CHAPTER IX

Travelling Eastward

Pan Chao's son Ku was appointed an official in Ch'ên-liu.[1] While travelling with him from the capital [2] to his post, Pan Chao composed an essay in rime,[3] "Travelling Eastward."

It is [3] the seventh year of Yung-ch'u; [4]
I follow my son in his journey eastward.
It is an auspicious [5] day in Spring's [6] first [7] moon;
We choose this good hour, and are about to start.
Now I rise to my feet and ascend my carriage.[8]
At eventide we lodge at Yen-shih: [9]
Already we leave the old and start for the new.
I am uneasy in mind, and sad at heart.[10]

Dawn's first light comes, and yet I sleep not; [11]
My heart hesitates as though it would fail me.[12]
I pour me out a cup of wine [13] to relax my thoughts.[14]
Suppressing my feelings,[15] I sigh and blame myself;
I shall not need to dwell in nests, nor (eat) worms from dead trees.[16]
Then how can I not encourage myself to press forward? [17]
And further, am I different from other people?
Let me but hear Heaven's command and go its way.[18]

Throughout the journey [19] we follow the great highway.[20]
If we seek short cuts, whom shall we follow?
Pressing [3] forward, we travel on and on;
In abandonment our eyes wander, and our spirits roam.
We pass through the Seven [21] Districts, watching, gazing;
At Kung Hsien [22] we experience difficulties,[23]
Further on we watch the Lo [24] unite with the Great River;
We see Ch'êng-kao's [25] "Farewell Gate."

Just when we have left behind lofty heights,
We reach and pass Ying-yang [26] and the nearby villages,[27]
We find food and rest enough at Yüan-wu.[28]
(One night) we lodge at Yang-wu, the mulberry center.[29]
Wading (a stream near) Fêng-ch'iu, again we tread the highway.[30]
Secretly I sigh for the Capital City I love, (but)
To cling to one's native place characterizes a small nature,[31]
As the histories have taught us.

Going forward on the highway but a little ahead,
We come to a low hill's [32] north side.
When we enter [3] K'uang City [33] I recall far distant events.[34]
I am reminded of Confucius' [35] straitened activities
In that decadent,[36] chaotic age [37] which knew not the Way; [38]
And which bound and awed [39] even him, that Holy Man! [40]
As I muse upon such vexing thoughts, (our train) has long halted;
Unobserved the sun has come to eventide, and dusk descends.

We arrive at the borders of Ch'ang-yüan,[41]
Where we study the natives of that agricultural land.
At P'u Ch'êng [42] we note its worn city walls
Upon which riotously thrive wild thorns.
Startled, aroused, I wake; thinking back, I wonder!
(Then) I recall the awe-inspiring spirit of [43] Tzû-lu,
Whom the people of Wei [44] did praise,
And to this day yet name for his brave sense [45] of duty.
In the district southeast of this city,
The people still honor the grave of Ch'ü Yüan,[46]

In fact genuine virtue cannot [47] die; [48]
Though the body decay,[49] the name lives on.
So what the Classics always praise
And honor are truth and virtue,[50] love [51] and merit.
Wu Cha [52] said this district had many princely men; [53]
For the truth of his words there was evidence.[54]
Afterwards came misfortune and a decadent age;
Whereupon (virtue) lapsed, and (its principle) prospered no more.[55]

東征賦

予穀為陳留長大家隨至官作東征賦

惟永初之有七兮余隨子乎東征時孟春之吉日兮撰良辰而將行乃舉趾而升輿兮夕予宿乎偃師遂去故而就新兮志愴恨而懷悲明發曙而不寐兮心遲遲而有違酌鐏酒以弛念兮喟抑情而自非諒不登樔而椓鑿兮得不陳力而相追且從眾而就列兮聽天命之所歸遵通衢之大道兮求捷徑欲從誰乃遵往而徂逝兮聊游目而遨魂歷七邑而觀覽兮遭鞏縣之多艱望河洛之交流兮看成皋之旋門既免脫于崚嶮兮歷滎陽而過卷食原武之息足宿陽武之桑閒涉封丘而踐路兮慕京師而竊歎小人性之懷土兮自書傳而有焉遵遂進道而少前兮得平丘之北邊入匡郭而追遠兮念夫子之厄勤彼衰亂之無道兮乃困畏乎聖人悵容與而久駐兮忘日夕而將昏到長垣之境界察農野之居民睹蒲城之丘墟兮生荊棘之榛榛惕覺寤而顧問兮想子路之威神衛人嘉其勇義兮訖于今而稱云蘧氏在城之東南兮民亦尚其丘

I know that man's nature and destiny rest with Heaven,[56]
But by effort [57] we can go forward and draw near [58] to love.
(Muscles) stretched, head uplifted, we tread onward to the vision.[59]
With unfailing loyalty and reciprocity, in our dealing with men,[60]
Let us love uprightness,[61] and turn not back.
And thus our spirits [62] will communicate [63] with the spirits above.[64]
The (magic) mirror [65] of all the Spirits of the Earth
Protects the pure and the good, and helps [66] the faithful.

