kill people» etc. Ts'ai has to supply a 'by yourself' which is not in the text. — **C.** Yü Yüe has tried to preserve the two words y u y ü e *100* in their traditional place, taking y u *6* as = *7* and interpreting: »It is not you, Feng, who (by your own hands) punish people and kill people; but w u h u o it does not occur that, h i n g j e n s h a j e n when one punishes or kills people, f e i j u F e n g it is not you Feng (who are governing); y u y ü e there may be such who say: cut the nose or the legs of (this) man, but w u h u o it does not occur that they cut the nose or the legs of the man (sc. it is you alone who can do it!)». A curious speculation. Chang Ping-lin similarly says y u y ü e *100* means *8*, yet without being able to construe a readable line. — A certainly is most simple and plausible.

1641. W a i s h ï j u c h' e n s h ï n i e s ï s h ï t s ï Y i n f a y u l u n *9*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: w a i s h ï j u c h' e n s h ï n i e, s ï s h ï, t s ï Y i n f a y u l u n »As to the external service (i. e. your being ruler over the former Yin state) you should set forth those laws, and govern the multitude, (and also use) these laws of the Yin that have good principles». He has to supply a missing principal verb in the last clause. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, quoting a Mr. Ch'en, says w a i s h ï means judicial affairs. Kiang Sheng amply corroborates this by quoting Chouli: Ch'ao shï describing this functionary who makes the w a i c h' a o c h ï f a *10* »arrangements for the external court», the court sitting in an external courtyard for judicial performances. The whole context in our chapter confirms this. S h ï *11* is a verb = 'to take as a pattern, to imitate, to follow' (common). Ts'ai believes that s ï *12* means *13* 'the functionaries'; but Wang Kuo-wei points out that a few lines later we have c h' e n s h ï n i e s h ï *14*, and since s ï *12* (or *15*) is sometimes equal to s h ï *16* in the inscriptions (Ode 1 phr. *17*: Mao Kung Ting inscr. *18*), we should read n i e - s ï *19*. This is undoubtedly right. After these modifications, we thus obtain: **»In the external (court) affairs (i. e. judicial affairs), you should set forth those** n i e s ï **law items, and** s h ï **follow those laws of the Yin that have good principles».**

F u n i e n w u l i u j ï cf. Gl. 4.

1642. J u c h' e n s h ï n i e s h ï f a p i Y i n y i *20*.

A. PK'ung: »You should set forth those law items, and take as punishments and verdicts the norms of the Yin», thus taking f a and p i as verbs. — **B.** Several later comm. have punctuated after n i e, carrying s h ï *16* to the second line, see Legge's note. But Wang Kuo-wei has shown that PK'ung's punctuation is correct, see Gl. 1641. Chuang Shu-tsu proposes to carry the y u n g *21* of the next line here: f a p i Y i n y i y u n g: »In punishments and verdicts Yin's norms should be used»; but we should then rather expect the order: f a p i y u n g Y i n y i.

1643. W u y u n g y i t s' ï j u F e n g *22*. Y u n g *23* = *21* as often.

A. This is PK'ung's version. He paraphrases: *24* »You should not use them so as to (approach =) accord with what your heart acquiesces in». Ts'ai Ch'en tries to explain this: t s' ï *25* means t s' ï s h ê *26* 'to lodge': »You should not use them so as to make them lodge with you, Feng» (stay with you, side with you), which is very forced. — **B.** Sün: Chï shï quotes *27*. Yang Liang (foll. by Kiang Sheng) believed that the Shu line ended by t s i *28* (carrying j u w e i y ü e to the following), thus: w u y u n g y i t s i »Do not use them so as to be immediate», i. e. do not apply them at once, but try first to reform the people without punishments. But that is very unnatural (the line

should then run: w u t s i y u n g), and Sün's j u certainly corresponds to the j u F e n g of the Shu text: w u y u n g y i t s i j u **»Do not use them so as to (approach =) agree with you, Feng (sc. your personal wishes)».** Evidently PK'ung had observed the quotation in Sün, and glossed his t s' ï *25* accordingly (*28* = *29*). Tuan Yü-ts'ai proposes that *25* (**ts'i̯ər*) is a phon. loan for *28* (**tsi̯ĕt*), which is hopeless. We can only conclude that the oldest version available: that of Sün with t s i *28*, which makes a good sense, is preferable to PK'ung's t s' ï *25*, which makes poor sense, and probably is erroneous.

Y ü e s h ï s ü see Gl. 1249.

1643 A. a. N a i j u t s i n s u n *30*;
b. W e i y u s u n s h ï *31*.

A. In both cases, PK'ung paraphrases s u n *32* by s h u n *33* 'to comply with, compliance', and in b. Sün-tsï already does the same. *32* **swən / suən* / s u n, often wr. without radical (*34*), is common in the classics meaning 'compliant, docile' etc. Thus: a. **»Then you will be entirely compliant»**; b. **»There has not yet been (a sufficient) compliance».** — **B.** Sun Yi-jang: s u n *32* (**swən*) is a loan char. for *35* (**χi̯wən*): a. »Then you will exhaustively instruct (the people)»; b. »There has not yet been any instruction». Phonetically quite excluded.

1644. W e i k' i y u j o j u F e n g c h ï s i n c h e n s i n c h e n t ê w e i n a i c h ï *36*.

A. PK'ung very simply and naturally punctuates after the first s i n, explaining: **»There is nobody who (resembles your heart =) has a heart like you, Feng; my heart and my virtue you know».** — **B.** Kiang Sheng punctuates after the second s i n, saying s i n c h e n s i n means (»to heart my heart» =) to have the same heart as I, thus: »There is nobody who, like you Feng, has the same heart as I; and my virtue you know». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: j o *37* = *33*: »(In these punishments:) do not follow your, Feng's, heart». But how could w e i k' i y u *38* mean w u *39* 'do not'? This is a typical example of how many Ts'ing scholars *à tout prix* try to find an interpretation different from that of PK'ung, even though the latter is simple and obvious.

1645. S h a y ü e y ü h u o *40*.

A. PK'ung: y ü e *41* = *42*, which we had in the sense of 'to fall down' in Gl. 1468. Here transitive: 'to throw down, to overthrow'; y ü h u o he paraphrases by *43* thus: »They kill and (overthrow =) destroy (people) y ü there, h u o (profiting =) taking profit». Ts'ai Ch'en's paraphrase does not reveal how he understood y ü. — **B.** Chao K'i in comm. on Meng: Wan Chang, hia, where the line is quoted, says that y ü e *41* and y ü *44* »both mean y ü *45* ('in, at, on', the preposition); and then he paraphrases *46*, whatever that may mean (»They kill among the people, and take among their goods»?). In any case, Chao adds a verb t s' ü 'to take' to which he has no corresponding word in the text: »S h a they kill y ü e among (the people) and (take) y ü among h u o their goods», which is obviously impossible. Kiang Sheng, realizing this, takes y ü e *41* =

失也 6.又 7.有 8.有言 9.外事汝陳時臬司師茲殷罰有倫 10.外朝之法 11.師 12.司 13.有司 14.陳時臬事 15.嗣 16.事 17.三有事 18.三有嗣 19.臬司 20.汝陳時臬事罰蔽殷彝 21.用 22.勿庸以次汝封 24.勿用以就汝封之心所安 25.次 26.次舍 27.勿庸以卽女惟曰……28.卽 29.就 30.乃 汝盡遜 31.未有遜事 32.遜 33.順 34.孫 35.訓 36.未其有若汝封之心朕心朕德惟乃 知 37.若 38.未其有 39.勿 40.殺越于貨 41.越 42.顚越 43.於是以取貨利 44.于 45.於 46.殺於人

y ü *44* the preposition, and the text's y ü *44* = 'to take'. Thus: »s h a they kill y ü e among (the people) and y ü take h u o their goods», which is even worse. For the idea that y ü can mean *47* 'to take', cf. D below. — **C.** Chang Ping-lin, desperately searching for a text word with the sense 'to take', says: Erya defines y ü a n *48* (**gi̯wăn / ji̯wɒn / y ü a n*) as = *44* (**gi̯wo / ji̯u / y ü*), so y ü *44* is the same as y ü a n *48*(!); the latter stands for *49* **gi̯wăn* 'to grasp' (**gi̯wo* thus being a graph for a **gi̯wăn*). — **D.** In comm. on Meng, Tsiao Sün says y ü *44* means t s ' ü *47* 'to take', because in Ode 154 we have y i c h ï j ï y ü h o *50*, which he says means: »In the days of the first month we catch badgers». That is certainly not correct, for y ü here means 'to go' (very common), as shown by several parallels in the Ode (e. g. *50a* »In the days of the 3rd month we go to plough»), but Tsiao is on the right track: when followed by a noun, y ü 'to go' means 'to go for, to go to find'; thus Ode 154, phr. *50*: »In the days of the 1st month we go for badgers»; same Ode *51* »In the day time you shall go for white grass», and here: »**They kill and (overthrow =) destroy and go for (goods =) spoil**».

1646. W a n g f u t u e i *52*. Meng: Wan Chang, hia, quotes *53*.

A. Shuowen, foll. by PK'ung: »**There are none who do not detest them**». Cf. Yi Chou shu: Ts'üan fa *54* »If you are familiar with such who bear hatred, yourself incur hatred». We have the same word with the short-form *55* in Sün: Yi ping *56*. It was coll. current in Middle Han time (Fang yen). — **B.** Chao K'i in comm. on Meng (see above): t u e i *53* = 'to kill': »There are none who do not kill them». Chao may have considered *53* as a variant for *55* which, when read **twər / tuâi* / t u e i means 'to break' in Chuang: Shuo kien: *57* »to break the swords» (so acc. to Sï-ma's comm.) — A is much better substantiated.

1647. Y ü t i f u n i e n t ' i e n h i e n *58*.

As to y ü *44*, Yü Yüe refers to two cases in Yi li where Cheng Hüan has glossed a y ü *44* as having »to be read like w e i *59*» (**gi̯wo* for **gwia*), but both are very doubtful. Thus y ü t i *60* cannot be said simply to be equal to *61* 'to be a brother'. Y ü t i must properly mean »(The one) in the position of a brother».

A. PK'ung: »**The one in the position of a younger brother does not think of Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws**». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: Erya says h i e n *62* = *63* 'to substitute'. Thus: »does not think of Heaven's substitution (of elder brother for father)». Very forced, and no text par.

1648. H i u n g y i p u n i e n k ü t s ï a i *64*.

A. PK'ung: »**The elder brother likewise does not think of the tender younger brothers' pitiableness**». K ü *65* = *66* 'to nourish, to rear' is here quite synonymous with *67* 'to rear', and k ü t s ï is equal to the common y ü t s ï *68* 'the son in rearing', see Gl. 1288. (Wang Yin-chï would interpret a i *69* as = 'suffering', cf. Gl. 1830 below, but that suits the context less well than the ordinary meaning of the word, as above). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »The elder brother likewise does and thinks of the a i pain of y ü t s ï rearing the children» (sc. which the parents have had). A curious construction.

W e i t i a o t s ï see Gl. 429.

T a m i n l u a n *70* — m i n does not mean *71* 'to destroy', with PK'ung, but 'disorder', with Wang Yin-chï, see Gl. 965.

1649. N a i k ' i s u y u W e n W a n g t s o f a . . . *72*.

A. PK'ung reads all this together: »**May you speedily follow Wen Wang's (rules of) punishments . . . .**» — **B.** Sun Sing-yen punctuates after y u *73*, saying y u *73* (**di̯ôg / ji̯ôu* / y u) is loan char. for *74* (**gi̯ŭg / ji̯ŭu* / y u) 'fault, blame': (the wicked people spoken of) »then will s u y u draw upon themselves guilt». Exceedingly unlikely.

1650. P u s h u a i t a k i a *75*.

A. PK'ung (after Erya): k i a *76* = *77* 'constant norm'. He connects the line with

the preceding, which speaks of death penalties: »Those who do not follow the great norms (should be thus punished)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, demanding a verb in the clause, interprets: »**Those who (do not follow =) are not compliant, should be greatly (normalized =) subjected to rules**». — **C.** Wu Ch'eng: k i a = 'to strike': ». . . . should be greatly struck». — Neither for the A-B nor for the C sense of k i a are there any supporting text par. K'ung Ying-ta proposes that *76* **ket / kat* / k i a is cognate to *78* *k'ɛr / k'ăi* / k ' i e, 'model', and Ho Yi-hang that it is cognate to **kəd / kâi* / k a i 'norm'. In any case, *faute de mieux* we have to adopt the oldest plausible view (Erya), and best in the B construction.

1651. W e i w a i s h u t s ï h ü n j e n *80*.

A. PK'ung: s h u t s ï *81* is the tutor of the noble youths, as described in Li: Yen yi. The same functionary is called c h u t s ï *82* in Chouli. Thus: »Abroad (in the feudal states) the tutors, h ü n j e n who instruct people . . . .». thus taking h ü n j e n as a apposition to s h u t s ï. — **B.** Sun Yi-jang: h ü n j e n is a summary name for the officers called t ' u h ü n *83* and s u n g h ü n *84* in Chouli, topographical and historical informants to the king in his journeys. It is, of course, exceedingly unlikely that these special officers should be singled out for mentioning in this context. When Cheng Hüan likewise took h ü n j e n as officers separate from the preceding s h u t s ï, defining h ü n j e n as = s h ï c h a n g *85*, he is no more convincing, for the complete phr. of 4 words s h u t s ï h ü n j e n matches the 4-words phr. following next: w e i t s ü e c h e n g j e n, which contains one kind of officers, not two. — **C.** The term s h u t s ï or c h u t s ï means properly »the many young gentlemen», and as a term for an officer it is really an abbreviation of s h u t s ï k u a n *86* »the officer for the young gentlemen» (Li: Yen li: »Among the king's officers y u s h u t s ï k u a n there was the s h u t s ï k u a n»). Our term here: s h u t s ï h ü n j e n *80* is evidently a fuller form of this: »**The young gentlemen's tutors**».

1652. N a i p i e p o f u t s a o m i n t a y ü f u n i e n f u y u n g *87*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: n a i p i e p o f u, t s a o m i n t a y ü, f u n i e n f u y u n g. He believes this refers to K'ang Shu: »When you (now) shall separately (i. e. in your new state) spread out (instructions), and create the people's great good fame, if you do not think of (my words) and use (my methods)» etc. (then I shall detest you). This leaves too much to be supplied which is not in the text. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, punctuating in the same way, realizes that the line still refers to the bad officers, interpreting: »When they dissentiently spread out (instructions) and create (for themselves) great praise from the people, and do not think of (their sovereign) or use (his methods) . . . .» Quite as bad as A, in leaving many salient words to be supplied. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen punctuates: N a i p i e p o f u t s a o, m i n t a y ü, f u n i e n f u y u n g. He bases himself on Han shu: Wang Tsun chuan, where Wang (1st c. B. C.) says *88* »That is what the sacred book calls t s a o y ü (»created judgments» =) »penal innovations, irregular punishments», and the comm. Tsin Shao says this was a phr. from the Ou-yang school's Shu king. This can hardly refer to any other passage than our present one, and thus the earliest attainable school (the Ou-

取於貨 47 取 48 爰 49 援 50 一之日于貉 50a 三之日 于耜 51 晝爾于茅 52 宵爾索 53 綯 54 亟 55 敦 56 百姓莫不敦睦 57 敦劍 58 于弟弗念天顯 59 為 60 于弟 61 為弟 62 顯 63 代 64 兄亦不念鞠子哀 65 鞠 66 養 67 育 68 育子 69 哀 70 大泯亂 71 滅 72 乃其速由文王作罰 73 由 74 說 75 乃不率大戛 76 戛 77 常 78 稽 79 檢 80 惟外庶子訓人 81 庶子 82 諸子 83 土訓 84 誦訓 85 師長 86 庶子官 87 乃別播敷造民大學弗念弗用 88 經所謂造獄者 89 造 90 汝 乃 其速由

yang school in middle Han time) took t s a o *89* as = 'creations, innovations', referring to new punishments. Thus: »**They (separately =) of their own promulgate (penal) innovations; and the greatly renowned ones among the people they do not think of or employ**». — C leaves no gaps to be filled out, like A and B.

1653. J u n a i k' i s u y u t s ï y i s h u a i s h a *90.*

A. PK'ung: »You should speedily y u t s ï employ these (laws) y i that are suitable to the times and s h u a i following (reason) s h a kill them». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en more simply and naturally: **You should speedily according to those norms of right** s h u a i s h a **kill them all**». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen, as in Gl. 1649 above, punctuates after y u, the latter *73* equal to *74*: You should impute guilt (on them), and s h u a i following t s ï y i these norms s h a kill them». The inversion t s ï y i s h u a i is of course quite excluded.

P u n e n g k ü e k i a j e n see Gl. 917.

J u y i w a n g p u k' o k i n g t i e n etc. see Gl. 1630.

1654. T s ê y ü y i j e n y i y i *91.*

A. This is PK'ung's version: »**Then I, the one man, will be pleased (with you)**». — **B.** Sün: Kün tao quotes: *92* »Then a unique man has been selected». Evidently the original Chou text had *92b* without radical (Chou fashion), and this has been understood as t s ê *93* by Sün (probably influenced by a similar phr. in Lü hing: *94* »He does not select good men»), as y i *95* by the Ku-wen scholars in Han time — both common words. But the phr. y i j e n *96* »the one man» is very common in the Shu and always means the sovereign, the ruler, the king. A is therefore preferable to B, in spite of B being earlier attested. — **C.** Liu Feng-lu (after Ch'en Ngo): we should read y i *97*, under which char. Shuowen says: one meaning is *78* 'to end' (Kuang ya has an entry y i *99* = *100*). Thus: »Then I, the one man, thereby can achieve (my task)». There is, however, no safe text par. in support of any such meaning of y i. We should compare:

Shu: Tsï ts'ai: H o y i s i e n h o u m i m i n y u n g y i s i e n w a n g s h o u m i n g *1.*

Shïwen records the var. *97* for *95*.

A. PK'ung: »**Make harmonious and pleased and** (before and after =) **look after the misguided people, and thus make pleased the former kings who have received the mandate**». (The last phr. is thus short for *2*). — **B.** Kiang Sheng believes that the first y i *95* (*97*) means 'to please', as above, but the second, after Shuowen (see above) means *100* 'to end' (K. here follows Wang Nien-sun), thus: »Make harmonious and pleased and look after the misguided people, thus (ending =) achieving the mandate received from the former kings». Yü Sing-wu, on the other hand, considers the 2nd y i *95* as a loan char. for y i *99* 'to continue' (»thus continuing the mandate» etc.). That one and the same char. should be two different words in the same line is very far-fetched. Sun Sing-yen likewise construes two different meanings but says the first y i *95* after Erya means *3*: »Make harmonious and submit and look after the misguided people, thus achieving» etc. (as B). This is but a slight variation, for y i *95* means 'to submit' in the sense of of 'to make pleased, contented, submissive'. — A is most consistent; and for y i *97* = *100* there are no safe and unambiguous text par. (Wang Kuo-wei would identify our y u n g y i *4* with the phr. y u n g s h ï *5* in Kün Shï, see Gl. 1867, but their meanings cannot by any means be reconciled).

S h u a n g w e i m i n t i k i k' a n g see Gl. 1614. T s o k' i u see Gl. 856.

1655. K a o j u t ê c h ï s h u o y ü f a c h ï h i n g *6.*

»I will tell you the (explanation =) principles of virtue in the application of punishments». Wang Yin-chï says that since y ü e *7* is sometimes defined as = y ü *8*, y ü *8* is equal to y ü e *7*, and the latter often means y ü *9* 'and'. Thus: »I will tell you the principles of virtue, and the application of punishments». But y ü *8* certainly cannot

mean »and», there being no safe and unambiguous pre-Han examples (all the cases adduced in King chuan shï ts'ï being susceptible of other expl.).

1656. T i l ü w e i t' u n g *10.*

A. PK'ung construes a hypothetic clause, punctuating: t i, l ü w e i t' u n g: »(If the people), being guided, repeatedly do not concur». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en turns it differently, punctuating: t i l ü, w e i t' u n g: »Their guiding has been repeated, but they have not concurred (with the government)». It is strained to take l ü as a verb, normally it is an adverb: 'repeatedly, often'. Construing the line as a principal clause in past tense (with B) and for the rest following A, we obtain: »**I have guided them, but repeatedly they have not concurred (with my directions)**».

S h u a i w e i t' i e n k' i f a k i w o see Gl. 1614.

1657. W e i k ü e t s u e i, w u t s a i t a y i w u t s a i t o *11.*

A. PK'ung: »As to their crimes, (it does not depend on =) it is not decisive whether they are great (cities) nor whether they are numerous (populations)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en »**As to their crimes (my responsibility) does not depend upon whether they are great, it does not depend on whether they are many**». — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen would take w e i as = 'to think': w e i k ü e t s u e i »I think of their crimes . . . .». This seems quite unneccesary, a line being very often started by a w e i.

1658. P i s h ï c h' e n *12.*

A. PK'ung: »Decidedly (practise) that sincerity». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Make your decisions with that sincerity». — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: p i *13* = *14* 'to block, obstruct', connecting the line with the preceding: »(Do not use bad counsels and bad norms) so as to obstruct that sincerity». — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: p i *13* stands for *15*: »(Do not use bad counsels and bad norms) so as to damage the good faith». — We had a few lines earlier the word p i *13* in the sense of 'decision, verdict' in a judicial sense: *16* »Take as punishments and verdicts the norms of the Yin», see Gl. 1642. It stands to reason that the word has the same sense here, since it is all the time a lecture on government and penal measures. Ts'ai (B) has realized this, but his interpr. is grammatically strained. P i should be subject and s h ï means 'correct' (very common, see Gl. 553), thus: »**May your decisions (verdicts) be correct and reliable**».

K u n a i t ê, y ü a n n a i y u y ü etc. see Gl. 1630.

1659. P u j u h i a t' i e n *17.*

A. PK'ung: »I will not find flaws in you and cut you off». — **B.** Chang Ping-lin: h i a *18* means *19* 'to stop': »I will not stop you and cut you off». Erya: Shï ku has an entry k i a *20* = *19* 'to stop', and Cheng Hüan in comm. on Ode 240 took our h i a *18* as loan char. for this 'to stop', but quite erroneously, see Gl. 758. There are no safe text ex. of this Erya word. — **C.** But Chang is undoubtedly right that the construction in A: »to find flaw in» is strained, and that the last two words should be analogous. Now it occurs that *18* *g'å / ɣa / h i a stands as loan char. for the homophonous *21* (*g'å) (in other words: an original *22* without rad. has wrongly been enlarged into *18* inst. of *21*) 'distant, to make distant, remove', e. g. Ode 39, phr. *23* (it is not far from there being harm =) »there is sure to be harm», see Gl. 111. Thus here: »**I will not remove you and cut you off**».

1660. K a o n a i t' i n g *24.*

A. PK'ung: »Make high your hearing», i. e. listen to the maxims of the ancient men. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »(Consider high =) **think highly of what you have heard**».

1661. W u t' i k i n g t i e n t' i n g c h e n k a o j u n a i . . . . *25.*

A. PK'ung punctuates: W u t' i k i n g t i e n, t' i n g c h e n k a o j u, n a i . . . »Do not set aside the norms that should be respected, listen to what I tell you, then . . . .» — **B.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen punctuate: W u t' i k i n g, t i e n t' i n g c h e n k a o, j u n a i . . . »**Do not set aside your** k i n g **respectful care, constantly listen to my admonishments, then you . . .**» That t i e n belongs together with t' i n g is conclusively confirmed by two lines in Tsiu kao: *26* and *27*.

Tsiu kao.

1662. W a n g j o y ü e *28*. In Gl. 1622 above we saw that a very ancient tradition (Tso chuan) has it that it was Chou Kung who, on Ch'eng Wang's behalf, enfeoffed K'ang Shu in Wei. Now the Shu sü (Preface) says that »when Ch'eng Wang had vanquished Kuan Shu and Ts'ai Shu, he enfeoffed K'ang Shu and then he composed the K'ang kao, the Tsiu kao and the Tsï ts'ai». Sï-ma Ts'ien (Wei shï kia) consequently says that it was Chou Kung who, on Ch'eng Wang's behalf, spoke the Tsiu kao. It is indeed quite evident, from the style of the 3 chapters, and from the constant apostrophising of K'ang Shu as »You youngster Feng», »you youngster», »Oh, Feng» all through the three documents, that they originally belonged together, forming a trilogy, spoken on one and the same solemn occasion. (In fact Hanfei: Shuo lin cites a line from our present Tsiu kao, quoting »The K'ang kao says»). It is equally obvious that it could not be the young Ch'eng Wang himself who called Feng »you youngster», and this has given rise to Tso's idea that it was Chou Kung who spoke on Ch'eng's behalf. But we saw above (Gl. 1622) that this explanation does not hold water either, and that the Sung philologists long ago have conclusively shown that the K'ang kao must have been spoken by Wu Wang. Obviously he is therefore the author also of Tsiu kao and Tsï ts'ai. Now when the text has: W a n g. j o y ü e »The king spoke thus», Ma Jung and Cheng Hüan have emendated this into C h' e n g W a n g j o y ü e *29* »Ch'eng Wang spoke thus», in order to bring it into accord with the Tso-Shu-sü-Sï-ma tradition. But since the very wording of these chapters forbids this (Feng being certainly no »youngster» after Wu Wang's death), this emendation should be rejected.

1663. S ï t s ï t s i u *30.*

A. PK'ung: »**Sacrifice this wine**» (use this wine for sacrifice only). — **B.** Yü Yüe: In Yi: Kua 41, y i s h ï *31* »Finishing the affair», Shïwen records a version with s ï s h i *32* and Yü concludes that s ï *33* could serve as loan char. for y i *34* 'to finish, to stop', thus here: »Stop this wine!». But if we adopt this, the following line about the sacrifices hangs in the air and becomes meaningless.

1664. W e i t' i e n k i a n g m i n g c h a o w o m i n w e i y ü a n s ï *35.*

A. PK'ung: »When Heaven sent down (orders =) instructions, and started our people (in the art of making wine), it was for the great sacrifices». An absurd idea that c h a o m i n 'to start the people' should mean 'to initiate them in the making of wine'. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: »When Heaven sent down its instructions and started (to guide) our people, it y ü a n began with s ï the sacrifices». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen takes both w e i as verbs = 'to think', and m i n g *36* as = *37* 'name, denomination, term', punctuating after c h a o: »When we think of c h a o the beginning of Heaven's sending down the m i n g notion (of wine), our people should think of making y ü a n s ï the originator's sacrifice (i. e. sacr. to the inventor of wine)». A dreadful construction. — **D.** Yü Yüe rightly points out that y ü a n s ï does not mean »the great sacrifices» but the inaugural, primary,

fundamental sacrifices, sc. connected with the foundation of the dynasty; this is confirmed by the context. Thus: »**When Heaven sent down the mandate, what it created for our people were the fundamental sacrifices**» (sc. to the founders; in which wine should be offered).

1665. W a n g f e i t s i u w e i h i n g *38.*

A. PK'ung takes h i n g *39* as a noun (therefore read in falling tone in Shïwen): »There never (was =) occurred that it was not the wine that was the conduct», i. e. »**It was always the wine that (was the conduct =) characterized the conduct**», which matches the same construction in next line: w a n g f e i t s i u w e i k u *40* »It was always the wine that was the fault». The former is certainly grammatically and stylistically very clumsy and inadequate, but no more so than many phrases in the early texts, particularly in the Lun yü. — **B.** Yü Yüe would obviate this difficulty by assuming that h i n g *39* is an error for the similar y e n *41* which again would be short-form for k' i e n *42*, an excellent counterpart to the k u *43* of the 2nd line. This is ingenious but perhaps a too bold emendation.

1666. W e n W a n g k a o k i a o s i a o t s ï y u c h e n g y u s h ï w u y i t s i u *44.*

A. PK'ung: »Wen Wang told and instructed the young ones (of the people) and the y u c h e n g principal officers and y u s h ï clerks not to have a constant (use of) wine». Hanfei: Shuo lin, quoting our line, already defined our y i t s i u as = *45*. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: »Wen Wang told and instructed s i a o t s ï the young ones y u c h e n g who had superiors y u s h ï and had duties, not to have a constant (use of) wine». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: s i a o t s ï here refers to Feng, alias K'ang Shu, who is addressed a few lines later as »Feng». Throughout the K'ang kao he is addressed as s i a o t s ï F e n g, »youngster Feng», and since K'ang kao, Tsiu kao and Tsï ts'ai form a whole, all spoken to K'ang Shu (see Gl. 1662), there can be no doubt whatever that Sun is right. Thus: »**Wen Wang told and instructed you youngster and the principal officers and (lower) managers of affairs not to have a constant (use of) wine**».

1667. Y ü e s h u k u o y i n w e i s ï t ê t s i a n g w u t s u e i *46.*

Liu Feng-lu would connect the last words of the preceding line with the first here: w u y i t s i u y ü e s h u k u o »Do not have constant wine in the various states». This is because *47* often is id. w. *48* and the latter is defined as = *49* in Erya. But we have no safe ex. of *47* being a preposition = *49* 'in, at, on'. On the other hand, even in y ü e s h u k u o *50*, where y ü e is only the particle which frequently introduces a line in Shu, s h u k u o is in the locative: »In the various states», the preposition missing, as so often in Shu and Shï.

A. PK'ung: »In the various states, the drinking (should be) only at the sacrifices, t ê by virtue they should t s i a n g hold themselves, (so as) not to be drunk». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en modifies the interpr. of t ê t s i a n g into »by virtue they should (hold it =) regulate it». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen, on the other hand: t s i a n g 'to hold' = *51* 'to support': »by virtue they should uphold each other». — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: t ê *52* = *53*, 'to ascend' (criticized in Gl. 1342, 1477) and t s i a n g = 'to offer up' (in sacrifice) (common), thus: »When you ascend and offer up, you should not be drunk». — **E.** It

聽 25. 勿替敬典聽朕告汝 乃 . . . 26. 爾典聽朕教 27. 汝典聽朕毖 28. 王若曰 29. 成王若曰 30. 祀茲酒 31. 已事 32. 祀事 33. 祀 34. 已 35. 惟天降命肇我民惟元祀 36. 命 37. 名 38. 罔非酒惟行 39. 行 40. 罔非酒惟辜 41. 衍 42. 您 43. 辜 44. 文王誥教小子有正有事無彝酒 45. 常酒 46. 越庶國飲惟祀德將無酲 47. 越 48. 粵 49. 于 50. 越庶國 51. 扶 52. 德 53. 升 54. 我民迪小子惟土物愛

seems better to take the four words as one phrase with w u t s u e i as object to t s i a n g: »**In the various states the drinking (should be) only at the sacrifices, and by virtue they should hold on to (not being drunk =) sobriety**».

1668. W o m i n t i s i a o t s ï w e i t' u w u a i *54*.

A. PK'ung: »Our people should guide its young men to (love =) economize the products of the soil». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen punctuates after t i: »**In our people's guidance, you youngster should (love =) economize the products of the soil**» (sc. and not make too much wine of the grain). That s i a o t s ï must have this sense is sure, see Gl. 1666. — Similarly in the next line:

Y ü e s i a o t a t ê s i a o t s ï w e i y i *55*.

A. PK'ung: »When small and great (men) are virtuous, the young men (the descendants) will have one single (aim)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »The small and big virtues, the young men will (consider them one =) have an equal regard for them all». — **C.** »**In small and great virtues you youngster should be (one =) alike**».

1669. M e i t' u s ï e r k u k u n g c h' u n k' i y i s h u t s i *56*.

A. PK'ung: »The (people of) the Mei land should continue your (instructions to) the (legs and arms =) coadjutors, and c h' u n be (unmixed =) sincere and cultivate the millet». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en believes that the king here all of a sudden speaks not to prince Feng but to the people of Mei: »(People of) the land of Mei, you should continue your legs' and arms' (force) and c h' u n greatly cultivate your millet». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: »**(The people of) the land of Mei will (successively =) for generations be your legs and arms, and they should c h' u n make (pure =) whole-hearted their cultivation of the millet . . . .** » — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu punctuates thus: M e i t' u s ï, e r k u k u n g c h' u n, k' i y i s h u t s i: »(You will be) the successor of the land of Mei, your legs and arms (coadjutors) will be sincere, and they will cultivate the millet».

1670. C h a o k' i e n k ü n i u y ü a n f u k u y u n g h i a o y a n g k ü e f u m u *57*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after k u. He takes c h a o *58* = *59* »to begin» (its ordinary meaning). Thus: »(After the harvest) c h a o (beginning =) first then they shall lead the carts and oxen and far away manage trading, and y u n g using (the objects so obtained) filially nourish their parents». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates in the same way, but (after Erya) says c h a o = *60* 'active, clever': »If clever, you will lead your carts and oxen and far away manage trading, y u n g and so filially nourish your parents». — **C.** Po hu t'ung: Shang ku quotes: c h a o k' i e n k ü n i u, y ü a n f u k u y u n g, which shows that Pan Ku carried y u n g to the first line. K u - y u n g is evidently a binome = 'to trade commodities'. And it is much better to take c h a o = m i n as an adverbial phr. to k' i e n (see Gl. 1042): »**They should diligently lead their carts and oxen and far away manage the trading of commodities, and (thus) filially nourish their parents**».

T s ï s i e n t' i e n c h ï y u n g t s i u see Gl. 1595.

E r t a k' o s i u h o u w e i k ü n etc. see Gl. 1458.

1671. T s o k i c h u n g t ê *61*.

This follows upon: »If you can constantly observe and scrutinize (yourself)».

A. PK'ung: »And make an examination of the correct virtue», thus taking k i as = 'to examine' (common in the Shu). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »T s o and in your (starts =) impulses k i (scrutinize =) perfectly realize the correct virtue». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »And your t s o actions k i accord with the correct virtue», thus taking k i as = *62*. But this definition (based on Cheng Hüan) was refuted in Gl. 1207. — **D.** Yü Yüe: k i = *63*: »In your t s o acting or k i stopping let there be a correct virtue». — **E.** Another interpr. T s o *64* frequently means 'active, actively', see Gl. 856: »**And actively (investigate =) search for a correct virtue**», which connects well logically with the preceding.

E r s h a n g k' o s i u k u e i s ï see Gl. 1458.

1672. E r n a i t s ï k i e y u n g y i *65*.

A. PK'ung: k i e *65a* = *66* (common): »**Then you can yourself greatly take (recreation =) refreshments**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: k i e *65a* = *67*. K i e is common meaning 'to assist', and here it would mean: »Then you can yourself as assistant at the sacrifice take refreshments», or: »Then you can yourself accessorily (at the same time) take refreshments». — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: *65a* **kăd* / *kăi* / k i e is loan char. for *68* **kâd* / *kâi* / k a i 'to beg': »Then you can yourself beg for the use of refreshments». — No reason whatever for abandoning the earliest interpr.

1673. W e i t' i e n j o y ü a n t ê *69*.

A. PK'ung: »**Heaven will (comply with =) approve of your great virtue**». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: j o and y ü a n both mean *70* 'good' (the former Erya, the latter Yi: Wen yen): »Heaven will find good your good virtue». If we let the words preserve the primary meanings but construe like Kiang, we obtain: »Heaven will find compliant your great virtue». — J o t ê occurs in both ways in the Shu: like A: »to comply with virtue» in Kao Tsung jung jï; like B: »Compliant virtue» in K'ang kao. In our present line the A construction is certainly more simple and natural.

1674. W o s i t' u f e i t s' u p a n g k ü n y ü s h ï s i a o t s ï s h a n g k' o y u n g W e n W a n g k i a o *71*.

A. PK'ung: takes f e i *72* = *73* 'to assist', cf. Gl. 1609 above, thus: »Our (ruler of) the Western lands (i. e. Wen Wang) assisted (i. e. taught) the t s' u past times' princes of states and managers of affairs and young men (of the people); they may, it is to be hoped, be able to follow Wen Wang's instructions». The following line: »therefore we, when it has come to the present time, have been able to take over Yin's mandate» then makes poor sense as a sequel. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »The past times' princes of states, managers of affairs and young men of the people w o s i t' u f e i who in our Western lands assisted (Wen Wang), were still able to follow Wen Wang's instructions». This tallies better with the sequel, but the construction s i t' u f e i t s' u p a n g k ü n = »Western lands' assisting past-times' princes» is certainly very forced. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: t s' u *74* = *75* (after Erya). It is true that t s u 'to go to' can mean 'to direct oneself to, to rest on' and can than be defined by t s' u n *75*, see Ode 93, Gl. 240. But Sun commits the trickery of taking t s' u n in quite another sense: »Our coadjutors from the Western lands t s' u exist among the princes of states and managers of affairs; you, youngster, may be, it is to be hoped, able to follow Wen Wang's instructions». This is rather nonsensical and t s' u certainly cannot mean 'to exist', but Sun of course is right that s i a o t s ï here as everywhere in the trilogy means 'you youngster'. — **D.** Liu Feng-lu: t s' u *74* 'to go' here means *76* 'to run about, to go on errands, to serve': f e i t s' u p a n g k ü n etc. means: »The princes of states etc. who f e i t s' u assist and (go on errands =) serve» (the king). — **E.** Yü Yüe: here as in the Ta kao etc., see Gl. 1609, f e i *72* is a loan char. for *77* or *78* 'not', and we should punctuate after the t s' u: »Our (start in) the Western lands is not t s' u long past, the princes of states, managers of affairs and young men can still follow Wen Wang's instructions». As to f e i, Yü is certainly right; but a brachylogy like s i t' u f e i t s' u »Western lands not gone» for »Our start in the Western lands is not long past» is too strained. — **F.** Sun Yi-jang,

55.越小大德小子惟一 56.妹土嗣爾股肱純其藝黍稷 57.肇牽車牛遠服賈用孝養厥父母 58.肇 59.始 60.敏 61.作稽中德 62.合 63.止 64.作誦 乃 自介用逸 65.介 66.大 67.副 68.匄 69.惟天若元德 70.善 71.我西土棐徂邦君御事小子尚克用文王教 72.棐 73.輔 74.徂 75.存 76.奔

basing himself on Mao Heng's gloss on Ode 290: t s' i e *79* = *80* 'this', proposes that we should read here f e i t s' i e *81* (as in that Ode) and interpret »Our (realm in) the Western lands is not (from) now . . . .», i. e. it is already old and well established, thus quite the opposite sense to E. But Mao's definition was refuted in our Gl. 1127. — **G.** Yü Sing-wu: just as in the Odes, f e i *77* sometimes means p i *82*, so f e i *72* here stands for p i *82* and t s' u *74* stands for *83*, which in Chou inscriptions is a particle and can be simply skipped. Our line w o s i t' u f e i t s' u p a n g k ü n is thus equal to w o s i t' u p i p a n g k ü n *84*. The idea that f e i could be equal to p i *82* was refuted in our Gl. 357; and t s' u, as it is placed here, cannot possibly be a »particle». — **H.** Another interpr. The word stem **dz'o* / *dz'uo* / t s' u 'to go, pass away' also means 'to die' and is then mostly wr. *85* (*74* and *85* being etym. one and the same word). Shu: Yao (Shun) tien *86* »The emperor (passed away and fell down =) died» is quoted *87* in Meng, Wan Chang. shang. F e i t s' u *88* thus means 'not having passed away' i. e. still living; thus: »**The (not gone =) still living princes of states and managers of affairs from our Western lands and you youngster have still been able to follow Wen Wang' instructions**». This falls in very well with the sequel. — We should study here:

Tsiu kao (a few lines later): K ü e f e i y u k u n g p u k a n t s ï h i a t s ï y i *89*. The line refers to the y ü s h ï 'managers of affairs' just mentioned.

A. PK'ung: »K ü e f e i in their assisting (their rulers) they had respect, and dared not give themselves up to leisure and idleness». — **B.** Here again f e i should mean 'not'. K u n g *90* should be k u n g *91* in the sense of *92* 'to furnish', see Gl. 1401. The phr. k ü e f e i y u k u n g is equal to *94* »those of them who did not have achievements»; thus: »**((Even) such who did not have achievements dared not give themselves up to leisure and idleness**».

1675. T s a i s i Y i n s i e n c h ê w a n g *95*.

All the commentators take this to refer to T'ang: »Anciently, Yin's former wise king» (Sun Sing-yen would take t s a i *96* = *97*, which is very unnecessary). But we had exactly the same phr. in the K'ang kao (a chapter belonging together with the present), and there it quite unambiguously is in the plural; we should apply this here as well: »**Anciently, Yin's former wise kings**».

1676. T i w e i t' i e n h i e n s i a o m i n *98*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after t' i e n: »He ti followed the path and w e i t' i e n feared Heaven, and h i e n s i a o m i n illuminated the small people». But if really h i e n s i a o m i n belonged together, it would certainly be better to interpret »He was illustrious among the small people» (cf. K'ang kao *99* »He was illustrious among the people»). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en (we change his subject in the singular to the plural, acc. to Gl. 1675 above): »**In t i their (walk =) conduct they w e i t' i e n h i e n feared Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws and the small people**». Kiang Sheng would carry t i *100* to the preceding: »The path of Yin's former wise king (was): he feared» etc. This is certainly no improvement for there are many par. in Shu to the line ending by c h ê w a n g. Sun Yi-jang, on the other hand, says t i = *1* which is not confirmed by safe text ex. — Ts'ai is undoubtedly right in taking t' i e n h i e n together; this is proved by a par. in K'ang kao (which belongs together with the present chapter): f u n i e n t' i e n h i e n *2* »He does not think of Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws» (this line ends by t' i e n h i e n, for the next begins *3*). — We should study here:

Shu: To shï: T a n w a n g h i e n y ü t' i e n . . . . w a n g k u y ü t' i e n h i e n m i n c h ï *4*. Our line has been paraphrased by S ï-ma Ts'ien in Lu shï kia, but his text is uncertain (two divergent versions) and gives us no guidance.

A. PK'ung interprets the first line: »He greatly lacked (clearness =) a clear understanding of Heaven». In the second he follows Ma Jung, who punctuates after t' i e n,

interpreting: »He had no consideration for Heaven, nor h i e n m i n did he give the clear (principles) to the people, c h ï and respect it». An impossible construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: First line as in A; then, punctuating after h i e n: »He had no consideration for Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws nor for the awfulness of the people». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: »He greatly lacked manifest (virtue) in the sight of Heaven, he had no consideration for Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws, nor for the people's reverence». — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: The parallelism between our phr. t' i e n h i e n, m i n c h ï here with the phr. t' i e n h i e n, s i a o m i n in the Tsiu kao ex. above (*98*) shows that m i n c h ï is a binome, and that it corresponds to and means the same as s i a o m i n. But it is impossible to see how the words m i n c h ï *5* could come to mean anything analogous to »the small people». — **E.** C h ï *6* quite regularly means 'to respect, to revere' (ex in Shu, Tso, Meng etc.). M i n c h ï means »the respect towards the people», with m i n as an objective genitive; for this common construction cf. Meng: Kao tsï, hia *7* »malefactors towards the people (robbers of the people)». Thus here: »**He greatly lacked (clearness =) a clear understanding of Heaven . . . He had no consideration for Heavens' (clearness =) clear laws, nor for the respect due to the people**».

Shu: Tsiu kao: K ü e m i n g w a n g h i e n y ü m i n c h ï p a o y ü e y ü a n p u y i *8*.

A. PK'ung: »His commands had no bright (virtue) (as they were given) to the people, c h ï what he respected and p a o found his peace in y ü e was in y ü a n resentment, p u y i unchangingly». Ts'ai Ch'en in the main accepts this nonsense. Kiang Sheng finds it too strong to take c h ï as = 'to respect' in this context, so he eliminates it as a »grammatical word»(!). — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: »His commands w a n g h i e n were not eminent nor y ü m i n c h ï by the people revered»; p a o y ü e y ü a n is equal to *9* »he found his peace in resentment». — **C.** Chuang Shu-tsu would take k ü e m i n g *10* together with the preceding h a n s h e n, considering k ü e (**kịwăt*) as a short-form for *12* (same sound) 'to stumble, to fall', here as a transitive verb: »He made himself drunk and let fall his mandate». But we have no reason for operating with short-forms when the traditional text makes good sense. — **D.** Sun Yi-jang insists that m i n c h ï must have the same meaning as above. And we have often pointed out that y ü e *13* never is = the preposition y ü *14*. P a o y ü e must be taken as verbs: p a o fundamentally means 'to preserve, maintain'. Y ü e often means 'far away', and as verb: 'to bring out far, spread out, proclaim' etc., see Gl. 1068. Cf. Shu: Tsï ts'ai (which belongs together with our present chapter): *15* »If you regularly (spread out =) proclaim and say» (see Gl. 1692). We thus obtain: »**In his commands he had no (clearness =) clear understanding of the respect due to the people; he maintained and spread far and wide resentment, and did not change**».

Shu: Wu yi: T' i e n m i n g t s ï t u, c h ï (y i) m i n c h ï k ü *16*.

A. PK'ung reads the last word of the preceding line (w e i *17*) together with this: »He feared Heaven's commands, t s ï t u himself was lawful and in governing the people he c h ï respectfully feared». But rhythmic reasons forbid the separation of w e i from the

走77匪78非79且80此81匪且82彼83虞84我西土彼邦君85殖86帝乃殖落87但落88
巢但89厥巢有恭不敢自暇自逸90恭91共92供93厥巢有共94其匪有供95在昔殷先
哲王96在97察98迪畏天顯小民99顯民100迪1用2弗念天顯3乃弗克4誕罔顯于
天罔顯于天顯民祇5民祇6祇7民賊8厥命罔顯于民祇保越怨不易9安于怨10厥命11
厥12暋13越14于15汝恆越曰16天命自度治民祇懼17畏18治民振懼19祇20振21度

preceding line; and PK'ung has not realized that m i n c h ï belong together, as proved by all the par. above. In this, however, he was already preceded by Sï-ma Ts'ien, who renders (Lu shï kia) the 2nd line by c h ï m i n c h e n k ü *18* »In governing the people he trembled and feared» (rendering *19* **t̂i̯ər* by *20* **t̂i̯ən*). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: t ' i e n m i n g is equal to t ' i e n l i (acc. to the philosophical speculations of the Sung school): »By the heavenly reason he regulated himself, and in governing . . .» etc., as in A. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen takes t ' i e n m i n g as an anteposed object: »Heaven's commands he for himself took as norm, and in governing» etc., and Kiang Sheng, reading t o *21*: »Heaven's commands he (measured =) observed», simply skips the t s ï *22* which does not suit his interpr. — **D.** The stone classics of 175 A. D. read: t ' i e n m i n g t s ï l i a n g, y i m i n c h ï k ü *23*. Some comm. have tried to explain t s ï l i a n g as = *84*, which makes poor sense, and Tuan Yü-ts'ai is certainly right that l i a n g *25* is a Han-time loan char. for l i a n g *26* 'to measure', which thus makes the same sense as the version with t o *21*. In Chou inscriptions *27* sometimes serves for *28* (having originally the same phonetic) and the Chou-time text probably had *27*, which some Han scholars took to mean y i *28* (stone classics), others as short-form for c h ï *29*. Sun Yi-jang points out that we have the same phr. m i n c h ï *5* here as in two preceding examples and we obtain: **»By (the norm of) Heaven's commands he measured himself, by the respect due to the people he felt awed».** This expresses exactly the same idea (the king's reverence for Heaven on the one hand, for the common people on the other) as in the two ex. w e i t ' i e n h i e n s i a o m i n (*98*), and w a n g k u y ü t ' i e n h i e n m ï n c h ï (*4*) above.

1677. K i n g t ê p i n g c h ê *30*.

A. PK'ung: k i n g *31* = *32*: »With a regular virtue he held on to visdom». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: k i n g is a verb: »They (made regular =) made invariable their virtue and held on to wisdom». — **C,** Sun Sing-yen: k i n g = *33*: **»They (walked in =) practised virtue and held on to wisdom».** Cf. Meng: Tsin sin: k i n g t ê p u h u e i *34* (on which Chao K'i *31* = *33*) »He (walked in =) practised virtue without deflection». This means that k i n g is loan char. for *35* (both **kieng*, even tone) 'to walk, to go', e. g. Tso: Hi 25, phr. *36* »With a pot of food he walked following you».

1678i C h ' e n g w a n g w e i s i a n g *30*.

A. PK'ung: »They achieved their royal (principles) and feared their coadjutors». — **B.** Sun Yi-jang reads the line together with the first words (*38*) of the following: c h ' e n g w a n g w e i, s i a n g w e i y ü s h ï. W e i *39* is equal to *40* (common). He interprets: »They achieved their royal majesty; look at the managers of affairs». But a Shï par. indicates that in such a case s i a n g does not mean 'to look at' but 'to assist': Ode 282, phr. *41* »Assisting are rulers and princes» — the construction with w e i is quite the same. Thus: **»They achieved their royal majesty; assisting were the managers of affairs».** For the first half, cf. further on in our chapter c h u c h ' e n g w a n g t ê h i e n *42*: »They helped in achieving the eminence of the king's virtue». It is certainly preferable to have an object to c h ' e n g, to which w a n g is but a genitive, instead of the elliptical c h ' e n g w a n g of A. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu would preserve PK'ung's division of the lines, and interprets: »They achieved their royal (principles) and were w e i (fearing =) careful and s i a n g (inspecting =) attentive».

1679. K ' i k a n c h ' u n g y i n *43*.

A. PK'ung: c h ' u n g *44* = *45*: »How would they dare to come together and drink». The fundamental sense of c h ' u n g *44* is 'high', but by extension also 'accumulate, piled up, full, heavy', see Gl. 140. Possibly PK'ung thought 'to accumulate' would here mean 'to unite, come together'. Or he may have taken *44* **dz̧'i̯ông / dz̧'i̯ung* / c h ' u n g as loan char. for *26* **tsông / tsuong* / t s u n g 'to bring together, collect'. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en:

»How would they dare to (consider as high =) exalt drinking». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: Erya says c h ' u n g *44* = *47* 'full', an extension of meaning, see above. **»How would they dare to drink (fully =) heavily».** — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: c h ' u n g *44* has been defined as = h i n g *48* by a comm. on the Han poem Tung king fu (this again is an extension of meaning: 'to lift high'). Thus here: »How would they dare to (lift =) start drinking». — C seems most natural.

1680. H o u t i e n n a n w e i p a n g p o *49*.

A. PK'ung: »The p o leaders of the (princes of the) h o u, t i e n, n a n and w e i states». For these zones of states see Gl. 1384 above. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en finds it unreasonable that only the leaders of the princes and not the princes themselves should be mentioned, so he interprets: »The (princes of) the h o u, t i e n, n a n and w e i states, p o and their leaders». — **C.** We should translate as the line stands: **»The leaders of the h o u, t i e n, n a n and w e i states».**

W a n g k a n m i e n y ü t s i u cf. Gl. 940.

1681. Y ü e y i n j e n c h ï p i *50*.

A. PK'ung: »To y i n (govern =) correct j e n their (own) persons and to respect the law». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en construes the line as a continuation of the preceding c h u c h ' e n g w a n g t ê h i e n *51* »(They helped to achieve the eminence of the king's virtue, and they helped) the governors to respect the law», the word c h u *52* 'to help' thus governing both phrases. Very strained. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: y i n j e n *53* is equal to the Y i n m i n *54* in Shu: To fang and means 'to govern the people', thus: **»To govern the people and respect the laws».** This is evidently right.

K ü e m i n g w a n g h i e n y ü m i n c h ï etc. see Gl. 1676.

1682. P u w e i t s ï s i n a i y i *55*.

A. PK'ung: y i *56* = *57* 'to err', taking w e i as a verb: »He does not think of (stopping =) checking himself, and so he errs». Y i fundamentally means 'to escape, to let loose', by extension: 'to be let loose, unbridled, licentious', and a further extension: 'licentious > erring' is, of course, quite possible. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: *58* **»He did not think of himself stopping his licentiousness».** N a i *59* of course cannot mean k ' i *60* 'his', but the archaic form of *61* k ü e has been corrupted into n a i, see Gl. 1604*δ*. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: *59* (**nəg / nâi* / n a i) is a short-form for *62* (**ńi̯əng / ńźi̯əng* / j e n g); thus: »He did not think of checking himself but j e n g continued his licentiousness». — C in itself is quite plausible, but B, which takes this short line as one clause and not two, seems preferable.

1683. K u t s a i S h a n g y i y ü e Y i n k u o m i e w u l i *63*.

A. PK'ung: »Criminals were (assembled) in the city of Shang, in regard to the extinction of the Yin state he had no anxiety». L i *64* = 'sorrow, anxiety' is well attested in the Shï (e. g. Ode 70). — **B.** Kiang Sheng: »Crimes were (accumulated) in the city of Shang», etc. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: l i *64* (**lia*) is loan char. for the homophonous *66*, one of the attested meanings of which (see Gl. 442) is *67* 'to attach': »Crimes existed

22 自 23 天命自亮以民祇懼 24 自信 25 亮 26 量 27 台 28 以 29 治 30 經德秉哲 31 經 32 常 33 行 34 經德丞回 35 徑 36 以 亟 殛 從 經 37 成王畏相 38 成王畏相惟御事 39 畏 40 威 41 相惟辟公 42 助成王德顯 43 其敢崇飲 44 崇 45 聚 46 綜 47 充 48 興 49 侯甸男衛邦伯 50 越尹人祇辟 51 助成王德顯 52 助 53 尹人 54 尹民 55 不惟自息乃逸 56 逸 57 過差 58 不思自息其逸 59 乃 60 其 61 厥 62 仍 63 辜在商邑越殷國滅無罹 64 罹 66 離 67 附 68 不可畏死辜 69 在

in the city of Shang; at the extinction of the state of Yin there were (none who attached themselves =) no adherents». — **D.** Yü Yüe would carry k u to the preceding line (p u k' o w e i s ï k u *68* »he could not fear a guilt leading to death»). Further, t s a i *69* = *70* (as in Yao tien), and y ü e *71* is a copulative conjunction = 'and' (common in Ta kao etc.). Thus: »He (examined into =) clearly discerned that the city of Shang and the state of Yin (would) be extinguished, but he had no anxiety». Yü's dividing of the lines is rhythmically inferior to A. — **E.** Sun Yi-jang punctuates: k u t s a i S h a n g y i y ü e Y i n k u o, m i e w u l i: **»Crimes existed in the city of Shang and the states of Yin; but for the extinction he had no anxiety».** — **F.** Chang Ping-lin adduces several texts where k u *72* means 'crime punished by death', and believes that it here refers to Shou himself, k u functioning as a verb: »For his being punished by death in the city of Shang, and for the extinction of the state of Yin he had no anxiety». — **G.** Yü Sing-wu: k u *72* is equal k u *73* (just as a bronze inscription of Middle Chou time, ap. K'ao ku t'u 3:34, has: y u t s u e i y u k u *74* in the sense of *75*, with *73* for *72* — the words being etym. cognate: 'cause': 'guilt'). Yü further, with C, takes l i *64* as = *66* in the sense of 'to attach' *67*, but turns the whole quite differently: »Therefore, in the city of Shang and in the State of Yin m i e there was extinction and w u l i there was (nowhere to attach oneself =) no refuge». — F and G are improbable because a few lines later we again have k u *72* clearly taken in its ordinary sense of 'guilt, crime': it should reasonably be the same noun here as well. Of the remaining interpr. E seems most natural and convincing.

1684. F u w e i t ê h i n g h i a n g s ï t e n g w e n y ü t' i e n *76*.

A. PK'ung takes w e i *77* as = 'to think', as a few lines earlier: »He did not think of (i. e. be bent on) that fragrant offerings (made with) virtue should ascend and be perceived by Heaven». — **B.** Yü Yüe says that the phr. t ê h i n g h i a n g s ï is very unnatural, and believes that s ï *78* stands for y i *79*, which again would be equal to *80* (cf. Gl. 1663). He further says that w e i *77* means y u *81* (for which there is no pre-Han support whatever), thus: f u w e i t ê h i n g h i a n g »There was no fragrançe of virtue y i t e n g w e n y ü t' i e n which ascended and was perceived by Heaven». Y i *80* in this way comes in very strange. — A is essentially right, but w e i is not a verb, as shown by the balancing t a n w e i in the next line. Thus: **»It was not (so that) fragant offerings (made with) virtue ascended and were perceived by Heaven».**

1685. W o k' i k' o p u t a k i e n f u y ü s h ï *82*.

A. PK'ung: »Can I but greatly examine (this) and f u tranquillize (the world) y ü s h ï in this». This last (PK'ung:) *83* »in this» being very vague, K'ung Ying-ta defines it: »in this time». Ts'ai Ch'en modifies the second half still more: »and tranquillize this (time =) epoch»; this, however, is grammatically unallowable, since it simply skips the y ü. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: f u *84* here does not mean 'tranquillize' but *85* 'to follow' (which construes the y ü as in Kao Yao mo *86* »They follow the 5 periods»). Thus: **»Can I but greatly examine and follow this».** — **C.** Chuang Shu-tsu: f u *84* is loan char. for w u *87*, as in the Lun and Meng phr. w u j a n *88* 'taken aback, consternated, brought to silence': »Can I but greatly examine and be struck by this». — **D.** Chang Ping-lin: f u *84* is a corruption of *89*, which in its turn is a Han-time variant of *90*, thus: »Can I but greatly examine and take the model in this». — B, which is simple and natural and takes f u as it stands, in a sense attested in the Shu, seems preferable.

J u k i a p i Y i n h i e n c h' e n see Gl. 1604.

1686. T' a i s h ï y u n e i s h ï y u *91*.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »Those whom the grand scribe befriends and those whom the scribe of the interior befriends». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »The grand scribe whom you befriend and the scribe of the interior whom you befriend». — **C.** Kiang

Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: y u *92* is equal to *93* 'to be on the right-hand side of, to wait upon, to assist': »The grand scribe, your assistant» etc. At the same time, in »the right side» there is the idea of his being in an honoured place as the ruler's intimate attendant. Thus: **»Your honoured assistant the grand scribe and your honoured assistant the scribe of the interior».**

1687. Y ü e h i e n c h' e n p o t s u n g k u n g *94*.

A. Most comm. take y ü e as the ordinary particle: **»Your wise servants and many honoured officers».** For y ü e in that sense in a similar enumeration see Ta kao. — **B.** Kiang Sheng connects this line with the preceding: »(the scribes, who) y ü e surpass the wise servants» etc. Very far-fetched.

1688. S h e n w e i e r s h ï f u h i u f u t s' a i *95*.

A. PK'ung: »Still more, as to your (personal) affairs, those who f u practise h i u (fine (principles), those who f u practise t s' a i (governing) business». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: s h ï *96* means 'to serve', referring to the ruler's respect for good assistants: »Still more e r s h ï such as you serve (i. e. respect), whom you f u serve in h i u quietude (sc. when they lecture you) and whom you f u serve in t s' a i activity (sc. when they perform business)». — **C.** Cheng Hüan: f u h i u means your attendants when in repose and leisure, f u t s' a i means your attendants when acting in court or sacrifices. The contrast between h i u 'rest, leisure' and t s' a i 'business, activity' (see Gl. 1233) is obviously right. As to the first line, Kiang Sheng takes e r s h ï *97* as = *98* »your keepers of affairs»; Chang Ping-lin would consider e r *97* as short-form for e r *99*: »as to your (near =) personal affairs». But s h ï *96* and f u *100* are indeed sometimes synonymous, in that both can mean 'to serve', and there is every reason to apply this sense, when the constellation of them favours it: **»Still more your (direct)** s h ï **servants, those who** f u **serve you** h i u **in your leisure, and those who** f u **serve you** t s' a i **in your activity».** — **D.** Wu Ch'eng takes the first line as C above, but for the rest has a curious speculation: »Still more your servants, those whose f u service (business) is h i u leisurely and those whose f u service is t s' a i busy».

1689. S h e n w e i j o c h' o u k' i f u p o w e i n u n g f u j o p a o h u n g f u t i n g p i *1*.

All comm. agree that k' i f u is equal to s ï-m a *2* »Master of the horse», i. e. minister of war, n u n g f u = s ï t' u *3* »Master of the multitudes (farmers)» and h u n g f u = s ï k' u n g *4* »Master of works».

A. PK'ung punctuates: s h e n w e i j o c h' o u k' i f u, p o w e i n u n g f u, j o p a o h u n g f u, t i n g p i. He takes j o *5* as = s h u n *6* 'to comply with' and c h' o u *7* as = 'to investigate, consult' (cf. Gl. 1230, E). P o *8* is equal to p o *9* 'to press, come near to' (p o *8* is common in the sense 'to press' in Tso and Kyü), and *10* (**g'iwər / jwěi /* w e i) stands for *11* (**g'wər / yuâi /* h u a i) 'to turn round, go all round'; p a o *12* = *13* 'to find peace in'. Thus: »Still more the k' i f u minister of war j o whom you comply with and c h' o u consult, the n u n g f u master of the multitudes (farmers) who p o keeps near to and w e i goes all round among (the people) and the h u n g f u master of works whom you j o comply with and p a o find your peace in

70 察 71 越 72 辜 73 故 74 有 皐 有 故 75 有 罪 有 辜 76 弗 惟 德 馨 香 祀 登 聞 于 天 77 惟 78 祀 79 己 80 以 81 有 82 我 其 可 不 大 監 撫 于 時 83 於 是 84 撫 85 循 86 撫 于 五 辰 87 憮 88 憮 然 89 撫 90 模 91 太 史 友 內 史 友 92 友 93 又 右 94 越 賢 臣 百 宗 工 95 矧 惟 爾 事 服 休 服 采 96 事 97 爾 事 98 爾 執 事 99 通 事 100 服 / 矧 惟 若 疇 圻 父 薄 違 農 父 若 保 宏 父 定 辟 2. 司 馬 3. 司 徒 4.

— (these three) firmly establish your p i sovereign (principles)». A dreadful interpr. — **B.** Cheng Hüan paraphrases: *14*, but it appears from his note that he wrote *15* in the sense of *7* 'ploughed field', here 'territory'. Ma Jung says w e i *10* = *16*, And Kiang Sheng fills out: »Still more the k ' i f u minister of war who j o harmoniously c h ' o u gives territories (to the people), the n u n g f u master of the multitude who p o h i n g (pressingly goes =) travels near to (the people), and the h u n g f u master of works who j o p a o harmoniously gives peace to (the people), (these three) who firmly establish their ruler». Sun Sing-yen takes p o *8* as = *17* 'to exert oneself' and w e i *10* = *18* 'to go awry', the 2nd line thus being: »the n u n g f u master of the multitude who p o w e i exerts himself about the perverse conduct (of the people)»; and he explains the last line: »who establish p i the laws». All this is exceedingly scholastic. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en has observed that p o w e i *19*, which most naturally should mean 'to press the transgressors', ought to refer to the minister of war, and therefore he punctuates quite differently: S h e n w e i j o c h ' o u, k ' i f u p o w e i, n u n g f u j o p a o, h u n g f u t i n g p i, taking c h ' o u *7* as = 'an equal, colleague' (well attested, see Gl. 1281). Thus: »Still more j o such as c h ' o u your equals (colleagues), the k ' i f u minister of war who p o w e i suppresses the transgressors, n u n g f u the master of the multitudes (farmers) who p a o protects (the people) and h u n g f u master of works who t i n g p i establishes the rules». This punctuation is rhythmically best. But in the 3rd line n u n g f u j o p a o, Ts'ai has simply skipped the unconvenient j o, which here can make no sense, and thereby defeats his interpr. — **D.** Chang Ping-lin has seized upon Ts'ai's good idea that p o w e i must refer to the k ' i f u minister of war. He reverts to the ancient division of the lines and surmises that an inversion has been made so that the attributes in the first and second lines should change place: S h e n w e i p o w e i k ' i f u, j o c h ' o u n u n g f u, j o p a o h u n g f u, t i n g p i. He says p o *8* stands for *20* = 'to strike', but it is better, with the preceding, to take it = *9* 'to press', since this is well-attested. J o *5* has the same meaning as in Yao tien (Shun tien) *21* »Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my works?». Thus: **»Still more the** k ' i f u **minister of war who** p o w e i **supresses the transgressors,** n u n g f u **the master of the multitudes (farmers) who** j o c h ' o u **(conforms himself to =) carefully attends to the territories, and the** h u n g f u **master of works who j o p a o carefully attends to the strongholds (walled cities), (these three) who establish the laws».** Chang's emendation is ingenious and convincing. — **E.** Yü Sing-wu: s h e n w e i j o c h ' o u should, with Cheng Hüan above, be: s h e n w e i j o s h o u *15* »Still more j o your s h o u aged ones» (i. e. the s a n k u n g *22* three highest dignitaries). But then he cannot satisfactorily explain the following j o p a o *23*.

1690. Y u w e i Y i n c h ï t i c h u c h ' e n w e i k u n g n a i m i e n y ü t s i u *24*.

A. PK'ung: »And further, as to Yin's c h u c h ' e n servants t i who walk (in a bad way) and who k u n g being officials steep themselves in wine». That t i *25* alone should mean 'to walk in a bad way' is of course excluded. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»And further, as to Yin's guided servants, those who are officials, who steep themselves in wine».** — **C.** Sun Sing-yen takes the first w e i as a verb, and t i intransitive = 'to advance': »And further, you should think of Yin's (advanced =) promoted servants, those who are officials». — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu punctuates after t i: »And further, as to Yin's guidance, the servants who are officials steep themselves in wine». — B is certainly best, since the idea is that the Yin king guided his subjects into wickedness; and it construes the line more naturally than D.

1691. Y u s ï m i n g h i a n g *26*.

A. PK'ung: »Y u s ï m i n g if you have this enlightened (instruction), h i a n g you will enjoy (your state)». — **B.** Cheng Hüan: s ï *27* means s i *28* 'to cleave' (well-attested meaning, ex. in Shï). Hence = 'to separate, to distinguish, discern'. In order to explain the line acc. to this, both Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen have taken y u *29* as standing for y u *30*; but they interpret differently. — *α*. Kiang: »Y u again, s ï m i n g distinguishing the enlightened ones (sc. those who follow the instructions), h i a n g present them (for office)». — *β*. Sun: »Y u again, s ï m i n g distinguish and make clear h i a n g the sacrifices» (i. e. whether their drinking is due to sacrifices). Both hopelessly far-fetched. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Y u s ï if you (possess this =) keep on to this, m i n g h i a n g I shall brightly enjoy it». Liu Feng-lu, however, better takes »you» as the subject in both clauses: **»If you keep on to this, you shall brightly enjoy (your fief)».** — **D.** Sun Yi-jang and Chang Ping-lin: h i a n g *31* is loan char. for h i a n g *32* 'to go towards', here transitive 'to direct towards', thus: »If you have this clear guidance». — We are here at the end of the chapter, and the king sums up his exhortation to K'ang Shu: it is thus quite analogous to the concluding remarks in the K'ang kao (with which our Tsiu kao is connected) to the same K'ang Shu: w u w o t i e n h i a n g *33* »May it not happen that I cut off your enjoyment (of your fief)». The par. conclusively shows that C in Liu Feng-lu's interpr. is right.

J u t i e n t ' u n g c h e n p i see Gl. 1604. W u p i e n n a i s ï etc. see Gl. 1217.

Tsï ts'ai

1692. J u j o h e n g y ü e y ü e *34*.

A. PK'ung: j o h e n g *35* = *36* 'to follow the regular norms», but he construes it transitively: »You should make them follow the regular norms, and y ü e *37* then y ü e *37a* say . . .» Kiang Sheng modifies this into: »You should follow the constant norms and then say . . .». — **B.** Legge: y ü e *37* = *38* 'to proclaim': for conclusive text par. see Gl. 1068, cf. also Gl. 1675. Thus: **»If you constantly proclaim and say: . . . .».**

W o y u s h ï s h ï see Gl. 1305.

1693. Y ü e y ü w a n g l i s h a j e n *39*.

A. PK'ung and later comm. take the preceding line as subject: »(The master of the multitudes . . . . etc.) will say: we do not tyrannically kill people». — **B.** Legge takes Feng as the subject: »(If you proclaim and say . . .) **I do not tyrannically kill people».** B is much better, since it follows up ideas embroidered upon in the preceding K'ang kao and Tsiu kao (with which the Tsï ts'ai forms a trilogy): that Feng as a ruler of a state must himself be careful about the punishments.

1694. Y i k ü e k ü n s i e n k i n g l a o s ï t s ' u k ü e k i n g l a o s ï w a n g k i e n k i u s h a j e n l i j e n y u *40*.

A. S ï *41* is the particle 'then' = *42*. PK'ung takes »the prince» as subject in all the clauses: »(Since) the prince (should) go before in caring for and encouraging (the people) s ï t s ' u you should go (to the caring for and encouraging of them =) to care for and encourage them; s ï w a n g and you should go to the pardoning of the l i j e n (persons of passage =) accomplices of traitors and villains and murderers». Ts'ai Ch'en says he does not understand the paragraph. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: y i *43* is the primary graph for *44* 'armpit, to support', cf. Gl. 1301): »They (sc. the various functionaries) will assist

司空 5.若 6.順 7.疇 8.薄 9.迫 10.違 11.廻 12.保 13.安 14.順 毒萬民之功父 15.壽 16.行 17.勉 18.邪行 19.薄違 20.搏 21.疇若予工 22.三公 23.若保 24.又惟殷之迪諸臣惟工乃湎于酒 25.迪 26.有斯明享 27.斯 28.祈 29.有 30.又 31.享 32.饗 33.無我殄享 34.汝若恆越曰 35.若恆 36.順常 37.越 37.曰 38.揚 39.曰予罔厲殺人 40.亦厥君先敬勞肆徂厥敬勞肆往姦宄殺人歷人

the prince in s i e n putting in the first place k i n g l a o the caring-for and encouraging (of the people); and s ï t s ' u then they will go to their caring-for and encouraging (of the people), s ï w a n g and then they will go to the traitors and villains and murderers and l i (pass in review =) examine j e n y u (these) men's pardoning». — **C.** Wang Sien-k'ien: »(Since) the prince goes before in taking care of and encouraging (the people), they (the officials mentioned) will go (to their caring-for and encouraging) to care for and encourage (the people); and they will go to the traitors and villains and murderers and l i j e n examine the men and y u give pardon». Wang thus considers y i *43* merely as an introductory particle (very common); l i *45* in the sense of 'to pass through, pass in review, examine' is also common. That the prince was the subject in the first clause but the officers in the second was already the opinion of Liu Feng-lu. — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: t s ' u *46* should be t s ' i e *47* in the sense of *48* 'this, these', and as a counterpart to this w a n g *49* should mean *50* 'that, those'. L i *45* does not mean 'to pass in review, investigate' (with B and C), but is a short-form for l i *51* 'finger-squeezer' which occurs, with the same short-form, in Chuang: T'ien ti *52* »criminals with crossed arms and squeezer-bound fingers». Thus: »(If) the prince goes before in caring for and encouraging (the people), then (t s ' u = t s ' i e =) these (officers) will care for and encourage (the people); and then w a n g those (officers) will y u pardon the traitors and villains, murderers and finger-squeezing men». Sun simply skips the inconvenient k ü e *53*, and in the last clause he places the object before the verb. The definition t s ' i e *47* = *48* lacks upport, see Gl. 1674 F and Gl. 1127. W a n g *49* = *50* is entirely imaginary. The expl. of l i, however, is ingenious and strikingly plausible, since it is evident that k i e n-k i u s h a - j e n l i - j e n must be three coördinated and analogous phrases (as against B and C above). Yü Sing-wu would instead take l i *45* (**liek*) as loan-word for l i *34* (**gliek*), since the phr. j e n l i *55* occurs in bronze inscriptions apparently with the meaning of 'slave'; but Sun's expl. is much better corroborated. — **E.** Chang Ping-lin would punctuate differently: y i k ü e k ü n, s i e n k i n g l a o s ï t s ' u, k ü e k i n g l a o s ï w a n g, etc. He believes that the officers are speaking: »(We do not kill tyrannically), it is only (for the prince =) on the prince's behalf; we first care for and encourage the s ï (*41*) now t s ' u (*46* = *56*) existing; and (then) we shall care for and encourage s ï w a n g (*57* = *58*) those from hereafter». An utterly impossible construction. — **F.** In spite of the fact that t s ' u *46* and w a n g *49* both mean 'to go', they are not analogous here, since the construction in the two clauses is different: t s ' u is a transitive verb with k ü e k i n g l a o as object; w a n g is an attribute to k i e n k i u etc., which is the subject of the verb y u. W a n g (as often) means 'gone'. Making partial use of D, we thus obtain: »**The prince (goes before =) sets an example to care about and encourage (the people); and then they (the officers) will go (to their caring-for etc. =) to care for and encourage (the people); and then the former traitors and villains and killers and (fingersqueezing men =) torturers will be pardoned**».

1694 a. S ï y i k i e n k ü e k ü n s h ï t s ' i a n g p a i j e n y u *59*.

A. This is the Ku-wen version, registered by Cheng Hüan (comm. on Chouli) and PK'ung. Construing on the analogy of the preceding line (Gl. 1694), we obtain: »**Then when they observe their prince's management (sc. of the punishments), malefactors and destroyers will be pardoned**». — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Hiao li) inst. of the last four words: t s ' i a n g p a i j e n y u, reads: k ' i a n g j e n y u *60* and carries this to the next line. This, however, spoils the parallelism with the preceding line and should be rejected. That is even more so if, with K'ung Kuang-sen, we read our y u *61* here as a loan word for *62* 'to assist' and carry it to the next line.

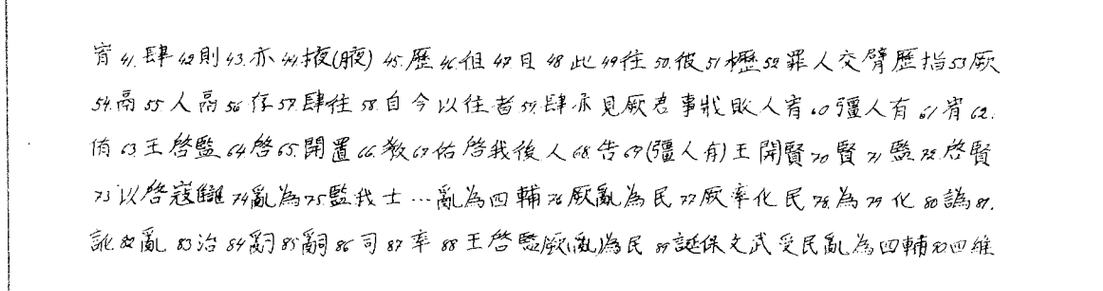
1695. W a n g k ' i k i e n *63*.

A. This is the Ku-wen version ap. Cheng Hüan (comm. on Chouli: T'ai tsai) and

PK'ung. — *α*. PK'ung defines k ' i *64* as = *65* 'to open out and (place =) institute', thus: »The king institutes inspectors». But k ' i really has no such meaning. — *β*. Sun Sing-yen: k ' i *64* = *66* 'to instruct': »**The king instructs his inspectors (i. e. feudal lords)**». Cf. Shu, lost chapter ap. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia *67*: »It helps and instructs us, men of later ages». — *γ*. Sun Yi-jang: k ' i *64* = *68* (»opens up information for»): »The king tells his inspectors». — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Hiao li) reads: (K ' i a n g j e n y u) w a n g k ' a i h i e n *69* »(As to strong men it occurs that) the king opens (the way) for wise men». Cheng Hüan, in comm. on Shang shu ta chuan, speaks of k ' a i h i e n, which shows that he too knew of this Kin-wen version. The first 3 words are carried over from the preceding line, an inferior reading (see Gl. 1694a). Tuan Yü-ts'ai considers k ' a i h i e n as a corruption of k ' i k i e n, k ' a i being a Han-time substitute for k ' i (for taboo reasons) and h i e n *70* being similar in shape to k i e n *71*. But obviously we could equally well say that k ' i k i e n is a corruption of a k ' i h i e n *72* »to open the way for wise men», k ' i being very common in that sense, e. g. *passim* in Tso (Tso: Wen 7, phr. *73* »to open the way for robbers and enemies», etc.) But if we none the less prefer the A reading, it is because in the next line we have the expression l u a n (s ï) w e i *74* (see next gloss), and in the Lo kao we have the same combination: k i e n w o s h ï . . . . l u a n (s ï) w e i s ï f u *75*. These chapters are very kindred and very likely written by the same author, so the probability is that k i e n *71* is the proper reading here as well.

1696. K ü e l u a n (s ï) w e i m i n *76*.

A. The Kin-wen version ap. Lun heng: Hiao li reads k ü e s h u a i h u a m i n *77*. Tuan Yü-ts'ai says this is a corruption, a Ku-wen form of l u a n being similar to s h u a i, and w e i *78* (**gwia*) and h u a *79* (**χwa*) being phonetically similar (indeed they are interchangeable as phonetics: *80* = *81*). — **B.** The Ku-wen version runs *76* (see above), and this l u a n w e i is confirmed as the proper reading by two Shu par., see below. *α*. PK'ung says l u a n *82* means *83* 'to govern' (common); in such case really to be read not l u a n but s ï (*82* being a corruption of *84*, *85* = *86*, see Gl. 1464). Lu Tê-ming adds that w e i is read in falling tone, thus: »Their government is for the people». — *β*. Wang Yin-chï: l u a n *82* (**lwân*) (B version) was phonetically akin (sic!) to the A version's s h u a i *87* (**slịwət, lịwət*), and since s h u a i can be a particle (refuted in our Gl. 1406), l u a n must also have been an empty particle. A dreadful speculation. But Yü Sing-wu follows in his tracks and takes the line together with the preceding, skipping the l u a n (s h u a i) as a »particle»: *88* would mean »When the king k ' i first k i e n inspected k ü e w e i m i n those who were his people». Wang Yin-chï has the same idea about l u a n as an »empty particle» in two Lo kao cases (see below) and in several more passages (in Kün Shï and Li cheng). It is utterly unfounded. — *γ*. Chang Ping-lin: l u a n *82* does not mean *83* 'to govern' but has here the same meaning as in Lun: T'ai po and Li Yüe ki: 'finale' in a musical performance; by extension 'the epitome, the



summing up', the essential part. Thus: »Its luan (summing up =) main point was (that it was) wei min for the people».

Before deciding we have to examine some par. cases:

Shu: Lo kao: Tan pao Wen Wu shou min luan (sï) wei sï fu *89*.

A. PK'ung believes (alluding to a passage in Kuan) that sï-fu means *90* »the (helper =) promoter of the four (guiding-lines =) moral principles», this being thus a denomination for one person: »Greatly protect the people received by Wen and Wu and luan (sï) governing them be sï fu a helper of the four (principles)». K'ung Ying-ta modifies this into sï fang chi fu *91* »a helper of the four (regions)». Legge in his translation adopts this: »By your good government you will be a help to the whole empire», but in his note he has a different opinion: »effecting good government and being a help to me on every side». — **B.** In Li: Wen wang shï tsï and in Ta Tai: Ts'ien sheng and Ta Tai: Pao fu it is clearly described how the sï fu were »four helpers», high dignitaries (cf. sï lin *92* »four neighbours, four associates» in Kao Yao mo). Our line could then mean: »In the government you should be sï fu (one of) the Four Helpers». For the construction wei sï fu: »to be Four Helpers» = »to be one of the four helpers», cf. Lü: Hing lun: (Kun said:) *93* »He does not make me (a Three Dignitaries =) one of the Three Dignitaries». Indeed this interpr. is the oldest attested, for Ta Tai: Pao fu fully expounds how the Four Helpers were Chou Kung, T'ai Kung, Shao Kung and Shï Yi (*94* = our *95* at the end of our Shu chapter). And this was the opinion of Ku Yung, 1st c. B. C. (Han shu: Ku Yung chuan), who says: »When the Four Helpers were there in full number, Ch'eng Wang committed no errors». Chu Hi seems to have had the same opinion, since he says: sï fu = *92*, and both Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen adopt this interpr. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: In Han time, the districts round the capital were called san fu *96* = »the three supporting districts», and this is an allusion to our Shu phr., which shows that some Han scholars took sï fu in this sense. Thus: »Govern (the capital's) four supporting districts». — **D.** Wang Yin-chï (*ut supra*): luan is an »empty particle». — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: luan = 'end'; the prince would join the duties of all the »four helpers» on one hand, thus: ».....luan wei sï fu and to the end be »the four helpers» (in one)».

Shu: Lo kao (later): Luan (sï) wei sï fang sin pi *97*.

A. PK'ung: »You should govern and be the new ruler of the four quarters». — **B.** Here again Wang Yin-chï says luan is merely an empty particle. — **C.** Chang Ping-lin: »luan the (epitome, summing up =) essential thing is wei to make for the four quarters sin pi new laws».

It is quite evident that (luan wei =) sï wei in these three cases is a fixed phrase and should be interpreted in the same way. Wang Yin-chï's and Chang Ping-lin's theories being much too weakly founded, we should abide by the (luan =) sï = 'to govern' of the earliest comm. But then it will not do to take, with PK'ung and others, wei in the first case in falling tone: »their government is wei for min the people» and wei in the second and third cases in even tone: »to govern and wei to be». We must conclude that (luan wei =) sï wei is a binome of two analogous verbs. (Luan =) sï meaning *83* 'to govern', wei *78* 'to do' must have its common meaning of 'to manage, to govern, to administer'. We have, in fact, exactly the same phr. as here in Tso: Wen 6, phr. *98* »Whereby can one govern (manage) the people»; Tso: Siang 24, phr. *99* »You manage the state of Tsin», etc. (very common). We thus obtain:

Küe (luan =) sï wei min *76*: **»To govern and manage the people»**. (Luan =) sï wei sï fu *89* **»To govern and manage the Four Helpers** (i. e. be the principal of and take the lead among the highest dignitaries in the land). (Luan =) si wei sï fang sin pi *97* **To govern and manage the new princes of the four quarters».**

1687. Chï yü king kua chï yü shu fu *100*.

A. This is PK'ung's reading, and he explains: »Even so far as to king take care of kua the weak and to (pity) the (attached women =) concubines». He thus sacrifices the parallelism, in taking king as a verb with kua as object, but shu as an attribute to fu, supplying an understood verb in the second clause. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en would obtain the necessary parallelism by taking shu as a verb: »Even so far as to take care of the weak and to shu fu (attach women =) find husbands for (lone) women», a comical idea. — **C.** From a diatribe in Shang shu ta chuan we can see that Fu Sheng's version had *1* (= *2* see Grammata p. 219); and Shuowen quotes chï yü tsou fu *3*, defining tsou as = 'pregnant'. Thus: »**(Reach to =) attend even to widowers and widows, attend even to pregnant women**». In a eulogy by Ts'uei Yüan *4* (2nd c. A. D.) there is a phr.: »He was kind to tsou shuang *5* = »He was kind to pregnant women and widows», an evident allusion to our Shu line (tsou referring to the tsou of Shu, shuang to the kua of the Shu). — The difficulties of A and B are obviated by the good and natural C version, which is the earliest attested.

