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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY CHINA
SHANGHAI
上海

JOURNAL

OF THE

CHINA BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1896-97.

VOL. XXXI.

外交部藏書

SHANGHAI, 1900.

KELLY & WALSH, LIMITED
別發

SHANGHAI, HONGKONG, YOKOHAMA & SINGAPORE:
KELLY & WALSH, LIMITED.
LONDON:—Messrs. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co., LD.
PARIS:—M. ERNEST LEROUX, Rue Bonaparte, 28.
LEIPZIG:—O. HARRASSOWITZ.

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INSCRIPTIONS DE L'ORKHON.

Déchiffrées par VILH. THOMSEN,

Professeur de Philologie comparée à l'Université de Copenhague.

By E. H. PARKER.

WE have already elsewhere* on a previous occasion noticed the first part of this work comprising pages 5 to 54, published in 1894; as Professor Thomsen informs us in his "Remarques Finales" at the end of the present volume. The preparation of the remainder has been unavoidably delayed through the accident of his illness. The parts which we now have before us embrace the "Transcription et traduction des textes (Monuments I et II);" the "Introduction;" the word for word romanised transcription, with translations, of each separate face of each of the two Monuments; Notes; Additions and Rectifications; Analytical Index; Turkish Lexicon; Turkish Grammar; a new English translation of Monument I; and the above-mentioned "Remarques Finales," justifying his own views on certain open points.

As Professor Thomsen justly reminds us in his Introduction, the Chinese histories are much better authorities upon the early Turks than the Byzantine authors, such as Menander Protector and Theophylactus Simocatta. In presenting us with a sketch of Turkish history from the Chinese point of view, Dr. Thomsen follows mainly the memoir upon the subject published by the late Stanislas Julien. The Turks lived in felt tents, led a nomadic life, and

* *The Academy* (7 Dec. 1895) and *The Eng. Hist. Review* (July 1896).

generally had manners and customs which correspond to the Tartar life of to-day as seen in the Mongols, and also to the description given us of the ancient Huns of Europe, the Hiung-nu of early China, and the modern Kirghiz of the Russian steppes.[1] Dr. Thomsen frankly tells us that he has had to take his Chinese translations second-hand, and therefore we need not be surprised to find that he has been led into repeating a few errors which the light of the recently discovered inscriptions enables us once more to expose. Thus the chief officers of the Turks included what translators call the *Ye-poou*, *Bout*, *Tik-k'in*, *Sou-li-pat*, and *To-toun-pat*. In justice to Julien, however, it must be stated that whilst he is the chief authority for the Chinese narrative, the above forms are not his own, but those amended by M. Gustave Schlegel, Professor of Chinese at the Leyden University. *Yep-hu* (not *Ye-pou*), which the Chinese themselves tell us to call *Ziep-hu*, turns out to be the Turkish word *jabgu*, a title applied to the different Viceroys or Cæsars—so to speak—who ruled as "satraps of the blood" under the Supreme Khan. *Bout* is a misreading of the Chinese, and should be *Shet:* as yet the word has not been satisfactorily identified with any Turkish form. *Tik-k'in* is the Turkish *Tägin*, as is amply proved by the Orkhon inscriptions. M. Déveria of Paris had, however, already several years ago satisfactorily proved this in a journal called the *T'oung Paou*. Owing to faulty Chinese printing, most sinologists have hitherto read *te-le;* and even such excellent authorities as the late Archimandrite Palladius of Peking have thus been misled into identifying it with a supposed Mongol word *dere*. *Sou-li-pat* (an error for *K'i-li-pat*) stands for some such sound as *djirifal;* the remaining word has not yet been identified at all.

The next point is the original locality of the rising Turkish power when first the name Türk (meaning "helmet")

was taken as a political designation towards the middle of the sixth century. The bold generalisations of de Guignes have here again propagated error far and wide. Nothing could be more positive than the Chinese reiterated statement that the Ordous and Etznai region, north-east of Kokonor, was the original site of the Turkish encampment; true, their power afterwards extended to the Altaï, and it may well have been there that Zemarchus, the ambassador of Justin, was received by the Khan Dizaboul (probably meaning "the *Zabgu Di*"—either a numeral or a name in A.D. 568); but, apart from the fact that the Ektag Mountains of Menander is at the present time, according to Dr. Thomsen, unknown in the region of the Altaï, there is every reason to suppose on other and more specific grounds that quite another neighbourhood was meant, which further research will perhaps enable us in time to identify.

The Manchus may be reasonably supposed to know as well as any one to what race they themselves belong. Previous to their conquest of China, they amalgamated all the tribes belonging to their own stock, and came to the conclusion that the Tungusic Solons of the Amour River, as they are now still called, were the true lineal representatives of the former Khitans or Cathayans, who ruled North China for several centuries, until close upon Marco Polo's time. Yet, in describing the conquests of the Turkish Khan Mokan —whose names and titles have been severely mauled by successive translators — Dr. Thomsen still expresses doubts whether the Khitans were not of Mongol race, as though, if such had been the case, the Mongols, when they became great, would not have eagerly claimed descent from renowned ancestors who for centuries drew humble tribute from China. The tribe of *Mung-wa* is certainly mentioned amongst the most northerly races of Khitan stock; but, even if the one

name of an obscure tribe only *affiliated* to the Khitan were enough to made Mongols of that tribe, and again through it of all the Khitans, we are distinctly told by the Chinese that the language of these northerly races was much the same as that of Tungusic tribes, who have since been proved to be the ancestors of the Manchus. Moreover, is it known yet what exactly was and is the "Mongol race," *i.e.* what is its true relation to the Turkish race, and what ancient tribe mentioned in Chinese history does it lineally represent?

It is highly probable, as we have foreshadowed above, that the Dizaboul of the Byzantines was not the Supreme Khan Mokan at all, though it is quite certain that Zemarchus' interview with him in 569 took place during Mokan's reign, which lasted from 553 to 572. Dr. Thomsen, following de Guignes, assumes that the Tápdor of the Greeks was the Turkish Khan *Tat-t'ou;* but neither he nor de Guignes assists us by specifying what the Byzantines said about Tardou, or what his rank was. The Chinese statements are very positive, but they too are insufficient: still, it is possible to supply the hiatuses by necessary consequence. Thus, we are told that *Tat-t'ou* (a name which numerous Chinese precedents justify us in assuming to have represented the sound Tar-du) was uncle of the fifth Khan Shapuro (son of the second Khan Isiki, son of the first Khan Tumen), who was nephew of the fourth Khan Tapur. It thus follows almost of necessity that Tardou was a son of Tumen. The Chinese also tell us that Tardou, when he usurped the Supreme Khanship in A.D. 599, *had been* "Khan of the Western side" and *had arrogated* to himself the title of Buka Khan. We are therefore inclined to connect this Chinese title of Buka and the Chinese-Turkish *tägin* with Abulghazi's "Butakin, grandson through Zagsu of Tumana." The Chinese themselves tell us that Tardou's successor in the

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west—for his pretensions to the Supreme Khanship were soon defeated—was Nili, son of Yangsu, son of Tumen. It is fair therefore to assume that the Dizabul whom Zemarchus met was the *zabu* or *jabghu* (*i.e.* the viceroy) of the west, under his brother, or possibly his uncle, Mokan, and that this viceroy was either Tardou himself, or a son or nephew of Tardou bearing the title of *tägin*. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that Tardou's grandson subsequently reigned in the west from A.D. 619 with the title of *t'ung jabgu*, the Chinese word *t'ung* meaning "general" or "suzerain," and here most probably not standing for any Turkish word. Again in 580, during the reign of the fourth Khan, we find a Chinese author actually mentioning Tardou as a menacing rival of the Supreme Khan (his brother) Tapo: it is surely therefore not unreasonable to suppose that he was equally menacing under the other brother Mokan in 569, and that it was he, and he alone, who had relations with Constantinople and Persia. It may be here mentioned that the Chinese are inconsistent touching the relationship of Mokan to his father Tumen, as they in at least one place call him "younger brother" and not "son."

After innumerable wars and intrigues, the Turkish Empire was at last broken up by the Chinese in A.D 630, when the twelfth Khan Hiet-li, or Gheri, was taken prisoner. However, the new Chinese system of native Turk Governorships did not last long. In 681 Kutlug, a descendant of Gheri, and it seems himself son of another Kutlug, once more proclaimed himself independent Khan. In 690 or 691 he was succeeded by his brother Me-chuc or Mörchör—the Turkish sounds intended being of course mere suggestions where they are not found in the Turkish texts. Under Mörchöör the Turkish Empire became almost as extensive and formidable as it had been under Mokan and Gheri. For

services rendered to China, he received the title of *Li-kung-pao-kwo*, or, "he who has rendered service to and shewn gratitude to the Empire,"—a designation somewhat mutilated by Dr. Thomsen, owing, as usual, to his translators' inaccuracies. But Mörchör soon fell out with China. The appointment of his son as "little Khan" over Kutlug's son and his own brother, who were respectively Viceroys of the west and east, each commanding an army, shows once more how easily Dizabul might have been mistaken by the Byzantine for Supreme Khan, just as, seven centuries later, Rubruquis found Sartuk and his father Batu settled in Russia in quasi-independence, nominally under the Supreme Khan reigning at Karakorum. The wars which Mörchör carried on with his neighbours enable us to identify the words Turgäs and Karluk in their Chinese disguises, and after the fall of the Western Turkish family of Asena, these Turgäs and Karluks secured the Khanship. In the end, after a successful campaign against the Bajirku (? Baikals) of the Tula River, Mörchör was killed in A.D. 716, and his head was sent as a trophy to China. The Eastern Asena family was at last conquered by the Ouigours.

Before, however, the Turkish Empire of the eastern Asena branch fell a prey to the rising Ouigour power, it enjoyed a season of great prosperity under Kutlug's son Mogilan or Megiklen, successor of Mörchör, and known also as the "little Shah," and the "Bilga Khan," or "Wise Khan." Mogilan owed his throne entirely to the efforts of his younger brother the *tegin* Kül, upon whom he conferred the ancient Hiung-nu title of "Cæsar of the east," in Turkish "Left *Doghri*," in Chinese "Left Worthy Prince." The most important and complete of the discoveries recently made on the Orkhon is the original stone tablet put up to the memory of the great and doughty Prince Kül by

order of the Chinese Emperor. This tablet is still in a state of almost perfect preservation, and, the Chinese inscription being perfectly legible, it followed that if any frequently recurring Turkish letters could be made to correspond with the Chinese characters for "Türk" and "Kül Tegin," the key to the whole Turkish epic would be discovered. Copies of the whole were at once sent to Europe, and in due course the above-mentioned key was first assumed, then discovered, and finally applied by Professor Thomsen, who at last came to the conclusion that the Turkish alphabet was remotely derived from some form of the Aramæan. The Russian Academician Dr. Radloff, a profound Turkish scholar, next proceeded to apply the principle thus discovered by Professor Thomsen to the decipherment of all the other inscriptions, most of which unfortunately were badly mutilated. Dr. Thomsen meanwhile was prevented by illness from keeping pace with Dr. Radloff, who, in 1894 and 1895, published his excellent translations and glossary. The present work by Dr. Thomsen reviews as it proceeds the work of Dr. Radloff; it also furnishes one or two new translations of the Chinese texts, and supplies us with a number of exegetical notes in elucidation of the whole matter.

The above indicates some of the essential features of the sketch of Turkish history given to us from Chinese sources by Professor Thomsen, and necessary for the better understanding of our subject. As we have previously remarked, Professor Thomsen, whilst quite competent to check the accuracy of individual Chinese words, frankly acknowledges that for his translations in this department he has had to depend upon the work of others. Hence we find such inaccuracies as "*the* Shen-yu"[2] (an ancient Hiung-nu title) instead of a city or province also *called* Shen-yu; "poisoned by Mei-lou-tch'oue," instead of "by *the mei-lou* Tch'oue"

(?=Chör), this being a title common to the Ouigours, Kirghiz and Turks ; indeed, as we shall see further on, *tch'oue* or *chue* was also a title ; "the Ambassador Ho-ling-thsioner" for "sent Ho-ling-thsiouen" ; and numerous other little errors such as the extreme care and caution of Dr. Thomsen in other departments leads us to believe he would have avoided had he been in a position to go carefully over the original Chinese himself.

Professor Thomsen next proceeds to give us an account of the interesting monuments as they were found. Reduced facsimiles have already been published by the Finno-Ougrian Society of Helsingfors and by the Russian Academy on behalf of Dr. Radloff, in two magnificent albums, which appeared in 1892. The Turkish inscriptions are much more voluminous than the Chinese, and themselves tell us that they were cut into the stone by the practised Chinese handicraftsmen who had been sent to the Orkhon region by the Chinese Emperor to engrave the Chinese characters. One of the first translations of the Chinese inscription in honour of Kül *tegin*, made by the late M. von der Gabelentz of Berlin, was considerably improved upon in 1892 by Professor Schlegel of Leyden. Professor Thomsen now publishes as an addendum an entirely new English translation, which again slightly modifies that of Schlegel.

When we say that the singular Turkish inscription on the first monument in honour of Kül *tegin* alone contains more than 10,000 characters or syllables, and that the second, in honour of Mogilan, contained, when complete, still more, it will easily be understood that matter sufficiently extensive to fill the pages of a small weekly periodical, and introducing to us an entirely new alphabet and style of thought must be of surpassing interest. In the first the Khan gives us a short *résumé* of anterior Turkish history, and then proceeds to

recount in detail the exploits of his brave brother : a singular peculiarity being the great importance apparently attached to the names and pedigrees of the war-horses ridden. Though the carving of the letters was done by Chinese workmen, we are told that Yollig *tegin*, brother or cousin of Kül and Mogilan, was actually the one who composed certain portions of the epic. As to which part is the prologue and which the epilogue, which portions emanate from Bilga Khan and which from Yollig, these are technical points upon which Drs. Thomsen and Radloff in some cases differ, but which are altogether too technical for us to pronounce upon. Monument No. 2 repeats a great deal of what is said in No. 1 so far as Bilga Khan himself is concerned, but in the former, Kül *tegin's* doughty deeds are entirely omitted from the narrative, and the younger prince is not so much as even mentioned. It is especially unfortunate that so much of the second Turkish inscription is mutilated, for mention is made in it of exactly the same events as are recorded in Chinese history, and it would have been exceedingly interesting to have further confirmation of statements which, though there is no reason to doubt their accuracy in any point, of course become additionally clear and convincing when put in other language and contexts. It often happens that a turn or expression susceptible of a double meaning in either Chinese or Turkish when alone, at once crystallises into an absolute one when the two languages stand side by side. Regarding the general interpretation of the Turkish inscriptions, Dr. Thomsen points out, as he is fairly entitled to do, that there is a profound difference in principle between the method followed by himself and that pursued by Dr. Radloff, whether it be as to the accuracy of the readings, as to the pains taken to consult all available versions of the original Turkish texts, or as to the proper plan to follow in submitting a transcription.

Dr. Radloff, who in the opinion of Dr. Thomsen occasionally follows too closely the modern Turkish dialects of the north, has in the savant's opinion been led to treat this last point somewhat arbitrarily, and thus to give an incorrect idea of the true language of the inscriptions : consequently, as might be expected, the real bearing and the interpretation of the historical details do not receive at Dr. Radloff's hands that full measure of justice to which Dr. Thomsen's more deliberate methods consider them entitled. In short (if a popular simile may be applied to two such distinguished savants), it has been a race between the hare and the tortoise, each arriving at much the same goal in the end, but the hare, in process of bounding, doubling, and scampering along, leaving many indications of hot haste in overcoming obstacles for the cautious tortoise to medidate upon and avail himself of at leisure ; naturally, in careful detail, the tortoise must necessarily often appear to have advantage of the hare.

Dr. Thomsen also makes certain prudent reservations regarding the precise date of the inscription. There can be little doubt that the Chinese histories, when carefully studied dynasty by dynasty, in those chapters which relate to their own and foreign calendars, will throw considerable light upon this question ; but meanwhile it may be fairly held open to doubt, whether the Turks, in a certain measure, made use of the Chinese calendar, meant a lunar year, the complete years of a given Khan's age, the year following the completion of such sum of years, or what not, in cases where a definite date is assigned to a given event ; these doubts of course generally arise in connection with the winter and spring time, when the difference between the beginnings of lunar and solar years must necessarily occur. It is, however, interesting to note that out of five instances where the year of the Khan's age and also that of his brother Kül is mentioned, the former in

four cases is distinctly shown to have been one year older than the latter : in one single instance the difference is two years ; but this is just the point when, owing to one of the two men having been born in a certain month, that particular month might come after the completion say of the 30th year of the one and before the completion of the 31st year of the other ; or *vice versâ*. It may be interesting to note here a peculiarity in Chinese chronology which enables us, once given the requisite pains to find it out—to discover the precise Gregorian date of any event of which the cyclic year, moon, and day are furnished. Every one of the sixty cyclic signs must occur at intervals of 60 years, or days, and therefore when any man's age is given in cyclic language, the subject must be either 71 or 11 years of age ; the day must either be the 3rd of the ides or 60 days earlier or later ; the moon is of course on a somewhat different footing, as there are only twelve moons in each year, notwithstanding this, however, the intercalary thirteenth moon never causes any confusion, as it simply counts as the shadow of the moon which preceded it, just as our 29th of February makes no legal difference in the case of events falling on that day.

It must be recollected also that a greater interest than usual attaches to these Turkish inscriptions, apart from the fact of their being about the earliest of their kind in existence, on account of their being, as Dr. Thomsen expresses it, " Vierges encore de toute souffle du monde mahométan." The Khan Mogilan died in A.D. 734 : Ziyád, brother of the Caliph Omayya b. Abi Sofyan, only crossed the Oxus to attack the Western Turks in A.D. 676. This was during the reign of the Eastern Khan Mörchör (uncle of Mogilan), who had at that date little or nothing to do with the Western Turks. These had then for some years been in a state of anarchy, nominally under Chinese Viceroys or native

Viceroys owing allegiance to China. In A.D. 703 the Western Khan Hien had to take refuge in China on account of Mörchör's encroachments, which continued up to the fall of his kinsmen, the Asena family in the west, and the rise in their place of the Turgäs branch of Turks. In A.D. 730 we hear of Turgäs and Turkish envoys struggling for precedence at the Chinese court; and, as Mörchör died in A.D. 716, it is evident that, even supposing the Turgäs of Issikul were in any way under Mussulman influence, such influence could not have in any way affected the bloodthirsty Mörchör, who was the common enemy of both Turgäs and Chinese. Kotaiba, general of the Caliph Walid I in Transoxiana, is believed to have carried his successful arms up to the Chinese frontier early in the 8th century; but Kotaiba was murdered in A.D. 714. Between A.D. 720 and 723 Maslama, General of the Caliph Yazid II, conducted expeditions against Ferghana and the Khozars of Armenia: the latter are specifically mentioned by the Chinese as being a Western Turkish tribe. Under the Caliph Hisham, who died in A.D. 743, decay had already set in, and the family of Omayya was shortly after supplanted by the Abbasids. M. Gabriel Déveria, in his *Histoire de l'Origine de l'Islamisme en Chine*, informs us that the Persians rejected in 628 the yoke of the Western Turks, and that Yezdejerd III had to take to flight, in the course of which he was killed by the Arabs, whilst his son Pirouz III succeeded in reaching China *viâ* Tokharistan. The Chinese Emperor, though ready to grant him asylum, had no desire to embroil himself with the Arabs, and in the year 651, received favourably a mission sent to him by the Emir al Momenin Othman. In 661 the the Chinese Emperor sent to the west a mission charged with the duty of transforming into Chinese prefectures the whole country between Khotan and Persia. Pirouz himself was

made Administrator. In 670, however, Pirouz (and it seems his son) had once more to seek refuge at the Chinese court, where he was allowed to build a temple of his own religion. In 678 another attempt was made to establish Pirouz or his son upon the Persian throne, but nothing came of it. These details are simply given here to make quite clear what Professor Thomsen asserts, namely, that with both Persians and Western Turks under Chinese influence, it is quite safe to suppose that the Eastern or Northern Turks, who were separated from the Arabs by these two nations, could hardly have been yet even indirectly affected by the Mussulman propaganda.

We may well quote in original a few of Professor Thomsen's own words regarding the style of the incriptions :—

"Comme trait typique . . . il faut surtout signaler la "figure . . . qui consiste à exprimer la même idée en deux "phrases coordonées . . . sous forme d'antithèse. Non "seulement cette figure donne au style un cachet tout par- "ticulier de force et de charme, mais . . . elle se présente "également à nous comme un auxiliaire extrêmement "important relativement à la juste intelligence de beaucoup "de passages . . . Si nous y ajoutons encore que bon nombre "des métaphores . . . se retrouvent aujourd'hui même dans "la poésie populaire de diverses tribus turques, . . . tout ceci "vient se resumer une impression tout à fait à part que "laissent ces anciennes inscriptions. On dirait presque de "lointains échos d'une épopée nationale, tour à tour triom- "phants et pleins d'une douloureuse tristesse, qui viendraient "nous frapper, émanant de ces pierres moussues dans "lesquelles la voix se ranime aujourd'hui !"

Our space will not allow of a close examination into all the points of difference between Dr. Radloff and Dr. Thomsen ; but we may indicate one or two here and there. In the

opening sentences of Monument I the Khan speaks of the Turkish Empire as extending from the Kadirkan Mountains on the East to the Iron Gate on the West. Professor Radloff reads *Kadarkan*, and takes it to be an ordinary adjective, meaning "wooded." There can be no question that the Iron Gate is not the one of that name at Derband on the Caspian, but the one near Samarcand, ten English miles, or, according to Dr. Thomsen's citation, sixty-three English miles, south-east of the city of Kash. The question raised by Dr. Thomsen whether the word *idioksis* can refer to the division of the Turks into so many "arrows" or tribes, is certainly an interesting one; but it must be pointed out that the use of the word "arrows" in the sense of "tribal division" is only mentioned by the Chinese as having been in use among the later Western Turks. Such points as these, however, cannot be expected to deeply interest the general reader, and can in fact only secure the attention of even specialists when they have both Radloff's and Thomsen's complete transcriptions before them to make clear what is meant.

One very remarkable and interesting point has arisen in connection with the Turkish inscriptions which brings the Greeks, Tartars, and Chinese accounts incontestably into one force, and furnishes at least one common *point de repaire* touching the identity of which there can be no doubt. Theophylactus Simocatta, in his account of the Turks, mentions one of their colonies called Taugast, which name, so far back as 1828, Klaproth had already shown must necessarily refer to China, though he was unable to explain the *raison d'être* of the term. The Chinese, in describing the city of Almalik near Kuldja under date 1221–4, state that the inhabitants of that place styled the Chinese *Tau-wha-shi*, a name which they do not attempt to explain, but which Bretschneider twenty years ago compared with the Turkish

word *tamgad*. In the Orchon inscriptions *Tabgash* is consistently used in the sense of "Chinese." The Turkish word *Täpüt*, for "Tibetans," corresponds precisely with the Chinese T'upo (commonly read T'ufan). There was also an Ouigour tribe called Tupo: but the inherent quality of both the first and second syllables etymologically excludes the supposition that this can possibly be meant, apart from the fact that they lived in the extreme north so late as the 7th century. The *Apar* of the Turks naturally suggest to us the Avars of Europe; but the Chinese distinctly mention the A-pah (the etymological value of which is A-bar) as being an early Ouigour tribe whose chief is mentioned as coming over to China in the 8th century. The Avares of T. Simocatta cannot possibly be these, but are much more likely to be the Chinese *Yüe-ban*, who disappeared from Chinese ken during the 6th century, appearing in Eastern Europe about A.D. 558, according to Menander Protector. Dr. Radloff makes one tribe Parpurim out of what Dr. Thomsen divides into two, namely, the Apar and Apurim. Dr. Thomsen is probably right, for Dalobian Khan, the first schismatic Khan of the west, had also been known as the A-po Khan: this was at the beginning of the 7th century, and the title was continued after Dalobian's death. About the Kirghiz and Kurikans there is no manner of doubt: Turkish and Chinese accounts agree perfectly. The Chinese describe the Kirghiz language as being the same as that of the Ouigours, though Dr. Thomsen seems to doubt if they were originally Turks. The latest authorities cited in the Encyclopædia Britannica describe their speech as "pure Turkish in structure, but mixed with Mongolian, Persian, and even a few Arab words." Menander calls them Xerxis, and the Khan Dizabul is said to have given a Kirghiz slave to Zemarchus in A.D. 569.

Their southern frontier were the *T'anman* mountains described by Professor Thomsen, apparently through misapprehension, as *Tangnou*. The "Thirty Tartars" cannot well be other than the Tungusic hordes known to the Chinese as *Shih-wei* or Shirvi,[3] the southern branch of which we are told was subdivided into twenty-five tribes, and the northern into nine. Amongst these tribes were the *Mung-wa*, probably the future *Mung-ku* or "Mongols." From the earliest times the Chinese describe the Tartars as being north-west of the Kitans or Cathayans, which is the exact position which all accounts agree in giving to the early Mongols. Just as the Cathayans were a Tungusic race bordering on, and therefore presumably mixed with, the Turks, so would the Mongols, who according to Rémusat, grafted Turkish traditions upon their own history naturally allow their native tongue, whatever it was, to become largely affected by Turkish. The essential differences however between the Mongol and Turkish languages are not very clearly brought out in Rémusat's learned treatise upon the Tartars, which, in truth, is full of serious errors, and only intended at best to be a suggestive or preliminary study.

Both Dr. Radloff and Dr. Thomsen agree in making the first Turkish ancestor to be Bumin Khan, and this Bumin cannot be other than Chinese Tumen,—Abulghazi's Tumana; but it is just as difficult to suggest an explanation of this difference in nomenclature as it is to account for the Thirty Tartars of the Turks being called by the Chinese *Shih-wei*, or of the Tatabi of the Turks being called *Hi* or *K'umo-Hi* by the Chinese. The Djarud Mongols now occupy the territory once held by the *Hi*, and it is remarkable that, whilst classing them as a Tungusic race, the Chinese mention them in detail along with other Turks, and not along with other Tunguses: hence we may safely assume that certain border

tribes were of mixed blood, just as we find whole villages of the people of Alsace-Lorraine as much German as French, and the same with other frontier peoples in Europe.

The passages referring to the gods of the Turks—the gods of land and water,—together with the half dozen passages preceding them, receive somewhat different treatment at the hands of the two professors: for an outsider the general meaning arrived at is much the same, and at any rate the Chinese make distinct mention of both "Earth" and "Water" worship, so that we may be content to leave the exact grammatical bearings of each allusion to specialists in the Turkish tongues. What is certain at least is that the religion was still pure Shamanism, without the faintest trace of Mussulman, Christian, or Buddhistic influence.

There is one passage in which, though totally ignorant of the Turkish language, we think that Dr. Radloff must be right and Dr. Thomsen wrong. This is where the Khan Bilza, recounting the early exploits of his father Kutlug, says: "Das Volk aber hatte seine türkischen Sitten aufgegeben," which Dr. Thomsen translates: "il abolit les peuples et leurs institutions turques." Both agree in the following sentence that "the people were once more brought back to the institutions of their fathers," so that it is more reasonable to suppose that Dr. Radloff's version is the correct one, that is, if the original Turkish words can be made to bear it. On the other hand Dr. Thomsen is probably right in making two officials—the *yabgou* and the *chad*—out of what Dr. Radloff turns into "eine Jabgug-Schad." *Jabgu*, or in the objective case *jabging*, is a most interesting word: the Chinese call it *yep-hu*, but tell us specially to pronounce the initial as a sibilant, and thus the words being both in the lower tone, the total effect is meant to be *zep-ghu* or *jeb-hu*, so far at least as we can calculate back old forms from a comparison

of modern dialects: the meaning they attach to it is "the agnates" of the Khan, and they appear often to use the term loosely in the sense of "the prince," "the viceroy," very much as in the later Roman Empire there were one or more Cæsars under or nearly co-ordinate with a supreme Augustus. In one instance the Khan of the West is given the title of "Suzerain Zep-hu," or in Chinese "T'ung Zep-hu," which, in the absence of any other way of accounting for the name Dizabul, leads us to suppose that the syllables *zab-ul* must be a Greek corruption of *jab-hu*. The *schad*, written in Chinese *shah* or *shat*, do not appear among the earlier Turkish officials, and possibly may be a form of the Persian word which we usually write *Shah*. Right and Left officials styled *ch'at* are also mentioned in the eighth century, whilst the Khan Mogilan himself was also known as "the Little Shat." Just as the ancient Hiung-nu title *doghri*[4] was used alternatively with its Chinese form "Wise Prince," so the Left and Right *shat* or *ch'ah* may have been used simultaneously with the older title, which was in fact borne by Mogilan's brother, the *tégin* Kül or Köl. At the same time we can hardly agree with Professor Thomsen that Kutlug's son Mekü, who, according to the Chinese, was made Left *chesah* during his uncle and predecessor's reign, is the same person as Kutlug's son Mekilien (Mogilan), who is described as being Left Wise Prince when his uncle died. Meanwhile it may be pointed out that 699 is the date the Chinese give for Mekü's appointment, whilst Mogilan tells us, "I was appointed in my 24th year," which, as he was eight when his father died in 690 or 691, would make him twenty-four in 706 or 707. Further scrutiny of the Chinese records will probably elucidate this point. The Tardouch tribe, over which Mekü was appointed *schad*, may possibly be the Turks called *sha-t'o* by the Chinese; but though the position of the Sha-t'o agrees with that assigned

to the Tardouch, it must be confessed that the history of the *sha-t'o* says nothing of any such event.

Dr. Thomsen does not appear to be able to come to any definite conclusion as to who the Tokouz-ogouz or "Nine Ogouz" were, though he appears to see clearly that in a general sense the Ouigours must be meant. As a matter of fact, in A.D. 742 the Nine Clans are specifically mentioned by the Chinese under the head "Ouigours." After the collapse of the Turkish power, the Ouigour Khan was settled by the Chinese Emperor in the old Turkish country, and took the title of Kutlug Bilga. He removed his ordo to a spot 600 English miles north of the northernmost bend of the Yellow River between the River *K'un* (Orchon) and the Uteken Hills, having the "mouth of the desert 100 (English) miles to his north" and then possessing "the whole of the Nine Clans' land." The "mouth of the desert" must mean the road from Kiachta to Uliasutai. The only difficulty about the names of the Nine Clans is to decide how the ungainly Chinese syllables are to be divided and grouped, and when properly grouped, what Turkish syllables they are intended to represent; they appear to be something like Ghutukar, Küramurkar, Merkasikher, Amurtik, Kazar, Ghurrusu, Yokmurkar, Gheizamur, and Yokrakar, the last being the family name of the ruling Ouigour tribe. Moreover, in the history of the Turks proper, the Chinese say that Kutlug (*i.e.* the father of Mogilan, who boasts that his father conquered the "Neufogouz") "rallied the remnants of his men, and proceeded to rob and raid the Nine Clans, appointing his younger brother Mörchör (uncle of Mogilan) as *schad*, and his son Tusik Beg as "*Jabgu*." The "Bar Khan," who puzzles Dr. Thomsen so much, is undoubtedly "*Pah-se* Beg" who is mentioned in 649 as having surrendered to China. As Kutlug died between 690 and 692,

the jump of 43 years would not be excessive, especially as "Bar" may be a hereditary title like "Bilga." Mogilan says that his uncle succeeded his father "d'après l'usage," or "nach der Sitte;" but the Chinese tell us he usurped the throne, which rightfully belonged to Mogilan.

Paragraphs 16 to 19 disclose several serious discrepancies between the translations of Dr. Radloff and those of Dr. Thomsen, but these we must leave to specialists in the Turk dialects. Mogilan describes the Khan of Türgäs as being of Turk breed "like ourselves." This corresponds with what the Chinese say: "they—the Türgäs—were branch families of the Western Turks," and "the Turks were their neighbours on their north-east." The Chinese accounts of this war agree perfectly with Mogilan's statements. They add that, after the Turks had retired eastwards, one Suluk, chief of the P'olo (? Bara) tribe, set up as (Türgäs) Khan. This must surely be the "Bars Beg" of whom Mogilan speaks; but unfortunately this part of the Turkish text is mutilated. However, he states clearly that he gave a sister in marriage to Bars, whilst the Chinese say that Suluk had not only a Turkish wife, but also a Tibetan wife and a Chinese wife, or at least one sent from China. There is a wide difference between Dr. Radloff's "dem hatten wir unsere sechs Stämme der *Kuntschajug* verliehen," and Dr. Thomsen's "et nous lui donnâmes ma sœur cadette pour épouse." Dr. Thomsen's *quoncu-jug*—if we suppose it to be the accusative in *ug* of the Chinese word *kung-chu*, "a princess,"—is at least translatable, and in accordance with fact, whereas *kuntschajug* has no apparent meaning at all. The Manchu princesses given to the Mongols are still called *kung-chu*, and there are several instances in Turkish history of Chinese Emperors conferring this title (meaning "daughter of the Emperor") upon women of Turkish blood, just as the title *ch'in-wang* or "prince of the

blood" is and was conferred upon foreign Tartar princes and Kings of Corea.

Chinese history does not support the accounts given by Mogilan of the conquests of Mörchör over the Kirghiz: but they state that this people had no intercourse with China before A.D. 648, when, hearing of the submission to the Chinese Emperor of the various Ouigours, they also sent tribute; so that we are probably safe in assuming that the Chinese heard nothing of any Turk conquests in the far west. The *Kengu-Tarman* of the Kirghiz, which Dr. Thomsen describes as *inconnu*, and suggests may be the modern Tarbagatai, is undoubtedly the *T'an-man* range, touching which the Chinese say: "The Kirghiz are away 1,000 (English) miles to the north-west of the Ouigours and impinge on the *T'an-man* Hills to the south." After this passage occurs in Dr. Thomsen's version the following, which, so far as we can discern, does not appear in the Turkish at all, certainly not in Dr. Radloff's translation: "le frère cadet ne connaissait pas son frère aîné le fils ne connaissait pas son père;" but, as Dr. Thomsen himself says: "en attendant, je dois moi-même renoncer à en trouver la solution" of certain passages in the immediate context, we may assume that the Turkish text is a little unsatisfactory here: at any rate the divergences of opinion between the two savants here become more accentuated. Dr. Radloff's "dichten Bergwalds" is not likely to be so correct as Dr. Thomsen's "forêt sacrée d'Eutuken," for in the Chinese histories the U-te-kien Mountains are over and over again mentioned, not, as Dr. Thomsen says, in the same sense as Mount Toukin, but evidently near it. As early as A.D. 390 the *Uk-ti-kien* appears as the name of the chief of a tribe called *Heh-t'up-lin* (? Ghurtürin), and the Ouigour tribes called *Yen-do* or *Sie-yen-do* are stated to have occupied the *Ut-tuk-kün* Range,

which would be near Urga or Karakorum. In flying before the Tibetans for refuge in China, the *Sha-t'o* Turks followed the line of the *U-te-kien* Hills. The Ouigour Khan's ordo was *between* the Orchon and the *U-te-kien* Hills 600 miles north of the northernmost bend of the Yellow River. It thus becomes almost a certainty that, whether one or more of these names is or is not identical with the other, the *U-te-kien* Range must be south of the desert and not far from China, and no doubt the same in effect as Rashid-eddin's Utikan.