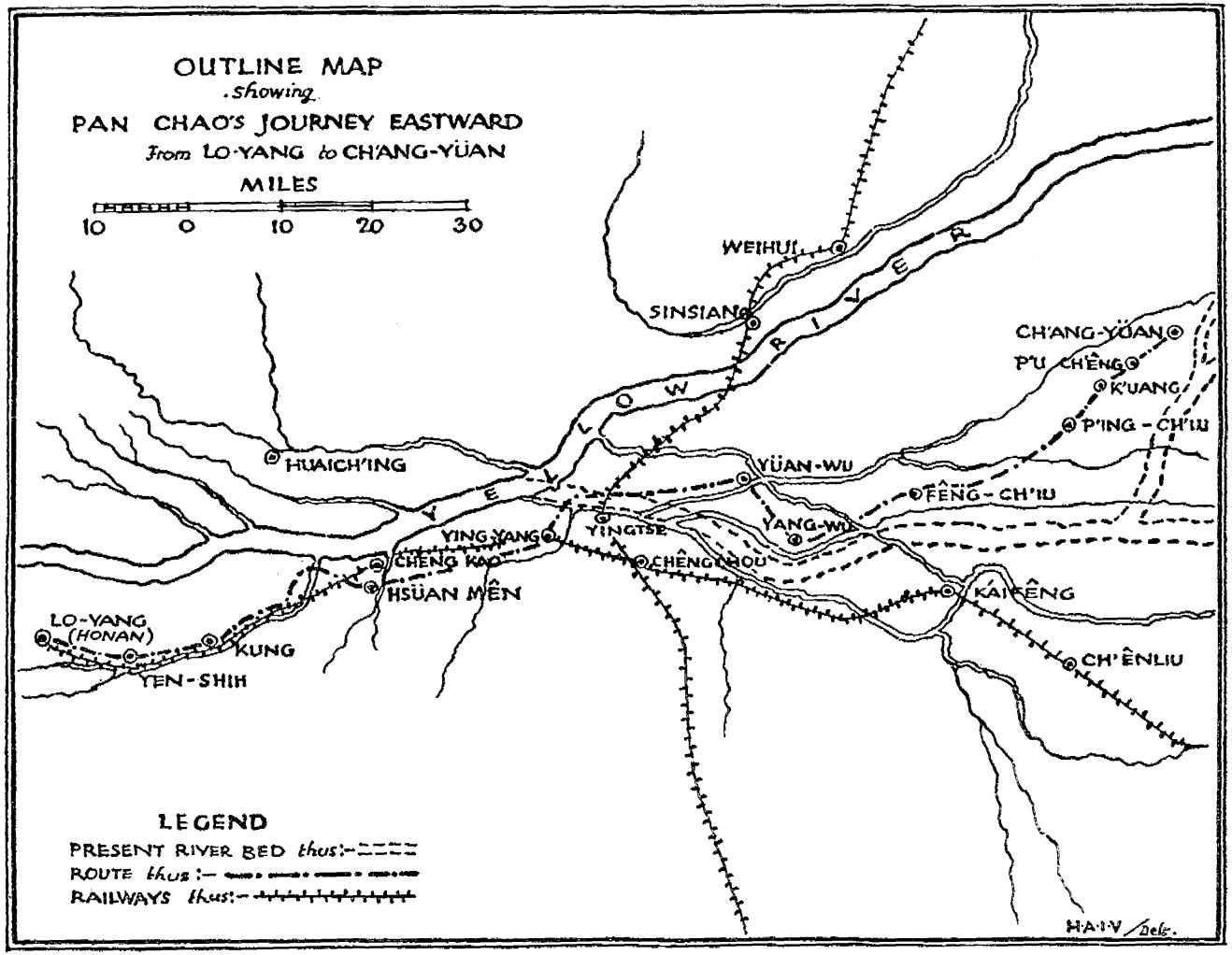
The *Luan* [67] says:

The thoughts [3] of the princely man
Ought to be written down.[68]
But why not also each say one's own opinion? [69]
As we admire the ancients,[70] (so I attest that)
Every action [71] of that virtuous one, (my father,) [72]
Meant a literary creation.[73]
Even though I am not wise,[74]
I dare not but follow him.[75]

Honor and dishonor, poverty and wealth,[76]
These may not be sought.[77]
With body erect,[78] let us walk the Way!
And bide the proper time.[79]
Our turn of life may be long, (or it may be) short,[80]
The stupid and the wise are alike in this.
Let us be quietly reverential; resigned to our Destiny,
Regardless whether a good or an evil one.[81]
Let us respect, be careful,[82] and not be indolent; [83]
Let us think of being humble and temperate; [84]
Let us be pure and calm, and want litttle,[85]
Like the Master Kung Ch'o.[86]

墳唯令德為不朽兮身既沒而名存惟經典之所美兮貴道德與
仁賢吳札稱多君子兮其言信而有徵後衰微而遭患兮遂陵遲
而不興知性命之在天由力行而近仁勉仰高而蹈景兮盡忠恕
而與人好正直而不回兮精誠通于明神庶靈祇之鑒照兮祐貞
良而輔信亂曰君子之思必成文兮盡各言志慕古人兮先君行
止則有作兮雖其不敏敢不法兮貴賤貧富不可求兮正身履道
日俟時兮脩短之運愚智同兮靖恭委命唯吉凶兮敬慎無怠思
嗛約兮清靜少欲師公綽兮

開平關宗載書



NOTES

[1] According to the commentator in the *Wên Hsüan,* 文選李善註, the "Collected Works of Pan Chao," 曹大家集, gave the post of her son to which she accompanied him as a district official, 長垣長, in the prefecture of Ch'ên-liu, 陳留. But this district, 長垣, later was changed to the control of a prefecture in Chihli Province, 直隸大名府.

According to the *Hsü Han Shu* (Chavannes, *T'oung Pao,* VIII, 1906, 214; Appendix, p. 159 ff.), *chüan* 21, 續漢書, 郡國志, 陳留郡, the distance of Ch'ên-liu from Lo-yang was 530 *li*—that is, about 180 English miles.

[2] The journey began at the capital, 京師, which in 95 A. D. was Lo-yang, known in the Chou dynasty as Lo-i, 雒邑, or Wang Ch'êng, 王城 (cf. Maspero: same, pp. 25, 81, 148). The Western Han dynasty had made Ch'ang-an, 長安, the capital, but the Eastern Han rebuilt the fortifications of Lo-yang, and there erected a palace making Lo-yang the capital.

The journey eastward was practically that from modern Honanfu, in Honan Province, through Yen-shih-hsien, 偃師, Kung-hsien, 鞏縣, Ying-yang-hsien, 滎陽, all west of modern Chêng-chow, the juncture of the two railroads, Peking-Hankow and Lung-hai—and northeastward to Ch'ang-yüan-hsien, 長垣, which is now north of the Yellow River in Chihli Province, so that between Ying-yang (modern name Hsing-yang) and Yüan-wu, 原武, the river must be crossed. When Pan Chao made the journey the course of the Yellow River was such that Ch'ang-yüan-hsien was south of it, and belonged to the prefecture of Ch'ên-liu, east and southeast of modern K'aifêngfu, the provincial capital of Honan. See any modern map of Honan, Shantung, and Chihli Provinces, as well as accompanying map, p. 118.

[3] According to the rime of the essay its first portion falls into three sections. These sections are indicated in the translation by the repetition of the figure 3 in the first line of each of them. The arrangement of the translation into paragraphs is due to the arbitrary decision of the translator.

[4] The seventh year of Yung-ch'u, 永初, was 113 A. D. This reign period from 107 to 113 A. D. was under the emperor An, 安帝. *Tung Kuan Han Chi* said that Yung-ch'u was a reign period under the emperor Ho. As the Ch'ing scholar Yüan Yüan, 阮元 (1764-1849), reasoned it out, the poem must have been written in Yung-yüan, 永元 period, seventh year, or 95 A. D. See p. 49.