1688. Ho yu yi jung *6*.

A. PK'ung: »ho harmonizing (your instructions), yu using (the great way) yi jang be tolerant». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »ho unite (the people), yu follow (this) and jung (embrace =) cherish them». — **C.** Kiang Sheng connects with the preceding: (even widowers and widows and pregnant women) ho all yu follow up and jung (embrace =) cherish». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: ho = *7*, yu = *8* and jung means 'to be forbearing' (common): »All you should treat with forbearance». — **E.** It seems evident that ho and yu are analogous and coördinated adverbial phr. In Meng: -Kung-sun Ch'ou, shang we have yu yu jan yü chï kie *9*, where Chao K'i defines yu yu as = *10* 'large, broad-minded': »He liberally fraternized with them» (without being proud). This is an extension from the primary sense of 'to follow': 'following' = willingly, readily. Thus here: **»Concordantly and compliantly (embrace =) cherish them».**

1689. Wang k'i hiao pang kün yüe yü shï küe ming ho yi *11*.

A. PK'ung, as further expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »The king should hiao strive for results; the princes of states and the managers of affairs (should know) what his orders purported». He thus has to supply the crucial words »should know». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»When the king hiao (stimulates =) gives injunctions to the princes of states and managers of affairs, what do his orders purport?»** (So also Kiang Sheng). Couvreur has understood Ts'ai as hiao = 'to constitute, nominate', which was certainly not his meaning. — **C.** Wang Yin-chï: hiao *12* is a loan char. for kiao *13* 'to examine' (in other words: the orig. text had *14* without rad., and the Han scholars have wrongly filled it out into *12* inst. of *13*), thus: »The king examines the princes of states and the managers of affairs, as to how his orders have been (used =) obeyed». This may already have been the idea of Chang Yi (3rd c.), who in Kuang ya: Shï yen has an entry hiao = *15*. — C is quite possible in itself; but since B gives a satisfactory sense without altering the handed-down text, it should be followed.

1700. Yin yang yin t'ien *16*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases *17*, thus (after Erya) taking yin 'to draw, extend' in the sense of 'long': »They should (long =) ever nourish, (long =) ever make tranquil (the

1輔 2四方之輔 3四鄰 4不以我為三公 5史佚 6史逸 7三輔 8嵐為四方新牌 9何以為民 10子為晉國 11至于妖寡至于屬婦 1矜寡 2鰥寡 3至于嬪婦 4崔瑗 5嬪婦 6合由以容 7同 8用 9由由然與之偕 10浩浩 11王其效邦冢越御事厥命罔以尤

people)». Yin in this sense is very unnatural. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »**He leads them on to nourish and tranquillize (the people)**».

1701. Tsï ku wang jo tsï kien wang yu pi *18*.

Wang yu pi = »have no (case) wherein to pi apply penalties» = »have no use for punishments».

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *19*. Just as the Shu line, this is ambiguous, giving a different sense acc. as one punctuates before or after kien; either: »tsï following the ancient kings' (principles) like this, the inspectors have no use for punishments»; or: »following the ancient kings' (principles), and jo tsï kien being inspectors in this way, they have no use for punishments». Liu Feng-lu, with this latter punctuation, would take kien in jo tsï kien as a verb: »like this making inspectors», which is even more strained. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »**From of old the king has done like this and the inspectors (thus) have no use for punishments**». — **C.** Wang Sien-k'ien: kien is a verb = 'to inspect, to look down': ».... and in looking down (on the state), has no use for punishments». This is certainly no improvement. Kien must reasonably mean the same: »inspector» as in a preceding line.

1702. Jo ki t'ien *20*.

A. PK'ung: ki = *21*: »It is as when one scrutinizes his fields». This is the commonest meaning of ki. As an extension of this meaning, there is the sense *22* 'to calculate' (see Gl. 1207): »**It is as when one calculates his fields**» (so Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: ki = *83*: »If one works his fields». But ki has no such meaning (no text par.). — **C.** Yü Sing-wu has the strange idea that ki t'ien stands for *84* »the king's sacred field», because ki *25* (**kiər*) and *26* (**dz'i̯ăk*) were »phonetically similar»(!).

1703. Wei k'i ch'en siu *27*.

A. PK'ung: ch'en *28* has its ordinary meaning *29* 'to distribute, set forth, arrange': »**He should arrange and put it in order**». — **B.** Wang Yin-chï: ch'en *28* is but a short-form for *30*, which is »the same» as the *31* in Ode 210, and they all mean *83* 'to work'. But in fact all these words have as fundamental sense 'to lay out for cultivation, to arrange' and are closely cognate to the ordinary ch'en *28*, with A above, see Gl. 675.

1704. Wei k'i t'u hi ts'ï.... wei k'i t'u tan wo *32*.

A. This version with *33* (**d'o* / *d'uo* / t'u) in both places was really introduced by Wei Pao in T'ang time, as against another earlier reading, see B next. Shuowen defined hi *34* as = *35*, and Fu K'ien in comm. on Han shu: Yang Hiung chuan has the phr. *36* which caused Wei Pao's »correction». Yü Yüe points out that with this formulation there is no real parallelism between the two analogous lines: in the first t'u hi would be a binome: »he should t'u hi plaster and ts'ï thatch it»; in the second tan wo would be a binome: he should t'u smear on tan-wo red»; hence the first line would indicate two kinds of embellishments, the second only one. — **B.** The original Ku-wen version, as indicated by K'ung Ying-ta, read wei k'i tu *37* in both cases. This last word *38* was read **di̯ăk* / *i̯äk* / yi in the sense of 'fed up with', and **tâg* / *tuo* / tu in the sense of 'to destroy'. Now K'ung Ying-ta (foll. by Kiang Sheng) believed that this *38* was simply a loan char. for *33* **d'o* / *d'uo* / t'u, the meaning being the same as in A above, but that is phonetically too unlikely. The truth is revealed by Shuowen, which (under *39*) quotes our line *40*. It is true that Hü Shen defines this *41* as = *42* 'to shut' and adds that it is »read like *43*» (**d'o* / *d'uo* / tu), i. e. he considers it to be a variant of the latter, which means 'to block, stop up' (again, phonetically very unlikely, though apparently a plausible guess at Hü's time). But it is evident that when under *39* Hü quotes *44*, the *41* in this connection cannot mean *42* or *43* 'to shut, to block' but must mean something else. Yü Yüe has identified its function: it is merely an enlarged variant for *45* **d'âk* / *d'âk* / to 'to measure, to take measures for, to plan', and the lines mean: »**He should take measures**

for plastering and thatching»; »**He should take measures for (reddening =) making it red or green**». The *38* **tâg* of the Ku-wen version is a loan char. for this *45* **d'âk*, as proved by a par. in Han shu: Chang Heng chuan *46*, where *38* likewise stands for *45*, showing a loan praxis of some Han scholars. As to the rare word wo *39*, Shuowen defines it as = 'fine red'. But the oldest text (outside our Shu) which throws light on its meaning is Shan hai king (Nan shan king) where we have a line with the contrast of tan wo *47* »red wo» and ts'ing wo *48* »green (blue) wo», which reveals that wo could mean both red and green (as emphasized by Tuan Yü-ts'ai). And since the first line has two notions: hi and ts'ï »plastering and thatching», Yü Yüe is certainly right that the second should likewise have two: »to make tan red and wo green». — **C.** Liu Feng-lu, foll. by Chang Ping-lin, accepts the Ku-wen reading *38*; and since Shuowen under this word says: *49* »one meaning is to end (finish)», he interprets here: »He should finish (the work) by plastering and thatching». This is plausible in itself, but there is no supporting text having *38* with the meaning 'to finish'. — B in Shuowen's variant is the oldest extant version, and well supported by the proper Ku-wen version.

1705. Jo tso tsï ts'ai *50*.

A. Ma Jung (who has the variant *51*) says tsï is a verb = 'to carpenter', analogous to *52* 'to make pottery' and *53* 'to cast, to work metal': »It is as when one does carpentering on timber». — **B.** Parallelism with the preceding jo tso kia shows that tsï ts'ai should be nouns: »**It is as when one works on catalpa wood**».

1706. Ki k'in p'o cho *54*.

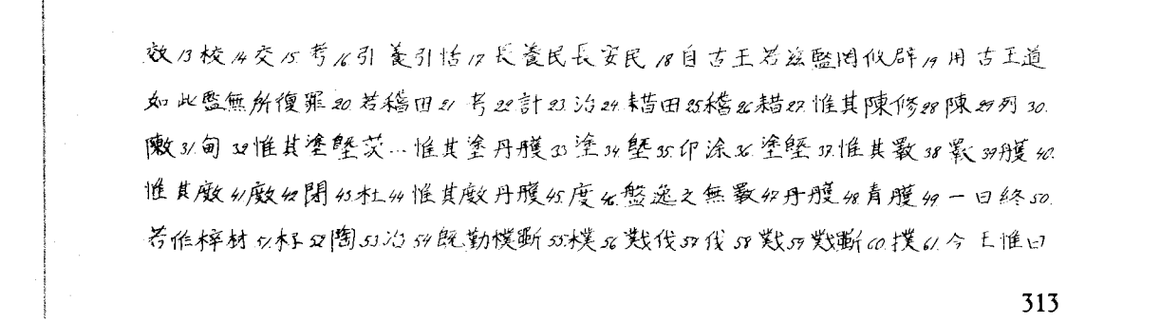
A. Ma Jung defines *55* (**p'ŭk* / *p'ăk* / p'o) as = 'wood that has not yet been worked into a utensil', i. 'unworked wood'; it is a variation of the same stem as *55* (same char.) **p'uk* / *p'uk* / p'u 'in a natural state, simple' (common). Here, as a verb, this p'o thus means 'to treat the unworked wood' i. e. the first rough cutting, 'to trim': »**When he has toiled in trimming and carving it**». — **B.** Yü Sing-wu: In the bronze inscriptions there is a phr. *56* 'to attack'. And since fa *57* can mean 'to cut', so p'u *58* should also have a meaning 'to cut', and our *55* stands for this; hence p'o cho, properly *59*, is a binome: »When he has toiled in cutting it». This is far from plausible. The *58* of the inscriptions is probably the same word as *60* **p'uk* / *p'uk* / p'u 'to beat, strike' and has no sense of 'to cut'.

1707. Kin wang wei yüe *61*.

For various ideas about who the speaker was see Legge's note. In accordance with the well-founded opinion that the trilogy K'ang kao — Tsiu kao — Tsï ts'ai were all pronounced by Wu Wang (see Gl. 1622 above), and that Chou Kung is nowhere mentioned but only the king on the one hand, Feng (alias K'ang Shu) on the other, we necessarily conclude that these last lines, addressed to the king, are Feng's answer: »Now the king should say».

1708. Huai wei kia (hie) *62*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases *63*. Erya has an entry huai *64* = lai *65*, but that does



not mean, as the Ts'ing scholars generally believe, that there existed a word h u a ï = 'to come' (see Gl. 110a) but simply that h u a i ('to carry in the bosom' =) 'to cherish' by extension could mean 'by cherishing to gain, to attract (cause to come)'. This was evidently PK'ung's idea here: »They (cherished =) attracted (the distant ones) and made them near». *66* **kăp / kăp / k i a* properly means 'to be on both sides of' (Ode 250, Tso *passim*), hence also 'to assist, to support' (Tso *passim*); Shïwen, though still defining it as = *67* 'near', reads the word **g'iap / γiep / h i e*, which seems to indicate that Lu Tê-ming imagined some other etymology. Later comm. like Kiang Sheng vary PK'ung slightly: »They (cherished =) attracted (the princes) so as to be their supporters». — **B.** Chuang Shu-tsu: k i a *66* is a short-form for *68*, read t s i e (**ʔ / tsiep / t s i e*) = *69* 'to reach everywhere, all round', as in Ode 236 (see Gl. 770 with text ex.). Thus: **»Their cherishing was universal».** — **C.** Sun Yi-jang would carry h u a i to the preceding line (*70*) and w e i k i a to the following (*71*), which, however, makes a very forced construction in the former line. (»They used their bright virtue and attracted» [sc. the princes]). — B is simple and plausible.

1709. S h u p a n g h i a n g *72*.

A. PK'ung: **»All the states brought offerings».** — **B.** Kiang Sheng would carry the t s o *73* of next line here: s h u p a n g h i a n g t s o: »All the states h i a n g brought offerings and t s o acted». Sun Sing-yen, punctuating in the same way, says t s o means *74* 'to start, to initiate', so that h i a n g t s o would mean the same as t s o h i a n g: »All the states t s o started to h i a n g bring offerings», an eccentric interpr. Both these expl. being obvious impossible, Yü Sing-wu proposes that t s o *73* stands for t s u *75* 'sacrificial meat' (the orig. graph thus being *76*, wrongly filled out into *73* by the Han scribes, inst. of *75*), thus: »All the states offered sacrificial meat». This punctuation has been introduced in order to evade the following phr. t s o h i u n g t i, but that is not necessary, since the latter makes good sense.

T s o h i u n g t i f a n g l a i see Gl. 1234.

1710. H o u s h ï t i e n t s i s h u p a n g p ' e i h i a n g *77*.

Both PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en insist that h o u *78* means *79* »the successor», which is to force the word unnecessarily; it simply means »the sovereign» (very common).

A. PK'ung punctuates: H o u s h ï t i e n, t s i s h u p a n g, p ' e i h i a n g »If the sovereign uses the regular norms, he will harmonize all the states, and they will grandly bring offerings». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates: H o u s h ï t i e n t s i, s h u p a n g p ' e i h i a n g: **»If the sovereign using the regular norms unites them, all the states will grandly bring offerings».** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen accept this, which certainly is rhythmically better than A. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: h o u *78* is a right-turned variant for s ï *80*, and this is here merely »a particle». T s i *81* means *82* 'to achieve', thus: s ï then s h ï thereby it will t i e n (regularly =) always t s i be (achieved =) successful». A strange speculation.

1711. H u a n g t ' i e n k i f u c h u n g k u o m i n *83*.

A. This is PK'ung's version: **Great Heaven has delivered the people of the Central kingdom . . . .»** (PK'ung indeed supplies: ». . . has delivered [to the Chou] the . . .», but the line connects with the following, as realized by Ts'ai Ch'en). — **B.** Ma Jung's version had f u *84* inst. of *85*: »Heaven has attached the people . . . .» In all probability the pre-Han text had simply *85*, without radical (Chou fashion), and Ma has considered this as a short-form for *84*, and added the radical. This is not necessary, the unenlarged char. making good sense.

1712. Y ü e k ü e k i a n g t ' u y ü s i e n w a n g s ï *86*.

A. PK'ung: y ü e *87* = y ü a n *88* 'far' (common); s ï *89* = *90*. It is true that when s u e i is used as a particle: 'then, thereupon', it is synonymous with s ï *89* in

this sense; but PK'ung concludes that s ï must also have the pregnant sense of s u e i 'to advance', a fallacious conclusion: »(If) they y ü e (bring far =) extend their territory, they will in the former kings' (principles) s ï (= s u e i advance =) become great». A hopeless construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en rightly connects the line with the preceding, and carries s ï to the following line; y ü e *87* simply means 'and', as *passim* in the Shu: »(Heaven has delivered the people of the central kingdom) **and its territory to the former kings».**

1713. S ï w a n g w e i t ê y u n g h o y i s i e n h o u m i m i n *91*.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta, punctuates after y u n g: w a n g w e i t ê y u n g, taking t ê y u n g as an inversion of y u n g t ê *92*: »Now may the king use the virtue». Foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en. — **B.** Wang Nien-sun: y u n g *93* = *94* and the line forms a whole, t ê being placed in an emphatic position governed by the following y u n g (= y i): **»Now may the king** w e i t ê y u n g **by means of virtue harmonize and gladden and (be before and after =) take care of the foolish people».** This is undoubtedly correct.

1714. Y u n g y i s i e n w a n g s h o u m i n g *95*.

A. PK'ung: »And thus rejoice over the mandate received by the former kings». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: s i e n w a n g s h o u m i n g is equal to s i e n w a n g s h o u m i n g c h ê *96*, (common construction in the early texts): **»And thus gladden the former kings who received the mandate».** — **C.** Since Shïwen says y i *97* had the variant *98* (evidently in both the preceding line and this), Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen believe that in this line (but not in the preceding!) y i *98* should mean *99* 'to end, achieve': »And thus achieve the mandate received by the former kings». We have already said (Gl. 1704) that there are no safe text ex. of y i = c h u n g 'to end'. Moreover it would be strange if y i (**diăk / ịăk* / y i), wr. *97* or *98*, would occur in two consecutive lines with totally different meanings. — B is obviously right.

1715. Y i, j o t s ï k i e n w e i y ü e y ü c h ï y ü w a n n i e n w e i w a n g *100*.

A. PK'ung, who believes that this again is said to Feng, interprets: »Yes, if you are inspector like this, I say, (we) wish that unto a myriad years you shall (w e i think of =) serve the king». That w e i w a n g should mean »to serve the king» is of course excluded. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: k i e n *1* here has not the same meaning 'inspector' as earlier in our chapter, but means *2* 'to look at', and he punctuates after n i e n, carrying w e i w a n g to the following: *3* »Yes, if you regard this, I say: I wish that unto a myriad years the king's sons and grandsons forever have charge of the people». Kiang Sheng modifies: k i e n means l i n *4* »If you like this look down upon (the people) . . . .» — **C.** The line is still spoken by Feng in response to the king, but obviously k i e n should have the same meaning as earlier in the chapter. Thus: **»Yes, being an inspector like this, I say: I wish that unto a myriad years the king's sons and grandsons forever (guard =) have charge of the people».**

2 懷為來 63 懷遠為近 64 悅 65 來 66 來 67 近 68 挾 69 達 70 用明德懷 71 為來庶邦 享作 72. 庶邦 享 73 作 74 始 75 胙 76 作 77 后式典集庶邦 丕享 78 后 79 後 80 司 81 集 82 就 83 皇天既付中國民 84 附 85 付 86 越厥疆土于先王肆 87 越 88 遠 89 肆 90 遂 91 肆王惟德用和懌先後迷民 92 用德 93 用 94 以 95 用懌先王受命 96 先王受命者 97 懌 98 斁 99 終 100 已若茲監惟曰欲至于萬年惟王 1 監 2 視 3 惟王子子孫孫永保民 4 臨

GLOSSES ON THE BOOK OF DOCUMENTS

II

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

This paper is a direct sequel to my article Glosses on the Book of Documents, BMFEA 20, 1948.

Shao kao.

The oration in this chapter has traditionally been attributed, as indicated by the title Shao Kao *1*, to Shao Kung Shï *2*, as T'ai pao *3*; but it should really be attributed to Chou Kung *4*, see Gl. 1718 below.

1715. Yüe jo lai *5*.

A. PK'ung says yüe *6* = *7*, and jo *8* has its full meaning of *9* 'to accord with', so that the line equals *10* »in (accordance =) proper sequence he arrived». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: yüe jo lai is an idiomatic expression (Legge wrongly believes Ts'ai meant: 'an empty particle') meaning: »By successive stages he arrived». There is no support whatever for such a meaning of yüe jo lai. — **C.** Wang Yin-chï has shown that we should connect this with the following: *11*, and that yüe-jo is a binominal particle (cf. Gl. 1207): »**When it came to the 3rd month**». This is confirmed by Shu: Wu Ch'eng as quoted in Han shu: Lü li chï, phr. *12*.

Nai yi shu Yin kung wei etc. see Gl. 1472. Jo yi jï see Gl. 1611.

1716. Ta kuan yü sin yi ying *13*.

A. PK'ung: ta *14* = *15* 'all-pervading, all through, all over, everywhere'. Thus: »**All over, he inspected the disposal of the the new city**». Ta in this sense is common, e. g. Li: Chung yung *16* »The (all-pervading =) universal principle of the world»; similarly Li: T'an kung: *17*. — **B.** Yü Yüe: ta means t'ung *18*: »He (reaching to =) together with (sc. Shao Kung) inspected» etc. Much inferior to A.

1717. Shu Yin p'ei tso *19*.

A. PK'ung: »**All the Yin grandly started work**». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: tso = *20* (common): »All the Yin rose». — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: p'ei *21* means *22*: »All the Yin then rose». P'ei has no such meaning. — A suits the context best.

1718. Yüe pai k'i shou *23*.

A. From Han down to our days this with the whole following discourse has always been taken to be a harangue made by Shao Kung. — **B.** Yü Sing-wu cleverly points out that

召告 2. 召公 3. 太保 4. 周公 5. 越若來 6. 越 7. 於 8. 若

9. 順 10. 於 順來 11. 越若來三月 12. 粵若來二月 13. 達觀于新邑營 14. 達 15. 通 16. 天下之達道 17. 三代之達禮也 18. 同 19. 庶殷丕作 20. 興 21. 丕 22. 斯 23. 曰拜稽首 24. 錫周公 周公曰

the very first words refute this. In the bronze inscriptions it is always the receiver of a laudatory gift who »salutes and bows the head to the ground» and »extols the grace» of the donor (king or other prominent man). Now Chou Kung has just received a laudatory gift from Shao Kung on behalf of all the princes: it must be Chou Kung who says: »I salute» etc. This is strikingly plausible. Yü believes that the two words Chou Kung must be repeated: . . . . *24* »he gave them to Chou Kung; Chou Kung said». The skipping of the 2nd Chou Kung is easily explained; in Chou inscr. it would be written simply *25*, and the repetition marks could easily have been lost in transcribing the text in Han time. Be this as it may, Yü's interpr. is excellent even without a formal repetition: »**He gave them to Chou Kung; he (sc. Chou Kung) said**». The subject is often understood in cases like this, cf. Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang (cf. Gl. 1576). That this is correct here is further confirmed in a following paragraph, where we find: »I, Tan, say»; the traditional commentators have here had to say that Shao Kung cites some pronouncement of Chou Kung Tan: »Tan has said»(!).

1719. L ü w a n g j o k u n g *26*.

A. PK'ung: l ü *27* = *28* 'to set forth', and j o is a full verb: »I (sc. Shao Kung) shall set forth how the king (should) (accord with =) obey your Grace (sc. Chou Kung)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: j o *29* means *30* 'and' (common): »I (sc. Shao Kung) display (the gifts) before the king and your Grace (sc. Chou Kung)». — **C.** In the light of the interpr. of the preceding line (see Gl. 1718) this should have a quite different purport. To the common formula in the bronze inscriptions, e. g. the Yü Kuei inscr.: »Yü saluted and bowed the head to the ground and dared in response to extol Mu wang's grace» *31*, corresponds here p a i s h o u k ' i s h o u l ü w a n g j o k u n g. Thus l ü *27* 'to set forth' must mean here the same as y a n g *32* 'to raise, to publish, to extol' in the bronze inscription. Thus: »(He [Chou Kung] said:) **I salute and bow the head to the ground and I extol the king and your Grace**».

1720. K a o k a o s h u Y i n y ü e t s ï n a i y ü s h ï *33*.

A. PK'ung as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »I announce and tell (you) all Yin (princes), and (functonaries) from the managers of affairs (downwards)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »When I (sc. Shao Kung) make an announcement to all the Yin (people), t s ï (it comes from =) it originates in your (sc. Chou Kung's) managing of the affairs». Legge has understood Ts'ai somewhat differently: »The instruction of the multitude of Yin must come from you with whom is the management of affairs» (properly »from you, the manager of affairs», Couvreur: »per te, curatorem rerum»). But that is inadmissible for n a i is always in the genitive case. — **C.** Cheng Hüan's version (ap. comm. on Ode 240) has no t s ï, reading: K a o k a o s h u Y i n y ü e n a i y ü s h ï, which gives a very simple and natural meaning, since y ü e *34* is common = 'and' in the Shu: »**I make an announcement to (you) all Yin and your managers of affairs**». This is the oldest version attested.

1721. Y ü e k ü e h o u w a n g h o u m i n t s ï f u k ü e m i n g *35*.

A. PK'ung: »**Their posterior kings and posterior people (i. e. officers) here managed their mandate**» — followed by: k ü e c h u n g *36* »But in the end (i. e. under their last king) . . .». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, without explaining the line as a whole, says that the whole phr. h o u w a n g h o u m i n refers to the last Yin king (a very curious idea), and Legge faithfully tries to apply this: »h o u w a n g the king who had succeeded to them h o u m i n the last of their race», which is plainly impossible. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: f u *37* here means *38* 'to think' (an attested meaning, see Gl. 4) and the line t s ï f u k ü e m i n g k ü e c h u n g forms a whole, the first k ü e meaning k ' i *39*, the second c h ï *40* (= *41*): »Now if we think of the end of their mandate». But the sense given to the 2nd k ü e is impossible. — No reason to abandon A.

1722. K ü e c h u n g c h ï t s ' a n g k u a n t s a i *42*.

A. PK'ung: k u a n *43* = *44*, this after Erya: k u a n *45* = *44*.

It seems that *43* is a comparatively late char., *45* being generally used as loan char. for the word k u a n 'pain, suffer, miserable' (Kuo P'o in comm. on Erya quotes *46*). We already had the word in K'ang kao: *47* »pain your body» (i. e. exert yourself intensily). But p i n g *44* is a word of many meanings and PK'ung interprets: »In the end c h ï t s ' a n g the wise men hid themselves, and k u a n the (defective =) vicious ones t s a i (= *48*) were (in the official position)», an absurd interpr. K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en make it worse by taking k u a n = p i n g as a transitive verb (= *49* »those who pained the people»). Thus: »The wise men hid themselves and the tormentors were (in the offices)». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen insists that t s a i simply means 'to exist, to live', and obviously it cannot mean t s a i w e i *48* 'to be in office', with A above. We could then translate: c h ï t s ' a n g the wise men hid themselves and k u a n t s a i miserably (existed =) lived». For t s a i used in this way cf. Tso: Chao 12, phr. *49* »(Whereby =) how is he going to (exist =) live»? But this is rhythmically bad: c h ï — t s ' a n g, k u a n t s a i. Now in Han shu the word t s ' a n g 'to hide' is regularly written without radical *50* (e. g. Li yüe chï, Lü li chï etc.) and Shuowen has no *51*; and it is then but natural, the two characters being interchangeable, that sometimes t s ' a n g *51* has come to stand for t s a n g *50*. In Yi: Hi ts'ï, shang, the phr. *52* »by knowledge he stores the past» was in Cheng Hüan's version *53*, and Cheng interpreted accordingly: »By knowledge he (found good =) valued the past». It is very natural to take our c h ï t s ' a n g here to stand for c h ï t s a n g *54* (the Chou-time text having in all probability no radical, as usual), a binome of analogous words, and then we obtain a satisfactory rhythm: C h ï t s a n g — k u a n t s a i: »**In the end, the wise and good men miserably (existed =) lived**». — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: t s a i *55* stands for *56*: »The wise men hid themselves, k u a n t s a i, how painful!».

1723. F u c h ï p a o p a o h i c h ' ï k ü e f u t s ï *57*.

A. PK'ung: p a o *58* = *59* 'tranquillize, protect': »The men know how to protect and carry in the arms and lead and support their wives and children»; a chiasma, p a o p a o referring to t s ï children, and h i c h ' ï referring to the f u wives. Wang Su tried to separate the two p a o: »The men knew how to p a o *58* protect (their families), in that they p a o *60* carried» etc., which is even less satisfactory. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: p a o *58* stands for p a o *61* 'swaddle' (etym. the same word, the fundamental sense being 'to wrap', hence on the one hand *59* 'to protect', on the other *61* 'swaddle'), which combined with *60* is evidently right. Further, acc. to Kiang, c h ï *62* in Erya is defined as = *63* 'a mate, a match, a spouse', and f u c h ï means *64* 'every man who has a spouse'. This is grammatically excluded, f u c h ï cannot mean a 'man spoused', it should then be c h ï f u 'a spoused man', always supposing that c h ï had such a sense, or else we should have to construe it as a finite clause: f u c h ï »if a man was spoused». But Erya's gloss refers to Ode 148, phr. *65* »I am glad that you have no (connaissance =) mate», see

25.曷周公曰26.旅王若公27.旅28.陳29.若30.及31.遹拜稽首敢對揚穆王休32.揚33.誥告庶殷越自乃御事34.越35.越厥後王後民茲服厥命36.厥終37.服38.思39.其40.之41.其命之終42.厥終智藏瘝在43.瘝44.病45.鰥46.鰥在47.恫瘝乃身48.在位49.將何以在50.藏51.藏52.知以臧往53.知以臧往54.智臧55.在56.哉57.夫知保抱攜持厥婦子58.保59.安60.抱61.繈62.知63.匹64.夫夫有匹偶者65.嫠子之無知66.病67.智68.舜其大知也與69.夫70.徂

Gl. 356. This poetical metaphor: a »connaissance» = 'sweetheart', is hardly possible in our Shu line. — **C.** Chuang Shu-tsu: *62* is a fault for *66* »They quickly wrap» etc. A very arbitrary text alteration. — **D.** Another interpr. In the preceding line we had c h ï *67* 'wise men'. This *67* ****tɨĕg / ĥiɛ̨*** / c h ï (falling tone) 'wise' is really an aspect of the same stem as *62* ****tɨĕg / ĥiɛ̨*** / c h ï (even tone) 'to know' and very often the characters are interchangeable, c h ï 'wise' written *62* without radical, e. g. Li: Chung yung *68* »Was not Shun a great sage (*62* here falling tone = *67*). Indeed, in the preceding line, the orig. version certainly had simply (with Chuang Shu-tsu) *62* without radical (Chou fashion), and the addition of rad. 73 was an elucidating trick by the transcribing Han scholars. That they did not enlarge our second *62* here in the same way was because they did not realize that here again *62* was to be read in the falling tone (i. e. in the sense of 'wise'). C h ï 'wise' being really the same in both lines, the introductory *69* should not be read f u¹ 'men' but f u² 'this, the one just mentioned'. Thus: »**These wise men, wrapping and carrying and leading and supporting their wives and children**».

Y i a i y ü t ' i e n see Gl. 1409.

1724. T s ' u k ü e w a n g c h ' u c h ï *70*.

A. PK'ung: »They went on their exile, but, c h ' u coming out, c h ï they were seized». — **B.** Kiang Sheng takes *71* as = the common negation w u : »(When) they went, *72* they had nowhere to go out, c h ï being (as if) caught». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: Erya says t s ' u *73* = *74* 'to dwell' and Kuang ya says c h ï *75* = *76* 'to force', thus: »Those who t s ' u (dwelt =) stayed w a n g perished, c h ' u those who went out c h ï were forced». But Erya does not say t s ' u = t s a i, but t s ' u and t s a i mean *77*, and this definition refers to Ode 93, phr. *78* »They are not those to whom my thoughts go», see Gl. 240. It is not at all applicable here. — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: *73* stands for *79* (the original graph having been only *80*, Chou fashion, wrongly filled out into *73* inst. of into *79*) 'to curse': »cursing his (the king's) w a n g destroying (the state) they (either) c h ' u went away or c h ï were seized». — **E.** Chuang Shu-tsu: t s ' u *73* stands for the similar t s ' ü 'to spy': »t s ' ü one spied on their w a n g c h ' u going away and c h ï seized them». But if so, there is no earlier line stating that they did flee. — **F.** Another interpr. W a n g *71* is the negation meaning the same as w u *82*, in accordance with B above (very common). Thus: »**They went to (where there was no coming out and seizing them =) where nobody could come out and seize them**».

1725. K ' i k ü a n m i n g y u n g m o u *83*.

The subject is »Heaven» in the preceding line.

A. PK'ung: »**In looking to it (sc. the people) with affection and** m i n g **giving its mandate, it employed the zealous ones** (the Chou)». — **B.** Wang Sien-k'ien would take m o u as a transitive-causative: »In looking to it (the people) with affection and giving its mandate (to the Chou) thereby it stimulated (them)». — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

1726. S i a n g k u s i e n m i n y u H i a *84*.

A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en both refer this to the Great Yü: »Look at the predecessor, the lord of Hia (sc. Yü)». — **B.** The formulation of the following k i n s i a n g y u Y i n *85* — which PK'ung and Ts'ai likewise believe refers to T'ang alone — makes it clear that both lines refer to the dynasties as such: »**Look at the ancient predecessors, the lords of Hia**»; »**Now look at the lords of Yin**». This is confirmed by the phr. s i e n m i n »the previous people», which must refer to persons in the plural: »predecessors»; Yü alone could not be termed s i e n m i n.

1727 a. T ' i e n t i t s ' u n g t s ï p a o *86*;

b. T ' i e n t i k o p a o *87*.

It is evident that these two lines are analogous, the first referring to the Hia house, the second to the Yin house; they must be interpreted in an analogous way.

A. PK'ung: a. »T ' i e n t i Heaven's norm t s ' u n g followed up and t s ï treated as son and p a o tranquillized (him)» (sc. Yü); b. »That Heaven's norm k o (came to =) went as far as to p a o tranquillize (him)» (sc. T'ang). With »Heaven's norm» as subject in both lines, this makes sheer nonsense. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: a. »T ' i e n t i Heaven guided (him) [sc. Yü], t s ' u n g t s ï p a o and followed his son (?whatever that may mean) and tranquillized him». b. »Heaven guided (him) [sc. T'ang] so as to k o correct (the Hia) and p a o tranquillized him». Even worse than A. Kiang Sheng follows B as to line a, but in line b he says that k o *88* means *89* 'to measure': »T ' i e n t i Heaven guided (Yin); k o p a o if we k o consider (why it) p a o tranquillized him» (then it was because etc.) An absurd interpr. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: t i *90* = *91* (which is quite unfounded), so that t ' i e n t i t s ' u n g *92* is equal to t ' i e n s o t s ' u n g *93* »whom Heaven followed». T s ï *94* (****tsɨəg***) should be read as *95* (***dz'ɨəg***) 'to cherish', k o *88* means 'to ascend'. Thus: a. »(The Hia king) t ' i e n t i t s ' u n g whom Heaven followed and t s ï p a o cherished and tranquillized»; b. »(The Yin king) t ' i e n t i k o whom Heaven raised and p a o tranquillized». — **D.** Wang Yin-chï : t i *90* = *96* 'to use' (quite unfounded), and t s ï *94* = *95* = *97* (like C above), paraphrasing: a. *98* »Heaven t i used t s ' u n g the compliant one and cherished and tranquillized him». Wang does not expound line b. But Chang Ping-lin tries to vindicate that just as t s ï *94* in a. means 'to cherish', so k o *88* in b. is but a variant for k i a *99*, which via the meaning 'great' would mean 'to favour'. A curious jumbling with definitions. — **E.** Sun (C) and Wang (D) are right that t s ï p a o *100* is a verb equal to *1* or *2*; we have a supporting par. for this binome in Kyü: Chou yü, shang: *3* »to cherish and protect the common people». Cf. Li: Chung yung *4* »to (treat as children =) cherish the common people». Shïwen here expressly states that *94* should be read ****tsɨəg / tsi*** / t s ï, and in our Shu line it gives no sound gloss, evidently reading it ****tsɨəg*** here as well. But in fact *96* ****dz'ɨəg*** (falling tone) 'to breed, to foster, to cherish' and *97* ****dz'ɨəg*** (even tone) 'to cherish' are aspects of the same word stem as *94* ****tsɨəg*** 'son, child', meaning fundamentally 'to treat as a child, to fondle', and probably our *94* here in Shu and in Li should really be read ****dz'ɨəg***, as a verb = 'to cherish', against Shïwen and with Wang and Sun. T i fundamentally means 'to go along a road, to follow' (see Gl. 1337) and since it is here combined with t s ' u n g 'to follow', we clearly have a binome t i - t s ' u n g = 'to follow', here evidently taken in the sense of 'to follow the wishes of, to indulge'. In line b. t i stands alone corresponding to the t i - t s ' u n g in line a. As to k o *88*, since it should be a verb expressing some kind of favouring (balancing the t s ï 'to cherish' in line a), Sun is evidently right that it means *5* 'to rise, to raise' (a well-attested meaning, e. g. Shu, Lü hing *6* »There was no more descending and ascending» — the meaning here unambiguous through the antithesis). Thus: a. »**Heaven t i - t s u n g (followed =) indulged them and** t s ï p a o **cherished and protected them**»; b. »**Heaven** t i (**followed =**) **indulged them and** k o p a o **raised and protected them**». The parallelism is quite good.

1728. M i e n k i t ' i e n j o *7*.

A. Cheng Hüan says m i e n *8* means *9* 'to face, to turn towards', and PK'ung expounds: »He (Yü) m i e n faced and k i t ' i e n examined Heaven (i. e. Heaven's

厥已出執 *71* 已 *72* 已出 *73* 徂 *74* 在 *75* 執 *76* 脅 *77* 存 *78* 匪我 思且(徂) *79* 詛 *80* 且 *81* 狙 *82* 無 *83*.
其眚命用懋 *84* 相古先民有夏 *85* 今相有殷 *86* 天迪從子保 *87* 天迪格保 *88* 格 *89* 量度 *90*.
迪 *91* 攸 *92* 天迪從 *93* 天所從 *94* 子 *95* 字 *96* 用 *97* 慈 *98* 天用順從而慈保之 *99* 假 *100* 子保 *1*
字保 *2* 慈保 *3* 慈保庶民 *4* 子庶民 *5* 升 *6* 罔有降格 *7* 面稽天若 *8* 面 *9* 回向 *10* 勉 *11*.

mind) j o and complied with it». A rhythmically impossible interpr., accepted by Ts'ai, Kiang and Sun (and Legge, Couvreur). — **B.** Wang Yin-chï: m i e n *8* is a short-form for m i e n *12*, Erya = *10*, in Shuowen wr. *11*. Since all these forms are **mi̯an / mi̯än /* m i e n in rising tone, it is evident that *12* and *11* are simply early graphical variants of the common *10* 'to force, make an effort to, strive to': »He (Yü) strove to examine Heaven's (mind) and complied with it». — **C.** Yü Yüe: t' i e n j o belong together, and since j o *13* = s h u n *14*, a t' i e n j o = t' i e n s h u n means t' i e n t a o *15* »Heaven's (way =) norm». That j o *13* should mean t a o *16* is of course quite excluded. But Yü Sing-wu accepts it, adding another theory: m i e n *8* is a short-form for m i e n *17* 'to turn the back on' (ex. in Ch'u: Li sao), thus: »They turned the back on the examining of Heaven's norm». — **D.** P'ei Hüe-hai (in Ku shu hü tsï tsi shï) proposes that j o *13* should be carried to the next line: j o k i n s h ï etc. *18* and interpreted as = e r *19* (common): e r k i n s h ï »But at the present times». It would be even more tempting to say that j o, carried to the following, is an empty initial particle: as such, with time adverbs, it is well attested in the Shu: j o s i *20* »the other day», j o y i j ï *21* »the next day», thus here: j o k i n s h ï »In these times». But, on the one hand, the rhythm will be less good: M i e n k i t' i e n, j o k i n s h ï k i c h u e i k ü e m i n g is inferior to m i e n - k i t' i e n - j o, k i n - s h ï k i - c h u e i k ü e - m i n g. On the other hand, and above all, t' i e n - j o is proved to be a phr. by a par., see E next. — **E.** The line should be understood on the analogy of a par phr. a few lines later: n e n g k i m o u t s ï t' i e n *22*, where we have the same k i and t' i e n and a slightly different turning of the phrase. That line means: »He will be able to k i (scrutinize =) comprehend and m o u (plan to =) endeavour to t s ï t' i e n follow Heaven» (Legge refers the line to »the elders»: They are capable etc., but obviously, with PK'ung, the insight into Heaven's will in both lines concerns the sovereign). In our shorter first line, m i e n k i t' i e n j o we have the same two notions in an inverted order; m i e n, with Wang Yin-chï (B), means' to strive to' and corresponds to the m o u 'to plan to, to endeavour to' in the second line. T' i e n j o corresponds to t s ï t' i e n »to follow Heaven». But since t' i e n j o cannot very well mean this with j o as a verb (with anteposed object), we have to construe j o as a noun: t' i e n j o = »The Heaven-obeying» = 'the obedience towards Heaven», with t' i e n as an objective genitive (as in our »Imitatio Christi», the imitation of Christ). Such constructions are not unusual in early Chinese. Thus our line *7*: **»They strove to (scrutinize =) comprehend the obedience toward Heaven».** — The correctness of Wang's idea m i e n = 'to strive to' is confirmed by a Shu par. where we have the two analogous m o u 'to plan to' and m i e n 'to strive to' together as a binome:

Shu: Li cheng: M o u m i e n y u n g p' e i h ü n t ê *23*.

A. PK'ung: »m o u in planning m i e n (the affairs) in front of you, use those of a greatly (trained =) docile virtue». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »If you m o u (plan =) judge according to m i e n the faces (of people), and y u n g thereby (consider them as) greatly docile in virtue». — **C.** Kiang Sheng follows the stone classics of 175 A. D. which had a l u a n *24* before m o u; and he takes p' e i *25* as *26* 'not', and m i e n *8* = *27*: »If you bring disorder into the plans, and face (?) and use those who have not any docile virtue». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: »m o u (examine their) counsels, m i e n (examine their) faces, and use those greatly docile in virtue». — **E.** Wang Yin-chï: *8* = *12*: **»Endeavour and strive to use those of a greatly docile virtue».** — It is difficult to see how the l u a n of the stone classics could suit the line, and it spoils the rhythm. E is simple and convincing.

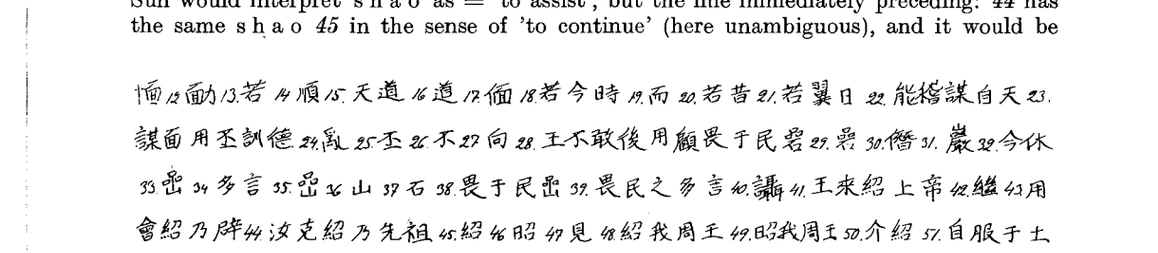
1729. W a n g p u k a n h o u y u n g k u w e i y ü m i n y e n *28*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after y u n g, and says y e n *29* = *30* 'to err'. K'ung Ying-ta expounds the latter further: *29* (**ngi̯ĕm / ngăm /* y e n) is the same as *31* (**ngi̯ĕm / ngi̯ɒm /*

y e n) 'precipitous, perilous' (after Shuowen), but here means 'scraggy, uneven', hence 'faulty, to err' (a curious idea). Thus: »The king should not dare to h o u (place behind =) neglect y u n g the employable (sc. good men), and look to and be anxious about the (scragginess =) errors of the people». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after h o u: »The king should not dare to be h o u dilatory, and y u n g hence he should look to and be anxious about the perils of the people». — **C.** Shuowen quotes: w e i y ü m i n y e n, which shows that Hü punctuated after k u : w a n g p u k a n h o u y u n g k u. But then opinions vary: *α.* Kiang Sheng: »The king should not dare to be dilatory in k u having regard (for the people), he should be anxious about the dangers of the people». This simply skips the inconvenient y u n g. *β.* Sun Sing-yen subdivides: W a n g p u k a n h o u, y u n g k u, and connects with the preceding k i n h i u *32*: »As to the present favour (sc. of Heaven towards the Chou), the king should not dare to be dilatory, he should y u n g k u (use =) take advantage of the kind regard (of Heaven's), and stand in fear of the danger (threatening from) the people (sc. its fickleness)». — **D.** The present Shuowen text quotes our line w e i y ü m i n y e n under the char. *29* y e n, which it says is id. with *31*, and it has another entry *33* (Ts'ie yün **ńi̯ap / ńźi̯äp /* j ê) = *34* 'much talk, garrulous, to tattle', and then it quotes a Tso chuan line where this J ê *33* would be a place name — the present Tso text has the similar graph *35*. Now Wang Ying-lin (Sung time) in K'un hüe ki wen cites Shuowen as quoting our line w e i y ü m i n x under j ê *33* inst. of under y e n *29*; Tuan Yü-ts'ai condemns this severely, but Yü Yüe justly points out that the Tso place name *35* is a reasonable variant of y e n *29* (*36* and *37* being analogous), so that the Tso chuan quotation should really belong to *35* and *29*, whereas the Shu quotation should belong to j ê *33*, with Wang Ying-lin. Yü concludes that Wang had a better Shuowen version than Sü Hüan and Sü K'ie. Our Shu line: w e i y ü m i n j ê *38* is then analogous to Ode 76, phr. *39* »I fear the gossip of people». This is strikingly plausible. The *33* **ńi̯ap / ńźi̯äp /* j ê of Shuowen is but a variant of *40* (same sound) 'garrulous, to tattle', which occurs in Han fei: Kien kie. Thus the word is safely attested. For the rest, Sun Sing-yen's idea that k i n 'present' and h o u 'dilatory' have a logical connection is very good, and we obtain: **»As to the present (heavenly) grace, the king should not dare to be dilatory but make use of the k u favour; and he should be apprehensive of the people's talk».**

1730. W a n g l a i s h a o S h a n g t i *41*.

A. PK'ung: s h a o has its ordinary meaning of *42* 'to continue': **»May the king come and (continue =) take over the work of God on High».** This is quite in accord with the idea of the king as T' i e n t s ï Son of Heaven (already occurring in early bronze inscriptions), the young king here taking over the charge of carrying out Heaven's will. — **B.** Sun Yi-jang: s h a o has its extended meaning of ('to transmit' =) 'carry out for another, to assist' (common in Li): »May the king come and assist God on High». This of course is possible, but there is really no reason for abandoning the ancient expl. which is quite good. Similarly in Shu: Wen hou chï ming: Y u n g h u e i s h a o n a i p i *43* Sun would interpret s h a o as = 'to assist'; but the line immediately preceding: *44* has the same s h a o *45* in the sense of 'to continue' (here unambiguous), and it would be



strange indeed if it occurred with two different meanings in two consecutive lines. — **C.** Chang Ping-lin has an eccentric idea that s h a o *45* is equal to c h a o *46*, and since Erya says this c h a o *46* means h i e n *47* 'to be conspicuous' (fundamentally: 'to shine'), our w a n g l a i s h a o (c h a o) S h a n g t i would mean: »May the king come and appear before God on High», in the sense of performing the k i a o sacrifice in the suburb. In support he adduces a lost Shu chapter ap. Meng: T'eng Wen Kung, hia: *48* (this is quoted as *49* in PK'ungs spurious Wu Ch'eng chapter), which Chang believes means: »They appeared before our Chou king». But, as Tsiao Sün correctly has developed, s h a o *45* here has that same sense of k i e s h a o *50* mentioned above: 'To assist' = 'to introduce': »They were (assisted forward to =) introduced to our Chou king».

1731. a. T s ï f u y ü t' u c h u n g *51*;
b. K' i t s o t a y i k' i t s ï s h ï p' e i H u a n g t' i e n *52*.

A. Cheng Hüan and Wang Su take t s ï *53* as = *54* 'to use' in both lines: a: »And (using this =) thereby manage in the centre of the land»; b: »Having made the great city, he shall t s ï s h ï using that (city) be a counterpart to August Heaven». But t s ï really has no such meaning. PK'ung, realizing that the formulation is different in the two lines: a. t s ï alone, b. t s ï s h ï, takes the first as = 'self', the second as = y u n g, with Cheng Hüan. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: The t s ï in a. means 'self' and the t s ï in b., differently construed (with an object), means 'from', as usual. Thus: a. **»And himself manage (the government) in the centre of the land»**; b. **»Having made the great city, he shall (governing) from there be a counterpart to August Heaven»**. (Legge takes t s ï s h ï *55* to refer to time: 'henceforth', which misses the principal idea of the passage, that Lo-yi shall be a centre of government).

P i s ï y ü s h a n g h i a see Gl. 1604.

1732. T s ï s h ï c h u n g y i *36*.

A. PK'ung: »And t s ï s h ï c h u n g from that centre govern». He thus takes s h ï *51* as an attribute to c h u n g. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en has realized that t s ï s h ï *55* 'from there' is the same as in the preceding line, and that s h ï does not belong to c h u n g. He paraphrases *58*, the Shu phr. thus meaning: »From there you can be in the centre and govern». This makes poor sense (»to be in the centre from there»); we have to modify it so as to carry c h u n g to y i: **»And from there centrally govern»**.

1733. T s i e s i n g w e i j ï k' i m a i *59*.

»Discipline their (natures =) minds and they will progress daily». Yü Sing-wu has a speculation that the primary form of t s i e *60* is here a mistake for the primary form of j e n *61*, and that t s i e s i n g should be j e n s h e n g *62*. In Lü: Chung ki we have, however, the phr. t s i e h u s i n g y e *63*, which probably is an allusion to our Shu line, and in any case shows that t s i e s i n g was a pre-Han phrase.

1734. W a n g k i n g t s o s o *64*.

PK'ung has no explanation. **A.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »May the king make reverence his position», i. e. take his stand in reverence. This is hardly acceptable with a view to the word sequence. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: **»May the king with reverent attention (make a placing =) give them their proper positions»**.

1735. W o p u k' o p u k i e n y ü y u H i a *65*.

PK'ung paraphrases k i e n *66* by *67* 'to look at': »We should not fail to look at the lords of Hia». But k i e n here has more particularly the sense of 'to mirror' (= *68*), as shown by a par. in Tsiu kao above: *69* »Men should not (examine =) mirror themselves in water». The metaphor is the same here. For further details, see Gl. 763. This was already recognized in Han time, for Ts'uei Yin *70* (Hou Han shu: Ts'uei Yin chuan) in a memorial quotes *71*.

1736. W o y i w e i t s ï e r k u o m i n g s ï j o k u n g *72*.

This follows upon: »Now the king has succeeded to and received their mandate».

A. PK'ung: »We should (think of =) take warning from the mandates of these two states and succeed to j o k u n g those who complied with the meritorious (virtue)». An impossible construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »I also consider it as being the mandate of these two states; we should succeed to j o k u n g those who had merits». Just as bad as A. — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen, in the wake of A, rightly insist that w e i *73* must be the verb 'to think' (common in Shu), but in their paraphrases they give no satisfactory expl. of j o *74*. This j o must evidently be a verb 'to be equal to, to equal'. Thus: **»We should also remember the mandates of these two states (sc. Hia and Yin), and in succeeding them equal their merits»**.

1737. W a n g n a i c h' u f u *75*.

A. The Kin-wen version ap. Lun heng: Shuai-sing read *76*: **»Now the king starts to undertake the mandate»**. — **B.** The Ku-wen version ap. PK'ung read as *75* above. PK'ung takes f u as = *77* »The king first manages (the instruction)». — A is supported by the similar phr. Y u H i a f u t' i e n m i n g *78* a few lines earlier.

1738. J o s h e n g t s ï w a n g p u t s a i k ü e c h' u s h e n g *79*.

A. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Shuai sing) has a curious speculation that s h e n g t s ï *80* means a youth of 15 years of age (i. e. the age at which the king entered school): »It is like a new-formed youth (sc. who is just beginning his studies); all depends on his first s h e n g (creation =) formation (education)». P'i Si-juei, on the other hand, believes that the »15 years» are not deduced from the entering into school and there being »formed» but from the rule expressed in Tso: Siang 9: »A ruler of a state *81* at 15 begets child». Thus Wang Ch'ung would have understood our s h e n g t s ï as »a begetter», i. e. youth of 15. This is very unlikely, for it is not applicable to the following c h' u s h e n g. In any case, Wang Ch'ung's idea is extremely far-fetched. — **B.** PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en: »It is like bearing a child, all depends on its (time when) just born», i. e. when it is first taught to be good or bad. Legge tries to improve this by formulating: »It is as on the birth of a son, when all depends on (the training of) his early life». This entails that s h e n g would mean two different things ('to bear' and 'to live, life') in the same line, which is very unlikely. — **C.** As pointed out by Chang Ping-lin, Kia Yi (early Han time) in Sin shu: T'ai kiao narrates how Ch'eng Wang's mother, while pregnant with him, was very careful of her deportment and thus gave t' a i k i a o *82* »womb instruction», i. e. instilled good tendencies in her off-spring already before birth. Since it is a question precisely of Ch'eng Wang, this evidently alludes to our Shu passage, and Kia understood it thus: »It is like bearing a child, all depends on its first (bearing =) time in the mother's womb». This is too sophisticated, but Kia is obviously right that s h e n g means the same: 'to bear, birth' in both places, and the sequel fully explains the simile: **»It is like bearing a child, all depends on the (first bearing =) birth, oneself gives it the endowment of wisdom (i. e. as innate gift); (so) Heaven endows with wisdom»** etc.

中 52 其作 大 邑 其 自 時 配 皇 天 53 自 54 用 55 自 時 56 自 時 中 乂 57 時 58 自 是 可 以 宅 中 圖
治 59 節 性 惟 日 其 邁 60 節 61 人 62 人 生 63 節 乎 性 也 64 王 敬 作 所 65 我 不 可 不 監 于 有 夏
66 監 67 視 68 鑑 69 人 無 于 水 監 70 崔 駰 71 鑑 于 有 殷 72 我 亦 惟 茲 二 國 命 嗣 若 功 73 惟 74
若 75 王 乃 初 服 76 今 王 初 服 厥 命 77 服 行 教 化 78 有 夏 服 天 命 79 若 生 子 罔 不 在 厥 初 生
80 生 子 81 十 五 而 生 子 82 胎 教 83 知 今 我 初 服 84 知 85 攸 86 知 87 惟 有 歷 年 我 不 敢 知 曰

1739. Chï kin wo ch'u fu *83*.

Liu Feng-lu would consider chï *84* as a corruption of shen *85* or *86* 'how much the more'. But he fails to see the par. with an earlier line. There we had: wei yu li nien, wo pu kan chï yüe *87*; here we have: ming li nien, chï kin wo ch'u fu *88*. There is the same chï »we know» in both cases, after the li nien 'so and so many years' given by Heaven. Yü Yüe tries to argue that in the former example as well, chï *84* is a »particle», which is quite inadmissible.

1740. Wang k'i tê chï yung k'i t'ien yung ming *89*.

A. PK'ung: **»May the king (by the virtue's use =) by means of virtue pray for Heaven's eternal mandate».** — **B.** Yü Sing-wu: tê, in Chou script sometimes wr. *90*, is here a corruption of sing *91*, in Chou script *92*, and the line should run: »wang k'i sing chï, yung k'i etc.: »The king should examine it, and thus pray for» etc. A very arbitrary text alteration.

1741. Wu yi siao min yin yung fei yi yi kan t'ien lu yung yi min jo yu kung *93*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: wu yi siao min yin yung fei yi, yi kan t'ien lu yung yi min, jo yu kung, and interprets: »He should not in employing the people yin excessively use irregular (times); and he should also dare to t'ien cut off lu the capital punishments and thus govern the people; jo complying with (Yü and T'ang) he will have achievements». — **B.** Kiang Sheng, while following A for the first half, continues: »yi kan also how should he dare, by exterminating capital punishments, to govern the people; jo being compliant (in guiding them), he will have achievements». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates the latter part thus: yi kan t'ien lu yung yi, min jo yu kung, and takes the whole as far as yung fei yi as one clause: »He should not, because the small people go to excess and use irregular (practises), likewise dare to rule by exterminating capital punishments; min jo the people being compliantly treated, he will have achievements». — **D.** Wang Yin-chï follows Ts'ai Ch'en but for the last part. He punctuates after min (with PK'ung, A above), and says jo *94* = nai *95*. Kyü: Chou yü quotes a lost Shu chapter: pi yu jen ye, jo neng yu tsi *96*. »One must be patient, and then one can be successful», on which Wei Chao jo = nai (In PK'ung's spurious chapter Kün Ch'en this line is incorporated but formulated *97*). Our jo yu kung would thus mean: »and then you can have achievements». That jo *94* sometimes serves in the sense of *98* (**ńi̯əg / ńźi* / er), which is synonymous with and cognate to *95* (**nəg / nâi* / nai) is well established, cf. Gl. 1570. But it is hardly necessary to extenuate the jo so strongly as to make it a mere particle. It is common in the Shu, meaning 'like this, thus' (e. g. Wang jo yüe »The king spoke thus»), and that should be the meaning here: **»He should not, because the small people go to excess and use irregular (practises), likewise dare to rule the people by exterminating capital punishments; (like this =) in this way he will have achievements».**

1742. Siao min nai wei hing yung yü t'ien hia *99*.

A. PK'ung: hing yung *100* = *1*: »The small people then will use him as a model in all the world». This inversion of verb and object is not plausible. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »The small people then will imitate (him) and yung use it (sc. the virtue) in all the world». This is possible in itself, but not applicable in a par. line in Shu: To fang, see below. — **C.** Hing yung is therefore obviously a synonym-binome: 'to imitate and use' is the same as simply 'to imitate': **»The small people then will (imitate and use him =) imitate him in all the world».** — **D.** Wang Nien-sun: Erya says hing *2* = ch'ang *3*, and this is here only an adverbial phr.: »The small people will then hing constantly yung use it (sc. the virtue) in all the world». This is unacceptable, for hing is equal to ch'ang *3* in its sense of 'constant norm, law, rule, model', but certainly not in its

sense of 'constantly'. — **E.** For an unsupportable idea of Yü Yüe's that hing means the same as yung 'to use' see Gl. 1458. — We compare:

Shu: To fang: Küe min hing yung k'üan *4*.

A. PK'ung: »The people (even if) hing punished, yung thereby k'üan were stimulated». This is excluded, for the phr. hing yung must reasonably be the same as in our Shao kao passage above, and there it is quite clear that hing *2* does not mean 'punishment' but 'norm, to take as model, to imitate', as in Odes 235, 272. Ts'ai Ch'en has realized this, but takes yung differently from the corresponding yung in B above: »The people hing imitated him, and yung thereby were stimulated». This inconsistency will not do. Hing-yung here again is a synonym-compound: **»The people hing yung imitated him and k'üan were stimulated».** — **B.** Here again Wang Yin-chï (in the wake of his father Nien-sun) would take hing as = 'constantly', and Yü Yüe as = 'to use', both unacceptable, see above.

1743. Yüe wang hien *5*.

A. PK'ung insists that yüe *6* should mean yü *7*, paraphrasing *8*, which makes poor sense and is therefore expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: *9*, thus: »In a king's (principles) he will be illustrious». — **B.** Yüe is a mere initial particle (see Gl. 1207): **»The king will then become illustrious».**

1744. Shï wu t'i yu Yin li nien *10*.

All the commentators, ancient and modern, explain shï *11* by yung *12*. Shï is well attested in the sense of *12* 'to use', hence also = 'using (this), thereby', but it frequently is a mere particle carrying over from one line to another, e. g. Ode 191, phr. *13* »the disorder is never settled, every month it grows». For many more ex. see Gl. 103, 519, 654, 713. Here it is no more than such a particle, which Legge rightly realized.

1745. Kan yi wang chï ch'ou min po kün tsï yüe yu min pao shou wang wei ming *14*.

A. PK'ung says *15* **đ̂i̯ôg / źi̯u̯* / ch'ou = *16* 'a vis-à-vis, to match'; the fundamental sense of the word being 'to respond', it can also mean a 'co-respondent, a vis-à-vis, a match', hence also 'an adversary, enemy' (Shïwen records the variant *17*, same sound, 'to pledge a cup in response', which is etym. the same word). PK'ung further takes yüe *6* = *7* 'in' (considering it as a variant for *18*, which Erya defines as = *7*) and pao *19* as = *20* 'peace'. Thus: »I dare, with the king's po kün tsï all grandees ch'ou min who respond to the people, yüe yu min in the cherishing of the people pao shou peacefully receive the king's majestic decrees». Kiang Sheng modifies this in reading yüe yu min pao together: »in aiding the people's peace». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: ch'ou *15* is a loan char. for *21* **d'i̯ôg / đ̂'i̯u̯* / ch'ou 'dense, thick', just as it was in Shu: Wei tsï, see Gl. 1509. And yu *22* stands for *23* (same sound). Thus: »I dare, with the king's (dense =) numerous people and po kün tsï yüe yu min such grandees who possess people, peacefully receive» etc. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en rightly insists on the contrast between ch'ou min *24* and yu min *25*. Since yu normally

68.命歷年知今我有服 69.王其德之用祈天永命 70.曰 71.省 72.曰 73.勿以小民淫用非彝
亦敢殄戮用乂民若有功 74.若 75.乃 76.必有忍.也若能有濟 77.必有忍.其乃有濟 78.而 79.
小民乃惟刑用于天下 100.刑用 1.用法 2.刑 3.常 4.厥民刑用勸 5.越王顯 6.越 7.于 8.
于王亦有光明 9.於王道亦有光明 10.式勿替有殷歷年 11.式 12.用 13.亂靡有定式月斯
生 14.敢以王之讎民百君子越有民保受王威命 15.讎 16.匹 17.酬 18.粵 19.保 20.安 21.綢 22.

means 'friend' and ch'ou commonly means 'enemy', it would be strange indeed if ch'ou did not have that sense here, where it obviously balances yu 'friend'. Yüe is a mere particle, as often (see Gl. 1207). Thus: »**I dare, with all the grandees of the king's hostile people (sc. the vanquished Yin) and with the friendly people (i. e. the allied states), observe and receive the king's majestic decrees**».

Lo kao.

1746. Chen fu tsï ming pi *26*.

A. PK'ung believes that this refers to Chou Kung's handing over the government to the young king, and he takes tsï in the dative: »I restitute to tsï you ming pi the bright sovereign's (government)». To supply the salient word 'government', which is not in the text, will certainly not do. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen therefore turn it differently: »I restitute you as bright sovereign». They all believe that this was the opinion of the Han scholars, because in Han shu: Wang Mang chuan, in a memorial to the throne of the year 5 A. D., it is said that upon Ch'eng Wang's attaining manhood, Chou Kung *27* »handed over to him the administrative documents and said: »fu tsï ming pi». But this is not at all conclusive, see B next. — **B.** Wang An-shï: fu means 'to report': »**I report to (you) my son and bright sovereign**». This was followed by Ts'ai Ch'en and later scholars like Yü Yüe and Wang Kuo-wei. It is strongly supported by a par. in Shu: Li cheng *28* »All I report to you, young son and king». (Sun Yi-jang, because of this par., would carry the wang from next line here; chen fu tsï ming pi wang, but that is excluded, for the ming pi reverts in the next line, ending the passage, which shows that the phr. should not be pi wang). Now this interpr. (as pointed out by Yü Yüe) was already that intended in the Han-time memorial in A above (Han shu), for after the line there quoted it continues: »Chou Kung had earlier constantly given orders in the king's name, and on his own authority acted, *29* without reporting; therefore (now) he said: fu tsï ming kün *30* »I report to you, bright sovereign». And we may add that Huai-nan-tsï seems to have held the same opinion, for in Huai: Fan lun he says that Chou Kung with the face towards the North as a subject served Ch'eng Wang; *31* »He asked permission, and then he reported, and then he acted (Kao Yu: fu *32* = *33* 'to report'), which obviously alludes to our Shu passage. Thus B is the oldest interpr. attested, and it suits the context best: the sequel is a detailed report of the founding of the new capital. — **C.** Chuang Shu-tsu agrees that fu means 'to report', but would take pi *34* as = 'law': »I report to you on the bright law», which, however, makes poor sense in the context. — **D.** Yü Sing-wu, who insists that chen *35* should be a genitive (as it mostly is in the bronze inscriptions, but far from always in the Shu), concludes that fu tsï *36* is a noun; and since fu can mean *37* 'to repeat', fu tsï (»additional son»?) would be a term meaning 'brother's son'. Thus: »My nephew, bright sovereign!». But there is not the slightest support for such a meaning of fu tsï.

1747. Wang ju fu kan ki t'ien ki ming ting ming yü nai yin pao ta siang tung t'u k'i ki tso min ming pi *38*.

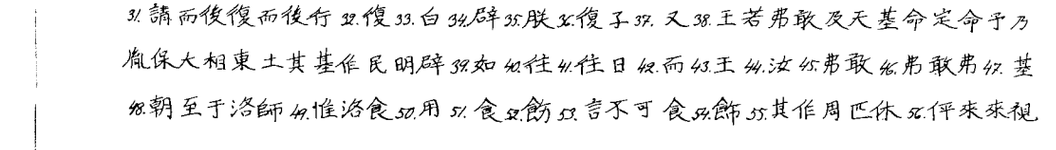
A. PK'ung: ju *39* is often equal to wang *40* 'to go'; and since wang alone frequently means wang jï *41* »in (gone =) past days, formerly», ju should mean the same: »The king in the past has not dared to come to (an understanding of) Heaven's (foundation charge and tranquillizing charge =) first charge to the Chou and its charge (to them) to tranquillize (the world); I therefore, sueceeding (to Wen and Wu) have pao tranquillized (the world); I greatly surveyed the Eastern lands, so as to (foundingly =) first make for the people a bright sovereign's (government)». An impossible construction. Moreover ju *39* means 'to go to' (with an object, the goal), never »in past times». —

B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »The king is as if he dare not come to (an understanding of) Heaven's founding decree and definitely settling decree; I therefore, following the Guardian (i. e. the prince of Shao), have grandly inspected the Eastern lands, in order to found (a place where) he shall be the people's bright sovereign». The second half here is a great improvement on PK'ung. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »If the king dare not reach to Heaven's founding charge (i. e. that given to Wen Wang) and its definitely settling charge (to Wu Wang), I have yin continued pao the tranquillizing, and» etc. Sun Sing-yen tries to improve this ty taking ju *39* as = er *42*: wang er fu kan = »The king dare not» etc. — **D.** Sun Yi-jang, who would connect wang *43* with the preceding line (which is not allowable, see Gl. 1746) interprets: ju fu kan ki »(I report to you, my son and bright sovereign) as if I dare not attain to» (sc. the standard of the ancient sovereigns). Yü Sing-wu, keeping the wang, explains: »If the king dare not attain to (the standard etc.)» — **E.** Wang Kuo-wei: ju *39* is equal to er *42* and this again is equal to ju *44* 'you'; fu kan *45* is an abbreviation of fu kan fu *46*: »King, you dare not but reach to Heaven's founding charge and definitely establishing charge». Utterly unacceptable speculations. — **F.** Another interpr. The whole line refers to the foundation ki *47* of the city of Lo as a new capital for the young king to dominate the whole realm. He is not satisfied with the earlier capital Hao alone, he needs a more central place. That this is the purport follows from the subsequent narrative. Thus: »**If the king dare not (come to =) settle in (the place where) Heaven founded the mandate and fixed the mandate (i. e. the Western capital Hao), I have followed the Guardian (i. e. the prince of Shao) andgrandly inspected the eastern lands, in order to found (a place where) he shall be the people's bright sovereign**».

1748. Chao chï yü Lo shï *48*. Not, with Cheng Hüan and PK'ung: »In the morning I came to the shï multitudes of Lo», but: »**In the morning I came to the (intended) capital Lo**», see Gl. 761.

1749. Wei Lo shï *49*.

A. Cheng Hüan paraphrases: »(In the region of Lo), you could for long place the people there and make them work the fields and feed you». Thus: »The (region of) Lo (could) feed you». — **B.** PK'ung: shï 'to eat' refers to the ink on the oracle bones: »In regard to the Lo, (the ink) was (eaten =) absorbed», i. e. the omen was good. PK'ung could know very little of the oracle technique, and this interpr. is an arbitrary guess. — **C.** Yü Yüe adduces several early cases in which shï 'to eat' has been defined as = yung *50* 'to use' by the commentators, and wei Lo shï would thus mean: »The (region of) Lo (could) be used». But in the said examples yung 'to use' is only a free rendering of the extended sense of 'to consume', and the line would then really mean: »The (region of) Lo (was eatable =) could be used for maintenance». This suits the context badly, for the whole passage describes the divination about various localities, and wei Lo shï should, with B, refer to the answer of the oracle, not an estimate of the officials that the region was fertile. — **D.** Hence we must conclude that shï *51* (*d'i̯ək*) stands for something else. Probably it is a loan char. (phonetic without radical, Chou fashion) for ch'ï *52* (**t'i̯ək*) 'to order, to command, to direct' (ex. of this word in Kyü: Ts'i yü etc.), thus: »**It was (the region of) Lo that was ordered**» **(sc. by the oracle)**. A similar use



as a short-form we have in Kyü: Tsin yü *53*, where s h ï *51* serves as short-form (without radical) for *54*.

1750. K ' i t s o C h o u p ' i h i u *55*.

A. PK'ung: »**He will establish Chou, so as to respond to the grace**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »He will make (the place where) Chou shall respond to the grace». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen (alternatively): »He will make it p ' i a counterpart to Chou (i. e. to the earlier capital Hao), h i u and it will be fine». — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr.

1751. P ' i n g l a i l a i s h ï y ü p u h i u h e n g k i *56*.

A. Cheng Hüan takes the repetition of l a i to indicate two messengers: »P ' i n g messengers l a i have come l a i and come». — **B.** PK'ung punctuates: p ' i n g l a i, l a i s h ï y ü etc. The first p ' i n g l a i is a repetition from an earlier line (»He has sent a messenger to come»): »P ' i n g l a i »**He has sent a messenger to come; l a i s h ï y ü and he has come to show me**» etc. (Wang Kuo-wei refers the second l a i to the king himself, but it is difficult to see how the line could then be construed). — **C.** Yü Yüe would evade the repetition of l a i by taking the second as a short-form for l a i *57* 'to give', a very forced expl. B is simple and reasonable. — PK'ung takes p u h i u »the happiness of the oracles» and h e n g k i »the constant auspiciousness (of the site)» as two coördinated phr. Ts'ai Ch'en better: »**the grace and constant auspiciousness of the oracles**».

1752. W o e r j e n k u n g c h e n g *58*.

A. PK'ung: c h e n g *59* = c h e n g *60*: »We two men (sc. I and the prince) shall together regulate (this auspicious business)». — **B.** Ma Jung says c h e n g = t a n g *61*. Now this t a n g is just as obscure and ambiguous as the c h e n g of the text. Legge says: »We two (the king and the prince) sustain the responsibility in common». Liu Feng-lu refers e r j e n to Wen Wang and Wu Wang: »Our two men (Wen and Wu) will both find it correct». The word c h e n g *59* is common in the sense of 'straight, correct, proper' (it is etym. closely cognate to *60*), and when it has its sense of 'divination inquiry' it really means 'to verify, to determine what is correct'. With the char. enlarged into *62* (**tieng*, even tone) it means (Ode 268) 'auspicious' (properly: 'correct'). In the present context, referring to oracles, it must mean: »**We two men have both verified (sc. the reading of the oracles)**».

1753. P a i s h o u k ' i s h o u h u e i y e n *63*.

A. PK'ung supplies a k ' i u *64* after s h o u: »Saluting and bowing my head to the ground (I seek) his instructive words». Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen supply a *65*: »(I receive) his instructive words». Ts'ai Ch'en better paraphrases »in order to thank for», and indeed h u e i y e n is the direct object of p a i s h o u k ' i s h o u: »**I salute and bow the head to the ground for his instructive words**». — **B.** Yü Sing-wu: As recognized by Wu Ta-ch'eng, the char. *66* can be a variant for m o u *67* 'to plan, consult, deliberate': in the Wang-sun K'ien-chê Bell inscription we have *68* in the sense of *69*. Indeed, in Ode 20, *70* has the Han school variant *71*. Thus: »I salute and bow the head to the ground for his deliberating words». — B is quite possible, but since h u e i *66* makes excellent sense in its ordinary and common reading = 'to instruct', we have no reason to abandon the earliest interpr.

1754. W a n g c h a o c h ' e n g Y i n l i s ï y ü s i n y i *72*.

A. Cheng Hüan and Pan Ku (Po hu t'ung: Li yüe), foll. by PK'ung: »May the king first (lifting, raising =) employing the rites of the Yin, sacrifice in the new city». — **B.** Wang An-shï, foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en: y i n *73* = *74* 'ample'. The meaning 'great, ample, numerous' is well attested, e. g. Ode 95, phr. *75* »In great crowds they fill the ground»; Tso: Ch'eng 16, phr. *76* »Just now (in the ampleness of the affairs =) when there is so much to do» (Tu Yü: y i n *73* = *74*) etc. (cf. Gl. 1448, common). Thus: »May the king first (lift =) undertake ample rites and sacrifice in the new city». — **C.** Chang Ping-lin

insists that y i n in the sense of 'ample, full, grand' was applied as a technical term for a certain kind of sacrifice. An example from Kungyang: Wen 2, phr. *77* »In 5 years they twice made y i n sacrifice» is not conclusive, since this may equally well mean »... made ample sacrifice». But in Tso: Siang 22, phr. *78* »to sacrifice with a single sheep, and to make y i n (»the ample sacrifice») with a sheep and a pig», the word is unambiguously a technical name for a particularly full sacrifice. Thus: »May the king first, employing the rites of the y i n sacrifice, sacrifice in the new city». Wang Kuo-wei adds that the y i n was an inaugural sacrifice to Heaven introducing a new reign, an unproved speculation. — C is tempting. On the other hand, the combination y i n l i *79* speaks rather in favour of B. We have a very close par. in Li: Sang ta ki with this very combination: *80* »The host prepared the rites (ritual gifts) for a great offering» (Cheng Hüan: y i n = *81*). But after all, historical considerations are strongest in favour of the ancient interpr. A. The Chou, from their strong-hold in Shensi, pushed eastward, founding a new capital city »east of the passes», in the north of Honan, the central sphere of the ancient Yin; and this only a few years after the fall of the Yin. They were here, indeed, practically in enemy country, and it was prudent, in order to reconcile the Honan population to the new regime, to be conservative in regard to the sacred rites. This is underlined by c h a o »at first». C h ' e n g *82* therefore probably did not mean 'to lift' here, but 'to correspond to' (very common), thus: »**May the king at first, (corresponding to =) in accordance with the rites of the Yin, sacrifice in the new city**». Cf Gl. 1755 below.

1755. H i e n c h ï w u w e n *83*.

A. PK'ung: »Range in order (sc. for sacrifice) all those for whom there are no documents», i. e. who are not registered in the rituals. A curious interpr. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: »Range them all in order, (and sacrifice) without (ornament =) display». — **C.** Wang Yin-chï: w e n *84* is a short-form (Chou fashion) for w e n *85* 'to confuse' (well-attested word), thus: »**Range everything in order without confusion**». — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: c h ï *86* (**d'i̯ĕt*) stands for y i *97* (**di̯ər*) in the sense of 'simple': »Make everything simple and without (ornament =) display». Very unlikely. — C is a brilliant interpr., confirming the ancient expl. in Gl. 1754 above. The king is told to sacrifice according to the Yin rites (in order to placate the Honan population), and to be careful to do everything properly, without confusion: he should avoid every step in the ceremonies that could incite the animosity of the crowd.

1756. Y ü w e i y ü e s h u y u s h ï *88*.

A. PK'ung: »I said: may there be (good governing) affairs». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »... you will probably have tasks». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: y u s h ï *89* is a technical term for 'sacrifice', e. g. Tso: Hi 9, phr. *90* »The Son of Heaven had a (sacrificial) performance in the (temples of) Wen and Wu». Since the whole passage here deals with sacrifices, that must be the meaning here: »**I said (to them): may you (have performances =) partake in the sacrifices**».

1757. K i n w a n g t s i m i n g y ü e k i k u n g t s u n g y i k u n g t s o y ü a n s ï *91*.

A. PK'ung: »Now may the king go and command saying: record the merits, and, for t s u n g honouring (people), according to their merits let them (make) act in the

予卜休恆吉 *57*.賚 *58*.我二人共貞 *59*.貞 *60*.正 *61*.當 *62*.禎 *63*.拜手稽首誨言 *64*.求 *65*.受 *66*.誨 *67*.謀 *68*.誨猷 *69*.謀猷 *70*.梅 *71*.楳 *72*.王肇稱殷禮祀于新邑 *73*.殷 *74*.盛 *75*.殷其盈矣 *76*.方事之殷也 *77*.五年而再殷祭 *78*.祭以特羊殷以少牢 *79*.殷禮 *80*.主人具殷奠之禮 *81*.大 *82*.稱 *83*.咸秩無文 *84*.文 *85*.紊 *86*.秩 *87*.考 *88*.予惟曰庶有事 *89*.有事 *90*.天子有事于文武 *91*.今王

great sacrifices». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Now may the king tsi immediately ming command and say: record kung tsung those distinguished by merits, and according . . .» etc. — **C.** Lu Tê-ming (Shïwen) records a variant jï *92* for *93*, and Kiang Sheng has adopted this: »Now on the day when the king tsi ming goes to his mandate, he should ki kung record the meritorious ones and tsung distinguish them, and according». etc. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen reverts to the reading yüe *93*, which he takes to be the empty particle (= *94*), so common in the Shu: »Now when the king goes to his mandate, he should» etc. (= C). — **E.** Sun Yi-jang: kung tsung *95* is probably a title: »the recorder of merits» (equal to the Sï hün *96* of the Chouli), just as the director of rites is called (in Yao tien) chï tsung *97* (he adds that in Tsiu kao, the phr. tsung kung *98* probably means the same, which is quite excluded; the context there indicates a more general sense: »the honoured officers»). Thus: »Now the king should immediately command, saying: record with the kung tsung recorder of merits, and according . . .» etc. But no text having such a title is known, so that this guess is quite arbitrary. — **F.** Liu Feng-lu: in Hiao king we read *99* »(Chou Kung) in the ancestral temple sacrificed to Wen Wang to match God on High». Our tsung yi kung tso yüan sï has this meaning: »In the ancestral temple according to merits let them act in the fundamental sacrifice» (sc. to the founder). In fact we had our term yüan sï *100* in Tsiu kao with precisely this meaning, as clearly shown by the context there. — **G.** Wang Kuo-wei: the line from ki kung etc. are the words of the king quoted by Chou Kung; and kung *1* »the merit» refers to the building of the city Lo; yüan sï means »the sacrifice inaugurating a new era», hence also »the first year (of a new era)». Thus: »(I shall) record the merit and honour (of having achieved the Lo work), and because of the merit make yüan sï the inaugural first-year sacrifice». This is all very forced, and moreover invalidated by the Tsiu kao par. quoted in F above, which shows yüan sï to have quite another meaning. — **H.** Yü Sing-wu: ki *2* is an error for sï *3* 'sacrifice'. And since kung *4* and kung *5* are often interchangeable, kung tsung *95* should be *6*, and this is equal to the tsung kung in Ode 240, phr. *7*: huei yü tsung kung »He was obedient to the (dead) princes of his clan». Tsi ming *8* means »(go for an order =) ask for an order». Thus: »Now the king will go for an order, and sacrifice to the (dead) princes of the clan; by the meritorious ones he will yüan sï make the great sacrifice». All exceedingly speculative. — **I.** That ming *9* should here mean 'mandate' (C, D) is vetoed by the next line, where we again have ming yüe *10* clearly meaning 'to order, command', referring to the king. Tsi *11* always is a verb 'to approach, to go to' in the Shu (with A), and the meaning 'immediately' (B) belongs to a later style. As to tsung *12*, F is strikingly plausible. We thus obtain: »**Now may the king go and command, saying: record the merits, and in the ancestral temple according to merits let them act in the fundamental sacrifices**».

1758. Wei ming yüe ju shou ming tu pi p'ei shï kung tsai *13*.

A. PK'ung punctuates wei ming yüe, ju shou ming tu, pi p'ei, shï kung tsai: »(Heaven) having given the mandate, you have received the mandate tu (amply =) solidly, you should pi p'ei aid and enhance (it), shï kung and observing the merits, tsai record them». An impossible construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »And may you command, saying: you (officers) have received your changes, tu pi may you (solidly =) sincerely assist (the royal house); grandly display the records of your merits». — **C.** Sun Yi-jang: tu *14* (**tôk*) is loan char. for *15* (**tôk*): »You have received (the preceding king's) charge to tu correct pi and assist (me)». — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: p'ei *16* is a particle = *17*; tsai *18* stands for *19*, so that the line p'ei shï kung tsai is equal to *20*, whatever that may mean. — **E.** Wang Kuo-wei: tsai *18* = *21*, as often in the Shu, and kung-tsai is a binome. Wang believes

that the line is spoken by Ch'eng Wang to Chou Kung: »Grandly show your kung tsai achievements» (sc. in building Lo). — In this *embarras de richesse* of proposals, a combination of B and E seems most simple and plausible: »**And may you command, saying: you (officers) have received your charges, sincerely to assist (me), may you grandly show your** kung tsai **achievements**».

1759. Nai ju k'i si tsï kiao kung *22*.

A. Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan reads *23*, adding that a 'commentary' (evidently pre-Han) defines *24* (**g'ộk, g'ộg*) as = *25* (**g'ŏg*). This latter means 'to imitate, emulate', but also causative: 'to cause to emulate, to stimulate', as in Shu: Tsï ts'ai *26* »When the king stimulates (gives injunctions to) the princes of the states». From Fu Sheng's paraphrase it is clear that he took *24* = *25* in this sense: »Then you should in every thing yourself stimulate them to achievements». The char. *24* has two readings: **g'ộk / yåk* / hüe 'to learn'; and (causative:) *g'ộg / yau* / hiao 'to cause to learn, to teach, to instruct' (in this sense sometimes enlarged into *27*). There is a close parallelism between *25* 'to emulate': 'to cause to emulate, to stimulate' and *24* 'to learn': 'to cause to learn, to teach'. And the **g'ộg 26* 'to cause to learn, to teach' and **g'ŏg 25* 'to cause to emulate, to stimulate' are indeed but two aspects of one and the same word stem. Evidently Fu Sheng did not read his *24* as **g'ộk / yåk* / hüe 'to learn', but as (= *27*) **g'ộg / yau* / hiao 'to teach, to instruct'. Hence his version on this point becomes practically synonymous with PK'ung's version, which has *28 *kŏg / kau* / kiao 'to teach' (yet another aspect of the same stem). If we take PK'ung's kung *29* as short-form for Fu Sheng's *30* (the two words are cognate, and the characters often interchangeable), we obtain, in close agreement with Fu Sheng: »**Then you should in everything (teach) instruct them to achievements**». — **B.** PK'ung: »Then you should in everything yourself instruct your officers». — **C.** Sun Yi-jang: kiao *28* and *24* stand for *25* in the sense of 'to achieve, to effect': »Then you should (command them) si tsï all themselves to effect their achievements». — No reason for abandoning the earliest version and interpr.

Ju tsï k'i p'eng see Gl. 1331.

1760. Küe jo yi ki fu shï ju yü *31*.

Fu shï:

PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrase *32*, without explaining the fu, which has several meanings. The fundamental sense being 'to lay the hand on', hence often 'to soothe, tranquillize', Legge says »your soothing measures», Couvreur on the contrary »réglez toutes choses». But fu *33* can also mean 'to accommodate oneself to, to follow' *34*, see Gl. 1685; Kiang Sheng therefore paraphrases *35* »accommodate yourself to the (government) affairs». This making poor sense, Sun Sing-yen turns it differently: *36* »follow the precedent affairs» (i. e. old traditions). But the single shï *37* of the Shu text of course means nothing of the sort. In fact, by a natural extension of meaning fu 'to lay the hand on' means 'to take in hand, to handle': fu shï »to handle the affairs».