Dr. Radloff translates: "Zusammen mit meinem Bruder *da* zwei Schad waren," against Dr. Thomsen's: "de concert avec mon frère *et les* deux chads." Our previous remarks upon the possibility of *shah* being a mere Persian form of the ancient *doghri*, or "Worthy Prince," may be consulted. According to different Chinese statements Kül was a Worthy Prince and Mogilan was also one; Mekü was a *shah*, and Mogilan was a *shah*; Kül was also a *doghri*. We have shown that Mekü cannot well be the same as Mogilan. The presumption seems reasonable that there were three brothers, and that *shah*, *doghri* and *hien-wang* ("Worthy Prince") all three mean "Cæsar" or "Viceroy." In fact the Yollig *tegin* who composed the inscription is more likely to be a fourth brother than a cousin. Mogilan here again couples the Kitai and the Tatabi in one. The Japanese it may be remarked, by a process called *nigori* or "thickening," convert the initial *h* into a *b* when the syllable beginning with *h* follows another ending with a vowel. Thus *hi-hachi*, or "fire-box," becomes *hi-bachi*. In a paper upon the similarity between certain Burmese and Japanese peculiarities (published by the Japan Asiatic Society), we have also drawn attention to a form of *nigori* in Burmese. Even in Corean the same thing exists to a limited extent. If, then, we assume that the word *Tata* is merely a qualificatory of *Hi* (as the Chinese style the people who are always

coupled with the Kitans), we thus get the "*Hi* Tartars" or *Tata-hi*. A Chinese work called the *Chêng-tsz T'ung* says: The *Tata* occupy land north-west "of the Kitan, and their horde emanates from another branch of the *Sha-t'o* [Turks]." In the first century a Chinese general named Tou Hien "pushed as far as 5,000 li (1,800 miles) from the Chinese frontier into the heart of the Tata (or Tatar) country." In 630 the Turkish Khan Gheri "was severely defeated at a place in Tata land" called Yin Shan, and in A.D. 880 the *Sha-t'o* Turks, after revolting in North Shan Si, "had to take refuge with the *Tata* (or Tatar), a race akin to the *Moh-hoh* [or ancient Manchus]." In 966 the *Tata* (or Tatar) "a race akin to the *Moh-hoh*, living north of Ordous, sent tribute" to the *Sha-t'o* Turkish Emperor then ruling over part of China as a vassal of the Kitan Emperor to his north. After Tou Hien's great victory, the Tunguses "occupied the Northern Hiung-nu Khan's territory." At the beginning of the 3rd century we read of a powerful Tungusic chief named *T'a-tun*, and several centuries earlier a "Middle *T'a-tun* or *T'a-tui* land" is mentioned much farther west. De Guignes and others make the scene of Tou Hien's victory somewhere near the Irtish; but the utmost that we can extract from the obscure and complicated evidence is that the Modern Urga region,—in fact, the region of the Orkhon, Kerulon and Onon is really meant. All that we can say for certain is that the *Tata* were north-west of the Kitans, and 1,600 miles away from China; that they afterwards occupied lands once inhabited by races of (what was later called) Turkish stock; that they are variously described as Turkish and Tungusic; that they are grouped by the Chinese historians with Turks when called by the name *Hi;* that Persian historians connect the word Tatar with the Mongols; and that everything points to Mongols, Tatars, Tatabi and *Hi* being an intermediate or

mixed race wedged in between the Turkish and Tungusic stocks.

A considerable part of Inscription I is also repeated upon Inscription II, *i.e.* a part of the Turkish inscription upon Kül tegin's[5] stone is repeated in the Turkish inscription upon Mogilan's stone: the last sentences of this common portion are thus differently translated by Dr. Radloff and Dr. Thomsen: "Die trefflichen Stämme und die Chanswürde habe ich gross gemacht, das Volk in den vier Ecken verfolgend, habe ich zur Ruhe gebracht, ohne Feindschaft hingen meine Chane an mir;" and "Parmi ceux dont le peuple, et les kagan se joignirent à moi (?) j'ai fait du bien (?). Beaucoup de peuples aux quatre coins du monde ont été pacifiés par moi, et amenés à cesser les hostilités, beaucoup se sont soumis à moi." It will thus be seen that, when the original text treats of abstract rather than concrete ideas, difference of opinion, not sufficiently grave to imbue the outsider with any feeling of doubt as to the capacity of either savant to give us the best general sense, may fairly arise owing to the vagueness of the original text, and the lack of sufficient historical data to enable translators to realise the exact point alluded to.

On the death of his father Kutlug, Kül married the widow, "il tint lieu de mari," "ist zum Manne geworden." In a note Dr. Thomsen says: "on ne doit pas entendre effectivement épousé." On the contrary, both amongst the ancient Hiung-nu (*i.e.* Turks) and Sien-pi (*i.e.* Cathayan Tartars) it was the invariable rule for a son to marry his step-mothers, so that we must either suppose the *Katun*, or queen, to have been a step-mother, or believe that, as Dr. Thomsen suggests, Prince Kül merely protected his own natural mother as a husband would have done. The Tartars certainly never married their natural mothers, and in the one

case when a Chinese Emperor (Kao Tsung) married his father's concubine (afterwards the Empress Wu) it is almost certain that a laxity so abhorrent to the Chinese mind was borrowed from Turkish ideas. Indeed the founder of the T'ang dynasty seems to have had Turkish blood in him on his mother's side.

Menander Protector mentions the subjection by the Turks of the Sogdians (Sogdaitai) and Haïathals (Ephthalites), and the Turks themselves mention, when Kül was twenty-six years old (*i.e.* A.D. 709-10), an expedition against Alti-Tchoub (Six Tchoub) and the Sogdak (called by the Chinese Suk-tĉk). Dr. Thomsen says the Chinese make no mention of this conquest; but the following statement from the T'ang History undoubtedly alludes to it: "Ulega, after a severely contested but unsuccessful fight with the Caliph Empire, begged assistance, which was refused, from the Emperor: afterwards he prayed that his son Turghot might be made Prince of Ts'ao, and Mörchör Prince of Mi. Granted." We have already seen that between 708 and 713 Arab diplomacy was successful at the Chinese Court. The *Peh-shï*, or History of the Toba Tunguses (contemporary with Tumen Khan), says that "Mi, Ts'ao and six other states have become part of the powerful state of K'ang" (*i.e.* N.E. of Caspian); and the *Sui-shï* or History of the Sui (contemporary with the first nine khans) says that these states were all governed by princes of *Yüe-chï* (*i.e.* Ephthalite) descent. The "Six Tchoub" may perhaps refer to the Ten Western Clans, or Ten Arrows, of the Turks, who were re-organized about A.D. 630 into Five great *Chüe* of the Turuk tribe under the Eastern Viceroy, and Five *Djigin* of the Nushpir tribe under the Western Viceroy. The Five Turuk were east of the khan's capital (Suiye) near Issekul, and the Five Nushpir were west. After several revolutions

one Ilbirok Shapora Jabgu Khan came to the throne, and the K'ang states admitted his authority; he formed an alliance with China in 641. Western Turk history after this becomes very confusing, but the Emperor Kao Tsung divided their territory into departments up to the frontiers of Persia. This appears to have been under the Khan Ghoru about A.D. 659. In 679 Su-ye was made the headquarters of the Chinese Resident, and strongly fortified. The Turk Mörchör is said to have made marauding attacks in A.D. 705-6, and then the Türgäs replaced the Western Asena family, and one Uchile became Khan. Further close research will be necessary to identify the Ulega and Turghot mentioned above, as the passage is an isolated one; but very probably Ulega is a misprint, with two characters subverted, and should be Uchile, for the Chinese tell us that in 703 the "Ten clan domain had been encroached upon by Mörchör and Uchile;" at any rate we have shown that the Chinese actually do, to all intents and purposes, mention the Sogdian conquests, and they also mention a *chüe* named Tut or Tur in A.D. 714 as being Viceroy over the Five Nushpir.

The Ongtoutouk or Ungtuduk of the Turks is the Chinese "General (*tu-tuk*) Wang," or Wong-tsun, who in 720 organized a combined attack upon the Turks; *wang* cannot here mean "King," as suggested by Dr. Thomsen. The Chinese describe how the Turks defeated this combination. The Turkish inscription goes on to say that "when Kül was thirty-one" (*i.e.* about 715) he fought a battle with Tschatscha-Sünki or Tchatcha-sengun, who, as Dr. Thomsen rightly supposes, is the Turkish general (*tsiang-kün*) employed by the Chinese, surnamed Sha-cha, with personal name Chung-i; this man is mentioned by the Chinese as fighting against Mörchör in 698-9, and also against the Cathayans at about the same date; we are bound to assume, therefore, that he

continued to serve another fifteen years or so. In fact the Chinese state that somewhere between 705 and 711 he was tried by court-martial for suffering a defeat at Mörchör's hands.

The name *Jeginsilig-Beg* (or *Yeghin*), given by Kül to one of his best horses, probably represents the word which we have hitherto translated *Ghekin*, a Turkish title borne by Mogilan's grandfather Kutlug, the initial of the first Chinese syllable having an inherent "power" capable of becoming either a guttural or a soft aspirate. "Dans son armure et son . . . ? il atteignit de flèches plus de cent," says Dr. Thomsen, against Dr. Radloff's: "Als Ersatz für diese nahm er hundertfache Vergeltung, und anstatt ihrer Trefflichkeit (?) nahm er für jeden Kopf den Werth eines Tümän,"—a very considerable difference. Dr. Radloff's "die Landverwalter die Ulug-Erkin" is more likely to be Dr. Thomsen's "les Yér-Bayirkou (et?) les Ouloug-Irken (?);" for we are told by the Chinese that in 716 Mörchör marched north to punish the Pa-ye-ku. This syllable Pa (t) is the same as that used to spell the names *Abar* tribe and *Bars* Khan. The Ouloug or Ulug must be the Chinese *U-lok-hou* or *U-lo-hun* of the "Yü-ki-ni (? Irken) water," living near the River Onon, and mentioned as early as A.D. 443. The T'ang history mentions the *U-lo-hu* amongst those tribes (the *Hi*) which we have already suggested were early Mongols, and probably these were too. They were also called *U-hu*, but the Chinese tell us this is a corruption of speech: this last name was also one of the many names given to the early Ouigours: the Cathayans were on their south, the *Moh-hoh* (Manchus) to their east, and the *Wu-wan* Tunguses to their north. They were 1,500 English miles from Ta-t'ung Fu in Shan Si, and 2,100 from Si-an Fu in Shen Si. One of the early Ouigour Khans, who took the Sanskrit name of Bôdhisatva (or

P'u-sat), is said to have had an able mother named *U-lo-hun*. Thus everything points to the Ouloug being of Ouigour stock.

The mention of the Altyn-jish or Golden Mountains, in connection with the Irtish or Ärtisch River and the Kirgiz and Türgäs conquests, makes it perfectly clear that the Altaï are here meant; but these cannot possibly be the same as the Kin Shan or Golden Mountains *south* of which ancient Turks lived. There are many Kin Shan in China, and Williams' map gives one range, Altyn Tagh, about half-way between the Irtish and Kokonor: even this is far west of the old Turkish position, and nothing could be more certain than that this last was somewhere not far north of modern Kan-chou Fu.

Dr. Thomsen's explanation of the Turkish term *Kara* Türgäs or Black Türgäs as indicating what the Chinese term the "black faction" under Suluk as distinct from the Yellow faction under Sokor, is undoubtedly correct; besides, the Chinese tell us that Mörchör had in 711 set out to chastise Sokor. Also meritorious is his identification of Jinchu-ügüg, "la rivière des Perles," with the River Sogd, or Zarafshan ("spreader of gold"), the Polytimetos or "precious" of the Greeks. In a fragment of Monument III the Chinese inscription mentions a *Chên-chu* River (meaning "Pearl River"), and M. Déveria is undoubtedly right in suggesting that this name is an imitation of the Turkish sound. As often happens in Chinese, it has been possible also to imitate the meaning: *Chên-chu* is still colloquial northern Chinese for "pearl," its true meaning being "true pearl." De Guignes mentions a *Chên-chu* River in the Ili region, not far from the old capital of the Wu-sun Tartars, and *Chên-chu* was not only the name of a *Sie-yen-t'o* Khan, as pointed out by M. Déveria, but also of one of the Western Turk *jabgu* or Khans. In one place connected with these

fights Dr. Thomsen and Dr. Radloff translate very differently; the former has: "c'étaient des hommes braves qui nous avaient attaqué," against "er hatte sich an die Tochter eines Helden gemacht."

Next follows the transcription on the North side of the stone. Dr. Thomsen's "il lutta contre le Kochou-toutouk" has more reason about it than Dr. Radloff's "Zusammen fassten sie sich;" for the *toutouk* of *Ho-chou* (near Turfan), as suggested by Dr. Thomsen in one of his final notes, is probably meant. But there is perhaps a still better alternative. The Türgäs general Ko-shu Han served the Chinese at just this time, and in A.D. 747 was appointed Viceroy of An-si: since the Emperor T'ai Tsung's time the viceroy of this place had had under him the whole west, including Su-ye, Kashgar, Kuche and Khoten. If Ko-shu was old enough in 747 to be a viceroy, we may assume that twenty or thirty years earlier—especially as the Turkish dates are vague about here—he was old enough to fight against his own countrymen. The Turkish inscription says: "Kül *tegin* ayant 37 ans, le peuple des Karlouk devint un vaillant ennemi." Dr. Thomsen put this Karlouk expedition down to about A.D. 714. The Chinese histories say: The *Kor-lo-luk* soldiers were sturdy and always ready to fight: in the 1st year of K'ai-yüan [A.D. 713] they came twice to court." But nothing is said of their rising power until A.D. 742; so that we may well suppose their missions were sent to China in order to obtain protection against the Turks. Dr. Thomsen's battle "près de la sainte source (?) du Tamag" becomes in Dr. Radloff's hands "auf dem Berge Tamgydyk kämpften wir." Possibly this place may be what the Chinese call the *T'ai-han* Hills, 23 English miles north Karahodjo, the residence of the first Khan of the *Sie-yen-t'o* people when they rebelled in A.D. 603 against Chulo, Khan of the Western Turks. The Turkish

inscription, having just stated that the Karlouk war took place when Kül was thirty-seven years old, now unaccountably goes on to say that "this battle took place when Kül was thirty years of age," and again: "Kul *tegin* avait alors 41 ans." On both occasions seated upon his charger, Alpchaltchi, which horse again appears [in A.D. 716] "quand l'empire de mon oncle fut épuisé." The battle near "la ville de Togou" is "bei der stadt Silki-togo" in Dr. Radloff's version, but neither this word nor the "Izgil" nation can be as yet at all identified. The tribe of the "Edinz" against whom Kül fought at an unidentified place called Kuschligak are styled "Oguz" by Radloff, apparently by mistake. Dr. Thomsen identifies them with the *A-tieh* of the Chinese; but this is not very satisfactory, as the Chinese historians tell us the *A-tieh* were once called *A-shet* or *A-shi* (*t*): moreover the sound *A-tieh* is doubtful, as it is occasionally written *a-pa* (*t*), and has already done part duty, as above mentioned, for *a-bar*. Still, one *Hie-tie Sz-t'ai*, which appears to mean "*Sz-t'ai*, chief of the *Hie-tie*, is mentioned in connection with the *a-tieh* or *a-pah*, and it is also stated that, about A.D. 715-6, he came over with his horde to the Chinese interest; was granted the imperial surname of Li; and under the name *Li Sz-t'ai* continued to serve China; so that this passage may well refer to the Ediz. As for the River Tschusch, or Schusch, can this be the Chu or *Su-ye* River near Issekul? There can be no doubt that the eleven men "de la race des Tongra" killed pendant les funerailles de Tonga "*tegin*" were, as guessed by Dr. Thomsen, persons of the *T'ung-lo* tribe of Ouigours during the obsequies of *T'ung-o t'e-k'in*, who, according to the Chinese, was killed in A.D. 714 whilst attacking the modern Urumtsi: the Chinese say: "from A.D. 650 to 750 little or nothing was heard of the *T'ung-lo*, since their first visit to the Emperor T'ai Tsung." Dr. Thomsen translates "nous luttâmes

contre les Ogouz à Ezghenti-kadaz," and Dr. Radloff "Kämpften wir mit den Ogus unterhalb des Asgänti." It is difficult to hazard any reasonable suggestion touching Ezghenti, but a river called *Shi* (*t*) *Kien* or Shirgen is mentioned, near the *Mung-ɯa* tribe, as flowing into or out of the Kerulon. The two translations are here very wide apart. Dr. Thomsen has; "Iet transperca deux hommes [.....]. Cette armée [fut tuée?] là. Après avoir hiverné dans la forteresse d'Amga-Kourgan, nous mîmes en marche, au printemps, l'armée vers les Ogouz;" and Dr. Radloff: "Aber zur Stadt ging es nicht. Dort tödteten wir viele Ogus. Aus Furcht Zogen wir in der Ebene des Jyschsap mit einem Heere gegen die Ogus." Where the two learned Doctors disagree to this extent we may be excused from suggesting anything better; but it is the more unfortunate that there should be so wide a divergence here, as this was the battle in which Kül lost his life. Chinese history mentions his death in A.D. 731, and also the very stone (which has just been discovered on the Orkhon) sent and engraved in his honour by command of the Emperor: it is added that Mogilan, who was poisoned in A.D. 734 by the *Mei-luk* Chör, had exactly the same honour paid to his memory. One of the Chinese envoys sent to condole was Lü Hiang, and it is therefore more probable that Dr. Thomsen's recording of the Turkish as "Isiyi Likeng" is right than Dr. Radloff's "Isji-Liki." Just as *Ho-chou* was *Ko-shu*, so does *Hiang* become *Keng* for want in Turkish of an *h*: in modern Japanese all the Chinese *h* are *k*, without one exception. The "böläne vom Türgäs-Chan" are more correctly given by Dr. Thomsen as the "Clon from the Khan of Tibet": the initial B is silent, and such Tibetan officers frequently appear in Chinese history as *lun*. The whole of this portion, giving a description of the envoys sent by various states to offer

condolences, is translated by Dr. Thomsen with more apparent show of likelihood than by Dr. Radloff. The Khan of the Kirghiz sends Tardouch and Inantchou-tchour (Radloff's Inantschmur). The word Tardouch has already been discussed. The six Chinese characters *Hop I-nan-tchou Moho* are found on another stone fragment, and are evidently intended for "Alp Inantchou Mogho," the last being a title common to many Tartar tribes. The Tchang-Sengun sent by China is undoubtedly the *tsiang-kün* or General Tchang who, the Chinese histories tell us, went with Lü Hiang to condole.

We now proceed to the inscription on the south side of the stone, which Dr. Thomsen regards as the introduction to the whole. The Khan addresses himself to his relatives, nobles, and people generally. The officers which he calls his *schadapit* cannot be identified with any of the Turkish titles which the Chinese try to give us, such as *apo*, *djilifat* (M. Schlegel's *soulipat*), etc. The "tarkats (?)" of Dr. Thomsen may be the same as the *tarkan*, which the Chinese always call *tat-kan*, and which are perhaps the Khan named Tourkhanth of the Greeks, or more likely still, the tarkhan officer of Menander. Mogilan announces that he has carried his arms into the Chinese province of Shantung, but this hyperbole probably refers to services performed in his uncle Mörchör's time; he adds: "mais je n'ai nullement touché à la mer (?)," or, according to Dr. Radloff: "bin aber nicht zum Talui hinübergegangen." The Nine "Ersins," which seem to have separated him from Tibet on the south, are a real puzzle: the *Sha-t'o* Turks occupied a position between the Turks and Tibetans, and half a century later their chief accepted the Tibetan title of (B)LON above described. Mogilan here lays stress on the fact that the Eutuken forest was the original seat and centre of Turkish authority. From this

point he conquered the Bayirkou to the north, and the Nine Ersin to the south; and, *whilst in this country*, he entered into relations with China. There are considerable differences here between the two translators of the Turkish text, and certainly Dr. Thomsen's arguments in favour of his own views appear to us to be convincing. Dr. Radloff seems to have misapprehended the sense of several consecutive passages. However, in face of the deliberate opinion of so distinguished a Turkish scholar, we make these observations with all proper reserve; simply remarking that Dr. Thomsen's account seems to agree better with the meagre specific facts recorded in Chinese history, and with the general language used by the Chinese in other places. The Turkish and Chinese accounts perfectly agree so far as touches the setting up of the stone, and the arrival of competent workmen from China.

It is stated on the north-east corner of the stone that Kül *tegin* died in the "year of the sheep." The day only, and not the moon is given, but as his funeral took place in the 9th moon, it must have been before or in the autumn. It is perfectly easy to calculate back all the "sheep" years: the Chinese place his death in the 19th *K'ai-yüan* (A.D. 731) and the stone is dated the 20th *K'ai-yüan:* that one of the half-erased characters is "seventh" and not "tenth" moon is the more probable inasmuch as the Chinese workmen would scarcely go north during the winter. Dr. Thomsen works out the date of the stone to be the 1st August A.D. 732, and his reasoning seems conclusive on every point: this would place Kül's death in March 731.

The south-east, south-west and west sides of the stone contain only a few words: on the west side occurs the isolated name "Inantchou Apa Yargan-tarkan," which is interesting when compared with what has already been said touching most of those syllables.

Monument II.

This stone, in honour of Bilga Khan (Mogilan) himself, stands to the south of Kül *tegin's* tablet. Unfortunately the Chinese inscription is not nearly so well preserved as that upon Kül *tegin's* monument: indeed, the legible sentences are so very fragmentary that there is scarcely more than the date (A.D. 734) to suggest to us that it really was in honour of Mogilan at all. The Turkish inscription, however, is much more satisfactory, though even of that very much is irrecoverably lost, owing to the ravages of time. Like that upon Kül *tegin's* stone, it begins by telling us that he succeeded his uncle (or, as Dr. Thomsen seems to take it, his father) and was composed by the *tegin* Yollig: a considerable part of it, that is the historical retrospect, is word for word the same as in Monument I, which of course enables the translators to be additionally sure of the exact meaning. Mogilan then goes on to say that in his 27th year he made an expedition against the Tangout. The Tibetans were known to the Chinese by this name, but at a much later date: Dr. Thomsen suggests that a Turkish race is here meant. It is perhaps more likely to refer to the Tang-hiang, a nation of Tibetan stock which then inhabited the Kokonor region; for, in their history of the *Sha-t'o* Turks, the Chinese mention at this very date that these last moved a little north in order to avoid the Tibetans: there seems no reason, at the same time, why the word Tangout should not have existed long before the Chinese learned to make use of it.

In his 29th year Mogilan conducted an expedition against "un peuple de ma race au nom sacré de Basmil," or, as Dr. Radloff has it, "das Volk meines weisen Basmal-Ydykut." There can be little doubt than the Basmil are the

Pat-sik-mi or *Pat-sik-mit* of the Chinese, whose resort was north of Urumtsi and south-east of the Kirghiz; they were first heard of by the Chinese about A.D. 580, and they were part of the combination formed by the Chinese general Wang in A.D. 720, when the Cathayans from the east and the Basmil from the west were to coöperate against the Turks, but which combination, according to the Chinese, was confounded by the astute policy of Mogilan's premier and father-in-law, Tunyukuk. The events and dates agree perfectly in the Turkish and Chinese accounts. The following year "the Tchik and Kirghiz became our enemies," says Mogilan. Possibly the Tchik are a nation styled *Sih* or *Sip* by the Chinese, and coupled with the Basmil by them. Or perhaps the *Shih* or *Shik* state (Tashkend) may be meant. The Karluks for a time held possession of Smaller *Shik* state (about thirty miles from Tashkurgan), Dr. Thomsen goes on to say: "En passant le Kem (l'Iénissei) je fis une expédition contre les Tchik." Dr. Radloff has it: "Ich zog eilig (?) gegen die Tschik aus." Dr. Thomsen is probably right, for the Chinese tell us that the Kirghiz used to cross the *Kiem* River in boats. Centuries later Genghiz Khan assembled the various tribes at the River Kien, and the Chinese tell us the *Kiem* "flowed north-east into the sea of the north"; east of the Kirghiz were the three "snow-shoe and sledge-using" Turk tribes called Tupo, Mireka, and Otchi, all under chiefs of *djigin* rank. The Basmil were also known to the Chinese as Orotchi. It would thus seem that some such stray Turks as the Yakut tribes (who call themselves Sokhalar or Lokha) lived east of the Kirghiz, for the Chinese tell us the "Snow-shoes" and sledging Turks lived in birch-bark huts, and were often vassals of the Kirghiz. In the attack upon the Kirghiz "en traversant la neige, qui avait la hauteur de ses lances," is Dr. Thomsen's version of the "das Geschlecht Batymy

Räuber schimpfend" of Dr. Radloff. There must be some serious misapprehension here.

After telling us what he did in his 37th year, Mogilan goes back to his 30th year, and his Bishbalig or Urumtsi expedition. Here are repeated many of the divergences in translation which characterise Kül *tegin's* accounts of the same transaction as rendered by the two distinguished savants. Mogilan speaks of crossing the Togla River in his wars with the Nine Ogouz. Dr. Thomsen rightly identifies this with the Toula, which, in fact, the Chinese often write *T'uk-loh*. Another battle took place near Andargou or Ourgou: if the latter reading be correct, it is tempting to recognize in it the modern word Urga; but, as Professor Thomsen suggests, this all hangs upon the question whether the present word Urga actually existed 1,200 years ago. Mogilan, like Kül, mixes up his own and his uncle's reigns in the most confusing fashion: after coming to the throne "je marchai en aval de la Selinga," which is very different from Dr. Radloff's "und man legte sie in's Grab (?)." In his 34th year the Ogouz took flight and entered China. Perhaps this corresponds with the Chinese statement that "on Mörchör's death the Ikien *gherifa* of another tribe, with the *T'ang-lo* and *Sih* all come over to us." This Ikien may possibly be what the Turks call Ezghendi, or perhaps the *Sz-kiet* tribe, which moved south to seek Chinese protection about fifteen years earlier, may be the Ezghendi. Then "Le peuple Tatabi était soumis au Kagar Chinois." This is confirmed by the following Chinese statement concerning the *Ili*: "In the spring of the 5th *K'ai-yüan* [A.D. 717] their leader came to court, and was given a titular princess in marriage." Dr. Thomsen fixes the date of the wars with the Tatabi and Kitai at 721-2, and this agrees very well with the Chinese statements, according to which some time between 714 and 730 the Kitaï

or Cathayans, after alternately siding several times with the Turks and Chinese, at last forced the *Ili* to join the Turkish interest. The Kou-sengun, or General Ku, of the Turkish inscription is perhaps *K'o-t'u-kan* or *K'o-t'u-yü* (variously printed in the Chinese), who was the leading Cathayan chief at this period, *K'o-t'u-kan* was at last routed by the Chinese, and this fact, coupled with his taking alternate sides, would perhaps account for Mogilan's sending his son to condole after *K'o's* or Kou's death. Dr. Radloff takes a different view; he has it: "Als mein ältester Sohn an einer Krankheit gestorben was, benachrichtigte ich den Kung-sängün." When Mogilan goes on to say that he reigned in all twenty-nine years both as *shah* and *Khan*, he is perhaps right, for though he only came to the supreme Khanship in 716, he had been *shah* since 706, and, like Mörchör's son, known as the "Lesser Khan," may well have had rank as a minor Khan.

In giving a short account of his father Mogilan's obsequies, the son and successor (whom the Chinese call *I-jan*, and who reigned till 739) mentions the Turkish (and also Hun) custom of gashing the face as a mark of grief: this also is specified by the Chinese as a Hiung-nu practice. Tounyoukouk is mentioned amongst the mourners; but if this is the same man as the one spoken of above, he must have been a centenarian, for he was already seventy years of age at Mogilan's accession. Another mourner was Taman-tarkan. The name *Tah-man* or *Tat-man* appears a century earlier in Western Turk history, and, like A-pa-tarkan, may refer not only to a person but to a tribe.

Regarding Mount *Tu-kin*, which, as we have seen, Dr. Thomsen regards as another form of *U-te-kien* (though we cannot quite see our way to agree with him), this, the Chinese tell us, was "north of the desert," which practically means near the Orkhon. But another *Tu-kin* is mentioned

as being south of the desert, and it was to this latter *Tu-kin* that the 9th Khan Turli, or Tuli, moved about A.D. 600. This second *Tu-kin* has not the same initial as the first in ancient Chinese, and has rather the inherent power *Du-kin*: it may possibly be a form of *U-te-kien*, which was also south of the desert; but there is no specific evidence in favour of such a view.

It is only fair to Dr Thomsen to state that many of the points, which appear in the foregoing review in the form of emendations and criticisms, have already been anticipated by him in his final notes, added after the bulk of his work was in the press. It is also right that we should here correct a mistake into which we, in common with Dr. Thomsen, have inadvertently fallen. To the Russian savant M. N. Iadrintzeff, and not to the Finnish savant M. Heikel, belongs the honour of having first discovered the Turkish inscriptions on the Orkhon in the year 1889.

NOTES ON MR. PARKER'S PAPER.

[1] *The Huns of Europe.*—Mr. Parker seems to incline to the erroneous opinion put forward by de Guignes that the Hunni of the fourth century in Europe were the same tribe as the Hiung-nu of Sz-ma Tsien. Although in the first century B.C. the Hiung Empire as such broke up, there is no record of the migration of the tribes, such as would be implied by their presence on the Dnieper in the early part of the fourth century A.D. The Hiung-nu were in fact a branch of the Turkish tribe of the Niruns, whom later we find associated with the Darlegins on the River Onghin. [Howarth, part I. 38.]

The initial Hiung is merely the early transcription of Kara (Black), the leading sept having apparently been known as the Kara Nirun. The Nirun, by an earlier transcription, appear in the *Shiking* generally as *Jung* 戎, and we find the particular tribe in the *Tsochwen* transcribed as Kiang Jung 姜戎, and elsewhere the tribal attribute is translated as

Yen 陰, "Dark." There is little doubt that the Huns were really a Turkish tribe. The earliest allusion in Chinese literature to these Turkish tribes is in the Ballads of the *Shiking*, where we find them spoken of as Tiks 狄, a name phonetically connected with the Zend Dahâka. The name covers several subordinate tribes, amongst which it is instructive to find the 獯狁, *Himyun* or Himwan, apparently the ancestors of the Komans; and another the 葷粥, Hunchuk [*Shiki*, ch. 110] or Hunduk. Now as the Latin *adjective* Hunniscus and such outlying forms as Hun-dsach, Hunk would seem to indicate, not to mention the modern German Ungarn, there was apparently a final k in the name by which these people called themselves, and if we wish to trace their ancestry to sources known to the Chinese we must look to the Hunduks, rather than the Kiang Jung or Hiung Nu.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that Jengis Khan subsequently traced his origin up to the same tribe of the Niruns.

[2] *Shen-yu.*—According to the *T'sien-Han Shu* the meaning of the word thus transliterated is "majestic grandeur." It is the equivalent of the Turkish Tenvir (light, brightness).

[3] Shihwei is the more modern form of the sound represented in the archaic language by Sienpi. Both words are phonetic renderings of *Ushvar* or *Usuri*, the latter according to Gabelentz still a Manchu tribal name.

[4] *Doghri.*—These Hiung-nu Princes were known respectively as the Right and Left 谷蠡, where 谷 is evidently for 俗 and the compound is to be pronounced Doghri, in modern Turkish *Doghru* (straight, correct).

[5] *Tegin.*—I know of no Turkish title to which this can refer, nor do the earlier records throw any light on it, unless indeed (which seems possible) it is an attempt to render into later Chinese the Doghri spoken of above.

I have not ventured to follow Mr. Parker into his other identifications as my researches have not led me into the later history of the tribes. An attempt to render K'ilipat on p. 2 as *djirifal* is, however, palpably an error; Khalife is the more likely transcription.

THOS. W. KINGSMILL.

WANG-CHUNG AND PLATO ON DEATH AND IMMORTALITY.

By A. Forke, Dr. Jur.

Who is Wang-chung? This question would most likely first of all be suggested by the theme of this paper. Of Plato, the famous Greek philosopher, all have heard, and perhaps read something, and for any more detailed information you have only to look up an encyclopædia. If you do the same for Wang-chung, you are sure to be disappointed. Therefore, I may be allowed to give some brief notice of his life and writing, before I enter on my subject.

Even among Chinese literati Wang-chung is very little known, and yet he is one of their first thinkers and critics. In order to fully appreciate him one must perhaps be a European. I cannot do better than to introduce him with some words from Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual*:—"Wang-chung is," he says, "a philosopher perhaps the most original and judicious among all the metaphysicians China has produced." "In the writings derived from his pen, forming a work in thirty books entitled Critical Disquisitions, *Lun-hêng*, he handles mental and physical problems in a style and with a boldness unparalleled in Chinese literature. He exposes the exaggerations 'and inventions' of Confucianists and Taoists

with equal freedom, and evinces in the domain of natural philosophy a strange superiority to the fantastic beliefs of his countrymen."

In his autobiography, forming the last book of the aforesaid *Lun-hêng*, Wang-chung tells us that in the third year Chien-wu, *i.e.* 27 A.D., he was born in the city of Shan Yü, in Hui-chi district, the modern Shao-hsing-fu in Chekiang; and further on we are informed that, when he was 70–71 years of age he felt his death approaching. Thus we may safely assume that he died in 98 A.D., that is to say, his life fell just in the beginning of the later Han dynasty. According to the article on Wang-chung in the Cyclopædia of Surnames, translated by Hutchison in the *China Reveiw*, Vol. VII., page 41 (1878-1879), Wang-chung's death would have taken place in A.D. 89. Although I have not the Chinese text at hand, I presume that this must be a mistake of the translator. A year, Yung-yüan, as he translates, and which he identifies with A.D. 89, does not exist, but only a period Yung-yüan extending from A.D. 89-105, within which lies the year 98. Mayers makes Wang-chung live, I do not know on whose authority, from A.D. 19 to circa A.D. 90, but these dates cannot be correct, since they differ from those given by Wang-chung himself.

Already as a boy Wang-chung showed by his earnest and solitary ways that he was different from other children. He did not like to catch birds and cicadas, or play with money like his companions. Books instead exercised a peculiar charm on the mind of the youthful scholar. When sent to school to Loyang, then capital of China, he would roam about the market-place to have a look at the books exposed there for sale which he was too poor to buy. His memory is said to have been so good that, when he had read a book he knew it by heart. He calls himself a devourer of

ancient literature, yet he did not only devour it, as most of his countrymen do, but he also digested it; nor was he afraid of trying his critical genius on those writings, old and sacred though they were.

Wang-chung's teacher at Loyang was Pan-piao, the father of the celebrated historian Pan-ku, author of the history of the later Han dynasty, and with the latter he certainly was acquainted also. Having completed his studies he returned to his native place and first became a school-master. Afterwards he entered the official career, but did not climb very high on the official ladder; perhaps because his views were too opposed to the general beliefs. The last office he held was that of a sub-prefect of the Capital.