[5] J. Edkins ("*Yi King* and Its Appendices," *China Review,* XIV, 1885-1886, 303-304) wrote that "The first time we meet the term lucky day, 吉日, is in the 'Odes,' and it is connected with prayers. In the *Han Shu* it is found in conjunction with fasting, 歷吉日以齋戒. From this it appears that the word lucky has not in it enough of religious sentiment to render it an exact equivalent of the Chinese—religious day. About 60 A. D., in the time of Ming Ti (57-75 A. D.)—the officers in charge of sacrifices chose a happy day to present a written announcement in the ancestral temple (see *Hou Han Shu,* 明帝紀). Such examples of the phrase 'lucky day' bring it in close relationship with worship and self-purification."

In (*JRAS, NCB,* XXIV, 1889, 256-257) "Chinese Architecture," he also remarks that "There was in ancient times no *fêng-shui,* 風水. This is a recent

superstition. But it was required to have lucky portents and begin laying out a city upon a lucky day."

A list of auspicious days is yet (1928) given in the official almanac issued annually, by the Government of the Republic of China.

[6] According to the Chinese calendar, spring includes the first, second, and third moons after Chinese New Year, which occurs usually in the last week of January or the first week of February.

[7] First, second, and third, 孟仲季, were used in connection with the three moons of each season. These were also the names of the three rival houses of the states of Lu in the days of Confucius.

[8] Legge (*Classics,* I, in a note to Analects 15:5, p. 296) noted that 輿 "is properly the bottom of a carriage, planks laid over wheels."

[9] This night-stop was Yen-shih, 偃師, which district may be found on any modern map of Honan Province. From Lo-yang to Yen-shih now by rail is about sixty *li* or twenty miles.

[10] All characters in this line except the 而 for caesura have for radical 心, the heart. Note Pan Chao's use of 志, in her memorial to the emperor Ho, p. 74. As a comment on this line in the *Wên Hsüan,* Li Shan, 文選李善註, quoted from *Ch'u Tz'û*: 楚辭: 愴怳懷恨兮, 去故而就新.

[11] In the Book of Poetry is the passage, 明發不寐 (II, V, 2:1), translated by Legge (*Classics,* IV, p. 333): "When the dawn is breaking, and I cannot sleep."

[12] For comparison with 有違, see 行違 in "Lessons," p. 87, note 50. In the Book of Poetry (I, III, 10:2) is the passage, 行道遲遲, 中心有違, translated by Legge (*Classics,* IV, 55):

"I go along the road slowly, slowly,
In my inmost heart reluctant."

J. Edkins (Notes in *China Review,* XVII, 1888-1889, 180) said that the origin of 遲 is "in constant deflection from the path, thus leading to delay."

[13] He also (Notes in *China Review,* XV, 1886-1887, 309) stated that Legge in the *Li Chi* "translates 酒 (*chiu*) by liquor and occasionally by spirits. Neither of these words sounds quite so well as wine. The ancient Chinese wine was fermented, not distilled, and was intoxicating.—The Chinese first knew spirits in the T'ang dynasty,—Northern Chinese in the Yüan dynasty learned to distil on a large scale. Chinese (*chiu*) corresponds to the Japanese *sake,* which means any brewed liquid of intoxicating quality."

For the *tsun,* 罇, which has come down from Han times, see S. W. Bushell: *Chinese Art* (London, 1921), I, figures 51, 53, 55; Albert J. Koop: *Early Chinese Bronzes,* (London, 1924), pp. 8-15, plates 6-17; J. C. Ferguson: *Outlines of Chinese Art* (Chicago, 1919), pp. 50, 58, 33-65.

[14] 弛, "to unstring a bow; to relax" (Giles: *Dict.,* no. 9931). The commentator on this passage in the *Wên Hsüan,* 文選李善註, quoted from the *Êrh Ya,* 爾雅: 念思也. Legge (*Classics,* I, 171, note 21 on Analects 4:21) translated 念念不忘意, "the meaning of unforgetting thoughtfulness."

[15] The seven emotions usually given under 情 are joy, 喜, anger, 怒, sorrow, 哀, fear, 懼, love, 愛, hatred, 惡, and desire, 欲 (Giles: *Dict.,* no. 2187).

[16] The *K'ang-hsi Dictionary* uses this clause from Pan Chao to illustrate that 樔又作巢. See also 朱珔 (1769-1850), 文選集釋, *chüan* 11, 東征賦.

Legge translated a passage from the *Li Chi* (*SBE,* XXVII, 369) to read

that "Formerly the ancient kings had no houses. In winter they lived in caves—and in summer in nests,—ate the fruits of plants and trees, the flesh of birds and beasts." See also the note on this passage in *Wên Hsüan,* 文選李善註, 東征賦, and cf. Mencius, III, II, 9:3, *Classics,* II, 279.

E. J. Eitel (*China Review,* XVII, 1888-1889, 330) translated from Liu Hsin's address to the throne, on the presentation of the *Shan Hai Ching,* that "At that early time (of Yao and Shun) mighty inundations, with their continuous floods, engulfed the Empire of China in extensive destruction, the people being deprived of their substance, and having to take refuge on hills and mountains, or to nest in trees."

[17] The use of the term, 陳力, may, like that in Analects 16:1, have reference to the assumption of official responsibility since Pan Chao was en route with her son to his official post. Legge (*Classics,* I, 307) translated: "When he puts forth his ability." Here, however, it seems best to render the term from the personal rather than the official view-point.

[18] Hear=obey; 所歸 is the contents of Heaven's command. The free will aspect of the question of determinism versus free will in early Chinese thinking is well illustrated by the extraordinary faculties which the "superior man," 君子, can attain. See E. J. Eitel, "Fragmentary Studies in Ancient Chinese Philosophy," *China Review,* XV (1886-1887), 338 ff; Herbert Chatley, "Studies in Chinese Psychology, II, Fate and Fortune," *New China Review,* I (1919), 145-148.

The most outspoken declaration against Fate or Destiny as the controlling influence in a person's life was most interestingly made by Mo Ti, see 清孫詒讓 (1848-1908): 墨子閒詁, 非命, *chüan* 35, 36, 37; with translation made by Forke: *Mê Ti,* Kapitel 35-37, Verdammung des Fatalismus, pp. 374-375; Alexandre David: *Le Philosophe Meh-Ti et l'idée de solidarité* (London, 1907), Chapter IV, Le Déstin, pp. 156 ff; and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao: *Mo Tzû Hsüeh-an,* 墨子學案.