The whole line:

卽命曰記功宗以功作元祀 92.日 93.曰 94.越 95.功宗 96.司勳 97.秩宗 98.宗工 99.宗祀文王 100.元祀 1.功 2.記 3.祀 4.功 5.公 6.公宗 7.惠于宗公 8.卽命 9.命 10.命曰 11.卽 12.宗 13.惟命曰汝受命篤弼丕視功載 14.篤 15.督 16.丕 17.斯 18.載 19.哉 20.斯視事哉 21.事 22.乃汝其悉自 教工 23.乃 汝其悉息學功 24.學 25.效 26.王效邦君 27.斆 28.教 29.工 30.功 31.厥若彝及撫事如予 32.撫國事 33.撫 34.循 35.撫循政事 36.循故事 37.事 38.厥若 39.我 其克灼知厥

A. PK'ung punctuates: k ü e j o y i, k i f u sh ï, j u y ü. Thus: »**In following the laws and in handling the affairs, be like me**». — **B.** Yü Sing-wu: There are two Shu ex. in which a line ends by k ü e j o *38*: Li cheng *39* and K'ang wang chï kao *40*. Yü therefore would carry k ü e j o to the preceding line: *41*; but a line s ü f u k' i ts üe k ü e j o makes no sense. Yü, however, similarly carries the y ü *42* to the following line, and thus obtains, as a remainder, a line: y i k i f u sh ï j u *43* in which f u *33* would mean *34* = 'to obey' and j u *44* would stand for *45*, thus: »I will y i constantly come to and obey and serve you». Exceedingly forced. — **C.** Sun Yi-jang would take j o y i *46* as = *47* »as usual», but the following k i *48* is then less natural than in interpr. A.

1761. P' i ng h i ang ts i y u l i ao *49*.

A. PK'ung: »Cause them to h i ang ts i go to y u l i ao the offices they shall have». But l i ao does not mean 'office' but' officer' or rather 'colleague'. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after h i ang: »p' i ng cause them to (know your) h i ang intentions, (may they) go to the offices they shall have». An extraordinary forcing of the text. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: y u *50* stands for *51* (homophonous char., often interchangeable): »**Make them** h i ang ts i **turn to** y u l i ao **their colleagues**».

Ming ts o y u k ung cf. Gl. 1446. T u n t a ch' e ng y ü see Gl. 1630.

1762. J u y ung y u ts' ï *52*.

A. PK'ung: »**You will forever have (words about you =) praise**». Kiang Sheng in support adduces an analogous line in Ode 278, phr. *53* »In order to perpetuate the fame». Sun Sing-yen, evidently troubled by the difficulty that t s' ï 'words, speech' should mean 'praise, fame', argues that *54* (often wr. *55*) **ziəg / zi / t s' ï (even tone) stands for *56* (same sound, but falling tone) 'afterwards, to follow after, inherit' etc., thus: »that which comes after» in the sense of Germ. 'Nachruf'. This seems unnecessary; nothing could be more natural, as an extension of meaning, than this: you will forever be spoken of: you will forever have (words about you =) praise. — **B.** Yü Sing-wu, who carries the preceding *57* here, and takes this as = *58*, says *54* (**ziəg*) stands for *59* (**diəg / i / y i*) 'cheerful': y ü j u y ung y u y i »I wish that you forever shall have joy». Arbitrary and unnecessary loan speculations.

1763. J u w ei ch' ung ts ï, w ei ch ung *60*.

A. PK'ung: »**You, young man, may you (bring to an end =) achieve (the work)**». — **B.** Yü Yüe: in several early texts there is the variant c h' u ng *61* for *62* (see Gl. 140); hence c h ung *61* can here also serve for c h' u ng *60* 'exalted', and the line means: »You are a young man, but exalted» (in your position). An unnecessary loan speculation.

1764. J u k' i k ing sh ï (ch ï) p o p i h iang *63*.

A. PK'ung reads this as one line; he does not tell us how he read *64*. K'ung Ying-ta took it in the reading **śiək / śiək / s h ï 'to know': »You should with careful attention know (which of) the many princes bring offerings». But Kiang Sheng better reads *64* **tiəg / tśi / c h ï 'to commemorate, to record' (common): »**You should carefully record (which of) the many princes bring offerings**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after k i ng: »You should be carefully attentive; (then) you will know which» etc. This is certainly no improvement.

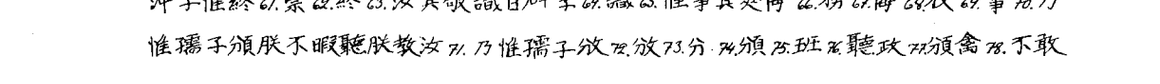
1765. W e i sh ï k' i sh uang w u *65*.

A. PK'ung: »The affairs (of the government) will be s h uang faulty and w u disgraced». — **B.** Chang Ping-lin: in Ode 164 the line w a i y ü k' i w u *66* has the variant k' i w u *67* in Tso. If *66* 'business' can be loan char. for *67* 'to disgrace', the latter could equally well serve for the former, and the line means: »As to the affairs, it will s h uang make faulty the business». But, as expl. in our Gl. 413, w u *66* in the

Ode stands for *68* 'to maltreat' (**miug*), and *67* (**miu*) is not a variant for the same word, but a gloss word explaining *66*. Thus *67* (**miu*) certainly cannot serve for *66* (**miug*) 'business'. — **C.** S h ï *69* 'affair' does not refer to the »affairs of government» but to the »performance» of the great sacrifices (as often). The princes come to court to contribute their offerings to these sacred rites: »**The performances (of the sacrifices) will be faulty and disgraced**».

1766. N a i w e i j u ts ï p an ch en p u h ia t' ing ch en k iao j u *70*.

A. Shuowen quotes: *71*, defining this *72* as = f e n *73* 'to divide'. Cheng Hüan likewise defines the *74* of the Ku-wen text as = f e n *73*. Shïwen reads *74* here **pwan / pwan* / p a n, considering it as a variant for *75* 'to distribute'. The *72*, unknown in Ts'ie yün, is read **piən / piĕn* / p i n in Kuang yün. From Hü's quotation it follows that he punctuated after p i n, not taking the following words as a direct object of that verb. Hence Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen read: n a i w e i j u ts ï p i n (p a n), c h e n p u h i a t' ing, c h e n k i a o j u, and consider t' ing as short for t' ing ch e ng *76* »to hear the affairs of Government», i. e. to administer government, a common phr. (e. g. Tso *passim*). Thus: »You, youngster, should share (with me); I have no sufficient time for hearing (sc. all the affairs of government); I will teach you». There is far too much unexpressed to be supplied, acc. to this interpr. But above all, *74* (of which *72* is obviously but a variant) is common meaning *73* in the sense of 'to divide, to distribute', then obviously id. w. *75* and read **pwan / pwan* / p a n, e. g. Li: Tsi yi: p a n k' in *77* »to distribute the game (caught in the hunt)», but it never means 'to share in, to partake of'. — **B.** PK'ung divides differently: n a i w e i j u ts ï, p a n (p i n) c h e n p u h ia, t' ing c h e n k i a o j u: »You, youngster, should share in what I have no sufficient time for; listen to my instructions to you». This is unreasonable talk on the occasion when Chou Kung hands over the whole government to the king. And the same objection obtains here: p a n means 'to divide, to distribute', not 'to share in'. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en, while stating that he does not understand the phr., quotes a proposal to this effect: »You youngster should p a n (distribute =) signalize everywhere my having no leisure (i. e. how hard-working I am)». (Couvreur turns it differently: »Etendez les institutions que je n'ai pas eu le temps de développer»). — **D.** Sun Yi-jang punctuates like A, but takes p a n *74* = 'to distribute' (very common) in the sense of 'to dispense bounties to', referring to the earlier »recording of merits»; w e i j u ts ï p a n: »You, youngster, should dispense (bounties), c h e n p u h i a t' i n g but I have no leisure to (listen to =) receive (sc. any recompense)», a modest p u k a n *78* (!) An absurd idea. — **E.** Chu Tsün-sheng: Shuowen's char. *79* (**pwan / pwan* / p a n) must be a variant for our *74*. And it is defined by Hü as = *80*. Thus *74* should mean f u sh ï *80* »to distribute the tasks (of work)» (This is the meaning of the term f u sh ï, e. g. in Kyü: Lu yü hia). Chang Ping-lin accepts this idea of Chu's and punctuates after h i a: »You, youngster, should distribute (the tasks), I have no leisure (for it)». — **F.** Chuang Shu-tsu believes that the first c h e n *81* should be *82*, as a variant for h ü n *83*, and that *84* stands for the *85* 'not far away' of the Odes (see Gl. 111): »You, youngster, p a n h ü n your spreading the teachings (of Wen and Wu) p u h i a should it not be



far-reaching». — **G.** Yü Sing-wu adduces various ex. in which the phonetics *73* and *86* interchange in the phonetic series (Ode 221, phr. *87*: Ode 233, phr. *88* etc.) and proposes that *74* is loan char. for *89* 'to overthrow': »If you, youngster, overthrow (things), I shall have no leisure to t'ing (listen to =) follow you». A curious speculation. — **H.** Another interpr. We should follow the earliest interpunctation and read *74* pan, since it is exceedingly well attested as a variant for *75* which means 'to divide, distribute, range in a series, acc. to rank, a rank'. But unlike all the interpr. above pan is not a transitive verb with an object understood. The line is explained by a par. in Tso: Siang 12, phr. *90*: »When his promotion does not exceed his class, his position (is ranked =) is put in its proper rank». Our line thus means: »**Now you, youngster,** pan **are (ranked =) put in your proper rank (as king), but I shall not be idle, you should listen to my instructions to you**».

1767. Yü fei min yi *91*.

A. PK'ung: »(my instructions to you) in the constant norms of aiding the people». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes min in the genitive: »in aiding the people's constant nature». — **C.** Sun Yi-jang: fei *92* is loan char. for fei *93*. We saw in Gl. 1609 and 1674 various Shu ex. in which *92* in this way serves for *93*, and Sun adduces as par. the Lü hing passage below and also Shao kao: yung fei yi *94* »(the people) use (what is not the proper norms =) irregular practises». Thus: »(My instructions to you) **in regard to** fei **what is not** min yi **the proper practises of the people**». — We compare:

Shu: Lü hing: Shuai yi yü min fei yi *95*.

A. PK'ung: shuai following (the proper path) yi yü min they governed the people fei yi and aided (promoted) the constant norms». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »They led on and governed the people, and aided their constant nature». — **C.** Kiang Sheng prefers to take shuai as = *96* 'to follow': »Shuai following (this), they governed» etc. (= A). Sun Sing-yen, on the other hand, says *97* is a »particle» (quite unfounded). — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: fei *92* here again is equal to *98*; and we may add, with Legge (see his index), that shuai means 'all, in everything' (cf. Gl. 642, 1089, 1350, 1406), thus: »**In all they (regulated =) brought order into the irregular practices of the people**». — In both these cases Sun is evidently right, in the light of the Shu par. in Gl. 1609 and 1674.

1768. Tu sü nai cheng fu *99*.

A. PK'ung explains sü *100* by *1* 'to arrange in order', and cheng fu refers to Wu wang: »Solidly (arrange in order =) keep in order (the principles of) your correct father». — **B.** Kiang Sheng believes that cheng fu means your »elder fathers» i. e. »uncles». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: cheng fu means *2* 'principal officers'. Chang Ping-lin further adduces Yi Chou shu: Ch'eng k'ai, which enumerates officers titled yen-fu *3*, hien-fu *4*, cheng-fu *5*, ki-fu *6* and he points out that the sï-ma could also be called k'i-fu *7* (Ode 185). Now tu sü should (with Kiang Sheng) be analogous to the *8* »If he amply regulates his nine family branches», and we obtain: »**Amply regulate your principal officers**».

1769. Wang pu jo yü pu kan fei nai ming *9*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after yü, interpreting: »**If (in nothing you do not imitate me =) you follow my example in everything, they will not dare to reject your orders**». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: »(Of your officers) (none will not be like =) all will be like my (officers), and they will not» etc. Very far-fetched. — **C.** Chang Ping-lin would punctuate after jo: »Wang pu jo everything will be (compliant =) good, yü pu kan I dare not reject your orders». Chou Kung resigns his task as guardian and asserts that henceforth he will obey the king. — The earliest interpr. is best in the context. A theme already brought forward earlier: that the young king should follow the example of Chou Kung, is here further embroidered upon.

Tsï yü k'i ming neng tsai, pi yü wo min see Gl. 1630. Wu yüan yung li see Gl. 582.

1770. Kung ming pao yü ch'ung tsï *10*.

A. PK'ung takes this to refer to the coming time: »May the prince ming brightly pao tranquillize me, young man». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes it to be a reverent recognition of what Chou kung has done: »You, prince, ming enlighten and pao aid me, young man». — **C.** In fact, ming-pao is a standing binome »bright protector» and as such it even occurs in a cognomen (Ming-pao) of a son of Chou Kung in early Chou bronze inscriptions (cf Karlgren, BMFEA 8, p. 33). We must therefore translate: »**You, prince, are a bright protector to me, young man**».

1771. Yang Wen Wu lie, feng ta t'ien ming, ho heng sï fang min *11*.

Shang shu ta chuan has a slightly fuller formulation: *12*.

There is no reason not to follow this earliest attested text version.

1772. Ho heng (wan pang) sï fang min kü shï *13*.

A. PK'ung: »To harmonize and (perpetuate =) forever preserve the people of the (myriad states and) the four quarters, and kü (cause to dwell =) settle shï their multitudes» (*14* = *15*). — **B.** Sun Sing-yen takes shï *14* to refer to Lo shï *16*, the new capital, and would carry the last words kü shï to the next line. Chang Ping-lin likewise takes shï = 'capital', but divides as above, taking heng *17* as = *18* 'everywhere' and interpreting: »to ho harmonize heng everywhere (such) people of the four quarters who kü shï settle in the capital». Ho heng explained thus is inadmissible; it should then be heng ho. — **C.** Another interpr. The young king describes the task which, with Chou Kung's aid, he has to take upon himself; and this is in connection with the creation of the new capital. Our chapter is closely connected with and a continuation of the preceding, Shao kao, where the founding is described, and there it is said that it was built in order to let the king *19* »manage the government in the centre of the land». This is obviously the key to our line here. Heng *17* stands here (with Chang Ping-lin in B above) for *20* keng, as in Ode 245, phr. *21*: »He extended over it the black millet and the double-kernelled», on which Mao Heng: heng = *18* 'everywhere, all over' (here as a transitive verb: 'to extend all over'). Thus our Shu line: »**Uniting and (extending over) reaching to all the people of the myriad states and four quarters, to reside in the capital**».

1773. Tun tsung tsiang li *22*.

A. PK'ung: »tun amply tsung to show reverence for tsiang li the great rites». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, following up his theory that kung tsung *23* earlier in our chapter means »those distinguished by merits» (refuted in Gl. 1757), here says that tsung *24* means the same as the kung tsung there. Thus: »tun to give weight to tsiang li the great rites for tsung the meritorious ones». — **C.** In accordance with the arguments in Gl. 1757, tsung refers to the ancestral temple: »**To give weight to the great rites of the ancestral temple**».

79.奠 80.賦事 81.朕 82.侯 83.訓 84.不暇 85.不瑕 86.貢 87.頒首 88.墳首 89.僨 90.舉不踰等則伍班 91.于彝民彝 92.彝 93.匪 94.用彝彝 95.率乂于民彝彝 96.循 97.率 98.匪 99.篤敘乃正父 100.敘 1.次敘 2.政長 3.言父 4.顯父 5.正父 6.謀父 7.祈父 8.惇敘九族 9.罔不若予不敢廢乃命 10.公明保予沖子 11.揚文武烈奉答天命和恆四方民 12.揚文武德烈奉對天命和恆萬邦四方民 13.和恆(萬邦)四方民居師 14.師 15.衆 16.洛師 17.恆 18.徧 19.服于土中 20.

1774. P'ang tso mu mu ya (yü) heng *25*.

A. PK'ung reads *26* (a vulgar variant for *27*) = *28* 'to meet': »They (sc. the people) p'ang from all sides (come and) act mu mu reverently, in ya (meeting) welcoming heng (the balancing =) the adjustment (of the government)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »You p'ang everywhere act reverently to (meet =) welcome the adjustment (of the government)». — **C.** An edict of 220 A. D. quotes: yü heng pu mi *29*, carrying here the first words of next line pu mi, and since Shïwen says that Ma Jung and Cheng Hüan both inst. of *26* **ngå / nga* / ya read **ngi̯o / ngi̯wo* / yü, it is evident that yü *30* was the orginal and true reading, and ya *26* is a substitute of Wei Pao's. On the other hand, Shang shu ta chuan quotes p'ang tso mu mu, which shows that Fu Sheng punctuated after mu, and Kiang Sheng follows this: p'ang tso mu mu, yü heng pu mi. He says p'ang *31* = 'vast' (refuted in Gl. 1234 above): »You vastly exert mu mu a fine (influence), and (you hold) the yü directing heng balance». Thus Kiang has to supply two essential notions not expressed in the text ('influence' and 'to hold'). — **D.** Chang Ping-lin, following the same interpunctuation as C, says that heng *32* (**g'ăng, g'wăng*) is equal to heng, hung *33* (*g'wăng*) (indeed the two are etym. one and the same word-stem) and means 'cross-wise, perverse'. He takes *30* in its reading **ngå / nga* / ya 'to meet' (well attested): ya heng pu mi = »meeting with contrarieties, you do not go astray». — **E.** Wu Ju-lun says that yü heng is a metaphor alluding to a chariot. This could make a plausible sense: »You yü direct heng the chariot-yoke without going astray». — **F.** Yü Sing-wu quotes with approval an idea of T'ang Lan's that yü heng *34* is an inversion of heng yü *35* and that this is but a variant of p'ang-wu *36*, because wu *37* (**ngo*) forms part of the char. yü *30* (**ngi̯o*), and because heng (**g'ăng*) and p'ang (**b'wâng*) were »similar in sound» (!). P'ang-wu means 'crosswise, confused': »In confusions you do not go astray». — **G.** Another interpr. The young Ch'eng Wang here addresses his former guardian and foremost helper Chou Kung. In the same way T'ang had had in Yi Yin a great and trusted assistant. And Yi Yin was called O-heng *38* (Ode 304); and T'ai Kia had a similar trusted assistant called Pao-heng *39* (Shu: Kün Shï). With the word heng cropping up in so similar conditions, it is almost inevitable to conclude that our Yü-heng *34* here is a laudatory epithet analogous to O-heng and Pao-heng. Heng in these terms means (the balance of a steelyard = »the balancer» =) »the adjuster, arbiter» (Cheng Hüan on Shu: Pao heng says heng = *40* 'the equalizer, adjuster'). In Hanfei the metaphor is still living: *41* 'to keep the balance' = 'to govern'. Heng forms part of various office titles, e. g. Chouli: Ti kuan: lin heng *42* »adjuster (director) of the forests», etc. To the O-heng *38*, »Arbiter to be leaned on», honorific title of Yi Yin, and to the Pao-heng »Protecting arbiter», title of T'ai K'ia's helper, corresponds here Yü-heng *34* »directing arbiter», laudatory epithet for Chou Kung. For mu mu = 'august' see Gl. 757. Tso *43* = 'to be' see Gl. 806. Thus: »**Everywhere you are an august directing arbiter** (who does not go astray etc.)». Thus, in spite of the Han traditions (Fu Sheng etc.), the line should really be read together as a whole. For mu mu yü heng cf Ode 235, phr. *44* mu mu Wen Wang »August (was) Wen Wang».

1775. Pu mi Wen Wu k'in kiao *45*.

A. PK'ung: »**You do not go astray in regard to the earnest instructions of Wen and Wu**». — **B.** Since an imperial edict of 220 A. D. quotes pu mi as belonging together with the preceding line (yü heng pu mi), Kiang Sheng would take wen wu k'in kiao as an independant clause, and he interprets wen wu, not as the names of Wen Wang and Wu Wang but as in Ode 177, phr. *46* »The accomplished and martial Ki-fu». Thus: »Accomplished and martial you earnestly instruct (the people)». This is very unreasonable, since only a couple of lines earlier we had: yang Wen Wu tê lie *47* »extol the virtuous deeds of Wen and Wu». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen likewise punctuates after pu mi, but reads the next passage together with the following: Wen Wu k'in kao yü ch'ung tsï *48*: »With (the deeds of) Wen Wu you earnestly instruct me, young man». That Wen Wu should be equal to yi Wen Wu (chï lie) *49* is out of the question. Chuang Shu-tsu's construction of Wen Wu k'in kiao: »Wen's zealous instructions to Wu» is still more impossible. — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr. A, which does not necessarily disagree with the Han-time division of the line: the quotation yü heng pu mi simply cites the first part of the line, leaving out an adverbial phrase Wen Wu k'in kiao.

1776. Kung kung fei ti tu wang pu jo shï *50*.

A. PK'ung: »Your achievements have aided and guided me strongly, there is nobody who does not jo shï approve of them». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Your . . . strongly, (may it not happen that it is not like that =) may it be so for ever». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »**Your achievments have aided and guided me strongly, (there will be nothing in which I shall not imitate those =) I shall imitate those in everything**». This is a direct counterpart to the earlier passage where the prince said to the king: wang pu jo yü *51* »if (in nothing you do not imitate me =) you follow my example in everything», see Gl. 1769. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: »Your . . . strongly, there is nothing that is not like that» (i. e. all is such as I have said). — **E.** Sun Yi-jang would punctuate after ti, and believes that since yu *52* and *53* are interchangeable, our ti *54* can likewise be equal to *53* (!), which he defines by t'u *55* 'to estimate'. Tu would mean 'truly, indeed, really', and fei stands for fei 'not' as often in the Shu (see Gl. 1609, 1674). Thus: »Your achievements, I have not estimated them, but truly they are all like that». A very far-fetched interpr. — The parallelism adduced by Kiang is conclusive.

1777. Yü siao tsï k'i t'uei tsi pi yü Chou ming kung hou *56*.

A. PK'ung: »**I, little child, will withdraw (sc. from the meeting) and go and be sovereign in Chou, and give investiture to a successor for you**» (sc. in Lu, since Chou Kung was to stay with the king as his adviser). Later in our chapter we find: Wang ming tso ts'ê Yi chu ts'ê wei kao Chou Kung k'i hou *57*: »**The king ordered to make a brevet, and Yi recited the brevet, and announced (sc. to the Spirits) that Chou Kung (would be succeeded =) was to have a successor (in Lu)**» — the announcement being recorded in Ode. 300 (For Sun Yi-jang's and Wang Kuo-wei's theory that tso ts'ê »Maker of Brevet» was a title synonymous with nei shï *58* »Scribe of the interior», see Gl. 1558 and 1794). And further: wang ming Chou Kung hou tso ts'ê Yi kao tsai shï yu er yüe *59* »**The king's giving investiture to Chou Kung's successor, his making a brevet, and Yi's announcement (thereof) were in the 12th month**». The interpr. of ming kung hou *60* = »give investiture to a successor for you» (sc. Po K'in in Lu) was already given by Cheng Hüan. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, in the wake of earlier Sung scholars, believes that Chou here refers to the original capital Hao. Indeed, it could very well be so, for Hao was also called Tsung Chou *61*, and Lo was called Ch'eng Chou *62*,

亙 21. 恆(亙)之厄鉦 22. 悼宗將禮 23. 功宗 24. 宗 25. 旁作穆穆迓衡 26. 迓 27. 訝 28. 迎 29. 御衡不迷 30. 御 31. 旁 32. 衡 33. 橫 34. 御衡 35. 衡御 36. 旁午 37. 午 38. 阿衡 39. 保衡 40. 平 41. 持衡 42. 林衡 43. 作 44. 穆穆文王 45. 不迷文武勤教 46. 文武吉甫 47. 揚文武德烈 48. 予沖子 49. 以文武之烈 50. 公功棐迪篤罔不若時 51. 罔不若予 52. 由 53. 猷 54. 迪 55. 圖 56. 予小子 其退即辟于周命公後 57. 王命作冊逸祝冊惟告周公其後 58. 內史 59. 王命周公後作冊逸 誥在十有二

and both occur in our present chapter under the short-form Chou (»Take the officers existing in [the original] Chou, go to the new city»; »I have sent them to follow the king to [the new] Chou»). And then he takes h o u to mean 'to stay behind': »I, the little child, will now retire and p i (= *63*) withdraw to (the original) Chou, and I order you h o u to stay behind (in Lo)». In consequence, these Sung authors carry through the same idea in the subsequent paragraphs: »... Yi recited the brevet, (which) announced (to the Spirits) that Chou King would stay behind». And: »The king's ordering Chou Kung to stay behind ...» etc. There is in fact nothing incongruous in the idea that the king issued a solemn brevet, ordering Chou Kung to be his vice-regent in the eastern capital. B is in fact very tempting; in point of language it is indeed preferable to A, which has to take h o u *64* as a noun in the first phr. and as a verb in the second. But B goes directly against the contents of the chapter as a whole. Chou Kung sends for the king and persuades him to come to Lo (Ch'eng Chou) in order to take up the government with officers brought for that purpose from Hao (Tsung Chou), Lo being a more central and dominating point than Hao and having been built expressly for that reason. He implores the young king to follow his advice in everything, and the king solemnly promises to do so. It would be curious indeed if he immediately turned the back on the new capital, to return to Hao, acting directly against the urgent appeal of Chou Kung.

1778. S ï f a n g t i l u a n w e i t i n g y ü t s u n g l i y i w e i k ' o m i k u n g k u n g *65*.

For the last line see Gl. 1600 above.

A. PK'ung divides: S ï f a n g t i l u a n »(Though) the (lands of) the four quarters are guided and ordered, w e i t i n g y ü t s u n g l i there is still nothing settled about the honoured rites ...». In the 1st line PK'ung explains t i l u a n *66* by *67*. Kiang Sheng (foll. by Sun Sing-yen) prefers to take t i as = *68* 'to advance': »Though the (lands of) the four quarters have advanced to good order». In the second line Ts'ai Ch'en (foll. by Sun Sing-yen) explains: »... there is still nothing settled about the rites for the meritorious ones». All these comm. taking l u a n *69* = *70* 'to order, bring into order', it should then properly be read s ï *71* = *72*, see Gl. 1464. — **B.** Wang Yin-chï (ap. Liu Feng-lu) divided thus: S ï f a n g t i l u a n w e i t i n g, y ü t s u n g l i y i w e i k ' o m i, carrying k u n g k u n g to the following passage; and Liu Feng-lu, saying t i *73* = *74* = *75*, i. e. a particle (which is quite unwarranted), explains: »The four quarters' ordering has not yet been settled, and in the rites of the ancestral temple it has also not been possible to make a completion». Wang's division of the lines goes against the Han tradition, for Shuowen quotes: y i w e i k ' o m i k u n g k u n g. — **C.** Chang Ping-lin, reverting to the ancient punctuation, adduces Erya Shï ku: t i *73* = *76* and takes l u a n in its ordinary sense: »The (lands of) the four quarters have made rebellion». The rebellion referred to of course is that of the princes Kuan, Ts'ai and Huo. But there are no text ex. in support of Erya's definition. Yet Chang's idea that l u a n should have its regular meaning is quite convincing, and also that he takes t s u n g to refer to the ancestral temple (cf. Gl. 1757 above). Thus: «**The (lands of) the four quarters t i have been led to l u a n rebellion, and there is still nothing settled about the rites in the ancestral temple**».

1779. T i t s i a n g k ' i h o u *77*.

PK'ung: »**May you guide and support me in future**». For t s i a n g in the sense of 'to uphold, support, aid', see Gl. 403. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases *78*, taking t s i a n g in its sense of 'great' (common). What Ts'ai meant by his paraphrase has been differently understood (Couvreur for instance: »You shall start great things for your successors»), but probably, as expounded by Ku Si-ch'ou, he meant: »Make great your staying behind», i. e. let it result in great things. In any case his definition t i *73* = *79* has no support.

1780. K i e n w o s h ï s h ï k u n g *80*.

A. PK'ung: S h ï *81* = 'to have service, to serve' (common) and s h ï k u n g *82* = *83*: »**Supervise all my serving officials**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Be a (mirror:) example to my serving officials». No reason to abandon the oldest interpr.

L u a n (s ï) w e i s ï f u see Gl. 1697.

1781. K u n g t i n g y ü w a n g y i k u n g k u n g s u t s i a n g c h ï h u a n *84*.

A. PK'ung divides: k u n g t i n g, y ü w a n g y i, k u n g k u n g s u t s i a n g, c h ï h u a n, explaining: »May you, prince, (fix =) firmly establish (me), I shall go (sc. to Lo); your merits are s u advanced and t s i a n g great; (all in the world) c h ï respect and rejoice (in them)». For s u he bases himself on Erya: s u *85* = *86*, but there are no text par. in support of this. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »May you, prince, (establish yourself =) stay (sc. in Lo), I shall go (sc. to Hao); your achievements, (people will) s u t s i a n g reverently accept them c h ï h u a n and respectfully rejoice in them». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: y i *87* should be read as y i *88* marking an object placed before the verb, and w a n g *89* means w a n g j ï *90* 'in past days'. T s i a n g *91* = f e n g *92* 'to hold, to support': »May you, prince, stay (with me); w a n g in the past I have s u t s i a n g revered and upheld your achivements and c h ï h u a n respected and rejoiced in them». — **D.** Chang Ping-lin punctuates after s u (= *86*, after Erya, cf. A above) and takes y i *87* = *88* and h u a n *93* = k ' ü a n *94*: »May you, prince, stay; y ü w a n g that I have gone, (is that) y i k u n g k u n g because of your achievements s u I have advanced; t s i a n g c h ï k ' ü a n I shall respect and take encouragement from (you)». — **E.** Yü Sing-wu: y i *87* is a fault for s ï *95*, h u a n *93* stands for k u a n *96*, thus: »May you, prince, stay, y ü w a n g s ï I shall go and sacrifice about your achievements (i. e. announce them in the temple), s u t s i a n g I shall reverently bring forward (the offerings) and c h ï k u a n respectfully make libation». Far too many and arbitrary text alterations. — **F.** Another interpr. The passage refers directly to the main theme of our chapter: that Chou Kung built Lo and brought the young king there: K u n g t i n g y ü w a n g y i »**You, prince, have (fixed =) arranged for my going (to Lo);** k u n g k u n g **your achievements (there) will** s u **quickly be respected and (rejoiced in =) admired**». T s i a n g is the ordinary mark of future. S u *85* = 'quickly' is well attested, see Gl. 54 and 735.

1782. K u n g w u k ' u n t s a i w o w e i w u y i k ' i k ' a n g s h ï *97*.

A. PK'ung: »May you, prince, not distress me (sc. by going away), I am not weary of (your) tranquillizing work». Wu Ch'eng already observed that thrice in the Han shu the first line was quoted k u n g w u k ' u n w o *98*, and henceforth it was accepted that w o *99* is correct and t s a i *100* an error, due to graphical similarity with w o *99*. — **B.** Yü Yüe, however, points out that in Yi Chou shu: Tsi kung the line is quoted k u n g w u k ' u n w o t s a i *1*, so that there should be both w o and t s a i, but, instead, the following w o should be eliminated. In other words, an original w o t s a i has been inverted into t s a i w o. The correct text should be: k u n g w u k ' u n w o t s a i, w e i w u y i k ' i k ' a n g s h ï. But then it is not »I» that is subject in the second clause, but the exhortation in the first line continues: »**May you, prince, not**

月 60. 命公後 61. 宗周 62. 成周 63. 避 64. 後 65. 四方迪亂未定于宗禮亦未克救公功 66. 迪亂 67. 道治 68. 進 69. 亂 70. 治 71. 嗣 72. 司 73. 迪 74. 遘 75. 事 76. 作 77. 迪將其後 78. 啓大其後 79. 啓 80. 監我士師工 81. 士 82. 師工 83. 衆宮 84. 公定予往已公功肅將祇歡 85. 肅 86. 進 87. 已 88. 以 89. 往 90. 往日 91. 將 92. 奉 93. 歡 94. 勸 95. 祀 96. 灌 97. 公無困哉我惟無斁其康事 98. 困我 99. 我 100.

distress me (sc. by going away), do not weary of your tranquillizing work». — **C.** Chang Ping-lin would preserve the orthodox reading k u n g w u k' u n t s a i, and says (after Fang yen) k' u n = *2*: »May you, prince, not run away». But this dialect word in middle-Han time is not attested in pre-Han time (the ex. adduced in support by Chang, Tso: Siang 22, is ambiguous).

1783. W u y i k' i k' a n g s h ï *3*.

A. The traditional interpr. of k' a n g s h ï is »**the tranquillizing work**». K' a n g *4* in this sense is very common in the Shu. — **B.** Chang Ping-lin: k' a n g *4* should be read k e n g *5* and this again stands for k e n g *6*, k e n g s h ï *7* being a well-known phr. meaning 'to attend to business' (properly: 'to run through the affairs'). An unnecessary loan speculation.

1784. C h' e n g p a o n a i w e n t s u s h o u m i n g m i n *8*.

A. PK'ung: »**To take care of and (guard =) watch over the people received in charge by your grandfather Wen**». — **B.** Cheng Hüan says: w e n t s u *9*, under Chou it was called m i n g t' a n g *10* »The bright hall», thus referring w e n t s u to the hall where the ancestor was revered and not to Wen Wang himself: »To take care of and guard the people which you have been charged with in the ancestral hall». — In the next line we have correspondingly k' a o W u W a n g *11* »your father Wu wang», which makes it most reasonable to take our W e n t s u here as »grandfather Wen (Wang)».

1785. Y ü e n a i k u a n g l i e k' a o W u W a n g h u n g c h e n k u n g *12*. H u n g *13* has the variant *14*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases *15*. The preposition y ü *16* in the beginning (rendering our y ü e *17*) makes PK'ung's line meaningless and impossible to construe. — **B.** With Cheng Hüan's idea in the preceding line (see 1784), that Wen tsu there refers to the Ming-t'ang hall, the consequence here will be this interpr.: »In your bright and majestic father Wu wang's (shrine) I shall h u n g make great my reverence». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: y ü e *17* = *18* 'and'; the line as far as w a n g should be read together with the preceding: »(The people received in charge by your grandfather Wen) and your bright and majestic father Wu Wang; I will enlarge my reverence (for you)». — **D.** The oldest interpr. is quite different, revealed by a paraphrase in Shang shu ta chuan: *19*. Here y ü e *17* is rendered by y a n g *20* 'to raise, extol, proclaim', a well attested meaning of y ü e, see Gl. 1068, 1692. Fu Sheng instead of c h e n *21* has h ü n *22*, and Chuang Shu-tsu adduces Shuowen, which says that *23* was a ku-wen form for h ü n *22*. The following k u n g *24* should then acc. to Chuang be carried to the next line: *25*. Thus our line, ending with (c h e n =) h ü n, will mean: »**I shall extol your bright and majestic father Wu Wang's** h u n g h ü n **great teachings**». — **E.** Sun Yi-jang: y ü e *17* = *26* and k u n g *24* should be k u n g *27* (as often in the Shu; wrongly enlarged into *24* by Wei Pao, see Gl. 1401): »(I shall) together with your bright and majestic father Wu Wang h u n g make great c h e n k u n g (my furnishing =) my service». This »together with» said of the dead Wu Wang is rather nonsensical. — **F.** Chang Ping-lin: k u n g *27* means *28* 'law', as in Ode 304: »(To take care of and guard m i n g the charge and m i n the people of your grandfather Wen) y ü e *17* and h ü n *22* the teachings and k u n g *27* laws which your bright and majestic father Wu h u n g made great». But k u n g = 'law' *28* (Mao Heng) is inadmissible, see Gl. 1196. — **G.** Wang Sien-k'ien: h u n g h ü n k u n g *29* is an inversion of k u n g h u n g h ü n *30* »to (furnish =) accomplish the great teachings». A poor expedient. — The testimony of the Ta chuan (D above) is quite clear: Fu Sheng's text read: Y ü e n a i k u a n g l i e k' a o W u W a n g h u n g h ü n *31*, and the line ended there. Since Chuang Shu-tsu has satisfactorily explained how h ü n came to be corrupted into c h e n, we have no reason whatever for not following the earliest version. For k u n g see next gloss.

1786. J u t s ï l a i s i a n g t s ê *32*.

A. PK'ung: »When the young son (now) comes to inspect the settlement». — **B.** Legge: »My son, come (frequently) and inspect this settlement» (!). — **C.** As shown by Chuang Shu-tsu in Gl. 1785 above, the line should begin with k u n g: k u n g j u t s ï l a i s i a n g t s ê *33*: »**Together with you, my young son, I will come and inspect the (new) settlement**». This is merely a logical continuation of the preceding: the king exhorts Chou Kung not to leave him in his new capital, and Chou Kung promises to stay and assist him.

1787. K' i t a t u n t i e n Y i n h i e n j e n *34*.

A. PK'ung takes t i e n as a verb: »May you greatly and amply t i e n *35* make laws for Yin's eminent men». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »May you t a t u n (treat as great and ample =) greatly estimate t i e n the laws and Yin's eminent men». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »May you greatly and amply t i e n take the norms from Yin's eminent men». — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu would carry Y i n h i e n m i n to the following line, which is certainly no improvement. — **E.** Yü Sing-wu, mentioning several more attempts at explanation of t i e n *35* (= *36* 'to tranquillize', or = *37* 'to honour'), himself interprets it as = 'to record, to register', thus: »May you grandly and amply register (for office) Yin's eminent men». T i e n is common in the sense of 'a record, a register' (e. g. Tso: Chao 15) and, especially, in the binome t i e n t s i *38* (Tso, Meng[1]etc. *passim*), but also as a verb, e. g. the K' o sü *39* inscr.: *40* »to register the fields and men of the shan-fu K'o». — **E.** Another interpr. T i e n *35* occurs as a verb in the Shu meaning 'to govern, to regulate, to direct', as is Yao tien (Shun tien) *41* »Is there anybody who can direct my three (categories of) rites?» Ibid. *42* »I charge you to be the director of music»; Shu: Lü hing *43* »You managers of government and directors of criminal cases». Cf. Ts'ê: Ch'u ts'ê *2*, phr. *44* »I direct (govern) the eastern lands»: Hanfei: Er ping *45* »He who (governed =) managed the caps»; and many titles of officers in the Chouli (t i e n j u e i *46* etc.). Thus: »**May you grandly and amply direct Yin's eminent people**». That this is the proper meaning, in preference to D, which in itself is quite plausible and even tempting, is confirmed by the parallelism with the next line: l u a n (s ï) w e i s ï f a n g s i n p i *47* which does not (with the traditional comm.) mean »to govern and be the new ruler of the four quarters», but: »to govern and manage the new princes of the four quarters», see Gl. 1696. The l u a n (s ï) w e i 'to govern and manage' in that line corresponds to the t i e n 'to direct' in the present line, which decides in favour of E.

1787b. 1. T s o C h o u k u n g s i e n *48*.
2. T s o C h o u f u s i e n *49*.

A. PK'ung: 1. »You will be, of the Chou (house), the one revered and (first-placed =) honoured». 2. »I will be, of the Chou (house), the one by the faithful ones (first-placed =)

honoured». This inconsistency (k u n g s i e n coördinated, but f u s i e n with f u as agent to the verb s i e n) is inadmissible. Wang Sien-k'ien therefore amends line 2: I will be, of the Chou (house), the one f u trusted and (first-placed =) honoured». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: 1. You will be the one of the Chou house who in regard to reverence (goes before =) sets an example». 2. I will be the one of the Chou house who in regard to faithfulness (goes before =) sets an example». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: 1. »In establishing the Chou (house), you shall make reverence the first thing». 2. »In establishing the Chou house, I shall make faithfulness the first thing». — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: K u n g *50* here again (cf. his ideas in Gl. 1785), should be *51* = *52* = 'to furnish' in the sense 'to do service'. Thus C h o u k u n g *53* means »Chou's (work-furnishers) public servants». And in the same way C h o u f u *54* means »Chou's faithful ones» (»les fidèles de Chou»), those bound to Chou by fealty. S i e n = »the one who goes in front, the leader» (common). Thus: 1. »You will be a leader to the (furnishers =) public servants of Chou». 2. »I shall be a leader to the faithful ones (henchmen) of Chou». Sun (preceded by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen) proposes that in To fang *55* k u n g likewise means 'to furnish (work), to serve': »Hia's many (furnishing =) serving officials». It is true that k u n g is common in this sense, but then as a rule with an object expressed: k u n g c h ï *56* 'to discharge a duty' (comm.) etc. That C h o u k u n g *53* in the abstract (with no object to the verb k u n g) should mean 'Chou's servants, officials', is very strained and unlikely. — **E.** Chang Ping-lin would take k u n g *51* as = *57* 'law' (refuted in Gl. 1196, cf. Gl. 1785 above) and f u *58* as a short-form for f u *59* 'city wall'. But the two lines could not then be construed in an analogous way. — **F.** Another interpr. The lines should be understood in the light of the events. Chou Kung and the king take up the rule in Lo in Honan, in reality enemy country, and the king therefore brings along his own Chou officers from Hao to mix them with the remaining Yin officials. The important thing is to make the Chou and their henchmen predominate. S i e n *60* means 'to take precedence', very common, e. g. Tso: Ai 13, phr. *61* »Wu and Tsin quarrelled about the precedence». Thus 1. »**Cause the Chou to be respected and take precedence**»; »**I will cause the Chou to be trusted and take precedence**». For t s o *62* in this function cf. Tso: Siang 18, phr. *63* »Do not cause the spirits to be shamed». For f u 'to trust', cf. Ode 235, phr. *64* »The myriad states will (make confidence =) trust you».

1788. K ' a o c h e n c h a o t s ï h i n g, n a i t a n W e n t s u t ê *65*.

A. Ma Jung defines t a n *66* by *67* 'sincere' (common), evidently interpreting the 2nd line thus: »Be sincere in the virtue of your Grandfather Wen». We do not know how he understood the first line. — **B.** Cheng Hüan adheres to his idea that Wen tsu means the ancestral hall and is equal to the ritual Ming t'ang *68* 'Bright Hall' (see Gl. 1784 above), and he takes t a n = *69* 'to exhaust' (common, see Gl. 423): »In k ' a o 1784 above), and he takes t a n = *69* 'to exhaust' (common, see Gl. 423): »In k ' a o (achieving =) constructing my bright son's (sc. the king's) laws, I will (exhaust =) carry out entirely the virtue of the Wen-tsu (hall)», i. e. the sacrificial system of the Ming-t'ang. — **C.** PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »My (achieving =) constructing the bright son's laws, is t a n (exhaustingly =) entirely by (aid of) the virtue of your grandfather Wen». — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »**I will perfect the (pattern =) example for you, my bright son, and so (exhaust =) carry out entirely the virtue of your grandfather Wen**». — Only a few lines earlier we had h i n g *70* in precisely the sense of 'model, pattern, example', which confirms D; this also suits the context best.

P ' i n g l a i p i Y i n see Gl. 1604.

1789. N a i m i n g n i n g *71*.

A. Cheng Hüan believes that n i n g is short for N i n g w a n g *72* 'the serene king', which here would mean Wen Wang: »I was charged (by) the serene (king)». — **B.** PK'ung: »I was charged to tranquillize them» (sc. the Yin). — **C.** Su Shï, foll. by

Ts'ai Ch'en and many later comm., read the line together with the following: n a i m i n g n i n g y ü y i k ü c h ' a n g e r y u *73*. Su and followers make up a whole yarn that the king was now back in Hao and sent this gift to Chou Kung to propitiate him; Chou Kung would here recapitulate this, saying: »You have given orders to tranquillize me with two Yu flasks of aromatic black-millet wine, and you have said: this is a pure sacrificial gift, saluting and bowing the head to the ground I make the fine offering». The comm. add that »pure sacrificial gift» means that Chou Kung was honoured with a gift otherwise reserved for the Spirits. For details see Legge. An extraordinary speculation. — **D.** Wang Kuo-wei, while adopting the punctuation of C, reminds that n i n g *74* simply means 'to favour', as shown by a par. in the bronze inscr. on Yü Tsüe *75*: ». . . in Ch'eng Chou; the king ordered to favour the prince of Teng and to give him cowries» *76* (Kün ku lu kin wen 2:3, 3). In fact, Yu flasks of aromatic wine were a common gift from the king to show favour to a subject (*passim* in bronze inscr., e. g. the famous Ta Yü ting inscr.), and obviously this is the meaning here. But Chou Kung simply recapitulates the happenings when he first was sent to Lo to take up the new site: »(**One has sent me to admonish the people of Yin), and order was given to favour me with two Yu flasks of aromatic black-millet wine**». There was nothing »Spirit»-like in this: in a bronze inscription on Lü ting *77* (Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen 3: 27) »the king presented to Lü three Yu flasks of aromatic black-millet wine». But Chou Kung at once decided to dedicate this precious gift to the Spirits of his father Wen and his brother Wu: »I (then) said: »I make a bright pure sacrifice . . .» etc.

1790. H u e i t u s ü w u y u k o u t s ï t s i *78*.

A. PK'ung: »(If you) h u e i follow (the laws) and t u amply practise (them) s ü and establish order, (so that) w u y u there is nobody who k o u meets with t s ï t s i the employment of maltreating (methods)»; an impossible construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en believes that this is the prayer uttered by Chou Kung at the sacrifice to Wen and Wu, and that it refers to the young king: »May he (the king) h u e i be obedient and t u s ü amply keep in order (his principles), may he not meet with himself becoming sick». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: k o u *79* should be *80* 'interlace, entangle, complicate'; t s ï *81* = *82*: »(If you) obedient (to your elders' principles) t u s ü amply regulate (your people), (so that) there are no complications and t s ï thereby t s i hatred (between them)». **D.** Sun Sing-yen: »(If you) h u e i with kindness t u s ü amply regulate (your people), and not (in regard to) k o u (the people) you meet t s ï t s i use a maltreating (government)». — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: t u *83* stands for *84*, which according to Fang-yen means *85* 'order, principles', and t s ï *81* is a short-form for t s u e i *86* 'fault' (this latter after Chuang Shu-tsu), the line referring to the sacrifice: »h u e i according to t u the proper principles s ü I have arranged it, w u y u k o u I have not met with t s u e i t s i fault». Far too much unnecessary text alterations. — **F.** There can be no doubt that A-C-D are right that this is a continuation of Chou Kung's sermon to the king. We had earlier t u s ü n a i c h e n g f u *87* »amply regulate your principal officers» (see Gl. 1768) and our present line is quite analogous. W u y u k o u »there is no coming across that you» = »you have no occasion to». In t s ï t s i *88*, t s ï as usual means

新辟 48.作周恭先 49.作周孚先 50.恭 51.共 52.供 53.周共 54.周孚 55.夏之执多士 56.共職 57.法 58.孚 59.郛 60.先 61.吳晉爭先 62.作 63.無作神羞 64.萬邦作孚 65.考朕昭子刑乃單文祖德 66.單 67.信 68.明堂 69.盡 70.刑 71.乃命寧 72.寧王 73.乃命寧予以秬鬯二卣 74.寧 75.孟爵 76.王命寧鄭伯賞貝 77.呂鼎 78.惠篤敘無有遘自疾 79.遘 80.胄 81.自 82.用 83.篤 84.督 85.理

'self': »**Kindly and amply regulate (your people), so as to have no occasion to find fault with yourself;** (then) they will for a myriad years be replete with your virtue» etc.

1791. Yin nai yin k'ao *89*.

A. PK'ung takes yin as an adverbial phrase = *90* (after Erya) 'long, for ever'; k'ao *71* is common in the sense of ch'eng *92* 'to achieve, complete, finish' (see Gl. 160). He interprets: »The Yin then forever will (result in =) become (Chou people)». An absurd idea. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: k'ao *91* = *93* 'high old age' (common): »The Yin people then will have a protracted longevity». This is rather nonsensical in the context. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »The Yin (people) will forever achieve (order)». — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: yin *94* is a corruption of hung *95* 'great' (the archaic graphs being very similar) and k'ao *91* stands for hiao *96*, as often in the bronze inscriptions. Yü refers to the inscr. on the Mao Kung Lü Ting (K'i ku shï 2: 51): yi hung wei hiao *97*. This would give here: »The Yin then will grandly show filial piety», which makes sheer nonsense. — **E.** Another interpr. The background of the whole of our chapter is that the new city Lo is in enemy country, with a pro-Yin population, and that Chou Kung has been sent there to »admonish» and dominate them and bring them into definite allegiance. Now k'ao *91* is synom. with ch'eng *92*, and this ch'eng 'to finish, to settle, to make a definite arrangement' is very common in the sense of 'to make peace', see Tso *passim*. This is the meaning here. On the other hand, we have had yin *94* in its ordinary sense of 'to lead on, to induce' in several Shu chapters, e. g. K'ang kao *98*: »Then they lead on to wickedness». Our line means: »**The Yin (people) then will be induced to (finish, settle =) make peace**».

Nai ch'eng sü wan nien see Gl. 1249.

1792. K'i yung kuan chen tsï huai tê *99*.

A. PK'ung, adopting the Erya definition huai *100* = *1*, says: »May they forever observe our (sons =) descendants and (go to =) give their adherence to their virtue». Huai = kuei was refuted in Gl. 110a. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen for the rest follow A but keep the original meaning of huai: ... and cherish their virtue». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en refers the tsï 'son' to Ch'eng Wang, throughout this chapter addressed as tsï *2* or *3*: »**May they forever observe you, my son, and cherish your virtue**».

1793. Cheng tsi suei *4*.

A. PK'ung takes this as one sacrifice: »He by the cheng rite sacrificed to the year». — **B.** Cheng Hüan divides them: »**He** cheng **made the winter sacrifice, and then in making the sacrifice of the (commencement of the) year,** (Wen Wang received etc.)». The Ts'ing scholars elaborately confirm B.

1794. Wang ming tso ts'ê Yi chu ts'ê *5*.

A. Cheng Hüan (foll. by PK'ung, Ts'ai Ch'en, Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen): »**The king ordered to make a brevet, and Yi recited the brevet ...**». — **B.** Sun Yi-jang foll. by Wang Kuo-wei takes tso ts'ê as a title: »The king ordered the Maker of Brevets, Yi, to recite the brevet». Acc. to Wang Kuo-wei, tso ts'ê was an alternative title for the nei shï *6* »Scribe of the interior». I have already in Gl. 1558 given reasons for not accepting this theory. In bronze inscriptions (BMFEA 8, 1935) therefore I always interpreted tso ts'ê as a finite verb with object, on the analogy of our Shu line here, e. g. the Ta Ting, phr. *8*, not: »The prince gave the tso ts'ê (Maker of Brevets) Ta a white horse», but: »The prince made a present and made a brevet for Ta of a white horse», shang and tso ts'ê thus being coördinated phrases. Similarly, in the famous Nie Ling Yi inscr. (Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen 4: 49) *9*: »He made a gift to Nie (Ling) of aromatic wine ... he said ...; one made a brevet; and (Nie) Ling extolled» etc. (not:

»the tso ts'ê Ling extolled»). A gift was made solemn and ritual by being accompanied by a written deed of transmission. This interpretation becomes imperative because in the bronze inscriptions it is so common that, in connection with a gift from the king or a prince, the phrase tso ts'ê crops up — why should the receivers of gifts so frequently be men in the office of tso ts'ê »Maker of Brevets»? This is not very plausible: the phrase tso ts'ê appears in connection with royal gifts, just because for these gifts there were tso ts'ê made brevets. (M. Loehr, in Sinologische Arbeiten 2, 1944, is very apodictic on this point: »Bei Karlgren ist der Ausdruck irrig übersetzt bei »to make a brevet for»; Loehr refers to Wang Kuo-wei. But an interpr. is not necessarily »irrig» because it — deliberately — deviates from that of Wang Kuo-wei). We have, moreover, a clear and unambiguous Shu case where tso ts'ê cannot be the proposed title: Ku ming: ting mao ming tso ts'ê tu *10*. »**On the day ting-mao, order was given to make a document about the measures (prescribed by the dead king)**». And there is likewise a well-known bronze inscription which shows up the fallacy of the »title» interpr. It is the Wu yi inscr. *11* (K'ia chai 13: 8) which has: Tsai Fei yu tso ts'ê Wu ju men ... wang hu shï Yüe ts'ê ming Wu *12*. Acc. to Wang's ideas, this should be translated: »The intendant Fei assisted; the tso-ts'ê (Maker of Brevets) Wu entered the gate ... The king ordered the scribe Yüe to brevet the order to Wu» (the following lines recite to gifts bestowed upon Wu). But it is quite clear that the word ts'ê refers to the same thing in both lines (it would be a curious coincidence indeed if Mr. Wu in the same passage figured as a »maker of brevets» and as the receiver of a brevet) and we must understand the line thus: »The intendant Fei assisted; tso ts'ê one made a brevet; Wu entered the gate ... The king ordered the scribe Yüe to brevet the order to Wu». It might be argued that after all the words tso ts'ê Wu *13* in the inscr. above must mean »the Maker of Brevets Wu», since another inscr. (Shï Hu Kuei *14*, K'ia chai 11: 7) speaks of a nei shï Wu *15* »Scribe of the Interior Wu», who should reasonably be the same man, and this would confirm Wang's identification of tso ts'ê = nei shï. But the two inscriptions do not (in spite of Kuo Mo-jo who combines them) belong together. The scripts differ too badly, having divergent forms for such common words as ko *16*, hiang *17*, hu *18*, sï *19*, si *20*, kan *21*, k'i *22*. Wu *23* is a common name in the inscription. Finally we compare two analogous inscriptions: Tsou Kuei: Wang hu tso ts'ê; Yin [ts'ê ming] Tsou *24* »the king (called =) commanded to make a brevet; and Yin [breveted the order to] Tsou»; Li Ting: Wang hu tso ming; nei shï ts'ê ming Li *25* »the king (called =) commanded to make an order; and the Scribe of the Interior breveted the order to Li». It is obvious that tso ts'ê *26* in *24*, and tso ming *27* in *25* are exact parallels, and if Wang Kuo-wei were right we should have one more title: Tso-ming, which is untenable.

Wei kao Chou kung k'i kou see Gl. 1777.

Wang pin sha yin hien ko see Gl. 1341.

86.皐 87.篤敍乃正父 88.自疾 89.殷乃引考 90.長 91.考 92.成 93.壽 94.引 95.弘 96.孝 97.丕顯孝 98.時乃引惡 99.其永觀朕子懷德 100.懷 1.歸 2.子 3.孺子 4.烝祭歲 5.王命作册逸祝册 6.内史 7.大鼎 8.公商作册大白馬 9.錫 10.丁卯命作册度 11.宄 12.宰朏右作册吳入門 13.王乎史戊册命吳 14.作册吳 15.師虎殷 16.内史吳 17.格 18.鄉 19.尹 20.嗣 21.曷 22.敢 23.其 24.王乎作册尹冊令 25.王乎作命内史册命利 26.作册 27.

To shï.

1795. K a o S h a n g w a n g s h ï *28.*

A. PK'ung: »He made an announcement to the officers of the Shang king». — **B.** Yü Yüe: w a n g s h ï *29* is a binome »royal officers», just as in the common expression w a n g c h ' e n *30* (Yi), w a n g j e n *31* (Ch'un ts'iu), w a n g k u a n *32* (Tso). Cf. Yi Chou shu: Shï fu *33* »they presented Yin's captured royal officers, one hundred men». This par. is decisive; thus: **»He made an announcement to the royal officers of Shang».**

F u t i a o m i n t ' i e n see Gl. 429 and 571.

1796. W o y u C h o u y u m i n g *34.*

A. PK'ung explains: »We Chou (have received Heaven's) helping mandate», or, more closely with Ts'ai Ch'en: »We Chou have (received) the favouring decree». In both cases the salient verb 'receive' has been supplied. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: **»We Chou have assisted (Heaven's) decree».**

1797. C h u n g y ü t i *35.*

This follows upon: *36* »We effected the royal punishment, and rightly disposed the mandate of Yin» (for the latter see Gl. 670 and 1348 above).

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *37* »We achieved Chou (in being) in the sovereign's (position)». Quite impossible. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: *38* »We achieved God's (business)». This supposes a violent ellipsis. — **C.** Wang Sien-k'ien: »We made an end to the emperor» (i. e. the last Yin king). — **D.** Yü Sing-wu would divide the lines quite differently: C h ï w a n g f a c h ' ï, Y i n m i n g c h u n g y ü t i »We effected the royal punishment and c h ' ï warning; Yin's mandate was terminated by God». This dividing is not acceptable, because of a par. Shu text: Kao Yao mo: c h ' ï t ' i e n c h ï m i n g *37.* But as to the meaning of the last part, Yü is obviously right: »(we rightly disposed of the mandate of Yin), **it was terminated by God».** For y ü *40* in this function, as a preposition expressing agent, cf. P'an Keng *41* »I go to welcome and preserve you endowment (by =) from Heaven»; Kin t'eng *42* »I, the little child, have anew (been charged by the 3 kings =) obtained an appointment from the 3 kings». As Yü points out, our phr. c h u n g y ü t i *35* »it (the mandate) was terminated by God» expresses the same as Shao kao *43* »Heaven has removed and made an end to the great state Yin's mandate».

1798. S ï e r t o s h ï *44.*

A. PK'ung renders sï by k u 'therefore' and curiously interprets: »Therefore your numerous officers (submit to me)», leaving half the clause to be supplied. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»Now then, you many officers».**

1799. F e i w o s i a o k u o k a n y i Y i n m i n g *45.*

A. This is PK'ung's text version, and he says that *46* **dz̧ək* (*z̧ək*) y i = *47* 'to catch, to take', the word fundamentally meaning 'to shoot with arrow with string attached'. Thus: »It is not that our small state dared to (shoot =) catch Yin's mandate». — **B.** Ma Jung's version had y i Y i n m i n g *48*, this *49* **gi̯ək* / *i̯ək* / y i 'wing' defined by Ma as likewise meaning *47* 'to take', and by Cheng Hüan as = *50* 'to run after' (to run after = pursue). »It is not that our small state dared to (run after =) try to catch Yin's mandate». For neither of these meanings of *49* is there any supporting text par. Sun Sing-yen therefore explains y i 'wing' by 'spread the wings over' = 'to cover, possess': »It is not that our small state dared to (cover =) possess the mandate of Yin». But this is unreasonable; a y i Y i n k u o »to cover Yin's state» might be possible, but certainly not a »to cover Yin's mandate». — **C.** Chang Ping-lin believes that *49* (**gi̯ək*) is loan char. for *51* **kɛk* / *kɛk* / k o : »... dared to change Yin's mandate». — **D.** Yü Sing-wu thinks that the graph *49* is a corruption of a char. occurring in inscriptions: *52*, which has tentatively been identified with y u *53* 'friend'; and this would here be a loan

char. for y u *54* 'to have': »... dared to have Yin's mandate». Very unconvincing. — **E.** Another interpr. It is tempting to accept PK'ung's text version with y i *46*, which could simply be a short form for t a i *55* (without radical, Chou fashion): »... dared to succeed to Yin's mandate». But PK'ung after all as a rule followed the Ku-wen version, and we happen to know that the three greatest champions of the Ku-wen, Ma Jung, Cheng Hüan and Wang Su all read *48*. It is therefore evident that PK'ung himself concluded from Ma's definition(= *47*) that y i *49* was a loan char. for y i *46* ('to shoot' = to catch) and altered the text accordingly. Thus *49* is certainly anterior to *46*. But probably this y i *49* is a corruption of the very similar char. *56* 'to hope for, aspire to' (very common word): **»It was not that our small state dared to aspire to Yin's mandate»,** which agrees well with the following: »It was that Heaven did not give it (to Yin)».

1800. W e i t ' i e n p u p i y ü n w a n g k u l u a n p i w o *57.*

A. PK'ung takes l u a n *58* as = *59* (then properly read s ï *61*, as often): »Heaven does not p i give favour to and y ü n trust (such who) w a n g have no k u l u a n (sï) solid rule and so he helped us». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Heaven did not give favour to (the Yin), y ü n truly w a n g **k u** it does not consolidate l u a n the disorderly ones, and so it helped us». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: Sie Ki-süan *62* (Sung time) says the Ku-wen version read h u *63* (= *64*) instead of k u *65*. From PK'ung's paraphrase it is clear that he took this h u *64* as loan char. for k u *65* and hence Wei Pao changed h u into k u. The former, however, is no loan char. but is correct and has its ordinary meaning, as proved by two passages in Tso (Hi 15, Süan 12) containing the phr. w u h u l u a n *66* »do not (rely on =) take advantage of the disorder», in both cases a quotation from the scribe Yi *67* (= *68* of the Lo kao above), Chou Kung's contemporary. This is obviously an allusion to our Shu phr. here. But Kiang uses this par. only to confirm the word h u *64*. For the rest he preserves w a n g *69* and takes this as = 'to cheat' (as in Lun: Yung ye). Thus: »Heaven does not give favour to and trust w a n g such who cheat and h u l u a n take advantage of disorder, and so it helped us». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen reverts to the A reading. He quotes Erya (Shï ku) y ü n *70* = *71* 'clever-tongued' (for which there is no text support whatever): »Heaven does not give favour to y ü n the clever-tongued, w a n g the cheating, k u the obdurate and l u a n the deluded». This suits the context very poorly. — **E.** Chuang Shu-tsu insists that we should punctuate after y ü n: W e i t i ' e n p u p i y ü n, just as we in To fang have: w e i t ' i e n p u p i c h ' u n *72*. »Heaven's not giving favour to (Hia) was (great =) definite» (c h ' u n *73* = *74*, as usual; Sun Sing-yen: c h ' u n *73* = *75* = *76* »Heaven did not give a fine [reward]» is less acceptable). Thus here: »Heaven's not giving favour to (the Yin) was y ü n (sincere =) definite». — **F.** Sun Yi-jang would punctuate thus: W e i t ' i e n p u p i y ü n w a n g k u, l u a n p i w o and he says l u a n *58* is equal to s h u a i *77* and is a particle without meaning:

作命 *28* 告商王士 *29* 王士 *30* 王臣 *31* 王人 *32* 王官 *33* 鷹殷俘王士百人 *34* 我有周佑命 *35* 終于帝 *36* 致王罰勅殷命 *37* 終周于帝王 *38* 終上帝之事 *39* 勅天之命 *40* 于 *41* 予迓續乃命于天 *42* 予小子新命于三王 *43* 天既遐終大邦殷之命 *44* 肆爾多士 *45* 非我小國敢弋殷命 *46* 弋 *47* 取 *48* 翼殷命 *49* 翼 *50* 驅 *57* 革 *52* 登 *53* 友 *54* 有 *55* 代 *56* 冀 *57* 惟天不畀允罔固亂弼我 *58* 亂 *59* 治 *60* 弼 *61* 司 *62* 薛季宣 *63* 忠 *64* 怙 *65* 固 *66* 無侜怙亂 *67* 史佚 *68* 迪 *69* 罔 *70* 允 *71* 佞 *72* 惟天不畀純 *73* 純 *74* 大 *75* 毗 *76* 好 *77* 幸 *78* 弼我 *79* 弱我 *80* 彊 *81* 弼 *82* 亡 *83* 故 *84*

»Heaven did not give favour to (Yin), (its mandate) yün truly wang ku was not (solid =) irrevocable: it has helped us». An impossible construction. Moreover luan is no particle, see Gl. 1696. — **G.** Chang Ping-lin: pi wo *78* is a corruption of *79*, the first char. (of uncertain pronunciation) meaning *80*: »It (Heaven) has forced us». — **H.** Yü Sing-wu: luan *58* is a corruption of *60* (cf. A above), but this is equal to *81* 'to succeed, subsequently'; wang *69* stands for wang *82* and ku *65* for *83*. The line should be divided thus: Wei t'ien pu pi, yün wang, ku sï pi wo: »Heaven did not give favour (to Yin); truly it perished; therefore subsequently it (sc. Heaven) helped us». Too many arbitrary text alterations. — **I.** Another interpr. In regard to the first half, E is certainly right, as proved by the To fang par. For wang hu luan we should base ourselves on the oldest interpr. available, that of the Tso chuan, where the phrase wu hu luan, obviously alluding to our Shu chapter, means »not to (rely on =) take advantage of the disorder». The line then becomes very simple and logical in the context: **»Heaven's not giving favour (to Yin) was (sincere =) definite; without our (relying on =) taking advantage of the disorder (of Yin), it helped us»** (followed by: »how should we have dared to seek the throne»).

1801. Wei ti pu pi, wei wo hia min ping wei, wei t'ien ming wei *84*.

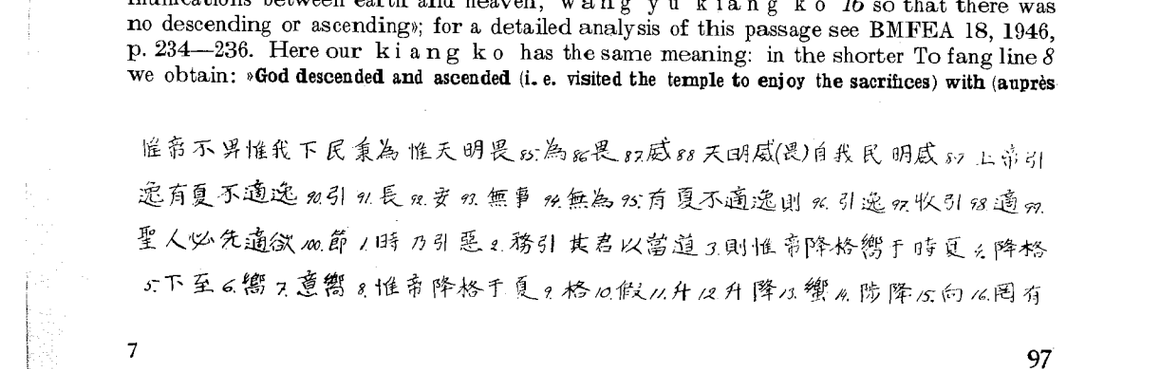
A. PK'ung: wei *85* in falling tone: »God did not give favour (to Yin); our lower people ping held (a mind that) wei was for (us Chou), that was (due to) Heaven's bright virtue's fearfulness». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: wei *85* in even tone: »God's not giving favour (to Yin) is (identical with) our lower people's steadfast doings, and (that is equal to) Heaven's bright overawing». Very scholastic. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: wei *86* is equal to *87*, as often, and the line should be compared with Kao Yao mo *88* (see Gl. 1310): »Heaven's (enlightenment, discernment =) and (fearsomeness =) severity works through our people's discernment and severity». Thus: **»God did not give favour (to Yin); what our lower people held on to and did, that was (the expression of) Heaven's discernment and severity».**

1802. Shang ti yin yi, yu Hia pu shï yi *89*.

A. PK'ung explains (after Erya) yin *90* by ch'ang *91* (cf. Gl. 1791): »God on High (wants the people) yin forever yi to have ease; the lord of Hia (= Kie) did not shï (go to =) pursue the ease (sc. of the people)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en only modifies this by taking yin *90* as = 'to lead on': »God on High leads on to ease» etc. — **C.** Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Yü tseng) has: »Shun *92* was still and could *93* be without actions, therefore the canon says: Shang ti yin yi, that refers to Shun; Shun took over the peacefulness and continued the orderliness (in the government), he gave charges to the wise and employed the able, he respected himself and wu wei *94* had no activity; thus the realm became well-governed». This has been understood in two ways. — *α*. Kiang Sheng, while rejecting the idea that shang ti refers to Shun, accepts the rest, and reads the tsê of the following line together with this: *95*. He believes that Wang Ch'ung took yin yi *96* to refer to neglected wise men, and that he therefore says »he gave charges to the wise» etc. Thus: »God on High yin brings forward yi unemployed (wise men): the lord of Hia pu shï did not apply the tsê rule for yi the unemployed (wise men)». Very unnatural. — *β*. Sun Sing-yen (likewise including the following tsê) has realized that Wang Ch'ung referred the phrase yin yi to the current idea of wu wei non-activity: »God on High yin (protractedly =) forever is yi (leisurely =) non-active; the lord of Hia pu shï did not understand yi tsê the rule of (leisureliness =) non-activity». Though this was probably Wang Ch'ung's idea (the oldest interpr. available), it is very little convincing. — **D.** Wu Ch'eng: »God on High yin *90* leads away (i. e. eliminates) the yi idly-sportive; the lords of Hia (Yü and his followers) did not shï pursue idle sports». — **E.** Yü, Yüe: yin *90* means 'to pull in' in the sense of *97* 'to restrain', and shï *98* means ('to make suitable' =) 'to moderate', as in Lü: Chung ki *99* »the sage always first moderates his desires» (Kao Yu: shï = *100*). Thus: »God on High (pulls in =) restrains the idly-sportive; the lord of Hia did not moderate his idle sports». The Lü par. is certainly very valuable and a strong corroboration for this expl. of shï yi. But for yin *90* in the sense of 'to restrain' Yü has not been able to adduce any early par., and in fact yin means quite the contrary: 'to lead on, to lead forward, encourage to', *inter alia* in Shu: K'ang kao *1* »Then they lead on to wickedness». We should therefore modify interpr. E thus: **»God on High would guide the idly-sportive, but the lord of Hia (i. e. Kie) did not moderate his idle sports».** Cf. Meng: Kao tsï, hia *2* »He makes it his task to guide his prince by right principles».

1803. Tsê wei ti kiang ko hiang yü shï Hia *3*.

A. PK'ung takes kiang ko *4* as a binome = *5* 'to send down and let come'; hiang *6* 'to face' = 'to turn towards': »Then God sent down and let come (warnings), (but) he (still) turned his regard towards that Hia» (did not reject him). Ts'ai Ch'en on the other hand says hiang means *7* »the direction of one's thought»: »Then God sent down and let come (warnings), (showing his) mind's direction (i. e. indicating his mind) to that Hia». In an analogous but shorter line in To fang: wei ti kiang ko yü Hia *8*, both interpret: »God sent down and let come (warnings) to the Hia». In all these explanations it is a fatal weakness that a salient word »warnings» has to be supplied. — **B.** Ma Jung punctuated after yü shï, carrying Hia to the next line, and Kiang and Sun follow this, but in different ways: — *α*. Kiang Sheng: kiang ko *4* (since ko *9* and kia *10* are synonymous and often interchangeable in the earliest texts, Kiang replaces ko *9* by *10*; Erya defines both *9* and *10* as = *11*) is = sheng kiang *12* (with an inversion of the word order). Hiang *6* should be *13* in the sense of 'to resound widely, to spread far as a far-carrying sound'. Thus: »God advanced and sent down far-reaching (warnings) yü shï to him». An impossible construction. — *β*. Sun Sing-yen, like Kiang, takes ko *9* = *11* 'to ascend' (for this meaning cf. Gl. 1489 and 1727), but kiang ko as an antithetical phr., equal to the chï kiang *14* which occurs *passim* in the Odes. He takes them both to mean »ascension and descension» in the sense of promotion and degradation; further hiang *6* = *15*. Thus: »God with (prospects of) degradation or promotion hiang yü shï approached him» (i. e. gave him warnings). Almost as bad as *α*. In both *α* and *β* the Ma Jung punctuation is a fatal error, since the To fang par. *8* clearly shows that Hia should belong to our line here. — **C.** Another interpr. Sun Sing-yen is quite right in maintaining that our kiang ko is analogous to the chï kiang *14* of the Odes. But, just as that phrase means »to ascend and descend», said of Spirits coming to partake of the sacrifices (see in detail Gl. 1109), so our kiang ko in the Shu means 'to descend and ascend'. Most clearly we have this in Shu: Lü hing: »The charge was given to Ch'ung and Li to break the communications between earth and heaven, wang yu kiang ko *16* so that there was no descending or ascending»; for a detailed analysis of this passage see BMFEA 18, 1946, p. 234—236. Here our kiang ko has the same meaning: in the shorter To fang line *8* we obtain: **»God descended and ascended (i. e. visited the temple to enjoy the sacrifices) with (auprès**



de) the Hia (king)». And our longer line in To shï here: »Then God descended and ascended (i. e. visited the temple to enjoy the sacrifices) and h i a n g y ü approached s h ï H i a that Hia king».

1804. T a y i n y i y u t s' ï *17.*

A. PK'ung: »He was greatly licentious and dissolute and had (words about him =) a (bad) fame». This is quite analogous to Lo kao *18* »You will forever have (words about you =) praise» (see Gl. 1762), though here in an opposite sense. We could translate y u t s' ï by »notorious» in both places, which in the same way would give both kinds of meaning. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »He was greatly licentious and dissolute and had excuses». — **C.** Ma Jung inst. of the *19*(= *20*) **d̨i̯ĕt / i̯ĕt / y i* of the PK'ung version had *21 siet / siet / s i e* 'small, trifling'. Ma, however, still defines it as = *22* 'to go to excess', i. e. as a loan char. for *19 *d̨i̯ĕt.* Chuang Shu-tsu explains this better thus: *21* is a variant for *23 *d̨i̯ĕt / i̯ĕt / y i*, which is here a loan char. for the homophonous *19.* — **D.** Kiang Sheng, however, would preserve Ma's s i e *21* with a different meaning than that proposed by Ma himself. Shuowen defines *21* as = 'restless, fussing', and this would be the sense here. Further t s' ï should mean 'accusation, indictment', as in Shu: Lü hing *24* »Widowers and widows had indictments against Miao», and later in our chapter here w a n g f e i y u t s' ï y ü f a *25* »there were none that had not indictments (against them) for punishment». Thus our line: »He was greatly licentious and restless and had indictments (against him)». (A proposal by Yü Sing-wu that t s' ï (**dzi̯əg*) is loan char. for a **d̨i̯ăk* 'pleased' is phonetically unacceptable). — The phrase y i n y i *26* 'licentious and dissolute' is a standing binome. We had it in Tsiu kao *27* »Great was his license and dissoluteness in irregular (practices)», and only a few lines later in our present chapter we find: t a n y i n k ü e y i *28* (Sï-ma Ts'ien cites with the variant *20*) »He was greatly licentious in his dissoluteness» (Ma Jung paraphrases: *29*, this y i *30 *d̨i̯ĕt / i̯ĕt / y i* 'let loose, unbridled, idly-sportive' being etym. the same word). The same binome *26* recurs e. g. in Tso: Yin 3, Li: Yüe ki etc. It is quite obvious that y i n y i (whether y i is wr. *19* or *20* or *30* or *21* = *23* is immaterial) 'licentious and dissolute' is the proper reading here and that Ma's *21* should not be read s i e and mean something else. As to y u t s' ï *31*, there are unambiguous Shu ex. of both meanings: »to have fame, to be notorious» and »to have indictments (against one)», see above. In the latter sense, however, it is really a juridical technical word, and it is little plausible that the king, the Son of Heaven, had legal indictments made against him. The former parallel therefore seems more plausible here. — We should compare:

Shu: To fang: N a i w e i e r p i y i e r t o f a n g t a y i n t' u t' i e n c h ï m i n g s i e (y i) y u t s' ï *32.*

A. PK'ung punctuates after y i n, and defines s i e *21* by t s i n *33* 'exhaustively'; probably he meant s i e 'in all small details, in everything'. For t s' ï *31* he deviates from his idea in To shï above, and (like Ts'ai there) takes it to mean 'excuse': »Your sovereign, by aid of t a y i n the greatly licentious ones of your numerous regions aspired to Heaven's mandate, s i e in everything y u t s' ï he had excuses». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after f a n g: »Your sovereign, by aid of your many states, t a **y i n** was greatly licentious and aspired to Heaven's mandate, s i e y u t s' ï and had petty excuses». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »Your sovereign, by aid of your many states, y i n t' u excessively aspired to Heaven's mandate, s i e he was restless and y u t s' ï had indictments (against him)» (as D in To shï above). — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: s i e *21* means 'small, fragments, many small items': »... s i e y u t s' ï in many items he has indictments (against him)». — **E.** Chuang Shu-tsu: the text has evidently been corrupted through a displacement of the two char. t a y i n. As clearly proved by the To shï par. above it should run: y i e r t o f a n g t' u t' i e n c h ï m i n g, t a y i n s i e (y i) y u t s' ï *35.* This emendation is eminently plausible. We shall show, however, in Gl. 1905, that t' u, with Yü Sing-wu, is a corruption of p i 'to despise' and thus obtain: »Your sovereign, having your numerous regions he despised Heaven's command; he was greatly licentious and dissolute and (had words about him) had a (bad) fame».

Shu: To fang: E r n a i s i e p o t' i e n m i n g *36.*

A. PK'ung as above: s i e *21* = *33*: »You (in all small details =) in everything reject Heaven's decrees». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »You (consider small =) despise and reject Heaven's decrees». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »You s i e restlessly (fussily) reject . . .». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: Fang yen (Middle Han colloquial) has an entry: s i e = *32* 'craftly, sly': »You slyly reject Heaven's decrees». Of s i e in this sense there are no text ex. — **E.** Liu Feng-lu, following Chuang Shu-tsu above: s i e *21* = y i *30*: »You (dissolutely =) recklessly reject the command of Heaven».

1805. K ü e w e i f e i y ü a n m i n g *38.*

A. PK'ung and later comm. take Heaven as subject: »It rejected his great mandate»; or, with Kiang Sheng: »his original mandate», i. e. Heaven deprived him of the mandate. — **B.** Another interpr. In the bronze inscriptions it is a common phrase uttered by the king or prince to the subject rewarded: *39* »Do not (reject =) neglect my charge». (e. g. Ta Yü Ting in K'ia chai tsi ku lu 4: 12, Shï Hu Kuei, ibid. 11: 7 etc.). On this analogy, which should be decisive, our line means: »When he (rejected =) neglected its great charge» (it sent down and applied punishment).

1806. W a n g p u m i n g t ê s ü s ï *40.*

A. This is PK'ung's version: »There were none who did not make bright their virtue and carefully attend to the sacrifices». — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien (Lu shï kia) reads, as a direct quotation of To shï: *41.* Chavannes translates s h u a i sï »diriger les sacrifices» (s h u a i = 'to lead'), but that is certainly not the meaning; Sun Sing-yen says s h u a i here means s ü n *42* 'to follow', and this must be right, since it refers to a fixed term. In Ch'un ts'iu: Ting 8 we find t s' u n g sï s i e n k u n g *43*, and both Tso and Kungyang explain this by s h u n sï *44* »Following the order, we sacrificed to the former princes». T s' u n g, s h u n and s h u a i are synonymous, and Sï-ma's version therefore means: »There were none who did not make bright their virtue and follow (the order of) the sacrifices». It would seem most correct to follow Sï-ma, since he directly quotes the Shu (»To shï says») and he is many centuries earlier than PK'ung. But he often treats his Shu text very high-handedly, replacing difficult words by others. It is quite possible that his text after all had *45 *si̯wĕt / si̯uĕt /* s ü and that he took it to be a loan char. for *46 *sli̯wət / si̯uĕt /* s h u a i (in this influenced by his knowledge of the phr. t s' u n g sï *47* and s h u n sï 44 above) and altered his text accordingly. For the reading s ü s ï there is a good par. in the phr. s ü s h ê t s i *48* »carefully attend to (be be solicitous about) the altars of the Soil and the Grain» (Tso: Siang 16, etc.). And, still more important, the bronze inscription of the Chu Kung Hua bell: y i s ü k' i t s i sï *49* (Kün ku lu kin wen 3/2: 6) »carefully to attend to his sacrifices». This latter is quite decisive. — We should compare:

降格 17.大淫泆有辭 18.汝永有辭 19.泆 20.佚 21.肩(屑) 22.過 23.倘 24.螺寡有辭于苗 25.罔非有辭于罰 26.淫泆 27.誕惟厥縱淫泆于非彝 28.誕淫厥泆 29.大淫衆其遝 30.遝 31.有辭 32.乃惟爾辟以爾多方大淫圖天之命肩有辭 33.盡 34.辭 35.以爾多方圖天之命大淫肩(倘泆)有辭 36.爾乃肩播天命 37.猶 38.厥惟廢元命 39.勿廢朕命 40.罔不明德恪祀 41.無不率祀 明德 42.循 43.從祀先公 44.順祀 45.恪 46.率 47.從祀 48.恪社稷 49.以卽其祭祀 50.恪宅宗 51.

Shu: Ku ming: S ü t s ê t s u n g *50* (for *51* var. *52*, as often).

A. PK'ung: »s ü in the grief t s ê to occupy the position of t s u n g principal» (Couvreur: »ut lugens maneret familiae caput»). But s ü means *43* in the sense of 'to be anxious about', not 'to grieve, grief'. Hence it is equally bad when Liu Feng-lu would take s ü t s ê together = »the mourning dwelling». — **B.** Another interpr.: **»Carefully to attend to those who sojourn in the clan temple»** (i. e. the Spirits).

1807. Y i n w a n g y i w a n g k a n s h ï t i *54*.

A. PK'ung: »Of the Yin kings also none dared to lose God's (principles)». — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien (Lu shï kia) punctuates after s h ï, carrying t i to the following line; Chuang Shu-tsu seizes upon this and takes s h ï *55* as short-form for y i *56*: »Of the Yin kings also there were none who dared be licentious». — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: our words s h ï t i *57* here are confirmed as belonging together by their balancing the earlier y u n g t i *58* »(to use =) to care about God». Thus: **»Of the Yin kings also none dared (lose =) neglect God».**

1808. W a n g p u p ' e i t ' i e n k ' i t s ê *59*.

For p ' e i t ' i e n 'to be a counterpart to Heaven' see Gl. 825.

A. PK'ung: »There were none who were not counterparts to Heaven and (spread out) their benefit». The salient verb 'to spread' has then to be supplied. But k ' i is then abnormal. Kiang Sheng supplies a missing verb in another way: ». . . . were not counterparts of Heaven and (enjoyed) the benefit»; (Sun Sing-yen: »enjoyed to the end the benefit»). All these interpr. are grammatically unsatisfactory. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»There were none who were not counterparts to Heaven in their benefiting (the people)».** — **C.** Yü Sing-wu would carry k ' i t s ê to the following line, and take t s ê *60* as standing for *61*, which in Shuowen is defined as = *62* 'end, finish', and the line k ' i (t s ê =) y i t s a i k i n h o u t s ' ï w a n g *63* would mean »at the end, their last successor in our time». But y i *61* means 'to finish' only in the sense of 'to become fed up with, tired of', hence 'to cease' (cf. Gl. 1704), which is not applicable here. Yü cites another interpr., reading as one line only the four words k ' i t s ê t s a i k i n *64* »their benefit (still) exists today». But this is vetoed by a par. in Tsiu kao, where a passage begins with exactly the same line as here: t s a i k i n h o u s ï w a n g *65*. It is therefore hardly permissible to carry the k ' i t s ê to this latter line. — B seems the least objectionable interpr.

T a n w a n g h i e n y ü t ' i e n — w a n g k u y ü t ' i e n h i e n m i n c h ï see Gl. 1676. T a n y i n k ü e y i see Gl. 1804.

1809. W a n g f e i y u t s ' ï y ü f a *66*.

A. PK'ung: There were none who had not (bad) words about the punishment (from Heaven)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »There were none as to whom there were no (words, arguments =) reasons for punishment». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: **»There were none who had not indictments (against them) for punishments».** For confirmation see Gl. 1804 above.