Besides his chief work, the *Lun-hêng*, Wang-chung wrote the *Chi-su*, a sarcastic treatise on the depravity of manners and morals in his time, in twelve chapters; the *Chêng-wu*, a book on Government; and, when already an old man, the *Yang-'hing-shu*, on the nourishment of nature. Of all these works the *Lun-hêng* alone has been preserved. It forms part of the *Han Wei-t'sung-shu*, a collection of writers of the later Han and Wei epochs. Its title, "Lun-hêng," almost corresponds to the German word "Erwaegungen," for it means "to discuss" and "to weigh." Wang-chung discusses, in the eighty-five separate essays of which the work is composed, a great variety of different questions, and weighs the right and wrong as with a scale. He was induced to write these essays, says the autobiography, by the great number of erroneous books current at his time, which contained much that was unfounded and insincere. "He did away with all that was specious and fictitious in literature. He defended the full importance of the real and sincere. He scattered those customs which were destructive in their tendency, and restored those of Fuh Hi." The compilers of Chien-lung's

Imperial Catalogue take a somewhat different view. Having objected to his language being too fierce, they go on to say:—"His two sections 'Mencius Satirized' and 'Confucius Interrogated' amount to an energetic sharpening of his pen to use it in keen rivalry with those worthies and sages. We must term them wayward and perverse, designed really to display talent and secure fame. He desired in everything to be pre-eminent, even proclaiming that his grandfather was perverse and stupid, in order to manifest how much he himself excelled. He was exceedingly mad. His discussions are nevertheless for the most part examinations and criticisms of the false, and probe the manners of the age." The praise which Yu-chun-hsi, in his Prefatory Notice to the *Lun-hêng*, pours down on its author is unrestricted. People of the Han period, he remarks, were fond of fictions and fallacies. Wang-chung pointed out whatever was wrong; in all his discussions he used a strict and thorough method, and paid special attention to meanings. Rejecting erroneous notions and all flattery, he came near the truth. He was not afraid of coming into conflict with the worthies of old. Thus he furthered the laws of the state, and opened the eyes and ears of the scholars. People reading his books felt a chill first, but they then repudiated all falsehood and became just and good. They were set right and discarded all crooked doctrines. It is as if somebody amidst a clamouring crowd in the market-place lifts the scale: then the weights and prices of wares are equitably determined and every strife ceases.

Wang-chung is, it seems to me, not so much a dogmatic philosopher, like Confucius or Chuang-tse; but rather a critic and dialectician who does not put forward a system of philosophy, but makes it a point to controvert with his inexorable logic the erroneous doctrines of Confucianists and

Taoists, as well as popular superstitions. In this respect one might call him the Chinese Voltaire, for his principle aim was to enlighten the minds of his countrymen and rid them of old fashioned ideas and antiquated beliefs. There is hardly any other Chinese philosopher who could vie with him in logical acumen. His arguments do not start from preconceived and aprioristic ideas, but are based on facts furnished by experience, the only progenitrix of knowledge.

Three chapters of the *Lun-hêng*, those on Confucius and Mencius, and the autobiography, were translated by Hutchinson in Vol. VII and VIII of the *China Review*. The autobiography contains some biographical notices and a very clever defence of the *Lun-hêng* against various charges brought against it and its author. The fact alone that Wang-chung dared to criticize the two Sages, which in the eyes of an orthodox Chinese scholar is little short of a sacrilege, gives him a claim to our sympathy, for in science there are no sages or absolute authorities. Wang-chung's method in criticizing Confucius and Mencius consists in finding out contradictions and discrepancies between their different sayings, or between their dicta and their action. Several reproaches levelled at them under this head are well to the point. In some instances, however, Wang-chung carries his fault-finding a little too far and loses himself in hair-splitting. Sometimes he even misunderstands the classics, and overlooks, as it were, the easiest and most natural explanations, seeing difficulties where there are none. To the general principles of Confucianism he seems to take no exception; not even to the exaggerated ideas on the effects of morality propounded by both Confucius and Mencius.

One of the most brilliant pieces of sound critic and sober judgment Wang-chung gives us in his essay on Death, forming the last chapter of Book XX of the *Lun-hêng*. The

question is, what becomes of the human soul after death? Wang-chung views it from a Chinese standpoint and accordingly tries to prove that the human soul after death does not become a ghost, or a spirit which possesses any knowledge and might hurt people. Translated into more abstract language this proposition means that the soul after death has no personal, self-conscious existence and cannot exercise any influence in the world of the living.

What Wang-chung's own opinion on the human soul is, he states very clearly. He asserts that the soul wholly depends on the vital force which has its seat in the blood. It is, so to say, an attribute or a phenomenon of the vital force. When by death the human body decays, the blood is decomposed and the vital force residing in it destroyed, which destruction necessarily results in the annihilation of its appendix, the soul, also. Before man is born, his soul forms part of the original vapours. It is a diffuse and formless mass like the contents of an egg before it is brooded, a mere force or a scrap of air without conscience or intellect or any of the characteristic faculties of the human soul. At the birth a part of the original vapours coagulates, as it were, and enters the body, in which it stays during lifetime. When the person dies, it is dispersed and scattered, and returns into its former aërial state, losing thereby its individuality and all purely spiritual faculties.

Thus Wang-chung denies the existence of ghosts or spirits, that is to say, of personal spiritual beings without a material body. To controvert the theory of the immortality of the human soul, he puts forward two negative arguments. One is the forcible popular argument of all disbelievers in immortality: from the fact that the spirits of the dead have never given any sign of their existence, nor even manifested themselves in life, he infers that there are none. If all the

men that have ever lived were immortal, he thinks there would be innumerable millions, they would fill every place, and at every step one would stumble against a ghost. How comes it then that we do not perceive the least of all these multitudes of spirits?

The other argument is a kind of a *deductio ad absurdum*, showing that the hypothesis of immortality would lead to untenable consequences. Wang-chung reasons like this: There is no fundamental difference between the human creature and other creatures. If we give immortality to the one there is no reason why we should withhold it from the others, which means that all the animals are immortal. This consequence is impossible, therefore our first premise that the human creature is immortal must be wrong.

Wang-chung's other deductions are based on experience. He compares the soul to a fire. When a fire is extinguished, the burnt-out ashes cannot flame up again; in the same way, he concludes, there can be no revival of the soul after the body is destroyed. The body is as necessary a substratum to the soul as fuel to the fire. As little as a fire can burn without fuel quite of itself, there can be no soul without a body living quite by itself.

That the human soul after death cannot be self-conscious or possess any knowledge Wang-chung proves in two different ways:—

The mental faculties altogether depend on the body; as long as the body is in order, they are all right also. When, by sickness or other reasons important organs of the body are injured, the soul is affected too. The worse the sickness, and the consequent disorganisation of the body, the more the mental faculties become disturbed and deranged. Now, when the disease reaches its climax in death and results in completely destroying the body, the disorganisation of the

soul must attain its height too, which is complete annihilation: for it would be impossible to imagine why the soul could be partly destroyed by a derangement of the body, but should not be at all affected by the complete destruction of the body.

As far as self-consciousness is concerned, Wang-chung opines that sleep, a faint, and death are all the same. When a man awakes from a faint he returns, as it were, from death. If during sleep or a faint people are utterly unconscious, although they have their body, the necessary substratum and mediator of the soul, from which it derives all its knowledge of the outer world, perfectly intact, they cannot possibly be self-conscious still after death, when they have lost this very body.

On any questions of importance it is only fair to hear the two sides. In our case, where there is the question whether a philosophical foundation for the belief in immortality exists or not, no one could better represent the other side than the father of idealism, Plato. We find his views on the subject in the beautiful dialogue of Phaedön; where Plato relates the last interview his master Socrates had with several of his disciples, before he was forced to drink the poison. Whereas Wang-chung denies the immortality, Plato avers it. Of course only one of the two can be right; to decide which requires a critical examination of their diverging opinions, especially of the arguments produced.

Plato's first proof is based on the proposition that the contrary grows out of its contrary. The bigger, he says, grows out of the smaller, and conversely the smaller out of the bigger; the stronger out of the weaker, the worse out of the better; sleeping out of waking and waking out of sleeping; thus, he continues, out of life comes death and out of death life. Consequently, all living creatures must die; the dead come to life again, all the living are born out of the

dead. Plato imagines to have thus laid a scientific foundation for the metempsychosis. He places the souls of the departed for a certain time into Hades, for before they are born again under another form they must be somewhere ; at all events they must *exist*, because else they could not be regenerated. Plato concludes his ratiocination with the remark that, if everything living died not to revive again, at last there would be no life left on earth ; for all the matter from which life could spring would be used up.

These reasons may seem plausible at first sight, but they are wrong nevertheless. By the above quoted words, "the souls could not be revived if they did not exist," Plato himself shows us how unsolid the basis is on which he founds his argument. That a soul cannot be created out of nothing means nothing more than that a something cannot grow out of nothing. Something being the contrary of nothing, according to Plato's theory that a contrary grows out of its contrary, it ought to be possible: the soul, a something, ought by death become a nothing, and this nothing, afterwards become a soul again. The premise that contraries originate contraries in the form in which it is enunciated by Plato is erroneous. The very way in which he arrives at it indicates that there must be something amiss. He begins by saying that the bigger grows out of the smaller, the stronger out of the weaker, etc., opposing comparative to comparatives, and then all of a sudden goes over to the positive degree, stating that waking comes out of sleeping, and life out of death. Why does he not say that big becomes small and small big, white black and black white, good bad and bad good, something nothing and *vice versâ*? Because, though being an idealist, and taking as little notice of reality as possible, he could not place himself in direct opposition to the most common experiences. The abstract rule that the contrary grows out

of its contrary must be considerably restrained and modified. The kernel of truth in it is that a *relative* contrary grows out of its relative contrary, but there is no general rule to the effect that every contrary changes into its *absolute* contrary. If a thing grows, its former shape is *comparatively* smaller than the future one and the future *comparatively* bigger than the former, but every small thing does not become a big one or every big one small. Life and death being such absolute contraries one cannot either conclude that life must come again out of death and that therefore the human soul is immortal.

Plato's fear lest in default of the transmigration of souls every life on earth must cease at last would hardly induce anybody nowadays to embrace that antiquated doctrine. The production of new life does not at all necessitate the preservation of human and animal souls.

To demonstrate the immortality of the soul Plato operates with contraries still in a different way, but very unsuccessfully. He holds that every idea excludes the opposite idea. Snow does not admit the idea of warmth, there can be no warm snow. When the warmth approaches, the snow recedes or is destroyed. The same with fire : when the cold comes near it, it goes back or is lost, but it does not admit the cold and become a cold fire [Chapter 52]. Thus the soul, the bearer of life, does not admit its opposite, death ; and therefore must be immortal [Chapters 54, 55].

This is a sophism pure and simple. We can again refute it with Plato's own words :—"The snow does not admit warmth ; when the warmth approaches the snow recedes or is destroyed," for in exactly the same way we might say :—The soul does not admit death ; when death approaches the soul recedes or is destroyed. Plato here confounds logic and reality. What he predicates of the soul applies only to the idea of soul, and what he says of snow and

fire is partly to be referred to the ideas of snow and fire and partly to the real snow and fire. That in logic an idea excludes its opposite is perfectly true. A fire can never be *thought* of as cold, a movement never as standing still, but that does not imply that a *real* fire can never be extinguished or a *real* movement never be brought to a stop. The idea of rich excludes the idea of poor; is it therefore impossible that a rich man should ever become poor? What holds true in the field of logic is not necessarily so in the domain of reality. Therefore though life is a *logical* attribute of the *conception* of soul, it does by no means follow from this that all the human souls must live for ever.

Apart from the proposition about contraries, Plato arrives at the conclusion by his ideology that the soul has lived before birth without a body. Learning, according to that theory, is nothing else than remembering ideas known beforehand, but forgotten for a while. When we perceive objects these lost ideas come back to us. Since external objects never correspond exactly to our ideas—such as equal, good, true, just—but only approximately, these ideas cannot have been derived from these objects. Our perception of objects by seeing, hearing, touching, etc. begins immediately after our birth, therefore we must have possessed those ideas before; *ergo*, our soul, the bearer of ideas, existed before we were born and got a body. Plato believes that the ideas have a real existence in the realm of ideas, and that the bodyless soul saw them there. If it were true that the soul could dispense with a body in a former existence, the probability would certainly be very great that it might do so after death also. But Plato's deductions are wrong; he completely misunderstands the real nature of ideas.

There can be no doubt that all our ideas are derived from the things around us; they are abstractions from

concrete objects, or circumstances,—creations of our own brain, which only exist in our minds, but have no real existence of their own. By means of the logical laws we can form ideas which have no equivalent in nature at all, *e.g.* the ideas of nothingness or a mathematical line. Nevertheless, even these are derived from nature by leaving out of consideration certain qualities of things, such as the three dimensions, which are lacking in the idea of nothingness, or the notion of breadth, which is wanting in a mathematical line. Likewise, no man attains to the ideal of perfect goodness, truth or justice, yet these ideas are not aprioristic, but taken from mankind, an arbitrary abstraction being made of all bad qualities. Moreover, the experience that children during the first month after their birth, though able to perceive objects, are quite destitute of ideas, tells against Plato's theory that ideas are acquired by the soul before birth. The acquisition of ideas is a very slow process; they are learned together with the language, each language being the repertory of the ideas of a people. Last, if our soul had lived before our birth, we would assuredly have a remembrance of such a state, since during life the memory of the same soul extends over periods of many years.

Plato's most famous argument, by which he endeavours to prove that the soul, as something simple and non-composed, cannot be destroyed, is the following:—Everything composed can be dissolved and decomposed again; that which is simple and uncompounded can never be dissolved. All composed things are visible, whereas the uncompounded are invisible and formless. To this latter category belong the ideas as well as the soul, which has no form and is invisible. Consequently, it cannot be dissolved or destroyed, and therefore must be immortal [Chapters 25-29].

Undoubtedly, the soul as something immaterial, that is, not composed of material parts, cannot be destroyed by being divided into its constituents like the body, because it has none; but that would not prevent it from being annihilated otherwise than by falling to pieces. An undivisible whole might be destroyed by contraction or shrinking till nothing is left, or it might vanish all at once. Kant, in his *Critic of Pure Reason*, submits still another possibility, that the soul could perhaps perish by a gradual relaxation of the moral and mental faculties.

Having shown the futility of all the arguments set forth by the great Greek philosopher, who completely fails to establish the thesis of immortality, it remains for us to examine now how far we can agree with Wang-chung's opposite view. His opinion that the human soul is only a detached part of the original vapours, into which it returns after death, is quite Taoist. We find the same ideas expressed in a Taoist essay, the *T'ai-hsi-ching*, translated by Balfour in his *Taoist Texts* [pages 63-67], which opens with the words:—"The embryo is formed by the concretion of congealed breath; and the embryo, being brought into existence, the breath begins to move in respiration." The commentary, which seems now to form part of the text, remarks on this:—"The generative auræ of the Great Empyrean all constitute one breath. The great or Universal Spirit lying in readiness becomes united with the embryo, and the embryo, being thus united with it, develops respiration." Here we have even Wang-chung's idea about the production of the spirit by coagulation of a part of the original vapours repeated. The *T'ai-hsi-ching* also clearly distinguishes between the vital force, or breath, and the spirit. The spirit, it says, is the intelligent part of the breath, and at the same time identical with the will.

I am not going to concern myself with a discussion of this ingenious pantheistic theory, as it would lead us too far away from the question at hand. Suffice it to say that there are no compulsory reasons for recurring to such a hypothesis, for which nature does not afford us the slightest support. Why should a spirit not be born without having been part of the Great Spirit or the Mundane Soul before, into which it must necessarily return again?

Since Wang-chung takes the soul to be something very much akin to a breath, it is quite natural that he should negative its personal and self-conscious existence after death; for a breath mixed up with another breath cannot well retain its individuality.

Although one may demur to Wang-chung's pantheism, it is not so easy to detect any flaw in his arguments against immortality. What can be said against the surmise that there are no spirits of the dead, because they do not show themselves? The conclusion is not apodictic, but very probable. We do not expect that they should appear in a body; but being spirits like our own, why do they never give the slightest sign of their still being alive, or communicate directly with our spirits? Is it possible that the souls of our dearest friends, who, while alive, loved us more than anything in the world, should by death so completely forget us that they do not take the slightest notice of us? Would they not, to alleviate our grief, assure us at least that they are still alive? An all-loving superior being could certainly not object to their bringing us this consolation, which would turn our despair into joy. What harm could there be in it? The departed souls would certainly do so, if they could, but the probability is that they cannot, because they exist no more. A common objection raised against this argument is that there are many things in the world, *e.g.* the growing of a tree out of a kernel, or the

production of fire or light, which we cannot understand, and which exist nevertheless. This objection is not conclusive; for in all such cases we see the result or arrive at it by science, only the how we cannot understand: but there is not a single instance where we are perfectly convinced of a thing, though we do not perceive the result at all. Such an instance would be that of immortality. If we could see the immortal souls, as we see growing trees or the burning fire, or establish their existence by philosophy, our belief would not be shaken by the fact that as to the how, we are left in the dark.

The statement that if men are immortal all the animals must be so too, requires perhaps some further explanation. Wang-chung only says that there cannot be made a difference between the human and other creatures. Why? Because their spirits are essentially the same; they are made, so to speak, of the same stuff; I say so to speak because in reality they are not made of any stuff at all; there is a quantitative but not a qualitative difference. An animal has, like man, the sensations of sight, hearing, touch, taste, scent; it feels pleasant and unpleasant emotions—joy, sorrow, fear, anger; it has a memory, and can even reason to a certain limited extent. All these faculties are purely spiritual and immaterial; if they are preserved in the human soul after death, they must be so in the animal soul also. Consequently, every animal, be it ever so simply organised, if it has only a glimpse of a soul, must be immortal; all the most filthy insects, vermin, infusoria, must live for ever. This consequence must be unbearable for everybody who in the organisation of the world sees a certain aim. There are animals which only consist of a mouth and a belly, and the sole occupation of which is devouring others, sleeping and propagating themselves. For what purpose should their spirits participate of immortality? In order to go on eating? Yet, if we deny immortality to

any of those spirits, that of the human spirit falls to the ground too, for a rule concerning the destructibility of spirits could not hold with some cases and with others not.

Pure speculation alone, such as used by Plato and other idealistic philosophers, does not afford us a key as to the real nature of the human soul. This requires observation; we have to ascertain how the soul appears to us, and to draw our conclusions with regard to immortality from these observations. Wang-chung does it; his strongest points are just those proofs based on experience. He compares the soul with a fire, inferring that as a fire cannot burn without fuel quite of itself, the soul can have no existence independent of the body. This comparison is a very lucky one. Light as well as warmth and sound are immaterial and incorporeal, yet they cannot exist without a material substratum; there must be something that burns, if light or warmth is to be produced, and every sound requires the collision of substances. This principle that immaterial things exist only as long as they are connected with a material basis, and cease to exist as soon as their substratum is destroyed, applied to the immaterial soul means that the soul cannot live without its material basis, the body, to which it owes its existence; just as a light owes its to the burning candle, a fire to the burning coals and the tune of a flute to the air's striking against the sides of the instrument. Light, warmth and sound must not be confounded with the waves of light, etc. with which they are always connected and of which they are the phenomena or manifestations. These waves are, of course, material; but the concomitant and co-existing apparitions of light, warmth and sound are immaterial,—they have no dimensions and no weight.

This ratiocination rests on the presumption that light, warmth and sound have a real existence in the outer world,

whence through our nerves they are transmitted into our brain, where they produce the sensations of sight, hearing and feeling. A great number of philosophers, however, do not share this naïve and natural view, holding that all these natural phenomena are not real, but exist only in our brain; that of things of the outer world we only know how they appear to us, but not whether they really exist or how they are. Supposing this to be the case, yet the way in which our various perceptions are produced would remain the same. The material impressions we receive from the external objects are wired on the nerves into the brain, and there coupled with immaterial sensations. These transformations of the material into the immaterial cannot take place if the nerves are destroyed, or if the brain, the centre in which all sensations are produced, is dissolved, as an electric spark cannot be transmitted to a certain place if the wire is broken. The soul after death would therefore be devoid of all sensations and completely cut off from intercourse with the outer world. This loss of a part of the soul would entail the loss of the others too, for what should it desire, what dislike, what be glad of, and what sorry at, what think, if it has absolutely no objects to which these sentiments and thoughts might refer or by which they might be evoked?

That the soul can be partly destroyed by the sickness of the body is an undeniable fact. Wang-chung draws from it the consequence that the complete destruction of the body must result in the complete annihilation of the soul. If an important organ, *e.g.* the eye or the ear, are spoilt, a part of the soul is lost also, *viz.* the faculties of sight and hearing; if the brain is decomposed by encephalosepsis, the mind becomes deranged. How should it then be possible that, if the same organs are destroyed by death, and if the brain is decomposed by death instead of by sickness, the soul should

not be influenced at all by it, but remain quite intact? Death is, as Wang-chung says, the highest degree of sickness; its ravages can therefore not be less, but must be much worse than those of a simple disease such as blindness, deafness or encephalosepsis; they must necessarily lead to the extinction of the soul. To acknowledge the effects of diseases on the mind, but to disown those of death, would be as if somebody admitted that a small stone can be split into several pieces by the blow of a hammer, but would not believe that the same stone can be crushed and reduced to powder by the fall of a huge rock.

The soul can be cut away gradually, together with the brain. It has been shown that by extirpating part of the brain the individual loses part of his mental faculties, such as memory, sight, will. If this operation could be continued without causing the individual's death, until the brain is entirely extirpated, all the mental faculties would be gone also, and we would then have a man living without a soul. It can make no difference whether the brain is extirpated with a scalpel or dissolved by the chemical process of putrefaction.

The soul has no independent existence, for, as the Taoist treatise *Yin-fu-ching* [Balfour, *Taoist Texts*, page 56] says:— "The mind is produced from matter and dies with matter; the working faculty resides in the eye.—Man has no mind [as existing apart from his body]; his eye is his mind. What the eye sees the mind acquires; what the eye cannot see, the mind does not obtain." The general idea of this remarkable passage is that the human mind is nothing but the produce of the body, especially the eye, which in forming the mind takes such a prominent part; as such the mind shares the fate of the body and dies together with it.

Let us suppose that a man is born blind and deaf and receives no special education. His soul would be very poorly

developed and inferior to that of the higher classes of animals. If he were to be paralysed to boot, so that he could not feel anything, his only sensations being smelling and tasting, his mind would be hardly superior to that of the most simply organised animals. He would perhaps feel joy and displeasure, but with his limited field of perceptions he could not form ideas nor develop an intellect. If we take away the two remaining senses also, the man would have no soul whatever, and be nothing more than a vegetating organism. Receiving no impressions or impulses from the outer world, he could not know sentiments like joy, sorrow, fear, anger; and no objects being furnished to him by the senses, he could not form ideas, and without ideas could not think. Supposing the soul were self-existing and not the product of the body, it would assert its independence, and not lose the greatest part of its extent by defects of the body, nor dwindle to nothing, when not supported by the five senses. And, furthermore, if the soul cannot exist without the five senses it must be lost when they are destroyed by death.

Sleep and death have been compared together from time immemorial. Wang-chung carries the comparison so far that he asserts the identity of both, and, considering the soul alone and leaving the body out of the question, he is right. What becomes of the soul when a man is asleep and has no dreams? It ceases to exist. That it is evoked again when the sleeper awakes does not remove the fact that during the sleep all the mental faculties are abolished; that instead of the soul we have then a void, a blank, a nothing. The soul is no stuff, no substance existing still beside the various faculties of which it is composed, but these faculties are the soul. If not a single one is at work, there is no soul at that time, though afterwards it may be produced again. Sleep is the mechanical life of a body without a soul. The

body of the sleeper is still alive, but his soul is temporarily dead. It can revive, because the body to which it owes its existence is still intact, only the nerves are so relaxed that they cannot give rise to any sensation. When by the beneficial and restoring influence of sleep they have been strained again, they produce the soul as before. If by the mere relaxation of the nerves the soul is lost, how much more must this be the case if by death the same nerves are not only loosened a little but completely destroyed. We see that the reasons given by our philosopher to establish the mortality of the soul are all sound and good. The comparison of the soul with the light of a burning candle is most instructive. It suggests to me another similar analogy which, I believe, elucidates the real nature of the soul and its relation to the body still more clearly; with which, therefore, I should like to sum up and to terminate this disquisition. The human soul is like the music played on the violin, the body like the violin. In both cases we have a connection of the immaterial with the material. As the different tunes are elicited from the violin, sensations and thoughts are produced by the body. The soul is no substance, as is sometimes wrongly supposed, nor is it a unity, a whole, for in a given moment it never exists in its entirety, but at each moment there is only a very limited number of sensations or thoughts. In the same manner we never have the whole piece of music together, but we hear one tone after the other; when the one has died away, the next is produced. One cannot speak therefore of the existence of a melody, as one speaks of the existence of the violin. The latter exists at every moment, the melody only when it is played, and then not as a unity, but divided into tunes, of which each lives only for a short moment. So it is with the soul also; it has no real existence as a whole like the body. When the brain does not work, the soul does not exist. That

which really exists are the various sensations, feelings and thoughts, each as short-lived as the tone of the violin, produced at one moment and dead at the next. The so-called life of the soul is a chain of the generations and deaths of its constituents. When one sensation has subsided a new one appears, and when one thought has died away a new one takes its place, to leave it immediately afterwards to the next-comer.

The chords of the violin being unstrung, you may touch them with the fiddlestick ever so much, they do not give a sound. If the nerves are unstrung and loosened during sleep, external impressions or impulses are unable to create any sensation. As soon as the chords are strung again and the nerves straightened you may get music from the violin, and soul from the body. If the chords and the cerebral nerves are cut it is impossible to produce either music or soul. And, lastly, smash the violin and the music is gone for ever ; destroy the body and there will be no soul any more.

THE CHINESE SYSTEM OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIP AND ITS ARYAN AFFINITIES.

By Thos. W. Kingsmill.

Of the early migrations of the Aryans we know comparatively little, except that in the history of humanity the earliest apparition of the race is of comparatively modern origin.

At the dawn of modern history we find Aryan tribes well established in Europe, in Greece, Italy, etc. About fifteen hundred years B.C. Aryan settlers made their appearance in the north-west of India, and in a comparatively short period profoundly modified the language and institutions of that peninsula, where they became the dominant race. In ancient Sogdiana, Chorasmia and Bactria the native peoples were Aryans, mostly of Iranic race, and akin to the Sanscrit-speaking tribes who descended on India. The story of the Shah Nameh is but a congelation of the ancient legends, fragments of which are preserved in the Zend Avesta, and the few other remains still existing of old Iranic lore.

Jemshid was a great and virtuous sovereign who ruled his large territory stretching from Media to the Jaxartes with justice and benevolence; but evil times came upon him in his old age, for the tyrant Zohak from the north attacked him, wasted his country and put himself to death. The glory of the state partially recovered under his grandson

Feridun, but for the future the Turkish tribes remained a menace to the very existence of Iran. The dynasty ended with the defeat and disappearance of Gershasp, again at the hands of the Turkish tribes, and Afrasiab for many years tyrannised over the children of Iran.

In this disappearance of Gershasp, the Kereçaçpa of the Avesta, begins Chinese history; for there is good reason to connect the Kereçaçpa of the Yaçna and Zamyad-Yasht with the Gershasp of the Shah Nameh, on the one side, and the Kungliu, the ancestor of the Chows mentioned in the *Shi King*, or Classic of Chinese Ballads, on the other.

The story of the occupation of North-western China by the Chows, a word more correctly rendered, by the substitution of the Anglo-Saxon diphthong *eo* for *ow* or *ou*, as Cheo, follows the lines of the early irruption of the Sanscrit-speaking peoples into India. The Cheos became the predominant tribe, introducing their civilisation, their cult, and to a very large extent their language, over the aboriginal tribes who were largely pastoral, and spoke languages allied to the Indo-Chinese peoples of to-day.

The Ballads of the Ta-Ya, containing the stories of Kungliu and his march, the glories of Tanfu, of Ki, Wanwang and Wuwang, and the siege of Ts'ungyung (Darshan), the Troy of China, now Charchen in the desert of Gobi, contain the precious story of this migration from Bactria to the North-west frontier, and afford the wanting link to join the traditions of China with those of upper Asia. In the following paper I have only considered a small part of this wide subject, the similarity, in cases amounting to identity, of the family system of China and the Aryans.

In explanation of the remarkable change from the polysyllabic and highly inflected Aryan languages, from which in a great degree the modern Chinese has derived its vocabulary, I cannot do better than quote at large the remarks of Professor WHITNEY [*Life and Growth of Language;* H. S. King, 1875, p. 105].

Speaking of the parallel case of the growth of the uninflected and almost monosyllabic English of to-day he remarks:—

The English is, in truth, of all the languages of its kindred, the one which most remarkably illustrates that mode of linguistic change consisting in the loss of formal grammatical distinctions by synthetic means; there is no other known tongue which, from having been so rich in them has become so poor; none which has so nearly stripped its root-syllables of the apparatus of suffixes with which they were formerly clothed, and left them monosyllabic. All this has come about mainly through the instrumentality of the tendency to ease and abbreviation, a tendency which in this department of its working, especially, makes truly for decay; the conservative force, the strictness of traditional transmission, has not been sufficient to resist its inroads. Much of the loss has been the work of the last few centuries; and there is no difficulty in pointing out causes which have at least quickened it. When men learn a strange language, by a practical process, they are apt especially to make bad work with its endings; if they get the body of the word, its main significant part, intelligibly correct, they will be content to leave the relations to be understood from the connection. This was what helped the decay of the Latin tongue, and its reduction, in the mouths of Italians, Celts, Iberians, and others, into the corrupted and abbreviated shape of the modern Romanic dialects; and the irruption into England of the French-speaking Normans, and their fusion with the Saxon-speaking English, added an appreciable element of force to a tendency which was perhaps already sufficiently marked in the later Anglo-Saxon.

These words may almost serve to indicate the change in China. The native inhabitants of the land in the transition period after the conquest of Ts'in had fused the Empire into one, acquired the language of the predominant race, as do their descendants of to-day, as a pidjin. This was assisted by the idolic character of the written language in which the phonetic element was almost non-existent. One word, one

sign was the rule, and this emphasised the natural tendency of the race to slough off inflexions and unneeded syllables. In many cases a slightly different though allied method was adopted; words were decapitated, and different though allied meanings given to each part, *bhartar* for instance was the old word for brother. Separate signs were given to *bhar* and *tar*, and the former was taken to mean *elder*, the latter *younger* brother. So a form like *harb-as* (Gr. ἄρπη or ἄρπυια) represented a bear; now we have hiung the *black* bear, and *p'i* bears in general, etc.

Mr. George Jamieson [*China Review*, Vol. X, pp. 77 to 99] and Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff [*Transactions C. B. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 131 to 189] have given us valuable and almost exhaustive notes on the family laws of China as affecting relationships. With this side of the question I do not propose to deal. Both papers indicate the resemblances, frequently amounting to identity, between the family law of China and that of ancient Rome; and this is more especially noteworthy in the broad distinction existing in both systems between Agnate and Cognate relationships.

The system of family law still existing in China is traceable up to the period of the predominance of the Cheo tribes, who some twelve centuries before our era entered China from the North-west. The language and cult of these tribes as exhibited in their most ancient literature, and more especially in the *Shiking*, or Classic of Ballads, has distinct Aryan affinities [*see Pro. C. B. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII]. This ancient work for the most part must be attributed to various periods antecedent to the seventh century B.C., though not reduced to writing for many centuries afterwards; it contains frequent allusions to the family life of the immigrant tribes and their marriage customs, and it is therefore neither illogical nor improbable that we have to refer to similar sources the origin of the family system.

The Chinese system, as it exists at present, is marked by a peculiar dualism. Not only have agnatic relationships a distinct terminology, but the distinction is carried into the detail of each. Thus elder brothers are sharply defined from younger, elder uncles from those of birth subsequent to the father of the speaker, female direct ancestors from male, junior sisters from senior, and the principle is carried out to every minute detail of family life.

The dualism is not entirely confined to China, but is common to all the eastern Asiatic nations with whom from time to time the Chinese have come in contact. My knowledge of the languages and history of these northern and eastern frontagers is insufficient to enable me to speak with authority on the origin of the practice, but in many cases it may be traced directly to Chinese influence. The following notes are intended to show the growth of the division in China itself, and are drawn mainly from Aryan sources. It will thus appear that, with the exception of the broad distinction between agnatic and merely cognatic relationships in which China agrees with the general Aryan system, the minor distinctions are of later growth than the great migration of the Cheos.

父親.—Taking first the simplest. We find in Chinese the widespread name for father, Sans. pit*ri*; Gr. *patêr*; Lat. pater, etc., reappearing in the book language as fu 父 or more at length in the colloquial as fu'-ʿt'san (Pek. fu-t'sin or ch'in) 父親, where t'san is clearly the representative of tar.

母親.—Equally in conjunction with the Sans. mat*ri*; Greek *mêtêr*; Lat. mater, our mother, we find the Chinese 母 mû, colloquially mû'-ʿt'san (Pek. mu-ch'in). There was no possibility of dividing the simple idea of father and mother, so except that in the written language the second syllable has disappeared from sight, the words as spoken have suffered little from the wear of centuries.

兄弟.—The decapitation of the word is complete in the word ˌhing-taiˀ-(Pek. hsiung ti) brother; still used as a single word in the colloquial, though in the book language decapitated, *hing* we are told being the elder, *tai* the younger brother. According to the Chinese idea, these words, originally separate, have been joined together to make the compound more recognisable by the ear. There is abundant evidence to be found that the contrary was the case, and that the dissyllable in these so-called compound forms was the original.

Shiking, I. iii. 1, gives an example of the use of the compound term :

亦有兄弟
不可以據

"*I have a brother indeed, but cannot depend on him.*"

The form 況, in Cantonese fongˀ (Peking hwang), shows that the original sound of 兄 had an aspirated consonant for its initial; the terminations *ng* points to final r. We are thus led to bhar. Tai in like manner in the second syllable indicates dar or tar. The original word was when the ballad was composed *bhartar*. The word thus falls in a parallel line with Sans. bhrat*ri*, Lat. frater, Goth. brôthar, our own brother. There is in the *Shi* no authority for the modern use of 兄 as elder brother, though, as before, 兄 does occur with the elision of 弟 in the written text.

The only instance in which the character 弟 occurs alone in the *Shi* is in I. ix. 4.

兄曰嗟予弟行役

where it refers to a sister, as explained below; "my brothers say, alas! our sister is taken captive!" The line is corrupt, consisting of seven, instead of four feet, 弟 has been used instead of 娣.

姐 娣 'Tsê tai'-(Pek. tsze, or chie ti) sisters. The characters used are somewhat uncertain. For the first we have 姊 with similar pronunciation, but also 姊 or 姊 'tsze. As in the former case the word has been decapitated and 姐 or 姊 has come to be used for elder sister. A more frequent word for younger sister is 妹 Can. mui' (Pek. mei), literally the favourite. The phrase tsze mui is a veritable compound and has come largely to supersede the older form.