For a discussion of the decree of Heaven by Wang Ch'ung, see the translation by A. D. Hutchinson, "The Critical Disquisitions of Wang Ch'ung," *China Review,* VII (1878-1879), 89-91, 170, 240-242, 308; VIII (1879-1880), 46; by Forke: *Lung-Hêng, Ming-lu,* 命祿, *Ch'i-shou,* 氣壽, and *Ming-yi,* 命義.

For the popular interpretation, "What must be, must be; you cannot escape that which the gods have ordained for you," see Charles Kliene, "The Marriage Maker," *JRAS, NCB,* LII (1921), 139-155; Evan Morgan, "Destiny, Fate," same, LI (1920) 25 ff.; Hu Shih, "The Social Message in Chinese Poetry," *Chinese Soc. and Polit. Science Review,* VII (1923), 79; R. W. Hurst, a translation of a "Story of a Chinese Cinderella," *China Review,* XV (1886-1887), 221-233.

For a criticism against the Chinese custom of deciding cases of marriage by fortune-telling, see Li Ju-chên's "Flowers in the Mirror," Hu Shih's edition, Vol I, Preface, 22, together with Hu Shih's comment on fate in "A Chinese Declaration of Rights of Women," *Chinese Soc. and Polit. Science Review* (1924), VIII, 100-109.

According to Analects 20:3 (*Classics,* I, 354): "Without recognizing the ordinances of Heaven, it is impossible to be a superior man," 君子; and according to Analects 16:8 (same, p. 313): "A *chün-tzû* stands in awe of, and a 小人 does not know 天命." (These two quotations are passages in

that part of the Analects [16-20] the genuineness of which has been so questioned that contemporary Chinese scholarship rejects the most of the five sections. They would then the more reflect Han ideals.) Analects 2:4 (Legge: same, p. 146): Confucius said that 五十而知天命, "At fifty I knew the decree of Heaven."

[19] Note the use of 通 in the "Needle and Thread" poem, pp. 105, 106.

[20] J. C. Hall ("The Confucian Reformers of Japan in the Eighteenth Century," a translation, see *JRAS, NCB,* XLI [1910], 15) wrote that "The natural and spontaneous Way of mankind—is like the great highway, 大道—the thoroughfare between the ordinary town and the Capital City—there may be those who do not make use of the highway but take some short cut."

[21] According to a commentary quoted from Hsü Kuang, 徐廣 (352-425 A. D., Giles: *Biog.,* no. 778), in the *Shih Chi* (*chüan* 4, 周本紀) on the destruction of the Chou dynasty, 滅東西周, the conquered districts were seven, 周比亡之時凡七縣, namely, Ho-nan, 河南, Lo-yang, 洛陽, Ku Ch'êng, 穀城 P'ing-yin, 平陰, Yen-shih, 偃師, Kung, 鞏, and Hou Shih, 緱氏. In all probability it was to these historical "Seven Districts," 七邑, that Pan Chao referred because she passed through this region, and even named some of them. See also 文選旁證, *chüan* 12, 東征賦, 注七縣; 文選集釋, *chüan* 11, 東征賦.

Legge wrote of 邑 (note 27 to Analects 5:27, *Classics,* I, 183): "The designation of the place where men are collected together; and may be applied from hamlet upwards to a city." For a discussion of the origin of the character see L. C. Hopkins, "Pictographic Reconnaissances," Pt. 2, *JRAS* (July-August, 1918), p. 417.

[22] This is approximately the modern Kung-hsien, 鞏縣, found on any modern map of Honan Province, about twenty miles east of Yen-shih-hsien. It is mentioned both in the *Han Shu, chüan* 28, 地理志, and *Hsü Han Shu, chüan* 19 and 21, 郡國志.

[23] Just what this "distress" was is not clear. While it may have been the difficulties of a bad road, very likely it may have been the distress of the people from some cause now unknown.

[24] A note in the *Shan Hai Ching,* 山海經, says: 洛水至東河南鞏縣入河, "The Lo stream flows east until it enters the Yellow River at Kung-hsien in Honan." See *Shui Ching,* 水經注, *chüan* 15.

The Yellow and the Lo Rivers, two of the three rivers of ancient China, see Mayers, II, no. 13, 21, 267. This designation, *ho,* was first applied to the Yellow River exclusively, but in time to rivers in general.

The fairy ladies of the River Lo (曹直, 192-232 A. D., 洛神賦; 顧愷之, third century A. D., 洛神圖, J. C. Ferguson: "Stories in Chinese Paintings," *JRAS, NCB,* LVI (1925), 119-120; Waley: *Chinese Painting,* pp. 60-62), and the legends of the *Lo Shu,* 洛書 (mentioned in the Book of History, cf. Maspero: same, p. 439), and of the *Ho T'u,* 河圖, rose in detail after the Han dynasty, being based upon the spurious text of the Book of History rejected by early Ch'ing scholarship. See also the Book of Changes, 繫辭.

[25] This place is mentioned in *Han Shu, Honan Chün, chüan* 28; in *Shui Ching, chüan* 15; the *Tz'û Yüan;* and is given on Map 12, 中國地理沿革圖,

1922. Chang Hêng (see p. 17) said in a poem, 東京賦: 西阻九阿, 東門于旋. From a note, 文選李善註, on this line it may be seen that Ch'êng-kao was a strategic centre in the struggles of the Contending States (481-221 B. C.) as well as in the Han dynasty. (See Ch. Piton, "The Fall of the Ts'in Dynasty and the Rise of that of Han," *China Review,* XI, 1882-1883, 230-231.) About twenty miles west of Ying-yang, 滎陽. Ten odd *li* out southwest from Ch'êng-kao was 旋門, the East Gateway. This is shown as a place on Map 12 (same, see above), but since 旋 carries with it the idea of return, and every large town usually yet has ten *li* out on the main roads tea houses from which point officials turned back when escorting departing officials, it is rendered "Farewell Gate."

[26] For 免脫, "to avoid," of the text, Dr. Kiang Kang-hu suggests that perhaps in the original the more picturesque term 兔脫 (see *Tz'û Yüan,* 子, p. 256), "to skip by," was used.