1810. Y u m i n g y ü e k o Y i n *67*.

A. PK'ung: **»There was the (heavenly) charge, saying: (injure =) destroy Yin».** Cf. T'ang shï *68* »He injures the city of Hia». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: k o *69* = *70* 'to take': ». . . take Yin». He refers to Ts'ê: Ts'i ts'ê 2, phr. *71*, on which Kao Yu says k o *69* = t s ' ü *70* »The king can take much land». But k o here really means 'to cut' in the sense of 'to cut slices (of land)', and this is not applicable in our Shu line: Wu Wang was not to cut a slice of Yin, but to destroy it. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu would consider k o *69* as a corruption of a c h ' u a n g *72*, and this latter not in the sense of 'to injure' but 'to correct'. Very speculative. — No reason to abandon A.

1811. W e i w o s h ï p u e r s h ï, w e i e r w a n g k i a w o s h ï *73*.

A. PK'ung: s h ï *75* = *76* 'to go': **»Our affairs (sc. in the realm) do not go in two directions (i. e. they are all in Chou's hands, none in Yin's); your royal house has (gone to =) come to us (as subjects)».** — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »In our affair (sc. of conquering Yin) we (do not go in two directions =) are single-minded (i. e. have but one purpose); your royal house should come to us». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: s h ï *75* stands for t i *77* (i. e. the original graph was *78* without radical, Chou fashion, and has wrongly been enlarged into *75* inst. of *77*): »In our actions we are not e r double-minded (i. e. false) or t i inimical, it is your royal house that is inimical towards us». A desperate attempt. — The ancient interpr. (A) is the most plausible.

1812. Y ü y i n i e n t ' i e n t s i y ü Y i n t a l i s ï p u c h e n g *79*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after t ' i e n: »I also think of Heaven (sc. I do not act on my own); that I t s i acted upon Yin's great crimes, (was because the king) did not correct (himself)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »I also think of Heaven's approaching Yin with great calamities, (it shows that) they were not straight». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »I think of Heaven's approaching Yin and greatly punishing it; s ï therefore p u c h e n g I do not correct you (officers, who were not responsible)». — **D.** K'ung Kuang-sen proposes two alternative interpr.: S ï *80* can mean 'great': »I also think of how Heaven acted upon Yin's great crimes and s ï great p u c h e n g iniquities». Or it means 'to attack', as in Ode 236 (this meaning of s ï refuted in our Gl. 787): »I think of how Heaven acted upon Yin's great crimes and s ï attacked p u c h e n g the iniquitous ones». — **E.** Sun Yi-jang (who believes that the preceding *81* means »I do not [move, touch =] attack you», a not very happy interpr.), says that c h e n g *82* is short for *83*: **»I also think of how Heaven has (already) t s i y ü Y i n applied to Yin t a l i a great (guilt =) punishment, therefore I do not punishingly attack you (further)».** In bronze inscriptions *82* sometimes (though rarely) serves for *83* (e. g. Yü Kuei, in Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen 4: 47), and, for instance, in Li: Yen yi *84* »The minister of war did not go on expeditions (with them)», on which Cheng Hüan: *82* = *85* (i. e. = *83*).

W a n g y ü e y u k a o e r t o s h ï see Gl. 1585.

1813. Y ü w e i s h ï k ' i t s ' i e n k ü s i e r *86*.

A. PK'ung: **»I because of that have transferred and settled you in the west».** K ü - s i e r = »to west-settle you». — **B.** Kiang Sheng evidently finds the grammatical construction with k ü - s i as a transitive verb with e r as object too unnatural, for he explains s i *87* as a verb = *88* 'to rest', here transitive 'to bring to rest', the graph *87* being probably the primary form for s i *89* 'to roost', and we should then have to take the line to mean: k ü s i e r *90* 'to settle you and let you roost'. Very far-fetched.

1814. F e i w o y i j e n f e n g t ê p u k ' a n g n i n g *91*, followed by *92*.

A. PK'ung: »It is not that I, the One man, have a virtue (such that) I (cannot) make (you) tranquil, (that was the command of Heaven)». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: **»It is not that the (virtue =) character I, the One man, (carry =) have is unruly».**

它 52.度 53.憂 54.殷王亦罔敢失帝 55.失 56.洟 57.失帝 58.庸帝 59.罔不配天其澤 60.澤 61.斁 62.終 63.其斁在今後嗣王 64.其澤在今 65.在今後嗣王 66.罔非有辭于劉 67.有命曰劉殷 68.劉厥邑 69.劉 70.取 71.王可以多劉地 72.創 73.惟我事不貳適惟爾王家我適 75.適 76.之 77.敵 78.商 79.予亦念天即于殷大戾肆不正 80.肆 81.我下爾勤 82.正 83.征 84.司馬弗正 85.殷 86.予惟時其遷居西爾 87.西 88.息 89.栖 90.居西爾 91.非我一人奉德不康寧 92.時惟天

1815. S h ï w e i t ' i e n m i n g, w u w e i *93*.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »**That was the command of Heaven, do not (transgress =) disobey it**». — **B.** The stone classics of 175 A. D. read *94*. This makes no sense (Chuang Shu-tsu would compare it with Shao kao *95* »his position will be [at the head of the virtue =] that of a leader in virtue», a meaning that is hardly applicable here), and Wang Ming-sheng explains it thus: for w u *96* there was the variant *97* and the inscriber misread this as y ü a n *98* and dropped the w e i *99*. Tuan Yü-ts'ai objects that the stone classics of 175 never employed this graph *97*, but that is wrong, for we have it quite often in the Yi king fragments (see the compilation *100*). In all probability Wang is right. — **C.** Kiang Sheng takes w u w e i *1* to mean: »Do not go away from (sc. the new city)», which is certainly no improvement. The expression w e i m i n g *2* 'to transgress, disobey a command' is exceedingly common, e. g. Ode 304, phr. *3* »God's commands were never disobeyed». Still less recommendable is Legge's: »Do not resist me».

1816. C h e n p u k a n y u h o u *4*.

A. PK'ung: »**I** shall not dare to have later (punishments for you)», adding a *5* that is not in the text. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »I shall not dare to have a later (command for you)», adding a m i n g 命. — **C.** Lin Chï-k'i and Lü Tsu-k'ien: »**I dared not (have a delay =) be dilatory**». Cf. Shao kao *7* »The king should not dare to be dilatory». — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu says h o u means the same as w u w e i 'do not disobey'. Probably he means 'to place after' = 'to neglect': »I dared not (have any neglecting =) neglect it». Cf. Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang *8* »If righteousness be put last and profit be put first». This is quite plausible in itself, but C is better supported by a Shu par.

1817. H i a t i k i e n t s a i w a n g t ' i n g *9*.

A. PK'ung: *10* 'to walk in a road' is here noun = *11* = 'those who walk in the (proper) road', and k i e n *12* = 'great' (common), thus: »Those of the Hia who walked in the proper road, grandly were in the (Yin) king's court». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »**The Hia were** t i **(advanced =) promoted and** k i e n **selected and were in the (Yin) king's court**».

1818. Y ü t ' i e n y i S h a n g *13*.

A. This is the traditional version: »**in the heavenly city Shang**». — **B.** Wang Kuo-wei: t ' i e n *14* is a mistake for t a *15*: »the great city Shang». In the oracle bone inscriptions the phr. t a y i S h a n g *16* is common, and the archaic graphs for t a and t ' i e n are nearly identical. (In the same way the king Ta Yi [T'ai Yi] is wrongly called T'ien Yi by Sï-ma Ts'ien). Yü Sing-wu objects to this correction that on oracle bones t a and t ' i e n are both used in this phrase (t ' i e n y i S h a n g in Hayashi: Kuei Kia shou ku wen tsï 1: 27), and likewise the t a s h ï (t ' a i s h ï) *17*, so common in bronze inscriptions, occurs in the Ta Feng Kuei inscr. (K'ia chai tsi ku lu 11: 15) as t ' i e n s h ï *18*. (There the char. is written *19*, and that this is t ' i e n, not t a, is proved on the one hand by the phr. *20* = *21* immediately after; and on the other hand by the phr. *22* = *23* later in the inscription). Yü's objection is well-founded; we have no reason to introduce arbitrary and unnecessary text »corrections».

1819. Y ü w e i s h u a i s ï k i n g e r *24*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *5* »I follow Yin's old actions and pity you». Erya says s ï *26* = *27* 'thus, therefore, then' (an adverb), but PK'ung uses this defining word k u *27* as a noun: s h u a i s ï *28* = *29* 'to follow the old (actions)'. A comical trick, accepted, however, by Ts'ai Ch'en, Kiang Sheng and Legge. — **B.** Wang Yin-chï: s h u a i *30* means y u n g *31* (based on Mao Heng, but unconfirmed, see Gl. 1089), and s ï *26* is well attested in the sense of 'to remit, to pardon', e. g. Yao tien (Shun tien) *32* »Offenses by mishap are pardoned»; Chun ts'iu: Chuang 22, phr. *33* »One pardoned the great offenses by mishap» (cf. Gl. 1269). Sun Sing-yen modifies this by taking s h u a i

as a »particle» (refuted in our Gl. 1406). It is better to take it as = *34* 'all' (common, see Gl. 642). Thus: »**I shall pardon you all and pity you**». — **C.** The Kin-wen version ap. Lun heng: Lei hü runs: *35*. The l i n e 'to pity' is synonymous with k i n g *36*. But y i *37* is more enigmatical. Tuan Yü-ts'ai thinks that it is a variant because of sound similarity, which certainly will not do (*26* **sïəd* / *si* / s ï: *37* **dïər* / *i* / y i). Yü Yüe believes that both y i *37* and s ï are »particles», but for quite insufficient reasons. Wang Ch'ung, who quoted the line as above, believes that y i has its sense of 'to kill': »I (first would) kill (but then) pity you». This will certainly not do. Y i should have its very common meaning of p ' i n g *38* 'to tranquillize': »I shall tranquillize you all and pity you». Though not identical in meaning with the Ku-wen version (B above), it is at least very analogous. It is impossible to tell which version best repr. the original Shu.

1820. W a n g y ü e t o s h ï *39*. The stone classics of 175 A. D. read: w a n g y ü e: k a o e r t o s h ï *40*. This being the oldest version extant, it should be followed.

Y ü t a k i a n g e r s ï h u o m i n m i n g see Gl. 1477.

1821. Y i e r h i a t ' i *41*.

A. PK'ung takes h i a t ' i as a transitive verb: »I have removed you here (so as to) be far away from» (your earlier bad customs). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »**I have removed you far**».

1822. P i s h ï c h ' e n w o t s u n g t o s u n *42*.

A. PK'ung: t s u n g is an abbrev. for Tsung-Chou *43*, the Royal Chou (the Chou having the t s u n g clan temple): »to associate with and serve and be subject to our Tsung(-Chou), and have much obedience». (Legge curiously turns it thus: »that you might be near the ministers who had served in our honoured [capital]»). — **B.** Sun Yi-jang: p i s h ï *44* means the same as in Shao kao: p i k i e y ü w o y u C h o u y ü s h ï *45* »associate with our Chou's managers of affairs», thus here: »to p i associate with the s h ï (managers of) affairs». No reason for assuming that violent ellipsis. On the other hand, Sun proposes that t s u n g *46* does not mean Tsung Chou, nor t s u n g 'clan' generally, but is = *47* »honoured», as often, and refers to the high officials (cf. Tsiu kao *48* »the honoured officers»). For c h ' e n cf. To fang *49* »you have served our inspectors». This is quite convincing, and, taking s h ï c h ' e n as a binome, we obtain: »**To associate with and serve our dignitaries, with much obedience**». — **C.** Wang Sien-k'ien would carry t s u n g to the following: »to associate with and serve us, t s u n g t o s u n to reverence (us) and have much obedience». That is certainly no improvement.

1823. Y ü w e i s ï f a n g w a n g y u p i n, y i w e i e r t o s h ï y u f u p e n t s o u c h ' e n w o t o s u n *50*.

A. Ma Jung defines p i n *51* as = *52*, which shows that he took it as short-form for p i n *53* 'to reject', and PK'ung follows this, paraphrasing the w. by p i n w a i *54*

命 93時惟天命無違 94時維天命元 95位在德元 96無 97无 98元 99違 100漢熹平石經殘字集錄ノ無違 2.違命 3.帝命不違 4.朕不敢有後 5.誅 6.命 7.王不敢後 8.苟為後義而先利 9.夏迪簡在王庭 10.迪 11.迪者 12.簡 13.于天邑商 14.天 15.大 16.大邑商 17.大室 18.天室 19.太 20.太ム 21.天祚 22.大且 23.大祖 24.予惟率肆矜爾 25.惟我循殷故事 26.肆 27.故 28.率肆 29.循故 30.率 31.用 32.眚災肆赦 33.肆大眚 34.皆 35.予維率肆矜爾 36.矜 37.哀 38.平 39.王曰多士 40.王曰告爾多士 41.移爾遐逖 42.比事臣我宗多遜 43.宗周 44.比事 45.比介于我有周御事 46.宗 47.尊 48.宗工 49.臣我監 50.予惟四方罔攸寧尒惟爾多士攸服奔走

'to exclude'. He interprets: »I in the four quarters have none whom I reject; and p e n t s o u c h' e n w o the hastening about and serving us e r t o s h ï y u f u which you many officers perform, t o s u n shall have much obedience». In this way to take e r t o s h ï y o f u as an attribute to p e n t s o u s h ï w o is very clumsy. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »I (did it because) the (princes of) the four quarters had nowhere to p i n (be guests =) perform the guest rites; and also (so that) your many officers (should have a place) where you could perform the hastening about and serving us, with much obedience». The supplying of unexpressed items is much too extensive in the second line of this interpr. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen explains more naturally (following A for the first part): **»I in the four quarters have none whom I reject; and what you many officers should perform, is to hasten about and serve us, with much obediense».** — **D.** Yü Sing-wu would take w e i *55* = 'to think' (common) and p i n *51* = 'to (come as guest =) to submit' (text par. in Kyü: Ch'u yü). But in his paraphrase he takes the first y u *56* as a relative pronoun, the second y u as = *57*, which of course is inadmissible. — **E.** The stone classics of 175 A. D. have t s ê *58* inst. of p i n *51*. But the latter is attested earlier (Ma Jung) and should be given preference.

1824. E r n a i s h a n g y u e r t' u e r n a i s h a n g n i n g k a n c h ï *59*.

A. This is the PK'ung-text version: **»May you have your lands, may you find peace in your occupations and your dwellings».** — **B.** Yü Sing-wu considers s h a n g *60* as short-form for c h' a n g *61*, k a n *62* as a loan char. for h a n *63* and c h ï *64* as a corruption of *65* (these two being practically identical in Chou script). Thus: »You will forever have you lands, your will forever in peace h a n protect them». Neither in the inscriptions nor in early texts are there any ex. of s h a n g *60* serving for c h' a n g *61*, and though Yü's loan theory in itself is quite admissible, we should always abstain from »corrections» of the text when the handed-down text is good and makes a satisfactory sense.

1825. K i e r k ü *66*.

A. This is the traditional text: **»Perpetuate your dwellings».** — **B.** Yü Yüe would »correct» this into s u e i e r k ü *67* (»Be comforted in =) be happy in your dwellings». An arbitrary text alteration which should be rejected, cf. Gl. 1824 above. — **C.** Kiang Sheng, on the other hand, would take k ü not as referring to »dwellings» (since this is expressed in the preceding phr. tsê e r y i »dwell in your city»), but: »Continue in the (business which you) k ü occupy». A very far-fetched idea.

1826. T s' u n g j u t s' i e n *68*.

A. PK'ung: »(Following you =) in your wake they will t s' i e n (move =) be reformed (to goodness)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»It will follow from your removal» (here to Lo).** — **C.** K'ung Kuang-sen has a curious construction of this line together with the preceding ones: *69* »If you who have occupations (i. e. officers) and have years (i. e. seniors) y ü go to this Lo, your young children will rise and following you remove there». This is far inferior to the ordinary interpr.: »You will have occupations and years in this Lo, your young children will prosper, it will follow from your removal», which connects directly with the k a n etc. in the preceding lines.

1827. W a n g y üe y u y üe *70*.

A. PK'ung has no gloss. K'ung Ying-ta expounds: »The king having said (this), again has said». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: a comparison with the last lines of the To fang shows that some passage after w a n g y üe has been lost: **»The king has said...; again he has said».** — **C.** Sun Yi-jang: y u *71* = *72* and y u y üe *73* is equal to *74* (cf. Yü Yüe under C in Gl. 1640). Sun would carry the following two words here, reading w a n g y üe y u y üe s h ï y ü *75*, and he applies Wang Yin-chï's curious idea that s h ï *76* (**đi̯əg*) is loan char. for c h' e n g *77* (**đi̯əng*) — refuted in Gl. 1249 above —

interpreting: »The king has said: you have words (saying) that you s h ï (receive =) will obey me». A most eccentric speculation. — **D.** Chang Ping-lin likewise takes y u *71* as = *72* and divides thus: W a n g y üe, y u y üe s h ï *78*, expl. s h ï *76* as = *79* in the sense of 'correct, good' (common, see Gl. 553). »The king has said: y u y üe there are such who say s h ï that (what I tell you) is good». In To fang, Chang would apply the same constr. to y u y üe s h ï *80*... — In several Shu passages we have y u y üe *81* where it is perfectly clear and unambiguous that it means »again he said». One is the To fang example just cited (end of that chapter), another is K'ang kao *82* »and again he said: having (summed-up =) tried a case of arrest, reflect upon it five or six days» (here a *83* would make no sense). On these analogies, our y u y üe *81* should have its ordinary meaning and not be loan char. for something else. The par. adduced by B is quite convincing.

1828. S h ï y ü n a i h u o y e n e r y u k ü *84*.

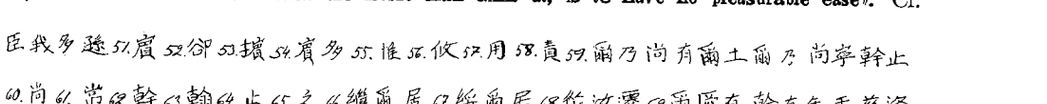
In the preceding gloss it was told how certain modern scholars have tried to carry s h ï or s h ï y ü to the preceding line, attempts that should not be accepted.

A. KP'ung: s h ï *76* means *79* 'correct' in the sense of 'to find correct, to approve of'; and h u o *85* stands for y u *86* (an old idea, refuted in Gl. 1433 above): »Approve of me, then I shall have words which you should (dwell in =) stand by». An obviously impossible interpr. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Those (things) that I may have spoken (have been with a view to) the place where you shall dwell». — **C.** Kiang Sheng follows PK'ung's idea about h u o = y u: »Now I have (had) words (to tell you), (may you find peace in) the place where you shall dwell». An unacceptable ellipsis. — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu takes h u o *85* as a short-form for k u o *87* and y e n *88* as = *89* 'I, we', an old Erya definition, cf. BMFEA 14, p. 83, with a single text support (Chuang: Shan mu). But then the first part of the line cannot be construed without a violent forcing of the text. — **E.** The line is quite simple, when seen as a concluding remark of the speaker: **»Now I have, (perchance =) I hope, (told =) explained where you are to dwell».**

Wu yi.

1829. K ü n t s ï s o k' i w u y i *90*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases very freely in a way that is unreconcilable with the wording of the text. Cheng Hüan is more precise: s o *91* is equal to c h' u *92* 'place', here taken as a verb: »The noble man, in (placing =) taking a (place =) stand, k' i w u y i will have no pleasurable ease». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes s o as a transitive verb with the following as object: »The noble man makes his having no pleasurable ease his (place =) stand». — **C.** Yü Sing-wu takes s o *91* as a corruption of *93* = *94*, the correct line being *95*, whatever that may mean. — **D.** Another interpr. Both A and B are awkward. K' i *96* should in fact be a verb, govering the preceding s o, and therefore k' i *96* is merely a short-form for the homophonous k' i *97* (both **g'i̯əg* / *g'ji̯* / k' i) 'to hope for, to aim at'. Thus: **»What the noble man aims at, is to have no pleasurable ease».** Cf.



Meng: Kao tsï, shang *98* »All the world aims at Yi Ya (i. e. tries to be like him)». For k'i *96* as short-form for *97* cf. Yi Hi ts'ï, hia: *99*. Here Shïwen says: »*96*, also wr. *97*», which shows that Lu Tê-ming had a text version with the short-form *96*.

1830. Tsê chï siao jen chï yi *99 b*.

This follows upon: »If you take your ease after first having experienced the hardships of husbandry».

A. PK'ung: »Then you will understand what the small people (have to) rely on (sc. for their support)». — **B.** Wang Yin-chï: yi *100* (*·i̯ər / ·i̯ĕi / yi) is a loan char. for *1* (*·i̯ən / ·i̯ən / yin), and cognate to *2* (*·ər / ·âi / ai), thus: »**You will know the sufferings of the people**». Later in our chapter we find in a quite analogous context: »He did not know the hardships of husbandry *3*, he did not hear about the toils of the small people». Our yi *100* (whether it stands for *·i̯ən or for *·ər) must be analogous to lao 'toils', which confirms B.

1831. Nai yi nai yen *4*.

A. This is PK'ung's version, and he defines yen *5* as = *6* 'insubordinate speech': »Then they take their ease and speak insubordinately». Yen *5* **ngi̯an* / *ngi̯ăn* / yen ordinarily means 'a proverb, a saying', but PK'ung must have thought of Lun: Sien tsin *7* »Yu is insubordinate» (refractory, rude), our *5* thus standing for this *8* **ngân* / *ngân* / an. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: yen 'proverb, saying' by extension here means 'vulgar speech': »Then they take their ease and speak vulgarily». — **C.** In the stone classics of 175 A. D. the line runs: *9*. The char. *10* is merely a variant of *11*, which is the same as *12* of the A version. But *13* (*χi̯ĕn / χi̯ɒn / hien) must here (with Kiang Sheng) mean 'to rejoice', as in Ode 254, see Gl. 924. Thus: »**Then they take their pleasurable ease and rejoice**». Yü Sing-wu takes hien in its sense of *14* 'law, pattern', which is less suitable in the context. (Yü has to take it together with the following: *15* »they take as pattern those who ki tan are extravagant»). — C, besides being the oldest version extant, has the advantage that yi and hien are analogous expressions.

1832. Ki tan fou tsê wu küe fu mu *16*.

A. The stone classics of 175 A. D. inst. of tan *17* had yen *18*, and it seems that Sï-ma Ts'ien had the same, for (in Lu shï kia) he paraphrases the two first words by *19* »extending for a long time». But, as Wang Ming-sheng insists, yen *18* is merely a short-form for tan *17* (without radical, Chou fashion), as proved by the context: a row of disparaging words about the unworthy sons. — **B.** PK'ung: tan *17* = 'to cheat' ('great words, boast' = 'cheat' is a well-attested extension of meaning in this word): »And finally they cheat (their parents); and fou if not, tsê then they insult their parents». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »And finally they become (extravagant =) disorderly; and if not, then they» etc. (as under B), cf. Gl. 1627. — **D.** Kiang Sheng: in the ancient script *20* was the primary graph for both pu *20* and fou *21*, and the rad. in the latter is a later elucidating addition. We should read here *22*, one item in the row of disparaging phrases: »And finally they become (extravagant =) disorderly, pu tsê and lawless and insult their parents». — **E.** Chuang Shu-tsu: the original graph must have been *20*, and this has been erroneously enlarged into fou *21*; instead, it stands for p'ei *23* (*20* for *23* is exceedingly common), and thus tan p'ei becomes a synonym-compound: »**And finally they become** tan ('great, extravagant' =) **disorderly and** p'ei ('great' =) **overbearing, and insult their parents.**» This is strikingly plausible.

T'ien ming tsï tu chï min chï kü see Gl. 1676.

1833. K'i tsai Kao Tsung shï kiu lao yü wai *24*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien (when referring to this in Yin pen ki) punctuates after tsung, reading shï kiu lao yü wai as one clause: »**When (it rested with Kao Tsung =) the turn came to Kao Tsung, shï he for long toiled (outside =) away from the court**». This

interpr. was evidently current in Han time, for Chung lun: Yao shou quotes *25*, where shï *26*, replacing *27*, means 'that one, he'. Sï-ma renders kiu *28* (**g'i̯ŭg* / *g'i̯ə̆u* / kiu) by *29* (**ki̯ŭg* / *ki̯ə̆u* / kiu), the two words being certainly cognate. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after shu: »At the time of Kao Tsung, (he) for long . . .». (Legge replaces »for long» by »at first», which is no improvement). But the par. in the following line: K'i tsai Tsu Kia *30* shows that the line should end by the name, and that A is right.

1834. Yüan ki siao jen *31*.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien (translating ki *32*, variant *33*, by yü *34* '[to be] together with') renders the line: wei yü siao jen *35*. Now the two char. yüan *36* and wei *37* are very similar and easily confounded, and the question is which of them is primary here. If we possess Sï-ma's text unaltered, wei is correct and Sï-ma had a Shu version reading wei ki siao jen *38*: »**He (acted =) worked together with the small people**». This was evidently the Shu text possessed by Ma Jung, for he paraphrases: *39* »together with the small people he attended to business», and this confirms that the actual Shï ki text is uncorrupted. — **B.** But Cheng Hüan had already yüan *36*, which he defines by yü *40* (more precisely it should be *41*), and he speculates on the idea that Kao Tsung lead great warfares for his father, in the interest of the people: »Then he (led warfare) ki in favour of the small people». This latter is far from convincing, but we could certainly retain the yüan *36* and interpret: »yüan then ki he associated with the small people». — We have no sufficient reasons for doubting that the oldest version attested (Sï-ma's) really had wei *37*, since Ma Jung confirms it. And we should follow it, in spite of the yüan which is earliest attested some two centuries later.

1835. Tso k'i tsi wei *42*.

A. PK'ung: tso *43* = *44* (common): »He rose, and when he ascended the throne». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: tso *43* simply means *45* 'to begin, first', properly: in the rising, in the start: »**In the start, when he ascended the throne**».

1836. Nai huo liang yin *46*.

Sï-ma Ts'ien, foll. by PK'ung, renders huo *47* by yu *48*, which was criticized in Gl. 1453 and 1828 above. Liang yin *49* is variously written: *50* (Lun: Hien wen) which has caused Ma Jung to interpret: »liang trusting to his assistant he yin was (obscure =) silent»; or *51* (Han shu: Wu hing chï); or *52* (Li: Sang fu sï chï); or *53* in Shang shu ta chuan, there defined as = *54* 'mourning shed', Cheng Hüan explaining that liang *55* is equal to *56* 'lintel, beam', which is not very elucidating; or, finally, *57* (Shï ki: Lu shï kia). The word *58* (*·əm / ·âm / an), means 'dark', cognate to *59* *·i̯əm / ·i̯əm / yin 'dark, shadow' etc. and it certainly never means 'shed, hut' (Chu Tsün-sheng believes that it is loan word for *60*, a word unknown in pre-Han texts). But Yü Sing-wu proceeds to take liang *55* to be a corruption of *61* 'thorn', and liang an there-

逑 96.其 97.期 98.天下期於曷牙 99.則知小人之依 100.依 1.隱 2.哀 3.不聞小人之勞 4.乃逸乃諺 5.諺 6.敖諺 7.由也噆 8.噆 9.乃勉乃憲 10.勉 11.侯 12.逸 13.憲 14.法 15.乃憲既誕 16.既誕否則侮厥父母 17.誕 18.延 19.至長久 20.不 21.否 22.不則 23.否 24.其在高宗時舊勞于外 25.舊勞于外 26.舊 27.時 28.舊 29.久 30.其在祖甲 31.爰暨小人 32.暨 33.洎 34.與 35.為與小人 36.爰 37.爲 38.為 暨(洎)小人 39.與小人從事 40.于 41.于 是 42.作 其即位 43.作 44.起 45.始 46.乃或亮陰 47.或 48.有 49.亮陰 50.諒陰 51.涼陰 52.諒闇 53.梁闇 54.凶廬 55.梁 56.樑 57.亮闇 58.闇 59.陰 60.庵 61.荊 62.其惟不言 言乃雍 63.雍 64.謹 65.蓋 66.不言之 教無為之益 天下希

fore would mean 'a thornwood-covered hut' (!). I have already stated (Gl. 786) my reasons for believing that the phr. is an antithesis: »liang the light is yin (an) obscured» (the brilliant ruler withdraws into dark seclusion). Thus: »**Then, huo it is said, liang yin the light was obscured (i. e. the ruler withdrew into seclusion)**».

1837. K'i wei pu yen yen nai yung *62*.

Li ki: T'an Kung inst. of yung *63* quotes *64* (foll. by Sï-ma Ts'ien), but the quotation as a whole is truncated and therefore unreliable; probably the char. *65* (in Han time enlarged into *64*) is a corruption of the graphically similar *63*.

A. PK'ung: »After his having (not spoken =) kept silent, when he spoke, then (the world) became condordant». — **B.** This is bad enough, but Cheng Hüan is still worse: »During his not speaking, if he (after all on some occasion) spoke, then (all subjects) became concordant». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »He would not speak, but (if he) spoke, then (it was) concordant (words)». — **D.** Another interpr. The line is one clause, not two: »**His speaking without words (i. e. by his example) was harmonious**». Cf. Lao 43, phr. *66* »The teaching without words, the doing good without action, few in the world attain to that».

1838. Kia tsing Yin pang *67*.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »He finely tranquillized Yin's state». — **B.** Sï-ma Tsien has *68*, this mi by Ma Jung defined as = *69*; mi-tsing thus is a binome: »**He tranquillized Yin's state**». This in itself proves little, since Sï-ma often made very free with the Shu text, but in Tung kuan Han ki we find the line cited *70*, which confirms that mi tsing was really the Kin-wen version. This being thus much earlier attested than A, we should follow it.

1839. Wu shï yu kiu nien *71*.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »(Kao Tsung's enjoying the realm) was for 59 years». — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien has *72* »**for 55 years**». — **C.** Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: K'i shou): »Kao Tsung enjoyed the realm for 100 years» and this is followed by the stone classics of 175 A. D. This, however, probably is due to a confusion with another tradition that he became 100 years old. Liu Hiang (ap. Han shu: Liu Hiang chuan) says: *73* »Kao Tsung had the felicity of a 100 years». — We should follow the earliest attested version (B).

1840. K'i tsai Tsu Kia pu yi wei wang *74*.

A. Ma Jung identifies Tsu Kia with Wu Ting's son Tsu Kia or Ti Kia *75*: »When the turn came to Tsu Kia, he did not find it right to become king» (sc. but ceded in favour of his less wise elder brother). Cheng Hüan and Ts'ai Ch'en follow this. Against that has been adduced Kyü: Chou yü: »Ti Kia *75* brought disorder, and after 7 generations (the dynasty) collapsed». How could the Shu praise him as a pattern of virtue? This objection of course has no force: Shu and Kuo yü represent here two different traditions that need not agree. — **B.** Wang Shun and Liu Hin, in a memorial to the throne of 6 B. C. (ap. Han shu: Wei Yüan-ch'eng chuan), propose that Tsu Kia was T'ang's grandson T'ai Kia *76*. Wang Su and PK'ung follow this, and the latter explains: »When the turn came to Tsu Kia (= T'ai Kia), he (was king =) ruled in an unrighteous way» (Chavannes accepts this). The great difficulty with this interpr., namely that T'ai Kia is mentioned after the much later Kao Tsung, is explained away in an amusing way: he was not so virtuous as Kao Tsung, and he ruled only 33 years, as against the 59 (55) years of Kao Tsung! But quite apart from this absurd argumentation, there is a serious doubt whether after all the original Shu had the items in this order of the orthodox text: Chung tsung: Kao Tsung: Tsu Kia. In the orthodox version, the concluding line after the one about Tsu Kia's years of reign runs: tsï shï küe hou *77* »after this»; but in the stone classics of 175 A. D. this line follows after that about Kao Tsung and his years of reign, and it seems possible that the the Kin-wen version really had a different sequence: Tsu Kia: Chung Tsung: Kao Tsung. — **C.** After all the Ku-wen sequence: Chung Tsung: Kao Tsung: Tsu Kia is preferable,

for to that corresponds the decreasing scale of years. Chung Tsung 75 years: Kao Tsung 55 years: Tsu Kia 33 years, and this is definitely confirmed later in our chapter where we have *78* »From the Yin king Chung Tsung, to Kao Tsung and to Tsu Kia and to our Chou Wen Wang». This most plausible sequence in the Shu chapter thus after all decides in favour of interpr. A, as far as the identity of Tsu Kia is concerned: he followed after Kao Tsung and was id. with the Ti Kia *75* of the chronologies. But Ma's interpr.: »he did not find it right» is a scholastic construction, in support of which the »ceding» in favour of a brother has been invented — no pre-Han text contains any such tradition. Pu yi *79* »it was not right» is equal to *80* »it is not right (reasonable)» the two words *81* **ngia*, falling tone, and **ngia*, even tone, being two aspects of the same word stem. The line means: »**It was not (right =) to be expected that he became king**» (sc. two brothers preceding him on the throne). In fact we know from the Yin king list in Shï ki that Wu Ting's first successor was Tsu Keng *83*, and from Lü: Pi ki that Wu Ting had another son Hiao Ki *84* (Tsu Ki). The oracle bones confirm this, the sequence probably being: Wu Ting: Tsu Keng: Tsu Ki: Tsu Kia (see Tung Tso-pin: Kia ku wen tuan tai yen kiu li, in »Studies to Ts'ai Yuan P'ei . . . 1933, p. 330). It is particularly valuable that the bone inscriptions have the name form Tsu Kia *85*, like our Shu passage, and this Tsu Kia is obviously not identical with the grandson of T'ang's, for the latter likewise occurs in the bone inscriptions and in his regular name form T'ai Kia *76*.

1841. Neng pao huei yü shu min *86*.

A. PK'ung interprets pao huei by *87* »He could peacefully accord with the common people». — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien renders huei *88* by *89* 'to bestow gifts on', thus taking it in its common meaning of 'to be kind to': »**He could give protection and kindness to the common people**».

Wei tan lo chï ts'ung see Gl. 949.

1842. Yi wang huo k'o shou *90*.

A. PK'ung again, as often earlier, explains huo *91* by yu *92* (cf. Gl. 1453 and 1828 above), in this following Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Yü tseng) who renders it: *93* »There also wang huo (= wu yu) were none k'o who could reach a high age». — **B.** Huo has its ordinary sense: »**Also wang there were none who huo k'o (peradventure could reach =) had any chance of reaching a high age**».

1843. Küe yi wei wo Chou *94*.

A. This is PK'ung's version. Küe *95* should be compared to the earlier line *96* »(Its resting with Chung Tsung = when it rested with Chung Tsung =) when the turn came to Chung Tsung». Thus here: »**(Its likewise being on Chou =) When it in the same way was (the turn of) our Chou**». — **B.** Shang shu ta chuan has a quotation: *97* »Shu king says: At the foundation of the Son-of-Heaven's (rank =) high office». In Po hu t'ung, the current editions, the same line is quoted from Shu wu yi p'ien *98* »the chapter Wu yi of the Shu king», and Tuan Yü-ts'ai concludes that this was the Kin-wen version here as opposed to PK'ung's Ku-wen (A). This conclusion would seem plausible but is, after all unsafe, for in an edition of the period Ta tê (1297—1307) of the Po hu t'ung (photogr.

及之 67. 嘉靖殷邦 68. 密靖殷國 69. 安 70. 密靜 71. 五十有九年 72. 五十有五年 73. 高宗有百年之福 74. 其在祖甲不義惟王 75. 帝甲 76. 太甲 77. 自時厥後 78. 自殷王中宗及高宗及祖甲及我周文王 79. 不義 80. 不宜 81. 義 82. 宜 83. 祖庚 84. 孝己 85. 祖甲 86. 能保惠于庶民 87. 安順 88. 惠 89. 施 90. 亦罔或克壽 91. 或 92. 有 93. 罔有克壽 94. 厥亦惟我周 95. 厥 96. 其在仲宗 97. 書曰厥兆天子爵 98. 書無逸篇 99. 書逸篇 100. 文王卑服即康功田功 1. 服 2. 事 3. 卑 4. 俾

reprint in Sï pu ts'ung k'an), which in its turn reproduced an academy edition of the Sung era, has instead: *99* »a lost chapter of the Shu king». It is thus too risky to prefer the supposed but unproved Kin-wen line to the Ku-wen.

1844. W e n w a n g p e i f u t s i k ' a n g k u n g t ' i e n k u n g *100.*

A. PK'ung punctuates: W e n W a n g p e i f u, t s i k ' a n g k u n g t ' i e n k u n g: »Wen wang p e i made (low =) simple f u his clothes, and t s i applied himself to his tranquillizing work and his agricultural work». — **B.** Kiang Sheng punctuates: W e n W a n g p e i f u t s i k ' a n g, k u n g t ' i e n k u n g. He takes f u *1* as = *2* 'business, occupation' (common): »Wen Wang in (low =) simple occupations (approached peace =) found peace, he k u n g achieved t ' i e n k u n g agricultural achievements». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen punctuates like A, but takes f u = 'business' like B: »Wen Wang applied himself to simple occupations, peaceful achievements and agricultural achievements». Sun resorts to the unallowable trick of interpreting as if t s i 'to approach, apply oneself to' stood before p e i f u inst. of before k ' a n g k u n g. — **D.** Ma Jung inst. of p e i *3* had p e i *4* 'to cause', but it is difficult to see how the line could then make sense. — **E.** Yü Yüe: p e i *4* or *3* is loan char. for *5* in the sense of 'to place together, to sort': »Wen Wang arranged the affairs». But this loan is phonetically excluded (3, 4 **pi̯ĕg*: *5* **pi̯ər*). — **F.** Sun Yi-jang tries to vindicate that p e i *4* could mean 'to follow': »Wen Wang p e i followed and f u performed» (sc. the virtue of the predecessors). But for p e i in that sense there is no text support, and, besides, the expl. is much too elliptical. — **G.** Chang Ping-lin would take k ' a n g *6* in the sense of 'road': and k ' a n g k u n g = »the business of (making smooth and easy) the roads», a bizarre idea. — **H.** Yü Sing-wu: In the Ta Yü Ting inscr. the word w e i *7* 'to fear' is wr. *8* and *9*. Our original text must have had w e i *10* »Wen wang was awed and submissive», and w e i written as 8 or *9* has been misunderstood by the Han scribes and deciphered as *4*. This is very ingenious and tempting. But in the preceding line we had k ' o t s ï y i w e i *11* »they could restrain themselves and be awed». If the supposedly erring Han scribe had before him an original that had two w e i written *9*, he would not have correctly deciphered the first as w e i *7* and the second as *9*; and to suppose that the original in two consecutive lines had two w e i *7* written so radically differently as to cause a different Han-time decipherment, is not plausible. — **I.** Another interpr. Yü Sing-wu is right in thinking that f u *1* means 'submissive', since it follows up the idea expressed in the preceding line; moreover the legends abound in tales how he remained a loyal subject to the last Yin king (his son Wu Wang being the real rebel). P e i 'low' has an analogous sense. Thus: **»Wen Wang was (low =) humble and submissive, he applied himself to peaceful achievements and agricultural achievements».**

1845. H u e i s i e n k u a n k u a *12.*

A. This is PK'ung's version. For the meaning: **»He was kind and good to widowers and widows»** see Gl. 1447. PK'ung took s i e n as = *13*: »He was kind to destitute and lone people»; Ts'ai Ch'en: »He was kind to and s i e n refreshed the widowers and widows»; Yü Yüe: s i e n *14* (**si̯an*) stands for *15* (**si̯ĕg*) and this for *16* (**si̯ĕg*) »He was kind to and bestowed gifts on . .»; Chang Ping-lin: »He was kind to s i e n those prematurely dead and to widowers and widows» — all to be rejected, particularly for rhythmical reasons, see B. below. — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. Han shu: Ku Yung chuan and the stone classics of 175 A. D. read h u e i y ü *17*. Tuan Yü-ts'ai supposes that y ü *18* is correct and that this has been first corrupted into *19* and then this latter augmented by a *20* through influence from the following word, a very forced theory (Yü Sing-wu moreover takes this y ü *18* to be equal to w u *21*: »He was kind to our widowers and widows»). — A is rhythmically better, the whole passage being built up with two-word groups: H u e i - j o u — y i - k u n g, h u a i - p a o — s i a o - m i n, h u e i - s i e n — k u a n - k u a.

1846. H i e n h o w a n m i n *22.*

A. PK'ung defines h i e n by *23*, thus its usual meaning: »He harmonized all the myriad people». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: h i e n *24* »In all (places) he harmonized . .» — **C.** Yü Yüe: h i e n *25* is a verb coördinated with h o and with an analogous sense. This is certainly right. The fundamental sense being 'all', as a verb it can mean 'to unite', either intransitively 'to unite with, be concordant with' and is then wr. by the enlarged char. *26* (etym. same word), as in Shao kao *27* »May he grandly be able to be concordant with the small people»; or, as here, transitive: **»He united and harmonized the myriad people».** This does justice to the stylistic utilization of two-word groups here in our chapter: h i e n - h o w a n - m i n.

1847. 1. 1. Y i s h u p a n g w e i c h e n g c h ï k u n g *28.*
2. Y i w a n m i n w e i c h e n g c h ï k u n g *29.*

A. PK'ung in both lines has free paraphrases which are not reconcilable with the Shu text; he takes c h e n g *30* in 1 as = *31* »the right principles» or »to make correct one's principles», in 2 as = *32* »to correct one's person». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: 1. »From the many states (2: From the myriad people) only c h e n g the correct (amounts) he k u n g (caused to be furnished) demanded in tribute». It is very forced thus to take k u n g as a causative verb. — **C.** Kyü: Ch'u yü quotes *33*, and Kiang Sheng follows this: »The government, that he paid reverent attention to», and, since in Han shu: Ku Yung chuan, where our Shu passages are quoted, both the 3 words y i s h u p a n g *34* and the 3 words y i w a n m i n *35* are missing, Kiang concludes that they are arbitrary additions made by PK'ung, and he leaves them out. In Ku Yung chuan, however, the line is quoted *36*, and Wang Yin-chï has modified Kiang's interpr. That c h e n g *30* is a short-form for c h e n g *37* 'government' (as often), in accord with Kiang, is obvious. But k u n g was originally wr. *38* (as in Ku Yung chuan) without radical (Chou fashion), cf. Gl. 1401 above, and the Han scholars in transcribing the ancient texts filled it out either into *39* (as in Kyü), or into *39a* (as in PK'ung's text), according as they understood the line. The latter is here right. The words y i s h u p a n g and y i w a n m i n should not be eliminated, since Ku Yung-chuan may simply represent an abbreviation, but y i means 'taking' = 'along with, together with' (common): 1. **»Together with the many states he (furnished =) managed the government»**; 2. **»Together with the myriad people he should (furnish =) manage the government».**

1848. K i t s ï k i n s ï w a n g t s ê k ' i w u y i n . . . *40.*

A. PK'ung takes the whole k i t s ï k i n as an attribute to s ï w a n g, t s ê as the particle and k ' i as the optative mark: »The succeeding kings who will continue (the line) from now, should not be excessive . .» — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes k i t s ï k i n as an adverbial phr. and t s ê as a verb 'to take as pattern', k ' i referring to the just-mentioned Wen Wang; »Continuing from now, the succeeding king (i. e. Ch'eng Wang) t s ê should take as pattern k ' i w u y i n his not being excessive». — As to the construction A is confirmed by the Kin-wen version, attested in the 1st c. B.C. (ap. Han shu: Ku Yung chuan), which simply has no t s ê *41*: s ï w a n g k ' i w u y i n. But it is better, with B, to take w a n g in the singular, referring to Ch'eng Wang, as confirmed by the

5 比 6 康 7 畏 8. 惸 9. 惸 10 畏服 11 克自抑畏 12. 惠鮮鰥寡 13 乏 14 鮮 15 斯 16 賜 17 惠于鰥寡 18. 于 19 羊 20 魚 21 吾 22 咸和萬民 23. 皆 24. 徧 25 咸 26 誠 27 丕能誠于小民 28. 以庶邦惟正之供 29. 以萬民惟正之供 30. 正 31 正道 32. 正身 33 唯政之恭 34 以庶邦 35. 以萬民 36. 維正之共 37. 政 38. 共 39. 恭 40. 供 41. 繼自今嗣王則其無淫 42 則攸無淫于觀于逸于遊于田

last line of our chapter. Thus: »**The succeeding king, who will continue (the line) from now, should not be excessive . . .**«

1849. W u y i n y ü k u a n y ü y i y ü y u y ü t ' i e n *42.*

A. This is PK'ung's version: »He should not be excessive in sight-seeing, in idleness, in excursions, in hunting«. An enumeration with y ü *43* repeated like this is stylistically very poor and betrays that the text is corrupted. — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. Han shu: Ku Yung chuan (document from the 1st c. B. C.), confirmed, from the 4th char., by the stone classics of 175 A. D., read *44*: »**He should not be excessive in wine and not licentious in excursions and hunting**«. Here the analogous y i n and y i balance each other, and the text is much superior to A.

1850. W u h u a n g y ü e k i n j ï t a n l o *45.*

A. PK'ung takes h u a n g *46* as = *47*: »Do not take leisure and say: to day I will (be steeped in =) indulge in pleasure«. — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read *48*. The char. *49* is here a short-form for h u a n g (Pek. k ' u a n g) *50*, as often: »**Do not moreover say: to day I will (be steeped in =) indulge in pleasure**«. We should compare:

Shu: Wu yi (later in the chapter): T s ê h u a n g t s ï k i n g t ê *51.*

A. PK'ung here takes h u a n g *46* as = *52* 'great': »They greatly paid careful attention to their virtue«. — **B.** Cheng Hüan here (cf. A above) takes h u a n g as = *53*, i. e. as = *47*: »They took leisure carefully to attend to their virtue«. — **C.** The stone classics of 175 A. D. read *54* and Wang Su, following this, elucidatingly writes *55*, defining h u a n g (k ' u a n g) as = *56* 'to augment': »**Then all the more they paid careful attention to their virtue**«.

Shu: Ts'in shï: W o h u a n g t o y u c h ï *57.*

A. This is PK'ung's version. He paraphrases *58*, rendering h u a n g by t s ' i e n *59*; it is entirely obscure what he meant by that. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: h u a n g = *47*: »How could I have leisure to have many of them (sc. the bad councillors)«. — **C.** Kung-yang: Wen 12 quotes *60*; here *50* is of course an enlarged form of a Chou form *49* without radical, as above: »**Should I moreover have many of them!**« Wang Nien-sun has proposed that this line has another meaning: »I moreover largely have befriended them«, expressing a regret. It is true that y u *61* sometimes stands for the homophonous y u *62*, see Gl. 208. But the paragraph describes whom the prince wants as coadjutors: (The old men) w o s h a n g y u c h ï *63* »I rather will have them« (s h a n g *64* is the optative = 'would that, wish to'); (the strong men) w o s h a n g p u y ü *65* »I rather will not have them«; (the flatterers) w o h u a n g t o y u c h ï *57* »should I moreover have many of them«. Wang Nien-sun would also take the y u in the first line as = *62*: »I rather will befriend them«. But that is not plausible, for the contrast between 1. and 2. is obvious: 1. »I will y u c h ï have them«: 2. »I p u y ü will not have them«. Thus y u *61* here evidently has its ordinary meaning; and *eo ipso* it has the same meaning in the 3rd line. In regard to the word which principally concerns us here: h u a n g, the parallelism with s h a n g *64* shows it to be an adverb, which confirms the reading *50* against the Ku-wen *46*, which is simply an error for the similar *49*. — This being so in our 3rd Shu example, it is preferable to apply this result to the two preceding ones and prefer the Kin-wen reading *49* h u a n g (k ' u a n g) in all three cases; all the more since it is the earliest attested.

1851. N a i f e i m i n y u h ü n f e i t ' i e n y u j o.

A. PK'ung: »That is not that by which one teaches the people, it is not that by which one accords with Heaven«. M i n and t ' i e n are thus construed as direct objects placed before the verbs. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes m i n and t ' i e n as subjects, which is certainly right: »It is not what the people [should] (be taught =) take as norm, it is not what Heaven (accords with =) approves of«. Evidently Ts'ai in regard to h ü n has thought of Ode 256, phr. *66* »The states of the four quarters take their lesson from him«.

But it is a weakness that one thus has to supply the notion »should« in the first line but not in the second, which spoils the parallelism. — **C.** H ü n *67* is often defined as = s h u n *68*, an extension of meaning: 'to be instructed, to be trained, docile, compliant', see Gl. 1542. Thus: »**That is not what the people comply with, it is not what Heaven approves of**«. Yü Yüe rightly advocates this, since it makes the two verbs h ü n and j o analogous. This idea, besides, was already advanced by Hu Yin (Sung time) who paraphrases: *69*.

1852. S h ï j e n p ' e i t s ê y u k ' i e n *70.*

A. PK'ung takes t s ê *71* as the particle: »Those people then will greatly have faults«. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: t s ê is the noun: »**The people of the age greatly will t s ê take as pattern y u k ' i e n the faults you have**«. Kiang Sheng turns it differently: »Those people will greatly take (you) as pattern and have faults«. But first »those people« suits the context badly; and secondly a good par. shows that Ts'ai is right in taking y u k ' i e n as object to t s ê : K'ang kao: p ' e i t s ê m i n t ê *72* »Grandly take as pattern the active virtue« (of the ancients).

1853. Y i n w a n g S h o u *73.*

The name form *74* **đ̂i̯ôg* / *i̯i̯ə̯u* / s h o u is the Ku-wen version. The Kin-wen version ap. Lun heng: K'ien kao and Han shu: Liu Hiang chuan had Y i n w a n g C h o u *75*, with the name form *76* **d'i̯ôg* / *đ̂'i̯ə̯u* / c h o u.

1854. H ü y ü t s i u t ê *77.* For h ü and variants cf. Gl. 1500.

A. PK'ung paraphrases *78* »He considered it a virtue to be mad with wine«, which of course is unreconcilable with the text. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: t ê means 'character, disposition', either good or bad. Thus: »**. . . and his disposition of one madly given to wine**«. Cf. Shu: P'an Keng *79* »(Heaven) sent down to us evil dispositions«.

1855. W u h u o s ü c h o u c h a n g w e i h u a n *80.* For h u o *81*, by PK'ung and others taken to mean y u *82*, but really a mark of incertitude ('*forte*, possibly'), w u h u o = »there were hardly any«, see Gl. 1428 above. For *83* **t̂i̯ôg* / *t̂i̯ə̯u* / c h o u in the binome c h o u c h a n g *84* there are the variants *85* (Erya = 'to impose on, to cheat', the comm. Kuo P'o quoting our Shu line), and *86* (Ma Jung's version), all with the same sound; *87* occurs in Ode 142.

1856. T s ' ï k ü e p u t ' i n g j e n n a i h ü n c h ï n a i p i e n l u a n s i e n w a n g c h ï c h e n g h i n g *88.*

A. PK'ung: »Now, if he (the king) does not listen (to good counsellors), people (sc. who are bad) will instruct him, and so he will change and disorder the former kings' correct laws«. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »If you do not listen (to this), people (i. e. your ministers) will h ü n c h ï take you as pattern, and you will (all) change . . .« etc. — **C.** The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read: (t s ' ï) k ü e p u s h e n g j e n n a i h ü n p i e n l u a n c h e n g h i n g *89*. Kiang Sheng adopts this, defining (after Erya) s h e n g *90* as = *91* 'to penetrate' (with the mind) 'i. e. 'to be wise': »If you are

43.于 44.毋淫于酒毋逸于遊田 45.無皇曰今日耽樂 46.皇 47.遑 48.毋 兄曰 49.兄 50.況(況) 51.則皇自敬德 52.大 53.暇 54.則兄自敬德 55.則況 56.滋益 57.我皇多有之 58.我前多有之 59.前 60.而況予 我多有之 61.有 62.友 63.我尚有之 64.尚 65.我尚不欲 66.四方其訓之 67.訓 68.順 69.民心不從天意不順 70.時人丕則有愆 71.則 72.丕則敬德 73.殷王受 74.受 75.殷王紂 76.紂 77.酗于酒德 78.以酗酒為德 79.降我凶德 80.無或胥譸張為幻 81.或 82.有 83.譸 84.譸張 85.侜張 86.誑張 87.侜 88.此厥不聽人乃訓之 乃變亂先王之正刑 89.厥不聖人乃訓變

not wise in this, people will h ü n (instruct =) guide you to change and disorder the former kings' correct laws». The archaic graphs for s h e n g and t' i n g are so very similar (see Grammata p. 345) that the transcribers in Han time could equally well mistake a s h e n g for a t' i n g as a t' i n g for a s h e n g. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen accepts t' i n g but follows B in rejecting the c h ï *92*, and reads the first two phrases as a whole: t s' ï k ü e p u t' i n g j e n n a i h ü n »If you now do not listen to people's instructions (i. e. advice)». This is impossible since it disregards the n a i *93*. Moreover the phr. t s' ï k ü e p u t' i n g (s h e n g) as a complete clause recurs later in our chapter. — **D.** The Kin-wen's s h e n g certainly gives the best meaning in the context; cf. Ode 198, phr. *94* »Some (men) are wise, some are not» (etc., several ex. in the Odes). H ü n evidently has the same meaning as in Gl. 1851 above: **»If now you are not wise, people will comply with you, and change and disorder the former kings' correct laws»**. T s' ï 'this' means »now» as opposed to the k u j e n »the ancient men» in the preceding line.

T s ê h u a n g t s ï k i n g t ê see Gl. 1850.

1857. Y ü n j o s h ï *95*.

A. PK'ung refers this to the dissatisfied people: »If they truly (say) like this». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»When it truly was like this»**. Supported by a par. a few lines later: t s ê j o s h ï *96* »When it then is like this». — **C.** Kiang Sheng carries the line to the preceding, as part of the king's speech: »(That is my fault), it was truly like that» (Chang Ping-lin says that the stone classics of 175 A. D. had *97*, which he translates: »they (my faults) are h u a n g great like that»; but the stone classics sure enough read y ü n *98* like PK'ung). — Whereas C is quite plausible in itself, the par. adduced under B is decisive in favour of the latter.

1858. P u y u n g n i e n k ü e p i *99*.

A. PK'ung: »You will not be always thinking of your (being a) sovereign». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: »You will not be always thinking of your crimes», this after Erya: *100* = *1*; *100* is then a short-form for *2* 'depravity'. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: **»You will not be always thinking of your laws»** (p i = *3* common). This points directly to the following lines about unjust punishments.

Kün Shï.

1859. K ü e k i y u n g f u y ü h i u *4*.

A. PK'ung: »In their foundation (time), they always were faithful to the fine (principles)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases *5*, whatever that jumble of words may mean; Legge renders it: »Its foundation will forever be sincerely established in prosperity»(!). Kiang Sheng repeats Ts'ai's inane paraphrase. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: f u *6* = *7* (cf. Gl. 1491 above, where the Ku-wen version had *6* **p'i̯uŋ* but the Kin-wen version *7* **pi̯u*, Sun considering the former as loan char. for the latter), paraphrasing: *8* »That Yin's beginning forever was endowed with prosperity». This is almost as meaningless as B (the beginning being forever endowed?) — **D.** Another interpr. F u *6* is common meaning 'to trust', e. g. Lo kao: t s o C h o u f u s i e n *9* »Cause the Chou to be trusted and take precedence». This is the meaning here as well: **»In the foundation time, for all future one trusts in one's felicity;** (but Heaven is not to be relied on)».

J o t' i e n f e i c h' e n see Gl. 1207, 1609.

K' i c h u n g c h' u y ü p u s i a n g »It will finally end in misfortune», see Gl. 140. For s i a n g *10*, the stone classics of 175 A. D. had the homophonous *11*, a common loan, especially on mirrors of the Han epoch. The same stone version had t a o *12* inst. of c h u n g *13* (var. *14*): »The road will end in misfortune», which must represent the Kin-wen version.

1860. K ü n y i y ü e s h ï w o *15*.

A. PK'ung, following the tradition expressed in the Shu sü and Sï-ma Ts'ien (Yen shï kia), that Shao Kung disapproved of Chou Kung's remaining in office in the capital, takes y i *16* as a final particle, y ü e as merely a particle and s h ï *17* = *18* as a verb 'to find correct': »K ü n y i Oh prince, s h ï w o approve of me» (sc. that I stay in office). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, in the wake of Chu Hi and other Sung scholars, surmises that it was Shao Kung who wished to retire and that Chou Kung persuaded him to remain in office. Ts'ai explains: »K ü n y i y ü e You, prince, have already said: s h ï w o (that is we =) that depends on us», referring to an earlier (unattested) utterance of Shao Kung. But s h ï w o = »that depends on us» would indeed be a curious construction. — **C.** Wang Sien-k'ien tries to reconcile the B construction (K ü n y i y ü e as belonging together) with the fundamental idea of A that Chou Kung wanted Shao Kung's approval of his own staying in power: »You, prince, have already said that you approve of me». — **D.** Chang Ping-lin, likewise takes y ü e *19* as the common particle, and considers s h ï *17* as a loan char. for t a i *20* 'to wait' (the original graph would then have been simply *41* without radical, Chou fashion, wrongly filled out into s h ï *17* inst. of t a i *20*, cf. E below); thus: »Oh prince, y i *16* stop, t a i w o wait for me (sc. to have achieved my work)». This is tempting, but it is a decided weakness to take y ü e as a particle right in the middle of the line. — **E.** Another interpr. S h ï in the sense of 'to approve of' is far-fetched here. We may take it as very probable that the original graph was simply *21* without radical, Chou fashion, (cf. D above), but then as a short-form for s h ï *22* 'to rest on, to rely on': **»You, prince, have said that it depends on me»**. This comes in very logically: Chou Kung first says that the future of the new dynasty is uncertain. Then he says: You (prince Shao) have said that it depends on me, the regent during king Ch'eng's minority, and I always try to be prudent and careful. For s ï *21* (wrongly filled out into s h ï *17*) serving for *22*, cf. the famous Piao-bell inscription: *23* = *24*.

1861. F u y u n g y ü a n n i e n t' i e n w e i *25*.

A. PK'ung: »You (sc. Shao Kung) do not far-reachingly think of Heaven's majesty». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: this continues the preceding line: »(I dare not be tranquil in the mandate of God on High) **nor fail to far-reachingly think of Heaven's majesty»**.

1862. Y ü e w o m i n w a n g y u w e i w e i j e n t s a i w o h o u s ï t s ï s u n *26*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: y ü e w o m i n w a n g y u w e i, w e i j e n t s a i w o etc. He renders y ü e *27* by *28* 'to move and reform' and takes the line as governed by the f u *29* 'not' of the preceding: »You do not reform my people (so as to) have no faults or transgressions; (when) people t s a i are among my succeeding sons and grandsons . . .». But y ü e certainly can have no such meaning. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates: y ü e w o m i n w a n g y u w e i, w e i j e n, t s a i w o etc., connecting the line with the preceding in a different way and taking y ü e *27* = *30* »(I dare not fail to think of Heaven's majesty) in (a time when) our people have no fault-finding or disobedience (towards us); t s a i j e n it depends on men; (when the turn) is with our succeeding sons and grandsons . . .». The content of this is rather nonsensical. — **C.** Kiang Sheng points out that Han shu: Wang Mang chuan quotes: w o s ï s h ï t s ï s u n *31* etc., which would show

亂正刑 *10.* 聖 *11.* 通 *12.* 之 *13.* 乃 *14.* 或聖或否 *15.* 允若時 *16.* 則若時 *17.* 兄若時 *18.* 允 *19.* 不永念厥辟 *100* 辟 *1.* 罪 *2.* 僻 *3.* 法 *4.* 厥基永孚于休 *5.* 其基業長信於休美乎 *6.* 孚 *7.* 付 *8.* 殷之始長付畀以慶者 *9.* 佐周孚先 *10.* 祥 *11.* 詳 *12.* 道 *13.* 終 *14.* 崇 *15.* 君已曰時我 *16.* 已 *17.* 時 *18.* 是 *19.* 曰 *20.* 侍 *21.* 寺 *22.* 侍 *23.* 寺力 *24.* 侍力 *25.* 弗永遠念天威 *26.* 越我民罔尤違惟人在我後嗣

that Wang punctuated after t s a i. Kiang takes y ü e *27* as a fault for *19* (they were homophonous and as particles interchangeable), and does not connect this line with the preceding: »I say that (when) our people have no faults or transgressions, w e i j e n t s a i it is (because) there are men there» (i. e. I am in office). — **D.** Sun Y i-jang punctuates: Y ü e w o m i n, w a n g y u w e i w e i j e n, t s a i w o etc., thus reverting to the ancient way of carrying t s a i to the last line; in fact a Shu line: t s a i w o h o u s ï t s ï s u n »when (it rests with =) the turn comes to our succeeding sons and grandsons» could easily be quoted by Wang Mang, as an abbreviation, without the t s a i. Sun connects with the preceding in yet another way, taking y ü e *27* = 'and' (very common in Shu): »(I dare not fail to think of Heaven's majesty) and of my people; I do not y u find fault with and w e i bear resentment against people (w e i *32* = *30*); when (the turn) is with our succeeding sons and grandsons . . .». For the first part he adduces a par. at the end of our chapter: *33* »I thereby exert myself for Heaven and the people», which is quite decisive. But the latter part is inadmissible: W e i *34* does not mean *35* 'to bear resentment against'; and w e i *32* is not = *30*. — **E.** A combination of C (which is based on the earliest attested Han tradition) and D seems best: »(I dare not fail to far-reachingly think of Heaven's majesty) **and of our people; that there are no faults or transgressions is because there are men there (i. e. I am in office); our succeeding sons and grandsons . . .**».

1863. W o h o u s ï t s ï s u n *36*.

A. T h i s is PK'ung's version: »**Our succeeding sons and grandsons**» (Legge and Couvreur strangely take t s ï - s u n to mean descendant in the singular and to refer to Ch'eng Wang alone). — **B.** An earlier attested version (a memorial from Wang Mang's time ap. Han shu: Wang Mang chuan) read: w o s ï s h ï t s ï s u n *37*. This would hardly mean, with Kiang Sheng: »Our sons and grandsons who succeed to the (management of) affairs», for if s ï - s h ï is really the original phrase, it is equal to *38* »Our sons and grandsons who will manage the affairs». In the bronze inscriptions we constantly have s ï *39* = *40* in such combinations, e. g. *41* »to direct the divination affairs» in the Hu Ting inscr. (K'ia chai 4: 21). — After all the Ku-wen-version A seems preferable, since it agrees better with the praxis in the Shu. We had in Tsiu kao: t s a i k i n h o u s ï w a n g *42* »their (succeeding king =) successor in our time» and the same phr. in To shï. Evidently h o u - s ï was a standing binome.

1864. N g o y i t s ' i e n j e n k u a n g *43*.

A. This is PK'ung's version acc. to the current editions: »to (stop) make an end to and neglect the glory of the former men». — **B.** A memorial from Wang Mang's time (ap. Han shu: Wang Mang chuan) quotes n g o s h ï *44* »**to (stop =) make an end to and lose the glory of the former men**». It has been argued that *45* is here only a short-form for y i *46*; but in fact s h ï *45* balances better the preceding n g o than y i *46* does, and this latter may just as well be an erroneous filling-out of a primary s h ï *45*. No reason to abandon the oldest version attested (B). Moreover, since PK'ung paraphrases the first two words by t s ü e s h ï *47*, it is quite possible that his text really had s h ï *45* and that the enlargement into y i *46* has taken place after his time (in any case before T'ang time, since Shï-wen reads y i).

1865. T s a i k i a p u c h ï *48*.

A. PK'ung takes this to make one line, connecting with the preceding: »(If our succeeding sons and grandsons . . . lose the glory of the former men), being in the house (i. e. in retirement), I shall not know about it». Ts'ai Ch'en turns it differently, as a rhetorical question referring to Shao Kung: »(Can you) being in your house (i. e. in retirement) (allege that) you do not know about it?» — **B.** Yen Shï-ku (T'ang time) reads the last four words together with the following line: t s a i k i a p u c h ï t ' i e n m i n g p u y i *49*: »In their house they do not understand that Heaven's mandate is not easy». The

weak point here is that t s a i k i a »in their house» makes poor sense. Chuang Shu-tsu therefore carries that to the preceding line: »(**They make an end to and lose the former men's glory) over the house, and do not understand that Heaven's mandate is not easy**». This is confirmed by a following line which is somewhat analogous, having after k u a n g a phrase telling where that »glory» is applied: *50*, see Gl. 1865 c.

T ' i e n n a n s h e n see Gl. 1609.

1865 b. F u k ' o k i n g l i s ï t s ' i e n j e n k u n g m i n g t ê *51*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: f u k ' o k i n g l i, s ï t s ' i e n j e n, k u n g m i n g t ê, taking the last clause together with the following t s a i k i n y ü s i a o t s ï t a n *52*: »They cannot (pass on and pass through =) go on for long; to succeed to the former men, and to reverence their bright virtue, (for this) at present (there is) I, youngster Tan» (in the current editions PK'ung's gloss has been vitiated by an inversion of t s a i k i n w o *53* into t s a i w o k i n *54*, which makes a quite different sense; corrected by Yüan Yüan). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en connects with the preceding line: »(They ruin their mandate), not being able k i n g l i (passing on =) at length to continue the former men's respectful and bright virtue». — **C.** Kiang Sheng carries only the two words t s a i k i n to the preceding: »They cannot go on for long; to succeed to the former men, and to reverence their bright virtue t s a i k i n (depends on now =) is the duty now; (I, youngster Tan . . .)». — **D.** Sun Yi-jang would take k i n g l i *55* as a transitive verb: »They cannot k i n g l i practise and s ï continue the former men's respectful and bright virtue». K i n g *56* we have in the sense of 'to plan, to arrange' in the Odes etc. For l i *57* Sun adduces the Kuangya definition l i = *58*, but that does not mean the transitive h i n g 'to practise' but the intransitive 'to walk (pass on)'. D thus remains unsubstantiated. — **E.** Tuan Yü-ts'ai: k u n g *59*, as usual, is a »correction» made by Wei Pao in T'ang time of an original *60* which really had the sense of *61* (cf. Gl. 1401). This is certainly right, and with slight modifications of B we translate: »**They will not be able at length to succeed to the former men and to (furnish =) accomplish their bright virtue**».

1865 c. F e i k ' o y u c h e n g t i w e i t s ' i e n j e n k u a n g s h ï y ü w o c h ' u n g t s ï *62*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: f e i k ' o y u c h e n g, t i w e i t s ' i e n j e n k u a n g, s h ï y ü w o c h ' u n g t s ï: »I cannot do any correcting, what I t i walk in is the former men's glorious (path), and I hand over (my mode of governing) to the young son» (i. e. Ch'eng Wang). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »I cannot do any correcting; t i in guiding, it is the former men's glory that I hand over to the young son». — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen take t i = 'to guide' = 'to lead forward': »I bring forward the former men's glory». Sun further says that *63* should not be read s h ï but y i = *64*, as in Ode 241, phr. *65* »It (extended =) reached to his grandsons and sons». This latter is quite convincing. — **D.** Another interpr., in part only following C. A more natural construction is this: f e i k ' o y u c h e n g t i, w e i t s ' i e n j e n k u a n g y i y ü w o c h ' u n g t s ï: »**I cannot have a correct (walk =) conduct; it is the glory of the former men that (extends =) reaches to the young son (i. e. Ch'eng Wang)**».

子孫 *27*. 越 *28*. 勤化 *29*. 弗 *30*. 于 *31*. 我嗣事子孫 *32*. 惟 *33*. 予 惟用閔于天越民 *34*. 違 *35*. 怨 *36*. 我
後嗣子孫 *37*. 我嗣事子孫 *38*. 司事 *39*. 嗣 *40*. 司 *41*. 嗣卜事 *42*. 在今後嗣王 *43*. 遏佚前人光 *44*.
遏失 *45*. 失 *46*. 佚 *47*. 絕失 *48*. 在家不知 *49*. 在家不知天命 不易 *50*. 惟前人光施于我沖子 *57*.
弗克經歷嗣前人恭明德 *52*. 在今予小子旦 *53*. 在今 我 *54*. 在我今 *55*. 經歷 *56*. 經 *57*. 歷 *58*. 行
59. 恭 *60*. 共 *61*. 供 *62*. 非克有 正迪惟前人光施于 我沖子 *63*. 施 *64*. 延 *65*. 施于孫子 *66*. 我道惟

1866. W o t a o w e i n i n g w a n g t ê y e n *66*.

A. PK'ung: »We by right principles (will observe) the Serene King's (Wen Wang's) virtue, (in order to) prolong it». Unreconcilable with the text. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Our proper path is to prolong the Serene King's virtue». This is imposible, unless we construe y e n in the passive: »Our proper path is that the Serene King's virtue is prolonged». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: t a o *67* is = 'to speak': »I speak of the Serene King's virtue (in order to) prolong it». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: t a o here is equal to *68*. This binome occurs in Shu: Ku ming: t a o y a n g m o m i n g *69*, which PK'ung explains as = »He spoke and manifested his last will». But in fact t a o *67* is here a short-form for t a o *70* 'to guide, lead forward', as already recognized in Han time: Pan Ku in Han shu: Sü chuan cites this as m o m i n g t a o y a n g *71* »The last will was advanced and manifested». Thus here again t a o *67* is a short-form for *70* 'to guide' = 'to bring forward': »I bring forward the Serene King's virtue and y e n extend it». — **E.** Wang Yin-chï has a curious speculation. The Shïwen says that Ma Jung's version had not w o t a o *72* but w o t i *73*. This t i *74* is a mere »particle», but it was wrongly understood as meaning t a o, and therefore in Tsin time the text was altered into w o t a o. A very arbitrary theory. — **F.** Chuang Shu-tsu, realizing that the y e n cannot be an independent verb, hanged on to the preceding line (as in ACD), boldy takes t ê *75* (**tək*) as a loan char. for the homophonous t ê *76*: »I have (spoken =) prayed for that (the mandate of) the Serene King t ê *76* should be allowed to y e n be extended». — **G.** Another interpr. Shïwen's note gives us Ma Jung's text w o t i *73* as the oldest version extant, and this, of course, should be followed. All the more since it corresponds closely to the t i *74* of the preceding line. There we had »I cannot have a correct t i (walk =) conduct; it is the glory of the former men that extends to the young son». Now again Chou Kung embroiders upon the same idea: »W o t i **my (walk =) conduct (is only that =) only means that the Serene Kings' virtue is (prolonged =) continued**» (i. e. I have no merit myself, being only a transmittor). Thus the two lines balance each other beautifully. The modified version with t a o comes to much the same sense: »My path (is only that =) only means that . . .».

1867. T ' i e n p u y u n g s h ï y ü W e n W a n g s h o u m i n g *77*.

A. PK'ung renders s h ï *78* by f e i *79* 'reject, throw away, annul' and Ts'ai Ch'en, foll. by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen, explains it by s h ê *80* 'to give up, to dispense with, put away, take off'. Indeed s h ï in this sense is very common (e. g. Tso *passim*; Shu: Ku ming *81* »The king took off his cap»). Thus: »**Heaven does not therefore (put away =) annul the mandate received by Wen Wang**». A difficulty presents itself here in the preposition y ü *82*; in fact s h ï *78* in this sense is regularly construed as a transitive verb with a direct object, and there should be no y ü. The correct construction occurs in To fang: f e i t ' i e n y u n g s h ï y u H i a *83* »It was not that Heaven thus did away with the lords of Hia», and it seems possible that this y ü here is a text corruption. If not, we must construe: »Heaven does not therefore s h ï make an annulment y ü in regard to the mandate» etc., which practically comes to the same. — **B.** Yü Sing-wu: *78* stands for *84*: »Heaven does not therefore y i *84* become (fed up with =) tired of the mandate given to Wen Wang». The same awkwardness in regard to the prep. y ü as in A above. — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

1868. K o y ü h u a n g t ' i e n *85*.

A. The ordinary and universally accepted interpr. is: k o *86* = c h ï *87* 'to reach, attain to' (very common): »»**He attained to august Heaven**». — **B.** The Kin-wen version (ap. Sï-ma Ts'ien) here as always has *88* **kå / ka* / kia 'to arrive, to reach' inst. of the synonymous *86* **klăk/kvk*/ k o of the Ku-wen version, and Yü Sing-wu now proposes that this k i a *88* is the proper reading but not in the sense of 'to reach' but as a loan char. for *89* (**ka/ka* / k i a), **kå* thus serving for a **ka:* »He was lucky with Heaven». Yü would

interpret a long row of Shu examples with k o *86* in this way: *86* = *88* = *89*. There is no single sure par. where *86* is unambiguously a loan char. with this sense.

1869. W u H i e n y i w a n g k i a *90*.

A. »**Wu Hien directed the royal house**». The name form Wu Hien *91* occurs in Sï-ma Ts'ien (Yen shï kia) and various Han texts, and we already have it so in Chuang: T'ien yün and in Ch'u ts'ï. — **B.** In Po hu t'ung: Tê lun the context shows that the author had a text which read, not Wu Hien but W u M o u *92*, with the common cyclical char. as personal name. Wang Yin-chï argues that this should be the correct form, since we know that the »heavenly stems» were used for personal names in Yin time. This would necessitate the conclusion that all those early texts having Hien either were erroneous or have had a Mou which later has been »corrected» into Hien — both very improbable. Chang Ping-lin points out that the char. m o u in Han time had a variant *93*, very similar to h i e n, and a Hien could therefore just as well be misread Mou as *vice versa*. In the next line we have another person W u H i e n *94*, likewise of Yin time, whose name was not a cyclical char. There is thus no sufficient reason for Wang Yin-chï's emendation.

1870. S h u a i w e i t s ï y u c h ' e n *95*.

A. PK'ung: »They followed this (path) and had a conspicuous (merit)», followed by Ts'ai Ch'en (Couvreur: »sequentes illud, habuerunt exhibenda [merita]»; Legge translates curiously: »In accordance with this they had an arrangement»). — **B.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen both take s h u a i as a »particle» (declined in our Gl. 1406), but for the rest differ. Kiang: w e i t s ï these (ministers) y u c h ' e n had conspicuous (merits)». Sun: e h ' e n *96* = *97*: »These (men) who had the (proper) path». — **C.** Another interpr. S h u a i *98*, as often, means »all» (see Gl. 642): »**All these (had display =) were illustrious**», cf. Tso: Ai 5, phr. *99* »He always had displayed a minister's chariot and garments in his courtyard».

1871. Y i n l i c h ï p ' e i t ' i e n *100*.

A. PK'ung has no proper gloss, but K'ung Ying-ta explains: »Yin's ceremonies (in pacifying those above and governing the people) could rise and be a counterpart of Heaven», thus taking l i as the subject of the clause. The meaning is somewhat nonsensical. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en in his paraphrase simply skips the inconvenient l i, and later expounders therefore have to add that as an adverbial phrase: »(The kings of) Yin l i in the rites c h ï having ascended (i. e. died) p ' e i t ' i e n were counterparts of Heaven». If so, we should expect the sequence: Y i n c h ï l i p ' e i t ' i e n. Yü Yüe therefore modifies this interpr. by taking Yin in the genitive: »**In the Yin rites, chï when they (sc. the kings) died, they were counterparts of Heaven**» (i. e. were called T i *1*, whereas when living they were called W a n g *2*). — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »Yin's (rites =) sacrifices (i. e. the sacrifices to the dead Yin kings) rose high and matched (those to) Heaven». — B in Yü's modified interpr. is best, because c h ï 'to ascend' was a technical term for the death of rulers, see Gl. 1294.

寧王德延 67.道 68.道揚 69.道揚末命 70.尊 71.末命尊揚 72.我道 73.我迪 74.迪 75.德 76.得 77.
天丕用釋于文王受命 78.釋 79.廢 80.捨 81.王釋冕 82.于 83.非天用釋有夏 84.歷 85.格于皇
天 86.格 87.至 88.假 89.嘉 90.丕咸乂王家 91.丕咸 92.丕戊 93.咸 94.丕賢 95.率惟茲有陳 96.陳
97.道 98.率 99.常陳卿之車服於其庭 100.殷禮陟配天 1.帝 2.王 3.多歷年所 4.所 5.許 6.

1872. To li nien so (hü) *3*.

The ancient and medieval comm. say nothing of the curious last word.

A. The editors of the Jï kiang shu king kie yi (1680 A. D.) say that *4* is a »particle», and Legge, following this, simply skips it. — **B.** Couvreur defines it as = 'quantity': »**They (sc. the kings of Yin) passed through a great quantity of years**». This is certainly right. It is probable, however, that in this sense *4* should not have its ordinary reading **ṣi̯o / ṣi̯wo / s o, but **χi̯o / χi̯wo / h ü, being merely a variant of *5* **χi̯o / χi̯wo / h ü. We saw in Gl. 417 that Ode 165 f a m u h u h u *6* (*5* here **χo / χuo / h u) is quoted in Shuowen 7 (*4* here in all probability read **χo / χuo / h u as well, having *8* **g'o* as phonetic), and we have the same interchange of the characters *5* and *4* in Han time, when it comes to the meaning 'quantity': Han shu: Su Kuang chuan has *9* for the ordinary *10* »how much»; Shï ki: Hiao Wu ki *11* »I do not know how great number of people» = Hou Han shu: Yi min chuan *12*, same meaning.

T'ien wei ch'un yu ming — for ch'un *13* = 'great', not, with Ts'ai Ch'en, 'unmixed, pure', see Gl. 1078.

1873. Tsê Shang shï po sing wang jcn wang pu ping tê *14*.

A. PK'ung, punctuating after sing, has a free paraphrase: »(Heaven) caused the Shang-house's people to be (rich and full =) opulent; and of the royal men [the kings] there were none who did not hold on to the virtue». The first line of this is not reconcilable with the text: if shang is the name, it must be subject here: »Then Shang enriched the people; and of the royal etc.» — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after shï: »Then Shang was replenished (sc. with men); and of po sing the dignitaries and wang jen the king's (lower) officers, there were none who did not hold on to the virtue.» — **C.** Kiang Sheng takes tsê *15* as a verb = 'to classify': »It (Heaven) classified in Shang, and enriched po sing the dignitaries [of different clans from the royal house] and the wang jen dignitaries [of the royal clan] and there were none» etc. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen carries tsê *15* to the preceding line *16* T'ien wei ch'un yu ming tsê »Heaven grandly supported the mandate for (the norms =) the men who were models», a hopeless attempt. But for the rest Sun has a proposal worth considering. In Shang shï po sing etc. he says shï *17* is the demonstrative pronoun = *18*, thus: »Of Shang's those dignitaries» etc. It should be observed, however, that the royal house in our Kün Shï chapter is mentioned 8 times under the name Yin and not once called Shang; we should have to modify Sun's interpr. in taking Shang as the name of the city (ta yi Shang »the great city Shang»): »Of those dignitaries and royal henchmen in Shang there were none who did not» etc. This is very tempting. But though shï *17* as the demonstrative pronoun occurs several times in the Odes (e. g. Ode 245) and frequently in Tso, there is not a single other example of it in the Shu, which makes this interpr. doubtful. — **E.** Wang Yin-chï would consider shï as an empty »particle» simply to be skipped, (cf. Lü hing below), but this is an arbitrary and unsupported speculation. — **F.** Wang Sien-k'ien quotes a stone inscription from Han time (Fan Yi siu si yüe miao pei in the Ku wen yüan) *19*, and concludes that the Kin-wen school punctuated after yu: t'ien wei ch'un yu, ming tsê shang *20*, shï po sing: »Heaven greatly supported (them), and ordered (the world) to take as pattern the Shang, and they enriched the dignitaries» etc. A very strained meaning. — **G.** Liu Feng-lu: *21* **d'i̯ĕt / dz'i̯ĕt / s hï* is loan char. for *22* **ṣi̯ĕt / ṣi̯ĕt / s hï*, thus: »Then, of the royal house, the dignitaries» etc. A phonetically unlikely loan theory. — **H.** Another interpr. The line, logically following up the preceding, praises, not the dignitaries but the royal house itself. Shï *21*, with A above (based on Shuowen *21* = *23*), means 'wealth', here as a verb: 'to make wealthy, to enrich'. Cf. Tso: Wen 18, in a passage which is evidently a quotation from an earlier Shu-king-like text: *24* »He accumulated hoards of wealth»; Li: Ai Kung wen *25* »They

(the princes) love riches without satiety»; Li: Piao ki *26* »They were ashamed of expenses, and despised riches». Shang *27* here, as in some bronze inscriptions, means 'to bestow a gift, to endow' (e. g. the famous Nie Ling Kuei inscr. *28* »Lady Kiang endowed Ling with cowries, ten double-strings», Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen 6 :11). It is then in fact a loan char. for shang *29* 'to give', which is very common indeed in bronze inscriptions. We thus have here a binome of two analogous verbs: shang 'to endow' and shï 'to enrich', a natural and convincing combination: »(Heaven greatly supported their mandate), **and so they endowed and enriched the people; of the (royal men =) men of the royal line there were none who did not hold on to the virtue**». — We should observe here:

Shu: Lü hing: Yüe shï k'i tsuei *30*.

A. PK'ung: »One examines and verifies the crimes». — **B.** Wang Yin-chï: shï is a »particle» (cf. above) simply to be skipped and yüe stands for *31* in the reading t'o (= *32*): »One takes off their guilt». There is no reason to alter the good binome yüe shï, which consists of two analogous verbs 'examine and verify'.

1874. Ming sü siao ch'en p'ing hou tien shen hien pen tsou *33*.

A. PK'ung in this way carries ming sü to the following, and takes the preceding wang jen *34* as subject: »**They enlightenedly cared about the smaller (servants =) officers who guarded the hou and tien dominions — how much the more then did all (hurry about =) work eagerly.**» For the construction siao ch'en p'ing... »the smaller officers who guarded» (p'ing = p'ing chê *35*), see Gl. 1714. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en carries ming sü to the preceding: »(there were none who did not hold on to the virtue and) enlightenedly care about (sc. the government); and the petty officers and (those who) guarded the hou and tien dominions, how much the more did they all (hurry about =) work eagerly». Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen have accepted this, only deviating in declaring that shen *36* does not mean k'uang *37* 'how much the more' (its ordinary meaning) but is a »particle», simply to be skipped; this is because Shuowen alternatively defines shen (*38*) as = *39* 'a grammatical word' (*40*), a highly insufficient reason (Tuan Yü-ts'ai moreover is certainly right in correcting the Shuowen text into *41* »a grammatical word meaning all the more»). — It is a weakness in B that sü *42* stands without expressed object. Moreover, both in this and the preceding line it makes much better sense to take (with A) the Yin kings as subject — the whole passage is in their praise.