Tsê tai follows the analogy of hing tai, and we find its nearest representative in Sanscrit svas*ri*, sva='tsê, s*ri* tai'. The Gothic form is almost identical, svistar; whence Ang.-Sax., sweoster, Ang., sister. The Lat. soror shows considerable decay, as also, though in a less degree, the Chinese.

The usual word for younger sister, 妹 mui or mei is connected with 美 mei, fair, well beloved. According to the Sanscrit grammarians a similar origin is claimed for svas*ri*, which is said to be a form of sv-asti, joy, delight.

祖 妣—'Tsô 'pi (Pek. Tsu pi) Ancestors, *atavi*. The characters frequently in the *Shi* occur together. We have twice, *Shi*, IV. I. (II.) 4 and IV. I. (III.) 5 the formula in sacrificial hymns.

爲 酒 爲 醴
烝 畀 祖 妣

"*The sweet sacrificial wine we present steaming to our ancestors.*"

Here as usual in more modern times we find the Chinese have decapitated the word, 祖 tsô is made to imply male, 妣 pi female ancestors. The nearest analogue is the Sanscrit Sava-s, the sun (or moon) in his generative capacity, from the root su or sû, savâmi, whence one of the most usual names for the sun—Savit*ri*, the Generator. We find a duplicate to this identification in the word 左 tsô *laevus*, left, the Sanscrit savya.

The root su is made to mean to generate, give birth to, procreate. It may possibly be connected with satavas, proavus, atavus, as if savus by elision of initials. The a is short throughout.

In *Shiking*, II. IV. 5, we read :—

似續妣祖
築室百堵

"*Continuing [in the path of] his ancestors, he set up a many-walled household.*"

The phrase here is apparently inverted, but the reason is not far to seek. The scribe who first wrote down the ballad wished to make a rhyme to 堵, 處 and 語. This only proves that at the time of the inversion *cir.* 150 B.C. the decapitation was in progress and the word could be understood either way.

子孫—From the same root su (sav) proceeds, in both Chinese and other languages of the same stock of the Cheos, the general word for descendants 子孫 'tsze-ʿsün (Pek. tsze sûn). *Shi*, I. I. has it :—

宜爾子孫
振振兮

"*Meet it is that your descendants should be illustrious.*"

Here again in modern use the word is decapitated, 子 being taken to mean son or child, 孫 grandson or grandchild. Originally it seems to have been a reduplicated form, as aorist sushave, and desiderative forms as sushûshâmi occur. As from this root forms as Sans. sûnu-s, Gr. huios, Goth. sunus, etc. arise, it might seem that Chinese sun 孫 might represent the same form. The phonetic element in 孫 seems however to point to ser, so we are thrown back on a form as sûvari, which occurs in the phrase bahu-suvari (bearing) many

children, sushvar or a word closely akin might well have been the original from which the Chinese descended.

夫 婦—ʿfu ʿfu, husband and wife. The words here have always been separate, and differ only in tone; both are derived from a root bhar to bear. In Sanscrit the corresponding words are bhar*tri*, husband, lord; and bhâryâ, wife.

妻 The more usual and formal word for wife is however 妻 ʿts'ai (Pek. ts'i, *Wade, incorrectly* chi). This is to be compared with Sans. dâra-s, *uxor*, from root dâr, drî, to rend; the wife originally being "torn," 取 ʿts'u, from home, either literally or metaphorically [of *Shi*, II. vi. 10]. The bride under the circumstances was euphemistically said to "return" 歸 ʿkwai (Pek. kwei) *Shi*, I. i. 6.

子 之 于 歸

"*My sweetheart is coming to wed me;*"

or not altogether willingly, *Shi*, I. xv. 1.

女 心 傷 悲,
殆 及 公 子 同 歸

"*The girls' hearts are sore and restless*
As the time approaches to join their husbands."

昏 or 婚—Another ancient name for marriage is 昏, now written 婚 hwan (Pek. hwen, Can. ʿfan). It is probably more frequently used in the reduplicated form 婚 姻 hwan yin (Gr. *gignosko*). It is the homologue of Sans. jam in words such as jampati, husband and wife; Gr. γαμ in γάμβρος, γαμέτης γαμέω. The word is referred to root jan from which Sans. jani, woman, wife, mother.

In the *Yih King* we get an ancient form of the word [diagram 3, line 2]:—

如 匪 寇 婚 媾

"*As bandits they capture* [*for themselves*] *wives.*"

This form here is 婚媾 hwan keo', but the use seems to imply affection rather than force. So *Shi*, II. VII. 9.

覯爾新昏
以慰我心

"[*When*] *I have met my beloved* [新昏 *san fan, beloved*]
"*How glad will be my heart.*"

So *Shi*, II. VII. 9.

兄弟昏姻
無胥遠矣

"*Brothers and relations should not be distant in their intercourse.*"

From this springs the use in modern Chinese of the word 妹 yin for relations generally, but cognates rather than agnates.

甥舅—The general connection of the Chinese family system with that of the Aryan does not cease when we leave the more marked agnatic relations, and proceed to review the relationship on the female side. I will here begin by again quoting the *Shi King* as our most trustworthy guide in our researches into the antiquities of China.

In the *Shi* [II. VII. 3] we find :—

豈伊異人
況弟甥舅

"*Why are they enemies—Brothers by blood and affinity?*"

甥舅—Shang kiu here stands for brothers-in-law or other close cognates in contradistinction to 兄弟 agnatic brethren. As such we find a perfect analogue in Sanscrit, where we have çvaçura-s, father-in-law (husband's or wife's father), çvaçurau, (dual) father-and-mother-in-law ; çvaçurya, brother-in-law, husband's or wife's brother; kulî, wife's elder sister. In Greek again we have *hekuros* for *sfekuros*, father-in-

law, and *hekura*, mother-in-law. In Latin socer represents the former and socrus the latter, the word reappearing in Gothic svaihra, swaihrô and A.-S. sweger, sweor.

Corresponding to this we have in Chinese a general term for cognates (female) 姑 ˌku;—tai-ku and siuku, elder and younger sisters of husband; yung ku husband's mother; ˌku ˋso 姑叟 sisters-in-law generally, to be compared with kulî above from kula, family, as Chinese 家 ˌka or kia.

But we have also forms as 壻 sai' (Pek. si) for male cognates, a son-in-law, as opposed to 媳 sik, (si), female cognates, daughter-in-law, apparently decapitated as from an original Siksai (çvaçur-a) and with these, more or less confused, the form as above 嫂 or 嫂, ˋso or sao, an elder brother's wife, a distant form of the same word, doubtless decapitated. These agree more or less closely with Greek or Sanscrit, and run also parallel with Latin. None of the other languages contain a complete series.

The Sanscrit form çvaçura is apparently composed of the possessive pronoun sva and çura, Greek *koûros*, *kûros*, with which the European and the Chinese forms agree. The word must then have existed prior to the dispersion of the race. There was throughout apparently an instinct that the word was compound, and hence the Chinese have done less violence than in other cases in dividing it, which they have however somewhat awkwardly done by making the first part, shang, the name of relations on the female side in a descending grade, and kiu of those in ascending order.

This process commenced, though it was not completed, before the reduction of the ballads to writing; thus *Shi*, II. I. 5.

既有肥牡
以速諸舅

"*I prepared a fatted steer, to attract my uncles* [*maternal*]."

Here 諸舅 ‚chu ‘kiu is used in antitheses to 諸父 ‚chu fu', patruus, to express cognate rather than agnate relations.

In the same verse as above quoted we find the rhyme changed:—

既有肥羜
以速諸父

"*I prepared a fatted lamb, to attract my uncles* [*paternal*]."

According to the scholiast these were the titles used by the Wang in respect of the junior princes, as they had their surname different or identical with that of the senior house. Throughout the *Shi King* 諸 chu is most frequently used as a possessive pronoun, the equivalent, as above, of Sans. sva-s, â, m.

These coincidences, following, as they do, regular rules are not merely accidental, but radical. Taken in connection with laws almost identical, they go far to prove that the ancestors of the immigrant tribes in China were not far removed in blood from their congenors in Northern India and Greece, and that the separation took place not many centuries before 1500 B.C.—the usually accepted period of the Aryan immigration in India.

SCARCITY OF COPPER CASH AND THE RISE IN PRICES.

The following circular was issued amongst the Members of the Society :—

Shanghai, November 20th, 1897.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Grosvenor, in his Report for the year 1896 on the Trade of China, states that there has been a steady rise during the last few years in the silver price of cash, which is attributed to insufficient minting and consequent scarcity of the coin. He further states that, on the other hand, there has been a marked tendency for cash to depreciate in regard to commodities in general. In other words, cash have become dearer compared with silver but cheaper compared with other articles. In their Reports on Trade for 1896 several Commissioners of Customs have alluded to the scarcity and resulting dearness of cash, and some even believe that Exports are being checked by this circumstance just at the time when a low silver exchange with gold-standard countries should greatly stimulate the trade.

The dearness of cash compared with silver may be explained by scarcity, which is probably partly due to the rise in the silver price of imported copper. But a restricted currency should send prices down, and the cash ought to have a larger purchasing power than when the coin was more plentiful. It is reported that vast quantities of inferior cash have been produced by illicit coining, and of course a debased currency has a depreciated purchasing value: but, in accepting this explanation of the second part of Mr. Grosvenor's statement, we are confronted by the difficulty of explaining how it is that cash have at the same time acquired an appreciated purchasing value when exchanged

for silver. Apparently the only logical explanation of the double statement would be that silver has fallen in value as a commodity still deeper than debasement of the coinage has forced down the purchasing power of cash. But what has lowered the value of silver in China? There has been a considerable drain on the stock lately, and one would have expected it to have become scarce and consequently dearer. Customs' Statistics for 1896 show an export of sycee to the value of Hk. Tls. 15,932,000, leaving a net import of Hk. Tls. 1,720,000 only; otherwise it might be thought that low exchange and rise in the silver price of imports would lead to the substitution of silver as an import in place of other articles in exchange for the increase in exports, and thus augment the supply of silver and lower its value. We can hardly suppose, under the circumstances, that the metal has been pouring into the country until it has become cheap. Is it not more probable that extended poverty has restricted the demand for silver by increasing the number of people who use cash exclusively?

It seems likely that while Mr. Grosvenor's double statement is undoubtedly true when restricted to the large trade centres; especially the Yangtsze treaty ports, where the rise in cash prices may be explained by increase of population, enquiry will show that it is not generally true of the Empire as a whole. It is anticipated that we shall find that a debased coinage has sent prices up, but it will perhaps be shown that the silver price of cash has not everywhere increased. The matter is one of great interest and importance, and the Council of the Society will be greatly obliged for any facts you may be able to supply. The following questions will show the points upon which information is requested:—

1.—*What has been the average exchange (cash and tael) during each of the last five years?*

2.—*If cash has become steadily dearer compared with silver, how is it explained?*

3.—*Is there a marked scarcity of cash?*

4.—*Have the cash prices of articles other than silver steadily risen?*

5.—*If so, how is it explained? By debasement of the coinage? By short crops making foodstuffs dear? By increased population leading to greater demand? By impoverishment of the country increasing the number of the people who use cash exclusively?*

6.—*Have wages risen generally?*

7.—*Why are not more cash minted? Have the local prices of brass and copper risen?*

8.—*Are any steps being taken to remedy the scarcity of cash?*

9.—*Is a subsidiary silver coinage coming into use?*

10.—*Finally, is the double statement true of your district that while cash will purchase more silver they will purchase less of other articles?*

An early reply will be appreciated.

For the Council,

E. T. WILLIAMS,

Hon. Secretary.

Replies to the foregoing Circular were received from some of the Members, from which the following Memorandum was compiled.

MEMORANDUM

ON THE

SCARCITY OF COPPER CASH AND THE RISE IN PRICES.

By F. E. Taylor, Esq.

That cash have been growing steadily scarcer and that the evil has been sharply accentuated quite lately (followed in some places with a slight recovery in exchange from the lowest depths) may be stated with certainty. Various explanations are given, some of which are of local but most of them of general application. The scarcity of cash is attributed to the absence of minting, which has become unprofitable owing to the dearness of copper; to the melting down of good cash for the

purpose of making utensils, instead of using copper; and to a steady increase of population requiring an extended instead of a restricted currency. Mr. Consul Tratman, in his interesting report on the trade of Chungking during last year, wrote as follows:—

"Even more serious than likin is the condition of the copper cash currency. This was referred to in my last report, and in 1897 things have gone from bad to worse. If the officials do not speedily take action it is difficult to see how commerce between distant places in the province can continue at all. The local bimetallic question may be stated as follows. All wages are paid and local purchases effected by means of copper cash;—now a string of 1,000 good Government cash, of which the present Chungking value is about $\frac{2}{10}$ of a tael, weighs 7 catties; thus in view of the difficulty and expense of carriage in Szechuen large quantities of the circulating medium cannot be transported from place to place: accordingly in the larger transactions between merchants in different places silver (sycee) is used; Government accounts are also kept in silver,—but the value of silver in relation to cash is continually falling, and during the last five years has dropped at least 30 per cent. One catty of copper costs 0.32 tael of silver, and copper sufficient to coin 1,000 cash would cost 2.24 taels; excluding cost of coinage, which is considerable if the slow native method is to be used; that is to say, the authorities cannot coin cash of the Government standard except at a very heavy loss; accordingly they have practically ceased to coin at all. Meanwhile, more and more of the circulating medium is required to carry out everyday transactions. Debased and spurious coins increase in number, amounting in some places to 30 per cent of the total circulation; the good cash are being driven out of circulation and melted down in spite of the laws prohibiting such a practice: at present even the smallest purchases cannot be effected without haggling not only as to the

quantity, but also as to the quality of the cash to be employed. Further, in different parts of the province the cash has very different silver values according to its quantity and quality."

This extract explains the whole difficulty as far as minting is concerned. The reasons given are the exportation of cash to other districts, and the hoarding of cash. The more valuable cash become the more hoarding will increase, especially as such a bulky article is difficult to remove without detection. During the past five years the silver price of cash appears to have risen speaking generally 25 per cent. And we are none the less assured that almost all the necessities of life have risen in price, whereas we should have expected cheap cash to bring about cheap prices—just as the demand for gold in Europe and the hoarding in war-chests have sent prices down. Increased population is reported everywhere, making a greater demand upon products of all kinds, while the fall in the gold value of silver has stimulated exports to foreign countries in consequence of the better prices there obtainable, and has reduced the supply circulable for the natives. The enormous quantities of debased cash in circulation have also contributed to send up prices. In some districts short crops and in some the extended cultivation of the poppy are held to be largely responsible for the dearness of food. In Shantung it is said that the cost of agricultural labour has been increased by the emigration of labourers to Western Siberia. Szechuen complains of short crops, poppy cultivation, and export of foodstuffs. General Mesny, speaking of this district, mentions increased taxation, increased demand for luxuries, and decreased hours of labour. From Foochow we learn that the province is poorer owing to the falling-off in the tea and timber trades, while taxation is heavier. The writers of several of the replies appear to think that poverty is increasing, but this would be the natural result of an increase

of population where manufacturing industries have so small a share in the occupation of the people.

The want of cash is in some parts being very slowly and inadequately met by the circulation of a subsidiary silver coinage, and this relief would no doubt extend rapidly was the Government careful to keep the coins up to the fixed and understood standard, and to receive all taxes in such coins.

It may be interesting to mention that the mints at Tientsin, Wuchang, Foochow and Canton altogether turned out the following numbers of subsidiary coins during last year :—

50 cents	-	214,796
20 „	-	31,852,571
10 „	-	17,892,931
5 „	-	66,921

We may probably take 920 cash to the dollar as a fair average exchange for the districts served, and these subsidiary coins, therefore, represent a substitute for 7,608,907,242 cash, which sounds a large sum, which may represent something over eight million dollars. It is difficult to understand why the most useful coin, the 5 cents piece, has been coined in such small numbers, but we may be allowed to hazard the guess that it is to be explained by the smaller profit made in minting —the official in charge considering the interest of the mints rather than the necessities of the people.

The following figures taken from some of the replies received will give an idea of the rise in the silver price of cash during late years. The number of cash obtained for a dollar has fallen

In Wenchow from 1,140 in 1892 to 980 in 1897,
In Shanghai from 1,050 in 1892 to 900 in 1897,
In Tungchow from 1,075 in 1895 to 925 in 1897.

The number of cash obtained for a tael has fallen

In Central Szechuen from 1,600 to 1,150,

In Chungking	„	1,700 to 1,080,
In Wuhu	„	1,600 to 1,320,
In Shantung	„	1,450 to 1,210.

It will be noticed that these considerable variations in the tael prices, are partly owing to the differences in the local taels, and in part due to the percentage of spurious cash in circulation.

I do not propose to detain the meeting by going into details of the rise of prices of commodities. The fact is well known and needs no proving.

It would appear that Mr. Grosvenor's statement, that while cash will purchase more silver they will purchase less of other articles, is almost universally applicable to the whole Empire. It seems beyond question that cash are becoming scarcer every year, and that the population is increasing; this causing an increasing demand on a decreasing supply of cash, and continually aggravating the evil. It is also forced upon us that in most districts the population has so nearly reached the limit of the available food supply, that quite a small margin of safety is left to meet any partial failure of the crops. The cultivation of the poppy is widely extending and has certainly caused a rise in the price of foodstuffs in some provinces, and the cession of Formosa to Japan has cut off one source of supply. The country on the whole is probably poorer than it was, and the foreign loans which have been contracted having been applied to other purposes than the development of the country, represent, with the interest paid, practically so much money drained out of the country. Money spent on ironclads and gunboats destined to strengthen the navy of some other power cannot be regarded as having increased the wealth of the unfortunate taxpayer. There is an appearance just now that the Central Government has at length become alive to the absolute necessity of adopting a new policy, and

that the resources of the country will be opened up. Such a policy, combined with heavy taxation of the land under poppy cultivation, the encouragement of the tea and silk industries, a more sensible fiscal treatment of inland trade, and improved communication,—would soon enable China to pay off all her debts, and to establish a national and rational coinage which would send down prices and relieve the present dangerous pressure. The increase of population, however—due to early and improvident marriages, which, however commendable from an ethical point of view, are largely responsible for the present distress—is likely to have consequences in the near future which one cannot contemplate without grave anxiety. The Chinaman is an eminently law-abiding man, principally because he takes little interest in anything except two absorbing topics—cash and rice. As long as he can obtain a bare sufficiency of these two unattractive articles the most exciting political events cause him no emotion. But if cash are scarce, and rice is dear his most sensitive susceptibilities are stirred; his apathy vanishes and he becomes the most untractable of men. Cash are now scarce and growing scarcer, rice is becoming dearer and dearer; and an ominous spirit of unrest is making itself felt in many parts of the empire. The Government would do well to bestir itself before it is roused up unpleasantly.

NOTE.—*According to the standard fixed in the last century 1,000 cash weigh approximately 7 catties. With copper at £76 per ton the present price of copper is from 31 to 32 candarins a catty. Good cash should contain an alloy of about 3 copper to 4 spelter, so that the price of a string of 1,000 as compared with silver with 6 °/₀ royalty would be about K. Taels 1.44. Cash being thus undervalued, not only are the old coins exported in enormous quantities but large numbers are melted down to form domestic utensils.*

To supply the drain large quantities of inferior cash have been put in circulation. An ordinary string of 1,000 circulating cash at Shanghai will weigh only about 5 lbs. of very inferior metal. If the alloy were good the par exchange should be about 860 to the dollar.

ON THE LIMITATIONS OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.

By P. G. von Möllendorff.

> Sure, He that made us with such large discourse,
> Looking before and after, gave us not
> That capability and godlike reason
> To fust in us unus'd.
>
> Shakespere: *Hamlet*, Act iv., Scene 4.

Of all the sciences linguistics is the youngest. The discovery of Sanscrit at the end of last century acted quite as a revelation, and with its help alone did it become possible to reconstrue the oldest forms of the various languages belonging to the Indo-European family, for many of which we did not possess sufficiently ancient documents. With the introduction of the comparative method the science of languages became a popular study. Till then each language had been investigated by itself, now its relationship to others could be traced.

The aim of linguistics is to know all languages spoken on the face of the earth. As a science it is therefore thoroughly anthropological, since man is man only through language, and since languages are the true expression of the human intellect, which latter can only be fathomed by language. In these not only the words as sounds describing things are essential and characteristic, but in the same degree the whole grammar, by which associations of ideas are expressed. To understand human speech in every detail we must know its whole growth, in all its divisions, through all

its phases. Not until we know all languages shall we be able to understand their peculiarities; only by a knowledge of all the languages are we enabled to obtain a perfect picture of the universal intellect of humanity; only by its language can the human soul be known.

This, then, is the aim of linguistics, *viz.* to embrace in its fold all human languages.

Created in Europe, this science naturally turned its first attention to the Indo-European languages. Special investigation is the first step in all scientific research, and so it was here. Not until the single languages have been minutely examined are we allowed to proceed with the comparison of several of them and unite them into one linguistic family. Comparative Philology has to gather, first of all, the linguistic facts in the completest and purest form from the single languages. Then we may compare these with each other in all their bearings and draw the logical results from this inquiry, keeping, however, always in mind the divergencies which we find, and which are sometimes of greater importance than the congruities.

Our own linguistic family, which stands nearest to us, has, naturally received our first attention: the Indian, Iranian, Celtic, Italian, Thrako-Illyrian, Hellenic, Letto-Slavonian, and the Germanic groups have been carefully investigated. The task of this investigation was to show which were the forms of the original speech of this family before the separation, and how the single languages evolved out of it. This is the way it was done (B. Delbrück):—A certain form occurs in all the languages; deduct what is the special growth of each language, and the remainder is the original form. An "acre" is in Sanscrit *ajras*, Greek ἀγρός, Latin *ager*, Gothic *akrs*. Now we know that in Gothic *k* evolved from *g*, and that an *a* was lost before *s*. We thus

find from Gothic the form *agras;* further, Greek *o* comes from *a*, and we there find the same form. And so with each language.

The forms of the original speech are called pre-ethnical, as having existed before the family dispersed. In this sense we speak of pre-Grecian Greek. It is interesting and instructive to study works in which the pre-ethnical stage is taken into consideration, as in B. Delbrück's "Greek Syntax" (1879) and "Old Indian Syntax" (1888).

Where we have grammars and dictionaries of languages, the whole language has to be compared with the other; as far as the most remote corner on either side, nothing should be left unnoticed by the student. The nature of the relationship must always be kept in view, whether descendant or ascendant, as in Anglo-Saxon and English, or collateral, as in Greek and Latin. The historical method is most important in its application to linguistics.

In order to obtain an insight into the psychological moment, investigations carried through a number of languages on one and the same subject are most helpful; such are: on the Dual Number, the Passive Tense, the Numerals, Personal Names, Grammatical Gender, Duplication, and others.

In this way we obtain a thorough knowledge of how all the languages of one family are related to each other, and this is the all-important task of linguistic science. This has been denied; someone has asserted that the thorough explanation of the ethnological list in Genesis (chap. x.) should be the exclusive aim of this science; only after its solution the science of languages will take that place with regard to religion which belongs to it. But this man forgot that linguistics is a free science and no longer a mere *ancilla theologiæ*.

Before a comparison can be undertaken, it is absolutely necessary to settle the original form of speech of a linguistic family which was common to all its members before their separation. We can only compare the original speech of one family with the original speech of another. Before the phonetic laws within one family have been settled, comparison with another family cannot be recommended, as it necessarily leads to disastrous results.

Thus we find in a late publication the assertion that Mongol *murun* "river," Manchu *muke*, Korean *mul*, "water;" Latin *mare*, English *mere*, "lake," are all the same word. Now Latin *măr-e*, root *mar*, means "barren," infertile: compare Sanscrit *marú*, "desert," "sandy waste," whilst the Mongol, Manchu, and Korean words come from a root *mu*, meaning "water."

Another equation is Mongol *bos* imp. "stand up"=French *debout*, "upright." The Mongol is related to Turkish *böt-mek*, "to grow," "to rise;" *debout* comes from *bout*, "end," "point" *mettre debout*, "to place on end," or "upright."

Premature comparison between Indo-European and Semitic words leads to the same result. The Indo-European phonetic laws are well known, and the original speech of this family is, so far as our present investigations are advanced, generally recognised. Semitic roots, however, have not yet been successfully reduced, owing to their peculiar construction. Most Semitic words consist of three consonants, and we do not know whether the third consonant represents an additional meaning, whether an inseparable suffix was added, whether the extension was made by a prefix, or whether the root has been extended in the middle, as is done in many languages. Another solution lately proposed is hardly worthy of serious consideration, *viz.* that each word consists of two roots of which the first ends with the same consonant

with which the second begins, *e.g.* Hebrew *qâtal*, "to kill," composed of *qat* + *tal*, both words of the same meaning. There is no analogy of this process in any known language, and the idea that any Semitic language possessed right through its vocabulary a double set of words (like "look-see" or Chinese 看 見 *k'an-chien*) is not tenable. Besides, the grammatical systems of the two families are entirely different. Neither can be derived from the other, and the distinction between them is so great that they cannot be reduced to an original unity.

The grammar of each linguistic family is ready-made from the very moment when the languages belonging to it came into existence. In its germ lies the whole of the later development. To presume a pre-grammatical relationship is a scientific impossibility; an original form of speech which gradually acquired grammar cannot be imagined, just as little as a period when man was without speech (*homo alalus*).

An example will show how careful comparisons between Indo-European and Semitic roots have to be conducted. Hebrew *ngûg*, "a round cake," has been compared with Latin *coquere*, "to cook." Now, *ngûg* is connected with Arabic *ngāja* med. "to bend," "to curve," so that the Hebrew *ngûg* was named from its round form. On the other hand, Latin *coquere* is connected with the Sanscrit root *pak'* "to cook," *p* and *k* interchanging as in "quinque" and πέμπη

English "leg," and Hebrew *regel*, "foot," have been compared with each other. Leg is derived from a European root *lak*, "to bend" (as the leg at the knee), whilst *regel*, from *rāgal*, "to run about," in Syriac "to flow," Arabic *rajila*, "to go on foot," points to the original sense of moving forward.

The beginning of speech was probably gesture; an idea was expressed by pointing to the object. If the latter was absent, gesture would, by describing it, communicate the idea. Thus we find two-fold gesture language: demonstrative and descriptive. These would lead to different beginnings among different races.

Another kind of word creation is direct and indirect onomatopœia. Words made in this way gradually came into general use, and are frequently so changed by long use that their origin becomes quite unrecognisable. Languages have all been gradually developed; none came suddenly and perfectly into existence. Nor is language ever finished, but is the constantly changing work of the human brain, to enable articulated sound to express our thought. We hardly notice this constant change: one word falls into disuse, a new word takes its place. In 500 to 600 years language is so altered that it is no longer readily understood. We find to-day a difficulty in reading Chaucer's works.

Languages originally related go their own ways after separation has taken place. They diverge more and more in the direction once taken, like Latin and German. Both started together, then each went its own way, which by its original tendency was practically the same, but *duo si faciunt idem, non est idem*, two never do the same thing in the same way, and how different are now modern Italian and modern German!

We call certain languages poorer than others, but do so unjustly. Some have simply not yet been prepared for the reception of new ideas by some great intellect. There is no language on earth which is unable to express everything that has been thought in it.*

* Compare BOILEAU, *Art poétique*, Ch. 1, v. 153, 154:—

Ce que l'on conçoit bien, s'énonce clairment,
Et les mots pour le dire arrivent aisément.

We have old and new languages, like Chinese and French, but not rich and poor ones. Richness may consist in a superfluity of words without any appropriateness in their use. A variety of borrowed words in a language for mere shades of meaning may even be a sign of poverty, as in this way the language gradually loses the power of expanding its roots. But even in the enumeration of words in a language we are often mistaken. The English dictionaries contain, or are supposed to contain, all words used by any author in English,—technical, scientific, provincial, Scotch, slang. The German dictionaries accept pure German words only; technical and foreign expressions are referred to special collections. The dictionary of the French Academy rejects, from a purist's standpoint, not only terms purely technical and provincial, slang, etc., but also words as yet used by but few authors and not yet recognised by common usage. In this way many a good word may receive official approbation somewhat late, while barbarous words (like "electrocution"), on the other hand, are refused admission into the language.

All men belong to one and the same species, all *races* can interbreed and have done so frequently. There is only the difference in the time of their evolution which creates any disparity between them. Language is the really characteristic and recognisable feature which separates nations, sometimes almost the only one. And what enormous differences do we discover in the languages of the various nations! The physiological inequality between languages is sometimes very great, as we find by comparing the grammars of Sanscrit and Chinese.

Shall we ever be able to find a clue why a certain sound is used for the representation of a certain idea? I am afraid never,—especially when we find in numerous languages the same combination of sounds used for ideas of the very opposite

meaning, like "cold," *kalt*, and Latin *callidus*, "warm." Lucretius, the great Roman philosopher, says that utility gave things their names,* but this is not so, with the few exceptions of onomatopœtic words. Surely utility would have taught all men to name things alike, and the enormous variety of human speech would have never grown up.

How did all these variations spring forth? How did the different languages and dialects come into existence?

The first hordes, small communities of a few hundred men, lived closely together; any impulse to innovation in the language made by individuals was easily and quickly assimilated with the habits and inclinations of the others. Unification was brought about without any difficulty. Each such horde, in its seclusion, believed that its language was the only one in existence. Meeting in its wanderings a horde of a different race whose language it did not understand, it thought this language a mere barking of dogs or twittering of birds. The idea, however, that other nations had languages of their own, was gradually acquired by them, and with the knowledge of a foreign language their own lost its high value as being the only one; still their pride caused them to maintain that theirs was the most ancient.

As soon as the horde grew in numbers and its members spread over a larger area, but still keeping up communication among themselves, the situation became changed. Unification in speech still took place, but it required a longer time to accomplish than formerly in the smaller community. Between the single groups perceptible differences remained, as some would still use the old term, whilst others already employed

* *De rerum natura*, v., 5, 1027:

At varios linguæ sonitus natura subegit
Mittere et utilitas expressit nomina rerum.

But nature forced the different sounds of speech
To go forth, and utility gave things their names.

the new one. Unification stopped altogether as soon as communication became interrupted, with a boundary of communication a linguistic boundary was created.

The originally small horde assumed large dimensions, single groups separated in order to find new hunting or grazing grounds. Communication then becomes interrupted, variations of speech and dialects spring up, which, according to the stage of the language at the time of the dispersion, may develop into independent languages, as must have been the case with the Indian languages of North America.

The germs of dialects which thus grow out of the mother speech are contained in the latter, something independent, and yet not disconnected from the language. How far they may, later on, diverge from the mother speech, depends entirely on the stage to which the language had advanced at the time of the separation. If separation took place early, before a sufficient stock of words had accumulated, then the dialect had to create independently, or borrow elsewhere, new words for new ideas. To some extent we are enabled to decide when the separation took place, by investigating, whether all the dialects participate in certain peculiarities: the case suffixes, the tenses, the harmony of vowels, the numeral system, *i.e.* the quinary, the septenary of the Ural-Altaic mother speech, the decimal of the Indo-Europeans, the duodecimal of the Etruscans, the vigesimal of the Caucasians. What we find the common property of all the languages of a linguistic family must have already existed before the separation.

Thus we find that the Semites have always remained close together, the structure of their languages is identical, and their roots are identical. The Indo-Europeans did not separate until their speech was far advanced. The Ural-Altaians possessed, with the exception of the Zyrianians, the

harmony of vowels, and the septenary systems of numerals; their eight is ten less two, their nine is ten less one, etc.

Many languages separated early, when there were but few necessities of life; and the language, therefore, was but little developed, when generic terms had not yet been created and perceptions of the senses were prevalent. In such a case the numbers of words common to all the dialects will be found to be small within a family of cognate languages. With the structure of the language it is similar. There is in all languages a point of perfect organisation beyond which the organic structure never changes. Had this point been reached before separation took place, then all the dialects will exhibit the same phenomena in their structure. If this was not the case, then every dialect will develop in an independent way and may even become a new mother speech of new, totally different, dialects.

Where larger hordes assembled under one man's leadership a commonwealth was formed. With such an epoch the unification of language recommences and a large area is conquered by one speech. One dialect obtains preponderance; all the others have to submit to its absolute sway. The conflux of several dialects is one of the principal moments in the formation of languages; and refinement of speech, which could not develop during the period of separate existence of languages, is largely due to the association of many dialects. Without such creation of a state no large linguistic area can be formed, and languages dissolve into dialects and variations, whose mutual relationship must, in the course of thousands of years, become impossible of investigation. Such dissolutions we find, for instance, in the Caucasus and in the Himalaya mountains, which teem with languages, to all appearances totally different from each other. In Brazil—it is a curious fact that no native state was ever organised on the eastern

side of the American continent—language changes from tribe to tribe, even from hut to hut. Guarani, with Tupi, an excellent dialect of Guarani only lately recognised as such, is perhaps the only language which is understood over a wider area.

The same decomposition will also come to pass, should any of the great languages at present spoken in the world become the universal language. For some time the mother country with its press and its literature may exercise a unifying influence, but gradually the language must again split into numerous dialects and variations, and the process of their unification into groups will have to be repeated. This organisation of states took place at an earlier period with some races than with others. Favoured by a better climate and by superior soil, some were able to evolve earlier from the barbarous stage. Favourable circumstances caused them to progress in civilisation and to invent lasting forms of society. The Assyrians settled in fertile Mesopotamia. The Jews lived in Palestine, the converging point of three continents, where they found splendid opportunities for an early intercourse with other nations, and thence their cousins, the Phenicians, developed, at the dawn of history, a surprising commercial activity. The Arians invaded the magnificient land of the five streams and met with inferior races, whom they easily ruled. The Egyptians produced their high civilisation in the fecund Nile delta. The Chinese settled first in the broad plains east of the Yellow River, and from there established their millenial empire.

These nations rose to a high degree of civilisation, and inferior races, with whom they came in contact, were raised by them from a lower condition and accepted many words into their vocabulary which, on account of their antiquity, can but in rare cases be recognised. Loans of this kind took place

at different periods, and in some cases names for the same idea have been borrowed twice during different periods of speech. They appear to us like different geological strata, and the rise and fall of the influence of civilisation from without has been likened to the coming and going of the waves of the sea (Wellentheory).

Thus Eastern Asia bears a distinct imprint of Chinese culture and language. Chinese borrowed words of different periods are found in Manchu, Korean, Japanese and the Indo-Chinese languages; to the latter, on the other hand, China owes a great part of its vocabulary. Especially was Chinese writing an important factor in introducing civilisation into the adjacent nations. A similar influence was exercised by the Semitic culture among the nations living on the Mediterranean. Phenician writing was brought to Greece, Etruria, and the whole of Italy, and from thence adopted by all Europe. Certain words, like the names for the horse, the dog, the different grains, salt, honey and others, seem to have been widely borrowed from the three or four centres of civilisation during ancient times.