Of the places mentioned, Yen-shih, Kung-hsien, Ying-yang (Giles: *Dict.,* no. 5741, Jung-yang), Yüan-wu, Yang-wu, Fêng-ch'iu, and Ch'ên-liu all may be found in the *Tz'û Yüan* (Supplement), located in Honan. They are also all mentioned both in the *Han Shu, chüan* 28, and in the *Hsü Han Shu, chüan* 19, 21. See also the map on p. 118.

[27] There is a place by the name, 卷, mentioned in both the *Han Shu, chüan* 28, and the *Hsü Han Shu, chüan* 19. It was the native place of Chou P'o, 周勃 (d. 169 B. C.), faithful supporter of the direct imperial line of the Western Han dynasty, see Giles: *Biog.,* no. 422. It is rendered simply "nearby villages."

[28] Yüan-wu is now north of the river, as are all the other places mentioned below: Yang-wu, Fêng-ch'iu, Ping-ch'iu, K'uang, Ch'ang-yüan and P'u Ch'êng. The *Tz'û Yüan* lists five changes in the course of the Yellow River. At the time of the Eastern Han dynasty, its course was such that Pan Chao did not cross the river in her journey but kept to the southern bank of it. For the route followed by Pan Chao see *Li-tai Yü-ti Yen-ko Hsien-yao T'u,* 歷代輿地沿革險要圖 (續漢郡國志., 後漢, 郡國圖司隸河南尹, 南二西一. p. 34), 1906, by Yang Shou-ching, 楊守敬 (1839-1915); also the map, p. 118.

[29] For China's silk trade in the Eastern Han dynasty, see *Serindia,* I, Chapter XI, 373: "A find of a silk bale from the Kingdom of Jên Ch'êng, 任城 (in present Shantung), established 84 A. D."; II, Chapter XIX, 700 ff.: "A relic of the ancient silk trade"; IV, Plate XXXVII, the picture of the silk bale found, which belongs to the last part of the first century or the early part of the second century A. D.; Chavannes: *Documents,* no. 539, pp. 116 ff; F. H. Andrews: *Ancient Chinese Figured Silk* (London, 1920), Intro. by Stein; cf. p. 30. On exhibit in the British Museum (King's Library) are two specimens of these finds in silk: two strips of an uncoloured silken fabric—the date cannot be much later than 100 A. D. (T, XV, a. 1). See also Harada: *Lo-Lang,* and references Chapter III, note 39.

For open trade routes see Carter: *Invention of Printing,* pp. 85-86, 88.

For a popular presentation of the importance of silk in Han times, see Samuel Merwin: *Silk, A Legend* (London, 1924).

[30] The use of 涉一踐路 pictures the cart drivers "wading water" and then

"stamping their feet" dry as they again tread the highway. So "a stream near" is supplied for the translation.

[31] Analects 4:11, Legge: *Classics,* I, 168: 小人懷土, "The superior man thinks of virtue; the small man thinks of comfort."

[32] 平丘, "a low hill," is a place mentioned in both the *Han Shu* and in the *Hsü Han Shu,* same. The translation is used in order to avoid too many proper names in the English version.

[33] 匡郭, K'uang City is a historic place, K'uang, where Confucius, mistaken for some one else, was in danger for the time. See below, note 39.

[34] Analects 1:9, Legge: *Classics,* I, 141: 追遠, "Let them be followed when long gone (by the proper ceremonies of sacrifices)."

[35] 夫子, Confucius, see Legge: *Classics,* I, Prolegomena, Chapter V, "Confucius and His Immediate Disciples," pp. 56-127. Cf. Ssû-ma Ch'ien, *chüan* 47 and 67; and Maspero: same, pp. 454-468.

[36] Analects 7:5, Legge: *Classics,* I, 196: 甚矣吾衰也. "Extreme is my decay." See also Analects 18:3; 6:14; 15:1; 15:25: same, pp. 334, 190, 294, 301.

[37] G. G. Warren ("The First League of Nations," *New China Review,* I, 1919, 356-359) wrote of representatives of fourteen nations meeting in 546 B. C. at the capital of Sung—practically the location of the modern Kweitehfu, Honan,—"to stop the wars of the barons by treaty." The Big Four were Chin, 晋, Ch'u, 楚, Ch'in, 秦. and Ch'i, 齊, "five years before this Peace Conference, *i.e.,* 551 B. C. (according to Chinese traditional reckoning) Confucius was born."

[38] According to the Analects (6:22, Legge: *Classics,* I, 192, note), 道 is 先王盡善盡美之道, "the entirely good and admirable ways of the former kings." 無道 is when "right principles of government do not prevail," Analects 8:13, same, p. 212. And according to Analects 16:2, same, p. 310, "When bad government prevails in the Empire, ceremonies, music, and punitive military expeditions, 禮樂征伐, proceed from the princes, 諸侯."

[39] For Confucius' unpleasant experience at K'uang, see Analects 9:5, *Classics,* I, 217: 子畏於匡, "The Master was put in fear in K'uang"; also note, p. 217; Analects 11:22, p. 245 with note; *Shih Chi, chüan* 47, on Confucius.

[40] T. T. Meadows (*The Chinese and Their Rebellions,* London, 1856, p. 348) wrote that "The first occidental sinologues, all missionaries, naturally shrank as professional theologians from applying the word 'Holy' to any heathens, and hence rendered 聖 by 'Sage,'—*Holy, Heilig, and Saint* are the only words in English, German, and French, that at all express the perfect moral purity and wisdom which is attributed to the 聖人."

E. H. Parker ("The Philosopher Sün-Tsz," *New China Review,* IV, 1922, 13, 362, 364) rendered "the perfect man."

For the view of L. C. Hopkins, see Notes, *China Review,* X (1881-1882), 144.

For the Confucian Holy Man, see Mencius, VII, II, 25, *Classics,* II, 490; the translation by J. C. Hall, *JRAS, NCB,* XLI (1910), 1-25.

For the Taoist Holy Man, see Maspero: same, pp. 484-485; Huai-nan Tzû, "The Principle of Nature," translated by Frederic H. Balfour: *China Review,* IX (1880-1881), 281-297; *Chuang Tzû,* translated by Giles: *Tao Tê Ching,* translated by Carus.

[41] 長垣. This place is mentioned in both the *Han Shu* and the *Hsü Han Shu,* same. See above note 1.

[42] 蒲城. This place is mentioned in the *Ch'ên-liu Chün* (*chüan* 21), in the *Hsü Han Shu,* and the commentator added a note on its connection with the history of both Confucius and his disciple Tzû-lu.