1875. Wei tsï wei tê ch'eng yung yi küe pi *43*.

A. PK'ung carries wei tsï *44* to the preceding, and takes yi *45* (= *46*) as = *47* 'to govern' (as often): »(how much the more then did all [hurry about =] work eagerly) wei tsï on this; wei tê only the virtuous ch'eng yung were (lifted =) promoted and employed, and they governed their prince's (affairs)». The last line here is entirely unsatisfactory. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »wei tsï because of this wei tê ch'eng only virtue they (raised =) set forth, and thus (governed =) guided their prince». — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: »Wei tsï these (various officers) only set forth virtue

代本許許 2.代本所所 3.户 4.然所 10.然許 11.不知何所人 12.不知何許人 13.純 14.則商賓百姓王人罔不秉德 15.則 16.天惟純佑命則 17.賓 18.是 19.天惟酢佑 20.命則 商 21.賓 22.室 23.富 24.聚斂積實 25.好實無厭 26.恥費輕貨 27.商 28.姜商令貝十朋 29.商 30.閱實其罪 31.說 32.脫 33.明 恤小臣屏侯甸男邦采衛走 34.王人 35.屏者 36.矧 37.況 38.矧 39.詞 40.況也 詞也 41.況詞也 42.恤 43.惟茲惟德稱用乂厥辟 44.惟茲 45.乂 46.艾 47.治 48.相 49.率惟茲有陳

and thus aided their prince». Erya: Shï ku says y i *46* = *48* 'to assist', but there are no text ex. with this meaning: it is only a free extension from 'to govern, regulate = to guide = to assist'. — **D.** It seems evident that our line here brings us back to the principal theme of the great ministers who directed the Y i n kings so successfully. It is a close parallel to the preceding *49* (see Gl. 1870): »All these (ministers) (had display =) were illustrious, they protected and directed the lords of Yin». Here we have similarly: **»As to these (said ministers), their virtue was set forth, and thus they directed their princes»**. For t ê c h ' e n g, cf. Lo kao *50* »You, prince, set forth the greatly illustrious virtue»; and later in our chapter: *51* »They grandly and exhaustively set forth the virtue» (Legge, after Ts'ai Ch'en: »[the people] universally and greatly proclaimed his virtue», which totally misses the Shu parallels).

1876. K u y i j e n y u s h ï y ü s ï f a n g j o p u s h ï w a n g p u s h ï f u *52*.

A. PK'ung as followed by K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en: »Therefore, when the One Man had business in the (lands of) the four quarters, it was like tortoise or milfoil oracles, there were none who did not s h ï approve and f u trust him» — he was as implicitly believed as an oracle. — **B.** Wang Pao *53* (1:st c. B. C. in Wen süan: Sï tsï kiang tê lun) quotes: *54*. In Chou script one and the same char. was used for both *55* and *56* (see Grammata, n:ris 971, 975), so that the Han transcribers must have hesitated: some transcribed it *55* (A above), some *56* (B here). Yü Sing-wu believes that the latter is correct: »When the One Man had embassies in the four quarters». But parallelism with the following (cf. C below) on the contrary confirms that *55* is the correct deciphering. The meaning of t i in the B version is very obscure. — **C.** Another interpr. In the A version there is parallelism between y u s h ï *58* and p u s h ï *59*, and they are combined by j o *60* which simply means »and, or», as in Shao kao *61* »extol the king and your Grace». P u s h ï 'to take tortoise and milfoil oracle' is one of the sacred functions of the king, and since y u s h ï very often means 'to have a (sacrificial) performance' (see Gl. 1756, 1765), it is obvious through the parallelism that this is the sense here: **»Therefore, when the One Man had (sacrificial) performances in the four quarters and when he took tortoise and milfoil oracles, there were none who did not have confidence in him»**. The sacrifices »in the four quarters» refers to his inspection tours with sacrifices on the sacred mountains, one of the king's most sacred duties. The whole world had confidence in his power to secure the grace of the gods.

1877. T ' i e n s h o u p ' i n g k o, p a o y i y u Y i n *62*.

A. PK'ung refers this to the kings: »Heaven makes long-lived the just and (arrived =) perfected (kings) and they (the kings) p a o y i gave peace and good government to their Yin state». PK'ung paraphrases p ' i n g k o *63* by *64*, and c h ï *65* 'arrived' = 'perfected' is a common definition in the early commentary literature (cf. Gl. 1489 above). — **B.** Cheng Hüan, on the contrary, refers it to the famous ministers, Yi Yin etc., and defines k o *66* as = *67* »attaining to Heaven», which directly refers to the phr. *68* »who attained to august Heaven» (said of Yi Yin) a few lines earlier. If we take s h o u as a verb, like A, we then obtain (with Kiang Sheng): »Heaven made long-lived those who were just and attained (sc. to Heaven), they protected and directed the lords of Yin». The latter, in any case, is right, since it merely repeats an earlier unambiguous line. As to the former half, it must be said to be strained to take k o *66* 'to attain' alone, without object, as an adjective meaning 'attaining' (to Heaven), in spite of the parallel earlier in the chapter. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes k o *66* as = »penetrating, perspicacious, intelligent, to comprehend» (a well-attested meaning, see Gl. 1481, 1590): »Heaven made long-lived the just and intelligent (ministers)» etc. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: s h o u *69* is defined as = *70* 'long time' in Kuangya (Shuowen has the same, a gloss based on sound similarity *69* **d̨iôg*: *70* **k̨iŭg*). P ' i n g *71* is short for *72* 'to cause', and the line is one clause: »Heaven

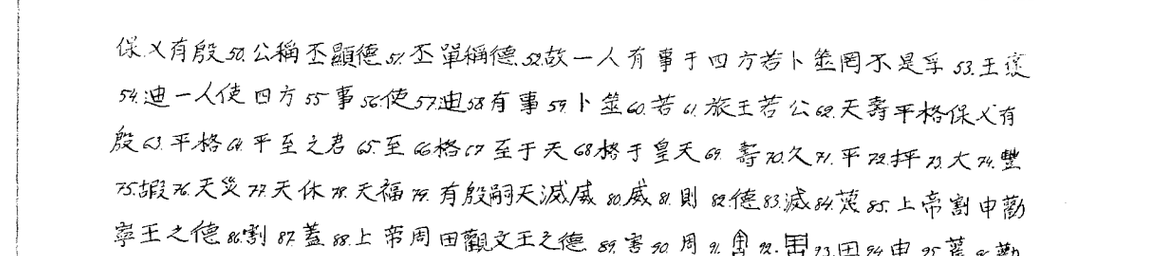
s h o u for a long time p ' e n g caused the (to Heaven) attaining (sc. ministers) to protect the lords of Yin». But s h o u never means anything but 'long life', it can never serve as an adverb meaning 'for a long time'. — **E.** Sun Yi-jang coördinates s h o u, p ' i n g and k o as three transitive verbs: »Heaven made (them sc. the ministers) long-lived, peaceful and perfected». — **F.** Liu Feng-lu objects to the construction with s h o u as a transitive verb, which is, in fact, very strained; he interprets: »The just and (to Heaven) attaining ones, with t ' i e n s h o u a (heavenly longevity =) a longevity equal to that of Heaven, protected and directed the lords of Yin». — **G.** Yü Sing-wu similarly takes t ' i e n s h o u as an adjective with its principal word, but says t ' i e n is really synonymous with t a *73* 'great'; p ' i n g *71* stands for f e n g *74* and k o *66* stands for k i a *75*, thus: »Those with a great longevity and an abundant felicity protected and directed the lords of Yin». A much too bold operating with phonetically unsound loan speculations (*63* **b'i̯ĕng*: *74* **p'i̯ông*; *66* **klāk*: *75* **kå*). — **H.** Another interpr. F is certainly right that t ' i e n is merely an attribute to s h o u. But just as we frequently (e. g. in Tso) have t ' i e n t s a i *76* »Disaster coming from Heaven», t ' i e n h i u *77* 'blessings given by Heaven', t ' i e n f u *78* 'felicity given by Heaven', so our t ' i e n s h o u simply means 'long life given by Heaven'. As to p ' i n g k o, C is certainly most natural: **»With long lives given by Heaven, just and (penetrating =) intelligent, they (the ministers) protected and directed the lords of Yin»**. For p ' i n g *71* = 'just', said of leading statesmen, cf. Ode 191, in which the Grand Master Yin is called *79* 'not just, iniquitous'.

1878. Y u Y i n s ï t ' i e n m i e w e i *79*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: Y u Y i n sï, t ' i e n m i e w e i: **»Yin's (last) successor, Heaven destroyed him and overawed him»**. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen punctuates: y u Y i n s ï t ' i e n, m i e w e i. And he refers to Erya: Shï yen which has an entry w e i *80* = *81* 'majesty' (dignified demeanour) = 'pattern, model', a free extension of meaning. Thus: »The lord of Yin who has succeeded to (the mandate of) Heaven, has destroyed the (majesty =) model-giving demeanour». Wang Yin-chï had a similar idea, but, following Kuangya, defined w e i *80* as = *82*: »... he destroyed the virtue». The combination s ï t ' i e n is very forced. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: m i e *83* stands for *84* 'to despise', and a second t ' i e n between m i e and w e i must have been lost: »The lord of Yin who has succeeded to Heaven, m i e [t ' i e n] w e i despised Heaven's majesty»; with alterations like that, anything could be proved.

1879. S h a n g t i k o s h e n k ' ü a n N i n g w a n g c h ï t ê *85*.

A. This is PK'ung's version, and he punctuates after k o: »God on High (cut off =) decided, and (repeatedly =) anew encouraged the Serene King's virtue». Ts'ai Ch'en modifies this into: »God on High cut off (Yin), and anew» etc. Cheng Hüan, however, who in comm. on Li (see B below) says that A is the Ku-wen version and that it is preferable to B and C, takes k o *86* **kât* as loan char. for *87* **kâd* 'namely', an adverb hardly to be translated here, a very unsafe speculation. — **B.** Another version, ap. Li: Tsi yi, reads *88* **»God on High in the fields of Chou observed Wen Wang's virtue»**. Since the Li ki



was collected in W. Han time, and this line has not been altered and »corrected» in accordance with the Ku-wen, we may take it for sure that it represents the text tradition of an early Han school, and thus is the earliest text available. In the Ku-wen version, k o *86*, written in Chou fashion without radical, would be h a i *89*, and the Chou-time graphs for h a i and c h o u *90* were very similar and easily confused: *91* and *92*; that t' i e n *93* and s h e n *94* were likewise easily confused is obvious, and the Chou-time text having originally *95* without radical, it could be filled out into *96* or *97 adlibitum*. It is thus easily understood how either a correct A: *98* has been corrupted, by early Han scribes, into B: *99*, or how a correct B: *99* has been corrupted into A: *98*. — **C.** Cheng Hüan mentions that »the doctors of his time» had yet a third reading: *100*, whatever that may mean. It is unexplainable how this could stand to either the A or the B version, and it is certainly inferior to both, as well in age as in sense. — **D.** Yü Sing-wu takes k o *86* as = *89* = *1* and s h e n *94* as a corruption of y u *2*: »God on High h o - y u whereby did he see Wen Wang's virtue?» It is difficult to see how this could suit the context. — The oldest attested version (B) is also the simplest and most natural. It might seem curious that Good saw Wen Wang's virtue »in Chou's fields» *93*, but this refers directly to the closely connected chapter Wu yi: »Wen Wang was humble and submissive, he applied himself to peaceful achievements and to agricultural achievements *3*». This detail strongly supports version B here.

1880. W u n e n g w a n g l a i t s ï t i y i k i a o W e n W a n g m i e t ê k i a n g y ü k u o j e n *4*.

A. PK'ung believes that the first 4 words are a quotation of an utterance of Wen Wang's. He takes t i *5* as a noun = *6* 'the path'; m i e *7* = 'small, subtle' (this latter after Cheng Hüan): »(Wen Wang said:) I have none to come and go (on my errands, sc. in spite of his having those 5 fine men); by this path and law they taught Wen Wang the (small, fine =) subtle virtue, (so as to) send down (his commands) to the state's people». As support for the meaning 'small, subtle' of m i e *7* Wang Ming-sheng has adduced Yi Chou shu: Chai kung *8* »I learn from the subtleness of Wen and Wu», an unsafe par., since m i e here is just as obscure as in our Shu passage. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: t i *5* is a verb = *9* 'to guide, lead forward, bring forward' (common) and m i e *7* is the negation 'not': **»If they had not gone and come (on the king's errands) and t s ï here t i brought forward the y i k i a o normative teachings, Wen Wang m i e t ê would have had no virtue to descend on the state's people».** For m i e in the sense of *10* 'not have' cf. e. g. Tso: Siang 39, phr. *11* »it will have nothing to add to this». — **C.** Kiang Sheng believes that the first 4 words were uttered by the great ministers: »(They said:) We are not capable of going and coming (on the king's errands); and (here =) after that they brought forward the normative teachings, and Wen Wang's subtle virtue descended to the state's people». Sun Sing-yen has a curious speculation that w u n e n g w a n g l a i would be equal to *12*, which would mean: »We are not capable of promoting (the good) and discharging (the bad)». — **D.** Sun -Yi-jang takes the preceding two words *13* (»again he said») as meaning *14*: »There are such who say: we are unable etc.», and this would refer, not to the great ministers mentioned before, but to other less prominent men. — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: t s ï *15* = *16* (as short-form for *17*); and y u y ü e *13* = *14*: »There are such who say: He (sc. Wen Wang) was not able to (go and come =) attend to the affairs; he (only) t s ï evermore brought forward the normative teachings (i. e. he only talked), but Wen Wang had no virtue to descend on the state's people» (i. e. all was done by the ministers). It would be strange indeed, if Wen Wang were the subject of the whole passage, that he is introduced only in the last clause. — **F.** Yü Sing-wu: originally there must have been: W e n W a n g w e i t ê *18*. »Wen Wang's majestic virtue». W e i *19* was corrupted into the similar m i e *20*, and for this, again, one introduced a loan char. m i e *7* as in Ode 254 (Gl. 930).

— Of all these attempts, the only reasonable one is B, which need not be rejected simply because it is the orthodox interpr.

1881. Y i w e i c h ' u n y u p i n g t ê t i c h ï t ' i e n w e i *21*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after y u : »(He, sc. Wen Wang) also was grandly assisted (by Heaven); he held on to the virtue and t i walked in the path of and c h ï understood Heaven's majesty». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en and Kiang Sheng, who rightly realize that the line must refer to the good ministers, turn it differently: »He (Wen Wang) also was greatly assisted (by Heaven) with (ministers who) held on to the virtue, and walked . . .». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: »The c h ' u n y u grandly assisting and p i n g t ê the virtue-holding (ministers) advanced and understood the majesty of Heaven». This takes y i *22* as an introductory particle without meaning, which in itself is quite plausible. — **D.** It is better, however, to let y i *22* connect the line with the preceding, which praised the good ministers — this is, after all, the principal theme all through this section — and take them as subject in this clause as well: **»They also grandly helped him to hold on to the virtue, and t i led him forward to understand Heaven's majesty».**

N a i w e i s h ï c h a o W e n W a n g t i k i e n m a o w e n y ü S h a n g t i see Gl. 1624.

1882. W u w a n g w e i t s ï s ï j e n s h a n g t i y u l u *23*.

A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en both render s h a n g *24* with *25* 'would that, it is to be hoped that', which makes no sense here. Legge therefore rightly takes it = 'still' (very common): »(As to) Wu wang, (these four men =) four of these men still led him forward to have the emoluments (sc. of the royal mandate)». It is, however, not convincing that the term y u l u 'to have emoluments' would be used about the king; it regularly means the emoluments given to dignitaries and officials, who were subjects and obtained emoluments. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: t i *5* has y u *26* as phonetic, and is probably but a variant for this; y u *26* stands for *27*, so that s h a n g t i *28* = s h a n g y u *29* is a binome 'still, encore', an unnecessary speculation. — **C.** P'i Si-juei: the term p u l u 30 means 'to die' (ex. in Kyü: Tsin yü and Li: K'ü li) and hence y u l u should mean »were alive». This is true, but when the death of a grandee or noble is called p u l u it really is a metaphor: 'not to have his emoluments', finish his office. Y u l u then will have the same double meaning: **»(Under) Wu Wang, (these four men =) four of these men still advanced and had their emoluments» (i. e. were alive and in office).**

1883. H i e n l i u k ü e t i *31*.

A. PK'ung: h i e n *32* = 'all' (as usual): **»they killed all his enemies»** (for l i u = 'to k i l l' see Gl. 1107). — **B.** Kiang Sheng: h i e n = 'everywhere'. — **C.** Wang Yin-chï and Sun Sing-yen: h i e n *32* is a short-form for k i e n *33* 'to reduce' in the sense of 'to destroy', and k i e n l i u is a binome. An unnecessary speculation, since the ancient interpr. is quite simple and satisfactory.

C h a o W u W a n g w e i m a o p ' e i t u c h ' e n g t ê see Gl. 1624 (for the last words cf. Gl. 1875).

97.覲 98.割申勤 99.周田覲 100.上帝威亂勤寧王之德 1.曷 2.由 3.田功 4.無能往來茲迪彝教文王蔑德降于國人 5.迪 6.道 7.蔑 8.學於文武之蔑 9.尊 10.無 11.其蔑以加於此 12.無能進退 13.又曰 14.有曰 15.茲 16.多 17.滋 18.文王威德 19.威 20.威 21.亦惟純佑秉德迪知天威 22.亦 23.武王惟茲四人尚迪有祿 24.尚 25.庶幾 26.由 27.猶 28.尚迪 29.尚猶 30.不祿

1884. Yü wang ki ju Shī k'i tsi *34*.

A. PK'ung: »**I shall go and together with you, Shi, cross it**». — **B.** Legge cites another comm. which takes wang = *35* »I from now on shall together with . . .», which certainly is no improvement.

1885. Siao tsï t'ung wei tsai wei *36*.

A. PK'ung: »The small child (i. e. the king) is t'ung just as when he was not yet in the high position» (i. e. weak and inexperienced). This has been generally accepted. — **B.** Sun Yi-jang. In the preceding line, Chou Kung says: »Now it rests: with me siao tsï Tan *37* the small child Tan.» It is highly unreasonable that the same phr. siao tsï 'small child' would now mean the young king — referring to two different persons in two consecutive lines. So far Sun is obviously right. But then he says: »colleagues» are called t'ung wei *38*. Hence »t'ung wei tsai wei *39*» should mean »new colleagues who have not formerly had high positions». An absurd idea. Our line simply means: »**(I), small child,** t'ung **am just the same as when not yet in the high position**», sc. regent. (Wang Sien-k'ien's interpr.: »I am equal to such who are not in the high position» seems less convincing). For still another theory see Gl. 1886 H.

1886. Tan wu wo tsê shou wang hü pu ki *40*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after tsê: »Greatly do not blame me (sc. for remaining in office); we shall shou gather in (for instruction) (such who) do not make efforts and do not attain (the proper norms)». A hopeless interpr. Ts'ai Ch'en says that he does not understand the passage. — **B.** Lü Tsu-k'ien, who maintains that Chou Kung here exhorts Shao Kung that the latter should not retire (see Gl. 1860), interprets: »Greatly do not lay the burden on me; if you shou (settle up, finish =) retire, wang there will be nobody to hü stimulate (the king) in pu ki what he does not attain to». — **C.** Kiang Sheng punctuates after shou: »Greatly do not tsê request me shou (to settle up, finish =) retire, there is nothing which I shall not by efforts attain to» (I shall do my best). For tsê in the sense of 'to demand, to exact, to request', cf. Tso: Huan 13, phr. *41*. »Sung largely demanded bribes from Cheng». For shou *42* = 'to settle up, to finish (doing)', cf. Ts'ê: Ts'in ts'ê *43* »to cease doing harm». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen divides in the same way, but says shou = 'to return': »Greatly do not rebuke me to return (home); there will be nobody to stimulate me in what I do not attain to». But shou has no such meaning. — **E.** Chuang Tsung-po: »Is it not our tsê duty shou to achieve (sc. virtue); but there is nobody to stimulate us in what we do not attain to». Chuang simply skips the tan, evidently considering it as a mere particle (herein followed by all those below), which is quite right, as shown in detail by Wang Yin-chï. But shou = 'to achieve' is unsatisfactory. — **F.** Yü Yüe, believing that the preceding line referred to the young and inexperienced king Ch'eng, interprets: wu wo tsê shou »If there is nobody who enjoins upon me to achieve (the work), wang hü pu ki there will be nobody to stimulate (the king) in what he does not attain to». — **G.** Sun Yi-jang: shou *42* is a corruption of the similar char. yu *44* and yu wang hü *45* is equal to *46*. Very arbitrary and inadmissible. — **H.** Chang Ping-lin is even bolder, altering the words all the way as his fancy pleases. He reads the line together with the preceding siao tsï t'ung wei tsai wei *47*. T'ung *48* is short for *49* 'stupid', wei *50* is short for mei *51* 'obscured, unenlightened', *52* should be *53* = *54* 'to criticise', shou *42* is a loan char. for kiu *55* 'to correct'. Thus: siao tsï t'ung mei, I, small child, am stupid and unenlightened, tsai wei tan wu wo ts'ï kiu those in office do not criticise or correct me, wang hü pu ki there is nobody who stimulates me in what I do not attain to». This interpr. is only adduced here as a warning example of extremely lax and bad philology. — **I.** It seems evident that, in the first line, C (Kiang) has found the proper solution, with the modification that tan is merely a particle.

The context then gives the sense of the whole. Chou Kung pleads with Shao Kung that he himself is no usurpator, but an ordinary minister, just as before the regency: Shao Kung should not urge him to retire, but on the contrary encourage him to achieve his work: »(I, small child, am just the same as when not yet in the high position); **do not request me to (settle up =) retire;** wang hü **without encouragement** pu ki **I shall not (arrive =) succeed**».

1887. Kou tsao tê pu kiang *56*. This line is followed by: wo tsê ming niao pu wen *57*. For kou tsao tê »(men who are) old and of a perfected virtue» see Gl. 817.

A. Cheng Hüan defines kiang *58* as = *59* 'to submit the will', i. e. to subordinate oneself, evidently thinking of Lun: Wei tsï *60* »to submit the will and disgrace the person». Thus: »If men who are old and of a perfected virtue do not submit (their wills)»; and, Cheng adds, take office along with me. PK'ung similarly says kiang = *61* 'submit their minds'. It is not very happy thus to take kiang as a transitive verb with an understood object ('will' or 'mind'); with a slight modification we obtain much the same general sense but a better grammar: »**If men who are old and of a perfected virtue do not (descend, lower themselves =) condescend (sc. to help), (to us [Chou] then no singing-bird [sc. of good augury] will make itself heard)**». For kiang *58* in this sense cf. Tso: Yin 11, phr. *62* »he will be able to condescend to follow (our wishes)» etc. (very common). For the legend of the singing-bird as a good augury at the start of the Chou dynasty see Kyü: Chou yü. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »tê the virtue of the kou tsao old and perfected will not descend (on the people)». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: »(If) men who are old and of a perfected virtue are not sent down (by Heaven)». — **D.** Chang Ping-lin: In Tso: Ai 26 the phr. *63* is expl. by Tu Yü as = »The six ministers kiang harmoniously (concordantly) managed the government», and Chang says this is the meaning here: »If the tê virtue of the old and perfected ones is not kiang harmonious» (and Chang continues: wo tsê ming niao pu wen **I** will not hear as much as a singing bird», i. e. nobody will give me any advice — a comical idea). In spite of Tu Yü this sense of kiang is very doubtful: the Tso line rather means: »The six ministers condescended to attend to the government.» — A suits the context best: an appeal to Shao Kung loyally to coöperate in favour of the Chou house.

1888. Shen yüe k'i yu neng ko *64*. We had, in the Ta kao, a line which started in the same way: *65* »How much the less should I be able to comprehend and know the commands of Heaven». Ko *66* there meant 'to come all through, to penetrate, comprehend', see Gl. 1590. In spite of the similarity in formulation, our present line cannot have that sense.

A. Cheng Hüan and PK'ung: ko *66* means *67* »attain (to Heaven)», as we had ko yü huang t'ien *68* earlier in the chapter. This has been generally accepted. — **B.** It is awkward to have ko stand absolute, with only an understood object 'to attain' (to Heaven). It seems more reasonable here to take it as practically synonymous with the

31.咸劉厥敵 32.咸 33.滅 34.予往暨汝奭其濟 35.自今以往 36.小子同未在位 37.小子旦 38.同位 39.同未在位 40.誕無我責收罔勖不及 41.宋多責賂於鄭 42.收 43.收害 44.攸 45.攸罔勖 46.罔攸勖 47.小子同未在位 48.同 49.恫 50.未 51.昧 52.責 53.束 54.諫 55.糾 56.考造德不降 57.我則鴟鳥不聞 58.降 59.降志 60.降志辱身 61.降意 62.其能降以相從也 63.六卿…降聽、政 64.矧曰其有能格 65.矧曰其有能格知天命 66.格 67.格于天 68.格于皇天 69.我不以後

k i 'to reach, arrive' = 'to succeed' in the preceding line: »**How much the less shall we be able to (arrive =) succeed**».

K a o k ün n a i y u y ü see Gl. 1630.

1889. W o p u y i h o u j e n m i *69*.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »I will not make (posterior people =) future generations be in doubt» (sc. as to my principles). — **B.** Lin Chï-k'i insists that h o u j e n »the posterior man», i. e. »the successor» (to the throne) means the young Ch'eng Wang. This is, in fact, well supported by Lo kao, where h o u *70* means 'successor', (see Gl. 1777) and by the phr. *71* »successor king» in Tsiu kao. Moreover, it is confirmed by the following t s' i e n j e n »the predecessors». And Lü Tsu-k'ien paraphrases y i h o u j e n m i by *72*: »I will not (take =) make the successor go astray». Sun Sing-yen better takes y i *73* as = *74* 'taking' = 'together with' (common), thus: »**I will not with the successor (sc. the young king) go astray**». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »(I tell you) that I do not with a view to my descendants go astray» (i. e. covet the throne).

1890. T s' i e n j e n f u n a i s i n *75*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: »The predecessors, Wen and Wu, *76* (spread out =) disclosed their hearts as models»; thus our text: »The predecessors disclosed their hearts». PK'ung's k' i n a i *77* being grammatically quite absurd, K'ung Ying-ta tries to explain n a i as a *78* »slowing» (i. e. filling-out) particle. Legge could not be satisfied with this and so he says that n a i *79* »would seem» to be = *80* 'his, their'; but he adds that in reality this is not so; the phr. means: »t s' i e n j e n f u what the predecessors displayed n a i s i n was the heart» (or rather, since he took t s' i e n j e n to refer to Wu wang only: »what the predecessor displayed, was the heart»), a violent forcing of the text. — **B.** Su Shï foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en: »The predecessor (Wu Wang) opened up your heart» (said to Shao Kung). But *81* p u s i n, synon. with f u s i n *82*, regularly means 'to disclose one's own heart', i. e. to speak frankly, e. g. Tso: Süan 12, phr. *83* »I presume to disclose my belly and heart». — In P'an Keng we had: *84* »Now I will (spread out =) disclose my heart and belly», and it stands to reason that f u s i n should mean the same here, in accordance with A. But this is possible, not in the way PK'ung imagines but because n a i *79* (Arch. *85*) is a corruption of k ü e *86* (Arch. *87*) (very common in the Shu, cf. Gl. 1481, 1604), just as in the preceding line, where n a i y u y ü *88* is wrong for *89* k ü e y u y ü, see Gl. 1630. Thus our line here should really run: *90* »**The predecessors disclosed their hearts**».

1891. J u m i n g h ü o u w a n g t s a i t a n c h' e n g t s ï t a m i n g *91*.

The y ü e *92* which precedes this line, does not, with the early comm., mean »he said» (referring to Wu Wang) but is simply the common particle (= *93*).

A. PK'ung: »You should brightly exert yourself to (match =) be a counterpart to the king; it (lies in =) depends on sincerity; carry on this great charge». Ts'ai Ch'en would take o u *94* 'to be a counterpart to' as equal to 'a helpmate' (as *95* a farmer working in a pair with another). Chuang Shu-tsu would read the last lines as one: t s a i t a n c h' e n g t s ï t a m i n g: »it (lies in =) depends upon (your) sincerely carrying on this great charge». Sun Sing-yen repeats his idea (refuted in Gl. 1302 above) that m i n g *96* does not mean 'brightly' but is = *97*, m i n g - h ü thus being a binome. — **B.** Chang Ping-lin has an eccentric idea that the line o u w a n g t s a i t a n alludes to the event described in the Kin t'eng, when the king found the document proving Chou Kung's good faith; o u *98* would stand for y ü *99* and t s a i *100* = *1*: »y ü you have met with w a n g T s a i t a n that the king verified the sincerity». Very far-fetched. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: t s a i *100* is loan char. for t s a i *2* (the orig. graph being simply *3* without radical), and the *4* is equal to *5* 'to exhaust', cf. Mo: Fei lo, shang, phr. *6* »Exhaust the force of legs and arms, exhaust the wisdom of the thought». Our line should be divided thus: j u m i n g h ü o u w a n g t s a i, t a n c h' e n g t s ï t a m i n g »**You should brightly exert**

yourself to be a helpmate to the king, and (exhaustingly =) to the utmost carry on this great charge». This is strikingly plausible.

1892. W e i W e n w a n g t ê p' e i c h' e n g w u k i a n g c h ï s ü *7*.

A. PK'ung: »(As to) Wen Wang's virtue, (you should) grandly continue his boundless care». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes w e i *8* as the verb 'to think' (common in the Shu): »You should think of Wen Wang's virtue, and so grandly continue his boundless care». — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Chuang Shu-tsu punctuate after c h' e n g and Kiang explains: »Wen Wang's virtue, grandly to (take over =) continue it, that was a boundless care». — **D.** Another interpr. In a lost Shu chapter quoted by Meng: T'eng Wen Kung, hia, we have: *9*. P' e i c h' e n g here does not mean »greatly continuing» but is analogous with p' e i h i e n, as developed in Gl. 1070: »Greatly illustrious were Wen Wang's plans, greatly (lifted =) honoured were Wu Wang's bright deeds», and hence, in Ode 266, the phr. *10* means »the greatly illustrious and greatly honoured ones» (i. e. ancestors). It is obvious that we have the same *epitheton ornans* p' e i c h' e n g here, and that c h' e n g is thus no finite verb in our present line: »**Wen Wang's virtue was a greatly (lifted-up =) celebrated and boundless care**».

1893. K a o j u c h e n y ü n p a o S h ï *11*.

A. PK'ung: »I tell you about my sincerity, guardian Shï». — **B.** Chang Ping-lin: The Wei stone classics read k a o j u c h e n h i u n g *12*. The archaic graphs of y ü n: *13* and h i u n g: *14* being very similar, a confusion was easy. Now Po hu t'ung: Pu ch'en states that Shao Kung was a son of Wen Wang's and hence a brother of Chou Kung's and Lun heng: K'i shou directly says that he was *14* an elder brother of Chou Kung's. A tradition to that effect may very well have been ancient. The Lun heng passage suggests that Wang Ch'ung had a Shu version reading h i u n g *14* and not y ü n *13*, this being thus the earliest version attestable. Thus: »**I tell you, my brother, guardian Shï**». Though Chang Ping-lin mentions this interpr., the most simple and natural one (accepted by Yü Sing-wu), he still prefers to take h i u n g *15* as short-form of h u a n g *16*: »I (tell =) entreat you to endow me», with the object c h e n placed before the verb h u a n g — a very unnatural expl.

1894. K' i j u k' o k i n g y i y ü k i e n y ü Y i n s a n g t a f o u (p i) *17*.

A. PK'ung renders y i y ü *18* by *19*: »May you be able carefully to using my (words) scrutinize Yin's ruin (whether it was) great or not». This construction of course is inadmissible. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, who for the first part accepts A, says that *20* means *21* 'great disorder'. This then in reality means that we should read *22* either **b'i̯əg / b'jwi* / p e i 'to obstruct' (ex. in Yi: Sü kua), or **pi̯əg / pjwi* / p e i 'bad' (ex. in Yi: Kua 50), cf. Gl. 1021. We would then have: ». . . to scrutinize Yin's ruin and great (obstruction =) disorder», or better (accepted by Wang Yin-chï and various later scholars): »to scrutinize Yin's ruin and great wickedness». — **C.** Wang Yin-chï: y i *23* = *24* ('taking' = along with =) 'together with' (common), thus: »**May you be able carefully together with me to scrutinize Yin's ruin and great wickedness**».

人迷 70.後 71.後嗣王 72.使後人迷惑 73.以 74.興 75.前人敷乃心 76.布其乃心為法度 77.其乃 78.緩辭 79.乃 80.其 81.布心 82.敷心 83.敷布腹心 84.今予其敷心腹 85.予 86.厥 87.亦 88.乃敬祚 89.厥敬祚 90.商人敷厥心 91.汝明勖偶王在亶乘茲大命 92.曰 93.越 94.偶 95.耦 96.明 97.勉 98.偶 99.遇 100.在人察 2.哉 3.才 4.單 5.殫 6.竭股肱之力 亶思慮之智 7.惟文王德丕承無疆之恤 8.惟 9.丕顯哉文王之謨丕承哉武王之烈 10.丕顯丕承 11.告汝朕允保奭 12.告汝朕兄 13.兄 14.兄 15.兄 16.眡 17.其汝克敬以予監于殷喪大否 18.以予 19.以我言

1895. S ï n i e n w o t' i e n w e i *25*.

A. PK'ung takes s ï *26* as the ordinary particle: 'then, and so': »**and so consider our Heaven(-given) majesty**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en renders s ï by *27* 'great', explaining: *28*, which rather nonsensical paraphrase has caused Legge to translate: »consider the dread majesty of Heaven [which warns] us», and Couvreur: »cogitare (timendam) nobis coeli severitatem», which all means that w o would stand in the dative: »to consider the us-(-concerning) Heaven's severity», which is quite inadmissible. — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen define s ï *26* by *29*. But whereas Kiang explains: »Forever consider (my =) the by me considered Heaven's majesty», a comical idea, Sun follows A except for the first word. — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

1896. Y ü p u y ü n w e i j o t s ï k a o *30*.

A. PK'ung: »I do not (sincerely =) really speak like this, (I only say:)». — **B.** This making poor sense, Ts'ai Ch'en has had to turn it into a rhetorical question: »Do I not sincerely speak like this?» Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen accept this. (Legge turns it differently: »Am I not to be believed that I must speak thus»). — **C.** Chuang Shu-tsu: the char. *31*, as very often, serves for p ' e i *32*. We should read: y ü p ' e i y ü n »**I (greatly =) very sincerely speak like this**». — **D.** Chang Ping-lin: here, as in Gl. 1893, the Wei stone classics have h i u n g *15* inst. of y ü n *13*. And just as in Wu yi the Ku-wen version corrupted an original *15* (really = k ' u a n g *33*) into the similar h u a n g *34* (in the sense of *35* 'to have leisure'), see Gl. 1850, so here the h i u n g *15* is a corruption of a true *34* in the sense of *35*. Thus we should read *36* »I have no leisure to speak like this». — Before deciding we must examine a very analogous line later in our chapter: Y ü p u h u e i j o t s ï t o k a o *37*.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »I do not (simply) h u e i in accordance with j o t s ï such-like (affairs) speak a great deal». This has missed the parallelism entirely. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, as above, construes an oratorical question: »Do I p u h u e i (not conformingly =) unreasonably speak a great deal like this?». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: h u e i *38* is a loan char. for the homophonous *39* (both **g'iwəd / ɣiwei* / h u e i): »**I unwisely speak a great deal like this**». But in the preceding example Kiang accepted Ts'ai's oratorical question, and thus treats these two strictly analogous phrases in entirely different ways. — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu in this place follows Kiang Sheng (C), not realizing that he thus misses the parallelism between the two passages, which Ts'ai had already observed and taken into account. We should apply Chuang's good idea that *31* is read p ' e i here as well: »**I (greatly =) very reasonably speak a great deal like this**».

We conclude that in two contiguous lines the original text had two very similar graphs: in the first h i u n g *14*, in the second y ü n *13*. The transcribers in early Han time confused them. Some deciphered them both as y ü n (followed by PK'ung), others both as h i u n g (foll. by the Wei stone classics); the true state, however, is the contrast: *40* but *41*.

1897. S i a n g w o e r j e n j u y u h o t s a i *42*.

A. PK'ung: »**(Achieve =) follow up the work of our two men (sc. the founders Wen and Wu), you should (have agreement =) act in accord (with them)**». S i a n g *43* = *44* 'to achieve' is well attested, see Gl. 1312, with a Shu par. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »The achieving (of the work) (rests with) us two men». The line would then have to be construed thus: »Achieving (the work) are we two men»; you will (have agreement) agree with me». This is a very strained construction. — **C.** Kiang Sheng, basing himself on a Shuowen definition, says s i a n g *43* = 'to toil' (no texts confirmation): »To toil (sc. for the king) is (the task of, incumbent on) us two men; you will agree (with me)». Even worse than B. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen punctuates after w o: »(Achieve me =) be a complement to me; the two men (I and) you y u h o make a (match =) form a pair». It is extraordinary that a brilliant

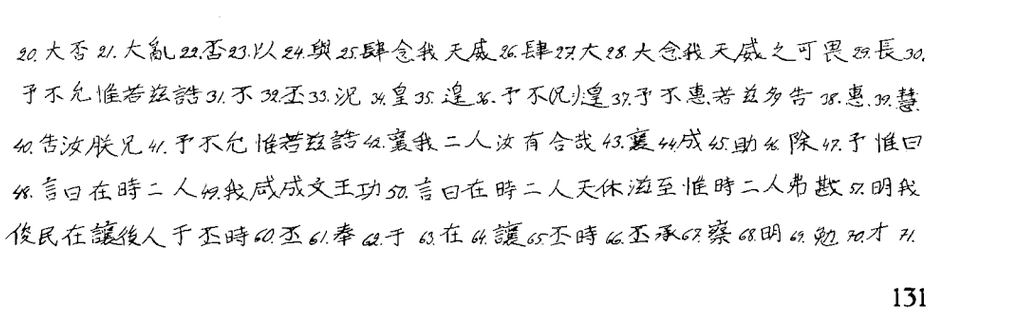
scholar like Sun could propose an interpr. like this. — **E.** Sun Yi-jang: s i a n g *43* = *45* 'to assist' (an unconfirmed meaning, cf. Gl. 1312): »For assisting us two men, (there are none, only) you (and I) y u h o (match =) form a pair». An absurd attempt. — **F.** Chang Ping-lin: s i a n g *43* means *46* 'to eliminate' (a well-attested meaning, see Gl. 215). Chang connects our line with the preceding *47* and the following *48*: »If I were to say: eliminate us two men, you would have an answer; you would speak and say: (it rests with =) all depends on (those =) these two men» (i. e. us). It would be difficult to find a more strained and far-fetched interpretation. — A is simple and natural (besides being the oldest interpr.) and it is well confirmed by a par. a few lines later: *49* »Let us (all =) together achieve Wen Wang's work».

1898. Y e n y ü e t s a i s h ï e r j e n t' i e n h i u t s ï c h ï w e i s h ï e r j e n f u k' a n *50*.

A. PK'ung, who takes »those two men» to refer to the founders Wen and Wu, explains: »If when you speak you t s a i (rest on =) abide by those two men, Heaven's grace (towards the Chou) will evermore arrive, (so that those two men cannot sustain it =) more than those two men can sustain». This is really very nonsensical. — **B.** The many divergent attempts at interpr. based on the opinion that e r j e n »the two men» means »I and you» (Chou Kung and Shao Kung) need not be described, since in Gl. 1897 we have accepted the oldest interpr. of e r j e n in agreement with A. — **C.** Another interpr. T s a i in t s a i s h ï e r j e n is quite the same as we had repeatedly earlier in our chapter: t s a i T' a i K i a» (when it rested with T'ai Kia =) when the turn came to T'ai Kia», indicating the time of a reign. Thus: »Y e n y ü e **it is said that (when it rested with =) at the time of those two men, Heaven's grace evermore arrived (those two men not being able to sustain it =) more than those two men could sustain**». This connects logically very well with the preceding.

1899. M i n g w o t s ü n m i n t s a i j a n g h o u j e n y ü p' e i s h ï *51*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after j a n g: »(If you) enlighten our prominent people in j a n g courtesy, (posterior men =) future generations y ü in (this) will be p ' e i great and s h ï correct». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after m i n: »May you distinguish the prominent people, then t s a i it rests with (you) j a n g to cede to a successor in a (great =) prosperous time». Kiang Sheng in the main accepts this. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: p ' e i *60* means f e n g *61* and y ü *62* is the verb »to go»; he skips the troublesome t s a i *63* altogether: »(If you) distinguish the prominent men, I will (cede to =) courteously invite later men y ü to go and p ' e i take up s h ï those (blessings)». A most astonishing forcing of the text. — **D.** Sun Yi-jang takes j a n g *64* as a loan char. for s i a n g *43*, which would mean 'to help' (cf. 1897) and p ' e i s h ï *65* would be equal to *66* p ' e i c h ' e n g (cf. Gl. 1249 above): »Distinguish the prominent men; (it depends upon =) it is essential to assist future men y ü p ' e i s h ï in the great continuation (of the work)». With such alterations you can make a line mean anything. — **E.** Wang Sien-k'ien: t s a i *63* = *67* (as in Yao tien), p ' e i *60* is »a particle» (simply to be skipped): »Distinguish



our prominent men, t s a i examine (them) and then cede to a successor y ü (p ' e i) s h ï at that time». — **F.** Yü Sing-wu: m i n g *68 = 69*; j a n g *64* is a loan char. for s i a n g *43* in the sense of 'to achieve' (see Gl. 1897); t s a i *63* stands for *70 = 71*; h o u j e n, here as earlier in the chapter, means »the successor» i. e. the king; p ' e i *60 = 72* (no text proof whatever). Thus: »m i n g w o t sün m i n t s a i stimulate our prominent men; (achieve =) make complete the successor in this time». — **G.** There are two convincing ideas in F. T s a i *63*, which as such defies a reasonable expl., is surely but a loan char. for *71*, just as in Gl. 1891 above; and h o u j e n refers to the king, just as in Gl. 1889 above. But for the rest it is unnecessary to tamper with the text: »**Distinguish our prominent men; (give way to =) accede to the successor (sc. the king who wants you to stay) in this great time**».

1900. T u f e i s h ï e r j e n w o s h ï k ' o c h ï y ü k i n j ï h i u *73*.

A. PK'ung: »**By sincerely assisting those two men (sc. the founders Wen and Wu) we (Chou) have been able to come to the prosperity of today**». For t u f e i, cf. Lo kao: *74* »You have received your charges, sincerely to assist me». P i there and f e i here are synonymous. — **B.** As stated in Gl. 1897, most later comm. take e r j e n to refer to Chou Kung and Shao Kung. The many diverging attempts at interpr. of our line here based on this idea need not be recorded, since we have accepted the ancient view on this fundamental point.

P ' e i m a o etc. see Gl. 1624.

1901. W a n g p u s h u a i p e i *75*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *76*. This being very obscure, K'ung Ying-ta expounds it thus: »There shall be none who do not follow (the teachings) and (you can) command them» — a hopeless construction. If p e i *77* 'to cause' were to mean 'to command', it should have to be taken in the passive: »There are none who do not obey and (be commanded =) take orders». — **B.** Liu Feng-lu: Erya says p e i *77 = 78* 'to follow', hence our s h u a i p e i here is a binome: »There shall be none who do not (follow =) obey». There are, however, no other text ex. of this Erya meaning. — **C.** Another interpr. P e i was probably originally written as a simple *79* without radical (Chou fashion), and the addition of rad. 9 was made by Han scholars who took *79* to stand for *77*. But it should have its proper meaning: 'low': »**There shall be none who are not (following =) obedient and (low =) humble**». Possibly Ts'ai Ch'en already held that opinion, since he freely paraphrases: *80* »there shall be none who do not as subjects submit».

Y ü p u h u e i j o t s ï t o k a o see Gl. 1896.

1902. Y ü w e i y u n g m i n y ü t ' i e n y ü e m i n *81*.

A. PK'ung: m i n *82 = 83* 'to exert obeself', in which sense it is well attested in the binome m i n m i e n *84*, Ode 35 as quoted in Han shu: Wu hing chï (the Mao version had correspondingly *85*); for fuller details see Gl. 95. But PK'ung, who insists that y ü e *86* is a preposition (= *87*), continues in a strange way: »I thereby exert myself about Heaven's (principles being applied to) the people». We have seen in many places that y ü e means simply 'and'. We may thus simplify A: »**I thereby exert myself for Heaven and the people**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: m i n *82* = 'grief, anxiety' (common), thus: »**I** therefore only am anxious about (the uncertain mandate of) Heaven and (the poverty of) the people». If we eradicate the additions, obtaining simply: »I therefore only am anxious about Heaven and the people», the meaning becomes much more vague and unsatisfactory than in the ancient interpr.

1903. C h ï j o t s ï *88*.

A. PK'ung: »Respectfully j o comply with t s ï this (speach)». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: (»**It is only like this** =) **that is all!**». — The two graphs *89* (**îi̯ĕg / tśi / c h ï*) 'only' and *90* (**îi̯ər / tśi / c h ï*) 'to respect' are so similar as to be constantly confused by the early

scribes; we may be justified in accepting either of them as the original and correct word here. But B is certainly much more simple and natural. We had the phr. j o t s ï meaning 'like this' in the preceding line (it is common: we have it in T'ang shï, Ta kao, Tsiu kao etc.) and it should mean the same here. We could, of course, retain the meaning 'to respect' in the first word and still have j o t s ï = 'like this': Respect (what I have spoken) like this!», but that demands a violent ellipsis. Hence B is preferable.

To fang.

Y u k a o e r etc. see Gl. 1585.

1904. S ï k u o t o f a n g *91*.

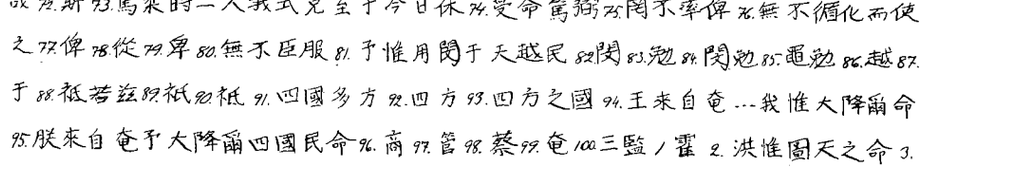
This follows upon: »I will discourse and tell you».

A. PK'ung explains this by s ï f a n g *92* 'the four quarters', and K'ung Ying-ta fills out: *93* »the states of the four quarters». Now s ï k u o alone often has that sense in Shï (e. g. Ode 241), but s ï k u o t o f a n g certainly cannot be construed to mean this. We should either (with Wu Ch'eng) have to construe s ï k u o in the genitive: »the t o f a n g many regions of the s ï k u o states in the four quarters»; or two coördinated phr.: »the states of the four quarters and the numerous regions». — **B.** Our passage here (*94*) is closely akin to a passage in To shï (*95*); it is obvious that s ï k u o in our present chapter means the same as in the To shï passage. There it cannot have the meaning of A above, but means »your four states», referring to the rebellious states. In comm. on To shï, PK'ung, basing himself on Mao Heng in comm. on Ode 157, took these to be Shang *96* (prince Wu Keng Lu-fu), Kuan *97*, Ts'ai *98* and the just-mentioned Yen *99* (foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en, Kiang Sheng a. o.). But Cheng Hüan in gloss on Shu sü (Preface) says that the »3 inspectors» *100* placed as controllers over Wu Keng Lu-fu in Shang, were (the princes of) Kuan, Ts'ai and Huo *1*, and these »4 states» (Shang, Kuan, Ts'ai, Huo) must reasonably (with Legge and Couvreur) be the rebels addressed. Cheng has a pre-Han text as confirmation: Yi Chou shu: Tso lo kie, which narrates how Lu-fu was appointed in Shang (i. e. Sung) and got as controllers the princes of Kuan, Ts'ai and Huo. Thus: »(I will discourse and tell you) **four states and numerous (other) regions**».

W e i e r Y i u h o u y i n m i n see Gl. 1558. W o w e i t a k i a n g e r m i n g see Gl. 1477.

1905. H u n g w e i t ' u t ' i e n c h ï m i n g *2*.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta, refers this to Kie, the last Hia king, with a view to the following line, thus: »He (Kie) h u n g being great (planned =) deliberated about the commands of Heaven». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en refers them to the states of Shang and Yen: »Grandly (ambitiously) you have planned for (obtaining) the mandate of Heaven». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: h u n g *3* is merely a particle (refuted in Gl. 1587), and the line is a rhetorical question: »(Does a king) plan for the mandate of Heaven?» Sun Singyen, just as in the phr. in Gl. 1587, would take h u n g as = *4*, which is quite unconfirmed. — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: with t ' u *5* meaning 'to plan for', the following line will make sheer nonsense: »You do not perpetually and respectfully think of the sacrifices». The original graph must have been *6*, erroneously filled out into t ' u *5* in Han time, and *6* is the



same as p i *7* 'to despise' (as we had it in Ta kao: f a n p i w o C h o u p a n g *8* »He even despises our Chou state», see Gl. 1597; here, on the other hand, Yü would take p i as a fault for t ' u, which is very unlikely). Our line *2* will then be: »**You greatly despise Heaven's command** (and do not perpetually and reverently think of the sacrifices)». This is strikingly plausible, all the more since we have a similar line at the end of our chapter: *9* »You (dissolutely =) recklessly reject the command of Heaven». — There are four analogous phrases:

To fang (later): Y i e r t o f a n g t a y i n t ' u t ' i e n c h ï m i n g; for this see Gl. 1804 above.

To fang (later): K ü e t ' u t i c h ï m i n g *10* (k ü e = n a i, see Gl. 1414).

A. PK'ung: »He (planned =) reckoned on God's mandate» (sc. that it would not be taken from him). — **B.** Yü Sing-wu: »**He despised God's command**».

To fang (later): T ' u k ü e c h e n g *11*.

A. PK'ung: »Planning his government». — **B.** Yü Sing-wu: t ' u should be p i: »**He despised his government work**».

To fang (later): E r n a i t s ï t s o p u t i e n t ' u c h ' e n y ü c h e n g *12*.

A. PK'ung: »You yourselves make so that you p u t i e n not always t ' u c h ' e n plan for sincerity y ü c h e n g in the right (principles)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »You yourselves do p u t i e n unlawful things, but you t ' u plan for c h ' e n being trusted y ü c h e n g by the straight (men)». (Kiang Sheng: ». . . trusted by your *13* superiours»). — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: t ' u should be p i: »**You yourselves do unlawful things, and despise to be faithful to your superiors**».

W e i t i k i a n g k o see Gl. 1803. P u k ' e n t s ' i y e n y ü m i n see Gl. 1409.

1906. P u k ' o c h u n g j ï k ' ü a n y ü t i c h ï t i *14*.

A. PK'ung: »He could not for a whole day be stimulated to God's way», thus taking t i *15* as a noun = *16* 'way'. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »**He could not for a whole day be stimulated by God's guidance**»; t i = *17*, as often. — **C.** Ma Jung's version read t i c h ï y u *18*, and Ma says: y u = *19*, thus: ». . . stimulated to God's place», which is clearly inferior to the A reading. Ma's version has led Sun Sing-yen to a curious speculation: t i *15* (phon. y u *20*) and Ma's y u *21* both stand for *22* = *23* (Shuowen). Thus: »He was not capable of the length of one day in being stimulated by God». — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: k ' ü a n *24* should be k u a n *25* (as in Kün Shï, see Gl. 1879). Yü would make the same emendation in two later ex. of k ' ü a n in our chapter. But it is not plausible, the meaning of the sentence being better with the traditional k ' ü a n.

K ü e t ' u t i c h ï m i n g see Gl. 1905.

1907. P u k ' o k ' a i y ü m i n c h ï l i *26*.

A. PK'ung says l i *27* = *28* 'to apply' (it is indeed attested in the sense of 'to attach', see Gl. 442). He interprets: »He could not (open =) initiate in regard to what (should) be applied to the people», sc. a good government. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »He could not open up (the means) in regard to what the people (attached themselves to =) relied on (for support)». — **C.** Kiang Sheng (who believes that k ' a i *29* is an alteration from p ' i *30*, made by Wei Pao): »He could not (open up in regard to =) widely bestow (the principles through which) the people attach themselves (sc. to their ruler)». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: l i *27* means 'attached' in the sense of 'allotted to, assigned for': »**He could not (open up for =) set free such of the people who had been assigned (for punishment)**». L i in this sense is indeed almost a technical term: Chou li: Sï hing *31* »He manages the laws of the 5 punishments in order to (attach =) assign to them the crimes of the myriad people»; Chouli: Ta sï k'ou *32* »Such of the myriad people who have crimes but have not yet been (attached =) assigned to the (proper) laws»; Chouli: Siao sï k'ou *33* »He assigns the 8 punishments to the laws of the state»; Shu: Lü hing *34*: »All these who were (attached,

allotted =) assigned for punishments». In short, our phr. m i n c h ï l i »such of the people who had been assigned» is a short-form for m i n c h ï l i h i n g *35*. Sun explains k ' a i *29* by *36* 'to set free'. — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: l i *27* means 'a crowd': »He could not make himself free from the crowd»(?). But l i has no such meaning. — **F.** Yü Sing-wu: k ' a i *29* 'to open up' means *37* 'to elucidate, make clear to oneself, understand': »He could not understand what the people attach themselves to». — D is undoubtedly the best corroborated interpr. For l i the par. adduced are decisive; for k ' a i we have a few lines later: k ' a i s h ï w u k u *38* »they set free the innocent» (unambiguous meaning). Since it is here a question of punishments, and our line *26* above is likewise followed by »he greatly sent down punishments», it is evident that Sun is right in taking k ' a i as = »to set free» and l i as = »to assign» (for a certain punishment). — This being clear, we should examine the following:

To fang (later): N ü e y ü m i n c h ï y ü p o w e i t a p u k ' o k ' a i *39*.

A. PK'ung: »They oppressed the people, even up to a hundred actions (i. e. in numerous cases), they greatly could not (open up =) enlighten the people» (with good words). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »They oppressed the people, so that the (hundred =) many enterprises (of the people) greatly could not (be opened up =) be promoted». (Liu Feng-lu: »so that the hundred affairs greatly could not [open up =] succeed»). — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: »They were greatly unable to be (opened up =) enlightened». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: »(Together with them) **he oppressed the people, so that in the (hundred =) numerous actions he greatly was unable to (set free =) condone**».

To fang (later): K ' a i k ü e k u t ' i e n *40*.

A. Cheng Hüan: »(In order) to open up their thoughts of Heaven». — **B.** PK'ung: »It (Heaven) opened up (the way as successor) for one could have regard for Heaven». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: *41* »To open (the way) for one who could receive (its) loving regard», which is unreconcilable with the text. — **D.** On the analogy of the preceding the line should mean: »(Heaven searched in your numerous regions, and greatly shook you by its severity), **it would k ' a i condone such who had regard for Heaven,** (but in your numerous regions there were none who were able to have regard for it)».

To fang (later): S h e n k ü e l i n a i k ' ü a n k ü e m i n *42*.

A. PK'ung: »He was careful in applying (the government) and so stimulated his people». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »He was careful about what he (attached himself to =) relied on, and so stimulated his people». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »He was careful about what (the people) attach themselves to and so stimulated his people». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: »**He was careful about those who were assigned (for punishments) and so he stimulated his people**». The whole context amply confirms this interpr. — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: »He stimulated l i his crowd and so stimulated his people».

Lü hing: W e i s h ï M i a o m i n f e i c h ' a y ü y ü c h ï l i *43*.

洪4.代 5.圖 6.曷 7.鄙 8.反鄙我周邦 9.爾乃眉播天命 10.厥圖帝之命 11.圖厥政 12.爾乃自作不典圖忱于正 13.正長 14.不可終日勸于帝之迪 15.迪 16.道 17.導 18.帝之攸 19.所 20.由 21.攸 22.嶲 23.長 24.勸 25.觀 26.不可開于民之麗 27.麗 28.施 29.開 30.闢 31.掌五刑之法以麗萬民之罪 32.萬民之有罪過而未麗于法 33.以八辟麗邦法 34.越茲麗刑 35.民之麗刑 36.開繹 37.明 38.開繹無辜 39.虐于民至于百為大不可開 40.闕顧天 41.開發其能受眷顧者 42.愼厥麗乃勸 43.惟時苗民匪察于獄之麗 44.重 45.因甲于內亂 46.甲 47.狎 48.習 49.

A. PK'ung: »The Miao people did not examine into l i the application (of punishments) y ü y ü in criminal cases»; etc. (various interpr.). — **B.** In accordance with the preceding the line should mean: »**The Miao people made no examination in regard to l i those assigned (for punishment) in y ü the criminal cases**», (they simply considered them as guilty).

C h ' u n g l u a n y u H i a — for c h ' u n g = 'heavy' (PK'ung = *44*, cf. Gl. 1679) Sun Sing-yen would prefer the meaning: »in the end» (cf. Gl. 140), but this is really no improvement.

1908. Y i n k i a (h i a) y ü n e i l u a n *45*.

A. Cheng Hüan takes k i a *46* as short-form for h i a *47* (after Erya), defining this as = *48* ('to be familiar with' = 'to practise'), and he paraphrases: »He practised the actions of beasts in the interior and did interior disorder». This is not reconcilable with the text, and Sun Sing-yen turns it better: »**And then he was familiar with the disorderly ones of the interior**», see Gl. 192. — **B.** PK'ung has a curious idea that k i a *46* stands for *49* 'to be squezed, to be in between': »He was pressed between (the outer disorder and) the disorder of interior (i. e. palace)». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »y i n what he based himself on k i a (= *50*) (began with =) was in the first place n e i l u a n the disorderly ones of the interior (i. e. the favourites)».

1909. P u k ' o l i n g c h ' e n g y ü l ü *51*.

A. *PK*'ung: »**He could not excellently (take over in regard to =) take care of the multitude**». — **B.** Yü Sing-wu: l ü means *52* 'grace': »He could not well receive grace». — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

1910. W a n g p ' e i w e i t s i n c h ï k u n g *53*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *54* »He did not greatly advance a reverent virtue»(?), which is unreconcilable with the text. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: *55* »He (could) not greatly advance in reverence». Since c h ï *56* cannot mean y ü *57* we should then have to take it as a verb: c h ï 'to go', t s i n - c h ï being a binome, which is very unlikely. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »The greatest ones in falseness, he promoted them to (furnish =) have office». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: p ' e i *58* should be read p u *59* (they were originally one graph): »There were none who did not because of t s i n presents k u n g (furnish =) have office». Or, as Wang Sien-k'ien modifies it: »There were none who did not furnish presents». — **E.** The Jï kiang Shu king kie yi: »He could not greatly (advance =) promote (good men) and respect them». — **F.** Couvreur take w e i *60* as verb: »He did not greatly think of (advancing to them =) treating them with reverent care». — **G.** Yü Sing-wu, basing himself on a Tun-huang MS, would eliminate the c h ï *61*, and paraphrases: *62*, which, however, makes no sense in the context. — **H.** Another interpr. C h ï must reasonablyr efer to the l ü *63* 'the multitude' just mentioned: »**He did not grandly bring them forward to reverence**» — he was not respected by the people.

1911. H u n g s h u y ü m i n *64*.

A. PK'ung: »**He was greatly lazy towards the people**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en connects with the preceding line: »(He did not . . .) grandly be liberal to the people». — **C.** Sie Ki-süan (12th c. A. D.) says the Kin-wen originally had t ' u *65* inst. of s h u *66*, and interprets: »He was greatly (bitter =) noisome to the people». But this variant, unknown to Lu Tê-ming (Shïwen) and K'ung Ying-ta and cropping up first in Sung time (repeated by Wang Ying-lin in K'un hüe ki wen) is not very trustworthy. On the other hand, there are early examples of t ' u *65* having served as loan char. for s h u *66* (e. g. Chouli: Kung jen, Li: Yü tsao), and Kiang Sheng believes that PK'ung's text originally had t ' u *65* but that PK'ung thought it stood for s h u *66* and altered it accordingly. But this is a mere guess. Even if some early text version had t ' u (now known earliest from the 12th c.), it could just as well have been a loan char. for s h u here as in Chouli and Li. A therefore seems safest.

1912. Y i w e i y u H i a c h ï m i n t ' a o c h ï j ï k ' i n y i k o H i a y i *67*.

For c h ï *68* Shuowen has the var. *69*; the word is sometimes wr. *70*, cf. Gl. 81.

A. PK'ung: »Also the people of the lord of Hia was t ' a o greedy and c h ï annoyed; he daily more revered (such who) destroyed and injured the city of Hia». This dividing after c h ï makes poor rhythm, Ts'ai Ch'en therefore carries j ï k ' i n to the preceding: »Also, of the people of the lord of Hia, the greedy and annoyed were daily more revered; they destroyed» etc. — **C.** Kiang Sheng has an amusing trick. In gloss on Ode 132, phr. *71*, Mao expounds: *72* »In the longing heart it was k ' i n k ' i n intense (feeling)», k ' i n k ' i n thus really meaning 'intense (feeling)'. Kiang, however, concludes from this gloss that k ' i n can mean 'to long', and explains: »Also the people of the lord of Hia became greedy and wicked and daily (longed =) hoped to destroy and injure the city of Hia». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: k ' i n *73* is a short-form for h i n *74*, Erya = *75* 'to rise, to arise, to raise' (ex. in Chouli): »Also the people of the lord of Hia, their greed and annoyance daily rose; he destroyed» etc. Chuang Shu-tsu would again carry j ï h i n to the following: »Also the people of the lord of Hia became covetous and annoyed; they daily (raised =) set about to destroy» etc. — **E.** Another interpr. Kiang (C) is right that k ' i n should be interpreted on the analogy of Ode 132. Its line y u s i n k ' i n k ' i n *71* simply means: »My grieved heart is full of intense feeling» (this was the earliest interpr.; Erya: Shï hün k ' i n k ' i n = *76*) and such is the meaning here too. T ' a o *77* »greedy», which comes in very unnatural here, is an error for t a o *78* 'grieved', attested in Odes 102, 142, 146 etc. (in other words: the original graph was *79*, without radical, Chou fashion, and was wrongly enlarged by the Han scholars into *77* inst. of the correct *78*). Thus: »**Also the people of the lord of Hia, their grief and annoyance became daily more intense; he destroyed and injured the city of Hia**». For y i *80* 'to destroy' cf. Gl. 1470.

1913. W e i t ' i e n p u p i c h ' u n *81*.

A. PK'ung: »**Heaven's not giving favour (sc. to Hia) was (great =) definite**». Confirmed by a Shu par., see Gl. 1800. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: Fang yen says c h ' u n *82* = 'fine' *83*: »Heaven did not give him (Kie) a fine (reward)». — **C.** Ye Meng-tê (Sung time) says that when Heaven gives its favour it is termed c h ' u n y u m i n g *84*, when not, it is called, consistently, p u p i c h ' u n *85*. But T ' i e n c h ' u n y u m i n g (Shu: Kün Shï) really means: »Heaven greatly supported their mandate», and this tallies well with A above. — **D.** Chu Pin punctuates after p i: T ' i e n p u p i »Heaven did not give favour», and carries c h ' u n great' to the next line, which is quite impossible.

1914. N a i w e i y i e r t o f a n g c h ï y i m i n p u k ' o y u n g y ü t o h i a n g *86*.

A. PK'ung: »(**Using =**) **having the righteous people of your numerous regions, he (still) could not continue long in the ample enjoyment (of the mandate)**». We have h i a n g in this sense some lines later: h i a n g t ' i e n m i n g *87*. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »It was because the righteous people of your numerous regions could not continue long in the enjoyment of their many (offices)». Though this is quite plausible in itself (accepted by Kiang Sheng),

it is inferior to A, because the phr. y i e r t o f a n g . . . recurs some paragraphs later and then clearly refers to the king: »(Using =) having your numerous regions». — **C.** Kiang Sheng in the main follows B, but says that y i m i n *88* is equal to m i n y i *89* i. e. *90*, and Sun Sing-yen adds that in Ta kao the phr. m i n h i e n *91* »eminent men among the people» is rendered by m i n y i *90* in Shang shu ta chuan. Chang Ping-lin, avoiding the useless metathesis, simply says that y i m i n *88* means h i e n m i n *92*. All this is unnecessary and phonetically unconvincing, see Gl. 1327. — **D.** The phr. y i m i n *88* recurs in Li cheng, and there Wang Nien-sun proposes that y i *93* (**ngia*) stands for n g o *94* (**ngâ*) 'slanting, oblique', in the sense of 'depraved' (the phonetic *95* **ngâ* being the same in both characters), just as *96* means 'oblique' and then 'depraved'. Yü Yüe would apply that meaning here as well. »Using the depraved (people =) men of your numerous regions, he could not continue long in the ample enjoyment (of the mandate)». This is ingenious; but we should wish to see some case in which a real **ngâ* (written *94* or *95*) occurs in the sense of 'depraved'. Such examples lacking, Wang's theory is unconvincing. And why should a **ngâ* invariably be denoted by a loan char. read **ngia*, never by one read **ngâ* (*97*, *98* etc.)? For y i *93* Wang has adduced, besides two more Shu ex. (see below), instances from Ta Tai: Ts'ien sheng and Kuan: Ming fa, and Yü Yüe adds other examples from Tso: Wen 18, Kuan: Fa kin (there wr. *99*), Sün: Ch'eng siang (there wr. *100*), but all these cases are susceptible of other interpretations. Thus the Ta Tai ex.: *1* should mean: »To beguile the fine people to be found in the mansions is called y i (*93* = *99*) casuistry» (not: »is called depravity»); and so forth, none of the ex. adduced being conclusive. — **E.** Yü Sing-wu has a strange idea, that since y i *93* and y i *100* are sometimes interchangeable with y i *2* (they are all the same word stem), and since Shïwen in Ode 249 abbreviates y i *3* into *4*, and since this latter can serve for t s u *5* 'to obstruct, embarrass', we should read here not y i m i n *88* but *6* t s u m i n 'the embarrassed people, the people in difficulties'. Utterly unacceptable. — We should compare:

Shu: Li cheng: T s ï n a i s a n t s ê w u y i m i n. This follows upon: »Endeavour and strive to use those of a greatly docile virtue, those are the men to be placed» (see Gl. 1728).

A. PK'ung, not realizing that s a n t s ê means »the three (high) positions» (referring to the choice of leading officers in the preceding line) takes it to mean »the three (placings =) locations of banisment» (cf. Yao tien): »Then you can (do the 3 placings to =) banish to the 3 locations w u y i m i n the unrighteous men». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Then (among) those in the three (high) positions there will be no righteous men». — **C.** Kiang Sheng takes y i as a verb: »Then those in the three (high) positions w u y i will have no pattern (to give) m i n to the people». A dreadful construction. — **D.** Wang Nien-sun: y i m i n *88* (as above) = *7* '(oblique =) depraved people': »Then among those in the three (high) positions there will be no depraved people». — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: Tso: Hi 24, phr. *8* (»Those below consider-as-righteous their crimes») is rendered by Sï-ma Ts'ien (Tsin shï kia) *9* (»Those below thrust forward [as good] their crimes»); hence y i *93* can mean m a o *10* and y i m i n means »forward-pushing people». A school example of bad philology. — **F.** Another interpr. The line is simply a rhetorical question: »(Endeavour and strive to use those of a greatly docile virtue, those are the men to be put in the high positions); **thus, in the three (high) positions, will there not be righteous people?**» That the line is not formally an interrogative clause but looks like an ordinary affirmative clause, is no obstacle. Such is often the case in the early texts. Cf. Ode 204: s i e n t s u f e i j e n *11* »Were the ancestors not men?», the question being here certain beyond dispute through the context.

Shu: Lü hing: W a n g p u k ' o u t s e i c h ' ï y i k i e n k i u *12*.

A. Ma Jung: c h ' ï *13* = *14* 'light'; c h ' ï y i *15* would then mean 'of light virtue'. No text par. Possibly Ma took c h ' ï *13* to stand for t i *16* 'to scold, criticize', his k ' i n g

meaning 'to despise' (»a despicable righteousness»?). — **B.** Cheng Hüan paraphrases *17*, which shows that he took y i *93* to serve for y i *100* 'deportment, behaviour': »**There were none who were not robbers and bandits, owl-behavioured (i. e. rapacious), villains and traitors**». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: c h ' ï y i = »owl-principled». — **D.** Wang Nien-sun, as above: y i for n g o *94*; c h ' ï = *14*, after Ma Jung: ». . . robbers and bandits, (light =) frivolous and n g o depraved . . .». — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: c h ' ï *13* stands for *18* and y i = m a o *10*, as above: ». . . robbers and bandits, obstructive and forward-pushing».

For: H i a c h ï k u n g t o s h ï *19* »Hia's (respected =) trusted officers», not: »Hia's (furnishing =) serving officers», see Gl. 1787.

1915. T a p u k ' o m i n g p a o h i a n g y ü m i n *20*.

A. PK'ung's paraphrase: *21* is no more clear than the text. K'ung Ying-ta expounds: »They greatly could not with m i n g the enlightened principles and p a o peaceful preservation h i a n g (bring-presents =) endow the people». It seems better to coördinate (for m i n g p a o cf. Lo kao under B below): »**They were greatly unable brightly to protect and to (present =) give bounties to the people**». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen is troubled by the fact that with the interpr. above h i a n g *22* would here have a different meaning from that in the preceding line. He therefore stops with h i a n g, carrying y ü m i n to the next line. Taking m i n g *23* to mean *24* (refuted in Gl. 1302), he refers both lines to the king: »(He could not continue long in the ample enjoyment [of the mandate]; the officers) greatly could not m i n g strive to p a o make safe h i a n g his enjoyment (of the mandate)». But then the next line will be impossible: y ü m i n n a i s ü w e i n ü e y ü m i n, with a double y ü m i n. Still worse is Wang Sien-k'ien, who cuts after m i n g, and carries p a o h i a n g y ü m i n to the next line, thus separating the m i n g - p a o which is a standing phrase, see Lo kao *25* »You, prince, (brightly protect =) are a bright protector to me, young man». — That h i a n g means 'to enjoy' (an office) in the preceding line and 'to present' in the present is no obstacle. It is really the same word, the fundamental meaning being 'to enjoy', and a causative to this: 'to cause to enjoy' = 'to offer up, to present' is very natural. We have h i a n g with the same two different meaning in one line in P'an Keng: *26* »Now when I h i a n g offer the great sacrifices to the former kings, your ancestors follow and together with them h i a n g enjoy them».

T a p u k ' o k ' a i see Gl. 1907.

1916. K ' o y i e r t o f a n g k i e n t a i H i a t s o m i n c h u *27*.

A. PK'ung takes k i e n *28* as = *29* 'great' (common): »He could, having your numerous regions, grandly supersede the Hia and become the lord of the people». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: k i e n = 'to select' (common): »He could, because your numerous regions selected him, supersede» etc. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: since k i e n *30* sometimes means t a i *31* 'to substitute, supersede' and in precisely the sense of the present passage, e. g. Ode 294, phr. *32* »Augustly he (replaced =) came to the succession», it is evident that k i e n *28* should be *30* (the Han scholars having wrongly added the rad. 118), and that k i e n - t a i is

a synonym-binome: »**He could, having your numerous regions, supersede Hia and become the lord of the people**».

S h e n k ü e l i n a i k ' ü a n see Gl. 1907.

K ü e m i n h i n g y u n g k ' ü a n see Gl. 1742.

T a y i n t ' u (p i) t ' i e n c h ï m i n g s i e y u t s ' ï see Gl. 1804, 1905.

1917. P u t s i y ü h i a n g *33*.

A. PK'ung: »**He did not achieve his enjoyment (of the mandate)**». T s i in this sense is common, e. g. Tso: Huan 5, phr. *34*: »We can achieve (accomplish) the business». — **B.** Lü Tsu-k'ien, less convincing: t s i = *35* 'to accumulate': »He could not accumulate that which contributed to the (enjoyment =) keeping of the mandate», which was followed by Ts'ai Ch'en (Couvreur: non colligebat ad fruendum [regia dignitate]). — **C.** Wu Ch'eng: »He could not bring (the princes) together, bringing offerings».

T ' i e n k i a n g s h ï s a n g see Gl. 1477.

1918. P u k ü a n c h e n g *36*.

A. Ma Jung says that k ü a n *37* = *38* 'bright' and c h e n g *39* = *40* 'to rise'. 'Bright' is only a variation of the ordinary definition 'pure' of k ü a n. Kiang Sheng expounds: »(The offerings) did not in purity rise» (and be smelled by Heaven). For this might be said that k ü a n is almost a technical term for the purity of sacrifices (e. g. Ode 166). But in connection with sacrifices c h e n g is much better attested as meaning *41* 'to bring forward, to present' (Odes 210, 220 etc.), and we may modify: »**He did not (in purity present =) bring pure sacrifices**». — **B.** PK'ung: »He did not in purity advance»; criticized in Gl. 1151. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: Kuangya says that c h e n g *39* = *42* 'fine', thus: »He was not pure nor fine». This is based on the Han school interpr. of Ode 244, phr. *43* »Wen Wang was splendid». We find it also in Ode 299, see Gl. 1151. — **D.** Liu Feng-lu, accepting Ma's k ü a n = *38* and c h e n g = *40*, interprets: »He did not (brightly =) enlightenedly raise (people into office)». — C would seem to be most simple and natural. But the very combination of k ü a n and c h e n g in fact reveals that the line refers to sacrifices, which confirms A in its modified form.

1919. T ' i e n w e i w u n i e n s ü h i a c h ï t s ï s u n *44*.

Shang shu ta chuan has the reading s ü h i a *45*, where h i a *46* is a mere loan char. for h i a *47* (both **g'å*), defined as = *48* by Fu Sheng. S ü h i a means 'to wait and give respite'.

A. PK'ung interprets: »Heaven for five years waited and gave respite to the descendant», i. e. king Shou. This is inadmissible, since it skips the c h ï *49* (when Wu Ch'eng would take this as = *50*: »This descendant», he forgets that c h ï is never so used in the Shu). K'ung Ying-ta has felt the inadequacy, and in gloss on Ode 285 he tampers with the Shu text, quoting: *51*, adding a »T'ang» to make the following c h ï reasonable. But it is still unlikely that t s ï s u n should mean »descendant» in the singular. — **B.** Cheng Hüan had already realized that t s ï s u n must mean 'sons and grandsons', for he expounds: »Heaven wanted him (sc. Shou) to transmit it to sons and grandsons». Liu Feng-lu, followed by Wang Sien-k'ien, has then rightly realized that we have to punctuate after c h ï, and carry t s ï s u n to the following line: t a n t s o m i n c h u. This had earlier been referred to Shou: »Grandly being the lord of the people, he could» etc. Now, instead, we obtain: s ü h i a c h ï, t s ï s u n t a n t s o m i n c h u *52*: »**Heaven for five years waited and gave respite to him, (so that) his sons and grandsons would grandly be the lords of the people.**»

1920. W a n g k ' o n i e n t ' i n g *53*.

A. PK'ung: »He could not think (about affairs), nor listen (to words)». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: »He had nothing which could be thought of or listened to», sc. by Heaven. (Legge: »There was nothing in him deserving to be regarded»). — **C.** Another interpr. The archaic graphs

for t ' i n g *54* 'to hear' and s h e n g *55* 'sage, wise' are so similar as to be practically identical. In Shu: Wu yi we have the phr. t s ' ï k ü e p u t ' i n g *56* in the Ku-wen version, but t s ï k ü e p u s h e n g *57* in the Kin-wen version, the latter preferable, and t ' i n g of the Ku-wen being a corruption of s h e n g. Exactly the same is the case here. The preceding line has developed how a foolish man by n i e n *58* thinking can become s h e n g *55* wise, and here comes the application: our line must be read w a n g k ' o n i e n s h e n g *59* »**He could not** n i e n **think or** s h e n g **be wise**». That t ' i n g here is an error for s h e n g is quite obvious.

K ' a i k ü e k u t ' i e n see Gl. 1907.

1921. W a n g k ' a n k u c h ï *60*.

A. PK'ung: »**There was nobody who was able to have regard for it (sc. Heaven)**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »There were none worth considering». — The preceding line necessitates A. Moreover k ' a n *61* has the same sense of 'to be able to' in the next line.

E r h o p u c h ' e n y ü c h ï see Gl. 1630.

1922. E r h o p u k i a k i e y i w o C h o u w a n g *62*.

A. PK'ung: k i a *63* = *64* 'near', k i e *65* = 'great' (common) and *66* = *67* = *68* 'to govern' (common), thus: »Why do you not keep near to and greatly be governed by our king of Chou». This interpr. as a passive construction is exceedingly unlikely. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: k i a = *69* 'to help' and k i e *65* 'to assist', thus: »Why do you not help and assist our king of Chou». Ts'ai simply skips the inconvenient y i *66*. — **C.** Shïwen says that *63* should be read **g'iap* / *yiep* / k i e, which shows that Lu took it to be a short-form for *70* 'to grasp'. Kiang Sheng seizes upon this and takes k i e *65* = *71* 'good' (after Erya), as short-form for *72*, thus: »Why do you not (grasping =) holding on to goodness be governed by our king of Chou». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: y i *67* (after Erya) = *73* (no text support), thus: »Why do you not k i a keeping near to k i e goodness y i assist our king of Chou». — **E.** Yü Yüe: k i a k i e is a binome = 'to assist' (k i a indeed sometimes means 'to support', and k i e = 'to assist' is well attested). And y i *66*, equal to *67*, means *74* 'peace': »Why do you not assist and give peace to our king of Chou». Yü adduces Tso, Ai 16, phr. s h ï t ê y i y e *75*, on which Tu Yü says: y i *67* = a n *74*. But a n here has another sense: »(If they once see your face), they will be able to y i (govern themselves =) calm themselves». This meaning is not applicable in our Shu line, and Yü has played on a double meaning in the word a n, which is bad philology. — **F.** Y i *67* 'to govern', frequently also means 'to direct', and here we have it with a further extension: »**Why do you not** k i a **support and** k i e **assist and** y i (direct =) **guide our king of Chou**», sc. guide him as loyal and good advisers.

E r h o p u h u e i w a n g cf. Gl. 1281.

E r n a i t i l ü p u t s i n g cf. Gl. 1656.

1923. E r s i n w e i a i *76*.

A. PK'ung: »**Your hearts are not yet affectionate**» (i. e. towards us Chou). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes a i a s = *77*: »Have you in your hearts no love for yourselves?» There is

35.積 36.不蠲烝 37.蠲 38.明 39.烝 40.升 41.進 42.美 43.文王丞哉 44.天惟五年須暇之子孫 45.須夏 46.夏 47.暇 48.假 49.之 50.是 51.須暇湯之子孫 52.須暇之子孫誕作民主 53.罔克念聽 54.聽 55.聖 56.此厥不聽 57.此厥不聖 58.念 59.罔克念聖 60.罔堪顧之 61.堪 62.爾曷不夾介 又我周王 63.夾 64.近 65.介 66.乂 67.艾 68.治 69.輔 70.挾 71.善 72.价 73.相 74.安 75.若見考面是 德艾也 76.爾心未愛 77.自愛 78.未 79.愛 80.惠 81.順 82.我惟時其戰要囚之 83.戰 84.懼 85.要

nothing, however, to indicate an interrogative meaning; moreover w e i *78* confirms A. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: Shuowen defines a i *79* 'to love' as = *80* 'to be kind to'; and this char. h u e i *80*, on the other hand, can sometimes mean s h u n *81* 'to be compliant'; hence a i *79* should also have the meaning 'compliant', and our clause would be: »Your hearts are not yet compliant». A school example of false conclusions.

E r n a i p u t a t s ê t'i e n m i n g see Gl. 1635. E r n a i s i e (y i) p o t'i e n m i n g see Gl. 1804 and 1905. E r n a i t s ï t s o etc. see Gl. 1905.

1924. W o w e i s h ï k'i c h a n y a o s i u c h ï *82*.

A. PK'ung: »I because of this will c h a n make war upon y a o (the important ones =) the leaders and s i u c h ï imprison (their henchmen)». — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta has realized that this cannot be admissible and explains: »I because of this will c h a n attack, y a o (sum up the case against =) try you and s i u arrest you». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en follows B for y a o s i u, but takes c h a n *83* = 'to tremble' as a causative = 'to cause to tremble'; just as k ü *84* 'to fear' often causatively means 'to cause to fear, to frighten' (Tso *passim*), so c h a n here means 'to scare'. Thus: »I therefore will scare you, (sum up =) try you and arrest you». — **D.** Chang Ping-lin: y a o *85* is loan char. for y ü e *86* 'to bind', thus y a o s i u = »to bind and arrest you». C h a n *83* = *87*, whatever that may mean in this connection. — **E.** Wang Kuo-wei: since in Ode 204 Mao's version has s i u y a o *88* but Hia siao cheng has s i u y u *89*, which shows that a y a o *85* could serve for a y u *90*, our y a o s i u *91* here stands for y u s i u *92* 'to put in a dark prison' (a phr. occurring in Ts'ê: Ts'in 3). Yü Sing-wu, accepting this, adds that c h a n *83* probably is a wrong enlargement of an original t a n *93*, in the sense of *94* 'to exhaust, all' (very common). Thus: »I will then put all of you in dark arrest». — **F.** Legge: »c h a n in trembling awe I s i u secured and confined y a o the chief criminals»; Couvreur: »ego ita c h a n tremens y a o vinxi(!) et s i u detinui illos». — All except K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en (B, C) have disregarded the fact that in y a o s i u, a standing phrase occuring 4 times in the Shu, y a o is a technical judicial term, well attested to mean: to summarize, sum up a charge, epitomize the essential points in a prosecution; we have it unambiguously in that sense in Chouli: Hiang shï and Fang shï (*passim*). Cf. K'ang kao *95* »Having y a o (summed up =) tried s i u a case of arrest, reflect upon it 5 or 6 days»; *ibid.* *96* »Grandly decide the (summed-up =) tried case of arrest». To fang (earlier): *97* »(Summing up =) trying the cases of arrest, they destroyed and put to death those who had many crimes». C is therefore essentially right but y a o s i u should not be two coördinated verbs, but form one phrase. Thus: **»I will therefore put fear into you and for (summing up =) trial arrest you».**

N a i y u p u y u n g w o k i a n g e r m i n g see Gl. 1477. Y u k a o e r y u f a n g t o s h ï see Gl. 1585.