An extraordinary influence over languages has at all times been exercised by religion. The first object of worship, the sun, the bestower of life and light, has the same name in many languages: Sanscrit *sūrya*, *sūri*, Lithuanian *saulé* (*saulya*), Zend *hvare*, Celtic "heul," "haul," Gothic *sauil*, Latin *sol*, Greek ἥλιος, ἠέλιος, are the same words as Hebrew *el*, *eloah* (the plural *èlohim* points to an original polytheism), Arabic *allah*, etc.

In the same way Pali literature was brought to Ceylon by Mahendra, son of King Açōka of Maghadha, in the middle of the third century after Christ, as the language of Buddhism. Later on it was introduced into Burma and Siam. Thence Singhalese and the Indo-Chinese languages possess a rich

stock of Pali words in their vocabularies. Islam has done the same with Arabic words in Northern India, Afghanistan, Persia, and the Turkish-speaking parts of Asia and Europe, and also among the Malays. Our missionaries are at present exercising a similar influence with their translations of the Bible all over the globe.

Such various influences have been felt by almost all the languages, over the general growth of which we have just cursorily glanced. We know of nearly 1,000 languages, but of these, according to a most competent judge in these matters, the late Mr. von der Gabelentz, only about one-fourth is grammatically known. These 1,000 languages have been classed under about 100 families, between which science can as yet discover no relationship. Many, it is true, have not yet been sufficiently examined to allow us to determine whether they deserve specific rank among languages, or whether they should be classed as dialects or mere variations of another speech.

They are distributed over the globe as follows:—

Europe	60	
Asia	300	
Africa	230	
America	270	
Australia	140	
Polynesia		
Melanesia		
Micronesia, etc.		

In all 1,000 languages.

The great majority of the living languages possess no literature; in many only the Bible, or parts of it, exist. Translations of the Bible have so far been made in about 300 languages or chief dialects. Of many of the dead languages, only the name has been handed down to us.

Linguistics, as a science, is of too recent a date to enable us to assign to each language its genealogical or physiological place, or to draw up in sufficient completeness a scientific system for all. It has existed as a science, properly so-called, only about 80 years, and has, in spite of patient and indefatigable research, mastered but a small part of its material. But gradually and in time this work will be accomplished, and all the languages spoken on the earth will be examined and classified in accordance with the method already tested in the treatment of the Indo-European group. So far, only the latter has been treated exhaustively. But also the Semitic, the Ural-Altaic, the Malayo-Polynesian, the Dravidian, the Indo-Chinese, and a few other linguistic families have received the attention of scientific linguists; others, as the American languages and the African Bantu forms of speech, have been treated in a general way.

A most difficult work lies still before us, which must be accomplished by labourers in this science, but only those should be admitted as co-workers who have thoroughly mastered the craft. Some who enter the arena of comparative philology, to all appearances so easy, and yet teeming with extraordinary difficulties, as free-lances, come to the work wholly unprepared, sometimes even with no suspicion that this, like any other science, requires a thorough training. Such do more harm than good, especially as they rush in with confidence and assurance where angels (*q.d.*, experts) fear to tread.

Science will persevere with the investigation and comparison of languages, and the results will become progressively surer and more far-reaching. Languages, now considered as isolated creations, will, when we become better acquainted with them, be found to be related to others; all linguistic families will be amplified and new families will be defined.

But whether beyond the different families we shall find a higher unity between the families which so far have not been proved related, or whether we shall ultimately discover a close connexion of all the linguistic stems of the earth, is a question of limitations. If we do so, we shall have solved the ethnographical problem of the descent of man from one pair.

From the theological standpoint the plea for one original language common to all men (the *lingua primæva*) is not indefensible. It was formerly quite a popular belief, and many languages (Hebrew, Egyptian, Chinese, even Basque, Flemish and Scythian) have been, in turn, named, according as the author was guided by theological, patriotic, or some other prejudice.

From the scientific standpoint the question in itself is legitimate, so long as the method by which its solution is attempted is thoroughly scientific; all others are to be rejected without mercy.

Such questions as the origin of language, the descent of man and nations, the origin of the universe, are knotty riddles which have incited thinking men of all times to attempt their solution. The very difficulty of the questions has induced the would-be solvers to use them as a touchstone of their mental powers. But in the absence of scientific methods, such glossogonies, anthropogonies, ethnogonies, and cosmogonies remain empty speculations.

On these points great help has been expected from the science of language, by which so much light has been thrown on ethnographical problems. But in vain. A certain unity of culture is explained by the unity of human nature and by the general uniformity of the objects and circumstances, which in different localities, quite independent of each other, are certain to produce the same results. Tertullian knew

this, and said: "All the races are one man, differing only in name; one soul, differing only in language; one spirit, differing only in tone."

The old mythical history does not help us; the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues make confusion worse confounded, although religious prejudice continually drags them into the discussion. Dante thinks that Hebrew was the *lingua della grazia*, and therefore remained the same after the confusion of tongues as before, and that the other languages are alone *lingue della confusione*. The numbers 70 and 72 —that is the number of languages after the confusion, according to the Talmud—still haunt the brain of some people who allow their

> " . . . godlike reason
> To fust in them unus'd."

It is a curious fact that, wherever tribes came in their wanderings, they found men who had been there before them. The Shumir-Accadians found the Assyrians; Cain met people with whom he allied himself in marriage; the Phenicians discovered people in Great Britain who worked tin mines and were probably not Celts, certainly not Teutons.

In all nooks and corners of the earth we find people driven back into distant valleys by the dominant race, people who have lived an isolated existence for ages and whose languages are totally different from those of their conquerors. The Basques of the Pyrenees are an example of this kind. Their language, split into many dialects, has not yet been classed with any of the linguistic families, although the late Professor von der Gabelentz, in a posthumous work (1894), has tried to prove its relationship with the Berber languages of Northern Africa. The numerous tribes of the Caucasus; the Papuans scattered over the linguistic area of the Polynesians; in the northern part of Asia the Camchadales

and other so-called Palaio-Asiatic nations; some minor languages on the American continent; the Miaotzŭ in China and others show the same phenomenon. In the sub-Himalayan country, between the rivers Kali and Tishta, Hodgson ("Kôsh, Bôdo, and Dhimál Tribes." Calcutta, 1847) met with a perfect Babel of numerous aboriginal languages and dialects, "What a wonderful superfluity of speech! and what a demonstration of the immense impediments to general intercourse characterising the earlier stages of our social progression."

Many languages have entirely disappeared, without leaving any traces behind them. Others have been handed down to us in inscriptions, but they are extinct and have left no progeny. Such is the language of the Shumir-Accadians, found in Assyrian inscriptions, and that of the Etruscans, whose inscriptions, written in Phenician letters from right to left, we are able to read, but to the language thus revealed we are unable to assign its scientific place: it is neither Semitic, nor Ural-Altaic, nor Greco-Italic, as its decipherers have from time to time asserted.

Everywhere we find a plurality of languages, which seems to exclude, *a priori*, a common relationship.

There is, moreover, an extraordinary divergence in the grammatical structure of the different linguistic families. We find languages with flexibility and great freedom in the position of words as the Indo-European; we find the strange system of the tri-literal Semitic languages in which the chief modifications depend on a change in vowels and whose three consonants of the root have not yet been reduced to two. We have the agglutinative Ural-Altaians with a rigid position of words. As if greedy to express all their ideas at once, the polysynthetic languages of North America force a number of ideas into one single compound. There are the African Bantu

languages which, with the exception of Hottentot, radically different from them, occupy a large portion of Southern and Eastern Africa, and which exclusively use prefixes, in contradistinction to the Ural-Altaic which exclusively use suffixes. We find in Eastern Asia languages with tones which modify the meaning of homonyms by giving them different intonations, as the Chinese with its dialects and some of the so-called Indo-Chinese languages.

A strange difference appears between the Melanesian and the Polynesian languages. The latter, in spite of the vast space over which they spread, are merely dialects of one mother speech; among the Melanesians, whose homes are close together, every little island has its own language, sometimes even several.

If all languages were offsprings of one mother, they would show more similarity among themselves, not only in the vocabulary, but also in the way of expressing thoughts. But if it be said that they may have separated from the original speech at a time when language was yet limited and possessed no grammar, then it is not worth our while to search for this too remote relationship, which, pursued step by step, must by necessity become the farther the thinner, until long before we have reached its beginning it disappears under our hands in the twilight of the past.

The same reasoning will prevent us from ever deciding whether the polysyllabic structure was evolved out of the monosyllabic, or whether monosyllabism represents the worn-out condition of previous polysyllabism.

Another difficulty will meet us more or less in all languages. Words change in the course of time their meaning, and, as by mere similarity of sound without equality of meaning, a relationship can never be established, we are obliged in such cases to inquire into the history of the languages in question.

Where this fails us, we are powerless. Trench, in his book "On the Study of Words," has given us a number of examples in this respect from modern times. We may be sure that such changes of meaning were quite common in antiquity too.

To this we have to add the onomatopœtic words which, as expressions in universal use among men of all races, are apt to mislead the inquirer. Then we find formations of words by analogy with other words which are quite frequent in all languages, and further popular etymologies, which date back very far, for either of which we rarely find the true key. The verbal stems, which express ideas relating to actions and qualities, have mostly quite undefined limits of meaning: thus we find our verb "to see," German *sehen*, corresponding in sound and original meaning to Latin *sequi*, "to follow," Greek ἕπεσθαι; Italian and French use the verb "to chew" (Latin, *manducare*), *mangiare*, *manger*, for the old Latin *edere*, "to eat." Latin *dicere*, "to speak," originally meant "to point to," Greek δείκνυμι; "Blue," German *blau*, agrees phonetically with Latin *flavus*, "yellow" (in different shades like Greek ξανθός).

Another difficulty is presented by the formative elements added to the roots: it is vexing to find that, except in a few cases, we are quite unable to explain their origin in a satisfactory manner.

In all these difficulties we meet the same cause: it is impossible to pursue the linguistic material beyond a certain point, where our science inscribes *ne plus ultra*, so far and no farther, and beyond which our understanding cannot reach.

Linguistics has, like all human sciences, its limitations, and when we transgress them we enter the domain of hazy speculations.

We must be satisfied with the result within our reach. Science will undoubtedly be able to classify gradually all the 1,000 languages under linguistic families, and the present number of these families will certainly be reduced in time. But when we commence the comparison of the different families, we are sure to encounter unsurmountable difficulties. This ordinary arithmetic will show.

The best known family is the Indo-European, the number of roots found common to all its languages amount to about 2,000. We are entitled to assume, that every other linguistic family can be reduced to the same number of roots, so that we have 2,000 roots of one family to be compared with 2,000 roots of another. Considering the difference in space and time between two original forms of speech, we are entitled to expect the same results in other languages, which we have found in the Indo-European, *i.e.* the farther and the longer two languages have been separated from each other, the smaller will be the number of words common to both.

Let us again assume, that on comparing two original forms of speech with each other, we find one half of the 2,000 roots to be common (one fourth even, I should say, will be found too high a figure), the number of roots after each comparison will be reduced to 1,000. If we begin by comparing the Indo-European with the Semitic original speech, we thus obtain as a result 1,000 roots. Comparing then the Semitic and the African Hamitic speech we again get 1,000 roots. After comparing these two quantities, each of 1,000 roots, with each other, we reduce this number by one half, to 500. If we apply this method to the other linguistic families, a very simple calculation will show us that, after repeating the process 11 times, we shall find but *one* word common to all the languages so far compared. I

leave it to you to imagine what will be the result after treating all the 100 linguistic families in the same way!

With regard to proving an original speech common to all races, science must always pronounce the verdict *non liquet*.

THE GRAND CANAL OF CHINA.

By W. R. Carles.

Much has been written by early travellers of the glories of the Grand Canal on which it is not necessary to dwell, the present object being to show the physical difficulties which in its construction and maintenance had been faced and how far it was of value as a commercial route, and incidentally for the purpose of which it had been maintained during the present dynasty, *viz.* as a route for grain transport to Peking. No claim is made to any original research from Chinese documents. The historical part of the paper is mainly based on what was written by Mon. P. Gandar, the *Peking Gazettes* of the last fifteen years, and the published travels of a few foreigners. The southern portion of the Grand Canal, extending from Hangchow to Chinkiang, was constructed between 605 and 617 A.D. The main difficulties to contend against were an influx of the salt waters of the Ts'ien T'ang Gulf and floods from the Yangtze. The magnificent sea-wall on the coast of the Ts'ient'ang Gulf was not constructed until 910 A.D., but embankments of a strong description were existing at an earlier date. So much damage would result to the silk districts of Soochow, Kahsing and Hoochow from an invasion of salt water that no water connection has been made between the Gulf and the Canal. From the Yangtze the entrances to this section of the Grand

MR. CARLES ON THE GRAND CANAL OF CHINA.

A CORRECTION.

In the year 1895 Mr. W. R. CARLES, at present H.B.M's Consul at Tientsin, furnished the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society with a paper on "The Grand Canal of China," which was ordered to be published in the *Journal*. Owing to the sudden death of the Chairman of the Editorial Committee, the manuscript became lost. The Committee, however, having a summary of the paper, published the same in the *Journal*, Vol. xxxi, No. 1. By a mistake this summary, for which Mr. CARLES is not responsible, appears as the original paper, whereas it merely forms a part of the report of the proceedings of the meeting at which the paper was given. The Editorial Committee very sincerely regret the mistake, and it is but justice to Mr. CARLES to make this public explanation.

JOSEPH EDKINS,
THOS. W. KINGSMILL,
E. T. WILLIAMS,
} *Committee.*

March, 1900.

Canal are very small. The chief entrance is near Tant'u, ten miles below Chinkiang. There are numerous bends before the canal joins the river, and a small bar extends across part of the entrance. This point is about twelve miles below Kwa. In the summer a nearer approach to Kwa is obtained by a canal which runs under the wall of Chinkiang and has an exit near the British Concession. In the winter this is completely silted up, and traffic is only possible by the lower branch, but as the wind is generally easterly, the connection between Tant'u and Kwachou is unattended by difficulty. A more serious difficulty is met with near Tanyang, twenty miles south of Tant'u, where the water is often so shallow in winter that boats are unable to pass. The section of the canal between Hangchow and Chinkiang is 780 *li* in length. The country through which it passes is the richest in the province, and it constitutes part of the delta of the Yangtze. The only difficulty in levels is that at Tanyang, which place forms the line of division of the two drainage basins. The section of the Canal between the Yangtze and the Hwai River is both the most ancient and the most interesting. It was opened in 486 B.C., and at the time was fed by the Yangtze. It was not until 1071 A.D. that the waters of the Canal flowed from north to south. The length and size of the Yellow River and the absence of any mouth of the Hwai River on the coast seem to have blinded Europeans to the importance of the latter river. It is the Hwai which drains the north of Kiangsu, of Anhwei and the province of Honan. In its course it receives seventy-two tributaries, from the S.W. corner of Shansi downwards. The Yellow River drains but little of the country on either side. The Wei on the North and the Hwai on the South receive almost the whole rainfall of the surrounding districts. For commercial purposes the River Hwai is the more important, and this fact

was evidently realized when the Canal was first constructed some 2,400 years ago. There have been interruptions of traffic by the Canal extending over many years; new routes have been traced out, and a double line of canals was once constructed parallel with each other. At no time has the hand of man completely mastered nature, but none the less this link has been formed and maintained in more or less effective condition since it was first opened.

At the present date the Canal is fed by the waters of the Hwai or through the Hungtse Lake and a series of other lakes parallel with the Canal, which act as reservoirs. The Hwai at one time ran with the Yellow River to the sea south of Shantung, but the old bed of the two rivers is now practically dry. As the level of the Hwai is considerably above that of the Canal, several *cha*, or weirs, had to be constructed to check the current of the river and provide a depth of water sufficient for boats to ascend to the high level. With the change of course in the Yellow River, the difficulties of the passage have somewhat diminished, but the system is unsatisfactory and does not secure a uniform depth of water. There are times in the year when there are only a few inches of water, and at other times travellers find it expedient to leave their boats and travel overland for a short distance to avoid the delay occasioned by meeting a current, estimated by Mr. G. J. Morrison as of over ten miles an hour.

The Hwai River, having been diverted from its old course, now runs through the Lakes into the Grand Canal, and thence eventually to the Yangtze, through a series of lakes and canals, one of which runs parallel with the Yangtze for a distance of over 140 miles. Le Père Gandar speaks of the current, after passing through the lakes, as so strong as to render the Canal, which carries off its waters, unnavigable. These same lakes and canals served to carry off a large

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portion of the waters of the Yellow River during the great inundation of 1887-9.

The country to the East of the Canal has also been utilized for the carrying off of surplus waters. This tract of country, known as the Hwai Ho, is below the level of the waters of the Canal, and is estimated by Père Gandar to contain nearly 8,900 square miles. This immense tract of country is confined on the east by a large Canal and embankment, the latter to protect it from inundations by the sea, to which there are some eighteen outlets. Threatened alike by Yellow and Hwai Rivers on the north, by the Hwai River and Grand Canal on the west, and by the sea on the east, its conservation as one of the great rice-producing areas in China seems to render more to the credit of Chinese engineers than any of their more notable works. From time to time it has been devastated by floods from the sea or the Yellow River, but the damage done to the land has been quickly repaired and its dense population hardly suffers from such attacks. In addition to the accidents by storm and flood it is subjected to the milder inundations caused by the opening of a *pa* to relieve the Grand Canal from excessive pressure. The importance of these *pa* has led to strict rules being framed as to the conditions under which their opening is permissible.

The diversion of the waters of the Hwai River to the Hungtse Lake, and through it to subsidiary lakes which feed the Canal, has rendered necessary the construction of numerous strong embankments to guard against a sudden freshet.

At the northern end of this section of the Canal, 400 *li* from Chinkiang and opposite the town of Ts'ingho, is the important town of Ts'ingkiang-pu. This, in winter, forms the terminus of boat traffic.

The grain-fleets which travel direct from Yangchow to Tientsin need to be raised to the level of the bed of the Hwai

River, and have to be dragged over "haul-overs" by capstans manned with crews of 300 or 400 men before they can reach the old bed of the Yellow River. Ts'ingkiang-pu may be regarded as the terminus of the Canal used for commercial purposes. Beyond that point the Canal is a purely artificial undertaking for the so-called provision of Peking with grain.

Over the 1,200 *li* of canal beween Hangchow and Ts'ingkiang-pu, boats of 800 to 1,000 piculs burden can travel with ease, and the water is greatly frequented. On the 1,200 *li* from Ts'ingkiang-pu to the Wei River in Shantung the obstruction, caused by the cumbrous movements of the grain fleet, is in itself almost sufficient to kill all the traffic.

The portion of the Canal between Ts'ingkiang-pu and the present bed of the Yellow River differs entirely in its physical conditions from that which has just been described. It is shut off from the sea by the mountains of Shantung, and the only outlet to the sea is by the Yen Ho, a very fine canal, almost in a straight line to Haichow, a town on the coast near which the Japanese threatened a landing. This portion of the Canal is fed by the River Wên, which flows from the east and meets the Canal at a place called Nanwang, where its waters flow north and south. There are some lakes and morasses bordering the Canal, the line of whose demarcation has sometimes been so confused that boats have been able to travel across them, leaving the line of the Canal. This section is less exposed to damage than the south part, but its maintenance has always been a costly matter, and the dimensions of the Canal are consequently reduced.

Before the Yellow River changed its course in 1850, the part near Nanwang formed the main difficulty in the passage of the grain fleet to the north, but now the depth of water in this portion of the Canal seems to be greater and the

difficulties are small compared with the passage of the Yellow River and the entrance to the northernmost section of the Canal. A rise of eight feet has to take place in the river before boats can enter the northern section from the Yellow River, and the fleet has often to wait for a month before the rise occurs. The passage of the river itself is not without danger on account of submerged villages and walls. This portion of the Canal is described as "a mere ditch," flooded to let the grain junks pass, and immediately closed again, as its defective construction and the mud-laden waters of the Hwang Ho, with which it is annually flooded, render its re-excavation every year a necessity. As a means of communication between north and south the Canal need not be considered, as not a single vessel except the junks carrying the tribute rice ever passes.

Near Lintsing Chow the Canal joins the Wei River, and from that point to Tientsin the navigation is only exposed to the ordinary difficulties arising from floods. But the grain fleet which started in February or March from Yangchow cannot afford to dally on the way, for unless they are back within a month it is unlikely that they will be able to recross the Yellow River in the same year.

Communication from the Yangtze with Peking is generally considered to have been established during the Yuan dynasty, and such was actually the case. But the communication was very imperfect, and the grain transport by that route existed only in a small degree. Floods occasionally interfere with the adoption of the inland route, and in 1850 Tao Kwang ordered the sea route to be again resumed, both on account of economy and also on account of the dangerous class of men engaged in the rice transport. Soon afterwards the Yellow River changed its course, and the Taiping rebellion for a long time prevented much attention being paid

to the Canal; but in 1865 Li Hung-chang, then Viceroy at Nanking, secured the repair of a large extent of the embankments. In 1887-8 the Yellow River floods interfered with the carriage of grain by the Canal to Peking. It is thus evident that the inland route has even in late years, after the experience of over four centuries, been constantly obstructed.

In the early part of this century, however, the quantity of grain transported by the Canal from Shantung, Honan, the River Provinces, Hukwang and Chekiang exceeded 4,000,000 piculs. This transport was in the charge of an officer holding a Viceroy's rank, and eight Taotais, besides an immense staff of men, and the fleet consisted of boats of 800 to 1,000 piculs capacity.

At the present day the grain carried by the Canal appears to be limited to a portion of the tribute sent from Shantung and Kiangsu, and is not more than 220,000 to 230,000 piculs. The rest of the tribute is either sent by sea in junks or steamers, or is paid for in silver remitted to Peking. The same official staff seems to be maintained that was needed in former years, but the boats are of much smaller capacity, carrying only 300 to 400 piculs of rice.

The difficulty experienced in transmitting the present small quantity of tribute rice leads to wonder as to what was done when the whole quantity was carried by canal route. In the first month of the year the fleet for the north Kiangsu tribute grain is collected at Yangchow, where the rice which has been bought up in the neighbouring districts of Paoying and Kaoyu is stored. The quantity sent is under 120,000 piculs, but over 800 boats are required, and the loading of these occupies so much time that the fleets, consisting of about fifty boats each, which sail in company, do not reach Ts'ing-kiang-pu, 340 *li* distance, before April. In another forty days they have reached Shantung, 400 *li* further on the road,

and from thirty-three to forty days are required to cover 326 *li* to the Yellow River. As the north branch of the Grand Canal is five feet above the level of the Yellow River, a rise in the waters of the latter has generally to be awaited. The delay occasioned by this in the crossing varies from a week to seven weeks.

The passage of the river by the fleets generally occurs in the latter part of July or beginning of August, and by the end of July or middle of August they enter the River Wei, and pass out of Shantung, to the Governor's great relief. From that point to Tientsin the passage is apparently easy, for notice is seldom taken of their movements by the Peking Gazette; but by the end of September their difficulties begin again, as they approach the Yellow River on their return journey. In some years they fail to recross the river, but generally after immense exertions they are dragged across, and get back to Yangchow in time for the next year's rice.

The total distance by water from Yangchow to Tientsin is just under 2,500 *li*, and the double journey of the fleet occupies a whole year, during which the attention of the officers of the Transport Department and the assistance of the Provincial Governors are indispensable.

The rice transport seems to exist for the benefit of the Canal, but Mr. Kingsmill asserts that "not a single vessel except the junks carrying the tribute rice ever passes" through the portion of the Canal connecting the Yellow River with the Wei River.

Is the Canal a success or not? Those who have travelled on any portion of its waters between Hangchow and Chinkiangfu will undoubtedly say "Yes." The towns on its banks, the string of boats on every reach, and the life on its banks, all testify to the usefulness of the Canal and its satisfactory condition. But as a Government transport route

to Peking the Canal is little less than a failure, and its maintenance is an outrageous burden on the nation. The portion in Shantung between Ts'ining and Lint'sing Chous is that which has most completely baffled Chinese engineers. There are two "Divides," one near Nanwang and the other to the north of the Yellow River near the junction with the Wei River, which occasion constantly recurring difficulties; but the difficulty which is most insoluble is the crossing of the Yellow River. If the water in the river is low, boats cannot enter the Canal. If the water is high the crossing is dangerous. If the depth of the river is suitable, and the Canal is open to admit the grain fleet, the result is always the deposit of an amount of sediment from the water of the Yellow River which entails dredging operations.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. KINGSMILL, who had been called on by the late Futai of Shantung, Chang Yeo, to survey the portion of the Canal passing through that province in the spring of 1887, was able to speak with some experience on the subject. From Tientsin to Hangchow the water communications had been profoundly changed during historic time; and it is doubtful if anywhere in the world human energy had been more effective in modulating the face of the country. The Grand Canal could not be separated from the Yellow River, the changes in which had from time to time seriously affected the communications between north and south. The references to the opening of water communication between the Yangtze and the Hwai in the Ch'un T'siu period, mentioned by Mr. Carles, were, he believed, descriptive of the opening of the first canal between the Hungtsze and Kaoyu lakes, a work which in subsequent times assisted largely towards the modern position of the water drainage.

Looking back to the most ancient of Chinese records, we find in the *Yukung* a reference to the position of affairs in Chihli and

Shantung. The main branch of the Hwang Ho flowing down from the point where it entered the plain at Mangtsin, hugged the foot of the high plateau of Shansi, and entered the sea at Tientsin. But besides this main discharge the river divided itself into several arms, the southern of which took a course almost identical with the present outfall. These are collectively spoken of as the Kiuho or Nine rivers, and traces of several of these arms yet remain. By degrees the channel of the river became confined to one outlet, which flowed by Ocheng, then through Kaot'ang and passing P'ingyuan hien entered the sea at the boundary line between Pechili and Shantung. Towards the end of the twelfth century, when the Sungs were driven south of the Yangtze, a breach occurred near Changch'iuchen in Tungp'ing chow, and the waters made their way south to join the Hwai near the present Ts'ingkiang-pu. This bed seemed to have afforded the first indication of the present canal by Ts'iningchow. In this course the river continued for some 90 years, till in the disturbed time of Kublai, A.D. 1289, the right bank again gave way near Kaifeng, and the river took the course it occupied till 1854. It flowed for some space in the bed of the Hwai, and judging from its position still after the great breach of 1854 must for a considerable period have continued to flow in a well defined channel. Peking rose into great prominence during the Mongol dynasty, and the hint given by the former flow of the river from Changch'iu to Ts'ingkiang-pu was not lost, and it was determined to utilise the channel for a canal. There was thus but one link wanting, and that was to unite the summit level at Nanwang with the Wei, and so complete the water road to the capital. Unfortunately those entrusted with the work struck the Wei too low down, the fall from the Tawang-miao at Nanwang to the Wei at Lints'ing, a distance of about 106 miles, being over 30 feet. To overcome the rush of water, *chas*, which obstructed the flow, were constructed, and these proving insufficient the channel was made to wind about in the most erratic manner, a distance of 220 *li* being prolonged to 275. The bed of the Yellow River having a constant tendency to silt up, by degrees the Hwai was led to flow into the Hungtsze, and thence through

the cross canal, of which he had spoken, into the Kaoyu lake. From the latter canals were cut towards Siennü-miao, till gradually the whole discharge of the Hwai, instead of joining the Hwang Ho, became diverted to its present course, flowing a little east of Yang-chow and thence descending to the Wanfukiao near Siennü-miao. At first there would have been comparatively little difficulty in crossing the Hwang Ho at Ts'ingkiang-pu, but as the bed rose the difficulty became greater, and elaborate precautions had to the taken. In 1854 the Hwang Ho again burst its embankments, but this time on the left or northern side. The waters spread out over a large district in the prefectures of Tungch'ang, Tsinan and Wuting, and at last selected the channel of the Tat'singho. In the outburst a large portion of the Canal was destroyed, and the whole of the section north of Wenshang hien rendered useless. Afterwards, when the Hwang Ho became more settled in its bed, attempts were made to re-open the section. The surface of the Hwang Ho at Shilipu he had found in June, 1887, to be four feet over the summit level of the canal, and this was a position fraught with danger. Again the irruption of the river had cut off from its supply at the summit level taken from the Wen River the entire of the section between the river and Lints'ing. Attempts had been made to utilise the water of the Hwang Ho, but that is so loaded with sediment that the channel had to be dug out annually. There was no other source of supply available on the left bank of the river, and under the circumstances he had reported to the Chinese Government the advisability of carrying the clear waters of the Wen Ho under the bed of the Hwang Ho, and forming on the north bank a clear water dock to which vessels would have access by a lock from the river. Between that and Lints'ing three or four locks would have to be formed; and this would enable the Canal to be kept permanently open, unless of course in winter, when it would be frozen. There was really no serious engineering difficulty in the case, the greatest being the works necessary for carrying a sufficient quantity of water under the Hwang Ho to supply the northern section. Mr. Kingsmill, to explain the conditions, read various extracts from his official reports

made at the time to H.E. Chang Yeo, the Governor of the Province, and a man sincerely desirous of improving the condition of his rule.

Mr. G. J. Morrison said he knew the Grand Canal pretty well. The only part he had not personally examined was the portion between the Yellow River and the Wei River, but he had seen the junction of the Canal with both these rivers. He had also travelled considerable distances along the Yellow River and along the Wei River, not only that part which formed a portion of the Grand Canal, but the part above the junction. The portion of the Grand Canal south of Tsingkiang-pu was undoubtedly a useful waterway, but the portion between Tsingkiang-pu and the Wei River considered as a canal was, in his opinion, beneath contempt. When people travelled by way of the Grand Canal as far as Tsingkiang-pu they invariably made a land journey of a few miles to avoid the sluices, and in almost all cases continue their journey to the north by cart. Mr. Morrison however said he had taken boat again as soon as the sluices were passed and gone by boat till stopped by want of water. From what he saw during a dry season he believed there was always more than sufficient water to supply a canal provided with proper locks. The difficulty of providing against damage from freshets was considerable, but by no means insuperable. The Yellow River had cut through the Canal, and a proper crossing could only be made by locks, as suggested by Mr. Kingsmill. The latter gentleman's proposal to carry clear water across the River by means of an underground pipe was ingenious and feasible, though there might be other ways of accomplishing the desired object of supplying the western length of the Canal with clean water and keeping out the muddy water of the Yellow River. Such works could not however be spoken of as improvements of the Canal; they amounted to constructing a canal along the line of the present ditch. Regarding a remark in the paper as to the bed of the Yellow River being above the country, Mr. Morrison said that the first time he saw the old bed it almost took his breath away. He walked up an embankment say 35 feet high, and on getting to the top the bed of the river lay only 15 or 20 feet below him, showing that it was 15 to 20 feet above

the country. The bed appeared to be level all across, but subsequently he had occasion to level accurately across the bed of the Yellow River where it had been left dry by the breach of 1888, and he then saw there was a slight slope towards the centre, and that the lowest part of the bed was not more than about 5 feet above the country. This state of affairs existed west of Kaifeng fu, and all along the old bed leading to the Yellow Sea. Any breach in the bank west of Kaifeng fu was therefore a very serious affair, and it might well happen that when a breach took place, as it did some 40 years ago, it could not be repaired, although the late breach was eventually repaired in a most praiseworthy manner. From a short distance east of Kaifeng fu along the new course to the Gulf of Pechili through Shantung the river-bed was below the level of the country. Although, therefore, in time of great flood, banks might be broken and considerable damage done, the damage was not likely to be of a permanent character, as the river would return to its old course as soon as the flood subsided.

Dr. Edkins said that Chinese archæologists hold that in ancient times when there were three mouths to the Yangtzekiang, the southernmost flowed into Hangchow Bay. Its course was along the present Grand Canal for a good part of the distance to Hangchow. This was the Chekiang, a name perpetuated in the modern designation of the Province. This theory was developed by Yuen Yuen, Governor-General of Canton, at the beginning of this century. Before the Yuen dynasty the tribute grain from the Kiang provinces went to Kaifeng fu, and this rendered water communication from Chenkiang to that city important. The route probably lay from the Hungtse Lake by the Hwai and the Ju. Thus the way for the Grand Canal made by Kwo Showking in the Yuen dynasty was in part prepared. In Peking a few years ago he saw General Wilson, who came to China to offer assistance from an American syndicate to construct railways. He proposed to make one at the summit level of the Canal, where 70 English miles of a channel too often dry present great difficulties to the Chinese. The summit level is fed by water from the Taishan chain which comes out west-

ward from the Shantung Promontory. It is chiefly the Wen Ho which feeds the Canal at this point. They now heard from Mr. Morrison that engineering could effect all that was required. It would be a worthy achievement of western engineering to help the Chinese in their difficulties. They were too wretchedly poor in country parts. That philanthropy which makes the whole world kin would be well employed in raising a vast population of industrious working men, so that they may enjoy the comforts of a civilized life.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Annual Meeting of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was held on Wednesday night, June 26th, 1895, in the Society's Hall.

The Rev. Dr. EDKINS presided, and in opening the proceedings stated that three new members had joined since the previous meeting last month. One of the members was a gentleman of Tacoma, an American antiquarian, with whom he, the chairman, corresponded. This gentleman published articles in an archæological journal in America upon various interesting subjects, and that made him desirous of coming in connection with the Society in order to further his archæological researches which connect Asia with North America.

Mr. VOLPICELLI, the Hon. Secretary, then presented to the meeting, and read, the various reports for the year.

COUNCIL'S REPORT.

1.—The following members of Council and office-bearers were elected at the annual meeting held last year under the presidency of Consul-General Hannen :—

Messrs. N. J. Hannen, *President;* P. G. von Möllendorff, J. Edkins, *Vice-Presidents;* Z. Volpicelli, *Hon. Secretary;* J. Ritter von Haas, *Hon. Librarian;* Vosy-Bourbon, *Hon. Curator of the Museum;* Thos. Brown, *Hon. Treasurer;* T. W. Kingsmill, Dr. Faber, J. Scott, Dr. Franke, *Councillors.*

During the course of the year our President resigned owing to his departure for Europe and his place was taken, according to the rule of the Society, by the Vice-President, Mr. von Möllendorff. Dr. Franke also had to resign in consequence of his transfer to Peking, and Mr. Bullock was elected in his stead. This does not complete the list of our losses. The Hon. Librarian and Hon. Treasurer have both left us temporarily, and their work has been kindly undertaken by Messrs. Navarra and Donovan, who now occupy their posts.

2.—*Members of the Society.*—Eighteen new members were elected during the year and there have been few resignations.

3.—*Meetings.*—Four Meetings were held during the year, when the following papers were read:—

The Wheel of Life, by Dr. Edkins.
The Coinage of Corea, by Mr. Gardner.
Dialects of China, by Mr. von Möllendorff.
Travels in Tibet, by Mrs. Bishop.

4.—*Journal.*—The following fascicules have been published: Part 3 of Vol. XXVI, containing the valuable catalogue of the Library compiled by Mr. von Haas; Part 1 of Vol. XXVII, containing two papers: "The Salt Administration of Szechuan," by von Rosthorn, and "The Early Portuguese Commerce and Settlements in China," by Mr. Volpicelli; Part 1 of Vol. XXVIII, contains: "The Inland Communications of China," ably and carefully edited by Mr. Kingsmill from the various papers received in answer to our circular asking for information on the subject, and "Stray Notes on Corean History and Literature," by Mr. James Scott.