[43] 子路, Tzû-lu, whose name was Chung Yu, 仲由 (543-480 B.C.), was a native of the State of Lu, but as stated by Legge (*Classics,* I, 115), "For some time was chief magistrate of the district of P'u, where his administration commanded the warm commendations of the Master." Also see Legge: same, pp. 86-87, 114-115; *Shih Chi, chüan* 67; Couling: *Encyclo. Sinica,* Chung Yu, p. 116; Giles: *Biog.,* no. 522; Mayers, no. 91.

According to tradition, to the "Historical Record," and to the *Tso Chuan,* he was unwilling to die with the tassel of his cap out of place. See *Classics,* I, 151: *Tso Chuan.* Ai Kung, fifteenth year, 左傳, 哀公, fifteenth year, 479 B.C.; *Shih Chi, chüan* 67; *Classics,* V, pp. 842-843, *Chinese Biog.,* p. 221.

For references to him in the Analects, see Analects 2:17; 11:12; 17:23; *Classics,* I, 151, 241, 329.

A picture of his tomb, together with an account of its having been rebuilt by officials during the Ch'ing period may be seen in the Gazetteer of the district of Ch'ang-yüan (see note below on 遽, Ch'ü) 長垣縣志 (1809), *chüan* 1, section, 圖考.

He is among the nineteen disciples depicted on the Shantung bas-reliefs, 武梁司; see Chavannes: *La Sculpture sur pierre en Chine,* Plate IX, pp. 39-40.

Tzû-lu "stands out a sort of Peter in the Confucian school, a man of impulse, prompt to speak and prompt to act. He gets many a check from the Master, but there is evidently a strong sympathy between them. Tzû-lu uses a freedom with him on which none of the other disciples dares to venture, ——. A pleasant picture is presented to us in one passage in the 'Analects' (Bk. 11:12)—Tzû-lu looking bold and soldierly; ——. The Master was pleased, but he observed, 'Yu (Tzû-lu's name) there! he will not die a natural death.'" This prediction was verified. In 479 B.C. a revolution broke out in the State of Wei. Tzû-lu would not forsake his chief who had treated him well. He threw himself into the fight, and was slain. See *Classics,* I, Prolegomena, 86.

[44] 衛, a feudal state; for early Chou times, see map by Legge: *Classics,* IV, Prolegomena, 126; for late Chou times, same, V, Prolegomena, 112.

In the reign of Prince I, the Wei Kingdom was taken by the 狄, Ti barbarians, and the total population, male and female, of 730 persons, then moved eastward, so the location of the Wei of early Chou and of late Chou is different. It became so encircled by rival states that it had no way to expand (see p. 4). Lü Shih's "Spring and Autumn Annals," 呂氏春秋, says: "Between the Yellow River, 河, and the Chi River, 濟, is Wei Chou, 衛州," or the Wei Kingdom.

Modern Wei-hui-fu, 衛輝府, Honan Province, preserves in name and general location the ancient Wei Kingdom.

See the "Odes of Wei," Book of Poetry, *Classics,* IV, 91 ff.

[45] Giles (*Dict.,* no. 13,457): 見義不爲, 無勇也, "to see what is right, and not to do it is want of courage." See *Classics,* I, 322, 329, 330.

J. Edkins ("A sketch of the Life of Confucius," *JRAS, NCB,* Old Series, II, no. 1, 1860, 14) wrote that "China honours her sages by the preservation of their places of burial; ancestral tombs are built to them; while their

descendants receive titles and emoluments from the state. In travelling through the country, many a spot is found to have a special interest belonging to it, from the reminiscences clustering round it, of the great statesmen, poets, sages, or warriors of past times. The more remarkable, such as those which commemorate the acts of Confucius, are under the charge of the central government, ——; while the less important are cared for by the local government and the inhabitants of the neighborhood."

Herbert Chatley ("The Dead Hand in China," *JRAS, NCB,* LV, 1924, 57) wrote that "The practical bearing of worship of death is an important sociological question. The recent war (1914-1918) with its immense cemeteries, cenotaphs, and cult of 'the unknown warrior' shows that the same tendencies persist. The repugnance to cremation and the desire to have the dead in an accessible cemetery bear like testimony.—— In so far as there are in all of us memories—funeral rites will probably always have a strong social effect."

[46] 遽瑗, Ch'ü Yüan has a prominent place in the gazetteer of the district of Ch'ang-yüan, which reproduces a picture of both his tomb and a temple erected to his memory, together with this reference to his grave by Pan Chao. His tomb was rebuilt by officials of the Ch'ing dynasty, by whom also was erected not far away a temple which included a school. See *chüan* 11, section 周, first biography, and *chüan* 1, section 圖考 (see note 43 above).

Ch'ü Yüan was officer of Wei, 衛, a friend and not a disciple of Confucius, and so he is not listed among those most intimate with the Master despite his frequent appearance in both the "Analects" and in "Mencius," see Legge: *Classics,* I, Prolegomena, 112-127. Nor is he, therefore, listed among the disciples of Confucius in the "Historical Record," *chüan* 67. See Giles: *Biog.,* no. 501.

[47] The use of 唯 implies that no contradiction can be made to the statement.

[48] See an article under this title, 不朽, by Hu Shih, *Wên Ts'un,* 文存, vol. II, *chüan* 4, 105 ff.

The *Tso Chuan* has a passage, 大上有立德, —— 此之謂不朽, for the same idea, see Hsiang Kung, twenty-fourth year, *chüan* 30, 左傳, 襄公, *Classics,* V, 505, 507.

[49] Analects 9:5, *Classics,* I, 217: 文王既沒, "After the death of King Wan."

Lao Tzû: *Tao Tê Ching,* Carus, p. 105: 沒身不殆, "The end of the body, it is not dangerous."

Wang Ch'ung, Chapter XI, translation by A. B. Hutchinson, *China Review,* VIII (1879-1880), 45: "The body will decay like grass and herbs, the reputation like the sun and moon, will remain brilliant."

[50] See *Shih Chi, chüan* 63, Lao Tzû, Chuang Tzû, etc.; Paul Carus: same, pp. 51-52, 95-96, 142-146: 老子修道德. "Lao Tzû practised reason and virtue."

[51] 仁, rendered "love"; see also Lionel Giles: *The Sayings of Confucius* (London, 1920), Introduction, pp. 21-22; Leonard A. Lyall: *The Sayings of Confucius* (second ed., London, 1925), Preface. Cf. Chapter VII, note 43.