1925. Y ü e w e i y u s ü p o s i a o t a t o c h e n g *98*.

A. PK'ung renders s ü p o *99* by *100* »(those who) s ü mutually (i. e. together) p o preside over (affairs)», an impossible construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: s ü *1* is common in titles of functionaries in the Chouli, and so is p o *2*. Indeed in T'ien kuan, under the various principal officers, we find subordinate officials, the lowest grades being s ü *1* and t'u *3* (s ü here simply meaning 'assistant', see Gl. 564). On the other hand, s ü forms part of the titles of various more important officials, e. g. Sü s h ï *4*, T a s ü *5*, L ü s ü *6*, S i a n g s ü *7*. P o again occurs in titles like T a t s u n g p o *8*, K u n g p o *9*. Thus: »And the s ü and p o functionaries that there are, and the many c h e n g leaders, small and great». It is exceeding unlikely that these two categories of officials: s ü and p o should be singled out and addressed. — **C.** The Kin-wen version ap. Shang shu ta chuan reads: y ü e w e i y u s ü f u s i a o t a t o c h e n g *10*. Cheng Hüan, in comm. on Chouli: T'ien kuan, says that the lowest categories of functionaries: s ü *1*

and t'u *3* did labour service as a tax in kind, and f u *11* has this sense in Chouli: Ta sï-ma. Thus: »Now, the many c h e n g ordinances, small and great, about s ü f u labour service for tax». From Fu Sheng's comments it follows that he already had this idea about the meaning of s ü f u. But for such a sense of s ü there is no pre-Han support. The Mao Kung Ting inscr. has a phr. *12*, which is obviously closely akin to our Kin-wen passage, strongly supporting it, and Sun Yi-jang rightly concludes that *13* is here merely a variant for s ü *1* (same phonetic in the characters). But when Tuan Yü-ts'ai says that p o *2* (**păk*) and f u *11* (**piwo*) »anciently had the same sound», he is very wrong. Yü Sing-wu tries to solve the riddle by identifying the p o *1* with a char. *14* or *15* in bronze inscriptions, which he thinks means the same as f u *11*; it is, however, simply a variant of *16* p o (**b'ăk*) 'a gift, a present'. But none the less, Yü has led us into the right track. P o *1* of the Ku-wen version stands for p o *16* (i. e. the original char. was *17* without radical, and has been wrongly enlarged into *1* inst. of *16*); this means 'a gift', just as f u *11* often means 'a contribution' from an inferior to a superior; c h e n g *18* means (= *19*) 'an impost, an exaction' (of tax); that this is so is proved by the context: the combination with f u. S ü *1* (**siọ*) is synonymous with the cognate *20* (**siu*) and means 'to wait for' (see Gl. 790, with text examples). S ü p o = »(waited-for =) expected gifts» or s ü f u »(waited-for =) expected contributions» give much the same meaning. Cf. particularly Hanfei: Chï fen: *21* »they dare not (wait for =) expect rewards». Thus our Shu sentence: **»as to the (waited-for =) expected contributions (gifts) and the many exactions, small and large».**

1926. E r w a n g p u k'o n i e *22*.

A. PK'ung: **»There are none of you who cannot (be lawful =) follow the law».** This meaning of n i e *23* is definitely confirmed by K'ang kao *23* »In the external (court) affairs you should set forth those law items», see Gl. 1641. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: n i e = *24*: »There are none of you who cannot do your work». — **C.** »Kiang Sheng: k'o *25* = *26* and n i e = *27*, thus: »There are none (of the exactions) which you cannot manage n i e the (norm =) amount of».

1927. E r s h a n g p u k i y ü h i u n g t ê *28*.

A. PK'ung: »May you not hate (each other) (coming) into an evil disposition». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »May you not fear the evil disposition (of the people)». — **C.** Shuowen quotes: *29* s h a n g p u k i y ü h i u n g t ê **»The superiors will not have aversion for you for your evil dispositions»** (i. e. your earlier opposition). The A text can very well be interpreted in the same way. C in the oldest version attested and should be followed. — **D.** Yü Sing-wu thinks that *30* stands for k'i *31*, an arbitrary loan speculation to no advantage.

1928. Y i t s ê y i m u m u t s a i n a i w e i *32*.

A. PK'ung quite naturally: **»Then also you will in a dignified way remain in your high positions».** — **B.** Kiang Sheng: y i *33* is the primary form of *34* and t s ê *35* has its fundamental sense of 'law': »Sustaining the laws you will . . .». This is certainly no improvement.

86.約 87.接 88.秀蓼 89.秀幽 90.幽 91.要囚 92.幽囚 93.單 94.殫 95.要囚服念五六日 96.丕蔽要囚 97.要囚殘殺多罪 98.越惟有胥伯小大多正 99.胥伯 100.相長事 1.胥 2.伯 3.徒 4.胥師 5.大胥 6.閭胥 7.象胥 8.大宗伯 9.宮伯 10.越維有胥賦小大多政 11.賦 12.致小大笵賦 13.笵 14.貞 15.鼎 16.帛 17.白 18.正 19.征 20.頒 21.不敢胥賞 22.爾罔不克臬 23.臬 24.外事汝陳時臬司 24.事 25.克 26.仇 27.準 28.爾尚不忌于凶德 29.上不蓄于凶德 30.蓄 31.期 32.亦則以

1929. K'o yüe yü nai yi mou kie *36*.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »If you can (cause me to) examine about your cities, (and find that) your mou plans are kie great». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »If you can (examine =) select in your city (sc. wise men) and mou plan for kie your assistants». — **C.** Kiang Sheng follows B and modifies only the last words: »mou and plan for kie good (principles)». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen accepts C for the last words, but says that *37* *d̥iwat / i̯wät / y ü e is loan char. for *38* in its reading *39* *d̥iwat / i̯wät / y ü e, which Mao Heng in comm. on Ode *14* defines as = *40* '(to submit =) to be satisfied, pleased'. In the same way our *37* serves for *38* = *39* 'to like, to be pleased' in Ode 35, phr. *41* (Li and Tso quote *42*), see Gl. 97. For the first part this is obviously right. But in mou kie the mou has its sense of '(to plan for =) to endeavour' discussed in Gl. 1728. Thus: **»You can be (pleased =) satisfied in your cities, and endeavour to assist (me)»**. We had kie in this sense a few lines earlier. — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: kie *43* ('boundary') here means *44* 'to draw' and forms a binome with mou: »You can muster in your city mou kie your (plan-drawers =) councellors». Very far-fetched.

1930. Wei k'i ta kie lai er *45*.

A. PK'ung takes kie *43* = *46* 'great' (common), thus: »We will grandly and greatly reward you». Yü Yüe points out that Shuowen has a char. kie *47* for 'great' (unknown in texts), which Yü means should be the correct graph for kie *43* in the sense of 'great'. The char. *47* being rare, ignorant copyists have dissolved it into ta kie *48*. Ingenious; but Shuowen's unused characters certainly did not play such an important part in the transmission of the classical texts. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»We will greatly help and reward you»**. Kie had that meaning earlier in our chapter, see Gl. 1922. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: kie *43* = 'good' (i. e. *49*, see Gl. 1922), thus: »We will in a greatly good way reward you».

1931. Shang er shï *50*.

A. PK'ung: »May you shï do your service». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: **»We will (make high your service =) give you high offices»**. — B suits the context much better.

1932. Er yi tsê wei pu k'o hiang, fan min wei yüe pu hiang *51*.

We discussed the two closely cognate meanings of hiang *52*: 'to enjoy' and 'to cause to enjoy' = 'to present' in Gl. 1914 and 1915. Our line follows upon: »If you cannot be (stimulated =) induced (to be faithful to =) faithfully to observe my commands».

A. PK'ung: »You then cannot enjoy (Heaven's favour); the common people also will say that you do not enjoy (it)». Sun Sing-yen, who wants hiang to mean the same as in the phr. hiang t'ien chï ming *53* »to enjoy Heaven's mandate» earlier in our chapter, follows PK'ung. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en has correctly seen that our line is in part a verbal repetition of a passage in Lo kao. There it was perfectly clear and recognized by all comm. that hiang 'to present' referred to the offerings brought as tribute by the feudatories to their suzerain. On this analogy, our line here will be: »(If you cannot . . . observe my commands), **then likewise you cannot bring offerings (sc. as tribute to me, your suzerain), and (even) the common people will say: we bring no offerings»**. Thus, here again as in Gl. 1915, hiang has its sense of 'to cause to enjoy': there = 'to give bounties to' (the people), here = 'to bring offerings to' (the prince). Kiang Sheng has in the main followed this, and it is undoubtedly right. Legge has modified this 'to bring offerings' into a more general 'to honour': ». . . we will not honour him», and Couvreur even worse: ». . . we will not obey», which is very wide of the mark.

1933. T'an t'ien chï wei *54*.

A. PK'ung says: t'an *55* = *56* 'to take' (after Erya). The fundamental sense of the word is 'to lay the hand on', hence on the one hand 'to feel, to explore, to try', on the other 'to grasp and draw towards oneself', as in Sün: Kün tao *57* 'to draw lots'. Thus

»You will draw upon yourselves Heaven's severity». The same word ('to grasp') is wr. *58* (both **t'əm*) in Chouli: T'an jen. — **B.** Yü Sing-wu: *55* (minus the radical) is a corruption of mi *59*, which, in Ode 305, Cheng Hüan defines as = *60* 'reckless, to brave, to take over one's head'. But this interpr. of Cheng's is wrong, see Gl. 1201; mi there means 'to the full extent'. Mi t'ien chï wei »exhausting to the full Heaven's severity» would here be less good than A.

1934. Wo wei chï kao er ming *61*.

A. PK'ung: »I reverently tell you my command». Since this chï *62* »reverently» makes poor sense, Legge tries to improve it: »in a spirit of awe». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: chï is a grammatical word: »I only tell you my command.» — **C.** Chï here (**t̥i̯ər / tśi / chï*) is but a variant for the chï (**t̥i̯ər*) 'to effectuate' which is variously written *63* (all **t̥i̯ər*, see Gl. 820) and is closely cognate to *64* (*t̥i̯ər / t̥i / chï*) 'to effectuate'. Thus our chï kao *65* 'to make announcement' here is the same as the chï kao *66* in Wei tsï, and means the same as the *67* in P'an Keng; see in detail Gl. 1498. Thus: **»I make announcement to you about my command»**. (When PK'ung here takes ming to mean *68* »the lucky or unlucky fate», and Sun Sing-yen takes it = *69* »Heaven's charge», they are both very unconvincing).

1935. Shï wei er ch'u pu k'o king yü ho *70*.

A. PK'ung: **»This (sc. removal) was because you in the beginning could not carefully observe the concord»**. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »This is a new start for you; if you cannot carefully observe the concord . . .». No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

Li cheng.

1936. Yung hien kie yü wang yüe *71*.

A. PK'ung: (Using this, sc. occasion =) **now** hien **about all he admonished the king and said»**. This is confirmed by the same use of hien later in our chapter: »I, Tan, the fine words I have received from others, all I report to you, young son and king» *72*. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Thus all (the officers) admonished the king and said». — **C.** Wang Sien-k'ien: yung *73* = *74*; yi hien = »with all», thus: »(Together) with all (sc. the officers), he admonished» etc. — A is best supported by a par. in the same chapter.

1937. Ch'ang po, ch'ang jen, chun jen *75*.

The commentators have diligently tried to identify these official titles with such from Ch'un ts'iu and later times, which, of course, is futile. That the third one: chun jen is a judicial office is underlined by the fact that the Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. inst. of chun jen read pi jen *76* »the law man». PK'ung and subsequent comm. have taken these terms in the plural: ch'ang po »the permanent leaders» means the san kung *77*; ch'ang jen »the permanent (men in charge =) managers = liu k'ing *78* etc. But there is really nothing in the text to favour this: the paragraph discusses the small group of dominant men around the king. »The permanent leader» must reasonably have been some kind of premier minister, etc. Yü Yüe has the

穆穆在乃位 33.亦 34.庶 35.則 36.克閱于乃邑謀介 37.閱 38.說 39.悅 40.服 41.我弗不閱 42.不說 43.介 44.畫 45.惟其大介賚爾 46.大 47.介 48.大介 49.价 50.尚爾事 51.爾亦則惟不克享凡民惟曰不享 52.享 53.享天之命 54.探天之威 55.探 56.取 57.探籌 58.摭 59.采 60.冒 61.我惟祇告爾命 62.祇 63.厎底耆指 64.致 65.祇告 66.指告 67.致告 68.吉凶之命 69.天命 70.時惟爾初不克敬于和 71.用威戒于王曰 72.威告猶子王矣 73.用 74.以 75.常伯常人準人 76.胥人 77.

excentric idea that these three officers are here addressed by Chou Kung, because »he dared not address the majestic one directly». Thus: »Oh, you attendants on the king, you permanent leader(s)» etc. A very futile attempt. Still more unreasonable is Sun Yi-jang's view that the line narratively enumerates those who together with Chou Kung admonished the king.

1938. H i u t s ï c h ï s ü s i e n t s a i *79.*

A. PK'ung paraphrases h i u t s ï by »These 5 are the base of the established government», which tells us very little. Wang Su says h i u *80* means m e i *81* 'fine', h i u t s ï meaning: »(fine are these =) these (officers) are fine». PK'ung continues: »Those who (know =) understand anxiously to care about them are few». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: h i u good are t s ï these (officers') c h ï (warning) informations, s ü (to be anxious about =) to accept them s i e n is good». An absurd interpr. — **C.** Wang Sien-k'ien: »(Such who) h i u t s ï find this fine but understand to be solicitous, are few». — **D.** Wang K'ai-yün: s i e n *82* = s ï *83*, thus: »Finding this beautiful, you should understand to be solicitous about this». But the idea that s i e n is equal to s ï was refuted in Gl. 624, 1447. — **E.** Sun Yi-jang: We should compare this with a line in Shao kao: *84* »Unbounded is the grace (of Heaven), but also unbounded is the solicitude». We have the same antithesis of h i u and s ü here. This is undoubtedly right. Thus: **»In the grace (sc. of Heaven), those who understand to be solicitous are few».**

1939. K u c h ï j e n t i w e i y u H i a *85.*

A. PK'ung punctuates after t i, taking this as a noun 'road, path': »As to the path (method) of the ancient men, (at the time of) the lord of Hia . . .» etc. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en divides after j e n: **»Among the ancient men who (walked it =) pursued the (proper) course was the lord of Hia».** Cf. P'an Keng *86* »inauspicious ones and such who do not (walk it =) pursue the (proper) course». — **C.** Pi Yi-t'ien: t i *87* is a »particle» simply to be skipped; this is proved by Erya which defines both *88* and *89* as = *90*, and the former can be a particle, hence y u *89* can also be a particle, and hence, finally, t i *87*, which has y u *89* for phonetic, can be a particle. This absurd argumentation has been accepted with approval by Wang Sien-k'ien.

1939. Y u s h ï t a k i n g *91.*

A. PK'ung: **»The (possessors of houses =) feudal lords were very strong».** — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »(The house he had =) the royal house was very strong». No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

Y ü t s ü n t s u n s h a n g t i see Gl. 1409. M o u m i e n y u n g p ' e i h ü n t ê see Gl. 1728. T s ï n a i s a n t s ê w u y i j e n see Gl. 1914.

1940. K i e t ê w e i n a i f u t s o w a n g j e n *92.*

A. PK'ung: **»Kie's (virtue =) character was (such) that he did not make the appointments of bygone times».** W a n g is common in this sense, e. g. Yi: H i ts'ï *93* »He illustrates bygone times and explores future times»; Meng: Tsin sin, hia *94* »The past should not be (recovered =) inquired into», etc. — **B.** Chuang Shu-tsu: f u *95* is a short-form for f u *96* 'to oppose' (it would be better to say with Sun Yi-jang: f u = *97* 'offensive', see Gl. 1545, where we have a Shu case of *95* serving for *97*). Chuang punctuates after this f u, and says w a n g j e n *98* is the opposite to *99* permanent offices, meaning *100* 'going, passing', thus: »Kie's (virtue =) character was offensive, he made (passing appointments =) appointments of short duration». Very far-fetched. Sun Yi-jang tries to save the latter part by interpreting w a n g *1* as = *2* »those»: »He made those appointments». But w a n g has no such meaning.

1941. S h ï w e i p a o t ê *3.*

A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en: »Those (sc. whom he employed) were (men of) a violent character». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: the t ê here refers to the t ê earlier in the line: (Kie's t ê character was such that . . .), **»that was a violent character».**

1942. W a n g h o u *4.*

A. PK'ung: »He had no successors» (his line was cut off). — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: »He had no (regard for) the (afterwards =) future». An arbitrary way of twisting the phrase. — **C.** In P'an Keng we had the line: k i n k ' i y u k i n w a n g h o u »Now there is a present, but no (afterwards =) future», where the meaning of h o u, in the same phr. w a n g h o u, is defined by its contrast to k i n. We must try to render it in an analogous way here: **»He had no (afterwards =) future» (sc. for his house).**

1943. Y ü e s a n y u t s ü n *5.*

A. This is the PK'ung version, moreover confirmed by a quotation in Shuowen. Thus: **»called the three holders of talents».** — **B.** When the phr. s a n t s ü n recurs a few lines later, the stone classics of 175 A. D. have y u h u e i instead, which thus seems to have been the Kin-wen version. But Shuowen's testimony decides in favour of A.

1944. a. Y e n w e i p ' e i s h ï k ' o y u n g s a n t s ê . . . *6.*
b. Y u n g p ' e i s h ï h i e n (k i e n) t ê *7.*

A. PK'ung: a. »(That he) was severe and could greatly s h ï be a model» etc. b. »He used this great model and displayed his virtue». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: a. »He was severe in his thinking and greatly s h ï imitated (them)» etc., sc. his ministers. b: »Through his great imitation (of the ministers) he displayed his wisdom». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen takes s h ï *8* as = 'to use, to employ' (common). He says, however, that p ' e i *9* is a »particle», simply to be skipped, thus: »Severely he employed». This theory about p ' e i should be decidedly declined, and Sun's line should have to be modified into: a. »Severely he grandly employed» etc. But in order to carry through this in b, Sun has to read *10* not h i e n but k i e n, and construe: »(the people in the four quarters) y u n g through s h ï his employing (methods) k i e n t ê saw his virtue», which is exceedingly forced. — **D.** Sun Yi-jang says that s h ï *8* stands for c h ï *11*, which means *12*, whatever that may mean in these contexts. — **E.** Another interpr. S h ï *8* is simply a particle, as so often in Shï and Shu, see Gl. 1744 with further references. Thus: a. **»(Severely =) in a strict way he was grandly able to use the three (men in the) positions, the three (men of) talents».** b. (Those in the four quarters) **thus grandly saw his virtue».**

1945. K ' i t s a i S h o u t ê m i n *13.*

A. PK'ung believes that t ê forms part of the name: »When (it rested with =) the turn came to Shou-tê, he was impetuous» (for m i n see Gl. 95). — **B.** Ma Jung: **»When the turn came to Shou,** t ê m i n **his character was impetuous».** The name was simply Shou, see Mu shï.

1946. T i k ' i n f a c h ï *14.*

A. PK'ung: k ' i n *15* = *16*, thus: »God respectfully punished him». This nonsense has been repeated through centuries. Some authors have tried to save themselves by some twisting of the rendering: Kiang Sheng: k ' i n = k i n g = *17* »Heaven (respectfully = not lightly =) ponderously punished him». Legge: »Heaven (commanding respect

三公 78. 六鄉 79. 休茲知恤鮮哉 80. 休 81. 美 82. 鮮 83. 斯 84. 無疆惟休亦無疆惟恤 85. 古之人迪惟有夏 86. 不吉不迪 87. 迪 88. 適 89. 由 90. 自 91. 有皇大競 92. 桀德惟乃弗作往任 93. 彰往而察來 94. 往者不追 95. 弗 96. 拂 97. 咈 98. 往任 99. 常任 100. 徂 1. 往 2. 彼 3. 是惟暴德 4. 罔後 5. 曰三有俊 6. 嚴惟丕式克用三宅 7. 用丕式見德 8. 式 9. 丕 10. 見 11. 職 12. 主 13. 其在受德暨 14. 帝欽罰之 15. 欽 16. 敬 17. 重 18. 威 19. 興 20. 嚴 21. 戕 22. 大 23. 戈 24. 戡 25. 西伯既戡黎 26.

=) sovereignly punished him». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: K'in *15* is short-form for hin *18*, Erya = *19*, thus: »God (started =) set about to punish him». But hin is = *19* in the sense of 'to set forth, display', not 'to start'. — **C.** Chuang Shu-tsu: *15* **k'i̯əm* is a loan char. for *20* **ngi̯am* 'severely' because of phonetic similarity; very unlikely. — **D.** Another interpr. K'in *15* is a corruption of *21*, the phonetics to the left being similar in shape and homophonous (both **ki̯əm*). The insertion of a wrong radical (here *22* for *23*) is exceedingly common in the Han-time transcriptions of the ancient texts. The *21* **k'əm* / *k'ậm* / k'an 'to pierce, to kill, to vanquish' is a variant of *24*, and it occurs in the oldest text versions of the Shu chapter Si po k'an Li (*25*), see Gl. 1493. Here, as there, the word is used about a ruler who is destroyed. Our line should therefore be emendated into: ti k'an fa chï *26* »**God (killingly punished =) punished him by death**».

1947. Nai p'eng wo yu Hia shï Shang shou ming *27*.

A. PK'ung: »**And so it (sc. Heaven) caused us to possess the Hia (realm) (sc. the Chinese-speaking lands) and (use =) hold the mandate which the Shang had received**». — **B.** Chuang Shu-tsu: the char. hia *28* is a corruption of the graphically similar huei *29* (!) and yu huei *30* refers to the san yu huei of the Kin-wen version of few lines earlier, see Gl. 1943. Chuang punctuates after shï Shang (»to take Shang as a pattern»). All extremely unlikely. — **C.** Chang Ping-lin would read p'ing *31* inst. of p'eng *32* (this after the Sung-time work K'ün king yin pien), and he thinks that shï *33* is wrong for tai *34* (same phonetic). Thus: »It gave peace to us possessors of Hia (i. e. Chou), to succeed to the mandate received by the Shang». This is certainly no improvement.

Yen tien wan sing — for yen *35*, not: 'to tranquillize' but: 'extensively', see Gl. 827. — For cho kien *36*, Shouwen var. *37*, see Gl. 678.

1948. Hu pen chuei yi ts'ou ma siao yin tso yu hi p'u po sï shu fu ta tu siao po yi jen piao ch'en po sï t'ai shï yin po shu ch'ang ki shï *38*.

The commentators have tried assiduously to identify these various titles with such in later Chou sources, a rather futile task. Most of them are undefinable. Hu pen is well known as the royal guards. Ts'ou ma *39* is a title known from Ode 193, but there it is evidently one of the highest offices, hence by me translated »master (director) of the horse», as an equivalent of the ordinary sï ma *4*. In our Shu chapter here it cannot mean that (sï ma follows in the next line), and the ts'ou ma is obviously here a petty officer (mentioned in Chouli): *verbatim* »the one who makes the horses run», i. e. 'equerry'. The principal point on which there is dissention is whether all the syllables, two and two, are parts of titles (except tso yu hi p'u, where the 4 syllables are obviously one phr.), or some are not:

α. Siao yin *41*. **A.** PK'ung takes this as predicate to the preceding: »The hu pen (chief of) the tiger braves, the chuei yi stitcher of garments, the ts'ou ma equerry siao yin were smaller functionaries». This has the advantage of making the clause complete. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en coördinates the siao yin with the prededing three, defining it as = »the chief of the petty officers»; then he has to supply some introductory words: »(There were further) the hu pen, the chuei yi, the ts'ou ma and the siao yin». Sun Sing-yen guesses that the latter is simply a groom. All this is mere conjecture. — **C.** Wang Sien-k'ien: »(There were) the hu pen, the chuei yi, the ts'ou ma and their siao yin petty underlings». — **D.** Liu Feng-lu on the contrary: all the three categories included a great number of men, and siao yin were their leaders: »The small chiefs of the tiger braves, the stitchers of garments, the equerries and their leaders».

β. Po sï shu fu *42*. **A.** Wang Su and PK'ung take this as one phrase: shu fu »all the repository-keepers of po sï the various officers». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: po sï refers to such as Chouli's sï k'iu *43* »caretaker of furs», sï fu *44* »caretaker of garments» etc., thus: »the (hundred =) many caretakers and numerous repository-keepers». — **C.** Liu Feng-lu punctuates after sï: tso yu hi p'u po sï: »the carriers and attendants of left and right were po sï (hundred =) many officers». This balances nicely the siao yin in the preceding line, both being the predicates in their clauses. Liu then has to carry shu fu together with the following.

γ. Ta tu siao po *45*. **A.** PK'ung: »The (small leaders =) captains of the great cities». — **B.** Lü Tsu-k'ien: »ta tu the (captains of) big cities and siao po the captains of small (cities)», an absurd expl., accepted by Ts'ai Ch'en (and Legge, Couvreur).

δ. Yi jen piao ch'en po sï. **A.** PK'ung takes yi jen piao ch'en as apposition to the preceding: »(The captains of the big feudal cities) who were piao ch'en (signalized =) distinguished servants by being yi jen talented men, and (further) po sï the various officers»; an impossible construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »yi jen men of arts (soothsayers, magicians etc.) and piao ch'en po sï the many officials who were outside servants (outside the capital)». — **C.** Liu Feng-lu: yi jen piao ch'en means 'censors': piao exposing ch'en servants who are yi jen skilled, of literary education, learned. Here again po sï is the predicate: »The learned censors are (hundred =) many officers». Piao in the sense of 'to signalize' is well attested, but in early texts hardly in the sense of *46* 'to remonstrate'. But Liu is right in construing his phrase. In Tso: Wen 6 a lecturer discourses precisely on the subject of how the ancient kings selected worthy men as their assistants, and there we find *inter alia*: *47* »They set out for them the yi ki norms of accomplishments, led them on to the piao yi (display and deportment =) decorum». Here we have exactly the same combination of yi *48* 'accomplishments' and piao *49* 'display, decorum' as in our Shu passage, and the Tso author has certainly had the latter in mind. Thus, with Liu, yi jen piao ch'en is one phrase, a designation of some category of functionaries: »The accomplished directors of decorum were (hundred =) officers». — **D.** Yü Yüe: yi *48* is an enlarged form of *50*, and this is but a short-form of sie *51* 'familiar', and our (yi =) sie jen here is the same as the sie yü *52* »personal attendant» in Ode 194, cf. Gl. 1265. Yü Sing-wu, accepting this, adds that piao ch'en probably is a corruption of feng jen *53* »keeper of boundaries» (frontier guard), because feng in a bronze inscription occurs wr. *54*, a highly insufficient argument. — D (Yü Yüe) is tempting, but C, in its modified form, has such a strong confirmation in the Tso passage that it should be preferred. Indeed the constellation of yi *48* 'art, accomplishment' and piao *49* 'exterior, display' is so significant as to be conclusive.

ε. T'ai shï yin po shu ch'ang ki shï. **A.** PK'ung coördinates thus: »The great scribes, the yin po chiefs of the functionaries, shu ch'ang ki shï all the permanently (working) officers». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »The great scribes and the chiefs of the functionaries; shu all were ki shï good officers ch'ang of constant (virtue)». — **C.** Liu feng-lu: t'ai shï and yin po should reasonably be connected: »The grand scribe and the chiefs of secretaries (teach) the many fine officers of a constant virtue». It is, of course, not allowable to supply the verb 'teach' in this way. — **D.** Availing ourselves of Liu's (C) good principal idea, we obtain: »The grand scribe and the chiefs of secretaries were several permanent auspicious (i. e. fit for taking oracle) officers».

Selecting the most plausible of the preceding we have, for phr. *38*: »**The (chief of the)**

帝敉禹之 27.乃俾我有夏式商受命 28.夏 29.會 30.有會 31.平 32.俾 33.式 34.代 35.奄 36.灼見 37.烱見 38.虎賁綴衣趣馬小臣左右攜僕百司庶府大都小伯藝人表臣百司太史尹伯庶常吉士 39.趣馬 40.司馬 41.小臣 42.百司庶府 43.司裘 44.司服 45.大都小伯 46.諫 47.陳之

tiger braves, the stitcher of garments, the equerry were smaller functionaries; the carriers and attendants of left and right were (hundred =) many officers; the depository-keepers, the captains of the great cities, and the accomplished (ministers =) directors of decorum were (hundred) many officers; the grand scribe and the chiefs of the secretaries were several permanent auspicious (i. e. fit for taking oracle) officers».

1949. Yi wei lu cheng san po fan yin *55*.

A. PK'ung: cheng *56* means *57* 'leader of the multitude'. Cheng is common meaning 'a crowd, numerous', and since Erya says that cheng = kün *58* (»majestic», see Gl. 1151), PK'ung tries thus to reconcile these two meanings. He paraphrases: »For cheng chiefs of the Yi (barbarians) and of Wei and Lu, and for the (inspectors of) the three Po, and for the yin governors of fan the hilly regions (they used wise men)». This is not reconcilable with the text. Kiang Sheng modifies: »For Wei and Lu of the Yi (tribes) there were cheng princes, and for the three Po (cities) there were hill-governors». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en believes that cheng was a place name: **»For the Yi-barbarians of Wei, Lu and Cheng, for the three Po and for the fan (slopes =) hill regions yin there were governors».** — **C.** Yü Yüe would have not only Cheng but also Fan and Yin to be place-names (these words all occur as place names in Tso): »The Yi (barbarians) were Wei, Lu, Cheng, the three Po, Fan and Yin». This, however, makes no sense in the context. — A in Kiang's formulation would be preferable, if cheng could be proved to mean 'prince', but we only know it as an adjective: 'majestic'. Hence B seems safest.

1950. Wen Wang wei k'o küe tsê sin *59*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *60* »Wen Wang was able tsê to (settle =) apply his heart (to eliminating the bad and promoting the good»); with küe placed after k'o, we should then have to say more precisely: »k'o he was capable of küe his tsê sin applying the heart to» etc. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Wen Wang (could = mastered =) fully knew the hearts of küe tsê his (men in the) positions». K'o in this sense is strained. — **C.** It is better to take tsê as a verb, just as earlier in the chapter: tsê nai mu *61* »put in the position your pastor» etc. Thus: »He (was capable of =) could exercise his (»positioning» =) nominating mind». — **D.** The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read: Wen Wang wei küe *62* to sin. This could, in fact, be interpreted in two ways. Either: »Wen Wang with his (measuring =) comprehending heart» (to being attribute to sin): or: **»Wen Wang with his (measuring =) comprehending of the hearts».** This latter is analogous to K'ang kao: *63* »comprehend their hearts and understand their instructions». Since the graphs tsê *64* (**d'ŭk*) and *65* (**d'âk*) are quite freely interchangeable in the Han versions of the classics (*65* **d'âk* used for *64* **d'ŭk* in Ode 244, phr. *66*, Ts'i version ap. Li: Fang ki [Mao: *67*], and *64* **d'ŭk* serving for *65* **d'âk*, in Yü kung *68*, and particularly in the K'ang kao ex. above, cf. also Gl. 794), we can either say that here in Li cheng the A version (Ku-wen) tsê sin *69* is correct and that D to sin *70* is a phonetic loan for the former; or *vice versa*. The choice is indeed difficult. For the former speaks the fact that all through this chapter we have tsê *64* in the sense of 'position, to put in a position' and that the k'o *72* which exists in the A version but is lacking in D, recurs later in our chapter where we have k'o tsê chï *71*. These two reasons, taken together, would seem to be decisive. But D has a strong support in the identical phr. in K'ang kao: to sin, and it is on the whole more simple and natural. And it is easily understandable that a k'o *72* could have been wrongly inserted on the analogy of the next line which starts with nai k'o li *73*. In this difficult choice, we had better follow the earliest attested version (D).

1951. Nai k'o li tsï ch'ang shï sï mu jen *73*.

A. PK'ung as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »He could establish these ch'ang shï permanent offices and sï offices for mu jen the (pastoring =) nourishing of

the people». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: ch'ang shï is the »permanent manager» above, and the sï mu jen is equal to the mu *74* »pastor» above, and the third (the chun jen »law man») is left out simply by abbreviation. Thus: **»He could nominate these (officials) the permanent manager and the sï mu jen pastor in office».** — **C.** Liu Feng-lu insists that this line should register all the three executives *75* (see a few lines earlier). If so, ch'ang shï is the »permanent manager», mu jen is the »pastor» and the word sï *76* alone would correspond to the *77* »law man». This is not very satisfactory, and is rendered quite inadmissible through a phr. in the next line: yu sï chï mu fu *78* »pastor (having office =) in office», which, showing conclusively that sï in our line *73* is simply an attribute to mu jen, confirms B.

1952. Yi k'o tsün yu tê *79*.

A. PK'ung: **»Thereby he could make great those who had virtue».** — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en coördinates the words: »so that they could be great and virtuous (men)». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: yi *80* = *90*: »He employed such who could be great and virtuous». — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr. (A).

1953. Wen Wang wang yu kien yü shu yen shu yü shu shen wei yu sï chï mu fu shï hün yung wei *91*.

A. PK'ung: »Wen Wang had nothing wherein he (combined, sc. the tasks of others with his own, i. e.) interfered; (in regard to) the many talks (slander or praise), the many lawsuits, the (many things to beware of for the people =) prohibitions, there was only (the choice of) a pastor in office; whether those (sc. the people) hün were docile or (used =) committed transgressions» etc. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Wen Wang had no case in which he (combined =) interfered in shu yen the many proclamations, the many lawsuits, the many prohibitions; only in regard to the yu sï functionaries and mu fu pastors, those he instructed about yung the (using =) obeying (sc. his orders) or wei transgressing». — **C.** Liu Feng-lu thinks that shu yen »the many talks» refers to the criticism and praise addressed to the sovereign, and that shu shen means »ordinances about taxes». — **D.** Yü Yüe punctuates after yen, and believes that kien *92* means *93* 'to cut off' (his reasons for this are entirely faulty). »W. did not (cut off =) stop the many speeches (made to him); and as to the many lawsuits etc.» — **E.** Sun Yi-jang proposes that shu yen was a title, meaning censor, shu yü criminal judge and shu shen keeper of laws and regulations. Very speculative. Still more so is the idea of Yü Sing-wu's that shen *94* (**d̂iĕn*) is loan char. for sin *95* (**siĕn*) 'to interrogate'. — **F.** Another interpr. In spite of the fact that the three phr. shu yen shu yü shu shen appear to be an enumeration, Yü Yüe is right in dividing after yen; shu yen has nothing to do with the following shu yü, shu shen, which recur twice in the following lines without any shu yen there. Kien *92* is a short-form for *96* k'ien 'dissatisfied, displeased' (common). The line ends with shï hün *97*, and yung wei belongs to the following line: *98*. Thus: **»Wen Wang (had nothing wherein he was displeased =) was never displeased with the many speeches (addressed to him, i. e. he did not retaliate);**

藝極引之表儀48藝 49.表 50.敎 51. 咎 52.咎徵 53.封人 54.哉 55.勇微盧烝三毫阪尹 56.烝 57.衆帥 58.君 59.文王惟克厥宅心 60.文王惟其能居心(遠惡舉善) 61.宅乃牧 62.文王惟厥度心 63.宅(度)心知訓 64.宅 65.度 66.度是鎬京 67.宅是 68.三危既宅 69.宅心 70.度心 71.克宅之 72.克 73.乃克立茲常事司牧人 74.牧 75.三事 76.司 77.準人 78.有司之牧夫 79.以克俊有德 80.以 81.用 91.文王罔攸兼于庶言庶獄庶愼惟有司之牧夫是訓用違 92.兼 93.絕 94.愼 95.

the many legal prosecutions and the many prohibitions, the pastor in office gave instructions about them; thus he kept aloof from the many prosecutions and the many prohibitions; Wen Wang dared not take any cognizance of them». For w e i *99* 'to go away from, be distant from, keep aloof from, keep off' (very common) cf. Tso: Min 2, phr. *100* »It is best to (go away from =) keep off from it»; Li: Chung yung *1* »He is distant from the Way . . .».

Y i y üe W u w a n g *2* could mean: »and when it passed on to Wu Wang», cf. Gl. 1612; but y ü e may here just as well be the common particle: »**And Wu Wang . . .**».

S h u a i w e i m i k u n g see Gl. 1600, cf. also Gl. 1406.

1954. P u k a n t' i k üe y i t ê *3*.

A. PK'ung: »**He dared not (set aside =) discard his (Wen Wang's) righteous virtue**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »He dared not set aside the (men of a) righteous virtue». — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

S h u a i w e i m o u — for some unacceptable speculations about s h u a i see Gl. 1406.

Y i p i n g s h o u t s' ï p' e i p' e i k i see Gl. 1607. Wang Yin-chï has an eccentric speculation that *4* (**b'ieng*) stands for *5* (*6* **p'o*), because »anciently they were similar in sound»(!).

1955. C h ï k üe j o p' e i n a i p e i (l u a n =) s ï *7*. L u a n *8* should here be read s ï (*9*), see Gl. 1464.

A. PK'ung: k üe is a partitive genitive: k üe j o = *10*, thus: »(**We should**) **know the suitable ones and grandly let them govern**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Know what they (agree with =) find their peace in». Very much inferior to A. — **C.** Chuang Tsung-po: since p' e i *11* and f o u *12* both originally were wr. *13*, we should here read c h ï k üe j o f o u, on the analogy of Ode 260, phr. *14* p a n g k u o j o f o u, see Gl. 1021. — C is very tempting; but we have some close par. to the p' e i n a i . . . *15* of A in the Shu itself: P'an Keng: p' e i n a i k a n *16* »grandly can one dare»; *ibid.* p' e i n a i k i a n g *17*; *ibid.* p' e i n a i k a o *18*. This speaks in favour of A.

1956. S h ï t s ê w u y u k i e n c h ï *19*.

A. PK'ung (after Erya): k i e n *20* = *21*: »**Then let there be nobody who supersedes them**». K i e n frequently means 'interval', hence also 'intermittent' and 'to alternate, take the place of'. We had this sense unambiguously in To fang: *22* »a (possessor of a state =) feudal prince superseded him». — **B.** Legge translates: »Never allow others to come between (us and them)»; Couvreur: »Nous ne permettons à personne de leur faire obstacle». Both interpr. are based on k i e n in the sense of 'interstice, to be between'. — **C.** Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Ming yü) quotes *23*. Wang takes this to mean (with w u *24* 'thing' meaning *25* 'disaster'): »Sometimes (disastrous) things will (be intermittent =) crop up». But of course, if *24* was the original Shu version, it could have a quite different purport: »Thus, the things (have that which makes them intermittent =) occur intermittently», may refer to the idea that good men are not always available and should be employed when they occur. But however we construe this version, it is not so natural and good in the context as A, which moreover has a good Shu parallel.

1957. T s ï y i h u a y i y e n w o t s ê m o w e i c h' e n g t ê c h ï y e n *26*.

A. PK'ung: »It (comes from =) depends on one word, one phrase (i. e. every word of the ruler should be good), then we m o to the end (have) the beauty of a perfected virtue». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »(During the space of =) even for the short time of a phrase, a word, we shall to the end w e i think of y e n fine (men) of a perfected virtue». Ts'ai paraphrases: *27*, which is highly curious; even more so is Legge, who says: »In our every word and speech, let us be thinking» etc. How can t s ï *28* mean 'in'? — **C.** Wang Sien-k'ien proposed that h u a means a discourse held in front of the king, and y e n means the

pronouncement of the king himself. This may be too bold, but surely Wang is right in so far that h u a y e n refers to the preliminary deliberation on the topic of the selection of men for office in the new government, which is the subject of the whole chapter. Thus: »**From (one word uttered =) the first word and the first speech, all to the end we shall think of fine (men) of a perfected virtue**».

1958. S h o u j e n c h ï h u e i y e n *29*.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »**The fine words I have received from others**». — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read *30*. The phr. w e i y e n *31*, which occurs e. g. in Han shu: Yi wen chï, need not (with Yen Shï-ku) mean 'subtle words', for w e i *32* may simply be a loan char. either for h u e i in A above, or for *33* 'fine, beautiful' (variant of *34*, occurring in Chouli).

1959. W e n t s ï w e n s u n k' i w u w u *35*.

A. PK'ung: »May (you), Wen (wang's) descendant not err», thus simply ignoring the repetition of w e n. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »**May-you, accomplished son (of Wu Wang), accomplished grandson (of Wen Wang), not err**». — **C.** Kiang Sheng, with a view to a passage in Shï ki: Wai k'i shï kia, interprets: *36* »descendant who keeps up the refinement (of the predecessors)»; this, of course, cannot possibly be read into the wording of our Shu line.

W e i c h e n g s h ï y i c h ï see Gl. 539.

1960. T s ê k' o t s ê c h ï k' o y u y i c h ï *37*.

A. PK'ung believes that the line refers to the method of the sages, he defines t s ê c h ï *38* as = *39* 'to place it' (in the heart); he says (after Mao on the Odes but erroneously, see Gl. 200) y u *40* = *41*, and he renders y i *42* by *43* 'to display, set forth'; thus: »They could place [sc. the good method] (in the heart), and they could y u thereby set it forth». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en refers the line to the selected high officials. He takes y u *40* as a short-form for *44* c h' o u 'to draw out the thread from a cocoon, unreal'. The binome c h' o u y i *45* is known from Han shu: Ku Yung chuan but not earlier; c h' o u *44* does not exist in pre-Han texts, but it is really etym. id. with the common c h' o u *46* 'draw out'. Thus: »They could put them (sc. the dignitaries) in the (high) positions, they could (draw them out, unfold them =) unfold their talents». The Kin-wen version, however (ap. Yü hai: Yi wen chï k'ao) had (besides *47* for *48*, as usual, the two graphs being interchangeable) inst. of *49* the reading *50*, which testifies against interpr. B. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: y i *42* is a loan char. for *51* which Shuowen alternatively defines as = *52* 'to end'. Thus: »They could put (them) in the positions, they could y u thereby end (the business)». We stated in Gl. 1704 and 1714 that there are no safe text ex. of *51* in this sense. Wang K'ai-yün believes that *42* is a loan char. for s h ï *53* »they could thereby (themselves) relax» (leaving the work to the ministers). Yü Sing-wu, on the other hand, thinks that *42* is a loan char. for t s ê *54*: »they could thereby select them» (y u = *41*,

訊 67. 慊 77. 是訓 78. 用違庶獄庶愼文王罔敢知于茲 79. 違 100. 不如違之 1. 違道 2. 亦越武王 3. 不敢替厥義德 4. 竝 5. 普 6. 普 7. 知厥若丕乃俾亂 8. 亂 9. 司 10. 其順者 11. 丕 12. 否 13. 不 14. 邦國若否 15. 丕乃 16. 丕乃敢 17. 丕乃降 18. 丕乃告 19. 時則勿有閒之 20. 閒 21. 代 22. 有邦閒之 23. 時則物有閒之 24. 物 25. 災物 26. 自一話一言我則末惟成德之彥 27. 自一話一言之閒 28. 自 29. 受人之讒言 30. 受前人之徵言 31. 徵言 32. 徵 33. 徵 34. 美 35. 文子文孫其勿誤 36. 守文之子孫 37. 則克宅之克由繹之 38. 宅之 39. 居之於心 40. 由 41. 用 42. 繹 43. 陳 44. 紬 45. 紬繹 46. 抽 47. 度 48. 宅 49. 由繹 50. 猶繹 51. 斁 52. 終 53. 釋 54. 擇 55. 猶 56. 壬午猶繹 57. 王由足

as above). — **D.** Instead of all these loan char. speculations we should reconsider the meaning of the transmitted graph y i *42*. This word is common in the sense of 'to draw out' = 'to prolong, continue'. Y u *40* (**dịôg*) often serves as loan char. for *55* (**zịôg*), e. g. Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, hia *57* »The king is still one who may be used for doing good». The binome y u y i *50* 'still to continue, to prolong' occurs in Li: T'an Kung *2*: »When Chung Suei died *56*, on the day j e n w u one y u - y i continued (the sacrifice)». It seems evident that it is this binome which we have in our Shu line. In the Kin-wen version we have it properly written *50*, in the Ku-wen wr. *49* with the loan of *40* for *55* just mentioned. The idea expressed is analogous to one given a few lines earlier. There we had: »When we establish the government and nominate ... we should ... grandly let them govern ... then let there be nobody who supersedes them». Here this sequence of ideas recurs, only differently expressed, and referring to past ages: »**They could put them in the (high) positions, and they could** y u y i c h ï (**prolong, continue them** =) **let them continue**». This parallelism is conclusive.

W a n g y u l i c h e n g etc. see Gl. 1428.

1961. S h ï w a n g h i e n t s a i k ü e s h ï *58*.

Both PK'ung, Ts'ai Ch'en and many followers refer this to the king; but it obviously refers to the choice of officers, as the whole passage: »(**Those who were not docile in their virtue**) **those were not illustrious (sc. through high office) in their generation**». The stone classics of 175 A. D. had *59* inst. of *60*, a mere graphical variant (both orig. *61*). Chuang Shu-tsu has the curious idea that t s a i k ü e s h ï should mean *62* (»to end their life?»). This is based on Erya t s a i *60* = *63*, but of this there are no text ex.

1962. K ' i k ' o k ' i e r j u n g p i n g *64*.

A. Ma Jung says k ' i *65* = *66*. This being a very enigmatical gloss, Sun Sing-yen reminds that Kuangya has k ' i = *67* and that Tso: Chao 14 has *68* »to control the perverse and wicked», on which Tu Yü: k ' i = *69* 'blamingly interrogate', i. e. to examine and discipline, restrain, keep under control. Sun proposes that the transmitted Ma gloss s h ï *70* is a corruption of t s ê *67*, which is plausible. The fundamental meaning of k ' i is 'to interrogate, to question' (very common, Tso, Li etc. *passim*) and the extended meaning 'to restrain, to control' is quite well attested, e. g. Shu: Lü hing: y i k ' i s ï f a n g *71* »in order to control the (people of) the four quarters». This latter meaning not being applicable here, the ordinary one seems most natural »**May you be able to** (inquire about =) **examine your weapons**». — **B.** PK'ung: k ' i *65* = *72*, thus: »May you be able to arrange well your weapons». This is a typical scholastic trick, playing on the double meanings of c h ï. K ' i means c h ï *72* in the sense of 'to control, restrain' (see Lü hing above), but this does not entail that it can mean c h ï *72* in its sense of 'to arrange'. — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen commit a similar trick. In comm. on Chouli: Ta sï k'ou: k ' i s ï f a n g *73* (same phr. as in Lü hing above) Cheng Hüan says k ' i = *74*. This k i n here obviously means (causative:) 'to make careful', i. e. 'to restrain, to control', and has been so understood by all later expounders. But Kiang and Sun apply this gloss k ' i = k i n with the other meaning of k i n : 'to be careful', thus here: »May you be able to be careful about your weapons». K ' i certainly can have no such sense. — We might add that in the Lü hing passage quoted, Wang K'ai-yün interprets k ' i *65* as = k i *75* 'good' (»to benefit the four quarters»), a very arbitrary speculation; and that a variant k a o *76* for k ' i *65* (ap. comm. on Chouli: Ta sï k'ou) is merely a graphic corruption. F a n g h i n g t ' i e n h i a see Gl. 1234.

1963. W a n g y u p u f u *77*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *78* »There being nobody who does not submit (to your civilizing influence)». — **B.** The nuance is surely somewhat different. The preceding line speaks of warlike expeditions all over the world and stepping into the footsteps of Yü. Now

Yü had, by his expeditions, established k i u f u *79* nine dependencies, zones of subjects. The word f u *80* 'to submit' here clearly alludes to this, and we had better translate: »**There being nothing which does not submit as dependency**».

1964. Y i k i n W e n W a n g c h ï k e n g k u a n g *81*.

A. This is PK'ung's (Ku-wen) version: »**So that you (make seen =) display Wen Wang's bright virtue**». — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. Shang shu ta chuan read: *82*. It is evident that the original graph was *83*, without radical (Chou fashion), and that this has been filled out into *84* by the Ku-wen scholars, into *85* by the Kin-wen scholars. The latter suits the context badly. S i e n *86* 'fresh' means 'bright' in Ode 241, phr. *87* »the freshly-bright plain», thus giving the same idea as the k e n g *88* of A.

Y i y a n g W u w a n g c h ï t a l i e see Gl. 1349.

1965. K ' i w e i k ' o y u n g c h ' a n g j e n.

A. PK'ung and most following comm.: c h ' a n g j e n 'constant men' means *89* »men of a constant virtue». — **B.** Yü Yüe: c h ' a n g j e n *90* here means the same as the k i s h ï *91* »auspicious officers» some lines earlier. For this he refers, on the one hand to Kao Yao mo *92* »Displaying his constant norms, he is auspicious indeed»; on the other hand to Yili: Shï yü li, where the phr. c h ' a n g s h ï *93* in Cheng Hüan's comm. is said to have had a Ku-wen variant s i a n g s h ï *94* (Yü adding that *95* [**dịang*] and *96* [**dziang*] were similar in sound). — **C.** Wang K'ai-yün: »**permanent men**» means officials who stay long in office. This is amply confirmed by the beginning of the chapter (*97* etc.) and several later passages (»let there be nobody who supersedes them»; »they could let them continue»).

1966. S ï k ' o u S u k u n g s h ï k i n g e r y u y ü ... t s ï s h ï y u s h e n *98*.

A. PK'ung: »The director of crimes, prince of Su, s h ï *99* followed the law; be careful about the prosecutions which you y u *100* (use =) handle ... This law (has something to be careful about =) should be carefully observed». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en renders the first s h ï *99* by y u n g *1* 'to use' (common), the second s h ï by f a *2* 'pattern', and he imagines that e r *3* 'your' could stand for k ' i *4* 'his', for he paraphrases: *5* »The prince of Su in (using =) handling (them) could be careful about the prosecutions which he (followed up =) attended to ... t s ï s h ï take this as pattern and have care». Ch'en Ta-yu (late Sung) would amend the inconsistency about s h ï and construes (still taking e r = k ' i): »The prince of Su s h ï used the (proper) pattern and was careful about the prosecutions he followed up ... take this as pattern and have care». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »(According to) Su Kung's s h ï rule, be careful about the prosecutions you (use =) handle ... in regard to this rule y u s h e n have (particular) care». This is grammatically admissible, but in contents rather nonsensical. — **D.** Legge takes k i n g e r *6* as an adverbial phrase, and has the same inconsistency about s h ï as Ts'ai in B above. — **E.** It stands to reason that if Chou Kung here adduces the prince of Su, it is because he was a venerable pattern or model, and that t s ï s h ï should be interpreted »him you should take as model» with t s ï placed in an emphatic position before the verb, just as s h ï in Ode 2, phr. 7. In

用為善 58.是罔顯于厥世 57.哉 60.在 61.才 62.終厥世 63.終 64.其克詰爾戎兵 65.詰 66.實 67.責 68.詰姦慝 69.責問 70.實 71.以詰四方 72.治 73.詰四方 74.謀 75.吉 76.詰 77.罔有不服 78.無不服化者 79.九服 80.服 81.以覲文王之耿光 82.以勤文王之鮮光 83.堇 84.覲 85.勤 86.鮮 87.鮮原 88.耿 89.常德之人 90.常人 91.吉士 92.翕厥有常吉哉 95.常事 96.祥事 95.常 96.祥 97.常伯常仕 98.司寇蘇公式敬爾由獄...茲式有慎 99.式 100.由 1.用 2.法 3.爾 4.其 5.用能敬

consequence, we have to give it the same meaning in the preceding phrase: »**The minister of crime, the prince of Su, was a model; be careful about the prosecutions which you (follow =) attend to ... him you should take as model and have care**».

1967. Yi lie yung chung fa *8*.

A. PK'ung and K'ung Ying-ta give no expl. of lie, but the Shïwen has no gloss on it, so the ancient opinion was certainly that it had its ordinary reading **liạt / liạ̈t* / lie 'rank, order, series, degree': »**According to degrees (of crimes) apply just punishments**». — **B.** Kiang Sheng reads **liạd / liạ̈i* / li and defines it as = t'iao li *9* 'paragraph, item', thus considering it as a short-form for *10*: »According to the law paragraphs apply just punishments». In the early literature li *10* is only known in the sense of 'usage, rule, precedent', and the technical sense of 'paragraph' is, of course, much more recent. — **C.** Legge: »To rank with him (sc. the prince of Su) in the ordering of the appropriate punishments». An eccentric idea. — No reason to abandon A.

Ku ming.

1968. Wang pu yi 𠂤.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »**The king was not happy**» (he was suffering). Cf. the similar line in Kin t'eng: *12* »The king was sick and was not happy». — **B.** Ma Jung reads: wang pu shï *13*, and he defines shï *14* by *15* 'to dissolve': »The king's (sickness) was not alleviated». This ellipsis is most unnatural. — **C.** Han shu: Lü li chï quotes *12*, clearly through a confusion with Kin t'eng. — The original graph was probably simply *16*, without radical (Chou fashion), and was correctly filled out into *17* in one version, wrongly into *18* in another.

1969. T'ao huei shuei *19*.

A. Whereas all agree that huei means 'to wash the face' (Shuowen var. *20*), the definitions of t'ao *21* (**t'og*) vary: Ma Jung: 'to wash the hair'; Cheng Hüan: s. a. chao *22* (**d'ŏg*) = 'to wash the clothes'; PK'ung: 'to wash the hands'. With these interpr. which all take t'ao as separate from and coördinated with huei, the following shuei comes in very strange: »He washed the hair and washed the face (in) water», etc. — **B.** T'ao is only known (except as a geographical name) meaning 'to moisten, to make wet, to pour water on' generally, earliest in the binome t'ao t'ai *23* in Huai: Yao lüe. The phrase becomes more natural in construction if we take it as a whole: »**He (poured the face-washing water =) poured water over his face**».

1970. Tsi ta tsien *24*.

A. PK'ung: tsien *25* = *26*: »**The sickness greatly advances**». Tsien *25*, properly 'dropwise, little by little', is very common in the sense of 'to advance gradually'. — **B.** In Lie: Ta ming we have a similar line *27*, and here Yin King-shun (T'ang time) says tsien = *28* 'to become intense', and Sun Sing-yen adopts this here in Shu. No text par.

1971. Ki mi liu *29*.

A. PK'ung: mi *30* = *31* 'long': »**It has (extensively =) long tarried**». Mi = 'to extend' is common, e. g. Kyü: Tsin yü 1, phr. *32* »Slanderous words (extendedly =) increasingly rise»; Tso: Chao 13, phr. *33* »He kept his purpose with an (extended =) ever-increasing steadfastness». Yi Chou shu: Shï fa says that (as a posthumous name) mi *30* means *31* 'tarrying, continuing', on which PK'ung may have based himself. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »It has become mi (extended =) increasing and liu continuous». Liu in this sense is unnatural. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: mi *30* = *34* 'to finish' (after Erya), explaining: »When (my life) is mi ending (and yet) liu lingering». It is easy to see what has given Kiang this idea: Ode 252, phr. *35* »May you (end =) fulfil your natural years» (see Gl. 912). But

this notwithstanding, his way of construing our Shu line is exceedingly forced. — A simply and naturally suits the context.

1972. K'ung pu huo shï yen sï *36*.

A. PK'ung: »I fear that I shall not be able shï yen to make a (swearing =) solemn declaration sï and (continue =) follow up (my purposes)». — **B.** Kiang Sheng (after Erya): shï *37* = *38* 'carefully' (or: 'warningly'). But shï and shï yen in the sense of 'a solemn declaration' is almost a technical term, see Kan shï and T'ang shï. The sï *39* Kiang paraphrases: *40*. Legge takes this as: »My wishes about my successor», but Couvreur better more generally »(ne possim dicere) prosequenda (i. e. post mortem facienda)». Thus: »**I fear that I shall not be able to make a solemn declaration about the subsequent (matters)**». — **C.** Yü Yüe: sï *39* stands for *41* which is equal to *42*: »I shall not be able shï to set forth yen-ts'ï my speech». A very unnecessary loan speculation; still more so is Yü Sing-wu's idea that *39* **dziəg* stands for yi *43* (**ziəg*) and is only a final particle.

1973. Süan ch'ung kuang *44*.

A. Ma Jung: »They displayed an accumulated brightness (like that of sun, moon and stars taken together)». That this interpr. was well spread and accepted in Han time is revealed by Huan Tan (1st. c. B. C. and A. D.) who (Sin lun as quoted in Yü lan) tells a legend: »In the 2nd year, the day kia tsï, sun and moon were like two connected pi jades, the five stars were like connected pearls, and at dawn Wu Wang came to Mu-ye in Shang's suburbs». The »accumulated brightness» was thus an augury of victory. This legend, in its turn, is a fantasy to a certain extent based on a passage in Kyü: Chou yü, hia, where a series of astronomical phenomena are connected with Wu Wangs victory over Yin. — **B.** PK'ung more simply and naturally: »**They displayed their (repeated brightness =) brightness one after the other**». This opinion must already have been Pan Ku's who (in Tien yin) says: *45*.

1974. Tien li ch'en kiao *46*.

A. PK'ung, rendering tien *47* by *48* and li *49* by *50*, divides: tien, li ch'en kiao: »They tien (fixed =) firmly established (sc. the mandate), and li ch'en applied and set forth kiao the instructions». An impossible construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, repeating a idea which he propounded in To fang (Gl. 1907), says: li *49* = *51*: »They tien (fixed =) firmly established li (that which the people should) rely on» (i. e. the provisions); even worse than A. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: li *49* here is equal to the li *52* in Li: Yüe ling *53* »He orders the grand scribe to direct without error the movements of sun, moon, stars and constellations and their stations». It is very doubtful what li *52* here really means; Kiang believes that su li is a binome of analogous words: »(The places of) resting and attachment», i. e. stations on the firmament (there are many other possibilities). Thus here: »They fixed the stations (of the asterisks) and set forth their instructions». Again it is the Kyü passage (see Gl. 1973) which has provoked this speculation. — **D.** It does not become better in Sun Sing-yen's modification: li *49* means *54* 'number' (attested meaning, see Gl. 759); thus: »They fixed the number (of the pitch-pipes)» — a theme likewise mentioned in the same Kyü chapter, in connection with Wu Wang's

其所由之獄6.敬爾7.是刈是濩8.以列用中罰9.條例10.例11.王不擇12.王有疾弗豫13.王不釋14.釋15.解16.擇17.擇18.釋19.洮頮水20.沐21.洮22.濯23.洮汰24.疾大漸25.漸26.進27.得疾七日大漸28.劇29.既彌留30.彌31.久32.讒言彌興33.守志彌篤34.終35.俾彌爾性36.恐天獲誓言嗣37.誓38.謹39.嗣40.後嗣之事41.嗣42.辭43.已44.豈重光45.豈二祖之重光46.奠麗陳教47.奠48.定49.麗50.施51.依52.離53.乃命太史司日月星辰之行宿離不

victory. — **E.** Liu Feng-lu: »They established the attachment (of the people) and set forth the instructions»; l i = 'to attach' is well attested, see Gl. 442. — **F.** Chang Ping-lin: l i means 'number' (as under D above), but refers to the numbering (dividing into categories) of the various affairs of government: »They established the numbers (of affairs) and set forth the instructions». — **G.** Another interpr. The meaning of l i *49* which is commonest in later times: 'beautiful, fine, brilliant' is well attested in Chou texts, e. g. Chuang: Lie Yü-k'ou *55* »strength, beauty, bravery, daring»; Sün: Fei siang *56* »There is nobody who is not beautiful and handsome»; Ch'u: Chao hun *57* »Beautiful (elegant) but not remarkable», etc. The line belongs together with and is analogous to the preceding: s üan ch.'ung k uang t ien l i: »(The kings Wen and Wu) displayed their brightness one after the other and t i e n **set forth** l i **their refinement**». Ch'en k i a o then connects with the following: ch'en k i a o ts ê y i.

1975. Ch'en k i a o ts ê y i, y i p u w e i *58*.

A. PK'ung: »**In spreading the instructions they toiled, but in toiling they did not go too far**». Y i = 'to toil' is well attested (Ode 35). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »When they spread their instructions (the people) y i practised them, they practised them without transgression». Y i = 'to practise' is also well attested (Tso, etc.). Sun Sing-yen has the curious idea that y i 'to practise' refers to military drill, as a preparation for the attack on Yin. — It is better, with A, to have the same subject in all the clauses and not suddenly introduce a »the people» which is not in the text.

1976. Y u n g k'o t a Y i n t s i t a m i n g *59*. »Thus they could reach to Yin and achieve the great mandate». This is the Ku-wen; the Kin-wen ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read *60*, same meaning. Chang Ping-lin believes that t a *61* is a short-form for t'a *62* 'to beat', which disregards the Kin-wen variant.

1977. T s a i h o u ch ï t'u n g *63*.

A. This is PK'ung's reading: »**(I), the succeding stupid one**». T'u n g *64* 'ignorant, stupid' (common: Lun, Chuang etc.) is really etym. s. w. a. *65* (both **d'ung*, even tone) and therefore fundamentally means 'puerile'. — **B.** Ma Jung's version had t'u n g *66*, which he defines as = *67*. In this he follows Shuowen, which says: *68*. Some Shuowen versions have H i a - h o u *69*, other versions have only h o u *70* (a graph which is interchangeable with the h o u *71* of A). Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen accept the former; believing, like Ma Jung, that it was the meaning k u n g *67* which Hü Shen illustrated by our Shu line, they try desperately to construe a meaning; Kiang: »(I) the (*66* = *67*) common (ruler) of h o u the princes t s a i H i a in the Chinese realm»; Sun: »(I), the (*66* = *67* = *72* = *73*) functionary for the princes in the Chinese realm»; both equally impossible. Chuang Shu-tsu, much more reasonably, accepts the version without H i a *74*, takes h o u *70*, like the h o u *71* of A, as = 'the successor', and believes that Hü Shen's quotation illustrated, not the meaning k u n g *67* (as Ma Jung believed) but the meaning *75*; the latter, according to Chuang, should be considered as a variant for *76*, which in Yü p'ien is defined as = *77* 'stupid'. If all this is right, and it seems strikingly plausible, the B text means precisely the same as A, and *66* is merely a variant for *64*. The expression h o u ch ï t'u n g is supported by a par. phr. at the end of the chapter (now K'ang wang chï kao): w o h o u ch ï j e n *78* »we succeeding men».

1978. K i n g y a t'i e n w e i *79*.

A. »I have respectfully (gone to meet =) welcomed Heaven's fearsome (charge)». That w e i alone should mean »fearsome charge» is very unnatural. In fact t'i e n w e i is a standing phrase, meaning »Heaven's severity, Heaven's majesty». So we have it *passim* in the Shu, e. g. Kün Shï: *80* ». . . fail to far-reachingly think of Heaven's majesty», and also in Shï, e. g. Ode 272, phr. *81* »may we fear Heaven's majesty». It should certainly mean the same here. It is easy to see what has caused the A interpr. In Lü hing we find:

k i n g y i t'i e n m i n g *82*, which strongly resembles our phr. here. But in fact they are not analogous. — **B.** Tuan Yü-ts'ai: y a *83* is probably a »correction» of Wei Pao's from an original *84*, as in various Shu passages. This *84* could also be read **ngâ* / *nga* / y a 'to meet, to welcome', but Liu Feng-lu believes that it is a short-form for *85* (**ngi̯o* / *ngi̯wo* / y ü) 'to withstand, avert': »I have respectfully averted Heaven's severity». Simpler and better we may, with Wang Sien-k'ien, take *84* in its ordinary reading and sense **ngi̯o* / *ngi̯wo* / y ü 'to direct, to conduct', thus: »**I have respectfully (conducted =) applied Heaven's majesty**».

1979. T'i e n t s i a n g t s i t a i f u h i n g f u w u *86*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after t a i: »**Heaven has sent down a sickness that is fatal, I cannot rise, I cannot (wake up =) get my mind clear**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en carries t a i to the latter half: »Heaven has sent down a sickness, t a i there is risk that I shall not rise» etc. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen says that w u *87* means *88* k ü e 'to awake', and this same k ü e also means ch ï *89* 'to know'; Fang yen says ch ï *89* means y ü *90* 'to recover from an illness', hence w u *87* means 'to recover'(!). — No reason for abandoning the earliest interpr.

E r s h a n g m i n g s h ï ch e n y e n see Gl. 1249 and 1446. J o u y ü a n n e n g e r see Gl. 917.

A n k'ü a n s i a o t a s h u p a n g *91*; Yü Sing-wu would alter this into *92*, an arbitrary and un-called-for text alteration.

E r w u y i C h a o m a o k u n g y ü f e i k i see Gl. 1624.

1980. Ch'u ch u e i y i y ü t'i n g *93*.

A. PK'ung says that ch u e i y i *94* here means *95* 'a tent', i. e. a canopy and curtains; thus: »One brought out the tent (i. e. canopy and curtains for the throne) into the courtyard». For this there is no support whatever, except the passage in Ku ming discussed below. And it is very unlikely, for in Chou texts y i *96* as a rule always means 'garment' and 'to wear' and is not used in the extended sense of 'a covering', as in later times (*97* and such-like). Moreover, ch u e i y i would then here mean something quite different from in Li cheng, where PK'ung defines ch u e i y i as *98* »the manager of garments». The fundamental sense of *94* (**ti̯wat* / *ît̯wät* / ch o and **ti̯wad* / *ît̯wäi* / ch u e i) is 'to sew, to stich, to make stitches' (e. g. Li: Nei tsê *99* »They put thread in a needle and beg to mendingly stitch together [the torn garment]»), the original graph *100* being a pictogram for 'stitch', and ch u e i y i in Li cheng properly means »the stitcher of garments'. — **B.** Cheng Hüan, who already realized that the meaning of the words should be the same as in Li cheng, says that stitched garments were the grave clothes for the dying man. Be this as it may, we have to be consistent and interpret: »**One brought out the stitched garments into the courtyard**». — We compare later in the chapter:

T i s h ê f u y i ch u e i y i *1*. **A.** PK'ung: »Servants set out the screen (orna-

貸 54.數 55.壯麗 勇敢 56.莫不美麗姚冶 57.麗而不奇些 58.陳教則肆肆不達 59.用 克達殷大命 60.用克 通殷就大命 61.達 62.撻 63.在後之侗 64.侗 65.僮 66.詞 67.共 68.詞共也 一曰誠也…周書曰在(厚)后之詞 69.厚后 70.后 71.後 72.佚 73.佚職 74.厚 75.誠 76.慤 77.愚 78.我後之人 79.敬迓天威 80.弗 永遠念天威 81.畏天之威 82.敬迓天命 83.迓 84.御 85.禦 86.天降疾疢弗興弗悟 87.悟 88.覺 89.知 90.愈 91.安勤小大庶邦 92.宴覲…93.出綴衣于庭 94.綴衣 95.帷帳 96.衣 97.弓衣 98.掌衣服 99.紉箴請補綴 100.裂 1.我設黼扆綴衣 2.贊衣 3.綴輟 4.贊輟

mented) with axes and the tent (canopy and curtains)». The meaning 'tent' here is simply a guess made from the context: the f u y i was a screen which stood behind the emperors chair, hence c h u e i y i should be something connected with the throne, and y i meaning 'garment', it should be some kind of curtain(!). All this is pure speculation. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: »**Servants displayed the screen (ornamented) with axes and the stitched garments (of the king)**». Sun reminds of the passage in Li: Chung yung where it is said of the very filial Wu Wang and Chou Kung: »In spring and autumn they repared the temple halls of their forefathers, set forth their ancestral utensils, displayed their garments . . .». — It should be added that, in Li cheng, c h u e i y i is sometimes written with the variant *2* (e. g. Pan ku: Si tu fu). This is a mere phonetic loan: *2* **tịwad* for the homophonous *94*. *Vice versa* we find later on in our present chapter how *3* stands for *4* (which is Cheng Hüan's correct reading) 'adjunct chariot'.

1981. P e i y ü a n T s ' i h o u L ü K i *5*.

A. PK'ung takes y ü a n *6* = *7* (after Erya): »(The grand guardian) caused (them) at (the place of) Lü Ki, prince of Ts'i (with two shields and lances etc.)». Y ü a n would then mean 'auprès de'. There are no safe examples of y ü a n *6* meaning y ü *7*. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en simply skips the inconvenient y ü a n : »He caused the prince of Ts'i, Lü Ki, to . . .» (foll. by Legge and Couvreur). Y ü a n is in fact often a mere untranslatable particle in the Shï, but never in this position. — **C.** Kiang Sheng therefore takes y ü a n as a verb = *8*: »p e i he caused them y ü a n to lead the prince of Ts'i, Lü Ki, to . . .» etc. Y ü a n can mean 'to drag slowly' (Ode 70). It is true that Shuowen has the definition y ü a n = *8*, but probably this is truncated and should be *9* 'an introductory word'. — **D.** Yü Yüe: Er ya says *10* = *11*, and the line is equal to: *12* »To follow the prince of Ts'i» (as assistants). But for p e i = t s ' u n g there is no text support whatever. — **E.** Chuang Shu-tsu punctuates after y ü a n, saying that p e i y ü a n *13* means *14* 'to support under the arms': »(He ordered Chung Huan and Nan Kung Mao), to support him under the arms» (sc. as one of the principal mourners). We need not take this in such a concrete way. Y ü a n *15* (for which the homophonous *6* serves here) is common in the sense of 'to support, aid, assist' generally, e. g. Tso: Huan *12*, phr. *16* »Without some great support, you will not become prince» (very common). Thus: »(**He gave order to Chung Huan and Nan-kung Mao) and made them assist him**». T s ' i h o u L ü K i is then the subject of the next clause.

1982. Y e n j u y i s h ï *17*.

A. PK'ung: y i *18* (var. *19* ap. comm. on Hou Han shu) = *20* 'bright' (Erya: *19* = *20*). In fact y i j ï, whether wr. *21* or *22*, means m i n g j ï *23* (when the day again becomes bright =) 'to morrow, next day', and this synonym confirms that the fundamental sense is 'bright'. Thus: »**He invited him to enter the Bright room**». When PK'ung then identifies this with the *24* »the Grand apartment» (living-room) of the king, it is merely an arbitrary guess. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: y i *18* means 'wing', and y i s h ï therefore should mean 'a side-room': »He invited him to enter the side-room». If so, in the version with *19* this is merely a loan char. for *18*. — **C.** Chang Ping-lin: y i *18* is a loan char. for y i *25*, in Shuowen defined as meaning 'a tent', thus here: »the tent room». But for this meaning there is no text support. — There is no reason to abandon the earliest interpr. that y i s h ï means 'the Bright room'. But very likely this was a fine name for a temple hall, since we have t s u n g *26* ancestral temple in the same line.

S ü t s ê t s u n g see Gl. 1806.

1983. M i n g t s o t s ' ê t u *27*.

A. PK'ung: »Order was given t s o to make t s ' ê t u rules for the inscribing». This must be wrong since t s o t s ' ê is a standing phrase and t s o belongs to t s ' ê, not to t u. Hence we must divide: m i n g t s o - t s ' ê t u »**Order was given to make a**

document about t u the measures (sc. prescribed by the dead king)». See Gl. 1558 and particularly 1794. — **B.** Yü Sing-wu, following ideas expressed by Sun Yi-jang and Wang Kuo-wei in other contexts, interprets: »Charge was given to the t s o - t s ' ê maker of brevet Tsê» (*28*, because t u *29* and t s ê *28* are interchangeable characters), i. e. Tsê was nominated to the post of t s o - t s ' ê. This makes nonsense in the context.

1984. P o s i a n g m i n g s h ï s ü t s ' a i *30*.

A. PK'ung says that p o s i a n g : p o the leader (of princes) s i a n g prime minister was the Shao Kung, prince of Shao, already mentioned as T ' a i p a o 'grand guardian'. He interprets: »The leader-premier ordered the officers s ü (to wait with =) to keep ready for use t s ' a i the materials (for the burial)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: s ü *31* (**sịu*) means t s ' ü *32* (**ts'ịu*) 'to take': »to (take =) procure the materials». S ü in itself has no such meaning, so Ts'ai must have thought that **sịu* was a loan char. for **ts'ịu*, which is very unlikely. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: s ü *31* is a graphical error for p a n *33* 'to distribute'. In confirmation, Kiang adduces Li: Yü tsao, the enigmatic phrase y ü s ü *34* of which is explained as = y ü p a n *35* (*36* = *37*) by some; s ü *31* would here likewise be an error for p a n *33*. A slender support indeed. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen simply says that s ü *31* = s ü *38* (as often). The line could then either (with Legge) be turned thus: »The leader-premier (charged =) required from the officers s ü t s ' a i the necessary materials», which would give m i n g a very unusual meaning; or, better, with s ü as a verb: 'to make necessary, obligatory' = 'to exact': »**The leader-premier ordered the officers to exact the materials**». — **E.** All the preceding comm. have taken p o as = 'leader' of princes, with a view to a later passage in our chapter which says that »the grand guardian led the princes of the western regions . . .». Liu Feng-lu, however, proposes that p o s i a n g *39* is the same as the t ' a i - p u *40* grand valet, but for this there is no corroboration whatever. — C being a too bold emendation, D seems preferable.

T i s h ê f u y i c h u e i y i see Gl. 1980.

1985. H u a y ü j e n g k i *41*.

A. PK'ung: since j e n g *42* acc. to Erya means *43* 'to continue, go as before', the j e n g k i »as-before stool» means »the same stool as during the king's life», by Legge, rendered = »the usual stool». The meaning 'to repeat, reiterate, as before' of j e n g is common. In Chouli: Sï ki yen, the term j e n g k i *44* recurs in the phr. *45* »In auspicious (services =) ceremonies there are altered (changed) stools, in inauspicious ceremonies (mourning) there are as-before stools», and Cheng Hüan there proposes that in the former case one had various kinds of stools used alternatingly, whereas in the latter the same kind of stool was used all through. — **B.** The earliest Chouli comm., Cheng Chung, says that p i e n k i 'altered (changed) stool' means 'decorated stool' in contrast to j e n g k i '(as-before-stool =) unaltered stool' which means 'plain, undecorated stool'. Sun Yi-jang, who defends this view, says that our Shu phr. »j e n g k i with h u a y ü varicoloured jade» would seem to forbid this interpr., but the term refers only to the wood-work, not its additional ornaments, thus: »the (unaltered =) plain-wood stool with varicoloured jades».

5.俾爰齊侯呂伋 6.爰又於 8.引 9.引詞 10.俾 11.從 12.從於齊侯 13.俾爰 14.扶掖 15.掖 16.
子無大援將不立 17.延入翼室 18.翼 19.翌 20.明 21.翼日 22.翌日 23.明日 24.路寢 25.廣 26.宗
27.命作冊度 28.宅 29.度 30.伯相命士須材 31.須 32.取 33.頌 34.魚須 35.魚貫 36.貫 37.頌 38.需
39.伯相 40.太僕 41.華玉仍几 42.仍 43.因 44.仍几 45.凡吉事變几凶事仍几 46.漆仍几 47.敷

But Sun forgets that in the next line we have t s' i j e n g k i *46* »lacquered j e n g k i», which is unreconcilable with Cheng Chung's interpr. We had better, therefore, take j e n g 'to reiterate, continue, as-before' here = 'traditional'. Thus the Chouli line: »For auspicious ceremonies there were (changing =) varying kinds of stools, for inauspicious ceremonies there was the traditional stool». And our Shu line: »**The traditional stool with varicoloured jades**».

1986. F u c h' u n g c h ï s i *47*.

A. Ma Jung says *48* **ʔi̯ər* / *tśi* / c h ï = *49* 'green rush', for which there is no support whatever in par. texts. But PK'ung explains more precisely: c h ï = *50*. The second char. here is a vulgar form of the ordinary p' i n g *51*, and PK'ung therefore means: 'a smooth rush (mat)'. In fact, the meaning expressed by c h ï is not 'rush' but 'smooth'. The char. *48* c h ï fundamentally means 'whetstone' (the »smoother»), in this sense also enlarged into *52*. In Ode 203 we have: C h o u t a o j u c h ï *53*, which Mengtsï quotes *54*. Thus: »They spread out double smooth (rush) mats». — **B.** Cheng Hüan: c h ï *48* is = *55*. It is true that *48* is common in the sense of 'to achieve' and a meaning: '(achieved =) perfectly worked mats' is not impossible. But A in the modified application above is certainly more natural.

1987. C h u e i c h u n *56*.

A. PK'ung says c h u e i *57* means *58* 'of mixed colours'. Kiang Sheng tries to confirm this by referring to Chouli: Sï ki yen, and to compare our 4 kinds of mats in the Shu with those in the Chouli; he believes that in this way he can identify the c h u e i c h u n of Shu with the h u e i c h u n *59*, and h u e i means 'variegated'. But in Chouli there are 6 kinds to 4 in the Shu, and there is no real correspondence at all. — **B.** There is thus really no reason why c h u e i should not have its ordinary meaning (see Gl. 1980): »**stitched bordrs**».

1988. F e n g s i *60*.

A. Cheng Hüan says that it means mats made of scraped and boiled bamboo. Wang Su and PK'ung say that it means mats made of juncus, sedge. For neither is there the slightest support. — **B.** We take f e n g (with Chu Tsün-sheng) it its ordinary sense of 'luxuriant, luxurious, ample', thus: »**sumptuous mats**».

1989. S ü n s i *61*.

A. Both Ma Jung and Cheng Hüan believe that this means mats made of rind of bamboo, and Cheng explains that s ü n *62* (usually read **si̯wĕn* / *si̯uĕn* / s ü n) here stands for the word *gi̯wĕn* / *ji̯uĕn* / y ü n, which usually is written *63* (Li : Li k'i). A very unlikely loan. — **B.** PK'ung defines s ü n as = *64*; the *65* ordinarily means 'rush', but in this binome it evidently refers to some special kind of bamboo. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en simply says: s ü n s i = *66* 'bamboo mats'. But s ü n, after all, normally means 'bamboo sprout' (in Pekinese irregularly pron. s u n), and we had better preserve the idea of tenderness: »**young-bamboo mats**».

1990. H ü a n f e n c h u n *67*.

A. Cheng Hüan: a border made of *68*; ordinarily this would mean ». . . made of black strings (cords)». But in comm. on Chouli: Sï ki yen, Cheng expounds further: f e n *69*: a f e n is like a s h o u but one that is patterned and (more) narrow». Now we have the binome t s u - s h o u *70* in Li: Yü tsao, there indicating something with which jades etc. were suspended from the girdle; it has generally been translated as 'string', but s h o u is indeed not a string but a band, narrower than a sash: we might better render it by 'ribbon'. Evidently Cheng in our Shu phr. f e n c h u n could not mean 'string border', but he meant »a border made of black ribbons». PK'ung follows this, defining f e n c h u n as = *71*. The word *72* **p'i̯wən* / *p'i̯uən* / f e n has several meanings, but there is only one which could possibly be adduced in support of Cheng's interpr.; in Li: Nei tsê it is

said *73* »To the left [in the girdle] he suspends the f e n kerchief and the s h u e i kerchief», the comm. explaining that f e n was for wiping utensils and s h u e i for wiping the hands (a mere guess); in any case, f e n was some piece of cloth carried in the girdle. Whether this had the narrow »ribbon» shape resembling a s h o u *74*, so that this could confirm Cheng above, seems very problematic. — **B.** Cheng Chung (1st. c. A. D.) in comm. on Chouli first says that f e n by some is read like P i n *75*, by others like f e n *76* (**pi̯wən*) 'flour'; in the latter case, f e n c h u n would mean something like »flour (-white) border». Both very little convincing. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en therefore takes f e n *72* in its most common meaning of 'confused' (*passim* in the classics), modifies this into *77* 'mixed', and Legge renders him thus: »with dark mixed border»; but since this is rather nonsensical, Legge adds in a note: »perhaps all dark but of different shades». (Couvreur most eccentrically: »mêlée de bleue [et de noir]»). — **D.** Another interpr. F e n sometimes means *78* 'ample'. Yi: kua 57, phr. *79* »One uses scribes and magicians in ample numbers; Ch'u: Li sao *80* »When I now amply have this inner beauty». The meaning 'ample' (either in numbers or quantity) is an extension of meaning from 'confused, mixed' = 'multifarious, manifold' = 'rich, ample'. Here it is analogous to the f e n g s i *81* 'sumptuous mat' in the preceding line, thus: »**with dark, ample border.**»

1991. Y ü e y ü w u c h' u n g c h' e n p a o *82*.

A. Ma Jung: Y ü e *83* is the tribe name: »(There were) the jades of Yüe . . .» The south coast of China has never been a source of »jades», and this attempt to evade the difficulty of the construction is futile. — **B.** PK'ung as usual renders y ü e *83* by y ü *84*, but then has to supply a principal verb which the Shu text has not: Y ü in (sc. the eastern and western galleries) [they displayed] the (quintuple =) five kinds of jades, and set forth the treasures». This is entirely impossible. — **C.** Another interpr. Y ü e *83* is evidently the empty initial particle so frequently introducing a line in the Shu (e. g. Wei tsï *85*, etc.). But if y ü e y ü w u c h' u n g has no verb, the c h' e n p a o should have no verb either, or the lack of congruence in construction will be shocking. C h' e n *86* is common in the sense of 'old' as opposed to 'new', and since it is here a display of sacred heirlooms, this is evidently the meaning: »**(There were) quintuple jades, and old treasures**». Cf. Ode 211, phr. *87* »We take our old (grain)».

1992. C h' ï t a o t a h ü n h u n g p i y ü a n y e n *88*.

A. Cheng Hüan: c h' ï t a o »the red knife» was the one with which Wu Wang killed Shou; the Chou had red for symbolic colour, hence the knife was red; t a h ü n »the great instructions» were *89* »rules of decorum», namely the oldest chapters of the Shu (Yao tien, Kao Yao mo). PK'ung modifies c h' ï t a o : »knife with a red scabbard». Kiang Sheng says that »the great instructions» = »rules of decorum» were all the documents of antiquity existant at the time. Wang K'ai-yün, on the contrary, believes that it refers to the Hung fan(!). — **B.** It seems evident that this line enumerates the w u y ü »five jades» of the preceding. C h' ï t a o »the red knife» was a ritual jade knife used in sacrifices, called »red» because it drew blood. Like p i, y ü a n and y e n, t a h ü n must

重底(底)席 48.底(底) 49.青蒲 50.蒻苹 51.平 52.砥 53.周道如砥 54.如底 55.致 56.緻純 57.緻 58.雜彩 59.繢純 60.豐席 61.筍席 62.筍 63.筠 64.蒻竹 65.蒻 66.竹席 67.玄紛純 68.玄組 69.紛如綬有文而狹者 70.組綬 71.黑綬及紛 72.左佩紛帨 73.綬 75.酮 76.粉 77.雜 78.盛 79.用史巫紛若 80.紛吾既有此內美兮 81.豐席 82.越玉五重陳寶 83.越 84.於 85.越及于今 86.陳 87.我取其陳 88.赤刀 大訓弘璧琬琰 89.禮法 90.訓 91.言 92.川 93.介 94.介圭 95.大介 96.琬 97.琬圭 98.琰 99.

be some ritual jade and no »instructions» which do not fit in at all in the enumeration. In h ü n *90* we can subtract the rad. *91*, which is surely a Han-time addition, as in scores of cases. But c h ' u a n *92* (without radical) makes no sense and must be a corruption. Probably it is a mistake for the graphically similar k i e *93*, i. e. the k i e k u e i *94* »the grand (rectangular) tessera», which recurs later in our chapter, and occurs in Odes 259 and 261. That t a k i e *95* »the great grand [k u e i tessera] stands without its principal word k u e i is exactly analogous to the following y ü a n *96* which stands alone for y ü a n k u e i *97* »the rounded-top (k u e i tessera) and y e n *98* which stands for y e n k u e i *99* »the pointed-top (k u e i tessera)». Further, it would seem to be a meaningless tautology to say t a k i e since both t a and k i e mean 'great'; but in fact k i e k u e i »grand k u e i» is a technical term, a fixed name of a particular kind of tessera, and there is nothing peculiar in an extra word t a 'large' being used to describe this object. Thus our Shu line: »**The red (sacrificial jade) knife, t a k i e the large grand (kuei tessera), the great (jade) pi disk, the rounded-top (kuei tessera) and the pointed-top (kuei tessera)**».