5.—*Officers' Reports.*—The Hon. Librarian reports that though we have had but a slight increase in our Library, still among the new books there are some of high value, *i.e.* thirteen Blue Books which have been loaned to us by H.B.M.'s Consul. The Hon. Curator reports favourably on the Museum. The services of a taxidermist have been secured, and existing specimens are cared for. Unfortunately they are diminishing, as the Museum receives few or

no specimens; as yet, foreigners in China are showing little interest in the institution. The Hon. Treasurer's report is as usual favourable, and our finances continue in a flourishing condition.

Z. VOLPICELLI,
Hon. Secretary.

Shanghai, 12th June.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

GENTLEMEN,

As may be seen on reference to the appended list of new acquisitions to our Library, only 22 books were contributed during the year under report; it must, however, be added that several of the numbers are of a high scientific value. Thirteen volumes of Blue Books have been entrusted to our Society by H.B.M.'s Consulate-General as a loan, on condition that they are available for the use of H.B.M.'s Consular officers at all times, and that they shall be returned immediately if so required. Though but a loan, the Society is thereby enabled to have the use of publications of a trustworthy and therefore valuable nature of the recent history, trade and industry of China and adjacent countries, and of travels undertaken by prominent Government officials. Your Librarian therefore considered it advisable to give in the catalogue a full Index of the Blue Books.

In spite of careful supervision and repeated admonitions and complaints, the abuse of borrowing more than three books and of taking out loose numbers of current publications continues, consequently our series of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan and the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society are incomplete, and the borrower is apparently unable or unwilling to return them.

The Library attached to the Museum has been put in thorough order, duly classified, and a Catalogue thereof compiled which will appear in our next journal.

During my temporary absence from Shanghai, Mr. B. R. A. Navarra has kindly undertaken to act for me as Librarian.

I have the honour to remain,
Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HAAS,
Hon. Librarian.

CURATOR'S REPORT.

Shanghai, 11th June 1895.

GENTLEMEN,

I am glad to say that the Museum's situation is slightly better than it was at the time of my last report (June 1894); the gap which I then complained of is now filled up. Thanks to Messrs. Lay, of Chinkiang, and Haas, of Hankow, I was able to engage in November a competent taxidermist, S. Chou, from Hankow. He has done till now good and useful work, and in the future the detrimental spreading of insects on the existing series will be effectually checked by his constant attention.

The spring cleaning compelled us to throw away a large number of specimens utterly ruined, and the collection is certainly decreasing, as the accessions were almost *nil;* in consequence, the scientific results were negative, and after all, had we had materials, researches would have been impeded by the lack of reference books which the catalogue of our library, compiled by Mr. von Haas, puts in evidence.

We could observe, however, the accidental appearance of northern birds much farther down in the south than they have ever been signalled previously during the winter months.

An unusual quantity of specimens were mounted for amateurs, which proves that they know our existence and our work, but forget our wants; moreover, the circular *re* Technological collection sent round with the Society's journal has not been answered; so we closed this year with a rather discouraging result, which I hope is not for long, as our friends' indifference may be awakened in the meantime.

Your obedient servant,

H. Vosy-Bourbon,
Hon. Curator.

Treasurer's Report.

Gentlemen,

In the absence of Mr. Thomas Brown, I beg herewith to present the audited accounts for the year ending 30th April 1895, of which there is very little to say.

It will be seen that while the income of the C.B.R.A.S. was slightly in excess of the previous year, the expenditure was also much greater, an increase over the amount spent during 1893-94 of Tls. 574.86, the printing and binding of the Society's Journals forming the principal item of expense, *viz.* Tls. 976.22.

The income and expenditure of the Museum is nearly the same as the preceding year, as it must be borne in mind that Tls. 1,000 which appears in last year's accounts was a repayment to the Recreation Fund.

J. P. Donovan.
Hon. Treasurer, pro tem.

BALANCE SHEET

Dr. *1st May 1894 to 30th April 1895.* *Cr.*

INCOME.	Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.	Tls.	cts.
To Balance from 1894	423	33	*By* Printing and Binding Journals	976	22
„ Subscriptions	771	60	„ Postage	85	09
„ Rent from A.D.C.	75	...	„ Stationery	28	63
„ „ „ Y.M.C.A.	41	70	„ Advertising	48	49
„ „ „ Museum	150	...	„ Municipal Taxes	30	36
„ Interest allowed by Bank	27	38	„ Insurance	25	...
„ Account Sales of the Journal	124	04	„ Library Purchases	66	...
			„ Gas and Coals	62	63
			„ Wages	99	63
			„ Shroff for Collecting	7	50
			„ Sundries	3	41
			„ Balance in Hongkong & Shanghai Bank ...	180	09
Taels	1,613	05	Taels	1,613	05

E. & O. E.

SHANGHAI, *30th April 1895.*

J. P. DONOVAN,
Hon. Treasurer, pro tem.

Audited and found correct, 10th June 1895.

A. W. DANFORTH.
HAROLD BROWETT.

Dr. MUSEUM. *Cr.*

INCOME.	Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.	Tls.	cts.
To Balance from 1894	707	83	*By* Taxidermist, Wages, etc.	133	09
„ Sale of Specimens	5	70	„ Printing	4	50
„ Donation from French Municipal Council ...	100	...	„ Interest on Loan	25	...
„ „ „ English „ „ ...	500	...	„ Rent	150	...
			„ Furniture	60	...
			„ Balance in Hongkong and Shanghai Bank ...	940	94
Taels	1,313	53	Taels	1,313	53

E. & O. E.

SHANGHAI, *30th April 1895.*

Audited and found correct, 10th June 1895.

A. W. DANFORTH.
HAROLD BROWETT.

J. P. DONOVAN,
Hon. Treasurer, pro tem.

Mr. KINGSMILL proposed and Mr. NAVARRA seconded the adoption of the report and accounts, which was agreed to unanimously.

Upon the proposition of Mr. A. CUNNINGHAM, seconded by Mr. NAVARRA, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year :—

Mr. G. Jamieson, *President;* Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff, *Senior Vice-President;* Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., *Junior Vice-President;* Mr. Z. Volpicelli, *Hon. Secretary;* Mr. Vosy-Bourbon, *Hon. Curator;* J. Ritter von Haas, *Hon. Librarian;* Mr. T. Brown, *Hon. Treasurer;* Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Mr. Bullock, Dr. Forke and Dr. Faber, *Councillors.*

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Wednesday, 5th February* 1896, *at* 9 *p.m.*

The chair was taken by Mr. GEO. JAMIESON, and the proceedings were opened by reading the names of four new members, *viz.* Messrs. O'DOWD, JEFFERDS, GOTTSWALD and the Rev. G. H. BONDFIELD.

Dr. EDKINS then proceeded to read extracts from a paper, which was of considerable length, by Dr. LANDIS, entitled "The Tonghaks and their Doctrines."

The writer in the course of his remarks stated:—There is very little known about this new religion, and the paper read is translated from a small book which is most difficult to obtain, for if anyone is found with a copy in his possession he is guilty of a capital offence and is beheaded. The book is not a printed one,—only copied, and is done with Chinese pencil and ink. There are five other essays not given, as the meaning is so obscure, except to the initiated. The leader of this new sect was executed by order of the Government in the great persecution of Christians late in the Sixties, for though it did not teach Christianity, it was regarded by the Prince Regent to be equally obnoxious. The influence of the elementary Christian instruction the author had received is manifested throughout the book, it being full of Christian terms. The

Tonghaks during the last two years are supposed to have been the cause of the late war between China and Japan, for troops were sent from both countries to put down the Tonghak rising in the spring of 1894. It was in the beginning of that year that one of the Tonghak leaders was captured, and he confessed that the Japanese had furnished him and his men with both money and ammunition to resist the exactions of the officials. If this is true it puts an entirely new aspect on the beginning of the war, as it is known that Japan had been making preparations for a war with China for years before.

The book commences with an essay on "Displayed Virtue," which opens as follows :—"From the most ancient times until now, spring and autumn have alternated and succeeded each other. The four seasons have flourished and passed away each in its own proper time. These are the footprints of God's creation which are reflected to all under heaven," etc. Further on the essay goes on to say :—"He who reverences the Decrees of Heaven and is obedient to the over-ruling Providence will become a superior man. By study, the way of virtue is attained." Further on it proceeds to tell that in the year of Kyeng Sin, a man from the Western Seas (European) was preaching, when he was heard to say : "Have regard only to the will of God. Do not look for riches or honour, but look only for the proper government of all under heaven." Churches were built and people walked in the Way (became Christians) and I knew not whether to follow or no. For four months my heart was chilled and my body trembled and I became very ill. One day a fairy whispered in my ear and said : "Be not afraid, be not afraid. I am called by the people the Supreme Lord. Do you not know the Supreme Lord?" He further said : "Although I am without merit yet I wish you to teach the people this law. Do not fear." I asked if I was to teach people the Western way (Christianity). He said : "Certainly not. I have a charm which is called the Fairies' Drug. Its appearance is like the Great Absolute and it also resembles Kung Kung. This I will give to you and by its means you will cure diseases. If you

receive this charm and teach people to serve me I will give you long life and display your virtues to all the world." I was very grateful for these words, and taking the charm I ate some of it, and my illness was cured and my body gained flesh. I therefore knew that this was the drug of the gods. By using this charm afterwards I found that some persons were healed of their sickness and others did not recover. For a long time I could not tell why this was, but after carefully examining into all the cases I found that some were sincere and others were not. Those who served God with fervour became well, and those who were disobedient to the way of virtue did not recover. Why do men not receive this sincerely and reverently? It is on this account that our country is filled with all sorts of evil diseases, and throughout the four seasons there is no peace for the people. Now, it is the fate of the country to have losses and injuries. Those of the western ocean fight and win, they fight and they seize, and there are none of their undertakings which do not come to perfection, and all under heaven is completely destroyed." The author deprecates the fact that the people do not accept this new religion, after which a "Discussion of the Doctrine" is given, in which the author says:—"The Middle Kingdom is being destroyed [this refers to 1860 when the Allied Forces took Peking], and how can we avoid meeting with trouble? There is no other cause than this: The faith of the people, which is called The Doctrine of the West, or the Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, is a Holy Faith. These people both know the appointed times of Heaven and obey the decrees. By this they are able to overcome all things," etc. There are also a number of questions and answers given, among which is the following:—

Is there any difference between it [the doctrines of the Tonghaks] and the Faith of the West?

The Western faith resembles this, but yet there is a difference. Their prayers resemble ours, but yet they are not true. The destiny and faith of both are the same, but the principles are different.

A chapter on the "Cultivation of Virtue" is also given at some length, all of which shows that the author has evidently studied the Christian religion; but it is too long for us to give here.

After the paper had been read the CHAIRMAN called upon those present to make any remarks they could on the subject.

At the conclusion of the reading of the paper,

Mr. E. BRASS, on the invitation of the Chairman, stated that he had travelled in Korea in the year 1891, but there was no stir among the Tonghaks at that time. He had travelled in the northern and middle portions of Korea, and not in the southern, where the sect was better known, and he could not, therefore, expound views to any extent upon the subject. At the time he had passed through, however, there had been a great deal of ill-feeling against the officials, and a very little would have sufficed to create a rising.

Mr. VOLPICELLI remarked that there was an interesting article in the *Korean Repository* on the rise of the Tonghak sect. In that article it was mentioned that the founder of the new religion was beheaded by mistake in a persecution of the native Catholics. The judicial error was the cause of the hostility of the Tonghaks to the Government. Mr. Volpicelli then drew attention to the striking similarity between the Tonghaks and the Taipings. Both sects were founded by enthusiasts who had learned a little of European religion. The rebellions which they caused were accompanied by foreign wars, and the insurrection in either case was finally suppressed with foreign aid, in China by General Gordon, and in Korea by the Chinese and Japanese troops.

Dr. EDKINS said:—Tsui Tsiyu was the founder of the Tonghaks. He was born in Korea in 1826, and in 1861, when thirty-five years of age, obtained enlightenment and became conscious of a mission to teach. For teaching his new views he was beheaded in 1864. His brother, born in 1828, taught the same system. The younger upholders of the Tonghaks are Jan Kweihau and Lui Tsaitsin. This sect has chiefly flourished in Chingchow and

Pasen, that is, in that part of Korea which is nearest to Japan. The exactions of the officials cause indignation everywhere. There are many risings against them, of Tonghaks and others, who are often robbers, incendiaries and murderers. The book translated by Dr. Landis is called *Tungching*—Eastern Classics. The author believed himself inspired by God to teach men, and he was brought to this conviction by Christian agency. There was a great persecution of Christians in 1867, 1868 and 1869, and it was then he suffered death. I believe that the *Yiking* has more to do than Christianity with Tsui Chi-yu's thinking. But what Christianity taught him was the personality of God. This idea imparted a living force to the *Yiking* philosophy, which is that of the five elements and the compass of eight points. This thinker in South-eastern Korea thought over again some of the points in the *Yiking* philosophy, because he was stirred intellectually and morally by the Christian philosophy. But this was not all. The Sung dynasty philosophy was in the air all through the Yuen dynasty and the Ming dynasty, that is from 1260 to 1644. The Korean dynasty dates from A.D. 1391, when the Ming dynasty was firmly seated on the throne in China. I note the following points as being based on the *Yiking*. The law or teaching of Heaven (the *tora* of the Jews, the *yoso* of Mongols and Manchus, and the *ishiye* of the Japanese, the *tau* of the Chinese) is said to be eternal. "The footprints of Creation" is Taoistic and belongs to Chwangtsï. The Chiüntsï, superior man, is described in the *Yiking*. The five elements and the *Yin* and *Yang* are in the *Yiking*. The eight compass points with their corresponding trigrams and hexagrams are in the *Yiking*. In all this our author believes, but he holds too to the planchette. Spirits can be made to descend in answer to a prayer. He probably uses a prayer as the Buddhists do a dharani. He objects to prayer as Christians understand and practise it, because they ask for personal benefits. He denies that they know the true doctrine of the Lord of Heaven. He says Christians cannot become spirits and move through space. He taught the use of a medicine to confer immortality. He had tried

this himself and found that it did him great good. On others it was not so beneficial because, he says, they had not faith. These then were the points in which he differed from Christianity. He believed in a medicine of immortality, in the teaching of the *Yiking* and of the Taoists. He believed in the existence of the immortals or *sien jen*.

At first this religious teacher approved of animal sacrifices. If flesh is used, he says, pheasants and pork may be offered; sweet wine, vermicelli, fish, fruit, dried meat and vegetables. Incense and candles are necessary after spreading out the offerings, four prostrations are made and the prayer is recited, *viz*, the sacrificial prayer. Besides this there is the prayer for the descent of the spirits and the original prayer of twenty-one words. Afterwards he prescribed the use of all kinds of flesh. This was from 1863, when he began to preach in deference to Buddhism. He was beheaded in 1864. The charge against him was that he taught the religion of the Western Barbarians.

The three chapters of the volume are headed: I—Setting forth of virtuous power. Footprints of God in creation. God is Tienchu. Order and law in the Universe. The *sien jen* whispered, "Be not afraid, I am the Supreme Lord." He gave him the fairy drug. [Here his Taoism appears and his belief in special revelation to himself by a *sien* (fairy) who represents God.] This chapter states the origin of the author's mission. Dr. Landis thinks that Shangti is here an inferior spirit, while Tienchu is the Supreme Deity. I prefer to view this as an angelic appearance to represent God, revealing his will to the author: God appears in angel form. This is suggested by the *Shihki* and *Shiking* accounts. The *Yiking* has no divine appearances, nor has the *Liki* or the other classics. But the *Shī* has divine revelations. When the author gives the name of *T'aichi* to the medicine of immortality which confers spiritual power and enlightenment, he shows that he is under the influence of the Sung dynasty philosophy. This philosophy produced remarkable effects on Japanese literature in the latter part of the 17th century. Professor Clay McCarthy, in a recent

lecture on the language of Japan, says that there was a rich revival of literary power caused by the study of the profound and admirable Chinese literature of the Sung dynasty. This age was the golden age of Japanese literature. It is very interesting to find the same literature of the Sung dynasty in China operating in Korea to check the force of Buddhism. This is really the cause of the restriction laid upon the Buddhists by Korean legislators. The King would never have made a law to shut out the Buddhists from the cities where they love to remain in order that they may perform liturgical services at funerals and in times of drought and pestilence, but for the influence of the Sung philosophy. It was taught in schools; it was accepted by the literati; it caused religious persecution; it made the Korean literati the enemies of Buddhism. Yet the authors of the Sung philosophy at home were tolerant men who criticised Buddhism in books, but encouraged idolatry in practice as a method for keeping the people in a state of quiet.

We find this Vegetarian leader adopting Sung dynasty ideas. He makes much of the *Yiking*, of the *T'aichi*, of the five elements, as did Shao Yaufu, who had so much to do in giving force, character and currency to the Sung philosophy.

II.—In the second chapter the author discusses the *Eastern Doctrine*, as he calls his system. He adopts the *Yiking* view of the Universe, before which Confucius bowed submissively. Neither he himself nor Chuhi, his great follower, really cared for the five elements or the eight trigrams except as symbols of the power of heaven and watchwords of the wise men of antiquity. Confucius and Chuhi are both moral philosophers by preference. In this discussion he gives his views, which are those of the *Yiking*. He also states, in question and answer, what passed between him and the official inquirers into the nature of his opinion. He shews why he did not become a Christian.

The CHAIRMAN said he was sure that all present were much obliged to Dr. Landis for his interesting paper; and the meeting terminated.

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Friday, 8th March* 1895, *at* 9 *p.m.*

The Rev. J. EDKINS, D.D., read a paper on "The Aborigines of South-Western China: their History, their Religion and their Languages."

The Lecturer, in the course of his Paper, said that the Chinese native student, accustomed to the history of his country, looks upon his race as aboriginal in the north only. The traditions of early times with which he is familiar are those of the regions watered by the Yellow River and the parts north of the Yang-tze-kiang. He does not perplex his mind with the question whether his race came from the West or not, and is content to believe, as the rough result of very little thought, that the natives of the world were originally produced in the countries they now occupy, by the creating power of heaven and earth. The extreme east and entire south of China he regards as the ancient patrimony of certain barbarous tribes respecting whose ethnic affinities neither he nor any native scholar of preceding generations cares or has cared to enquire. He simply knows them as "Eastern Barbarians," Tung I, or "Southern Resisters," Nanman, or he merely calls them the Miau, *i.e.* "Aborigines." Like most nations having an ancient literature, the Chinese author loves to etymologise. This word Miau is applied to green grain that has just shot above the soil. He supposes the tribes receive this generic name in allusion to their origin from the ground. The Miau tribes have excited considerable interest among ethnologists on account of their inaccessibility. To classify their dialects has been a problem which hitherto scarcely a solitary attempt has been made to solve. They are, as speaking a monosyllabic language and occupying South China before the Chinese, the object of extreme curiosity, and must continue to be so till the question of the comparative chronology and ethnic connections of the Eastern races is settled. Proceeding to deal with their history, Dr. Edkins said, that about B.C. 800 Siuen Wang, one of the Emperors, ordered an expedition against

the Nanman or Southern Barbarians who were spread over the South of China. His army numbered about 30,000 men, and the barbarians, alarmed at the news of Chinese victories in the north, submitted without resistance. About B.C. 200, when the feudal system was subverted in China, and the present mode of government established, the whole country was brought under real or nominal subjection. The Miau tribes of to-day should be looked upon as identical with the Nanman of ancient times, and there were also indications to connect them with the mountain tribes of Hainan and of the Cochin-Chinese peninsula. The most widely spread national designation was Li, which was that of the Hainan aborigines and of some of the Kueichow tribes, and was probably the same with the word Laos given to a part of the subjects of the Siamese Kings. The Li or Lo family might be said to include the Karens, the Laos, the Li of Hainan and, judging from many of their tribe names, the Miautsze. The Formosan dialects are known to be connected with the languages of the Philippine Islands and are of the Malay-Polynesian family, without tones and moderately polysyllabic. In the province of Yunnan the aboriginal tribes are divided into two sorts of Lolo, the black and the white, distinguished by the colour of their costumes, besides eighteen other clans. The name of an old kingdom in Corea, Sin-lo or Tin-la, is regarded by the Chinese as that of an eastern extension of the same race. The Miau people had diminished as the Chinese had increased, and the regions occupied by them have become very much limited to the mountains of the south-west, especially in Yunnan, Kuangsi and Kueichow. They have since the Christian era on some occasions formed kingdoms which acknowledged the feudal superiority of China. About the time of the Christian era the T'ien people of Yunnan were regarded by the Chinese as belonging to the Mimok race, then occupying Burma. The celebrated Chu Koliang, much spoken of in the romance of *The Three Kingdoms*, invaded their country and reduced them to subjection, and it was then that this region first received the name of Yunnan. This was about the year A.D. 220, and very near the

time when the second embassy from a Roman emperor reached Nanking from Europe, as recorded in the Chinese annals. Two centuries later the Liau in the modern Szechuan were very numerous and powerful. Under the Tang and Sung dynasties the Li race in the south part of Szechuan were a formidable people. The word Li was said to mean mountain. The department of Talifu, near the Burmese frontier, derived its name in the same way. This part of China was ruled in the Tang dynasty a thousand years ago by a native aboriginal government, the head of which called himself chief of the Tali kingdom. This nation in Yunnan was subsequently conquered by the first Mongol Emperor, Kublai Khan. The insubordination of which the Chinese complain in the Miau tribes is frequently caused by the oppressions of the Chinese themselves. The Miau have many secure retreats in their mountain homes. Here some of them love to erect towers, in the upper storey of which is placed a drum. In times of general alarm this is beaten, and the villagers within hearing all assemble with pikes and swords to place themselves under the orders of their chiefs at the drum-towers. If anyone beats the drum without cause he pays a bullock as a forfeit, which is kept for public use. Some of the people use poisoned arrows, and become formidable from their expertness in wielding the cross-bow when thus provided. The last insurrection was ended about two years ago in a complete Chinese victory. Some tribes have a kind of writing. From examples of Lolo writing, which were obtained by Mr. Colborne Baber, it is concluded that it is phonetic and consists of not quite forty characters. It is also alphabetical. We must suppose the Buddhists were their instructors. With regard to classifying the languages, Logan, in dividing the languages of Tibet and the Indo-Chinese peninsula into two branches, the Eastern and Western Himalaic, has furnished us with the means of classifying the Miau dialects very conveniently. The dialects of the Miau tribes proper, the oldest and most numerous, may be classed with the Annamese, Siamese, Cambodian and with some of the Karen tribes. The dialects of the Lolo, etc. should rather be placed with the Burmese and Tibetan, and

be looked on as Western Himalaic in their characteristics and vocabulary. As to religion, the Miau people are many of them Buddhists. They have among them professed monks answering to the *talapoins* of Siam. They use images and keep festivals which correspond to those of southern Buddhism. Their kinship with the Siamese has been more powerful in moulding their religion than the near neighbourhood of Chinese Buddhism and the constant witnessing of Chinese ceremonies. So strong indeed is the resemblance of some things among the Miau tribes to what is known to exist among the Siamese that in the absence of direct testimony we may expect to find that intercourse across the border is frequent. So far as their religious practices are not Buddhist, they may be referred to the old Asiatic religion, of which we find branches in the Shamanism of Siberia, in the Taoism of China, in the Shinto of Japan, in the old Bod religion of Tibet, and in the religion of the ancient Persians as described by Herodotus. Of this religion wizards are the priests, and the spirits of heaven and earth, the sun and moon, the mountains and rivers, the divinities. Its most important duty is sacrifice to ancestors, and its highest success to bring the spirits that animate all nature by means of the contortions of the wizard or otherwise into felt and almost visible contact with the souls of the worshippers. It adores tablets and, in its older forms, knows nothing of images. It believes in the continued existence of the soul after death and its presence in the vicinity of the tomb or in the old haunts of the individual man to whom it once belonged; that existence can be lengthened by virtuous conduct. No distinct heaven or hell was recognised by any ancient form of this religion.

A paper on "The Gathering of the Clans, being a description of a religious dance performed by the Black Miaotsze of Kueichow," by Mrs. Pruen, of the China Inland Mission, was also read.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held on Wednesday night, June 10th, 1896, in the Society's Hall, at 9 p.m.

Owing to the inclemency of the weather there was but a small attendance.

The first business of the evening was the election of officers for the next year, which resulted as follows :—

Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff, *President;* Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D., Mr. James Scott, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. E. T. Williams, M.A., *Hon. Secretary;* Mr. Thomas Brown, *Hon. Treasurer;* J. Ritter von Haas, *Hon. Librarian;* Mr. F. A. de St. Croix, *Hon. Curator of the Museum;* Mr. A. Bottu, Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Rev. E. Faber, D.Th., Dr. A. Forke, Dr. Jur., *Members of the Council.*

After the election, Dr. EDKINS read a Paper by N. RONDOT, Esq., of Lyons, France, on "The Chinese Coins and Small Porcelain Bottles found in Egypt." The learned author was some forty years ago a resident of China and has ever since taken a deep interest in things Chinese. His attention was called to this subject by reading the report of a paper on the same theme by Dr. EDKINS, read before the China Branch of the R.A.S. a short time before.* Mr. RONDOT said that the whole subject had been thoroughly investigated some forty years ago, and in his present Paper reviewed the evidence, showing that all the bottles and coins were of comparatively recent date, none being earlier perhaps than the 8th century A.D. Many of the bottles were decorated with verses from the poets of the T'ang dynasty. The opinions expressed were in the main in full agreement with those of Dr. Edkins.

After a brief discussion, Mr. THOS. BROWN read a Paper prepared by Mr. T. L. BULLOCK, H.B.M.'s Consul at Chefoo, reviewing Mr. W. W. ROCKHILL'S work, "A Journey through Mongolia and Thibet."

* Vide *Journal of C.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. xxvii, p. 247.

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Wednesday, October* 21*st*, 1896, *at* 9 *p.m.*

Mr. P. G. VON MÖLLENDORFF (President) occupied the chair.

The PRESIDENT announced the election of the following persons to membership since the last meeting:—Mr. E. J. L. Litton, Dr. W. A. Duncan Cooper, Mr. Allister Duncan, Capt. A. E. Knights and Rev. William Musson.

Dr. JOSEPH EDKINS read a Paper on "The Relations of Copper and Silver in China."

Copper mines, said the author, are worked at present in Yunnan, but copper in the T'ang dynasty was found in great abundance in Hunan. There is a notice of it in the year A.D. 808 in the south-west part of the province, near the city of Yuen-cheu. No fewer than 180 pits formerly worked were found here. Two furnaces were set up and twenty strings of cash a day were produced. This is 7,000 strings in a year.* In A.D. 780, in Kiangsu, 45,000 strings were made in a year, and each string consisted of 2,000 cash. At that time six catties of copper were used in making a string of 1,000 cash,† and this was the usual number in a string. In the year 621, it is said in the *Chieu T'ang-Shu*,‡ ten cash weighed one tael and 1,000 cash weighed six catties and four taels. A cash of that time was eight-tenths of an inch wide and one-twelfth of a tael in weight. Later on they were an inch wide and the weight the same. Copper cash will depreciate, whatever people may do to prevent it, and prices will rise. This fact was to the people difficult to account for. Why should rice and millet rise in price and cash depreciate? They concluded that too many cash were made and ceased to use the furnaces. In the Sung dynasty, in western Szechuen, 300 cash were exchangeable with one piece of silk. Ten bundles of straw were worth 20 cash.

In the history of the Golden Tartars, A.D. 1115 to A.D. 1234, copper cash are still in use, but with paper notes also. It was in

* 舊唐書, 48, 13, 4, and 48, 12, 17. † *Chieu T'ang-Shu*, 48, 12, 23.
‡ *Chieu T'ang-Shu*, 48, 7, 24.

A.D. 1196 that paper notes were first issued on a large scale by edict of the Emperor Chang-ti (Ming Chang). For instance, the people were commanded to take from the pawnshops as loans on their pledges paper notes issued by the Government for any sum above 1,000 cash. This method would insure a wide circulation of their notes, for in China almost all the people pawn clothing and other articles for the use of ready money. We learn from the Sung annals that silk piece goods were exchanged for copper cash from about A.D. 1132 as a daily matter of negotiation. In 1129 a piece of silk was changed for 2,000 cash. At present, 750 years later, the same article is changed for $5 to $8, or from 4,500 cash to 7,500 cash. The price has risen to be three times what it was. Since the article is the same, and the machinery used has not changed much, the movement towards cheapness must be in the money used. I conclude therefore that copper cash are three times cheaper than they were 750 years ago. The cause of this depreciation is to be sought in the manufacture of enormous numbers of cash. It is practically impossible precisely to meet the demand. The demand depends on the eagerness and indifference of buyers and sellers. An average, if it could be taken, of all the markets of a country would give the exact demand, but that it is impossible to obtain. Money, therefore, must always be liable to depreciation when its price is not held up by special eagerness of buyers. This is the reason that a piece of silk is now, as it appears, three times dearer than it was 750 years ago. The fact is that the money of the country is cheaper now than formerly through over supply. This price of silk goods lasted for a long time. In the Yuen dynasty also 1,000 cash was the price of a tael of silver and of a piece of silk. This is in accord with the prices before and after that time. Rice could be bought in K'ai-feng-fu, the capital, at the rate of ten catties for 40 cash. This fact is given by the historian under the year A.D. 1069. It is now, in the year 1896, sold at 300 cash for ten catties.* That is to say, rice is seven times

* On December 7th, 1899, rice sells at $3.8.0 or 356 cash for ten catties. Rice requires nine times more money to buy than was needed 750 years ago.

dearer than it was 750 years ago. But probably rice was unusually cheap just then. The agriculture was much the same then as now. The difference is not in the mode of labour. It is entirely in the money in circulation and in the local demand.

Silver and gold,* we are told, were, in 1094, bought with the cash received as taxes for Government use. So it was with silk. The army at that time had to be supplied with plain silk clothing or with grass cloth. It was not yet the day of cotton gowns. In Kiangsi at that time there was a large production of silk.† The area of silk production shrunk with the progress of cotton. The very provinces where a new effort is now being made to produce silk, *viz.* Hupei, Hunan, Canton, Fuhkien and Kiangsi, are particularly mentioned in the Sung history as paying their taxes partly in silk.‡

Silver is rarely mentioned till the 12th century. Yet in one passage, about A.D. 1000, the sum of Tls. 300,000 silver is set apart for the relief of the people on the frontier by buying millet for them.§ When a treaty was made in A.D. 1142 the Chinese envoy consented that the Hwai river should be the boundary of the empire, and China would pay annually Tls. 250,000 in silver and in silk. This silver is easily accounted for by the Canton foreign trade. At that time trade had been carried on by the Arabs for about 1,000 years, and silver begins to appear as a factor in Chinese commercial statistics in the History of the Golden Tartars. In the year A.D. 1219, which was about the time when Genghis Khan began his remarkable career, a Customs superintendent of those days, styled Ho-hwo-sz,¶ advised the emperor to tax oil. This would produce several ten thousand taels annually of silver. Others in the council opposed the idea, and as a consequence the suggestion was not carried out. In the year 1195 the money prepared by the Tartar monarch to reward his army consisted of Tls. 500,000 of silver and 236,900 strings of

* *Sung Hist.*, 128, 4. † *Sung Hist.*, 128, 5. ‡ *Sung*, 128, 7.
§ *Sung Shi*, 128, 11, 5. ¶ 榷貨司.

cash. Where did the silver come from? It must have been the effect of Mohammedan trade. The Seljukian Turks had in 1028 conquered the kingdom of Persia from the Khalifs, but the Turks became Mohammedan. Trade continued as before. The consequence was that silver was always entering China to pay for silks, porcelain, medicines and other favourite objects. The Arab merchants dealt in precious stones, coral, rose water, pearls, opium, vermillion, asafœtida, pepper, spices and various other products of Persia and Arabia. They had with them silver to pay for Chinese produce. Trade was favoured by the success of the Seljuks, the Kietans, the Nüchen Tartars themselves, who took the name of the Golden Dynasty. Silver would be welcome to a nation like the Chinese, devoted to commerce, and compelled from the want of precious metals to use paper money.

When the Mongols conquered China in A.D. 1260 a tael of silver was worth 1,000 cash. In the year 1310, when the name of the year was *chi-ta*, under the emperor Wu-tsung, one cash was one *li*, that is, the tenth part of a candareen, or the 1,000th part of a tael. Here then we have solid ground to go upon in determining the prices of silver. Paper notes were inscribed 1,000 cash, 500 cash, 200, 100, 50 or 10 cash. But as a support to the paper currency new cash were made by Wu-tsung. One kind was a five-cash piece with a Mongol superscription, the other a small kind with a Chinese legend.*

The copper coins of Hung-wu, A.D. 1368, are one mace in weight and narrow; those of Yunglo are wider and their weight $\frac{8}{10}$ ths of a mace.† Some cash since that time have weighed one mace six candareens. In theory 10,000 cash are made out of 100 catties of metal, but in fact there are only 60 catties actually used. The paper notes called *ch'ao*, in the Chin, Yuen and Ming dynasties, as a rule represented cash and not silver. Yet as 1,000 cash exchanged for a tael of silver, it was much the same thing as if they had represented silver. But there are also paper notes for silver.

* *Kechi-king-yuen*, Ch. 35, p. 15. † *Kechi-king-yuen*, Ch. 35, p. 12.

Paper notes for 100 cash continued in use down to about A.D. 1436. After that time the *ch'ao* are not heard of. The price of silver in cash when iron cash were mixed with copper cash was 1,700, and the price of a piece of silk in mixed iron and copper cash was 1,200. 1,000 iron cash were added to 400 copper cash and the remaining 300 were probably mixed in the same proportion. But iron cash were never more than a temporary expedient, and they had only a local circulation and that for a limited time. The real value of silver as stated in copper cash was, as is mentioned by Colonel Yule in his edition of Marco Polo, uniformly in those times, 1,000. This was also the understood price of a piece of silk, as already stated.

The difference between the usage of the Golden Tartars and of the Mongols in regard to the currency is stated by a native author.* The Golden Tartars used both copper cash and paper notes. The Mongols tried to use paper only. The Golden Tartars had notes whose value was as low as 100 cash. The Mongols made some of their notes the equivalent of not more than five cash. It was an ineffectual effort on their part to carry on the government without a metallic basis for the currency. The Mohammedans would, when in China, gladly use these notes because they were travelling merchants by profession. Copper cash when depreciated are heavy and impracticable for the use of travellers. They had difficulty in the use of silver in Persian and Arabian trade. Since the notes of the Peking Treasury could not circulate beyond China proper, the Mohammedan traders, whether Persians, Turks, or Arabians, brought silver with them along with western goods to buy the Chinese exports of the time. In China itself the Mohammedan would be glad to use the paper notes of the Treasury of Peking.