[52] 吳札, Wu Cha, or 季札, Chi Cha, a royal prince of the State of Wu (in the lower Yang-tzû valley, the section of the Wu dialects of modern China). Wu Chi Cha "was sent the rounds of the Chinese states as special ambassador, charged, under the convenient cloak of seeking civilization, ritual,

and music, with the duty of acquiring political and strategical knowledge. This prince so favorably impressed the orthodox statesmen (of the Chinese states) that he was everywhere received as an equal: his tomb is still in existence, about ten miles from the treaty-port of Chinkiang (Kiangsu Province), and the inscription upon it, in ancient characters," has long been ascribed to Confucius, who, "though a boy of eight (seven western reckoning) when the Wu prince visited Lu in 544 B. C., died only six years after the death of Wu Chi Cha, who lived to be 90 years old." See E. H. Parker: *Ancient China Simplified* (London, 1908), pp. 73, 81, 98, etc., mentioned in Index, Ki-chah, p. 324; Giles: *Biog.*, no. 287; Couling: *Encyclo. Sinica*, pp. 93-94; Mayers, no. 243.

Wu Chi Cha was given as fief the territory in Kiangsu province which is in general the modern Wu-chin Hsien, 武進縣, see the provincial gazetteer of Kiangsu and Anhui, 江南通志 (1729), *chüan* 32, p. 4.

[53] For a similar picture, see Hugh Cranmer-Byng's Introduction, *Yang Chu's Garden of Pleasure* (*The Wisdom of the East Series*, London, 1912, p. 7), when "to the capital of Liang, in the State of Wei, came all the Philosophers, just as they came to Athens." Compare with this the account of the visit of Wu Chi Cha a century earlier as given in the *Tso Chuan*, Hsiang Kung, twenty-ninth year, *chüan* 32, *Classics*, V, 544, 547, 549-551: . . . "there are many superior men in Wei"—and one mentioned by him was Ch'ü Yüan.

[54] This expression credited in the *Tso Chuan*, Chao Kung, eighth year, *chüan* 37, to one Yang-shê Hsi, 羊舌肸 (*Chinese Biog.*, p. 278), Shu-hsiang of the State of Chin, 晉叔向, Legge: *Classics*, V, 620, 622: "The words of a superior man are true and supported by evidence." The evidence here is Tzû-lu, Ch'ü Yüan, etc.

[55] If the reference is made to the Kingdom Wei instead of to "virtue," then the meaning is: "So the Kingdom (of Wei) fell, and never rose again."

[56] See above, note 18 on 命; and Mencius, VI, I, *Classics*, II, 394-421, on 性. See also Analects 17:2, with note, Legge, I, 318, 383.

Analects 12:5, *Classics*, I, 253; 死生有命, 富貴在天, "Death and life have their determined appointment; riches and honours depend upon Heaven." Compare with the use of 富貴 and of 修短 below in the first three couplets of the last stanza.

Pan Chao's great-aunt Pan Chieh-yü used the words from the Analects in her defense of herself before the emperor Ch'êng when accused by Chao Fei-yen, see *Han Shu, chûan* 97.

[57] 力行, as here used by Pan Chao, shows the influence of Mo Ti's teachings in Han times. Cf. the "effort" he called for in his censure of the belief in Fate or Destiny binding the people in their every walk of life; see his chapters, 非命, especially the third, *chüan* 37, Forke: *Mê Ti*, Chapters 35-37.

[58] The *Chung Yung*, *chüan* 20 (*SBE*, XXVIII, 314) has the expression: 好學近乎知, 力行近乎仁, "To be fond of learning is near to wisdom; to practise with vigor is near to benevolence." 仁 rendered "love" instead of benevolence.

[59] The Book of Poetry (II, VII, 4:5, *Classics*, IV, 393) has the couplet: 高山仰止, "The high hill is looked up to; 景行行止, The great road is easy to be travelled on."

[60] Legge (*Classics*, I, 170, note) said that "忠 is duty-doing, on consideration, or from the impulse, of one's own self; 恕 is duty-doing, on the principle

of reciprocity." See also Analects 1:4, 5:18, 7:24, 9:20, 15:23, 4:11, *Classics,* I, 139, 179, 202, 223, 301, 177, 251, 170; and 忠恕違道不遠 (*SBE,* XXVIII, 305), "If one maintains his integrity and practises the reciprocal duties, he is not far from the path."

[61] Book of Poetry, II, IV, 3:5, *Classics,* IV, 366:

好是正直，神之聽之，介爾景福.

"Loving the correct and upright
So shall the spirits hearken to you,
And give you large measures of bright happiness."

[62] Note the use of 精 in "Needle and Thread" poem, p. 105. 誠, "actually and fully accomplished." See note by Legge: *Chung Yung, SBE,* XXVIII, 317.

[63] Note the use of 通 above, note 19, and also in "Needle and Thread," p. 103.

[64] Analects 7:20, *Classics,* I, 201; 神, "One of the four subjects on which the Master did not talk."

Book of Poetry, III, III, 4:6, *Classics,* IV, 533: 敬恭明神，宜無悔怒, "Reverent to the intelligent Spirits, I ought not to be thus the object of their anger."

J. Edkins ("Chinese Architecture," *JRAS, NCB,* XXIV, 1889, 256) wrote of 神明, "spirits and bright intelligences. This phrase is much used—for worshipping beings who are believed to come and throng round the spots where sacrifices are offered and prostrations made. They also scrutinize and reward or punish the actions of mankind."

[65] Note the use of 靈 both in "The Bird from the West," Chapter VIII, note 4, and in the memorial to the emperor Ho, p. 98; and the use of 祇 with 神 in "Lessons," p. 87. One of Mo Ti's teachings was that of the intervention of spirits of the dead in affairs of this world in favor of the good, see Maspero: same, p. 470.

That is: "watchfulness." For Heaven's Looking Glass in Taoism, see J. Dyer Ball, *China Review,* XI (1882-1883), 210-211.

[66] 輔, poles used to prevent carts from upsetting, or as levers to raise the wheels, etc. (Giles: *Dict.,* no. 3627).

[67] Here there is a change from the six character phrases, broken by *hsi,* 兮, to four character phrases with *hsi* as the last character of the second phrase. The *K'ang-hsi Dictionary* has 樂之卒章曰亂. Legge (*Classics,* I, 213) translated: "The last part in the musical services is called *lwan.*—The name *Iwan* was also given to a sort of refrain, at the end of each song."