1993. T a y ü y i y ü t ' i e n k ' i u *100*.

Ma Jung says that y i y ü means »**the jade of the Yi tribes**». PK'ung on the contrary proposes that y i *1* means *2* 'constant, regular', i. e. that it serves for y i *3* (*1* for *3* occurs for instance in Meng, see Gl. 824), but there is no sufficient reason for rejecting the earliest interpr. As to t ' i e n k ' i u, which is probably a corruption of the t a k ' i u of Ode 304, see Gl. 1193 a.

1993 a. Y i n c h ï w u y i . . . T u e i c h ï k u o H o c h ï k u n g C h ' u e i c h ï c h u s h ï *4*.

A. Cheng Hüan asserts that Yin, Tuei, Ho and Ch'uei were skilful men of antiquity, who made these various objects. Later comm. have tried to identify them. Ch'uei has of course been identified with the Ch'uei whom Shun made kung-kung master of works (see Yao tien). In the Preface (Shu sü), a chapter Yin cheng *5* »The expedition of Yin» (now lost, the present Yin cheng is spurious) is recorded, and Cheng in comm. there likewise says that Yin was the name of a state. Ho has been identified with some member of the astronomer family descendant from Ho the colleague of Hi (Yao tien) and it has been proposed that *6* should not be read Tuei (**d'wâd*) in the ordinary way, but Yüe (**dịwat*), being the personal name of the sage Fu Yüe *7* of Yin time (the speaker in the now lost Shu chapter Yüe ming *8*), also written *9*. All this is, of course, very speculative. — **B.** Whereas PK'ung follows A in regard to Tuei, Ho and Ch'uei, he takes Yin as a state name, and if that is right there is the possibility of Tuei, Ho and Ch'uei being likewise place names or country names. In the preceding line we had Y i y ü *10* the jade of the Yi tribes, and here we have H o c h ï k u n g »the bow of the Ho (tribe)»: the Ho Yi *11* tribe is recorded in Yü Kung (prov. Liang chou). Ch'uei forms part of various early place names, but none of the words of the *6* series. — It is certainly impossible to prove either of these interpretations, and our translation: »**the garment of Yin**» etc., being really ambiguous, conceals the uncertainty on this point.

1994. T s a i p i n k i e m i e n *12*.

A. PK'ung: »by the guests' staircase, facing (south)». A curious idea that m i e n *13* 'face' alone should mean »to face the south». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: m i e n *13* here means just the same as the t s ' i e n *14* later in the line, thus: »**In front of the guests' staircase**».

1995. E r j e n t s ü e p i e n c h ï h u e i *15*. »Two men with sparrow-caps holding h u e i -lances».

T s ü e p i e n: **A.** Po hu t'ung, foll. by Cheng Hüan, says that this means a cap the colour of a sparrow's head, defined as *16* 'reddish black'. — **B.** Shï ming, foll. by PK'ung, says it means 'cap made of sparrow skin'.

H u e i: **A.** Cheng Hüan: »As to its shape, it has a slanting edge». — **B.** PK'ung:

it is a *17* »triangular(-bladed) lance», the same definition which Mao Heng has for the word k ' i u *18* in Ode 128 (see Gl. 314).

In both these cases the comm. are too uncertain, and by our formulation we declare our lack of *points-d'appui* for a closer definition.

S ï j e n k ' i p i e n see Gl. 364.

1996. C h ï l i u . . . c h ï y ü e . . . c h ï k ' u e i . . . c h ï k ' ü . . . c h ï t u e i *19*.

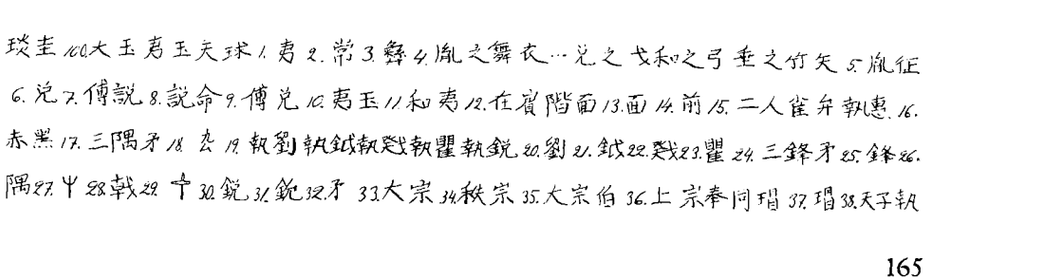
The exact nature of these various weapons is very uncertain. Cheng Hüan says that the l i u *20* was a kind of axe, and the y ü e *21* a large axe and that both the k ' u e i *22* and k ' ü *23* were three-pronged lances (*24* lances with three prongs, thus different from the »triangular-blade lance» h u e i in Gl. 1995 above; Sun Sing-yen wrongly says that f e n g *25* 'prong' and y ü *26* 'corner, angle' is the same thing). As to the latter, which in Couvreur are depicted as tridents: *27* (like the trident of Poseidon), PK'ung more reasonably says that they were some kinds of k i *28*, i. e. type *29*, a dagger-axe with an extra prong on top. As to *30*, finally, the current Shuowen version has a char. *31* y ü n, and quotes our Shu line as example. This has caused Kiang Sheng to correct *30* into y ü n *31* and to surmise that Wei Pao in middle-T'ang time altered y ü n into *30* in the Shu text. But Tuan Yü-ts'ai has conclusively shown that, on the contrary, Shuowen originally had *30* and not y ü n *31*, and that the latter is a corruption (already made in T'ang-time in some Shuowen version). Lu Tê-ming, a century before Wei Pao, gave the sound gloss **dịwad / ịwäi* / j u e i, which indicates *30*, not *31*; and Yü p'ien and Ts'ie yün both have *30* = *32* 'lance', but have no y ü n *31*. They both, however, read **d'wâd / d'uâi* / t u e i, different from Lu; his j u e i is indeed the correct reading of *30* in its common meaning of 'sharp'; but for our 'lance' we should follow Ts'ie yün. That the word t u e i *30* acc. to the Han scholars denoted some kind of lance follows from its placing in Shuowen among various words for lances. — Altogether we cannot dare, on these flimsy informations of Han and later times, to define these weapons more closely, but retain their Chinese names in the translation.

1997. T ' a i t s u n g *33*.

A. Cheng Hüan: t s u n g = t s u n 'to revere, to honour', referring to the rites generally, thus: »**the grand master of rites**». This is quite analogous to the C h ï t s u n g *34* (»regulator of the ritual honours» =) master of rites in the Yao tien. Legge here translates »minister of religion». — **B.** PK'ung: t ' a i t s u n g = »the master of the ancestral temple». In Li: Tsi t'ung, Legge follows this and translates: »the great minister in charge of the temple». — In late Chou time the author of the Chouli was of the opinion that the Ta tsung po *35*, which must reasonably be the same official as our T'ai (ta) tsung here, was in charge of all religious rites, not only the ancestral ones. There is no reason to doubt this, the earliest testimony we can reach.

1998. S h a n g t s u n g f e n g t ' u n g m a o *36*.

The word m a o *37* has, all from Shang shu ta chuan, been explained as a cover for the k u e i tessera given to a feudarory by the king. This expl. has been adopted by the commentators on Chouli: Yü jen *38*, where the char. is written without radical 'jade'.



Shang tsung:

A. Cheng Hüan, troubled by the fact that the t'ai tsung *33* »grand master of rites» in the preceding paragraph here is called shang tsung *39*, finds an ingenious explanation. The t'ai tsung is the same as the ta tsung po of the Chouli; this dignitary, however, had as his assistants 2 siao tsung po *40*. Since, in our line here, t'ung and mao ought to be two different objects, they should be carried by two officiants, evidently the two highest (shang tsung *39*) of those 3, i. e. the ta tsung po and the foremost of the siao tsung po! A very amusing scholastic speculation. — **B.** PK'ung: Shang tsung »the high master of rites» is simply = t'ai tsung.

T'ung mao:

A. Ma Jung takes t'ung *41* as an adjective to mao: »The (all-the-world-) uniting tessera-cover». — **B.** The Kin-wen school (ap. San kuo chï: Yü Fan chuan, comm.) writing t'ung *42*, says that this means »royal seal». — **C.** Cheng Hüan: t'ung *41* was a *43* »wine cup». From the following lines it is amply clear that the char. *41*, whether to be read t'ung or something else (see below), refers to some vessel used in the libation rite. This eliminates A and B and confirms C as to the meaning. PK'ung follows this, in defining t'ung as = *44* 'cup'. Wang Ming-sheng and Kiang Sheng argue that the t'ung was the same as the tsan *45* »libation ladle». Their only support for this is a passage in Li: Tsi t'ung: the king first holding a kuei tsan *46* libation ladle with kuei-tessera handle makes libation; the t'ai tsung then, holding a chang tsan *47* libation ladle with chang-tessera handle, next after makes libation. Cheng certainly meant nothing of the kind when he defined t'ung as a »wine cup». Since t'ung *41* is entirely unknown in this sense in other texts, Chu Tsün-sheng proposes that *41* **d'ung / d'ung /* t'ung is a loan char. for *48* **ţi̯ung / tśi̯wong /* chung 'vessel, cup'. But *48* is poorly attested in this sense, the only pre-Han ex. being Chuang: Sü Wu-kuei *49*, where its coördination with hing makes the meaning 'vessel' at least probable. And phonetically the theory is not very attractive. — **D.** Yü Fan (3rd c., see A above): The graph should not be t'ung *41* but mao *50*, and since *50* and *51* are interchangeable (*50* Shuowen = 'cap', wr. *51* in Han shu: Tsün Pu-yi chuan, and *52* in modern time), this mao, meaning 'cover', is the same word as the following mao *53* 'tessera cover', the traditional t'ung being a corruption due to similarity. The Ts'ing scholars have strongly combatted this, saying that a mao-mao »enveloping cover» would be a meaningless pleonasm. Yet Yü's gloss contains a valuable feature, see E next. — **E.** Chuang Shu-tsu: t'ung *41* is a corruption of kia *54* and mao *53* a corruption of yu *55*, the kia and yu being vessels used in the libation rite here described. As to mao = yu, this is entirely impossible. But t'ung = kia is a very clever emendation. The oldest forms of the char. kia were *56*, depicting quite well the kia vessel such as we know it from the archaeological material. These forms, however, are from oracle bones (Yin time), and the Chou inscriptions unfortunately do not happen to have this word. But the small seal form: *57* is telling. The two mouths are obviously corruptions of the two uprights; the filling below: *58* is a corruption of the drawing of the vessel's body. With all its deformations the seal form reveals that the Chou graph must have been fairly similar to the second Yin graph above. And it is easily seen how this latter could be misread as t'ung *41*. A more definite confirmation of this emendation we may draw from another source. The mao *53* »tessera cover» really makes no sense in this connection, which deals exclusively with the libation ceremony. Now, the earliest text referring to this kind of libation ceremony is Tso: Chao 17 (a »free» text, i. e. not a doctrinary ritual), referring to the year 526 B. C., which says: *59* »If I use (sc. for libation) the kuan-stone kia-vessel and the jade tsan libation ladle». One variety of the latter was (cf. C above) the chang

tsan *47*, and further on in our Shu chapter we find: yi yi t'ung ping chang yi tso *60* »he took another »t'ung», grasped the chang libation ladle and with it made the matching libation». Since the chang (tsan) here obviously is the same implement (well known in our archaeological material) as the tsan in Tso, the t'ung *41* here should likewise be the same as the kia *54* of the Tso text. In other words, an original *56b* should be deciphered as kia *54*, not as t'ung *41*. And then the Tso par. gives us the key to the enigmatic mao *53*, which does not fit into the context; this is simply a corruption of tsan *45* 'libation ladle'. The reason for this corruption was not simply carelessness, due to the similarity of the graphs. It had its special reason, revealed by Yü Fan (D above). Some early Han glossist (perhaps one of the transcribers of the Chou text into Han writing) believed that the character should not be deciphered t'ung *41* but mao *50*, and then he thought that the following tsan *45* was erroneous, making no sense together with the mao; well knowing that mao *50* 'to cover, to envelop' had a meaning closely akin to that of *53* »tessera cover», he concluded that tsan *45* was a fault for mao *53* and corrected the text accordingly: *61* »enveloping cover». In the Ku-wen school (Ma Jung and followers) the first mao *50* was altered into t'ung *41*, but the second mao *53* was left standing, and so we have got the present orthodox text: t'ung mao. But the true Chou text ought to be reestablished as: shang tsung feng kia tsan *62* **»The high master of rites held a kia-vessel and libation ladle».**

1999. Yü wang ts'ê ming *63*.

A. Cheng Hüan: yü *64* = *65*, thus reading it (= *66*) **ngâ / nga /* ya, as often: »He (went to meet =) turned towards the king (with) the written-down charge» (sc. last order of the dead king). That tsê ming in this way should be equal to yi tsê ming *67* is somewhat strained. — **B.** PK'ung paraphrases: »He held the written-down charge and *68* brought it forward to the king»; thus more exactly: **»He (brought forward =) presented to the king the written-down charge».** Yü (**ngi̯o / ngi̯wo /* yü) sometimes has this sense, as an extension from the fundamental meaning 'to steer, to conduct'. Cf. Ode 177, phr. *69* »He presents drink and food to all his friends», properly: »he gives drink to and (brings forward to =) provides all his friends». — **C.** Chuang Shu-tsu punctuates after wang, carrying ts'ê ming to the next line: »He went to meet the king; the written-down charge said». This is less good, for the first lines following are evidently the *viva voce* speech of the officiant.

2000. Huang hou p'ing yü ki tao yang mo ming *70*. For tao *71* = *72* 'to lead, bring forward, to advance' in this phr. see Gl. 1866.

A. PK'ung: **»The august sovereign (sc. the dead king), leaning on the jade stool, brought forward and manifested his last (order =) will».** This refers directly to the first lines of our chapter. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: »Oh, august sovereign, lean on the jade stool and (listen to) the manifested remaining order (of the dead king)». Sun has to supply a »listen to» which is not in the text.

2001. Ming ju sï hün lin kün Chou pang *73*.

A. PK'ung: **»He ordered you (to continue =) to follow up the instructions, to look down upon and govern the state of Chou».** PK'ung thus divides after hün, which makes good

昌 32 上宗 40 小宗伯 41 同 42 銅 43 酒杯 44 爵 45 瓚 46 珪瓚 47 璋瓚 48 鍾 49 其求鉶鍾也 50
曰 51 冒 52 帽 53 瑁 54 舉 55 卣 56 𠂤 57 闇 58 斗 59 若用瑾舉玉瓚 60 以異同秉璋以酌
61 同瑁 62 上宗奉舉(同瓚 63 御王冊命 64 御 65 鬻 66 逐 67 以册命 68 進 69 飲御諸友 70 皇
后憑玉几道揚末命 71 道 72 導 73 命汝嗣訓臨君周邦 74 嗣守文武之大訓 75 率循大下

rhythm, and sï hün is obviously a shorter way of expressing what we had earlier in our chapter: *74* »to continue to keep Wen's and Wu's great instructions». — **B.** Chuang Shu-tsu punctuates after sï: »He ordered you to succeed (to the throne), and to instruct and look down upon the state of Chou». Since he could not, for rhythmical reasons, read ming ju sï, hün lin kün Chou pang, he had to eliminate the kün as an »erroneous word». Chuang has entirely missed the parallel in the preceding paragraph.

2002. Shuai sün ta pien *75.*

A. Wang Su and PK'ung define pien *76* as = *77* 'law', and explain: »Leading (your subjects) to follow the great laws». Ts'ai Ch'en modifies this only in taking shuai sün as a binome of synonyms: »**to follow the great laws**». Kiang Sheng believes that this is an extension of meaning from *78* (the same graph as *76*) 'cap': the regular, correct cap, hence generally: 'regular, rule, law'. This is very unlikely. Yü Yüe better: *78* (*76*) **b'i̯an / b'i̯ăn* / pien is loan char. for *79* **b'i̯an / b'i̯ăn* / pien 'to distinguish, discriminate', hence 'to regulate, regulation' (Chu Tsün-sheng's idea that it is loan char. for hien *80* is, of course, phonetically impossible). — **B.** Sun Sing-yen tries to prove a meaning *81* 'charge, task', but there are no text par. and it makes poor sense with shuai sün. — **C.** Chang Ping-lin: A Han stone inscription quotes a line in Yao tien: *82*, where the Ku-wen text has *83*, see Gl. 1213. This shows that in Han time pien *76* (**b'i̯an*) could be used as loan char. for *84* (**pli̯an*). We find in Chuang: T'ien yün *85* »Those who comply with the great changes and in nothing are obstructing». Our sün ta pien in Shu here is the same as the sün ta pien in Chuang. Cf. Yi: Hi ts'ï, hia *86* »They (the rulers) understood fully the changes (transformations, evolutions in the world), and so caused the people not to become fatigued». — C is very tempting, in view of the Chuang par. But the ancient interpr. (A) in Yü's formulation is phonetically superior.

2003. Miao miao yü mo siao tsï *87.*

A. PK'ung renders mo by *88* »worthless» and Legge defines it as »trifling, insignificant». All the later comm. treat mo siao as a synonym-compound = 'small, insignificant'. — B. Couvreur: »Minimus ego, novissimus parvus filius», thus taking mo *89* in its sense of 'last': »**Very insignificant am I, the (last small child =) small child, last of our line**». Mo has this sense of 'last' only a couple of lines earlier: *90* »the last (order =) will» and should have the same here.

2004. Wang san su *91.*

A. Cheng Hüan: su *92* (**si̯ôk*) stands for the homophonous su *93* (**si̯ôk*), which in Erya is defined as = *94* 'to advance'. Thus: »The king thrice stepped forward». Cheng here tries to connect it with the fundamental sense of 'grave, dignified', saying that it means *95* 'slowly to walk forward'. But when su *93* means 'to advance', it means just the opposite. In Ode 257 we find: *96* (Cheng again: su *93* = *94*) »The people have an eager mind» (but you keep them back) — su here means 'to hurry, to be eager to advance'. In fact *93* (as a loan char.) often means 'swift, to hurry' (see Gl. 54 a. o.), and this **si̯ôk* is closely cognate to *97* (**suk*). In some text cases where su *92* itself has been defined as = 'to advance', it is indeed in quite the same conditions: Yili: Shï kuan li *98* and Yili: T'ê sheng kuei sï li *99*. In both phr. Cheng Hüan says *92* = *94*: »He causes to advance the guest» (»the representative of the dead»). But Cheng himself adds that su *92* here is equal to both su *93* and su *97*, and in fact the fundamental sense is this: »He hurries up the guest», i. e. urges him to come. Thus when su (**si̯ôk*, whether wr. *92* or *93*) means *94*, it always contains the notion of 'to hurry' and 'to speed up', which certainly does not suit our Shu passage here. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: su *92* is a short-form for *100* (*si̯ôk / si̯uk* / so) 'to strain wine', well known from Tso: Hi 4. Thus: »**The king thrice strained the wine**». — B is strikingly plausible.

2005. K'i neng er (luan =) sï sï fang *1.* As to *2* luan for *3* = *4* si 'to regulate, govern' see Gl. 1464.

A. PK'ung: er *5* = *6* (common): »How can I er like (my father and grandfather) govern the (regions of the) four quarters». — **B.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen simply take er as the particle, enclitic to the verb neng: »**How can I govern (the regions of) the four quarters?**» Er in this function is well known. Our neng er here is quite analogous to the tê er *7* 'to be able', e. g. Meng: Tsin sin, shang *8* »How could Shun forbid it». — **C.** Wang K'ai-yün: neng *9* means 'to be kind to': »How can I be kind to and govern . . .», as in Ode 253, phr. *10* ». . . be kind to the near ones», see Gl. 917. This is quite plausible in itself, but the par. adduced under B makes this simpler solution preferable. — **A.** Liu Feng-lu believes that neng *9* means *11* and that the following er *11* is a wrongly added char.; very unlikely.

2006. a. Wang san su san tsi san tsê 12;
b. T'ai pao shou (t'ung =) kia tsi tsi tsê *13.*

In a., the king thrice strains the wine (see the preceding gloss), thrice sacrifices (i. e. makes libation) and thrice tsê *14*. In b., the grand guardian sacrifices (makes libation), puts the vessel to his lips and tsê *15*. In both cases the last word describes the final phase of the libation rite; it should be clear that in spite of the slight difference in graph (an additional radical in a), the final word is the same in both lines. Lu Tê-ming has even seen a version which had the graph *15* (without radical) in line a. as well as in line b. There has been great uncertainty as to the readings. In line a., Shïwen reads *14* alt. **tâg / t̂a* / cha and **tâg / tuo* / tu; Sü Miao, on the other hand, reads it alt. *t'âk / t'âk* / t'o and *t̂i̯ag / tśi̯a* / chê. Shuowen and Ma Jung read *17* **tâg / tuo* / tu, defining this as meaning 'to deposit the vessel' (on the ground); PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en follow this definition. In line b., Shïwen reads *15* in its ordinary way: **d'ăk / d̂'ɒk* / tsê, and says that Ma Jung did so; but Sü Miao read it **d'âk / d'uo* / tu (like *16*).

A. Ma Jung, since he read *17* **tâg / tuo* / tu in line a: ». . . thrice he deposited (the vessel)», but *15* **d'ăk / d̂'ɒk* / tsê 'to dwell, to occupy a position, to take up a position' in line b: ». . . he (took his position =) returned to his place», treats the lines differently and cannot be accepted. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en follow Ma, though we do not know how the former read the char. in a. (Ts'ai of course follows Shïwen). — **B.** Cheng Hüan paraphrases line a. by *18* »retired and returned to his original place», which makes it evident that Shïwen's alt. text which had *15* without radical in a. just as well as in b. was really Cheng's version. Cheng is quite consistent: a: ». . . **thrice he (took his position =) returned to his place**»; b: ». . . **he (took his position =) returned to his place**». — **C.** Su Shï (Sung time) proposes that *14* in a. means 'to carry (the vessel) to the lips' (concluded from the analogy of tsi *19* in b), an arbitrary speculation. — **D.** Kiang Sheng follows Ma Jung and Shuowen for line a: *17* **tâg / tuo* / tu: ». . . thrice he deposited (the vessel)». But in line b. he considers tsê *15* as a variant for *16* (very common) in the reading **d'âk / d'uo* / tu 'to measure': ». . . he (measured =) drank moderately». Sü Miao had already proposed this

76.卞 77.法 78.弁 79.辨 80.憲. 81.作 82.於卞時雍 83.於變 84.變 85.惟循大變無所淫 86.通其變使民不倦 87.眇眇予末小子 88.淺末 89.末 90.末命 91.王三宿 92.宿 93.肅 94.進 95.徐行前 96.民有肅心 97.速 98.乃宿宬 99.乃宿尸 100.縮 1.其能而亂四方 2.亂 3.罰 4.司 5.而 6.如 7.得而 8.舜惡得而禁之 9.能 10.柔遠能邇 11.而 12.王三宿三祭三咤 13.大保受同拜祭嘗宅 14.咤 15.宅 16.度 17.詑 18.卻復本位 19.嘗 20.詑 21.上宗曰饗 22.適爾皇祖某甫饗 23.大保

reading in b. and possibly interpreted like Kiang; but in line a. he had taken *14* (or *17*) as loan-word for *20* **t'âk / t'âk / t ' o* 'to entrust', which here would mean 'to deposit', which is far-fetched. Kiang, who interprets a. and b. differently, cannot be accepted. — **E.** Sun Sing-yen has realized this, and would carry through the *17* of line a. also in line b., considering *15* there as a short-form. But this is vetoed by the context: ». . . he deposited the vessel» immediately followed by: »he handed the vessel to the t s u n g - j e n» does not make sense. — The earliest glossist who is consistent is Cheng Hüan (B), and it is evident (with Yü Yüe) that he is right. The enlarged characters *17* and *14* in line a., and the various pronunciations of them are due to speculating Han scholars.

2007. S h a n g t s u n g y üe h i a n g *21*.

A. PK'ung: »The high master of rites said (sc. to the king): (enjoy it =) taste it!» Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen accept this, because in Yili: Shï yü li there is the line: *22* »Go to [the shrine of] your great ancestor so-and-so and (enjoy =) eat», where h i a n g then is an exhortation. But we should observe that this is an exhortation to the spirit of a dead man, who is exhorted to enjoy the sacrificial food. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »**The high master of rites said: it has been enjoyed (sc. by the Spirit of the dead king)**». The Yili par., adduced under A, speaks rather in favour of B here, h i a n g being a technical term for the »enjoying» on the part of Spirits sacrificed to.

2008. T ' a i p a o k i a n g s h o u c h u h o u c h ' u m i a o m e n s ï *23*.

A. PK'ung punctuates: t ' a i p a o k i a n g, s h o u, c h u h o u etc. and defines s h o u *24* 'to gather in' as = *25* 'to remove' the utensils: »**The grand guardian descended; they removed (the utensils); the princes went out through the temple gate and waited**». Cf. Tso: Chao 28, phr. *26* »He followed the servants who removed the vessels». — **B.** Chuang Shu-tsu: s h o u *27* is a corruption of y i *28*, the small seal forms being similar (s h o u *29*, y i *30*): »The grand guardian descended, and (taking =) with the princes went out . .». — **C.** Wang K'ai-yün would take c h u h o u as the object of s h o u: »The grand guardian descended and (gathered in the princes to go out =) directed the princes to go out . . .» — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: s h o u is a corruption of a *31*, and this is the same as p a u *32* which again is the same as p ' a n *33* 'to turn round'. Exceedingly far-fetched. — No reason to abandon the oldest interpr. which has a good and decisive text par.

Here follows the chapter »K'ang Wang chï kao» which was originally a part of the Ku ming above.

2009. K i e p u s h e n g h u a n g c h u *34*.

A. Cheng Hüan, foll. by PK'ung: »They (the princes) all displayed the four-horse teams of (horses that were) yellow with red (manes)». Quite apart from the arbitrariness of explaining h u a n g c h u »yellow-red» as = »yellow with red (manes), nothing in the text indicating the »mane», the whole line is exceedingly unnatural: the feudal princes are solemnly guided by their leaders to the presence of the king inside the principal gate; why this sudden introduction of their horse teams, which, since the princes were numerous, could certainly not find space to be p u »set forth, displayed» in the court-yard? — **B.** The Kin-wen version, as quoted in Po hu t'ung: Fu mien, read: k i e f u f u y i h u a n g c h u f u *35*. From the context it is clear that the last f u *36* **piwət* is here merely a variant for *37* or *38* **piwət / piuət* / f u 'knee cover', which word is also sometimes written *39* (**piwət*). With Po hu t'ung our line would then mean (for f u - f u *48* see Gl. 1321): »They all had white-and-black-figured and black-and-blue-figured robes, and yellowish-red knee-covers». It is, however, discernible that the two words y i *40* and f u *41* did not belong to the original Kin-wen Shu text but are elucidating additions in Po hu t'ung, for in Han shu: Wei Hien chuan we find that Wei Meng (early W. Han time) in a verse wrote: *42* (var. *43*), which certainly is an allusion to the Kin-wen Shu. Here we see that

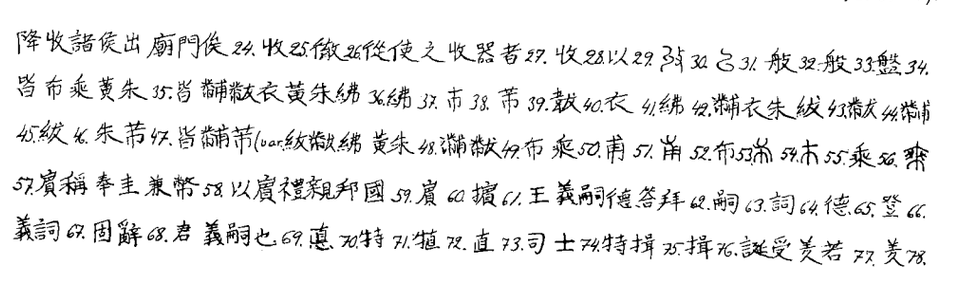
it is only the first word f u *44* 'black-and-white-figured' that refers to the robe, and that the second: *43* or *45* (both **piwət*) are only variants for *37* or *38* **piwət* »knee-cover», for we have c h u f u *46* »red knee-covers» as a standing phrase (e. g. Odes 178, 189). We can thus reestablish the Kin-wen line thus: k i e f u f u h u a n g c h u *47* »**They all had black-and-white-figured (robes) and knee-covers which were yellow and red**». But since the combination f u f u *48* is so common as a binome in the sense of 'black-and-white-figured' and 'black-and-blue-figured' (see Gl. 1321), Pan Ku in Po hu t'ung fell for the temptation to take the second word *43* (**piwət*), not as a variant for *38* (**piwət*) 'knee-cover', which is correct, but as meaning 'black-and-blue-figured' and referring to the robe, and then he had to introduce, at the end, a new *41* **piwət* 'knee-cover' instead of the *43* which he had misunderstood. Further, as pointed out by Sun Sing-yen, it is easy to see how the meaningless p u s h e n g *49* of the Ku-wen (A above) has arisen. The first f u (**piwo*) *44* has been written without radical *50* (Chou fashion), and so has the second f u (**piwət*): *37*. In the small seal script current at the beginning of Han, *50* was *51* and p u *52* was *53*; they were easy to confuse. And f u *37* was in the small seal simply *54*, whereas s h e n g *55* was *56*, again a considerable similarity which has led to the wrong reading s h e n g.

2010. P i n c h ' e n g f e n g k u e i k i e n p i *57*.

A. Cheng Hüan: p i n »the guests» refers to the princes (sc. of K'i and Sung) who were descendants of the Hia and Yin houses: »The guests (from K'i and Sung) lifted and presented» etc. Very far-fetched. — **B.** PK'ung: p i n »guests» simply refers to all the princes: »**The guests (sc. princes) lifted and presented their kuei tesserae and at the same time their presents, and said**». Cf. Chouli: Ta tsung po: *58* »With the ceremonies of guests he treats kindly the (rulers of) the feudal states». — **C.** Wu Yi: p i n *59* is a short-form for *60*: »The introducer (lifted, mentioned =) announced the kuei-holders and their presents, saying». — C is quite possible, but there is really no reason for abandoning B, which has no loan speculation.

2011. W a n g y i s ï t ê t a p a i *61*.

A. PK'ung: »The king, righteously continuing the virtue (of his predecessors), returned the salute». Kiang Sheng turns it slightly differently: »The king, who was due to succeed to the virtue (of his presecessors), returned the salute». — **B.** Chuang Shu-tsu: s ï *62* is a loan char. for *63*, and t ê *64* means *65* 'to ascend' (criticized in Gl. 1342, 1477): y i t s ' ï *66* would mean *67*: »The king (rightly =) in full earnest refused (the gifts), and he (ascended =) went forward and returned the salute». Very speculative. — **C.** Yü Yüe: In Tso: Siang 14 we find the line: k ü n y i s ï y e *68* »You are the rightful heir». This shows that y i s ï is a binome and that we should punctuate after it. T ê *64* was originally *69* and t ' ê *70* can also be wr. *71*. Cf. Ode *45*, in which to the t ' ê *70* in the Mao version corresponds Han version *72* as short-form for *71* = *70*, see fully in Gl. 129. Thus here *64* should be *70* (we should express it thus: the orig. graph has been *72* without radical, Chou fashion, and this has been wrongly enlarged into *69* i. e. *64* inst. of into *71*, i. e. *70*).



In Chouli: Sï shï *73* we have the term t'ê y i *74* »to salute separately, one by one», which suits the context here admirably (we have the word *75* in the next line). Thus: »**The king, as the rightful heir, returned the salute to them one by one**». C is quite convincing.

2012. T a n s h o u y u j o *76.*

A. Ma Jung says that y u *77* = *78*, and PK'ung in consequence interprets: »They greatly received (Heaven's) y u way and j o agreed with it». But that is wrong, for the Han scholars considered y u *77* as a variant of y u *79* and y u *80*, and when they defined it as = t a o *78* that really meant t a o *81* 'to lead, to guide' (this abbreviation being exceedingly common see Gl. 1866): Ode 23, phr. *82* »a fine gentleman entices her» (Mao: y u = *78*); Ode 254, phr. *83* »Heaven's guiding the people» (variant *79*) (Mao y u = *78*). Thus Ma's gloss is only a repetition of Mao's and if the identification of our y u *77* with y u *79* (*80*) were right, we should have to interpret: »They greatly received the (lead =) inducement and agreed with it». Now, however, *79* was **ziôg / i̯ə̯u / y u*, and our y u *77* must have been a **gi̯ŭg / ji̯ə̯u / y u*, since it has the phonetic k i u *84* (**ki̯ŭg*). It is true that Ts'ie yün and Shïwen give it as *i̯ə̯u* inst. of *ji̯ə̯u*, but that is precisely because they believed it to be a variant of *79* and corrected the Suei time reading accordingly (we must emendate it into *ji̯ə̯u*). This word is for the rest only known from the place name Yu-li *85*, the place where Wen Wang had been imprisoned. — **B.** Shuowen defines y u *77* as = *86* »to bring forward to goodness», i. e. »to lead on, to induce», merely another formulation of the idea of t a o *81* 'to lead, to guide' in A above. But Kiang Sheng has seized upon the t s i n *87* in this Shuowen definition, taking it in its intransitive sense: »They received it and y u went forward and j o agreed with it». Sun Sing-yen, on the other hand, seized upon the s h a n *88* in the Shuowen definition: »They greatly received it and well agreed with it». Two warning examples of bad philological method. — **C.** Su Shï would refer to the story of Wen Wang's imprisonment in Yu-li: »They greatly received the Yu(-li) favourableness», i. e. the mandate was favourable all from the episode of Yu-li. A desperate attempt. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en quotes »somebody» who proposed that y u *77* here is a corruption of k ü e *89* (this corruption then has taken place in Han time, for in Chou inscriptions the word k ü e *89* was written *90*). It is easily seen that if k ü e *89* is written without radical: *91*, then *92* and *93* could easily be corrupted into *94* and *95*. Thus: t a n s h o u k ü e j o *96*. In Li cheng we had c h ï k ü e j o *97* »to know the suitable ones» and later in our present chapter we have s ü k ü e j o, see below. These parallels form a good support and the emendation is strikingly plausible. The word j o *98* however, meaning 'to agree, to accord with, to be suitable' has many applications, and one of them is transitive: 'to consider as suitable, to approve of', as in Ode 212, phr. *99* »The descendant approves of it». So we have it here: »**They grandly received its approval**». — We examine further:

Y u n g f e n g s ü k ü e j o *100.*

A. PK'ung: »(You should) using (your hearts) carry anxiety about your according with (the right way)», a dreadful construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Thus attend upon (my) anxieties, and (accord with them =) act in accordance with them». Ts'ai paraphrases the latter part: *1*, where k' i *2* is the modal particle: »May you accord with them»; but k ü e *3* can only mean k' i *2* as a genitive pronoun, it is never a modal particle. Ts'ai has played upon the double meanings of the word k' i *2*. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: Shuowen says s ü *4* = *5* 'to receive' and Erya says j o *6* = *88* 'good', thus: »Thus you shall f e n g - s ü receive k ü e j o what is good». But, as pointed out by Tuan Yü-ts'ai, the s h o u *5* 'to receive' in the current Shuowen makes no sense and is certainly a corruption of k i u *7* 'to succour' (a good definition of s ü *4*), which the Yü p'ien has. — **D.** We should not read f e n g and s ü together; the line probably means:» »y u n g **thus** f e n **in your service** s ü k ü e j o **zealously attend to the suitable**».

2013. W e i s i n c h ï w a n g *8.*

A. PK'ung: »The king who has recently ascended (the throne)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en and most foll. comm.: »**The recently (ascended =) deceased king**», i. e. Ch'eng Wang. C h ï is a technical term for the death of a ruler, see Gl. 1294.

2014. W u h u a i w o k a o t s u k u a m i n g *9.*

K u a m i n g *10* does not mean, with PK'ung, *11* »(rarely existing =) remarkable orders (teaching)», but k u a 'single-standing, alone, unique' refers to the sovereign, who is one, as opposed to the people, the many (k u a j e n »the single-standing man») see Gl. 812; thus: »**the sovereign mandate**». Yü Sing-wu would change h u a i *12* into *13* (the orig. graph having been simply *14*) and says that w u *15* is »a particle» not to be translated. Thus: »think of our great ancestor's . . .» etc. This is surely no improvement.

2015. P' e i p' i n g f u p u w u k i u *16.*

A. PK'ung: »They were great (in their principles), and just and fine (in their government), they were not keen on (people's) faults». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »They were grandly just and f u enriched (the people)». — **C.** Kiang Sheng »They were grandly just and enriching (so that the people) did not go in for crimes». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: f u *17* (**pi̯ŭg*) is loan char for *18* (**b'i̯ə̯g*), and w u *19* stands for m a o *20*, p' i n g *21* meaning *22*: »(Their principles) were great and perfected, and they did not expose themselves to faults». (Yü Sing-wu in the same way takes nearly every char. as a loan char. for something else; too long to be repeated here). — **E.** Yü Yüe repeats p' i n g *21* = *22*, and says that f u *17* stands for f u *23*: »They grandly achieved their happy (actions) and were not bent on (committing) faults». But p' i n g *21* means *22* in the sense of 'to pacify, achieve peace', but certainly not 'to achieve, to carry out' generally. — **F.** Sun Yi-jang: *19* **mi̯ug / mi̯u / w u* 'to maltreat'. This is not quite correct, see in detail Gl. 413. In fact *19* stands for *25* **mi̯ug / mi̯u / w u* 'to maltreat', which is synonymous with *24*; Mao Kung Ting inscr. *26* corresponds to Shu: K'ang kao *27*. Thus here: »**They grandly tranquillized and enriched (the people) and they did not maltreat or incriminate (them)**». — **G.** Chang Ping-lin: p' e i *28* should be read p u *29*; p' i n g *21* = *22*, f u *17* = *23* and w u *19* after Shuowen means *30*: »They did not (seek to) achieve happiness, and hence they did not w u run to k i u calamity». A comical attempt. — F is incomparably superior to the rest.

2016. C h ï c h ï t s' i s i n y u n g c h a o m i n g y ü t' i e n h i a *31.*

A. Ma Jung punctuated after t s' i, but we do not know how he understood the line for the rest. Since Erya says t s' i *32* = *33* '(equal =) just', Kiang Sheng follows up Ma thus: »They brough about the *34* highest t s' i justness, and through their sincerity became illustrious in the world». — **B.** PK'ung punctuates after s i n : »They brought about to (practise) the most highly just and reliable (principles) . . .». — **C.** Ts'ai punctuates after c h ï *34*: »They effected their utmost, and (adjusted =) brought to perfection their sincerity . . .». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen again follows Ma's interpunctation, but since Erya has an entry c h ï *35* = *36*, he interprets: »They (halted =) rested in a perfect justness . . .». — **E.** Another interpr. It should be remembered that the preceding line

道 71.誘 80.牖 81.導 82.吉士誘之 83.天之牖民 84.久 85.美里 86.進善 87.進 88.善 89.厥 90.乁 91.
敎 92.弟 93.尺 94.羊 95.久 先誕受厥若 97.矧厥若 98.若 99.曾孫是若 100.用奉恤厥若 1.其順
承之 2.其 3.厥 4.恤 5.收 6.若 7.敎 8.惟新阞王 9.無壞我高祖寡命 10.寡命 11.寡有之
教命 12.壞 13.懷 14.褱 15.無 16.丞平富不務咎 17.富 18.備 19.務 20.冒 21.平 22.成 23.福 24.侮 25.
敎 26.敎鰥寡 27.侮鰥寡 28.丞 29.不 30.趣 31.底至齊信用昭明于天下 32.齊 33.中 34.至 35.底

described their attitude towards the people, and this line is the conclusion, telling of the result: »**They caused them to come to a (uniform =) universal fidelity, and they became illustrious in the world**».

2017. Yung tuan ming yü Shang ti *37*.

A. PK'ung: »Thus they (received) a (straight, upright =) correct mandate from God on High». Thus the essential word, sc. the verb of the clause, has to be supplied. — **B.** Kiang Sheng tries to ameliorate this by taking tuan as a verb: »Thus they made straight their mandate from God on High», whatever that may mean. — **C.** Yü Yüe: tuan *38* often means *39* 'beginning, to begin', as in Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou *40* »that is the first beginning of goodness». Our line then means: »**Thus they began their mandate from God on High**».

2018. Huang t'ien yung hün küe tao *41*.

A. PK'ung: hün *42* = shun *43*: »August Heaven (agreed with =) approved of their principles». It is true that hün *42* 'to teach' can sometimes mean shun *43*, properly: 'to be taught, to become docile, compliant', but that is not applicable here: Heaven was not »docile» in regard to the principles of Wen and Wu. — **B.** Yü Sing-wu: »**August Heaven therefore (taught =) announced its way**».

2019. Suei er sien kung chï ch'en fu yü sien wang *44*.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »(Find peace in =) be satisfied with the former princes' serving the former kings» (sc. and imitate it). — **B.** Lin Chï-k'i: »(**Tranquillize =**) **appease those your former princes who served the former kings**», sc. by being equally loyal as they. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: suei *45* is a fault for juei *46*, which in Erya is defined as = *47* 'to continue': »Continue your former princes' serving the former kings». This would be the best solution, but unfortunately there are no ex. of juei meaning 'to continue'. Juei means 'tassel, free-hanging end of a band' and that is why Erya defines it as a ki *47* 'continuation'. — B takes suei in its normal and commonest sense: 'to tranquillize, to give peace to, to soothe, to comfort'. Suei in the sense of A is an extension of meaning that is very forced.

Yung feng sü küe jo see Gl. 2012.

Lü hing.

2020. Wei Lü ming wang hiang kuo po nien... *48*.

Lü *49* was **gl̥o / l̥wo /* lü. The prince in question is also often called the prince of Fu *50* (**p̥wo / p̥u /* fu) and our chapter Lü hing *51* (so quoted in Mo-tsï: *passim*) is quoted Fu hing *52* in Li ki (*passim*). It is not very probable that these are two modes of writing one and the same name (**bl̥wo*?). Many Ts'ing scholars believe that of the names Fu and Lü the one was that of the city and the other that of the princely family. Ch'en K'iao-tsung propounds that Lü was the family name, referring to Kyü: Chou yü, hia: »He was given the clan-name Kiang, *53* and his family name was lord of Lü»; but here again Wei Chao soberly points out that yu Lü »lord of Lü» means that the name of the state Lü was used as family name. Other commentators argue that Lü was the name of the fief in early Chou time but that it was changed into Fu in Süan Wang's time (see Chavannes MH. I, p. 259); this, however, is a mere construction based on Ode 259, mentioning the state of Fu, an ode which is generally ascribed to Süan Wang: since we have Fu and not Lü here (the comm. argue), the name must have been changed from Lü into Fu not later than Süan Wang's time(!). All this is scholastics. We can know no more than that the two names are synonymous.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien evidently punctuated after wang, for he paraphrases *54*. His formulation shows that he took ming *55* in its sense of 'to instruct'. Thus: »Lü instrueted

the king; (the latter) had enjoyed the realm a hundred years». Ming is common in this sense, and it is not excluded that the term could be used about a trusted adviser »instructing» his sovereign (cf. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang *56* »Jan Yu brought back the instruction» sc. from Mencius to the prince). — **B.** Cheng Hüan and PK'ung: »The (prince of) Lü got a charge; the king had enjoyed the throne...». Both add that the prince was nominated as one of the highest dignitaries; for this there is no text support, it is merely a conclusion from the context here. It is better to take Lü ming as a subordinate clause: »**When (the prince of) Lü got his charge, the king had enjoyed the state a hundred years**». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: The three words wei Lü ming »as to the charge of Lü» are an introductory phrase serving to indicate that the following is a speech of Lü's, who in his turn says: »the king has said...». There is really nothing in the text itself in favour of this forced construction.

2021. Wang hiang kuo po nien *57*.

A. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: K'i shou) interprets as the line stands: »**The king had enjoyed the state a hundred years**». Wang adds that he was 34 years of age when he ascended the throne, thus dying at 134. The »100 years» exclude his years before ascending the throne. In a legend theme there is nothing remarkable in this. — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien (Chou pen ki): the king was 50 when he came on the throne, and held it 55 years, thus dying at more 100 years. Lietsï: Chou Mu Wang says that »he could exhaust the joys of his lifetime and died after 100 years». According to these latter authors the »100 years» include the years before ascending the throne, and we have to translate: »The king, having enjoyed the throne, was 100 years old», which is rather forced. — There are par. in Shu: Wu yi which clearly confirm A: *58* »Thus Tsu Kia's enjoying the state was 33 years» etc.

Mao huang tu tso hing see Gl. 1506. Yi k'i sï fang see Gl. 1962.

2022. Jo ku yu hün *59*.

A. Wang Su, foll. by PK'ung: »Agreeing with the ancient (principles) there are teachings». — **B.** Legge: »According to the teachings of ancient times». — **C.** Wang Sien-k'ien: jo is merely the initial particle. For Shu parallels see Gl. 1207, 1611. Thus: »(**Anciently =**) **from ancient times we have the teaching**».

Wang pu k'ou tsei ch'ï yi kien kiu see Gl. 1914.

2023. To jang kiao k'ien *60*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases the last two words kiao k'ien thus: *61*, evidently basing himself on Erya k'ien *62* = ku *63* 'solid, safe, steady'. PK'ung probably meant: »They snatched and robbed, kiao simulating k'ien a safe possession» (sc. through royal backing). Meng K'ang (Han shu: Wu ti pen ki) in comm. on an edict of 117 B. C., which uses the phr. kiao k'ien (var. *64*), explains: »They snatched and robbed, kiao and forged (royal orders) and k'ien safeguarded (themselves by bribes)». — **B.** Cheng Hüan: kiao k'ien means *65* 'to molest'. He does not explain how these words could have that sense. Similarly Wei Chao says that k'ien *62* means 'to take by force, to plunder', without corroborative evidence. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: k'ien means 'to kill', a well-attested meaning (Shï, Tso, see Gl. 1024). Thus: »**Snatchers and plunderers and forgers and killers**».

36.止 37.用端命于上帝 38.端 39.始 40.仁之端 41.皇天用訓厥道 42.訓 43.順 44.綏爾先公之臣服于先王 45.綏 46.綏 47.繼 48.惟呂命王享國百年 49.呂 50.甫 51.呂刑 52.甫刑 53.氏曰有呂 54.甫侯言於王 55.命 56.然友反命 57.王享國百年 58.肆祖甲之享國三十三年 59.若古有訓 60.奪攘矯虔 61.矯稱上命若固有之 62.虔 63.固 64.撟虔 65.撓擾 66.苗民弗用靈 67.苗

2204. M i a o m i n f u y u n g l i n g *66*.

A. This is PK'ung's version. »The Miao people did not use goodness». — **B.** Li: Tsi yi quotes *67* »The Miao people did not (use =) obey the orders (of the sovereign)». This makes poor sense in the context and probably m i n g *68* is a corruption of l i n g *69*, which like l i n g *70* can mean 'good'. — **C.** Mo: Shang t'ung, chung quotes *71*. Several Ts'ing scholars have proposed that since l i n g *69* could rime in the *-n* class (in the Shï it must have been read alternatively **liĕng* and **liĕn*), this explains why a l i e n *72* could be used as loan char. for *69*. That, however, is a poor explanation, since *72* was **glian / lien /* l i e n, and a **glian* for **liĕn* is not convincing. L i e n means *inter alia* 'to train, to improve by training', and the idea of the C text is obviously: »**The Miao people did not use an improving training**» (but severe punishments). Cf. Li: Yüe ling *73* »to select and train the excellent men». This is perfectly in accord with the constantly recurring theme that you should first instruct *74* the people, and only afterwards, if they are still recalcitrant, punish them. — The two versions, A and C, are not reconcilable. C is the oldest attested and good in the context.

2025. C h ï y i h i n g *75*.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »**They restrained by means of punishments**». — **B.** Mo: Shang t'ung, chung quotes c h ê t s ê h i n g *76*. C h ê here makes no sense and obviously *77* (**t̂iat*) is loan char. for *78* (**t̂iad*). Cf. Lun: Yen Yüan *79*, in the Lu Lun version *80*. Thus: »In order to restrain they punished», which comes to practically the same as A.

2026. S h ï y i n w e i y i (er, recte:) w a c h o k' i n g *81*.

A. Shuowen has for c h o *82* the variant c h o *83* (both **tŭk*) 'to castrate', and quotes w a *84* inst. of the e r *85* of the orthodox text and inverts the order: w a y i *86*. Wang Yin-chï has shown that e r *85* is merely a corruption, see Gl. 1640, and our Gl. 1063 should be corrected in consequence. Thus our A version means: »**They started excessively to practise the cutting-off of the nose, the cutting off of the legs, the castration, the black-branding.**» — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta (in comm. on Yao tien) tells us that the Ou-yang and Hia-hou schools read thus: s h ï y i n w e i p i n k u n g y i k o t' o u s h u k' i n g *87*. P i n *88* means 'knee' and here 'to cut the legs at the knees', thus corresponding to the w a *84* of the A text. And k u n g *89* obviously corresponds to the c h o *90* 'castration' of A. But for the rest the line has several moot points. Wang Ming-sheng reads k o t' o u together: 'to cut the head' and proposes that *91 *śi̯wag / śi̯wo /* s h u stands for *91 t̂i̯o / tśi̯wo /* c h u; s h u k' i n g *92* thus meaning 'branding with infusion of a decoct', an obviously impossible interpr. Wang Yin-chï would invert the order of y i k o *93* into k o y i *94*, so that k u n g - k o *95* 'castration' becomes a binome. This is tempting, but in early Han time the word sequence was already p i n k u n g y i, for Shang shu ta chuan expounds that such-and-such criminals should be punished by p i n *88*, the next by k u n g *89* and the next by y i *96*. Further Wang proposes that t' o u s h u k' i n g *97* should be corrected into c h o l u k' i n g *98*, which would mean branding on the face. A wild speculation. If we take the words of our (Kin-wen) B text here as they stand, we obtain: »They started excessively to practise p i n *88* cutting of the (knees =) legs, k u n g *89* the castration, y i - k o *93* the nose-cutting, t' o u s h u k' i n g *97* and the head's several brandings». This comes to exactly the same as the A (Ku-wen) text, only that it is more clumsily formulated. A is stylistically superior.

2027. W a n g c h' a y u t s' ï *99*.

A. PK'ung: »They made no distinctions in regard to (such who) had (something to say =) a legitimate defense». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »They made no distinctions in regard to the pleading» (sc. of the accused, whether it was straight or not). — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: »They had no gradations, and they had no (proper) pleadings». The word w a n g would then belong to both members: w a n g c h' a — w a n g y u t s' ï, which is unlikely.

— **D.** T s' ï *100* 'words, speech' has many applications. Y u t s' ï 'to have words (about one)' can mean »to be notorious» (either 'to be famous' or 'to be ill-famed'), see Gl. 1804. It can also, with A above, mean 'to have (pleading =) an excuse' (as such we have it later in our chapter: *1* »The Miao people had no [pleading =] excuse»). But again it sometimes means »to have indictments against» somebody (in our present chapter: *2* »they had indictments against Miao») or »to have indictments against one», to be indicted, accused, as in To shï: *3* »There were none that had not indictments (against them) for punishment». It is this last meaning which should be applied here as well: »**They made no distinctions in regard to those who (had indictments =) were indicted**», which naturally connects with the preceding line: »all alike were chastised». In fact, interpr. A is in itself quite plausible. But that our interpr. D should be preferred is due to a strict par. later in our chapter, said of these same Miao: f e i c h' a y ü y ü c h ï l i *4* »They made no examination as to those assigned (for punishment) in criminal cases» (see Gl. 1907). This is practically a repetition of our present accusation f e i c h' a y u t s' ï against the Miao, and the par. is conclusive.

M i n h i n g s ü t s i e n see Gl. 1469.

2028. M i n m i n f e n f e n *5*.

A. PK'ung does not explain the words. K'ung Ying-ta defines m i n *6* (**mi̯ən*) as = *7* 'to imitate each other' and the phr. m i n f e n = *8* 'to practise making disorder'. No text support. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en defines m i n *6* as = *9* 'darkened, confused', thus: »**Confused and disorderly**». This has been well confirmed by Wang Yin-chï and others, with good par., see Gl. 965 and 1648. — **C.** Han shu: Sü chuan reads m i e n m i e n f e n *10*, and so does Lun heng: Han wen. Yi Chou shu: Chai kung reads *11*. The three f e n are evidently Han-time variants (the orig. Chou graph having had no radical). M i e n (**mi̯an*) again is a stem alternation with **mi̯ən* in the binome **mi̯ən-p'i̯wən* (**mi̯an-p'i̯wən*). Such an alternation *-i̯ən:-i̯an* is not unknown, see Gl. 741 with examples.

2029. W a n g c h u n g y ü s i n *12*.

A. K'ung Ying-ta paraphrases: *13* »They had no correct observance of good faith». Ts'ai Ch'en's paraphrases: *14* »They no longer with good faith were together», which is not reconcilable with the Shu text. — **B.** Ch'en King: »**They had no (interior =) inner feelings in their good faith**». This is confirmed by Tso: Yin 3, where a moralizer says: *15* »If the good faith does not come from the (interior =) inner feelings, hostages are of no use». — **C.** Yü Yüe: y ü *16* = y ü e *17*, and this again is = *18* 'together with, and', hence y ü *16* can mean 'and'. In this wild speculation Yü follows Wang Yin-chï. He adds: c h u n g *19* is short for *20*. Thus: »They had no loyalty and good faith». In fact, y ü *16* never means 'and'. — B is best supported.

2030. Y i f u t s u m e n g *21*.

A. PK'ung: »**They (overthrew =) violated their oaths and covenants**». F u *22* 'to over-

民匪用命68.命69.令70.靈71.苗民否用練72.練73.簡練桀俊74.教75.制以刑76.折則刑77.折78.制79.折獄80.制獄81.始淫為劓刵刖椓黥82.椓83.黥84.刖85.刵86.刖劓87.始淫為臏宮劓割頭庶剠88.臏89.宮90.椓庶91.薦92.庶剠93.劓割94.割劓95.宮割96.劓97.頭庶剠98.淫鬼剠99.罔差有辭100.辭1.苗民無辭2.有辭于苗3.罔非有辭于罰4.非察于獄之麗5.泯泯棼棼6.泯7.相似8.習為亂9.昏10.湎湎紛紛11.泯泯芬芬12.罔中于信13.無有中于信義14.無德誠信相與15.信不由中貨無益16.于17.越18.與19.中20.忠21.以覆詛盟

throw' is common. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: f u = *23*: »They (only) repeated their oaths and covenants». This is certainly no improvement.

2031. N ü e w e i s h u l u *24*.

PK'ung punctuates after w e i, and carries s h u l u to the following: »They tyrannized and overawed; and all the victims . . .» (declared their innocence). This is rhythmically bad; the four-word group constitutes a unity; s h u *25* here is similar in function to the c h u of classical texts, and the line equals n ü e w e i c h u l u *26* »**All those punished with a tyrannical severity**». Observe that n ü e w e i »tyrannical severity» here stands in contrast to the phr. t ê w e i *27* »virtuous severity» further on in our chapter.

F a n g k a o w u k u y ü s h a n g see Gl. 1234.

2032. W a n g y u h i n g h i a n g t ê h i n g f a w e n w e i s i n g *28*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after h i a n g: »There was no fragrance (sc. in their actions); their t ê h i n g (allegedly) righteous punishments spread out their smell, and it was rank». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after t ê: »**There was no fragrant virtue, the smell sent out by the punishments was rank**». — **C.** Kiang Sheng, to whom it is an axiom that he should reject Ts'ai wherever possible, takes t ê *29* = *30* 'to arise' (criticized in Gl. 1342, 1477): »There was no fragrance arising». — B is simple and satisfactory and takes all the words in their ordinary sense. It may seem unnatural to have a bisyllabic epithet to t ê: h i n g - h i a n g t ê, but this is due to the rhythm: w a n g y u h i n g h i a n g t ê — h i n g f a w e n w e i s i n g.

2033. P a o n ü e y i w e i *31*.

This follows upon: »The august sovereign felt grief and pity for the innocence of the punished ones».

A. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: K'ien kao) quotes: p a o n ü e y u n g w e i *32* and from the context it is clear that he understood: »He requited the tyranny with (his) severity». So also PK'ung explained the line, followed by most later comm. But this overlooks that in the preceding line we had the phr. n ü e w e i *33* »tyrannical severity», the two words belonging together and referring to the wicked Miao: they cannot very well here be separated, n ü e referring to the Miao and w e i to the requiting sovereign. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen has felt this, and tries to put another sense into Wang Ch'ung's (and our orthodox) line: »The sovereign felt grief and pity for the innocence of the punished ones, (he hated) their (sc. the Miao's) requiting tyranny with severity». Sun has then to supply a »he hated» which is not in the text. — **C.** Kiang Sheng carries the first two words p a o n ü e to the preceding: »He pitied the victims' not requiting the oppressors according to their crimes», and y i w e i to the following. Very forced. — **D.** Another interpr.: »**He requited those who tyrannized with their severity**», which suits both Wang Ch'ung's version and the orthodox one.

2034. W u s h ï y ü h i a *34*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *35* »They had no hereditary (positions) in their inferior state». — **B.** Kiang Sheng says that h i a means h i a t' u »the earth (here) below». — **C.** Sie Ki-süan (Sung time): »**They had no generations below**», i. e. »**There were no descendants of them**». Convincingly plausible.

N a i m i n g C h ' u n g L i etc. see Gl. 1727 and 1803 and a full discussion in BMFEA 18, p. 234—36.

2035. K ' ü n h o u c h ï t a i t s a i h i a m i n g m i n g f e i c h ' a n g *36*.

A. PK'ung: »All the feudal princes, even to those in inferior (states), made bright the bright (principles) and f e i supported c h ' a n g the regular laws». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »All the feudal princes and their subordinate (ministers) were very (bright =) pure-minded and supported the regular laws». This is grammatically inadmissible, since it simply skips the c h ï *37* before t a i. — **C.** Mo-tsï: Shang hien, chung, quotes: k ' ü n h o u

c h ï s ï t s a i h i a m i n g m i n g p u c h ' a n g *38*. Kiang Sheng follows this and interprets: »(The people said:) That is what the feudal princes expose here below (sc. about the crimes of Miao); (the king) m i n g m i n g clearly investigated the irregularities». Sun Yi-jang, on the other hand, thinks that s ï *39* should be l i *40*: »(The Miao) are subjoined to the feudal lords». An arbitrary emendation. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen returns to the orthodox text version, and quotes Erya: t a i *41* = *42* 'to stop, hinder'. He connects with the preceding: ». . . when the feudal princes stopped (the litigations); those below could distinguish the illustrious and support the regular laws». But Erya does not say that t a i *41* means n g o *42*; it says that n g o *42* 'to stop' can mean t a i *41* 'to come to', thus properly 'to stop at, to pull up at', which is not applicable here. — **E.** Another interpr. F e i *43* stands for *44* 'not', as frequently in the Shu (see Gl. 1609), and is correctly interpreted as = p u *45* by Mo-tsï. F e i c h ' a n g means precisely the same as f e i y i *46* 'irregular (practises)' later in our chapter, see Gl. 1767. For t s a i h i a *47* cf. Yao tien *48* »There is an unmarried man (below =) in a humble position». Here it means »those (below =) in low positions». K ' ü n h o u *49* »all the feudatories» makes poor sense in this context: the whole passage, both before and after this line, describes the king's action against Miao. In the preceding line, as well as in the next-following, the king is called h u a n g t i »the august sovereign». Here he is called k ü n h o u *48* »the sovereign ruler». The Han scholars believed that k ü n *49* served as short-form for k ' ü n *50* (without radical, Chou fashion) and so they erroneously added the radical 123, undoubtedly because the phr. k ' ü n h o u is common in earlier Shu chapters. But our phr. k ü n h o u *48* is quite analogous to the h u a n g h o u *51* »the august ruler» in Ku ming. An indirect proof of k ü n *49* as the correct reading is furnished by Lu Tê-ming. In Shïwen he says about the phr. h u a n g t i *52* in the first line: »k ü n t i *53* should be h u a n g t i». This shows that Lu had seen some version with a k ü n *49* in this passage, but he has mixed it up: the k ü n should be in the phr. k ü n h o u *48*, not in a k ü n t i as variant for h u a n g - t i. Thus our line k ü n h o u c h ï t a i t s a i h i a, m i n g m i n g f e i c h ' a n g simply and naturally means: »**When the sovereign ruler reached to those (below =) in low positions, he clearly elucidated the irregular practices (sc. of punishments)**», which tallies well with the following: »even widowers were not prevented from speaking».

2036. H u a n g t i t s ' i n g w e n h i a m i n *54*.

A. PK'ung renders t s ' i n g 'clear' by *55* 'in detail', thus: »**The august sovereign clearly inquired from the lower people**», which was already the interpr. of Ma Jung. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »The august sovereign with a pure mind (i. e. unprejudiced) inquired . . .». — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: t s ' i n g w e n *56* is equal to *57*: »The august sovereign quietly listened» (Yü then reads h i a m i n together with the following: »The lower people and the widowers and widows [*58* **zi̯əg* = *59* **di̯ĕk*] were tired of Miao», an exceedingly unlikely interpr.). — No reason whatever for abandoning the earliest interpr. (A).

K u a n k u a y u t s ' ï y ü M i a o see Gl. 1804. T ê w e i w e i w e i etc. see Gl. 1310.

22.覆 23.反覆 24.虐威庶戮 25.庶 26.虐威諸戮 27.德威 28.罔有馨香德刑發聞惟腥 29.德 30.登 31.報虐以威 32.報虐用威 33.虐威 34.無世于下 35.無世位在下國 36.羣后之逮在下明明棐常 37.之 38.羣后之肆在下明明不常 39.肆 40.肆 41.逮 42.遏 43.棐 44.匪 45.不 46.棐彝 47.在下 48.有鰥在下 49.羣后 48.君后 49.君 50.羣 51.皇后 52.皇帝 53.君帝 54.皇帝清問下民 55.詳 56.清問 57.靜聞 58.有辭 59.有戮 60.恤功于民 61.憂施功於民 62.恤 63.致憂民之功 63.盡

2037. Sü kung yü min *60*.

A. PK'ung has no explicit gloss. K'ung Ying-ta paraphrases: *61* »**to be (anxious =) zealous about doing meritorious work for the people**». Sü *62* frequently has this sense of 'to be anxious, zealous about, anxiously to attend to' not only in the Shu but *passim* in the classics. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en would bring out a meaning 'to pity, compassionate' in sü (likewise common), and for this purpose he paraphrases: *63* »to effect the meritorious work of pitying the people», thus trying to make sü govern min, a curious trick which, of course, is unreconcilable with the Shu formulation. No better is Kiang Sheng's paraphrase: *63 b* »to (do to the utmost) a pitying work towards the people», in which he has to supply a verb tsin, as fundamental word in the construction, which is not in the text. **C.** Yü Yüe: Shuowen says sü *62* can mean *64*, and shou *64* can mean 'to gather together' in the sense of 'to bring to an end'. Thus here: »To bring to an end (achieve) their work for the people». But sü *62* most decidedly has no such meaning. Indeed shou *64* is merely a graphical corruption in the Shuowen of kiu *65*, see Gl. 2012.

2038. Chê min wei hing *66*.

A. PK'ung: chê *67* 'to break off' = tuan *68* 'to break off, to decide', thus: »He made (judicial) decisions about the people according to the laws». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »He broke the people's (perversities) by the punishments». But wei *69* can certainly not mean yi *70*. — **C.** Mo: Shang hien, hia quotes *71* and since Ma Jung says chê *67* = *72*, he has considered chê *67* 'to break' as merely a short-form for chê *73* 'wise'. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen then interpret: »He (made wise) instructed the people (and only then) there were the punishments». — **D.** Wang Yin-chï: chê *67* (**t̂i̯at*) and chê *73* (**ti̯at*) are both loan char. for chï *74* (*t̂i̯ad*), thus: »**For restraining the people there were the penal laws**». Indeed T'ao Ts'ien *75* (early 5th c.) has the reading *76*. Cf. Lun: Yen Yüan *77*, in the Lu version of Lun *78*; further, we had earlier, in our chapter here, chï yi hing *79* »they restrained by means of punishments», which Mo: Shang t'ung, chung quotes chê tsê hing *80* (see Gl. 2025). This all goes to show that the characters chê *67* and chï *74* could be used for each other; this is decisive, the D meaning of the phrase being also by far the best.

2039. Chu ming shan ch'uan *81*.

A. PK'ung: »**He presided over the naming of mountains and rivers**». Wang Fu (Ts'ien fu lun: Wu tê chï) reads *82*; but ming *83* often has the same sense of 'to name, give name to' (Tso *passim*). — **B.** Kiang Sheng: chu *84* means 'the presiding Spirit' (of a mountain), here taken as verb: »He instituted presiding Spirits for and gave name to mountains and rivers». Somewhat far-fetched. — **C.** Couvreur: »He presided over the famous mountain and rivers». Poor rhythm. — A is not so inane as it might appear: Yü had the task of surveying a wide area and establishing an official record of it for government purposes. The »naming», instituting authoritative denominations for all parts of the realm, was an important side of this task.

2040. Nung chï kia ku *85*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *86* »In the cultivated (acres) to produce the fine grains», thus taking nung as an adverb (locative). — **B.** Just as in Hung fan (see Gl. 1523), Cheng Hüan took nung *87* to be a short-form for *88* 'thick, ample', so that Ts'ai Shen here says that nung means *89* 'amply'; and just as there nung was in fact used in the sense of (to toil, toilingly =) 'energetically', so many Ts'ing scholars take it so here: »He energetically planted . . . .». — **C.** Since nung fundamentally means 'agriculture, to cultivate' and the next words are chï kia ku 'plant the fine grains', it would be strange indeed if nung did not have its primary meaning. Nung-chï in fact must be a binome: (to cultivate-plant =) 'to cultivate', thus: »**He cultivated the fine grains**».

2041. Wei yin yü min *90*.

A. This is the PK'ung version: »**There was ampleness for the people**». — **B.** Mo: Shang hien, shang reads wei kia yü min *91*. — *α*. Kiang Sheng explains this as kia *93* = *92*: »It (the meritorious work) reached to the (lower) people». — *β*. Sun Sing-yen, more fully expounded by Yü Yüe: since kia *93* often is synonymous with ko *94* in the sense of 'to arrive', and since the char. ko on the other hand also could mean *95* 'to correct', kia should also have a meaning *95* 'to correct' (an amusing paralogism): »It corrected the people». — *γ*. Sun Yi-jang: kia *93* is a loan char. for *96* (both **kå / ka* / kia), as often in the Odes, thus: »**There was (greatness =) ampleness for the people**».— Since *97* and *98* are graphically similar, it seems probable that either yin is a fault for kia or *vice versa*; impossible to decide between them. With interpr. B *γ* the meaning will, in any case, be exactly the same.

2042. Shï chï po sing yü hing chï chung *99*.

Po sing *100* does not mean 'the people', but 'the noble families, the gentry' (see Gl. 1212), here especially those in service, which PK'ung rightly brings out by paraphrasing: *1*.

A. PK'ung: shï 'judge' refers to Kao Yao (as said to him in Yao tien: *2* »You shall be judge»). PK'ung does not gloss yü hing chï chung, thus taking it in its ordinary sense: »The judge (Kao Yao) restrained the (gentry =) officials in the midst of the punishments». — **B.** Liang T'ung (early 1st c. A. D.) in Hou Han shu: Liang T'ung chuan quotes: yüan chï po sing yü hing chï chung *3* »**Then he (trimmed =) trained the gentry (i. e. officials) in the justness of the punishments**». — Wang Ming-sheng believes that shï *4* is a deliberate emendation made by PK'ung. The 3 great dignitaries: Po Yi, Yü, Hou Tsi, have just been mentioned but not their compeer Kao Yao. Since he according to Yao tien was shï »judge», he should figure here in connection with the punishments; hence PK'ung replaced the yüan *5* by shï *4*. This explanation is quite plausible. In any case, version B is attested several centuries earlier than version A and should be followed.

Shuai yi yü min fei yi see Gl. 1767.

2043. Tien yü fei ki yü wei ki yü fu *6*. For tien see Gl. 1787.

A. PK'ung, as further expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »The directors of criminal cases did not (stop in regard to =) refrain from severity, but they (stopped in regard to =) refrained from (riches =) bribes». He defines ki *7* as = *8*. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: ki *7* = *9* 'to exhaust': »The directors of criminal cases, not (only) exhausted (sc. the full severity of the laws) in regard to wei the powerful (people), they exhausted (it) in regard to the rich». An absurd idea that fei *10* could mean »not only». — **C.** Wang Yin-chï and Sun Sing-yen: fu *11* means fu *12* 'happiness': »**The directors of criminal cases did not end by (applying) severity, they ended by (creating) happiness**». — **D.** Yü Sing-wu thinks that fu *11* **pi̯ŭg* stands for *13* **b'i̯ŭk* 'to submit, repress', which is very unlikely. — The phr. is very obscure; C seems the least impossible.

撫恤之功于民 64.收 65.救 66.折 民惟刑 67.折 68.斷 69.惟 70.以 71.哲民維刑 72.智 73.哲 74.制 75.陶潛 76.制民 77.折 獄 78.制 獄 79.制 以刑 80.折則刑 81.主名山川 82.主命 83.命 84.主 85.農 殖嘉穀 86.農畝生善穀 87.農 88.醲 89.厚 90.惟殷于民 91.維假于民 92.至 93.假 94.格 95.正 96.祓 97.殷 98.段 99.士制百姓于刑之中 100.百姓 1.百官 2.汝作士 3.爰制百姓于姓之表 4.士 5.爰 6.典獄非訖于威惟訖于富 7.訖 8.絕 9.盡 10.非 11.富 12.福 13.服 14.罔有擇言在

2044. W a n g y u t s ê y e n t s a i s h e n *14*.

Li: Piao ki quotes this, having k u n g *15* inst. of s h e n *16*.

A. Cheng Hüan (in comm. on Li) paraphrases *17* »There were no such words which had to be chosen applied to their persons», i. e. no reticence was necessary when speaking of them, they were irreproachable. PK'ung follows this. — **B.** Hia Chuan (Sung time): »They had no chosen words in regard to their persons», they could speak openly of all their doings, having no need to choose their words (no need of reticence); as Legge freely paraphrases it: »They had no occasion to make choice of words in reference to their conduct». — **C.** The Hiao king (paragr. 4) alludes to our Shu line, saying *18*: »What was not lawful they did not speak, what was not the proper way they did not act, their mouths had no t s ê words, their (bodies =) persons had no t s ê actions». Here it is quite clear that t s ê cannot mean 'to choose'; some Han scholars already recognized that the word had a peiorative meaning. Yang Hiung (Fa yen: Wu tsï) alludes to it: *19* »The noble man, his speaking has nothing t s ê, his hearing has nothing licentious». T s ê here balances y i n *20* 'licentious, immoral'. Wang Yin-chï, pointing out all this, therefore proposes that both here in Shu and in Hiao king the char. *21* is a loan char. for *22*, such as we have it in Hung fan *23* »by which the proper norms are destroyed». *22* is here read **tâg / tuo / t u*, see Gl. 1704. In other words, the original graph in our Shu line has been *24* without radical (Chou fashion) and the transcribing Han scholars have wrongly enlarged it into *21* instead of into *22*. T u is also written *25*, in Shuowen defined as = *26* 'destroy, ruin'. Thus the Hiao king passage means: »Their mouths had no ruinous words, their persons had no ruinous actions», and our Shu line: »**There were no ruinous words (in =) coming from their persons**». — Wang is evidently right.

2045. T s ï t s o y ü a n m i n g *27*.

A. Cheng Hüan and PK'ung: »**For themselves they created great charges**». — **B.** Ch'en King *28* (Sung time): »They (the judges) themselves made the great gift of life», i. e. decided whether an accused person should live or die. (Legge follows this, paraphrasing: »From them was the determination of so great a matter as the lives of men»). — No reason whatever to abandon the ancient interpr.

2046. P ' e i h i a n g t s a i h i a *29*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *30*. Since PK'ung in the spurious chapter Hien yu yi tê, phr. *31* defines h i a n g *32* as = *33*, it is evident that he meant the same here, p ' e i h i a n g being = *34*, and PK'ung understands: »corresponding (to Heaven's intentions) they were below it (sc. on the earth)». But for h i a n g in this sense there are no early text par. — **B.** »**As counterparts (to Heaven), they enjoyed them (sc. the charges) here below**». For full documentation of p ' e i in this sense see Gl. 825.

2047. P o Y i p o h i n g c h ï t i *35*.

Li: Tsï yi, quoting this line, has a p u *36* before t i, which, however, must be a mere error.

A. PK'ung: t i *37* = *38*. More precisely, t i means 'to advance, to proceed' (see Gl. 1337) and hence, as a noun, 'the walk, the conduct', as in Kün Shï *39* »I cannot have a correct (walk =) conduct» (see Gl. 1866). Thus here: »**Po Yi's' (walk =) conduct in distributing the punishments**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes t i in its common meaning of '(to cause to advance =) 'to lead, to guide': »Po Yi's guiding (the people) by distributing punishments». — **C.** Legge, who translates: »Spreading among the people his lessons to avert punishments», seems to have referred p o *40* to t i; more literally: »Po Yi's spreading (punishment-guidance =) guidance regarding punishments». — The ancient interpr. (A) is simple and well supported.

F e i c h ' a y ü y ü c h ï l i see Gl. 1907.

2048. W e i s h ï s h u w e i t o h u o t u a n c h ï w u h i n g *41*.

A. PK'ung construes the first six words as a finite clause: »Those many terrorizers snatched (people's)goods, and they decided and applied the five punishments». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en in a curious way inverts the order of t o h u o; he paraphrases: *42* 'by bribes (snatch, take away =) suspend the law': »Those many awe-inspiring ones, and those who by bribes suspended (the law), decided . . .». Even a h u o t o could hardly be explained in that way; still less, of course, our t o h u o. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »**Those many overawing and (goods-snatching =) bribe-taking ones decided and applied the five punishments**».

S h u y u k o m i n g see Gl. 1489.

2049. K i n e r w a n g p u y u w e i y ü e k ' i n, e r w a n g h u o k i e p u k ' i n *43*.

A. PK'ung renders y u *44* by y u n g *45* (criticesed in Gl. 200) and w e i *46* 'to comfort' by a n *47* thus: »Now may there be none of you who do not (use the comforting =) feel at ease and say: let us be zealous; may there be none of you who admonish yourselves (and yet) are not zealous». — **B.** Shïwen records a variant text which has j ï *48* inst. of y ü e *49* 'to say' (they are easily confounded), and Ts'ai Ch'en adopts this, interpreting: »Now may there be none of you who do not y u w e i for what you make your consolation (use) j ï k ' i n the daily zeal; may none of you perchance have to beware of lack of zeal». — **C.** Kiang Sheng, again reading y ü e *49*, repeats PK'ung's w e i *46* = *47*, explaining: »Now there are none of you who do not (follow tranquillity =) take your ease, but you call it zeal; there are none who warn themselves about lack of zeal». — **D.** Another interpretation: y u *44* regularly means 'to follow' in the Shu. The reading j ï *48* is preferable. The idea of the whole passage is that the king tries to gain the confidence of the dignitaries addressed: »**Now, may there be none of you who do not follow (my) (comforting =) encouragements and be daily zealous, may you not perchance (be on your guard =) be mistrusting and not zealous**».

2050. T ' i e n t s ' i y ü m i n p e i w o y i j ï f e i c h u n g w e i c h u n g t s a i j e n *50*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after w o, and his interpretation, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta, is: »Heaven, in arranging for the people, makes me do it; as to (the actions) during one day, whether (Heaven) does not (go to the end =) keep you on (in office) or it keeps you on, depends on the men». Exceedingly forced. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after j ï; he takes c h u n g *51* in the sense of 'a going to the end' = 'persistence' which it had in K'ang kao: »Heaven, in arranging for the people, commands us for one day (i. e. we have but a short spell at our disposal); whether (the culprits) are not persistent or they are persistent depends on the men themselves». — **C.** Kiang Sheng takes c h u n g *51* in the sense of *52* »the achievement of a (naturally) ended life» (for this phrase see Hung fan). Since a scholar Yang Sï (Hou Han shu: Yang Sï chuan) of the 2nd c. A. D. quotes *53* (the punctuation as in B), with k i a *54* (Kin-wen version) inst. of p e i *55*, Kiang follows this: »**Heaven, in arranging for the people, endows us with one day (i. e. a short spell of life);**

身15.躬16.身17.無有可擇之言加於身也18.非法不言非道不行口亡擇言身亡擇行19.君子言也無擇聽也無淫20.淫21.擇22.斁23.舞倫攸斁24.罪25.殪26.敗27.自作元命28.陳經29.配享在下30.配享天意在於天下31.克享天心32.享33.當34.配當35.伯禹播刑之迪36.不37.迪38.道39.非克有正迪40.播41.惟時庶威奮貨斷制五刑42.以貨奪法43.今爾罔不由慰曰勤爾罔或戒不勤44.由45.用46.慰47.安48.日49.曰50.天齊于民俾我一日非終

whether one does not live to a (natural) end or lives to a (natural) end, depends upon the man (himself)». — **D.** Ma Jung's version inst. of p e i or k i a had k' i n *56* = *57* 'to pity': »Heaven, when arranging for the people, pities us with one day (in its compassion gives us a short spell of life)». Wang K'ai-yün understands it differently: »Heaven, in arranging for the people, has pity for (the offence of) one day; whether (the culprit) should not (end =) die or he should die depends on men» (sc. the »directors of criminal cases»). This is certainly no improvement. — The text version in C and D are both of Eastern Han time and thus earlier attested than A. They give a very similar meaning, C being however somewhat more simple and natural and hence preferable.

2051. S u e i w e i w u w e i, s u e i h i u w u h i u *58*.

A. PK'ung: »Even if one intimidates you, do not be intimidated; even if one considers you fine, do not be fine (in your own eyes)». We could modify this slightly: »**Even if one you fine, do not be fine (in your own eyes)**». We could modify this slightly: »**Even if one intimidates you, do not be intimidated; even if one (considers you fine =) flatters you, do not (be fine =) be flattered**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en refers the line to the application of the punishments: »Even if (I) am severe (in punishing), do not you be severe, even if I give grace, do not you give grace»; i. e. you need not follow my lead. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »Even if (an affair) is to be ceased, do not cease it», thus taking h i u *59* in the sense of *60* 'to rest, to pause, to cease'. This seems already to have been the opinion of the author of an imperial edict of the year 55 B. C., who quotes: s u e i h i u w u h i u, adding, as an explanation: *61* c h ï s h ï p u t a i »attending to the affair without laziness» (Kiang erroneously believes that this line belonged to the original Shu and has been skipped by PK'ung). Wang Yin-chï construes in the same way as Kiang, but believes that h i u *59* (= 'grace, happiness', common) means h i *62* 'joyous, enjoy': »Even if (an affair) is frightening, do not be frightened; even if it is joyful, do not be joyed». — As an exhortation to judges A is certainly best: be neither influenced by intimidation nor by flattery.

2052. C h a o m i n l a i c h ï *63*.

A. K'ung Ying-ta defines l a i *63a* by m e n g *64* 'to receive'. Thus: »The million people will receive it». Cf. Kyü: Lu yü, shang *65* »They will truly forever enjoy and accept it», on which Wei Chao: l a i *63* = *64*; Chuang: Jang wang: »As to riches and honours, if they could avoid them, *66* they absolutely did not receive (accept) them» (comm. l a i = *67* 'to take'). On the other hand, Shuowen defines l a i by *68* 'gain, profit', and it is often defined as = l i *69* 'gain, profit', e. g. Kyü: Tsin yü 1, phr. *70* »You receive the profit of it» (common). In fact, *63* **lâd* / *lâi* / l a i may be cognate to *69* (**liəd* / *lji* / l i) 'profit'. There is really no fundamental difference, only a matter of shade of meaning, between 'receive, accept' and 'to get the advantage of, to gain, to profit'; we could thus express the line more precisely: »**The million people will receive the advantage of it**». — **B.** Legge and Couvreur both take l a i = 'to rely on' (common, e. g. Tso: Siang 14): »The million people will rely on (him)». — A suits the context much better.

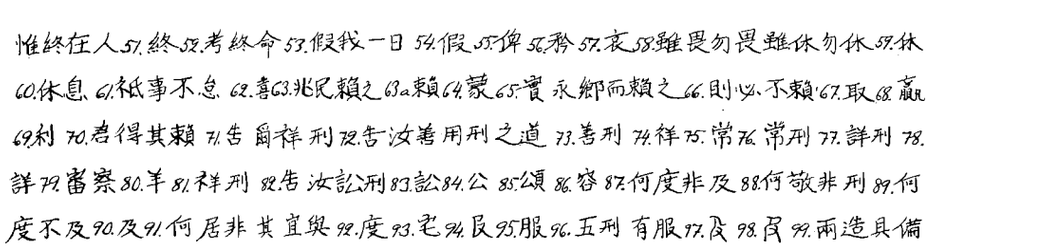
2053. K a o e r s i a n g h i n g *71*.

A. PK'ung curiously paraphrases: *72* »I will tell you the principles for a good use of the punishments». This would necessitate to take s i a n g, in the sense of 'good', as a verb: »I will tell you (how) to make-good the punishments». This is utterly unacceptable. The A version text can only mean: »I will tell you about the auspicious punishments» — the punishments which pertain to an auspicious and successful government. And in the last line of our chapter, where we again have s i a n g h i n g, PK'ung duly renders it by *73* 'good punishments'. Yü Yüe's guess that s i a n g *74* (**dziang*) is a loan char. for *75* (**d̂iang*), thus s i a n g h i n g = c h' a n g h i n g *76* (a phr. occurring in Tso: Chuang 14), is not convincing. — **B.** Cheng Hüan reads s i a n g h i n g *77* and he defines s i a n g *78* as = *79* 'to scrutinize': »I tell you to scrutinize the punishments». But, of course, s i a n g *78* 'in detail, detailed' could equally well be an epithet to h i n g: »I will tell

you about the detailed punishments». The s i a n g *74* of A and the *78* of B were homophonous (**dziang*) and an earlier text version probably only had *80* without radical (even on Han mirrors, *74* is often wr. *80*), and the Han scholars have filled it out into *74* or *78* as they understood the line. The B form *77* already occurs as an allusion to our Shu line in an imperial edict of 60 A. D. On the other hand, Sï-ma Ts'ien (Chou pen ki, Mu Wang) has *81* (also in the Sung Po-na ed.). — **C.** Mo: Shang hien, hia quotes: k a o j u s u n g h i n g *82*. Tuan Yü-ts'ai proposes that s u n g *83* stands for k u n g *84*: »I will tell you about the official punishments». Liu Feng-lu proposes that it stands for *85*, which would be equal to *86*: »liberal punishments». Wang Ming-sheng, on the other hand, believes that s u n g *83* is a corruption of s i a n g *78*. But obviously we can equally well suppose that s i a n g *78* is a corruption of s u n g *83*, and that s i a n g *74* is a further modification of *78*. There is really no reason whatever to tamper with Mo-tsï's reading, the words having their ordinary meaning: »**I will tell you about litigations and punishments**». — C is by far best in the context. The text goes on to describe the actions of the parties in a litigation.