We see then how silver forced its way into China. It was because six catties of copper had the value of one ounce or tael of silver. The trader will not be troubled to carry such a weight

* 鈔幣芻言 by a Soochow author writing in 1831.

of copper about with him. The silver used in Persian, Indian, Arabian and Syrian trade was brought to China by Mohammedans and melted down into the forms that silver now takes in China, whether as sycee or yuenpao. Then the struggle came between paper and silver. Because the North China Government had very little copper they introduced paper representatives of copper cash. South China had copper in Hunan, Chekiang and Yunnan, and the demand for paper money by South China was therefore not so urgent as in North China. The dynasty in North China being foreign, trade with the west was naturally encouraged. This brought caravans of merchants who came with silver to buy Chinese produce, but there was not a very large quantity of it. It was not sufficient to become the currency of a nation of 60,000,000 of industrious people. It was necessary to wait for the silver of Mexico. Yet the Golden Tartars, when they captured K'ai-feng-fu, found a good store of silver there. Silver also was spread through the country wherever the effect of foreign trade was felt, and was in the hands of the rich, who found its utility unquestionable, because one tael of it can purchase a hundred taels weight of copper.

In A.D. 1498 Vasco de Gama reached India, and in the course of a few years Canton was visited by Portuguese ships. European traders brought with them American silver which was now supplied in abundance from Mexico. This introduction of silver worked a complete change in the financial system of China. This appears from the tariff printed in the *Tung-si Yang-kao*, a work of the year 1580. The tonnage dues of vessels was 5 taels a foot for ships 16 feet broad and under. It was $5\frac{1}{2}$ taels for ships 17 feet broad, and 6 taels for 18 feet. The largest vessels mentioned are 26 feet in width, and the highest sum paid in tonnage was Tls. 260, and Japanese vessels paid $\frac{3}{10}$ths less tonnage than European vessels. Pepper was $\frac{1}{4}$ of a tael per picul; ivory not carved $\frac{1}{2}$ a tael, carved one tael; opium 2 mace on every ten catties, this is 2 taels a picul; bullocks' skins, 4 tael cents for ten; blacklead, 4 tael cents a picul; cocoanuts, 2 tael cents for 100. This belongs to the year 1589. Twenty-six years afterwards the amount of

revenue was Tls. 27,087. The emperor reduced this to Tls. 23,400 as a favour to traders. Among the reductions, one is upon opium, which instead of Tls. 2, becomes Tls. 1.7.3. We learn from Barbosa, who wrote in the 16th century, that pepper at Malacca cost four ducats, *i.e.* about $4 (say 4/6) per hundredweight. This was sold in China for 15 ducats. If we call this 11 taels the duty, a quarter of a tael will be 2¼ per cent *ad. val.* In those days no one thought of charging more duty than this on pepper. On copper, the duty was 15½ tael cents per picul, or six times as much as it was 200 years ago.

Let me now speak of the relative prices of copper and silver. The late relation was 100 taels of copper to a tael of silver, because six catties and four taels make 1,000 cash, which passed for the value of a tael of silver. In A.D. 1724 copper was bought for the mint at Wuchang at Tls. 17.5 per picul.* This amount of copper would, at six catties per 1,000, be sufficient for 16,000 cash. Copper had become a little dearer, taking silver as the standard of value. Otherwise why should a memorial state to the Emperor that a hundred catties of copper would cost Tls. 17.5? But now in Canton copper is rated at Tls. 14 per picul. At Foochow it is rated in the Customs publications at Tls. 16 per picul. Surely this is not an unimportant effect. The relation between copper and silver has been steadily maintained through several centuries in China, that is to say, in A.D. 1300, six catties weight of cash passed for a tael of silver; A.D. 1724, 100 catties weight of copper cost Tls. 17½ silver; A.D. 1895, 100 catties of copper cost about 16 to 16½ taels of silver. In the Shanghai trade report in 1895 it was Tls. 17 silver.

It was above its true value during the T'aip'ing rebellion, when there was an eager demand for it. That demand has been vastly increased by the opium trade, because the baneful practice of opium-smoking

* *See* Yung Cheng's Edicts 硃批諭旨 29th vol., p. 76, 8,000 catties of copper cost 900 taels of silver. A picul of copper cost Taels 11.25 in the year 1724. In the Tang dynasty, A.D. 781, 3,000 cash were paid for 100 catties of wine and 2,000 cash for 100 catties of rice. This was a time of great scarcity.

compels men to buy silver at all risks. So, too, the prosperity of the tea trade and the silk trade formerly drove up the value of silver. All these four causes were at work to bolster up the price of silver. The same eagerness for silver has not been displayed recently. It has therefore fallen so that a tael of silver as rated in copper is no longer 1,000, 1,600 or 1,400 cash, but 1,265 only. It is likely to fall further through the love of the people for silver dollars having cooled down.

The enhanced price of gold during the last century is mentioned in the *Tung-hwa-lu*.* Formerly ten ounces of silver were worth one ounce of gold. In the year A.D. 1782 there was a case of gold being confiscated in Chekiang province. Instead of sending gold, which was 4,740 taels in weight, the Viceroy sent silver, and it amounted to Tls. 73,594; this is exchanged at 15½. This is a noteworthy fact, for it shows the value of silver in Europe in the last century. The ratio between gold and silver in Europe was in 1801 to 1810, 15.61. The ratio now asked for by bimetallists is 15½. They ask the governments to make this by legislation the standard rate. If it be asked why it came about that China had this ratio in the year 1782, it may be said that foreign trade accounts for it. The European trade at Canton and Amoy caused a demand. It was exported in response to that demand to an extent sufficient to raise its value from 10, the old ratio, to 15½, the ratio of 1782. There is another mention of the price of gold in the same year in Chinese history. It says the best gold is changed for about 20 times its weight in silver. This shows the gold varied according to quality between 15½ to 20 as its price in silver. The result of this inquiry may now be briefly stated. Silver when in last December it fell to 1,200 cash per tael, did not reach its old value, which was 1,000 cash. Yet 100 catties of copper will make 16,000 cash at six catties per 1,000, and this copper costs now Tls. 16, as stated in Customs publications. In 1724 copper was also bought in China at the rate of Tls. 17 per picul.† This

* *Tung-hwa-lu*, Ch., 27, p. 20, col., 28. † In 1898 it was Taels 20·08.

shows that copper has reversed its old relation to silver very nearly. The silver was valued above its intrinsic worth for fifty years through the avidity of the Chinese for opium, and the prosperity of the tea and silk trade. There are difficulties connected with the establishment of a silver currency. Thus, on October 17th, 1895, it was stated in the *Sinwenpao*, that the shops at Wuhu will not accept the Hupeh new dollars at their official value. The Viceroy ordered in his proclamation that they should be received at all Custom houses and that they should be issued in payments made officially. He also ordered the people to receive them and pay them at their official value. Lately a large supply was sent for to Wuhu because last winter there was a great lack of cash there. The small silver coins had already obtained circulation, but a few days ago Carolus dollars and Mexicans have been changed for silver at six mace and seven to eight candareens less. The Mexican changed for 930 to 940 cash, the Hupeh ten cents pieces are now changed for 88 to 89 cash, the Hupeh dollars are current at ten times this amount, that is, they realize not more than 890 cash. Besides this a discount is charged for defects in the silver. The old cash are found by the people to be much better. They rise and fall in price, but no discount is charged.

The circumstances show that the new Chinese dollars cannot be forced into easy circulation at the present time. There is a disadvantage which will occur at once to the reflecting observer in trying to compel people to take certain coined money because the official authority commands it. Disobedience becomes a common thing, and authority is brought into contempt. It is better to wait. Perhaps we may say, let the people have a voice in a representative assembly. Let there be currency legislation in such an assembly, and the probability is that the unwillingness to obey the law will disappear. Silver currency will then be easy. At present copper currency is enjoying the popular favour. The people like to use copper cash. It is best for the Government to conform to the people's will and supply them with sufficient copper cash for their use.

It appears from the facts here set forth, then, that silver came to China as currency first through foreign trade, and for a long time remained at an exchange of 1,000 cash per tael weight. During the present century it rose to 1,850 cash, but has now again fallen, through the effect of foreign trade, to nearly its old value. It is at present a cheap commodity in China, and cannot long retain its present high value. Being cheap to buy at the open ports, it is cheap to sell in the interior of China. If, then, silver is to rise again in relation to gold, this must be by the action of Western Governments.

Viceroys and Governors are at present anxious to increase the value of silver in order to make a profit by the new mints, but this cannot be accomplished without legislative action, whereby silver will come into use in countries where it has lately been abandoned. The supply of silver dollars by the provincial mints of China is at present, in part, a failure, as the shroffs and money-changers deduct a percentage from money which does not conform to their standard, and it is impossible by legislative means to root out these ideas, which, as we know from other channels, are so firmly held in China. It seems safe to forecast that silver will never fall much lower in relation to cash in China, for which we may be thankful. This fluctuation between dollars and cash is an unexplained grievance to the working people, who cannot comprehend its reason.

Therefore, the best course will be for China to strive to raise the price of silver in relation to gold. China has to pay her debts in gold, and if the price of silver be raised, her taxes of all sorts, whether collected in cash or silver, will count for more in meeting her often recurring calls, and the native merchants will have fewer inroads on their small stores of silver. All the influence of China should be directed toward urging the treaty powers to unite to raise the value of silver, which however, should be done slowly, so as to prevent undue strain upon the gold standard countries. Still all history shows that uniformity in the laws which govern commerce will more and more appear as years roll on. In secluded Japan, with no commerce, gold was nearly on a par

with silver. Commerce broke the isolation, and now gold has attained thirty times the value of silver.* Europe and Asia must and ought to be united under one system of monetary usage. Currency laws should be so made that the interests of the various races and nations may be fairly considered, and the way thrown open for the benefits of an enlightened civilization to be equally enjoyed by all. It is philosophical and it is Christian to deal justly by all classes of the people whether they are rich or whether they are poor.

General MESNY said although he was indebted to Dr. Edkins for the able Paper just read, wherein was shown that copper was the standard currency of China, still he fancied China acknowledged silver also to be the currency; at the same time, he confessed that cash appears to have been the standard currency of the realm, that is, in the Yangtsze Valley from Tsungming right up into Hunan and Hupeh.

After some further discussion the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to Dr. Edkins and the Chairman, proposed by General MESNY and seconded by Mr. VOLPICELLI.

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Thursday, November 26th, 1896, at 9 p.m.*

The President announced the election of two new members, *viz.* the Rev. J. C. Ferguson and Prof. F. D. Gamewell.

Mr. T. W. KINGSMILL then read a valuable Paper on "Traces of the Origin of Chinese Writing," of which the following is a brief summary.

* December 8th, 1899. Gold is now 35·2 times the price of silver. Japan and India have become gold countries. Yet in China, silver currency by weight is unshaken. Year after year the same weight of silver is exchanged for the same number of copper cash in the Shanghai market. In this sense all China holds firmly to copper and silver currency.

Much has been written [said Mr. Kingsmill] on the origin of the Chinese written character. Few, however, have gone to the fountain head, but have been content to take their illustrations from a late period, when the structure of the written character had already become crystalized, and to assume the existence of the same conditions in more ancient times. The Chinese writers merely borrow from one another. Brief reference was made to a work by Père Amiot, written in 1764 and published in *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, remarkable for its day but of no especial value to us. As a matter of course the origins of writing cannot become a matter of history, since history cannot exist till writing has become a medium for recording events. China presents a marked antithesis to other nations, which have handed down vast architectural remains to tell of their former greatness. Not so China. With the exception of a few pagodas, the oldest of which scarcely dates back a thousand years, no architectural remains of any sort are to be found.

The destruction of the Summer Palace at Peking swept away the most interesting collection of antiquities in the Empire. Fortunately the despised and ignorant Chinese archæologist has with greater or lesser skill preserved the records of many works of art now hopelessly lost; and these drawings, rude at first and not improved by continual copying, still afford us valuable information as to the progress of the arts and more especially the growth of a written literature in China.

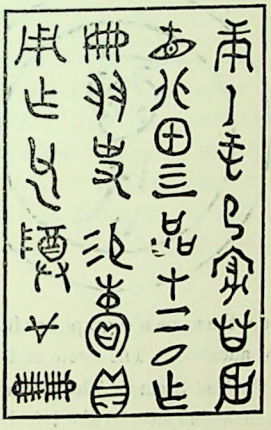
These remains consist of inscriptions on stones, bricks, and earthenware, of dedicatory marks on ancient vases, and the legends of antique coins. Of these probably the most interesting and instructive are the cartouches marking the ancient sacrificial vases, the inscriptions on which lead up to a period anterior to any suggestion of phonetic connection between the object and the pure ideograph by which it is represented. These cartouches were only slowly developed and modified so as to represent language even in an imperfect form.

Reference was made by the lecturer to the ancient tradition of the use of the quipus before written agreements came into vogue, and a comparison was made with the similar custom among the ancient peoples of America, where the ideographs of later times had no

apparent connection with the quipus but seemed to be of independent origin. The speaker did not, however, mean to imply any ethnological connection between the two peoples. In 1851, P. P. Thoms, formerly H.B.M. Consul at Ningpo, published "A Dissertation on the Ancient Chinese Vases," being excerpts from the *Po Ku T'u* 博古圖, the latter a work in 16 vols. with several hundred plates of vases, jugs, etc., alleged to belong to the Shang, Chow and Han dynasties.

Fig. 1, from this work, is an inscription found on a *ting* which belongs to the transitional style and cannot be regarded as of the oldest, since it has already in part assumed the character of written language though retaining much of its ideographic peculiarity.

Fig. 1.

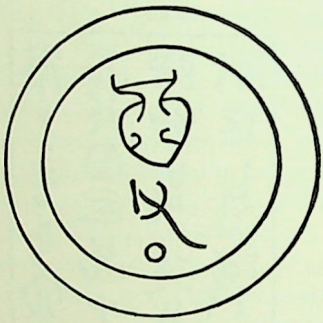


We are here concerned only with the last column, rendered in modern Chinese by 用作父乙尊○册册, "For use in the *Yih* sacrifice to ancestors; a record." The characters transcribed *fu yih*, *fu kwei*, *fu kang*, etc. are of frequent occurrence on these antique vases. They are said to have been used by the ancient Chinese as indicating the dynasty to which they belong, *yih* for instance being supposed to indicate the so-called "Shang dynasty," of whose existence indeed there is no proof. These characters *yih*, *kwei*, *kang*, etc., as is well-known, are those of

the Ten Stems and indicate a denary division of the year once in use from Italy to China. We shall therefore put aside this native reference of various vases to certain dynasties as without proof, and adopt an arrangement founded on the internal evidence of the signatories, which we shall find progressive from picture writing to the conventional representation of the sounds of the language.

He also in the paper referred to a well-known native work, the *Kin Shih So*, republished in 1822 with numerous facsimiles of ancient vases, coins, etc. Fig. 2 is from this work [chap. 1, No. 17]—

Fig. 2.



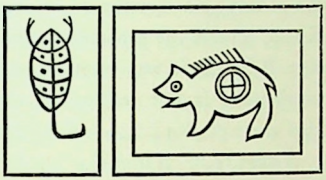
We have here one of the same ideographs as found in Fig. 1, 父 which stands for father or ancestor. The circle at the bottom is the oldest form of 丁 one of the Ten Stems. The amphora-like jar at the top is the original of the fifth character in the left hand column of Fig 1, and the inscription may be rendered: "A wine vase for use in sacrificing to ancestors."

The form of this first character as given in Fig. 1 leads by a natural gradation to that given in the *Ku Wen*, which came to be associated with the sound *tsun*, represented now by 尊, meaning "to honour" or "honourable." The lecturer analyzed in a similar way a number of inscriptions which gave the primitive forms of others of the Ten Stems. These characters are in marked contrast to the picture writing. Already in the oldest inscriptions they have an

arbitrary form, more conventionalized indeed than the modern twelve signs of the zodiac. This decimal division of time is older than the duodenary, and we have here probably the remains of the original signs worn down by the attrition of centuries, introduced from without therefore and not indigenous.

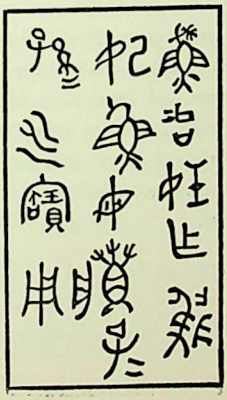
Other inscriptions revealed a type of signature where the clan was represented by its totem. Among these Figs. 3 and 4

Fig. 3. *Fig. 4.*



represent the scorpion and maned rhinoceros respectively. The last is especially remarkable. The rhinoceros of the Tsochwan was possibly the tichorhinus, extinct in Europe after the Palæolithic age. The Lecturer then traced the gradual development and formation of a number of signs, until in Fig. 5 he presented an inscription which, though still not to be called written language, conveys considerable information.

Fig. 5.



The signs mean—"fish"—"melt"—"a woman's name"—"to make"—"name of a country"—"princess"—"fish" (repeated)—"mother"—"bear" (?)—"sons"—"grandsons"—"perpetual"—"precious"—"use." Though this is not language, we can gather the idea of the presenter, approximately as follows :—

"The clan of the *fish totem caused* to be *cast* (this vase) in honour of *Jin, Princess* of *Kwoh, Maternal* ancestor of the *fish* clan and ancestress of a large *posterity*—May it continue in *perpetual use*."

A study of the name of this princess, the clan name and that of the kingdom, called Kwoh, reveals the probable period of the inscription as the sixth century B.C., *i.e.* it was contemporaneous with the *Ch'un T'siu*. This work itself is not writing in any sense of the term, and always needed an expositor; hence the origin of the *Tso Chuen* or "Assisting Narrative." After the Ch'un T'siu age the number of inscriptions of various sorts increases, but for a considerable period the art of writing seems to have remained stationary. The period thus affords a satisfactory resting-place, and he did not that evening propose to carry these researches further. It will, however, be seen from the foregoing that aside from the Ten Stems, which seem to have sprung suddenly into existence, and which have therefore probably had their origin outside of China, the growth of the writing up to the Ch'un T'siu period has been natural and regular, and plainly had its origin in the idolic representations of objects, afterwards modified into ideographs. It will thus be understood that there is no trustworthy Chinese chronology before the seventh century B.C., and as writing had even then not passed out of the ideographic stage; a very few centuries must be allowed for anterior growth. We must therefore forever dismiss from all reasonable reckoning the so-called previous dynasties, as things of which not one tittle of evidence exists.

A discussion on the Paper, participated in by several members of the Society, followed the reading, after which a vote of thanks was extended to the author, and the meeting adjourned.

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Wednesday, March 3rd, 1897, at 9 p.m.*

The chair was taken by Mr. P. G. VON MÖLLENDORFF (President).

The President introduced Dr. R. H. Cox, who had arranged to read a Paper on "Röntgen Rays."

Few discoveries in modern science have so exercised men's minds as this fortunate discovery of the Vienna professor, which has opened up a new vista of phenomena in directions never before dreamt of. In the science of healing it has already assumed an important place, and there is apparently no limit to the light it is eventually bound to throw on the physical sciences. It may be said, indeed, to have given us a new organ of perception, and, as it were, to have added a sixth to our hitherto short number of five senses. It was under these circumstances that the invitation of the Society to a private *séance* was availed of by a large and attentive audience.

Dr. Cox preceded his exhibition of the Rays by a short lecture on electricity, so far as it was concerned with the formation of the Röntgen Rays.

The following is a summary of the Paper.

Most people know the preliminaries, and the fact that by connecting the terminals of a battery, composed of a number of cells, strong currents of what is known as electricity are produced. These terminals may be drawn apart, leaving a space occupied by air between them, and if the current be powerful, and the amount sufficient, it will overcome the resistance of the non-conducting air and leap in the form of a spark from one terminal to another. These terminals form an important part in the equipment, and are usually made of platinum as the least oxidisable and one of the most infusible of metals. That from which negative electricity is discharged is called the *kathode*, that conveying positive the *anode*.

If between the source of electricity, which may, of course, be a battery, a storage cell, a dynamo, or a magnet, and the terminals, an *induction coil* be placed, the current is modified, or transformed into high tension electricity. An induction coil consists of a length of

fine insulated wire, it may be miles long, coiled round a core. The induced current differs in many respects from the original; it is no longer continuous, but consists of a series of rapidly occurring breaks and relays of high electromotive force. If the terminals be now brought together and separated as before, instead of a spark leaping from one to another a steady stream of light will pass, which may be continued as long as the current continues to flow. If instead of passing in air the terminals be enclosed in a glass bulb and the contained air be gradually exhausted by a well constructed air-pump, a series of very beautiful phenomena of coloured and stratified rays may be noticed passing from one terminal to another. Mr. Crooke, in London, some twenty years ago, devoted his attention to these phenomena. By improvements in the means employed, he succeeded in forming a vacancy so perfect that its pressure was less than one millionth part of the atmosphere under ordinary conditions, and in such a vacuum several strange phenomena were noticed. Amongst others, Mr. Crooke succeeded in making a carefully suspended disk, with arms attached somewhat after the style of the ordinary cup anemometer, revolve under the influence of a simple ray of light. Mr. Crooke claimed for matter in this attenuated state a new condition as far removed from the gaseous as that from the liquid, or the liquid from the solid, to which he gave the name of *radiant*. Matter as a gas became radiant when its atoms were so far removed that they were free to move independently; and under the action of light, heat or electricity, to bombard the surface of any object placed in their path. Even with the attenuation to which Mr. Crooke was able to attain, no approach to actual exhaustion had been gained, and it was calculated that within the space of a cubic millimetre, about the 650th part of a cubic inch, hundreds of thousands of molecules were to be still found. The field for observation afforded by these experiments was eagerly taken up, and on the continent the late Professor Hertz and Professor Lenard carried out further experiments. It was found that by making the kathode terminal vary in shape, various modifications were produced. If the kathodes were made concave, the rays would be focussed and intense heat and light produced, they might

also be reflected in parallel lines, and these lines it was found could be deflected out of their course by the action of a magnet. These rays impinging off a platinum plate at the anode placed at an angle could be reflected out of the tube, and Hertz discovered that certain of these rays could pass through an aluminium window inserted into the tube. In the air these Rays were not deflected, or only slightly deflected, by a magnet. Experimenting on these Rays, which are invisible, Professor Röntgen found that nevertheless they affected photographic plates, and produced fluorescence in certain compound metallic salts, of which barium platino-cyanide has been found the most useful. He also found that certain substances, such as wood, ebonite, etc., opaque to ordinary light, were practically transparent to these rays, and that shadows could thus be fixed on plates enclosed in a wooden box. This was the foundation of his discovery, that the tissues of the human body were transparent to these rays, while the bones were almost opaque, and that by such means it was possible to make a photographic picture of the entire skeleton of a living subject. This remarkable discovery appealed so much to the imagination, that it became almost instantly a subject of interest all over the world, and Professor Röntgen's experiments were eagerly repeated. It cannot be said that, except in the art of photographing and exhibiting those phenomena, much additional progress has since been made. He would, however, be able by means of an apparatus called the Scioscope to exhibit the Röntgen effects on a fluorescent screen, so that the entire audience could see them for themselves. The light was but feeble, so that it would be necessary for them to come up singly, when they could each satisfy himself. With regard to the true explanation of the Rays, no opinion has yet gained universal acceptance. By some they were considered as rays of light of extremely short vibration period, and in consequence not subject to the phenomena of reflection and refraction. Certain indications of the Crooke's vacuum tube rather pointed to their being direct emanations of extremely attenuated matter projected from the kathode. It had, for instance, been noticed by some of the German investigators that the vacuum was increased under the action of the electric discharge, and these

could best be accounted for by the particles moving at the rate of several hundreds or thousands of miles per second, being projected with such force against the sides of the tube that they actually forced their way through its substance, while the atmospheric particles without, not having the same amount of individual inertia, were unable to penetrate in the opposite direction. These differences of opinion were an indication of how much had still to be learned of these Rays, the unknown nature of which had induced their discoverer to apply to them the term X Rays, x being the accepted algebraic symbol for the unknown quantity. After describing the nature of the Rays and the means by which they where produced, Dr. Cox directed attention to the immense possibilities which may be the outcome of their use by surgeons in locating foreign bodies in the human system, the study of fractures and dislocations, and the better position in which surgeons now stood in reducing broken limbs, and setting in their proper places those which had been put out. He also pointed out, to the amusement of his hearers, that the X Rays might be a most useful companion to the menu in locating the iron shot in pheasants for the table.

The Paper concluded, the audience were invited to see the Rays for themselves, Dr. Cox having been at considerable trouble in installing a temporary battery and other electric apparatus in order that an exhibition of the Rays could be given. One by one those present were able to see the Rays for themselves, by holding their hands between the Rays contained in a Crooke tube and a Scioscope, by which the bones in the hands and rings on the fingers were seen through the flesh, and keys, coins and other similar articles were seen through pocket-books and such like opaque enclosures.

A vote of thanks proposed by the PRESIDENT was warmly accorded.

Dr. Cox and the Rev. Dr. EDKINS took the opportunity of specially referring to the importance of the discovery, which led them to believe that we were but on the brink of many greater marvels of science only awaiting revelation.

Dr. Cox thanked those present for the compliment, and the meeting concluded.

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Wednesday, March 24th, 1897, at 9 p.m.*

The chair was taken by Mr. P. G. VON MÖLLENDORFF (President).

There was quite a fair attendance, with not a few ladies.

The names of new members elected since the last meeting were announced, as follows:—The Rev. Paul Kranz, Mr. H. O'Shea, Mr. D. Stepanov and Mr. N. Post.

The Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D., then read a Paper on "Ancient Writing," of which the following is a summary.

The Lecturer began by remarking that the subject was one which was attracting very much attention at home at the present time, and there were very different opinions regarding the origin of alphabetic writing. He intended to limit himself, under existing circumstances, to a special part of the subject, stating the results at which he had arrived, after studying for a considerable time matters connected with ancient writing. Ancient commerce was the instrument which spread the art of writing, which was at first pictorial, from Babylon, first into Egypt and later into China. Alphabetic writing was the natural result of phonetic signs. Since the Phœnicians were both the traditional inventors of alphabetic writing and the first nation which made commerce by sea its care and occupation, one would seem forced to the conclusion that, since Phœnician commerce could be traced in old records as far back as about two thousand years before Christ, the most probable date for the origination of the alphabet was not likely to be later than about eighteen centuries before Christ. It was among the scribes of those ancient periods that writing originated, and it was through their far-reaching travels that writing was spread to distant countries. The records of early alphabetic writing were few, because perishable materials were used. It was necessary to regard alphabetic writing as existing from the days of Abraham, who came from Chaldea. An ancient mode of writing among the Indians was called by the Chinese the Kulu

writing, in India the Kharosthi; this was stated to date from the third century before Christ. It was known that the Semitic origin of the Indian writing was now recognized. There were three modes of writing in ancient times; a brush was employed in painting, there was cutting or carving, and stamping. In all Syrian cities there was writing from very great antiquity. The numeration of India was from left to right, and came from the Babylonians, consequently embodying the principal of local value. The numeration of local value, beginning from the left, was in China certainly in 542 B.C., and it would arrive from India. At that time the Babylonian astrology had penetrated as far as to the province of Chihli in China, the governing class and the scholars being then in possession of the Babylonian arithmetic, with the fully developed art of writing. It was science, joined with the art of writing, which gave to China that superiority in intellect which enabled her to dominate the nations round her by her literature. The southern writing came to India, Dr. Bühler thought, in about 800 B.C. That differed from Professor Max Müller's view, who supposed a few years ago that writing was introduced to India about 400 B.C. The Chinese evidence was very much to the purpose, and showed that the habit of writing characters from left to right, in vogue among the Chinese from ancient times till now, was a feature confirmatory of the opinion that Chinese writing came from Babylonia. The Lecturer concluded that the *cuneiform* numeration written from left to right must have been in common use in the ports reached by ocean commerce in India and China in 615 B.C. The Indian numerals must be Babylonian and they must have been in use in the seventh century before Christ. The Kharosti was Aramean writing adapted to the language of the Punjaub in the days of Darius and Xerxes.

In conclusion, Dr. Edkins asked his audience to carefully consider the argument he had put before them, which he hoped would bring them to the conviction that the alphabetic writing was very much older than by many it was said to be.

At the conclusion of the reading remarks were made by various members of the Society, taking exception to some of the positions advanced by Dr. EDKINS.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting adjourned.

COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1896-97.

The annual meeting of the Society was held at the Society's Hall, on Wednesday, June 30th, 1897, at 9 p.m.

The chair was taken by Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff (President).

The minutes of the last public meeting having been read and approved, the Hon. Secretary then presented and read the various reports for the year, which were as follows:—

Council's Report.

Shanghai, 30th June 1897.

The Council of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society beg to present their report for the year ended on the 10th instant.

1.—*The Council.*—The office-bearers elected at the annual meeting of the Society held 10th June 1896 were:—

Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff, *President;* Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., Mr. Jas. Scott, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. E. T. Williams, M.A., *Hon. Secretary;* J. Ritter von Haas, *Hon. Librarian;* Mr. F. A. de St. Croix, *Hon. Curator;* Mr. Thos. Brown, *Hon. Treasurer;* Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Rev. E. Faber, D.Th., Dr. A. Forke, Mr. A. Bottu, *Councillors.*

Mr. de St. Croix, however, declined to serve, and the Museum was without an Hon. Curator until 13th January 1897, when Mr. A. Vosy-Bourbon was elected to the post.

In August we were deprived of the valuable services of the Hon. Librarian by the sad accident which resulted in his death. Mr. Z. H. Volpicelli was at once elected to fill the vacancy. In

November Dr. Forke resigned his position as Councillor, owing to his removal to Chefoo, and on the 3rd of March Mr. Brown, being about to return to England, resigned the post of Hon. Treasurer. On the 1st of March Mr. T. W. Wright was elected to succeed Mr. Brown. Fourteen meetings of the Council were held during the year.

2.—*Members.*—Twenty new members have been added to the list, *viz.*:—Mr. E. J. L. Litton, Dr. W. A. Duncan Cooper, Mr. Allister Duncan, Captain A. E. Knights, Rev. William Musson, Rev. J. C. Ferguson, Prof. F. D. Gamewell, Messrs. A. Vosy-Bourbon, J. E. Lemière, Rev. Jno. Stevens, D.D., Mr. Simeon D. Stepanov, Rev. Paul Kranz, Messrs. H. O'Shea, N. Post, G. E. Morrison, R. L. Thomson, C. A. V. Bowra, M. Koptiayeff, Rev. J. R. Hykes and Geo. A. Stuart, M.D.

3.—*Meetings.*—Seven meetings of the Society were held during the year, at which papers or lectures were presented on the following themes :—

October 21st, 1896.—The Relation of Copper and Silver in China, by Rev. J. Edkins, D.D.

November 26th.—Traces of the Origin of Chinese Writing from Ancient Inscriptions, by T. W. Kingsmill, Esq.

January 13th, 1897.—The Empress Wu of the T'ang, by C. A. V. Bowra, Esq.

February 16th.—Chinese Poetry, by Rev. W. A. P. Martin, D.D.

March 3rd.—The Röntgen Rays, by Dr. R. H. Cox.

March 24th.—Ancient Writing, by Rev. J. Edkins, D.D.

April 21st.—The Silver Question in China and Fluctuations of Prices, by Z. H. Volpicelli, Esq.

4.—*The Journal.*—The first fascicule of the Journal is ready for issue and will appear in a few days.

5.—*Officers' Reports.*—The condition of the Treasury, it will be seen from the report of the Hon. Treasurer, has been considerably improved. The thanks of the Society are due to our former and present Hon. Treasurers, Mr. Brown and Mr. Wright, for their efforts to collect subscriptions in arrears. The report of the

Hon. Curator shows that there have been a few valuable gifts to the Museum during the year.

The Council take pleasure in announcing that they have asked the Municipal Council for an additional grant to enable them to employ a competent and experienced gentleman who has applied for the post of Assistant Curator. It is hoped the Municipal Council may see its way to vote the assistance asked, and which the Museum deserves.

The report of the Hon. Librarian exhibits the condition of the Library.

For the Council,

E. T. Williams.
Hon. Secretary.

Librarian's Report.

Shanghai, 30th June 1897.

The Library of the Society is keeping very stationary, with the exception of scientific periodicals and the works published under Government auspices, which are pretty generally sent to our Society, and slowly fill the Library shelves.

The work of binding all periodicals has lately commenced and is proceeding, but unfortunately it has been discovered that many numbers are missing and probably irreparably lost, thus often spoiling valuable collections. It will be necessary in future to enact a rule that no journals or periodicals shall be removed from the Library.

It will be necessary to have another locked shelf to secure the Blue Books, for whose safe-keeping we are responsible to H.B.M's. Consulate.

Among the works presented to the Society I may mention the *Phonology of Ancient Lappish of Wiklung*, *The Royaume de Ou*, by Klepsche, and the *Mind of Mencius* by Dr. Faber.

Z. Volpicelli,
Hon. Librarian.

Curator's Report.

Shanghai, 25th June 1897.

The Museum is in a satisfactory condition: Several new species of birds have been added to the collection, and improvements have been introduced in the classification: there are still, however, many things to be done, and several specimens require to be classified and labelled. A catalogue of the Library has now become a necessity, but it is troublesome work which can only be done very slowly with the limited time at the disposal of the Curator. The collections are in fair condition, and the Museum is in correspondence with M. Morse, Esq., for the acquisition of a collection of Lepidoptera, which that gentleman wishes to present to our Society, under certain conditions.

The services of the Taxidermist are very satisfactory. The Curator regrets that the want of a room prevents him working in the Museum and daily supervising the work of his subordinates. Under the present conditions improvement can only be effected very slowly.

A. Vosy-Bourbon,
Hon. Curator.

Treasurer's Report.

Shanghai, 21st June 1897.

The balance-sheet shows a credit balance in the general fund of Tls. 722.46, a gain of Tls. 931.85 over last year's showing. This gain is in part only seeming, as last year an extra number of the Journal was issued, while this year the first fascicule is but just ready.

The Museum account also shows a credit balance, amounting to Tls. 1,001.66. Against this, however, must be charged a loan from the Recreation Fund of Tls. 500, bearing interest at 5 per cent. per annum.

BALANCE SHEET

Dr. *1st May 1896 to 30th April 1897.* *Cr.*

INCOME.	Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.	Tls.	cts.
To Rent received for use of Hall	124	10	*By* Debit balance from last account	219	24
„ „ „ from Museum	250	...	„ Sundries	5	90
„ Subscriptions from Members	693	50	„ Wages	98	19
„ Interest allowed by Bank	19	89	„ Gas and Coals	64	32
„ Sales of Society's Publications	221	04	„ Advertising	70	57
„ Exchange Account	5	09	„ Insurance	79	40
			„ Municipal Taxes	30	69
			„ Postage	3	87
			„ Stationery	4	38
			„ Printing Journals	7	30
			„ Shroff for Collecting	7	30
			„ Balance	722	46
Taels	1,313	62	Taels	1,313	62

E. & O. E.

Audited and found correct, 21st June 1897.

A. W. DANFORTH.
J. H. MACOUN.

SHANGHAI, *21st June 1897.*

T. W. WRIGHT,
Hon. Treasurer.

Dr. MUSEUM. *Cr.*

Income.		Tls.	cts.	Expenditure.		Tls.	cts.
To Balance from last account		875	15	*By* Wages: Taxidermist and Coolie		248	20
„ Donation: French Municipal Council		100	...	„ Chemicals		4	68
„ „ British „ „		500	...	„ Wood-stands		3	29
„ Work done by Taxidermist		78	74	„ Sundries		21	06
				„ Rent paid to C.B.R.A.S....		250	...
				„ Interest on Loan		25	...
				„ Balance		1,001	66
	Taels	1,553	89		Taels	1,553	89

E. & O. E.

Audited and found correct, 21st June 1897.