[68] *Yang Hsiung Fa Yen,* 楊雄法言: 君子言則成文，動則成德. Analects 7:24, Legge: *Classics,* I, 202, 文, "Letters"—one of the four things taught by Confucius. Cf. Analects 6:16, *Classics,* I, 190.

[69] Analects 5:25, *Classics,* I, 182: "The Master said: 'Come, let each of you tell his wishes.'"

Giles (*Dict.,* no. 3959): "Why doesn't each of you speak his mind?"

A. B. Hutchinson ("The Critical Disquisitions of Wang Ch'ung," IX, 28, 8, Confucius Interrogated, *China Review,* VII, 1878-1879, 44) translated: "I say there are those living in our times possessed of great talents and exalted wisdom, who are capable of answering any one seeking an explanation of difficulties, and by those my present day investigation deciding the right and the wrong will certainly be regarded with esteem."

[70] While the Han Confucianists "loved antiquity," unfortunately they mixed

in with their *Ku-wên* so much for which no evidence can be found that contemporary Chinese scholars are having a very difficult time to separate the facts of history from their creations of ideals.

[71] Mencius (I, II, 16:3, *Classics,* II, 179) said: 行或使之，止或尼之，行止非人所能也, "A man's advancement is affected, it may be, by others, and the stopping him is, it may be, from the efforts of others. But to advance a man or to stop his advance is (really) beyond the power of other men."

Book of Changes (*SBE,* XVI, Appendix I, Hexagram LII:1, 256) has the passage: (易經：下經艮, Hexagram 52): 時止則止，時行則行，動靜不失，其道光明, "Resting when it is time to rest, and acting when it is time to act. When one's movements and restings all take place at the proper time for them, his way (of proceeding) is brilliant and intelligent."

[72] 先君, Pan Chao means again her own father; see p. 82.

[73] As referred to on p. 63, Wang Ch'ung (*Lun-Hêng,* Lost Texts, *chüan* 20, by Forke, XX, 2, as Chapter XXV, 1911, 279-280) wrote of Pan Piao that "the pen of such a writer cares for nothing but justice. Worthies and sages having confided their thoughts to the pen, many strokes of the pen form a word, and a number of words bring out a sentiment, the reading of which enables later ages to distinguish between right and wrong, for why should a false statement be made?—from reading the words, one learns to know the character of the person described."

[74] Note the use of 不敏 in "Lessons," p. 82.

[75] Pan Chao's father wrote a "Travelling Northward" poem (北征賦, *Wên Hsüan, chüan* 9), 23-24 A. D., when a fugitive from the capital, writing en route from Ch'ang-an, 長安, to An-ting, 安定, Shensi.

[76] Analects 4:5, *Classics,* I, 166: "The Master said: 'Riches and honours are what men desire. If it cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be held. Poverty and meanness are what men dislike. If it cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be avoided.'" See also Analects 7:15, same, p. 200; and above, note 56.

[77] Legge (Analects 1:14, note, *Classics,* I, 143) explained that "With what mind one aiming to be a *chün-tzû,* 君子, pursues his learning. He may be well, even luxuriously, fed and lodged, but, with his higher aim, these things are not his seeking—無求."

[78] 正身, literally "erecting the body," came to mean "rectifying the person."

[79] F. H. Balfour (translating Huai-nan Tzû, *China Review,* IX, 1880-1881, 289) commented that "Wherefore the Holy Man preserves the principle of quiescence,—He waits till the changes bring about the time for action,—never being premature or precipitate; soft, pliant, and at rest,—easy, tranquil, and secure,—he storms, as it were, a great (citadel) and lays a strong (town) in ruins, nothing in the world being able to withstand him!"

[80] Wang Ch'ung (translation by A. B. Hutchinson, *China Review,* VIII, 1879-1880, 46) wrote that "Man's life has a determined length: man, like insects, has a time to be born and a time to die. Who by reflecting upon his years, can detain them?" See also Analects 6:2 (Legge's note), *Classics,* I, 185.

Hu Shih discusses the intelligence of Neo-Mohism in his "Logical Method," (pp. 87-92), and his conclusions are disputed by Maspero in *T'oung Pao,* XXV, (1927), 59-64.

[81] Note the use of 吉 above, note 5.

Lionel C. Hopkins ("Working the Oracle," *New China Review,* I, 1919, 3-9) noted that the Chinese scholar, Lo Chên-yü, 羅振玉, in his "Critical Interpretations of the Records of the Tumulus of Yin" has established "the fact that there was no great difference between the divination methods of the Shang and Chou dynasties.— (but) the Han scholars were already unable to grasp clearly the mode of divination practised under the Shang and Chou dynasties."

[82] 敬愼威儀. In the Book of Poetry, IIÎ, II, 9:3, Legge (*Classics,* IV, 497) translated: "Let us be reverently careful of our demeanor." Note the use of 敬愼 as the title of Chapter III of "Lessons," p. 85.

[83] 無怠, 無荒, 四夷來王. In the Book of History, II, II, 1:4, 大禹謨, Legge (*Classics,* III, 55) translated: "Attend to these things without idleness or omission, and from the four quarters the barbarian tribes will come and acknowledge your sovereignty." (This quotation is taken from the spurious section of the Book of History, cf. Karlgren: same, p. 52.)

[84] J. Edkins ("Ancient Physics," *China Review,* XVI, 1887-1889, 75) wrote that "Temperance and moderation are essential to health, and here medicine and Taoism are identical in practice, and the book (素問, see Wylie: *Notes,* pp. 96-97) in its first chapter becomes a teacher of Taoism."

[85] 不欲以靜. Lao Tzû in the *Tao Tê Ching,* Carus translated (p. 205): "There being no desire, thereby there is rest."

The "Historical Record" (*chüan* 63, 老子莊子等): 無爲自化, 淸靜自止.

[86] 公綽 or 孟公綽. See Analects 14:12 and 13, Legge: *Classics,* I, 279: 公綽之不欲, "the freedom from covetousness of Kung-ch'o"; (note 12) "Kung-ch'o was the head of the Mang, 孟, or Chung-sun. 仲孫, family, and, according to the 'Historical Record' was regarded by Confucius more than any other great man of the times in Lu." The comment to the Chinese text of Analects 14:12 says: 廉靜寡欲, 而短於才者也.

PART IV

PAN CHAO: A REPRESENTATIVE CHINESE WOMAN