2054. H o t o f e i k i *87*.

A. PK'ung: »What shall you estimate, if not (the reach =) how far to go (sc. in the punishments)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »What shall you estimate, if not (the reach =) whom you should reach». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »What counsels will you not reach to?». This is excluded since it construes the clause differently from the preceding two which are unambiguous (*88* »What shall you carefully attend to if not the punishments»). — **D.** Mo: Shang hien, hia, quoting *89*, expounds this so as to show that he took k i *90* to mean »to attain to Yao and Shun», and that he understood: »**What should you plan for, if not the attainment**» (**sc. of the highest standards**). Sun Yi-jang believes that Mo meant: »How could you (estimate =) fear not to attain (the highest standards)», which is excluded for the same reason as C. It may seem difficult to construe the clause acc. to the pattern »what plan for if not the attainment», since Mo has the negation p u and not f e i; but he has the same in the preceding line: h o k i n g p u h i n g, which can only be interpreted as under C above. — **E.** Sï-ma Ts'ien (Chou pen ki) paraphrases: *91*. This is because, in Han time, the graphs t o *92* and t s ê *93* were interchangeable (see Gl. 1376) and Sï-ma thought that *92* here had the sense of *93* 'to dwell, to take a dwelling, to take a position'. His paraphrase probably means: »What should you dwell in, if not the proper (place)» (Chavannes translates: »à quoi s'arrêter, sinon ce qui est profitable», which is curious). This means that he understood the Shu line more precisely: »What should you take as position, if not the one attaining (the proper norms)». — **F.** Yü Yüe: k i *90* is a corruption of *94*, the original form of f u *95*. In Yao tien we had *96* »The five punishments have their applications». Here we obtain: »(What should you be careful about, if not the punishments), what should you estimate, if not their applications». This is very ingenious, since k i and f u were exceedingly similar in the small seal script (*97* and *98* respectively). But the Mo-tsï passage would demand that the mistake and corruption of f u into k i



had taken place before Mo-tsï, in full Chou time, and then it is more problematic, for in that era the two graphs were not so similar as in the seal script (see Karlgren, Grammata pp. 300 and 371, or, more fully, Sun Hai-po, Ku wen sheng hi). — It seems safest, therefore, to accept the oldest interpr. attainable (D).

2055. L i a n g t s ' a o k ü p e i *99*.

A. PK'ung (following Cheng Hüan on Chouli) defines t s ' a o *100* as = *1* 'to arrive' here 'appear in court' (Shïwen **ts'ôg / ts'âu / t s ' a o*), and Kung Ying-ta expounds it as a finite verb: »**When both (parties) have appeared fully prepared (sc. with testimonies)**». Cf. Chouli: Ta sï k'ou: *2* »By the appearance of both (parties), he (tries to) stop the people's litigations». — **B.** Sü Kuang (comm. on Shï ki: Chou pen ki) records the variant l i a n g t s a o *3*; t s a o (**tsôg*) properly means 'to meet' and could, of course, be construed as a finite verb: 'to meet' = 'to put in an appearance', as in A. But it is more likely that it is just a graphical variant of l i a n g t s ' a o *4*, this *5* (**dz'ôg / dz'âu / t s ' a o*) meaning precisely 'a pair, two parties', see fully Gl. 903, with text ex. Thus our Shu line: »l i a n g precisely 'a pair, two parties', see fully Gl. 903, with text ex. Thus our Shu line: »l i a n g t s ' a o the two parties k ü p e i being fully prepared». — B is very tempting. But after all Sü Kuang is rather late (d. 425 A. D.) and we do not know from what source he has drawn his variant. The Chouli par. is also a strong support for A.

2056. S h ï t ' i n g w u t s ' ï *6*.

A. PK'ung: s h ï *7* = *8* 'all': »All (the judicial officers) listen to the five (kinds of) pleading». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: s h ï is equal to the s h ï s h ï *9* court assessor of Chouli. Undoubtedly the Chouli author was of this opinion, since he writes that the s h ï s h ï, *inter alia*, *10* examines the pleadings in the litigations. The s h ï s h ï is not identical with the s h ï *11* the judge, his superior, and we should not translate »the judges» (with Legge and Chavannes). Thus: »**The court assessors (listen to =) deal with the five (kinds of) pleading**». Since this is the oldest interpr. accessible (Chouli), it seems safest to adopt it. »The five (kinds of) pleading» would, acc. to PK'ung, be pleadings differently formulated with a view to the 5 punishments, a very scholastic idea. Sun Sing-yen would have w u t s ' ï to be equal to the w u t ' i n g *12* »the five listenings» (Chouli: Siao sï k'ou), in which the examiner observes the words, face, breathing, ears and eyes of the pleader in a law-suit. But it is difficult to see how w u t s ' ï: »the five wordings» could be twisted into meaning this. We shall, of course, never know what the phr. »the five (kinds of) pleading» really purported.

2057. W u k u o c h ï t s ' ï w e i k u a n w e i f a n w e i n e i w e i h u o w e i l a i *13*.

A. PK'ung: »The malpractices in the (attribution to) cases of error are due to (comradeship in) office, distortion (of the testimonies), interior (i. e. family) relations, (goods =) bribes, friendship». That k u a n *14* alone should mean »comradeship in office», and that l a i *15* should stand for w a n g l a i *16* 'intercourse, friendship' is certainly excluded. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en has a different list: »The malpractices in (the attribution to) cases of error are (due to) official position, retribution, (interior =) women, (goods =) bribes, solicitation». The last is because Shïwen says that Ma Jung had k ' i u *17* (obviously the right reading) instead of PK'ung's l a i *15*. — B is ingenious. But an ellipsis by which in (attributing to) the five cases of error (offenses which are really graver)» is indeed too violent. Moreover, the whole lecture tells the judges how they should judge offenders; so did the preceding line (a falling scale: grave punishments — redemption fines — slighter penalties for cases of error) and so do the following lines (condonement of grave punishments and fines). It is inconceivable that here, parenthetically, a line should discuss offences committed by the judges themselves, only to jump back, the next moment, to the principal topic. Our line here, on the contrary, is an examplification of the w u k u o

»five cases of error». F a n *18* is very common in the sense of 'to turn against, to oppose' (e. g. Tso *passim*). The char. *19* is the primary graph for n a (later wr. *20*, cf. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia *21*) 'to present', e. g. Tso: Ai 2, phr. *22* »He presented gifts of friendly inquiry»; Li: Shao yi *23* »to present valuables». H u o *24* 'hoarding' is the same as the h u o k ü *25* in Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi), see Gl. 1316. K ' i u *17* is the same as in Ode 257: »Now this good man f u k ' i u f u t i *26* he does not seek (office), he does not (advance =) push himself forward» (see Gl. 979). Thus our line means: »**The shortcomings called the five cases of error are officialism, (opposing =) insubordination, (presenting =) bribery, hoarding and (office-)seeking**».

2058. K ' i t s u e i w e i k ü n *27*.

All from Sï-ma Ts'ien and Ma Jung this has been taken to mean: »The offence (of leniency) is equal (to the crime connived at)». But there is really nothing in the text to warrant this sophistry. The text simply says: »**These offences are (equal =) on a par**».

2059. K ' i s h e n k ' o c h ï 28.

A. This is PK'ung's Ku-wen version. The k ' o *29* has been variously understood: *α*. PK'ung: »May you investigate and k ' o manage to deal with it» (sc. so as to stop it). — *β*. Ts'ai Ch'en: »May you investigate and be able in it (in the investigation)». — *γ*. Kiang Sheng: »May you investigate and (sustain it =) carry the burden of it». — **B.** The Kin-wen version reads: k ' i s h e n h o c h ï *30* »May you investigate it», s h e n - h o being a very natural and good binome, far better than the A version. Since *29* was **k'ək / k'ək / k ' o* and *31* was **g'ək / γək / h o*, it is possible that the k ' o *29* of A was simply a loan character for the h o *31* of B.

2060. K i e n f u y u c h u n g w e i m a o y u k i *32*.

A. PK'ung: »If you have ascertained and verified and (you have the multitude =) the multitude agrees with you, then (examine) the faces (of the parties) if there is a confirmation». K i *33* 'to examine' would then here mean 'to confirm, a confirmation'. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »When the ascertained and verified (points) are many, in the faces (of the parties) there should be an examination». — **C.** Kiang Sheng carries the first half to the preceding: »(Examine it), and you will have ascertained it and be trusted by your multitude». The second half he takes together with the following w u k i e n p u t ' i n g *34*. Shuowen quotes *35*. This m i a o *36* means 'fine hair or silk thread'. Kiang believes that by extension it means 'tiny, frail': »If (frailly =) too little there is k i verification, (the guilt) not being ascertained, it is not (listened to =) dealt with (as a crime)». Exceedingly forced. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen reminds that both in Li: Wang chï and in Chouli: Siao sï k'ou it is said that *37* »the multitude» should agree with the judgement; he therefore takes y u c h u n g as direct object of k i e n f u: »You should k i e n f u (ascertain =) satisfy and make trusting your multitude». Yet k i e n f u must evidently be the same as in an earlier line: to ascertain and verify (the guilt). Hence on this point A is certainly preferable. — **E.** The oldest version attainable is that of Shuowen; Sï-ma Ts'ien renders the line by w e i s ü n y u k i *38*, but this cannot be accepted as an early version, as Sï-ma so often replaced words in the Shu text with such of his own choice. M i a o *36* 'hair-fine, silk-fine' is known from no other text. But it is certainly cognate (**miog*) to

100.造 1.至 2.以兩造禁民訟 3.兩遭 4.兩曹 5.曹 6.師聽五辭 7.師 8.衆 9.士師 10.察獄訟之辭 11.士 12.五聽 13.五過之疵惟官惟反惟內惟貨惟來 14.官 15.來 16.往來 17.求 18.反 19.內 20.納 21.閉門而不內 22.納賄 23.納貨貝 24.貨 25.貨居 26.弗求弗迪 27.其罪惟均鈞 28.其審克之 29.克 30.其審核之 31.核 32.簡孚有衆惟貌有稽 33.稽 34.無簡不聽 35.惟貓有稽

m a o *39* (**mog*) 'hair', which confirms the meaning. »Hair-fine» in the sense of 'minute' is a common metaphor in Chinese (*40* »the point of a hair in the autumn»). PK'ung (or his Ku-wen predecessors) have believed that m i a o *36* was a loan char. for m a o *41* and corrected the text accordingly. As we have it revealed by Shuowen: *35*, it is simple and easy, and our line means: »**You should ascertain and verify and (have the multitude =) act in concert with public opinion; you should (hair-finely =) minutely make investigation**». Sï-ma's s ü n is but a paraphrase: »You should scrutinizingly make investigation».

2061. W u k i e n p u t' i n g *34*.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »**If (the guilt) is not ascertained, you should not (listen to =) deal with (the case)**». — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien reads: w u k i e n p u y i *42*. — Li: Wang chï has the A version. And, as pointed out by Chang Wen-hu, since neither P'ei Yin nor Sï-ma Cheng nor Chang Shou-tsie say a word about this text discrepancy, the reading y i *43* is probably a later corruption.

2062. K' i f a p o h u a n *44*.

There is a great confusion in regard to the weight here in question. *45* was **g'wan / ywan* / h u a n. This word is unknown in all other early texts, but is very likely (with Tai Chen) identical with the weight *46* **g'wân / ywân* / h u a n which occurs in Chouli: Ye shï (**g'wan* and **g'wân* being two aspects of the same stem). Whereas our h u a n *45* was PK'ung's version, Sï-ma Ts'ien's was *47*. The char. *48*, ordinarily read **sl̥iwət / s̥iuĕt* / s h u a i or **l̥iwət / liuĕt* / l ü, never has this meaning elsewhere and is obviously a loan char. for the word *49* **l̥iwat / l̥iwät* / l ü e, name of a weight which occurs in Chouli: Ye shï. Since h u a n *45* and l ü e *49* are graphically so similar, it would be tempting to say that either h u a n is a corruption of l ü e or *vice versa*; but this will not do, since both words, as said above, are attested to have really existed through the Chouli examples. Matters are further complicated by the fact that Han shu: Siao Wang-chï chuan has the reading *50* **s̥iwan / s̥iwăn* / s ü a n. Shang shu ta chuan reads *51*, which is evidently a mere »wrong mere variant of *50*. This double occurrence forbids our disposing of *50* as a mere »wrong character»; one early version certainly had **s̥iwan*. These triple forms: *45* **g'wan*: *49* **l̥iwat* (var. *48*): *50* **s̥iwan* (var. *51*) have so troubled the commentators, that they have tried to simplify matters to some extent. Ying Shao (2nd c. A. D.) proposes that *50* should here not be pronounced **s̥iwan* but »read like *52*» i. e. **s̥iwat* (in modern Chinese s h u a), which would at least make its final agree with *49* **l̥iwat*; but that is a poor speculation, since the phonetic in the graph (*53*) forbids it. And Sü Kuang (early 5th c. A. D.), knowing of Ying Shao's speculation about *50*, applies his trick also to the *48* of Sï-ma's: it should not be read **l̥iwət* (nor **l̥iwat*) but »read like *52*», i. e. **s̥iwat*, which is even less convincing; we can easily follow the shrewd scholastic tricks of Ying and Sü and we should immediately reject them. The fact remains that we are left with 3 unreconcilable words: **g'wan*, **s̥iwan*, **l̥iwat*. The Han scholars boldy declare them to be names for one and the same weight, defined as = 6 ounces (*54*) by some, as 6 2/3 ounces by others. But even in the same paragraph, with *49* **l̥iwat* (an arrow »weighing 3 h u a n» and a dagger-axe »weighing 3 l ü e»), and it is exceedingly unlikely that one and the same weight should go under two different names in the same paragraph; this text, the oldest we have besides our Shu passage, on the contrary suggests that the two weights h u a n (*46* **g'wân*, *45* **g'wan*) and l ü e (49 **l̥iwat*, var. *48* **l̥iwət*) were of different magnitude. It is quite obvious that the Han commentators could know nothing sure about the weight in our Shu line, and we must conscientiously translate: »**The redemption-fine is 100 h u a n (or: l ü e, or: s ü a n) weights (of bronze)**».

Y ü e s h ï k' i t s u e i see Gl. 1873.

K' i f a p e i: for Sï-ma Ts'ien's addition: *55*, the last word being probably an erroneous addition, see Chavannes MH I, p. 236.

2063. K' i f a p e i c h' a *56*.

We saw before that the redemption-fine for the 1st punishment (black-branding) was 100 huan, and that for the 2nd punishment (nose-cutting) it was p e i *57* double = 200 huan. Here we have the redemption fine for the 3rd punishment (leg-cutting), which was p e i c h' a, an obscure phrase; this again is followed by the 4th punishment (castration), redeemed with 600 huan, and the 5th punishment (death-penalty) with 1000 huan. Of the 5 degrees there is thus uncertainty of interpretation only in regard to the 3rd: 1st (100), 2nd (200), 3rd(?), 4th (600), 5th (1000).

A. Ma Jung: p e i c h' a *58* means »double the preceding, plus one-third», i. e. 2 × 200 + 133,3 = 533,3. It is difficult to see why c h' a should mean »1/3», and moreover a rising scale of this type: 100: 200: 533,3: 600: 1000 is absurd. — **B.** Kiang Sheng therefore modified: p e i means the original doubling (200) and c h' a means two-thirds of this: 200 + 133,3 = 333,3. This is little better, as a scale: 100: 200: 333, 3: 600: 1000. And why should c h' a mean »2/3»? — **C.** PK'ung: p e i means the doubling of the preceding and c h' a means: »one-half» of that, thus: 2 × 200 + 100 = 500. The scale becomes somewhat better: 100: 200: 500: 600: 1000, but still not very convincing; and why should c h' a mean »1/2»? — **D.** Another interpr. P e i means (with B above) the original doubling, i. e. from 100 to 200, and c h' a *59* has its normal meaning of 'difference': »**The redemption-fine is the (same) double plus the difference (between single and double)**» i. e. (200 + 100) = 300 huan. The scale then becomes reasonable: 100: 200: 300: 600: 1000. The reason why 300 is expressed in this at first sight curious way: »200 plus the difference (between 100 and 200)», is obvious: you emphasize that there is a regularly rising scale: the difference between the 3rd punishment (300 huan) and the 2nd (200 huan) is exactly the same as c h' a »the difference» between the 2nd (200) and the 1st (100); in short a rising by equal steps: 100: 200: 300. (After this a doubling to 600, and after this again the highest figure, the »complete number» [*60*], i. e. 1000).

2064. S h a n g h i a p i t s u e i *61*.

A. PK'ung takes p i *62* in its sense of 'to compare' (rising tone): »(In undefined cases) upwards (i. e. with graver crimes) and downwards (with lighter crimes) compare the offense». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes p i *62* in the sense of *63* 'to adjoin': »(In undefined cases) upwards (i. e. to graver crimes) or downwards (to lighter crimes) adjoin it». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen reminds of Li: Wang chï *64*, in which Cheng Hüan takes p i 'comparison' as = (cases to be compared with =) 'precedent': »One must examine lighter or graver precedents and thus decide it». Thus here, acc. to Sun: »(In undefines cases), in regard to s h a n g (upper =) graver or h i a (lower =) lighter cases, one should p i by precedent place the offence». — **D.** In all these interpr. it has been surmised that it is a question of offences which are not expressly stated in the laws, the »undefined» cases. But our Shu text contains nothing to the effect. Our line is a general rule pertaining to all cases: »**In (upper =) graver and (lower =) lighter cases you should (with precedents) compare the offences**».

2065. W u t s i e n l u a n t s' ï *65*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *66* »**Do not (have =) admit false and disorderly pleadings**». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: »Do not have erroneous and disorderly (pronouncements =) judgements».

36.緇 37.象 38.惟訊有稽 39.毛 40.秋毫之末 41.貌 42.無簡不疑 43.疑 44.其罰百鍰 45.鍰 46.垸 47.百 率 48.率 49.鉤 50.選 51.餌 52.刷 53.黑 54.兩 55.其罰倍灑 56.其罰倍差 57.倍 58.倍差 59.差 60.十分 61.上下比罪 62.比 63.附 64.必察小大之比以成之 65.無僭亂辭 66.無聽僭亂之辭

Sun Sing-yen tries to reconcile: »Do not have any erroneous and disorderly (pleading or sentencing) words». — No reason to abandon A.

2066. W u y u n g p u h i n g *67*.

A. PK'ung, as further expounded by K'ung Ying-ta, refers the line to the preceding (»do not admit false and disorderly pleadings»), do not use them (for your judgement), they cannot be applied». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, while confessing that he does not understand the line, mentions an interpr: **»Do not use what is (not current =) obsolete»**. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen have accepted this, and it tallies well with the following line.

S h a n g h i n g s h ï k ' i n g etc. see Gl. 1286.

2067. F a c h ' e n g f e i s ï, j e n k i y ü p i n g *68*.

A. PK'ung: »The correcting by fines is that one should not die but that the man (in question) should go to the extreme in suffering» (and so be kept from further offence). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: **»Through the correcting by fines there is no death but people come to the extreme in suffering»** (and hence the judgement should be careful). — **C.** Wang K'ai-yün: c h ' e n g *69* means *70* 'to stop': »Through the fines one stops (people from) f e i doing wrong and (hence) s ï dying». — B is simple and convincing.

2068. C h ' a t s ' ï y ü c h ' a f e i t s ' u n g w e i t s ' u n g *71*.

A. PK'ung: »Examine the pleadings with regard to their divergences, do not follow (the false pleadings), follow (the true state)». A dreadful construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: c h ' a *72* 'divergence' means self-contradictions in a party's pleading; and f e i t s ' u n g w e i t s ' u n g expresses the great justness: »Examine the pleadings as to self-contradictions; and (even) what you would not (be inclined) to follow, you should follow» (in order to be very impartial). Almost worse than A. — **C.** **»Examine the pleadings with regard to the divergences, (to find) which not to follow and which to follow»**.

2069. M i n g k ' i h i n g s h u s ü c h a n *73*.

PK'ung simply paraphrases: *74*. Since in: »Brightly open the book of the penal laws», m i n g 'bright' appears to make poor sense, Ts'ai Ch'en takes m i n g k ' i as a binome in the abstract sense of 'to make clear and open up' = to understand: »Clearly understand the book of penal laws». But in fact m i n g 'brightly' here obviously is taken as opposed to 'obscurely', i. e. = 'openly, visibly', without any concealment; the parties and the public should see the judge refer to the authoritative law codex: **»Publicly open the law codex and together look for the answer»**.

2070. Y ü c h ' e n g e r f u s h u e r f u *75*.

A. PK'ung takes the second (but not the first) e r *76* as = 'you': »When the litigation is finished and there is (certainty =) sure result, you should transmit your sure result» (sc. to the king). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en has realized this weakness and explains: »When the litigation has got its decision, this will be trusted (by the people); when it is transmitted, it will be trusted (by the king)». — **C.** Kiang Sheng reverts to A above (and Sun Sing-yen likewise), yet with the modification that he takes the first e r *76* as = *77*, the second as = »you». — **D.** Wang Yin-chï: s h u *78* stands for y ü *79* 'to change, to modify'. In Tso: Yin 6, the Ch'un ts'iu text (and also Kung-yang and Ku-liang) has s h u p ' i n g *80*, but Tso has *81*: »People from Cheng came and (changed, modified =) renewed the peace under different conditions». So our s h u (y ü) here stands in contrast to the preceding c h ' e n g, thus: »When the (verdict in) the litigation is definite, it will be trusted, when it is (changed =) modified, it will (likewise) be trusted». Exceedingly far-fetched. — **E.** Another interpr. K'ung Ying-ta, who accepts A, remarks that in »transmitting» the sure results to the king s h u *98* 'to transmit' really means *82* 'to write'. Now it is true that Kuangya has an entry s h u *78* = s i e *82*, but this, in fact, refers to s i e in the sense of 'to vent, to relieve' (Mao comm. on Ode 173 defines *83* by *84*). But, none the less, the idea is fecund. By a very natural extension of meaning s h u

'transmit' here means 'to commit to writing' (transmit the verdict from oral to written form). E r *76* means 'you' in both places, as in Hung fan *85* »You should make tranquil your mien», see Gl. 1532, 1536, 1548. F u *86* of course does not mean 'to trust', said of the people or the king, but has the same meaning as it had earlier in the chapter: 'to verify, verification, certainty'. Thus: **»When in a criminal case you have achieved (certainty =) your sure result, then (transmit) commit to writing your (certainty =) sure result»**.

2071. K ' i h i n g s h a n g p e i, y u p i n g l i a n g h i n g *87*.

A. PK'ung, following up his idea from the preceding line that it is a question of a report to the king, interprets: »The (report about the) punishment which s h a n g goes up (to the king) p e i should be complete, if (somebody) combines two punishments (this should also be reported)». A comical idea that half of the last passage has to be supplied. And yet it has been accepted by Ts'ai and Legge. — **B.** Kiang Sheng has a curious idea: »The (report about the) punishment which goes up (to the king) should be complete, if there is (a crime) which (combines two punishments =) is intermediary between two punishments» (it should also be reported, for the decision of the king). Even worse than A. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen, referring to a Cheng Hüan gloss on Shang shu ta chuan, believes that the last words mean: »One combines two punishments», i. e. in case of two crimes, one metes out only one punishment for the most serious and leaves the other unpunished. Y u *88* cannot then be construed. But Chang Ping-lin would save the theory by taking y u *88* as = *89* and including the first 4 words in the context: p e i *90* **b'i̯əg* stands for f u *91* (**b'i̯ŭk*), and *92* = s h a n g f u *93* has the same meaning as earlier in our chapter (»upwards applied»). Thus: »The punishments are upwards applied (for such who) y u p i n g combine two punishments», i. e. only the highest is carried out. This would have been more plausible if the sequence had been different and the sentence had run: y u p i n g l i a n g h i n g, k ' i h i n g s h a n g (p e i =) f u. As it stands, this interpr. will hardly do. — **D.** Another interpr. The first half belongs to the preceding: »(commit to writing your sure results;) **the punishments should be (put up =) recorded and completely indicated; when one has combined (two crimes), he should have two punishments»** (they should not be slumped). For s h a n g *94* 'to put up' ⇒ 'to record', cf. the quite analogous t e n g *95*, e. g. Chouli: Siao sï t'u *96* »Each (puts up =) records the population of his district».

2072. K u a n p o t s u s i n g *97*.

A. PK'ung takes k u a n - p o together: »You chiefs of the officers (i. e. you feudal lords), clansmen (of mine), (men of other) clans». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: k u a n »law-court officers and p o feudal lords etc.» (as above). — **C.** Kiang Sheng: K u a n p o means the same as the s ï c h e n g t i e n y ü *98* »managers of government and directors of criminal cases» earlier in our chapter; and t s u s i n g is a summing up of the »uncles, brothers and cousins, young sons and young grandsons», likewise to be found earlier in our chapter. This is a very arbitrary theory. — We have seen earlier that p o s i n g *99* »the hundred clans» means »the gentry» (see Gl. 1212), and we had better, with A, keep close to the text as it stands: **»you chiefs of the officers, you clansmen and you gentry»**. This is definitely confirmed by an earlier line *100* »Then he trained the gentry (i. e. officials) in the justness of the punishments», see Gl. 2042.

67勿用不行 68.罰懲非死人極于病 69.懲 70.止 71.察辭于差非從惟從 72.差 73.明啓刑書胥占 74.明開刑書 75.獄成而孚輸而孚 76.而 77.能 78.輸 79.渝 80.輸平 81.渝平 82.寫 83.我心寫兮 84.輸寫其心也 85.而康而色 86.孚 87.其刑上備有并兩刑 88.有 89.又 90.備 91.服 92.上備 93.上服 94.上 95.登 96.各登其鄉之衆 97.官伯族姓 98.司政典獄 99.百姓 100.爰制百姓于

2073. C h e n y e n t o k ü *1.*

A. PK'ung: My speech is largely (causing fear =) scaring». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »**My speech (has much fear =) is full of apprehension**» (foll. by: I am reverently careful about the punishments). The context decides in favour of B.

2074. Y u t ê w e i h i n g *2.*

A. PK'ung: »The virtuous should (punish =) mete out the punishments». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »With (virtue =) goodness I punish». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »The goodness (to the people), is it not in the punishments?». — **D.** Sun Sing-yen takes w e i *3* as the verb: »**The virtuous must think of the punishments**». — **E.** Legge: »The end of punishment is to promote virtue»(!). — **F.** Wang K'ai-yün: h i n g here does not mean 'punishment' but 'to take as pattern': »The virtuous ones I take as pattern»(!). In A and B, h i n g is taken as a verb, which is a weakness. D seems to be the least unreasonable interpr.

2075. K i n t' i e n s i a n g m i n *4.*

A. Ma Jung: s i a n g *5* = *6* 'to aid' (common): »**Now, when Heaven would aid the people**». — **B.** PK'ung: s i a n g *5* = *7* 'to govern': »Now, when Heaven would govern people». But s i a n g has no such meaning.

2076. T s o p' e i y ü h i a *8.*

A. PK'ung refers this, as usual, to the ruler: »(Now, when Heaven would aid the people), **it has created a counterpart for itself here below**» (sc. me, I am responsible). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en believes that it refers to the judges: »it makes you its counterparts here below». — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

2077. M i n g t s' i n g y ü t a n t s' ï *9.*

A. Comm. on Hou Han shu (Kuang-wu pen ki) explains t a n t s' ï *10* as 'single pleading' in the sense of *11* 'one-sided', thus: »**You should bring clarity into the (single =) one-sided pleadings (pleadings from one of the parties only)**». This has been followed by K'ung Ying-ta and most later writers. — **B.** Comm. on Hou Han shu: Chu Fou chuan: t a n t s' ï »(single, simple =) bare pleadings» means *12* having no proof, thus: »unsubstantiated pleadings». Ts'ai Ch'en has tried to combine the two interpr., but they are really quite different, t a n 'single' taken either as 'single' as opposed to 'double', or as 'single' = 'simple, unadorned'. A is superior since t a n t s' ï here stands in contrast to the l i a n g t s' ï »two pleadings» in the next line. — In Lun: Yen Yüan we have an analogous phr.: p' i e n y e n k' o y i c h ê y ü *13* »From a onesided speech (the speech of one party only) ha can decide a criminal case». This was explained by Cheng Hüan as: p' i e n *14* (**p'ian* and **p'wân*) = *15* (**pwân*) 'half' (cognate words), the idea of »a half speech» not being (with Chu Hi, Legge and Waley) »half a word» but (as in A above) only half of the pleading, the pleading of one (half =) side. Ho Yen, on the other hand, quotes »K'ung» (An-kuo) to the effect that *14* **p'ian* is loan char. for *11* **p'ian* 'oblique, one-sided', again leading to the A sense.

2078. M i n c h ï l u a n *16.*

The comm., ancient and modern, are unanimous in taking »l u a n» = *17* 'to govern' (i. e.: it should really be read s ï *18* = *19*, see Gl. 1464): »**The governing of the people**». There is really nothing against taking l u a n in its ordinary sense: »In the people's troubles». But we may do best in being conservative and following the tradition, since the first interpr. is fully plausible.

2079. W u h u o s ï k i a y ü y ü c h ï l i a n g t s' ï *20.*

A. PK'ung: »Do not achieve (i. e. enrich) your private house from the two pleading (parties) in criminal cases». Thus he takes k i a *21* as a noun with s ï as attribute, and supplies a verb c h' e n g 'to achieve' which is not in the text. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen takes k i a *21* as the verb, reminding of a phr. in Li: T'an Kung *22*: »The noble man does not (make his householding on =) profit from his mourning». This is obviously right; s ï *23* is an adverb and k i a the verb of the clause: »**Do not perchance privately (make your householding on =) profit from the two pleading (parties) in a criminal case**». — **C.** Chuang Shu-tsu proposes that k i a *21* is a short-form for *24*, which, he says, is defined as = *25* 'to sell' in Kao Yu's comm. on Ts'ê. It is difficult to see how the sentence here could then be construed.

W e i f u k u k u n g *26*: Chang Ping-lin and Yü Sing-wu have two interpr. with emendations for nearly every word, which do not deserve being repeated here.

2080. P a o y i s h u y u *27.*

A. PK'ung: »You will be requited by the crowd's finding you guilty». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: y u *28* = *29*: »You will be requited by many misfortunes». But y u *28* (var. *30*) means 'fault, crime, guilt', not 'misfortune'. Legge tries to save B by playing on the double meaning of Engl. 'evil': »You will be recompensed with many evils», an unfortunate trick. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »**You will be requited by much guilt**» (sc. and ensuing punishment). — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu: »You will requite (your superiors) with many faults».

2081. F e i t' i e n p u c h u n g w e i j e n t s a i m i n g *31.*

A. Pk'ung: »It is not that Heaven is not just; men in their orders (cause the lack of justness)». This impossible ellipsis has been mended by Kiang Sheng, who places a comma after j e n: »It is not that Heaven is unjust; it is the men, in their orders». The idea to take m i n g as = *32* 'commands, orders' is not very plausible. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: »... men themselves take (an unhappy) fate». This, of course, cannot be based on the Shu line. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: ».... men depend on Heaven's grant (of life)». This making no sense in the context, Sun has to add: therefore, if they disobey Heaven, they ruin themselves (!). — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu reads the preceding two words w e i f a *35* together with this, punctuating: w e i f a f e i t' i e n, p u c h u n g w e i j e n, and Liu Feng-lu tries desperately to make some sense out of this: »In punishing, if you do not (obey) Heaven, and if you are not just, then men (are defenseless).» A curious attempt. — **E.** Another interpr. T s a i *34* in the Shu is common in the sense of *35* 'to scrutinize, to examine', see Gl. 751. The line means: »**It is not that Heaven is not just; it is man who should (scrutinize =) fully understand its decrees**».

2082. K i n w a n g h o k i e n f e i t ê y ü m i n c h ï c h u n g *36.*

PK'ung punctuates after k i e n: k i n w a n g h o k i e n »Henceforth, what should you scrutinize (sc. for imitation)». Yü Yüe would divide differently: k i n w a n g, h o k i e n f e i t ê: »Henceforth, what should you scrutinize if not the virtue», on the analogy of an earlier passage in our chapter: h o t s ê f e i j e n, h o k i n g f e i h i n g *37*, which at first sight seems tempting. But first, the following y ü m i n c h ï c h u n g will then make no sense, and, secondly, there is a still more striking par. in our chapter which confirms A: k i n e r h o k i e n, f e i s h ï P o Y i *38*. This is conclusive. It then remains to interpret f e i t ê y ü m i n c h ï c h u n g *39*:

A. PK'ung paraphrases: *40* »Is it not to establish (virtue =) goodness towards the people and create justness for it». But the Shu line cannot possibly be construed to mean

刑之中 1.朕言多懼 2.有德惟刑 3.惟 4.今天相民 5.相 6.助 7.治 8.作配于下 9.明清于單辭 10.單辭 11.偏 12.無證據 13.片言可以折獄 14.片 15.半 16.民之亂 17.治 18.嗣 19.司 20.無或私家于獄之兩辭 21.家 22.君子不家於喪 23.私 24.嫁 25.賣 26.惟府辜功 27.報以庶尤 28.尤 29.殃 30.試 31.非天不中 惟人在命 32.教命 33.惟罰 34.在 35.察 36.今往何監非德于民之中 37.何擇非人何敬非刑 38.今爾何監非時伯夷 39.非德于民之中 40.非當立德於民

this. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: *41* »Is it not those who (achieved) virtue and (perfected) the people's justness», an equally impossible construction. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »Is it not this virtue (inherent) in the people's middle position (between Heaven and Earth)». (!) — **D.** Another interpr. As long as we insist that c h u n g *42* should mean 'just, justness' here, the line will remain impossible to construe. Thus c h u n g has its ordinary meaning. On the analogy of the line *38*, our line *39* here should refer to persons (with B), not to abstract notions. Thus: »**Henceforth, whom should you scrutinize (sc. for imitation)? Is it not the virtuous ones in the midst of the people?**».

2083. S h a n g m i n g t' i n g c h ī t s a i *43*.

A. PK'ung: »**May you (brightly =) enlightenedly listen to it**». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: »May you be enlightened in t' i n g (listening to =) dealing with (the criminal cases)». Sun Sing-yen likewise, but taking m i n g *44* = *45*: »May you be energetic . . . .». — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr. (A).

2084. C h ê j e n w e i h i n g w u k i a n g c h ï t s' ï c h u y ü w u k i h i e n c h u n g y u k' i n g *46*.

A. PK'ung: »The wise men (used) punishments, and had a limitless fame; they applied (the criminal cases) to the justness of the 5 (constant norms), they all were just and had goodness». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: w u k i *47* means *48* the five punishments: »The wise men . . . . fame; all that c h u had to do with w u k i the five punishments was just, and so they were praised». But k i has no such meaning. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: »The wise men, in the innumerable pleadings, they (made the cases) (attach to =) agree with (the 5 justnesses =) the just 5 punishments; when they all were just, there was happiness». — **D.** Wang Yin-chï: our c h ê j e n w e i h i n g *49* is the same as the c h ê m i n w e i h i n g *50*, which really means *51* »For restraining the people there were the (punishments =) penal laws», see Gl. 2038. This is obviously right. K i *51* is well attested in the sense of *52* 'the middle way, the proper mean, the correct norm', see Gl. 182, 1524. Thus: »**For restraining the people there are the (punishments =) penal laws. The innumerable (pleadings =) legal cases should be applied to the five proper norms (i. e. the norms for the five punishments), and when all is just, there will be happiness**».

K i e n y ü t s ï s i a n g h i n g see Gl. 2053.

Wen Hou chï ming.

2085. W a n g j o y ü e f u y i h o *53*.

As to w a n g j o y ü e, which Ma Jung paraphrases *54* »The king (compliantly =) aimiably said», it is frequent in the Shu, simply meaning: »**The king spoke thus**».

A. Ma Jung: f u y i h o is a finite clause, meaning: »You, my (father =) uncle, by righteousness can unite (the feudal lords)». Since f u y i h o recurs several times in our chapter as an obvious vocative, we have to modify this into: »**Oh (father =) uncle and peacemaker**». The ceremony took place, says Sï-ma Ts'ien, when prince Wen had brought Ch'u into loyal allegiance to the king and presented the booty. — **B.** Cheng Hüan: since prince Wen *55* of Tsin had the personal name K'iu *56* (see Tso: Huan 2), his appellation could be Yi *57* (a translation of K'iu: »vis-à-vis»), and Yi *58* could be a short-form for *57*. Cheng says nothing of h o *59* (Kiang Sheng comically explains it as *60* »a phonetic superfetation» (*57* y i = **ngia*: y i - h o = **ngia-g'wâ*), but PK'ung logically followed up Cheng's idea, declaring Yi-Ho to be a binominal appellation: »Oh, uncle Yi Ho». There is not the slightest support for all this name speculation.

2056. K' o s h e n m i n g t ê *61*.

A. PK'ung: »They could be careful to (make bright =) promote the virtuous». Cf. Gl. 1210. — **B.** Sie Chao-ming: »They could be careful about the bright virtue» (foll. by

Chavannes, MH. 4, p. 303). — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »**They could be careful to make bright the virtue**». Besides the par. in Yao tien (see Gl. 1210) there is K'ang kao *62* »Your greatly illustrious father Wen Wang could make bright the virtue and be careful about the punishments». Here m i n g must be a transitive verb, and the par. is conclusive.

2086. C h a o s h ï k ü e p i *63*.

A. PK'ung: »**They brightly served their sovereign**». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: c h a o *64* (**t̂i̯og*) is loan char. for c h a o *65* (**t̂i̯og*), which in Erya is defined as = *66*, thus: »They energetically served». But of this Erya meaning these are no text ex., and the loan speculation is arbitrary and unnecessary; many Ts'ing scholars proposed things like this in order to diverge, at any price, from the orthodox interpr.

2087. S ï s i e n t s u h u a i t s a i w e i *67*.

A. PK'ung paraphrases h u a i t s a i w e i by *68* »returned to being on the throne»; this makes poor sense, unless it means: »My ancestors one after the other came on the throne». But h u a i = k u e i, though an Erya gloss, is not confirmed, see Gl. 110 a. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en renders h u a i by *69*: »My ancestors were tranquil on the throne». This is based on a gloss by Cheng Hüan on Ode 68, phr. *70*, where he says h u a i = a n *69*. This, however, makes no sense and that line obviously means: »I yearn, I yearn». Thus there is no support whatever for B. — **C.** Another interpr. H u a i fundamentally means 'to carry in the bosom, to cherish, to love', e. g. Ode 3, phr. *71* »I am sighing for my (cherished =) beloved one»; Ode 76 phr. *72* »You Chung are worth loving», etc. (very common). Thus here: »**And so my ancestors were beloved on the throne**».

M i n y ü s i a o t s ï s ï t s a o t' i e n p' e i k' i e n see Gl. 1589.

2088. T' i e n t s ï t s ê y ü h i a m i n *73*.

A. PK'ung takes t' i e n »Heaven» as subject. »It (sc. Heaven) has cut off the t s ï resources for t s ê bounties to the lower people». Sun Sing-yen combines t s ï - t s ê as a binome, paraphrasing it by *74*: »It has cut off the bounties to the lower people». — **B.** In accordance with our interpr. of the preceding line, the subject must be »I»: »**I have destroyed the resources and bounties for the lower people**».

2089. T s' i n j u n g w o k u o c h' u n (c h u n) *75*.

A. »PK'ung: ïInvading (weapons =) soldiers (harm) our state and great families, and (the harm) is great». The principal verb of the clause would thus be missing and have to be supplied, which of course is impossible. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en takes j u n g as the western barbarians, but commits the same fault as A: »The invading Jung are (a harm) to our state (that is) great». Moreover, when we know from historical sources that the invaders were Ti *76*, there is no reason why they should here be called Jung. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: *77* (**d̂i̯wən / ź̂i̯uĕn / c h' u n*) stands for *78* in the reading **t̂i̯wən / l̂i̯uĕn / c h u n* 'difficult, difficulty' (in other words: an original *78* has been erroneously enlarged into *77*). Cf. Yi: Kua 3, phr. *79* »Difficult and hampered» (in its going); Chuang: Wai wu *80* »They

為之中正乎 41.非成德而能全民所受之中者 42.中 43.尚明聽之哉 44.明 45.勉 46.哲人惟刑無疆之辭屬于五極咸中有慶 47.五極 48.五刑 49.哲人惟刑 50.折民惟刑 51.制民惟刑 52.極 53.中 53.王若曰父義和 54.王順曰 55.文 56.仇 57.儀 58.義 59.和 60.語餘聲 61.(丕顯文武) 可慎明德 62.乃丕顯考文王克明德慎罰 63.昭事厥辟 64.昭 65.釗 66.勉 67.肆先祖懷在位 68.歸在位 69.安 70.懷哉懷哉 71.嗟我懷人 72.仲可懷也 73.分資澤于下民 74.財祿 75.侵戎我國家純 76.狄 77.純 78.屯 79.屯如邅如 80.沈屯 81.屯窮 82.侵戎 83.戎侵 84.惟 85.于 86.戎戰

are plunged in difficulties»; Sün: Chung Ni *81* »in difficulties and distress». Sun says that t s ' i n j u n g *82* is equal to j u n g t s ' i n *83*: »(Weapons =) armies invade (so that) our state is in difficulties». But such an inversion is impossible. We should have to construe: »Invading (weapons =) armies are (our state's difficulty =) distress to our state». This is wort considering, but it would be more convincing if there were a copula w e i : t s ' i n j u n g w e i *84* w o k u o k i a c h u n. — **D.** Chang Ping-lin: the char. *77* need not be altered; read **t̂i̯wən / tśi̯uĕn* / c h u n it is exceedingly common in the sense of 'border' of a mat or a garment; so we already had it in Ku ming above. Here it refers to the frontier. This is strikingly plausible. It would then be tempting to take the last words as an adverbial phrase: »Invading (weapons =) armies (are) (in) our state's border». In fact a locative without an expressed y ü *85* is common in Shï and Shu. But then the verb should not be missing at the same time (a phr. like *86* »Armies fight (on) the border» would be all right). We must therefore take t s ' i n and j u n g as two coördinated verbs: »**One invades and attacks our state's border**». For j u n g as a verb: »to treat with weapons, to attack» cf. Shu: T'ai shï ap. Kyü hia: j u n g S h a n g p i k ' o *87* »If you attack Shang you will certainly vanquish it.» This par. is conclusive.

2090. T s i w o y ü s h ï w a n g h u o k ' i s h o u t s ü n t s a i k ü e f u *88*.

T s i *89* is expl. by Kiang Sheng as = *90*, by Sun Sing-yen as = *91*: »Now, our managers of affairs». But in fact it is the concessive »even (if it is)», like Mandarin t s i u s h ï *92*: »Even among our managers of affairs . . .» **A.** PK'ung's version (Ku-wen) is as above: »Even among my managers of affairs, there are none who perchance are aged and eminent in their (work =) offices». K ' i - s h o u would thus be a binome, followed by the single t s ü n, which is rhythmically bad. Sun Yi-jang tries to amend this by dividing differently: w a n g h u o k ' i s h o u, t s ü n t s a i k ü e f u: »There are none who are aged, and (who are) eminent in their offices». This is certainly better, but it is still strained to let the same w a n g *93* govern first k ' i - s h o u and then t s ü n, the line equalling: w a n g k ' i s h o u, w a n g t s ü n t s a i k ü e f u. — **B.** The Kin-wen version, as quoted in an edict of 20 B. C. (Han shu: Ch'eng ti pen ki), reads: T s i w o y ü s h ï w a n g k ' o k ' i s h o u k i u t s a i k ü e k u n g *94*. Since the commentator Wen Ying (2:nd c. A. D.) paraphrases: *94*, Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that the Kin-wen as well had a t s ü n *95* (paraphr. by *96*) after s h o u, but that is hardly likely; in fact the superiority of the Kin-wen is precisely that it has a better rhythm, thanks to its lack of t s ü n; Wen may have known of the competing Ku-wen and formulated reconcilingly. Wen explains his line: »Among the managers of affairs I have not been able (to have) aged (and experienced) ones; the fault (of our disasters) is on their persons». Yen Shï-ku better refers the last words to the king himself. And since w a n g k ' o k ' i s h o u cannot possibly mean »I have not been able to have aged ones», we have to interpret differently: »**Even among our managers of affairs, none have been capable of becoming (aged =) veterans, and the fault is (on my body =) mine**». — The B text is much earlier attested than the A text, and it suits the context even better than A, being a continuation of the king's self-reproaches.

2091. W e i t s u w e i f u *97*.

A. PK'ung: »**My grand-uncles and uncles**», addressing the feudal lords. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: »My grand-father and father (in Heaven)». — B would seem to be most simple and natural; but the whole chapter is an appeal by the king to a powerful feudal lord to support him, not to his dead ancestors.

2092. K ' i y i s ü c h e n k u n g *98*.

A. PK'ung renders y i *99* by w e i *100*, thus taking it to be an empty particle, as very often in the Odes. »**May you anxiously think of my person**». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: *1* »Who can anxiously think about me». It may seem strange that Ts'ai renders y i *99* by s h u e i 'who'; but he has probably had in mind Ode 192, phr. *2* »whom does he hate?»,

Ode 199, phr. *3* »Who are following him», and so he has imagined that y i here stood as abbreviation for y i s h u e i.

2093. Y u t s i y ü y i j e n y u n g s u e i t s a i w e i *4*.

A. PK'ung: »**If you have achievements, I, the One Man, will forever be tranquil in my high position**». T s i *5* = 'achievement, merit' is common, as in Yao tien *6* »the achievements will all be resplendent». — **B.** Sï-ma Ts'ien (Tsin shï kia) paraphrases: *7* k i »Continue me, the One Man, (so that) forever I shall be in the high position». This is because Erya says that t s i *5* = *8* 'to continue'. But this sense is a rare extension of meaning, see the full discussion in Gl. 861; and moreover Sï-ma has simply ignored the y u *9* of the Shu line. Sun Sing-yen has tried to amend this, still taking t s i = 'to continue', by another interpr. applicable both to Shu and Sï-ma's line: »(If) there is a continuance, I, the One Man, will forever be tranquil in the high position». This, however, is rather strained.

2094. J u k ' o s h a o n a i h i e n t s u *10*.

Of the Shï san king chu su, some editions have s h a o *11* as above: »**You are able to continue after your illustrious ancestors**». Other editions have c h a o *12*: »You are able to make bright your illustrious ancestors». Since PK'ung paraphrases it by m i n g *13*, it is evident that his text had *12*, and Yüan Yüan concludes that s h a o *11* is erroneous. But on the contrary it is the better reading. The original graph has probably been simply *14* without radical (Chou fashion), and the early Han scribes have filled it out into s h a o *11* or c h a o *12* as they understood the line. S h a o, however, has the support of many analogous texts, the theme of a prince or dignitary »continuing after his ancestors» being ubiquitous. We have, in bronze inscription, Hu Ting (Grammata inscr. 132) phr. *15* »I charge you to succeed to your ancestors»; Po Ch'en Ting (Grammata inscr. 159) phr. *16* »Continue after your ancestors»; Ode 260, phr. *17* »Continue after your ancestors»; Tso: Siang 14, phr. *18* »Continue after your ancestors». In all these cases the words are spoken in a royal »charge» of just the same kind as our chapter here.

J u c h a o h i n g W e n W u see Gl. 1042.

2095. Y u n g h u e i s h a o n a i p i *19*.

A. PK'ung: »Thereby you shall collect and cause-to-continue (the goodness of) your sovereign». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »You have harmonized and caused-to-continue (the principles of) your sovereigns». — **C.** Kiang Sheng thinks that h u e i *20* means *21* »to unite the feudal lords» and Legge goes further and says that h u e i refers to the armies of the lords coming to save the fugitive king: »You have collected (the scattered powers) and continued (the all-but-broken line of) your sovereign». — **D.** Another interpr. For s h a o see Gl. 1730: »(You should diligently imitate Wen and Wu) **and thus join in and continue (the work of) your sovereign**».

2096. J u t o s i u h a n w o y ü k i e n *22*.

A. Chouli: Sï hün has a curious enumeration of terms for »merit»: h ü n *23* (for *24*), k u n g *25* (for *26*), y u n g *27* (for *28*), l a o *29* (for *30*), l i *31* (for *32*) and t o *31*,

我國家純*87*戎商必克*88*即我御事罔或耆壽俊在厥服*89*即*90*今*91*就今*92*就是*93*罔克耆壽俾在厥躬*94*無能有耆老賢者*95*俊*96*賢*97*惟祖惟父*98*其伊恤朕躬*99*伊*100*惟
*1*其誰能恤我乎 *2*伊誰云憎 *3*伊誰云從 *4*有績予一人永綏在位 *5*績 *6*庶績咸熙
*7*繼予一人永其在位 *8*繼 *9*有 *10*汝克紹乃先祖 *11*紹 *12*昭 *13*明 *14*召 *15*命汝更乃祖
考 *16*嗣(嗣)乃祖考 *17*纘乃祖考 *18*纂乃祖考 *19*用會紹乃辟 *20*會 *21*會諸侯 *22*汝多修扞

this last being the term for *34* »merits in war». The comm. have discussed how t o *33* »much» came to mean this, some propounding that it meant »great amount of prisoners»(!). PK'ung, seizing upon this, interprets: »Your t o warlike merits s i u have been fine». Kiang Sheng prefers to take s i u *35* as = *36* 'long': »Your warlike merits have been prolonged». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »You have much repaired (sc. of our losses), and you have defended me in my difficulties». — **C.** Sun Yi-jang punctuates after t o, and takes s i u *35* as standing for y u *37*: j u t o, y u h a n w o y ü k i e n, whatever that may mean. — **D.** Chang Ping-lin: s i u = 'long' is coördinated with t o : »You have largely and (lengthily =) widely defended me». — **E.** Yü Sing-wu: s i u (**siôg*) »had the same sound» as h i u *38* (**χiôg*), and means *39* 'fine': »You are grandly fine, you have defended me». — **F.** Another interpr. It is difficult to see why t o and s i u should not have their ordinary meanings. T o *40* is common meaning 'on many occasions, often, constantly', e. g. Tso: Wen 15, phr. *41* »He (much, largely =) often does undecorous things»; Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, hia *42* »Your missing your place in the ranks has been on many occasions», etc. (very common). S i u *35* 'to cultivate' means 'to devote oneself to, attend to, do one's best about', as in Tso: Siang phr. *43* »He attended to the business of the people»; Tso: Chao 13, phr. *44* »They did not attend to the defenses»; Tso: Chao 26, phr. *45* »Able well to attend to his office». Thus here: **»You have (largely =) on many occasions well attended to defending me in my difficulties».**

J o u y ü a n n e n g e r see Gl. 917.

Pi shï.

2097. T s ' u t s ï *46*.

A. PK'ung carries this to the following: t s ' u t s ï H u a i Y i S ü J u n g p i n g h i n g *47*. **»We march against these Yi of the Huai (River region) and the Jung of Sü (who) all together have risen».** P i n g h i n g is then an enclitic relative clause, a common feature, e. g. Shu: Tsï ts'ai *48* »and thus gladden the former kings who received the mandate» (see Gl. 1714). — **B.** Sun Sing-yen carries it to the preceding: t ' i n g m i n g t s ' u t s ï *49* »For listening to my order come here». This would be more convincing if the text had been t s ' u t s ï t ' i n g m i n g »come here and listen to my command». As it stands, B is not convincing. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: t s ' u *50* stands for *51*, which is a mere initial particle in the Siao ch'en lai Kuei *52* inscr., phr. *53*, which is very analogous to our phr. here. We should therefore not translate t s ' u *50*. This is certainly ingenious and tempting, but the supporting material is hardly sufficient.

2098. S h a n l i a o n a i k i a c h o u *54*.

Shïwen reads *55*, which is a *hapax legomenon* in the texts, with the sound **liog / lieu* / l i a o. Tuan Yü-ts'ai doubts this, but on insufficient grounds.

A. Sï-ma Ts'ien (Lu shï kia) paraphrases l i a o by *56*: »Display well your buffcoats and helmets». No support. — **B.** Cheng Hüan: l i a o means *57* 'to perforate': »Stitch well your buffcoats and helmets». No support. — **C.** Shuowen, quoting our line, says that l i a o = *58*: **»Select well your buffcoats and helmets».** Chu Tsün-sheng proposes that *55* is loan char. for *59*; we should better say that it is a variant of l i a o *59*, the element 'rice' forming part in both. L i a o *59* properly means 'to measure', by extension 'to estimate, try, select'. In the bronze inscriptions on the Ch'en Fang Kuei (Grammata, inscr. 287) there is a line *60* »selected auspicious bronze»; in the first character we again have m i 'rice' and Wu Shï-fen (Kün ku lu kin wen) already correctly identified it as another variant of our l i a o *55* 'to select', this being conclusively confirmed by its forming the binome l i a o - t s ê 'to select'. C is thus well supported.

W u k a n p u t i a o »Do not dare not to be good». For t i a o = good' (not = 'to

come') see Gl. 429. But t i a o 'good' is good in the moral sense, so that the line does not refer to the weapons (»Do not dare to [cause them to be] not good»), as has generally been admitted.

T u a n n a i k u o m a o see Gl. 907.

2099. K i n w e i y i n s h ê k u n i u m a *61*.

A. Cheng Hüan takes k u *62* as a variant for k u *63* 'manacles' (both **kôk*): **»Now they will largely let loose hoppled oxen and horses».** This is quite plausible, since the Chou-time graph probably was only *64* (without radical), filled out into *62* by the Han-time transcribers. — **B.** Shuowen (foll. by PK'ung), quoting our line, says that k u *62* means *65* 'stable, pen', a word attested in Yi: Kua 26 (the present Shuowen text in Sü K'ie's version quotes *66* and in Sü Hüan's version *67*; with Shuowen's definition 'stable' of k u, the last makes no sense here [»Now they will stable the oxen»], and the absence of s h ê *68* and of y i n s h ê *69* respectively is obviously a corruption). Thus: »Now they will largely let loose the oxen and horses of the stables». — It might seem obvious that B is preferable since k u *62* 'stable' is attested in Yi. But in the next line we have: w u k a n s h a n g k u *70*. With the B interpr., we have here to assume a violent ellipsis: »Do not dare to hurt the (animals from the) stables», which is certainly poor. No such difficulty pertains to A: »Do not dare to damage the hoppled ones». This decides in favour of A.

2100. W o s h a n g l a i j u *71*.

A. PK'ung: »I will s h a n g estimate (the merit) and reward you». — **B.** Sü Miao: s h a n g *72* (**śiang*) is loan char. for c h a n g *73* (**îiang*): »I will distinguish you and reward you». An arbitrary speculation. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: s h a n g *72* here means 'to give, to endow', as shown by the combination with l a i. For further corroboration see Gl. 1873. S h a n g - l a i is a binome of synonyms: **»I will reward you».**

2101. J u t s ê y u w u y ü h i n g f e i s h a *74*.

A. PK'ung: w u y ü h i n g »the punishments without remainder» means all the various kinds of punishments that exist; thus: »You will have (one or other of) all the various punishments, short of death». — **B.** Cheng Hüan: »You will have the punishment of having no (remaining ones =) descendants (i. e. being deprived of your wife and children) but you will not be killed». — **C.** Wang Su: »You will have the (no exemption-punishment =) punishment comprising your whole family, but you will not be killed». — **D.** Yü Yüe: »You will have (the punishment without remainder =) all the punishments combined, except the death penalty»; in other words, you will be branded, lose nose and feet and be castrated. — **E.** Sun Yi-jang: y ü *75* was originally wr. *76*, without radical (Chou fashion; cf. Chouli: Wei jen *77* »the remaining collectings», where *76* stands for *75*), and here this *76* is merely a graphical variant for s h ê *78* (cf. that in the Wei stone classics y ü *76* 'I' is wr. *79*). W u s h ê h i n g *80* »punishment without pardoning» are

我于艱21勳 24.王功 25.功 26.國功 27.庸 28.民功 29.勞 30.事功 31.力 32.治功 33.多 34.戰功 35.
修 36.長 37.攸 38.休 39.美 40.多 41.多行不禮 42.子之失伍也亦多矣 43.修民事 44.不修備 45.
克能修其職 46.徂茲 47.徂茲淮夷徐戎並興 48.用懌先王受命 49.聽令徂茲 50.徂 51.虘 52.
小臣速 53.虘東夷大反 54.善數乃甲胄 55.數 56.陳 57.脩敽 58.擇 59.料 60.鍰擇吉金 61.今惟
淫舍牿牛馬 62.牿 63.牿 64.告 65.牢 66.今惟淫牿牛馬 67.今惟牿牛馬 68.舍 69.淫舍 70.無敢
傷牿 71.我商賚汝 72.商 73.章 74.汝則有無餘刑非殺 75.餘 76.余 77.其余聚 78.舍 79.舍 80.無

such as do not follow the praxis described in Chouli: Sĭ yüan of a condonement after three, two or one years. Thus: »**You will have the punishments not liable of condonement, but you will not be killed**». This seems to be the least improbable solution.

Ts'in shĭ.

2102. M i n k i t s ĭ j o s h ĭ t o p ' a n *81.*

A. PK'ung: »When the people k i exhaustively t s ĭ j o follows the compliant (principles), then there is much joy». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »People k i (exhaustively =) all t s ĭ by nature j o s h ĭ are like this, that they t o p ' a n largely are contented (with themselves)». — **C.** Another interpr. K i *82* = *83* 'to stop' (the ordinary meaning), here as an adverb: 'stoppingly' = 'only'; t s ĭ j o 'to follow oneself', to do as it pleases oneself, a common meaning: »**People only (follow themselves =) follow their own wishes, and that is their great joy**». Cf. Ts'ê: Ts'in ts'ê: »Tseng Shen's mother *84* still continued to weave and was complacent». For p ' a n *85* = 'joy' see Gl. 160. — **C.** Yü Yüe: p ' a n *85* stands for p ' a n *86* which in Shuowen is defined as = p i *87*. Now p i *87* can mean 'perversity', and that is also the meaning of p ' a n here: »People (exhaustively =) all follow (themselves =) their own wishes and then there are many perversities». P ' a n in Shuowen is defined by p i *87* 'to deflect, deflection' because in the phr. p ' a n s ü a n *88* it means 'to turn round'. But that a 'turning-round' by extension of meaning should mean 'a deflection, perversity' is far-fetched. — B is simple and plausible.

2103. W e i s h o u t s ê p e i j u l i u *89.*

A. PK'ung: »To receive reproof and (amend and) make it (natural) like water flowing (downwards)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »**To receive reproof and (cause =) allow it to be like a (free) flow**».

2104. J ĭ y ü e y ü m a i j o f u y ü n l a i *90.*

Y ü n *91* was introduced by Wei Pao in T'ang time instead of an earlier y ü n *92*, as shown by Tuan Yü-ts'ai. It might seem to be a testimony to the contrary when Fu Yi *93* (1st c. A. D.) paraphrases (Hou Han shu: Fu Yi chuan) the line: k ' i y ü n s ü a n f u *94*, but his y ü n *91* does not correspond to that of the Shu but the y ü n of the latter is represented by Fu's s ü a n *95*, see B below.

A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en both take y ü n as an empty particle (*91* and *92* being interchangeable in this function), which is common. Thus »(My heart's sorrow is that) days and months pass on, as if they would not come»; since this makes poor sense they have to improve: »as if they would not come again», though there is nothing corresponding to their supplied 'again' in the text. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: the char. *92* means *95* 'to turn round', and the line is equal to *96*. Thus: »**The days and months pass on, it is as if they would not (return =) recur**» (i. e. my life draws to an end). The char. *92* should then be read y ü a n, and it is well attested in the sense of 'round, circle, to encircle', see Gl. 1187. That a y ü a n l a i *97* 'go round and come' could mean 'to return' is quite natural, just as well as a s ü a n l a i *98*. Cf. also that h u e i of h u e i l a i *99* 'to return' fundamentally means 'to revolve, make a round'. That Fu Yi in middle-Han time already understood the line so is revealed by his rendering: s ü a n f u *100* for the y ü a n l a i *97* of the Shu.

2105. K u c h ĭ m o u j e n . . . . k i n c h ĭ m o u j e n *1.*

A. PK'ung: »The counsellors with ancient principles . . . . the counsellors (intent upon) present (affairs)». Kiang Sheng has a similar scholastic paraphrase: »The counsellors (knowing) ancient (things) . . . . the counsellors (intent on) present (advantage)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en renders k u c h ĭ m o u j e n by *2* »old and perfected» men i. e. experienced worthies. He seems to find the idea of 'aged' in k u *3* 'ancient'. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: k u means 'anciently, formerly', thus: »**My former counsellors . . . . my present counsellors**».

2106. T s ê y ü e w e i t s i u y ü k i . . . . k u t s i a n g y i w e i t s ' i n *4.*

A. PK'ung (with the modification stated in Gl. 2105): »(as to my former counsellors), I (said =) considered that they did not achieve my (wishes) but hated (me); (my present counsellors), I at first accepted them and believed that they loved me». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »(My former counsellors), I (said =) considered that they did not accommodate themselves to me, and I hated them; (my present counsellors), I at first accepted them and I considered them as intimate friends». — **C.** Shuowen, under a word k i *5* (homophonous with *6*, both **g'i̯əg*), defined as = *7*, quotes our line as: l a i t s i u k i k i *8*. Now it is evident that since t u *7* can mean both 'poison' and 'to hate', and since k i *6* means 'to hate', it is the latter sense which Hü had in view, and *5* is merely a graphical variant for *6*. (Therefore Tso: Ting 4, phr. *9* does not mean, with Legge: »he poisonously dismembered the royal house» but »he caused hatred and dissention in the royal house»). It is further clear that his l a i *10* can easily be a corruption of the similar w e i *11*. The presence or absence of y ü *12* makes little difference. Thus even with Shuowen's citation, after correction of l a i into w e i, we could obtain practically the same sense as with the A text. But Kiang Sheng thinks differently; he retains the l a i and takes t u of the definition as = 'poison': »(As to my former counsellors) I (said =) considered that they came and were (poisonous =) noisome; (my present counsellors), I at first accepted them and thought that they loved me». — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu likewise follows Shuowen, considering w e i *11* of A as a corruption of l a i *10* and k i *6* as a loan char. for k i *5*. In a phr. in Tso: Süan 12, Tu Yü defines this latter char. as meaning *13* 'to instruct', and Chuang seizes upon this: »(My former counsellors) should have come and acceded to my instructions» (the doubling of k i in Shuowen being a fault). Wang Sien-k'ien goes a middle way between A and B: w e i t s i u y ü k i *14* »they did not accommodate themselves to my instructions». But, as Tuan Yü-ts'ai has already pointed out, when k i *5* means *13*, it is really in the sense of »to warn, to caution» (so particularly in the Tso ex. above), being indeed a variant for *15* (**g'i̯əg*) which means *16* 'to warn'. This fact makes both Chuang's and Wang's interpr. unlikely. — **E.** Wang Yin-chĭ, likewise combining the A and B texts: *14*, says that since in Kuangya: Shĭ-ku *5* is defined as = *17* or *18*, the line should mean: »they did not accede to my (mind =) will». But for this meaning of k i there is no text support. — **F.** Yü Yüe tried another solution. Kuang yün says that »one meaning» of *5* was *19* 'to plan', and this would be the meaning here: »They did not accede to my plans». But for this meaning of k i there is again no text support. That Erya says *20* = *19* is no help, for k i here really means 'to lay the foundations', i. e. plan out an undertaking, and that is not applicable here. — **G.** Sun Yi-jang: the last word, whether wr. *5* or *6*, is simply an empty final particle. Cf. Ode 78, phr. *21* »Shu is a good shot». Since the series k i *22* and k i *23* interchange in many cases (the common Ode phr. *24* occurs varied as *25* and as *26*), and since *6* and *5* are interchangeable when meaning 'to hate', it is but natural that *5* could serve as variant for *6* as a final particle. Sun then interprets the first line thus: »The (good) counsellors of antiquity have not approached me». But this

舍刑 *81.* 民訖自若是多盤 *82* 訖 *83* 止 *84* 尚繼自若 *85* 盤 *86* 般 *87* 辟 *88* 般旋 *89* 惟受責俾如流 *90* 日月逾邁若弗云來 *91* 云 *92* 員 *93* 傳教 *94* 日月逾邁豈云旋復 *95* 旋 *96* 若弗旋來 *97* 員來 *98* 旋來 *99* 回來 *100* 旋復 / 古之謀人 ... 今之謀人 *2.* 老成人 *3.* 古 *4.* 則曰未就予忌 ---如將以為親 *5.* 基 *6.* 忌 *7.* 毒 *8.* 來就基基 *9.* 基間王室 *10.* 來 *11.* 未 *12.* 予 *13.* 教 *14.* 未就予基 *15.* 記 *16.* 誡 *17.* 意 *18.* 志 *19.* 謀 *20.* 基 *21.* 叔善射忌 *22.* 己 *23.* 其 *24.* 彼其之子 *25.* 彼己之子 *26.* 彼

does not properly bring out the antithesis to the second line. We had better preserve the fundamental idea of B that t s i u *27* means 'to accommodate oneself to' (see Gl. 1286), but avail ourselves of Sun's clever explanation of the enigmatic k i : »**(As to my former counsellors) I (said =) considered that they did not accommodate themselves to me; (my present counsellors), at first I accepted them and considered them affectionate**». The final particle k i *5* need not cause us misgivings; we have another (cognate) interrogative final particle k i *23* in Shu: Wei tsï *28*. — **H.** Wang K'ai-yün: »(My former counsellors), could not achieve my hatred (against the enemy); (my present counsellors), I for the time being t s i a n g make them generals and consider them as near friends». A very eccentric interpr.

2107. P o p o l i a n g s h ï *29*.

A. PK'ung: p o *30* = 'martial': »Those martial good officers». P o has that meaning in Ode 259 (then read **pwâr / puâ / p o*) but it does not suit the context here. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: p o p o = 'old-looking'. Indeed Sï-ma Ts'ien in a free paraphrase of this passage: *31* »The ancient men consulted with those with (yellow =) faded hair po - p o», taking h u a n g - f a p o - p o as a 4-word group. This shows (with Kiang Sheng) that *30* is a short-form for *32* (**b'wâr / b'uâ / p o*) 'white' (text ex. of this word in Yi), thus: »**Those white(-haired) good officers**». The whole context conclusively confirms this.

2108. Y i y i y u n g f u *33*.

A. This is PK'ung's version, well confirmed by quotations in Han-shu: Li Sün chuan and in Shuowen: **The vigorous brave men**». The meaning 'strong, vigorous' is well attested, see Gl. 848. — **B.** Ma Jung reads *34*, defining *35* as = *36*. Kiang Sheng and others say that this is »a different character and a different meaning», which ought to be rejected. But the difference is in fact imaginary. *35* is a loan char. for *36* (rather: the original text had simply *37* without radical, Chou fashion, and some Han scholars filled it out wrongly into *35* inst. of *36*) and Ma's curious definition means: »the appearance of discerning and (registering =) observing nothing», i. e. 'foolhardy, stupidly brave', which comes near to A; the idea is in either case officers who are brave and vigorous but not very intelligent and hence no good counsellors.

2109. W e i t s i e t s i e s h a n p i e n y e n *38*.

A. This is PK'ung's version (Ku-wen). We shall revert to it below. — **B.** Kung-yang: Wen 12 reads w e i t s i e n t s i e n s h a n t s i n g y e n *39*, and since this is by far the earliest version attested it should be followed. It was widely known in Han time (the phr. t s i e n t s i e n *40* used as an allusion in Han shu: Li Sün chuan, Yen t'ie lun: Kuo ping, Ts'ien fu lun: Kiu pien, Wang Yi comm. on Ch'u; Shuowen has the short-form *41*). Ho Hiu (comm. on Kung-yang) defines t s i e n *42* as = 'shallow'. In Kyü: Yüe yü, hia it is spoken of *43* »those insincere ones», and possibly this is already an allusion to Shu; there Wei Chao and Kia K'uei define t s i e n t s i e n as = 'artful talk'. The word (**dz'iạn*) is probably etym. id. with *44* (**dz'iạn*) 'shallow' (ex. in Shï) and means 'shallow' in the sense of 'insincere, insinuating'. Of the remaining 3 words: s h a n t s i n g y e n *45*, t s i n g has several variants and definitions. Ho Hiu defines *46* as = *47* 'concocted' (words); but there is no support for this. Shuowen defines it as = 'quiet', and it is merely a variant of the word *48*, *49*. In fact, our line is quoted with *48* by Wang Yi: comm. on Ch'u, Kiu t'an and in Ts'ien fu lun: Kiu pien; and with *49* by the same Wang Yi in comm. on Kiu pien; for t s i n g y e n »(quiet =) smooth words», a standing phrase already occurring in Yao tien, see Gl. 1235. Thus: »**The (shallow =) insincere ones, who are good at (quiet =) smooth speaches**». — The A version, however, was known long before PK'ung, for Shuowen quotes it (under *50*). The curious t s i e t s i e *51* (**dz'iạt*) was expl. as = *52* (**ts'at*) 'discerning' i. e. 'clever' by PK'ung, a wholly unconvincing phonetic speculation. Ma Jung tried to preserve the fundamental sense of t s i e *53* 'to cut': t s i e t s i e

would mean 'cut down' = 'short and to the point, terse'; and p i e n would mean (equal to *54*) *55* 'brief'; thus: »The terse(-speaking) and brief ones». This is exceedingly unlikely, all the more since p i e n *50* is evidently the same word-stem as the *56* in Lun: Ki shï *57* »friendship with the glib-tongued», which Shuowen quotes *58*, and same word as *59* (*50*, *59* all **b'iạn* rising tone, *56* **b'iạn* even tone). Ts'ai Ch'en, on the other hand, says that t s i e t s i e means 'glib-tongued', which is a mere guess from the context, without support. The expl. is in fact quite different. T s i e n *42* was **dz'iạn* and t s i e *53* was **dz'iạt*. The latter is only a phonetic way of writing a word **dz'iạt* which is another aspect of the same word-stem **dz'iạn* 'shallow, insincere'. An alternation *-n*: *-t* in a stem is common (*60* **ńiạn* 'to burn': *61* **ńiạt* 'hot' etc.). Thus the A text means the same as the B text, a **dz'iạt 53* 'insincere' having been substituted to the (cognate) **dz'iạn 42* 'insincere', and a **b'iạn 50* 'glib-tongued speeches' to the practically synonymous *46* 'smooth speeches'.

2110. P e i k ü n t s ï y i t s ' ï *62*.

A. This is PK'ung's (Ku-wen) version: »who make the ruler change his words (alter his mind)». — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. Kung-yang: Wen 12 reads: s h ï k ü n t s ï y i t a i *63* »**who cause the ruler to be easy and idle**». This version was known to Sï-ma Ts'ien, who in San wang shï kia has: *64*. — B, the earliest attested version, should be followed. Wang Ming-sheng points out that Shuowen under *65*, interchangeable with t s ' ï *66*, has a pre-Han form *67*; this would explain why a *68* had been corrupted into *66* (we should express it thus: the original graph was *69* without radical, wrongly filled out by some Han scholars into *67* = *66* inst. of into *68*).

W o h u a n g t o y u c h ï see Gl. 1850.

2111. M e i m e i w o s ï c h ï *70*.

A. PK'ung connects this with the preceding: »(it was because) I obscurely thought about it», i. e. I had bad counsellors because I did not see clearly. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »(Darkly =) deeply I ponder it». This is undoubtedly right in the main, but it does not sufficiently bring out the force of m e i 'obscure', and Kiang Sheng improves the interpr. accordingly: »**Very (obscured =) bewildered I ponder it**». — **C.** Wang K'ai-yün: m e i *71* (**mwâd*) is equal to *72* (**mwət*) and this means *73*: »Energetically I ponder it». Very far-fetched.

2112. J u y u y i k i e c h ' e n *74*.

A. This is PK'ung's version, already so quoted in Kung-yang: Wen 12. Ma Jung defines *75* (**kăd / kăi / k i e*) by *76*, which again in itself is somewhat ambiguous. Legge and Couvreur render k i e by 'resolute', but Ma's k e n g k i e *75*, when occurring in Ch'u: Kiu pien, is defined by Wang Yi as = 'straight' (which was Ma's idea, since he adds *77* »the whole heart upright and loyal»); when in Li sao, by the same Wang Yi as = *78* »bright and great». In fact k i e *79* is not safely attested in the sense of 'straight' (still less of 'resolute') but very well in the sense of 'great'. Our line could thus mean: »If I had one great servant». On the other hand, k i e *79* is well attested in the sense of 'to assist',

記之子27就28若之何其29番番良士30番31古之人謀黃髮番番32皤33侐侐勇夫34訐訐勇夫35訐訐36無所省錄之貌36侐37乞38惟截截善論言39維諓諓善鋌言40諓諓41妻妻42諓43是諓諓者44佞45善鋌言46鋌47選48靖49靜50論51截截52察察53截54偏55少56便57友便佞58友論佞59辨辯60然61熱62俾君子易辭63使君子易怠64俾君子怠65辭66辭67辭68怠69台70昧昧我思之71昧72沒73勉74如有一介臣75

and that would give an even better meaning here: »If I had an assisting servant». But a third possibility is after all preferable, see B next. — **B.** Li: Ta hüe quotes our line: j o y u y i k o c h' e n *80*. J o *81* here is correct, against the j u *82* of A as wrong, since »if» is always j o, never j u in the Shu. This makes us inclined to take the Li quotation as the superior version. *83* is **kâr / kâ / k o* and is well confirmed by texts in the sense of 'item, piece', e. g. Kyü: Ts'i yü *84* »deer-skins, 4 piece», and 'individual', when referring to a man: Tso: Chao 3, phr. *85* »Again it has been weakened through (the loss of) one (man)» (Shïwen: **kâr / kâ / k o*). Thus here: »**If I had one single servant**». Now the k i e *79* of A is attested in precisely the same sense: Tso: Siang 8, phr. *86* »He has not sent one single messenger»; Kyü: Wu yü *87* »one first-rank son». Obviously the A version should thus mean the same as B: »If I had one single servant». It is, of course, a very suspicious fact that two different words: **kâr* and **kăd*, the graphs for which are so exceedingly similar: *83* and *79*, should both mean 'individual, piece', and it has been a matter for much discussion whether k o *83* is right and k i e *79* simply a corruption (Lu Tê-ming has thought so in the ex. *86*, where he says that *79* should be read *kâ*) or k i e *79* is right and k o *83* only a vulgar corruption. One thing is sure: *83 *kâr / kâ / k o* in this sense has this in its favour that it still exists in the same sense in modern Mandarin.

2113. T u a n t u a n y i *88*.

For y i *89* Li: Ta hüe quotes h i *90*, both being empty particles.

A. Ho Hiu (in comm. on Kung-yang) defines t u a n t u a n by *91* 'single-minded, wholly devoted', and Cheng Hüan says *92* 'sincerely single-minded', Kuang-ya likewise saying t u a n t u a n = *93*; K'ung Ying-ta paraphrases it by *94* 'maintaining the goodness'. It would seem that these authors took *95 *twân* to be a loan char. for (or possibly a word cognate to) *96 *tịwan* 'entirely bent on'. If so, it is a poor speculation. — **B.** T u a n *95* is very common in the sense of 'to decide', and it should therefore here mean a man of decision, 'resolute': »**a resolute one**». This obviates all need of any loan speculation.

2114. K' i s i n h i u h i u y e n *97*.

A. Cheng Hüan defines h i u h i u *98* as = *99* 'indulgent, generous'. But this is simply through anticipation of the j u n g *100* in the next line. H i u has no such meaning. — **B.** PK'ung: h i u h i u = *1* 'finding his joy in goodness'. No text support. — **C.** Ho Hiu: h i u h i u = *2* 'fine and grand': »**His heart is very fine**». This meaning of h i u is common, e. g. Shu: Lü hing *3* »Even if one considers you fine»; Tso: Süan 3, phr. *4* »When the virtue is fine and bright». — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en: h i u h i u = *5* 'straight and loving goodness', which has caused Legge to translate »plain and sincere»(!). No support whatever.

2115. K' i j u y u j u n g *6*.

A. This is PK'ung's reading, and so it is quoted in Li: Ta hüe: »He seems like having (indulgence =) generosity». — **B.** Kung-yang: Wen 12 reads k' i n e n g y u j u n g *7*: »**Then he can have (indulgence =) generosity**». — B gives better sense and tallies better with the following *8*.

2116. J e n c h ï y e n s h e n g *9*.

A. This is the reading both in PK'ung and in Li: Ta hüe: »**When other men are fine and sage**». — **B.** Cheng Hüan in comm. on Ta hüe says that another version instead of y e n *10* had p' a n *11*. This is too uncertain to be relied on.

S h ï n e n g j u n g c h ï see Gl. 1569. L i' m i n y i c h ï y u l i t s a i see Gl. 286.

2117. M a o t s i y i w u c h ï *12*.

A. PK'ung: »If he (covers =) obstructs and detests and hates them». — **B.** In Li: Ta hüe the line is quoted *13*, this m a o *14* by Cheng Hüan defined as = »jealous': »**If he is jealous and resentful [and hates them**». M a o *14* is not known from any other pre-Han

text but it was largely current in Han time (already in Shï ki). — **C.** Wang Nien-sun: if w u *15* has its ordinary sense of 'to hate', it is a pleonasm here after t s i *16*. Therefore it should be emendated into w u *17*, which Shuowen records and defines as = *18* 'to vilify each other'. But this is a dictionary word, unknown in texts.

2118. P a n g c h ï w u n i e . . . . p a n g c h ï j u n g h u a i *19*.

Pan Ku defines n i e *20* as = *21* 'not safe' (Hü Shen = *22* 'danger'), and PK'ung and following commentators have applied this *21* 'not safe' to the binome w u - n i e *23* (**ngwət-ngiet*). We have the same binome inverted wr. *24* (**ngiet-ngwət*) in Yi:Kua *47*. *25* properly means 'a tree trunk without branches' acc. to Ts'ie yün (though only known as part of the name T'ao-wu *26*, a monster, Tso: Wen 18); Legge concludes that this gives the idea of 'sterility', hence: unprosperous. Wang Ming-sheng believes that since Shuowen writes *27*, and its *28* is defined as = 'rock covered with earth', w u means 'precipitous' and hence 'danger'. But evidently *25* and *28* are here mere graphical variants for *29 *ngwət / nguət* / w u 'to shake', well-known from Ode 192. W u - n i e »Shaking and danger» is thus practically a binome of synonyms: »**Peril**». — In j u n g h u a i *30* PK'ung as usual says *31* = *32* (refuted in Gl. 110 a, cf. Gl. 2087). »The state's glory (with which the people) joins up». Ts'ai Ch'en again, as in the phr. *33* (see Gl. 2087), says h u a i = *34*, based on an erroneous Shï gloss of Cheng Hüan's. H u a i never means 'peace, tranquillity'. Here, as in Gl. 2087, it must mean 'cherishing, love, **devotion**'.

2119. Y ü e y u y i j e n *35*.

Y ü e *36* is merely the initial particle.

A. PK'ung and most later comm. believe that y i j e n refers to the excellent minister (servant) just described: »(The state's peril) arises from one single man (the leading minister)». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: the king speaks of himself: »(**The state's peril**) **arises from the One Man (the sovereign)**» (sc. if he does not well select his coadjutors). Since y i j e n *37* regularly has this meaning in the Shu, this should be followed. For a parallel definitely confirming this see Gl. 2120 C below.

2120. Y i s h a n g y i j e n c h ï k' i n g *38*.

A. PK'ung takes s h a n g *39* as the common adverb = *40* 'perchance': »(The state's glory) also perchance is (due to) the goodness of one man» (sc. good minister)». — **B.** Wang Yin-chï, foll. by Sun Sing-yen: s h a n g *39* is defined as = *41* by Kao Yu in comm. on Huai: Lan ming. This is the meaning here: »It (has for principal thing =) wholly depends upon one man's goodness». Since a few lines earlier PK'ung's text read *42*, but the Li: Ta hüe text read *43*, and some comm. have defined c h ï *44* as = *41*, Wang finds an additional support for his theory in this. But, as already recognized by Yen

介 76.取介 77.一心端慤 78.光大 79.介 80.若有一个臣 81.若 82.如 83.个 84.鹿皮四个 85.又弱一个 86.不使一介行李 87.一介嬪男 88.斷斷猗 89.猗 90.兮 91.專一 92.誠一 93.誠 94.守善 95.斷 96.專 97.其心休休焉 98.休 99.寬容 100.容 1.樂善 2.美大 3.雖休 4.德之休明 5.易直好善 6.其如有容 7.其能有容 8.是能容之 9.人之彦聖 10.彦 11.盤 12.冒疾以惡之 13.嫉疾以惡之 14.嫉 15.惡 16.疾 17.誣 18.相毀 19.邦之杌隉...邦之榮懷 20.隉 21.不安 22.庳 23.杌隉 24.巇(魆)piè 25.杌 26.檮杌 27.阢隉 28.阢 29.抌 30.榮懷 31.懷 32.歸 33.懷在位 34.安 35.曰由一人 36.曰 37.一人 38.亦尚一人之慶 39.尚 40.庶幾 41.圭 42.亦職有利 43.亦尚有利 44.職 45.掌 46.猶 47.還 48.慶 49.善 50.一人有慶兆民賴之

Shï-ku (K'uang miu cheng su 5; repeated by Wang's father Wang Nien-sun in Kuang ya su cheng), the definition *39* = *41* for the phr. in Huai and various similar Han texts simply means that s h a n g *39* here is a short-form for c h a n g *45* 'to manage' (expl. by *41* 'to be the master of, preside over'), and this is not at all applicable here. Moreover, the gloss c h ï *44* = *41* cannot be upheld (see our Gl. 286), so that this support is eliminated. — **C.** Just as in the earlier line c h ï *44* 'only' and s h a n g *39* 'perchance, hoffentlich' are adverbs, so our s h a n g *39* here is sure enough an adverb, but not, with A, = *40* but in its exceedingly common meaning of *46* 'still, encore' (= Mand. *47*). On the other hand, k ' i n g *48* does not mean 'goodness, excellence'. It is true that it is defined as = s h à n *49* in various comm. on early texts, but s h a n then always means 'what is good, happiness, blessing'. And that this is the meaning here as well is proved by a close par. in Lü hing: *50* »(I), the One Man, shall enjoy happiness, and the million people will receive the advantage of it». This par. clearly confirms that y i j e n »the One Man» who has the k ' i n g is not a good minister but the sovereign himself, who selects the minister. Thus we obtain here: »**(The state's peril comes from the One Man); the state's prosperity and (cherishing =) devotion (still =) likewise is the One Man's (felicity =) success**».