A. W. Danforth.
J. H. Macoun.

Shanghai, *21st June 1897.*

T. W. WRIGHT,
Hon. Treasurer.

The following office-bearers were elected for the ensuing year:—

Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff, *President;* Rev. Jos. Edkins, D.D., Mr. Jas. Scott, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. E. T. Williams, M.A., *Hon. Secretary;* Mr. T. W. Wright, *Hon. Treasurer;* Mr. E. Fischer, *Hon. Librarian;* Mr. A. Vosy-Bourbon, *Hon. Curator;* Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Rev. E. Faber, D.Th., Rev. J. R. Hykes, Mr. F. E. Taylor, *Councillors.*

Mr. Z. H. Volpicelli was appointed a delegate to represent the Society at the International Oriental Congress to be held at Paris in the ensuing September.

After a vote of thanks to the auditors, Messrs. A. W. Danforth and J. H. Macoun, for their valuable services, and a like testimonial to the officers of the past year, the meeting adjourned.

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Monday, November 29th, 1897, at 9 p.m.*

The attendance was very small, but among the visitors was Prof. Gruebe, of Berlin, who was welcomed by the chairman and invited to take part in the discussion of the paper.

The Vice-President, Rev. J. EDKINS, D.D., called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the last public meeting were read and approved. New members elected since the last public meeting were announced as follows:—Mr. N. Syromiatnikoff, Hon. R. F. Pettigrew, Mr. G. H. Eichelberger, Mr. Narahara, Rev. E. Box and Rev. F. H. James.

Dr. EDKINS then called Mr. F. E. TAYLOR to the chair and proceeded to read the Paper of the evening, prepared by Dr. S. W. Bushell, of Peking, entitled "The Hsi Hsia Dynasty of Tangut, its Money and Peculiar Script." A brief discussion followed the reading, and after a vote of thanks to the author and the reader, the meeting adjourned.

MINUTES of a GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Thursday, May 12th, 1898, at 9 p.m.*

The chair was taken by Mr. T. W. KINGSMILL, who announced the election to membership of Capt. W. W. Rich.

The Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D., then read a Paper entitled "Ancient Chinese Thought, Political and Religious," of which the following is a summary.

Mencius says men have certain powers acquired by education and they have intuitive inclinations to goodness. The intuitive dispositions of men come to them by an internal impulse without reflection. He thought that children love their parents intuitively: they honour their elder brothers and uncles through the same spontaneous impulse. This, he says, is a native principle of goodness which the Chinese call *jen*, "humanity." It is also a native sense of duty, or propriety, which they call *i*. Humanity, or *jen*, is gentleness. Duty is a straight-cut line from which no man may deviate. A derivative sense of *i*, duty, is that of patriotism.

Mencius boldly asserts that all mankind are by natural constitution inclined to act in a filial way to parents, and in a respectful manner to their elders. Dr. Griffith John, in a paper printed in an early volume of the Journal of our Society, drew a parallel between this doctrine of an intuitive sense inclining men to love and to duty, and the Christian doctrine of conscience as expounded by Bishop Butler in his sermons on Human Nature. There is satisfaction in thinking that all the educated Chinese, who, while they recite Mencius from memory, also think on the meaning of Mencius, are perfectly aware that, according to the Confucian teaching, charity to all mankind, loyalty to the State, and duty in all our actions, are the immovable basis of public instruction and of tranquillity in every branch of social life. The Chinese are at one with us on these important points.

When Shun, the emperor of that name, was living among the mountains, 4,000 years ago, according to tradition, the mountains of

Shansi and northern Chihli, a thick sub-ærial deposit of loess covered the valleys as now. The fertility of the soil gave a quick return to the labour of the Chinese husbandman. Rain fell from heaven to help him. It was not difficult 4,000 years ago, when, in successive companies, the Chinese came eastward and found so fruitful a soil prepared for them, to establish a government which became a model for future ages. This was the Chinese golden age. The government of Shun is particularly described in the *Shun Tien* of the Book of History. He paid attention to astronomy. He offered burnt sacrifices to the Supreme Ruler. He visited his dominions once in five years. He encouraged silk manufacture. He deepened the rivers. Justice and compassion were his standard of action. This is the man about whom Mencius loved to converse with his pupils, and to comment with sympathy on his filial piety and his political wisdom. What made this model Emperor of antiquity in any way different from the wild barbarians, whether Turks, if they were of northern origin, or Tibetans, if they were of western origin, with whom he met in the valley of Shansi helping to cultivate the light soil of those localities? It was, says Mencius, an intuitive, spontaneous goodness. He heard a good word spoken, or saw a good action done, and his soul responded with a gush of sympathetic feeling.

The appearance of such a man ensures good government to a nation and tranquillity to society. Here is the union of intuitive philosophy with political thought of the most valuable kind.

The idea of heavenly destiny is a moral predestination on the part of God. That predestination includes the purpose to interfere for the correction of abuses. When mankind grow corrupt a wise king is sure to appear. The wise king is a model of virtue, as a son filial, as a king reverential to Heaven.

The son of the Emperor Yaou could not succeed him on the throne because he was not virtuous. A council was called and the Emperor chose Shun. The hereditary principle was for the time set aside, and the principle of moral and political fitness was adopted.

Chinese ancient thought saw clearly that the hereditary principle ought to rule in fixing the succession, but that it ought to give way when the heir to the throne is morally not qualified for that position.

The advantage attendant on hereditary monarchy with absolute power is that, when the sovereign is well disposed he becomes a model of virtue and moral wisdom to all his subjects.

The Chinese have the idea of teaching by example. The main thing in instruction is morality. But morality may be taught by example. The Emperor, the Viceroy, the Magistrate is a pattern of all virtues. His behaviour shines like the sun by its own light. Virtue in the Chinese ancient thought is a resplendent object like the sun and moon. As there is one sun in the heavens so there is one light of brilliant virtue in a country. It is the Emperor himself. This is the reason that in the *Ta Hio*, the first of the Four Books, the object of instruction is to make brilliantly clear the resplendent virtue of the moral character: Virtue is bright, Vice is dark. Virtue is the conduct of the Emperor. He is its realized form. Without actually teaching the people to read and write, the object of government is gained if the people are filial to their parents, loyal to the State, and just in their dealings. To be virtuous in this excellent manner they may learn by imitation of the Emperor's virtues.

In the history of *Sz ma-chien* it is said of Shun that his reputation for filial piety was acquired when he was young,—indeed, only twenty years of age. At thirty he was called to assist the Emperor Yao in the administration of public affairs. He is an example of a wise king. The Chinese sages are more of them kings or emperors than uncrowned sages. Such a sage as Shun, rising in comparative youth to the management of public affairs, is an example of the heaven-bestowed wisdom of which Mencius spoke.

The place of filial piety in ancient Chinese thought is shown by the repeated attempts made to place the *Hiau King* in the collection of the Four Books and Five Classics. In 1735, when the

Emperor Chienlung ascended the throne, this was proposed. There is an objection to it. The present copy is thought to have been compiled by Lieuhiuen. This is stated in the Sui History, and repeated in the *Tanghweiyau* and in Lu Te Ming's notes on the Classics (*Tung hwa hsū lu* 1, 31). We may suppose that there was never a time when the hereditary principle of government was not regarded as inherent in Chinese government. Here we see the difference between Roman ideas and Chinese. When Romulus died, the Senate chose as a successor one of themselves, who reigned for a time and was succeeded by another. Every senator was to be king in turn. The people disapproved, and the Senate changed their idea. The Romans chose a king from among the Sabines, and Numa Pompilius became king of Rome. The Chinese had an interregnum once, but they returned quickly to the hereditary principle founded on filial piety.

Filial piety is shown by attention to the wants of parents while they are living, and by the performance of ancestral worship after they are dead.

In the *Ta hio*, the first of the Four Books, filial piety constitutes the third virtue of *Wen Wang*. The five royal virtues are:—Kindness to the people, reverence to the sovereign (while he was still a subject of the Shang Emperor), filial piety, affection to his children, fidelity to the promises he had made to the nation. But a little farther on in the book, filial piety is explained to embrace reverence for the prince. In common Chinese speech the Emperor is also the father. Filial piety then embraces reverential regard for the sovereign as well as for one's own parents. A Chinese calls the emperor *Kiun fu*—king and father.

Bravery and loyalty are consistent with each other, and co-exist in the same person. The principle of filial piety is quite in harmony with freedom of speech. When a State undertakes to teach morality, as Confucianism does, it renovates the people. It becomes safe for them to be allowed to speak their minds, because loyalty is natural to them, educated as they have been.

This principle involves the permission of newspapers, parliamentary representation, and the liberty to hold public meetings. Everyone is, according to theory, trained to filial piety and loyalty. Tyranny was never natural to mankind. Tyrannical despotism is unnatural. The people think so, and they will say so, and by their votes they will overturn the despot. Let us hear the *Kwo Yü* on this point.

Li Wang was tyrannical. The people made reproachful observation on the Emperor. Chao Kung, a minister, said to him, the people are discontented and fret under the present system of administration. The Emperor on hearing it engaged an astrologer of the Wei country to find out for him who the murmurers were. Whoever was made known, an order was given for his execution. The people became very much alarmed, and passed one another on the roads without speaking. The Emperor then said to Chao Kung, "I can stop the murmurers. No one dares to move his tongue." Chao Kung replied: "To stop the murmurs of the disloyal is a greater achievement than to check the overflow of a river. When a river is checked there is an overflow and a breaking down of embankments. This causes injury to multitudes. So it is with the people. When there is an innundation the water must be led and a free way made for it to flow. So with the people, a free way must be made for their speech. Let them speak and learn from their speech whether you are successful or not in government.

"This is the reason that the Emperor in the daily audiences listens to the advice of Ministers. Scholars offer their poems; the blind musicians offer songs; scribes offer histories; political maxims are offered by some, and long poems by others; the blind present laudatory pieces. Each class presents the fruit of special thought, and the Emperor, after considering the opinions of each, decides. So it is that public affairs flow on without hindrance.

"Speech in the people may be compared with the earth which has on it mountains and rivers yielding profit in many ways to the people and the State. The earth has its flat regions and its

marshes. They give clothing and food. In the same way by the speech of the people it may be known how to give them what will be for their benefit and provide that in which they are deficient. They will obtain valuable property, implements, clothing and food. By their speech their thoughts are known. Let speech be free. Why should it be checked? If their lips are muzzled it will not be long before an outbreak occurs."

The Emperor refused to listen. No one dared throughout the kingdom to utter a word, the gag was successful. Police law was triumphant. But what happened? In three years the Emperor was dethroned and sent to Yungan in Shansi to prevent his doing further mischief.

The place of religion in ancient Chinese thought is a very prominent one. Thus in the *Shiki* [ch. 1, p. 6] a description is given of the actions of an early Emperor, Chwenhü. He was grandson of the Yellow Emperor. Profound thoughtfulness gave him plans. Penetration in inquiring gave him knowledge of affairs. He encouraged the growth of timber and cereals to occupy and make use of the land. He attended to the seasons to be like Heaven. He followed the just dealings of spirits of the mountains and rivers in his administration. In sacrificing, his offerings were pure and his heart deeply sincere. This was written about a century before Christ. It shows that thoughtful men looked on the order of heavenly phenomena as a model for government on earth. Worship must be carefully performed, and sincere adoration is due to the powerful spirits who conduct the operations of nature. Religious sentiment was powerful, and religious worship cannot be omitted. In the administration of public affairs religious worship is the first duty of the sovereign.

The canonization of ancients was not uncommon. A tradition says that when Shao Hao, the ancient Emperor, died [said to have died B.C. 2513] his spirit, or *shen*, descended on the Changlieu 長流 mountain. In sacrifices he is the Ruler of Autumn, and as such he controls crime and assigns punishments. The locality where the Ruler of Autumn is worshipped is a name of happy

augury. Religion is inseparable from politics. Such was the effect of the honour ascribed to rulers on the minds of men, that in early times each highly esteemed person at death was canonized by worshippers. The higher the rank of the person deceased while living so much the more honourable was his position as a divine person after his death. By this door of entrance the practice of polytheism rapidly extended among the ancient Chinese.

This fact points to the religious feeling of the ancient Chinese, and is one of a multitude of examples of ancient thought in the religious sphere. The state of opinion is also shown by prayers for rain.

In times of drought, when rain is to be prayed for, the captain of the rain is to be appealed to by offerings. But first it is necessary to purify the administration by liberating all innocent persons kept in prison, and by discharging all the duties of filial piety, loyalty, fidelity and honour. The people must be instructed in their duties, and made virtuous and intelligent in order to influence Heaven to send rain on the thirsty lands. Then three days of rain will delight all the labouring population. This is the way to pray for rain. It is in this way that the moral sentiment is introduced in the midst of detail of sacrifices.

Formerly the officers who governed the people were distinct from those who had charge of spiritual beings. If men have providential skill they distinguish matters of high concern from matters of no consequence. When men have the reputation of the sage and the light of a virtuous character, the bright spirits feel themselves under an attracting spell and come down to them. Both men and women become possessed of supernatural powers, and can control demons so as to assign their ranks to each, and determine correctly the order of all spirits when sacrifices are offered to them. From the statements of the *Kwo Yü* there remains no doubt that sacrificing to spiritual beings gave, it was supposed, the power of controlling those same spiritual beings as witches are believed to be able to do. This was accepted in

Europe not many centuries ago. It is not believed now. If sacrifices are withheld, the ancient Chinese thought that the happiness which spiritual beings can confer will not be bestowed. In the old *régime* of China a very large number of persons had charge of religious duties. Of all the duties of a king the religious duties are the most important. According to the *Kwo Yü*, the Emperor, at an early date, appointed many special officers to manage all religious affairs.

The preceding examples are taken from the *Kwo Yü*, a work written after the time of Confucius, but containing many examples of the teaching of the wise kings of antiquity as preserved in the Chow country, the Lu country, the Chi country, the Chin country, the Cheng country, the Wu country, and the Yue country. In all, the moral tendencies of the current teaching of the literary class are made very prominent.

In the section on the Wise Maxims and Political Sayings of the Chu country, it is said that Chwang Wang, the fifth usurper of the hegemony of all the barons, sent an officer to go to give warning advice to his son acting as his tutor. The officer excused himself saying he had no ability and could do the prince no service. The King said, "You having in yourself what is good use this to stimulate him on the path of goodness." The officer replied, the prince being virtuous and wishing the virtuous in others, virtuous men will come to him. If he does not wish virtuous men they will not come to be employed by him. Yau, the famous Emperor of that name, had a degenerate son, Chu, who received the Barony of Tan-shun and had a son, Shang-chiün, who received the Barony of Shang in Shensi; the Emperor K'i, the successor of Yü, and the second sovereign of the Hia dynasty, had five sons named Wukwan—*viz.* Tai-kang and others. T'ang, the first sovereign of the Shang dynasty, had a grandson named T'aikea, who refused to comply with the laws, would not be guided by I-yin, and was sent away to T'ung. So it was with Wen Wang. He was virtuous himself, but he had degenerate sons, Kwan and Tsai. The former, Kwan, was put to death by

Cheu-kung, when acting as Prime Minister. The other, Ts'ai, was punished, but less severely.

All these sovereigns had themselves noble qualities, which in their sons were wanting. Virtue was much to be desired in these princes, but they disappointed those who expected it. When the King asked his counsellor Shen-shu what he should do, the reply was "Instruct prince and people in the history of the Springs and Autumns in which the good are praised and the bad condemned." In this way they should be taught to love virtue and hate vice. Let them be instructed in the genealogies of our sovereigns, so that they may know what bright virtue is, and avoid the darkness of immorality. In this way they will use men rightly and warn them in regard to actions.

Let the poetry of the Classics be used in instruction, and the student will be led to admire highly the conspicuous virtue of good rulers, and they themselves will, in their decisions, be guided by bright intelligence.

In instruction it is necessary also to teach the due subordination of ranks and classes in society by means of the *Liki*. Music, too, must be made use of to cleanse the mind from vice and confirm it where it reveals unsteadiness. Confucian writers always place ceremonies and music together as a part of the Classics, yet music is not taught. Only the Book of Ceremonies is read and made use of in instruction. As a whole, the Classics, according to theory, include the *Cheu li*, which describes the duties and titles of all court officers and magistrates. A mass of particulars are here recorded. Education requires to be a long process, too long indeed for the student who needs to go into active pursuits, if all the information, the ceremonial about marriages, funerals and sacrifices occurring throughout the year are to be known by the learner as recorded in the *Ili*.

In theory, all these books have to be mastered, but the tone of the *Kwo Yü* shows that moral lessons are the real foundation of all Chinese youthful training. In continuation of this practical, all-embracing political philosophy, for such it is, the book says

the princes must be instructed in the duties of all the officers, classified as they are in the ancient system, according to the times when their services are required. It is a curious fact that Chinese government offices are arranged according to the calendar. The prince must also learn the political maxims left on record by the wise kings of antiquity, so that he may know how to govern as they did by practising conformity with those virtuous maxims in governing the people.

The *Cheu-yü* begins with the following words:—Mu-wang, the fourth Cheu sovereign, was planning an attack on the Turks and Tibetans. Chi-kung urged him not to make this attack, saying the ancient kings displayed their virtues. They did not place their military force in view. Armies collect and move forward. When they move they are feared. If merely looked at they are despised. If despised they are not feared. The poem of Cheu-kung says: "The shield and spear are collected in the armoury. The bow is hung up, and the arrow returns to the quiver." I seek excellent virtue to be shewn to my Chinese people. The faithful King will protect them. The action of the ancient kings towards the people had for its aim to develop correctly their virtues and render broad and solid their moral nature, to increase their wealth and sharpen the edge of their weapons, to instruct them in what was profitable and mischievous, to civilize them by culture, so that they might apply their minds to what is useful and avoid what is dangerous. Tranquillity was maintained, and the people prospered.

The absolutism of the Chinese system of government needs to be viewed in the light of its safeguards. The Confucian sovereign is a well-educated man. For example, he is himself head examiner in the literary examinations. He exhibits in himself what real goodness is. His action is limited by the instructions of the sages. Swift and inevitable ruin will fall on his dynasty if he forgets this. What is there then to alarm in Chinese absolutism? The Chinese have severe punishments, and in popular riots there appears to be no limit to their cruelties,

Their theory is however right, because the Emperor is the father of a family and should be able to control his children and domestics.

The guarantee for upright, impartial government is the education of the sovereign in a practical knowledge of the maxims of wise men. He administers public affairs with the help of good men, who, like himself, have been trained in the knowledge of ancient history.

Let this political idea be compared with that of the American constitution. The Legislature can withhold supplies, but the President, elected for four years, is Commander-in-Chief of the Army. He can call out the Militia of the States. The Congress decides on peace or war. The President can veto acts of Congress. He appoints the Judge and the Civil Service. He is an absolute sovereign, but only for four years. He is changed for another after four years. He is raised to his office by a plebiscite. This is in a sense absolute monarchy.

Europeans cannot condemn the American constitution because it is established by the votes of all the people, women and children excepted, but they will say that women ought in fairness to be allowed to vote.

Nor can Englishmen condemn the Russian principle of government, if Russian statesmen are upright and give good advice to their sovereign, because in the government of a great nation, the authority to take action must in emergencies be left in the hands of a dictator. The republic of Rome gave to the dictator the same right which the sovereign of Russia enjoys, but only for a limited time.

In the English system of government the hereditary principle in the succession to the crown in maintained, as in Russia and in China. This is held to be very important for the prevention of civil war, and to impart greater dignity and distinction to the ruler. This is a help to the nation in diplomatic relations with other kingdoms. The nation is honoured when the sovereign is honoured. The national power and dignity are increased with the power and loftiness of the sovereign. The education of the

prince is left to the father to provide. In England it is a matter of royal and family concern. Royalty decides how the royal children shall be educated.

The Confucian idea, and by this I mean the ancient Chinese ideas of immemorial antiquity which Confucius transmitted to his pupils, compels the successor to the throne to be educated in a certain manner. He must go through a moral training which will adapt him for his duties. In the instruction given in ancient books he is required to be familiar with the whole system of government, the history of the ancient kings, and especially the maxims according to which they governed. He must know the story of the ancient dynasties, from Fuhi downwards. He must study the feelings of the people, their love and their hatred, their agricultural toil and their industry as spinners and weavers. This he learns in the *Book of Odes*. In the *Chuntsieu* he reads later history down to his own time, immediately after the age of Confucius. So far goes the theory in the *Kwo Yü*. But if we continue the inquiry down to the present time, the whole intervening history has to be studied by the young prince, and this means an acquaintance with the political changes of two thousand years.

There is no evasion of this duty possible if the great political idea of the training of the sovereign has to be maintained. The thought of ancient China found its main principle in the government of the State by a virtuous absolute sovereign, aided by wise counsellors. They all know history and its moral lessons. A moral standard of duty and moral retribution exist throughout.

If here we stop for a moment and ask how the ancient Greeks represented history, the reply may be that Clio, the muse of history, appears in a sitting attitude with an open roll of paper or an open chest of books. Her sister Calliope, the muse of epic poetry, appears with a tablet and stylus and sometimes with a roll of paper. Herodotus dedicated his history to the nine muses. Homer and Herodotus were both read by the ancient Greek princes. But chiefly Homer inspired the Greeks with that warlike courage

and patriotic love for their institutions and their freedom which helped them to fight at Marathon and Thermopylæ.

In China, history is a looking-glass, as the name of the work of Sz Makwang, the *T'ung kien kang mu*, implies. That book shows what the idea of history had become in the eleventh century, 800 years ago, when it was written. The old idea of Confucian times was still retained. To the Greeks the muse of history was a goddess who sang of war, of freedom, of inexorable fate, the infamy of battles lost and the glory of battles won. To the Confucian pupil history was a moral teacher, pointing out how prosperity results from virtuous government, and misery and death from vice and dissolute life on the part of the sovereign. By this comparison the ancient thought of China comes clearly out to view as finding its centre of evolution in eternal and immutable morality, while it is necessarily linked to the sovereign prince who is the personal embodiment of that morality.

In this political theory ancient China stands alone, because no other nation has ever identified morality and politics, and represented the sovereign as the perfect embodiment of both.

The further development of the thought becomes somewhat tiresome because of an observable monotony. What a pleasure we feel in listening to church bells when they change, as they sometimes do, from the perpetual octave of eight sounds coming in unbroken succession to the melody of a well-known tune. It is a pleasant surprise which delights the ear. There is a certain unpleasing monotony in the repetition in ancient Chinese writers of self-evident truths.

Unfortunately for the ancient Chinese they did not know enough. When nature is understood it becomes intensely interesting. Moral truths illustrated by examples are of the deepest interest to readers and to thinkers. This is shown by the romantic literature of modern Europe. It is entrancing to the reader because it sketches human life in a variety of combinations. So with science. When taught in a way that students can understand, it is profoundly interesting. The monotony observable in Chinese

ancient writing is caused by the absence of real thought and by the reiteration of common-place truths. Yet this criticism is shown by occasional flashes of noble thought to be not uniformly applicable by any means. For instance, when it is said by Confucius :—

Tsao wen tao si sĭ ko i, "If I hear wise teaching in the morning I can die contented at night."

Sĭ shêng yeu ming fu kwei tsai tien, "Life and death are predestined ; riches and honours depend on Heaven's will."

Ki so pu yŭ wu shī yŭ jen 己所不欲勿施於人, "What you do not wish done to yourself do not to others."

四海之內皆兄弟也 "All within the four seas are brethren."

The brotherhood of man is here recognised in a way which rejoices the foreign reader who is accustomed to the altruistic teaching of the Christian religion.

The *Kwo Yŭ* continues [chap. 18]: The King of the Chu country asked his counsellor what was meant in the *Chou shu* by the expression Ch'ung, and Li so acted as to check all intercourse between Heaven and Earth. But for this would anyone of mankind be able to ascend to Heaven? The counsellor replied not so; but formerly the people and the spirits of Heaven were not under the control of one officer. The souls of the people did not part into two. But they retained unity, a common reverence and uprightness. They were intelligent, and could distinguish the high from the low. They were profoundly wise and could spread the splendour of brilliant purity all around. Their brightness shed light around, and their clearness penetrated to the farthest point. It was in this way that spiritual power 神明 came down upon men, with the name *gik* for men and *mo* for women. Those who could control spirits sat in the seat of the spirit at the sacrifices, and arranged the tablets in their order. They also regulated the vessels which held animal offerings, and the robes to be worn according to the seasons. They were also able to give to sages and kings their proper honour, and could assign names [to the spirits of the mountains and rivers].

In Legge's *Shuking*, pp. 503, 506, there is an explanation of this. Ch'ung and Li were ministers of the Emperor Chwen hü. Ch'ung superintended the worship of spirits, Li made rules for the people. The Emperor Yau is said to have appointed descendants of Ch'ung and Li to undertake the same duties as those managed by their ancestors. Then princes and people all attended to their special tasks, and there was an end to disorder. Ch'ung was Minister of Religion and Li of Instruction. Through the reforms they introduced a way was opened for the poorest and most distressed of the people to make their complaints known to the Emperor. The land was productive, the government was wisely conducted, and the people were happy. Legge says no light can be thrown on the passage. But the real light is the moral feeling pervading it. This is highly important in so ancient a book *

From these considerations it appears that in negotiations with the Chinese the appeal to justice and compassion is never out of place. The national conscience responds to every word spoken on behalf of those who suffer. Further, liberty among the people is not really objected to by the Chinese. The moral bearings of a question should never be kept out of view. The key to the heart of a Chinese audience is the appeal to the sense of right and the sense of pity.

There is no limit to popular liberty in the ancient Chinese theory. All forms of rational liberty are in harmony with that theory. They only need development. The Chinese race seems capable of indefinite expansion, and so it is with their political system. There is nothing in it to prevent its indefinite development into all forms of rational and moral freedom.

* Legge's translation is remarkable for its accuracy. He is severe in his judgments of Chinese criticisms, and rejects, with too much boldness, some probable explanations. It is interesting to mark underneath Legge's careful search into the meaning of his texts, a feeling that he is dealing with actual history all through this ancient book. He did not doubt the history. He only doubted the meaning of texts and the mode of removing difficulties found in them.

At the close of the reading there was a discussion, in which several members engaged, and after a vote of thanks to the lecturer the meeting was adjourned.

MINUTES of a GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Wednesday, February 16th*, 1898, *at 9 p.m.*

The chair was taken by the Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D. (Vice-President).

The SECRETARY announced the election of the following persons to membership: The Hon. John Goodnow (Consul-General of the United States), Dr. Gruebe, of Peking; Dr. D. Main, of Hangchow, and Rev. William C. White, of Amoy.

The CHAIRMAN then read a Paper, prepared by Mr. M. F. A. Fraser, entitled "A Manchu Ukase," which is printed *in extenso* in Vol. XXX of the Society's Journal. The original and a transliteration were presented as well as the translation.

After the reading there was a brief discussion, followed by a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Fraser.

Mr. T. W. KINGSMILL then read his Paper, entitled "Some Myths of the *Shiking*," of which the following is a summary:—

On my arrival in China, I was, as doubtless many besides myself have been, seized with the ambition to study for myself the evidences for the so-called ancient history of China; and to discover if there were any foundations for the assumed antiquity of the birth of the Empire which would bear the test of modern criticism,—such criticism for instance as Niebuhr and Mommsen applied successfully to the stories of the foundation of Rome. I was assisted in my researches by the valuable edition of the Chinese Classics, then being published, under distinguished patronage, by the late Dr. James Legge, which for the first time placed at the disposition of the English student not only carefully revised texts and most valuable indices, but also a well-condensed summary of the accepted school

of Chinese criticism, and references to the most important writings on the subject, from the time of the Cheo dynasty downwards.

This, the first meeting of the Society since news arrived of the death of the able professor at his elected home at the University of Oxford, affords me the opportunity of paying a well-earned tribute to the industry, the deep knowledge of Chinese literature, and the thorough literary honesty of our departed Honorary Member. In some respects it is an advantage to future students of Chinese that Dr. Legge accepted in its entirety the views of the orthodox followers of Chuhi. In this respect, as in many others, he carried out the views of his great prototype Confucius. Confucius, as Dr. Legge tells us in evident admiration, was a transmitter, not a creator, and it is this fact and its effects on his immediate successors that enhance doubly the value of his work for posterity.

In this particular Dr. Legge has faithfully followed in the footsteps of his predecessor. Dr. Legge was eminently a transmitter, who has faithfully transmitted for the benefit of the European scholar, not only the remains of the far past, but likewise the opinions and renderings of the school of the greatest literary tyrant the world has yet seen, the pretended philosopher Chuhi; who attempted, and, so far as China is concerned, almost succeeded, in placing within iron fetters the human intellect.

As a critic Chuhi is beneath contempt; his mind was essentially euhemeristic, and in this he coincided admirably with the euhemerists of the Early Han. With men confined by the very nature of the case within the straight-waistcoat of Chinese, written or spoken, with its scant list of about 700 vocables and some 5,000 characters in ordinary use, who had no knowledge of an alphabet, and no better means of analysis of sounds than is afforded by the *fanyün*, the sounds of the ancient language were soon forgotten. The heavy heel of the ruthless conqueror, Shi Hwangti, combined with the enforced mixture under an iron despotism of the dissimilar tribes composing the new *réyime* in wiping out all clear memory of the past; and when, under the earlier Han Emperors, peace was again restored to the distracted Empire, a new language had

arisen, as different from the ancient speech of the Cheos as was the new English of Chaucer from the ancient and largely inflected speech of King Alfred and the Venerable Bede.

The re-censors of the ancient literature had no guide to assist them in the task. Even in those comparatively rare cases where actual manuscripts remained, the pronunciation was only preserved in an uncertain tradition. The ancient ballads had, in the hands of a special class, been handed down traditionally for generations. The old written language had never been sufficiently perfected to represent language as distinct from hieroglyph, but the class had well-nigh become extinct; and, when the Emperor offered rewards for the recovery of all ancient fragments, it was from the lips of an old man, one of the few survivors of the old class of historiographers, that the modern Classic of Ballads was written down in characters which but poorly represented the more inflected and picturesque speech of the old settlers in the hand of Hya. To eke out the imperfect vocables of the new language a certain number of characters, simply phonetic, were made use of, and hence arose that class of enclitics, by the modern Chinese denominated *hsütsze*, or empty characters, but which in the old language were true inflections.

Such is the state of the Books as handed down from the period of the early Han; and such is the record which, under the name of "The Chinese Classics," was, for the first time as a whole, made available for European students by the late Professor.

The student of Comparative Mythology at once in these works recognises the familiar phenomena which mark ballad poetry all the world over. Disguised though they are in a bald translation, even to a student ignorant of Chinese they speak in the language of Myth. Even the euhemerism of the Chinese commentator, accepted in simple faith by Dr. Legge, is unable to clothe the language with a pall sufficiently thick to prevent the structure now and then peering through its environment.

Naturally this is most marked in the *Shiking*, where the ballads assume a professedly rhythmical aspect, but, in the *Shuking*, sandwiched between a gloss of prose, the attentive student in many

cases can detect running through the whole a vein of verse, more or less marked. In that curious book the *Yih King* the same phenomenon is repeated; only here the versicles are reduced to their most primitive condition, only the picture writing remaining, and all traces of rhythm being entirely lost.

Of the condition of society in China at the time the ballads of the *Shiking* were composed, we can form an opinion from the description of Germania, given by Tacitus. The Roman author tells us of the ancient Germans that they told in ancient songs, which with them was a substitute for history, of the god Tuisco, founder of their race, and his son Mannus. They affirmed that Hercules once lived amongst them, and when setting out for battle sung of him as the first of brave men. These battle-songs elevated their courage, and from the sound they augured good fortune for their arms. Their kings they selected from noble families, but their leaders in war were chosen for distinguished courage; nor had their kings unchecked power, and their generals ruled rather by example than force. They were accustomed to inaugurate any enterprise by casting lots. They cut saplings into short fragments, and, casting them with invocations on to a white cloth, from their fall prognosticated the future. They respected their wives, and consulted them in all their undertakings, and womankind was held in high estimation. Every one of these characteristics was as marked amongst the intoners of the ancient ballads of the *Shi* as amongst the tribes of whom Tacitus has drawn so picturesque a description.

Unfortunately Tacitus did not preserve for posterity any of these wild battle-songs of the Teutons. It is the glory of Confucius that, albeit in a sadly mutilated form, he was instrumental in causing the preservation of the ancient *baritus* of the settlers in China. Such in reality are the ballads of the Cheos handed down in the *Shiking*.

These ballads were of many descriptions; some war-songs to animate the minds of the people when combating their inveterate enemies, the Himwans and other Turkish tribes, or when carrying on lighter and less harassing campaigns against the aboriginal inhabitants of the Flowery Land; some were sacrificial songs when

offering sacrifices to the manes of their ancestors or those great beings whom, with the Germans, they believed to be the first progenitors of their men; some were funeral dirges intoned at the burials of their chiefs, and others again epithalamia, sung with joyous dances at the marriage of their daughters; some love ditties, pure and simple in diction, devoid of evil suggestion or intention. Some, again, told of the marriage chase, even so late the usual custom amongst the tribes; some invoked the deities who ruled over the celestial sphere; some were addressed to the twin horsemen who, in ancient lore, ushered in the spring; others celebrated the glories of autumn and the harvest.

In fact, rightly read in the *Shiking*, we have an epitome such as nowhere else survives of the inner life of a primitive people; who, by the force of circumstances, found themselves completely cut off from communication with any other nation of similar culture. But the very reason which leads to the importance of the study has hitherto prevented full advantage being taken of it. The reason of this is simple.

Hitherto our knowledge of the *Shiking* has been confined to the unsympathetic and erroneous views of the Chinese commentators, and of those European students who were content to receive their inspiration from them. Of genuine study of the originals, free from this disturbing influence, there has been none. The isolation of the authors of the ballads has been continued amongst their successors. Except the very remarkable influence of communication with India, apparently through T'ien yüt (Sthaneshwara), which resulted at the beginning of the Han dynasty in a perfect deluge of Indian tradition, and to which we owe the working-up of the pretended early history of China; Chinese literature, unless where it came later in contact with Buddhist influences, has remained free from foreign suggestion. The Indian influence was distinctly Brahmanic, and tinged with all the faults of that literature in its senile decay. The *Hitsze* of the *Yih King*, which was one of the first works wherein the expansion of Chinese history was attempted, belongs to this date. Here we find for the first time mention of such essentially

Indian ideas as Fuhi (Vayu, the Wind) introduced into the current of history; and the evil seed grew, till the Chinese, themselves euhemeristic, adopted in blind faith the Vishnaivic theories of these most untrustworthy of guides.

Of the views of the school we may find an exemplification in the opening of the *Hitsze*. "Heaven is honourable; earth is mean. The K'ien and K'wan being established, the low and the lofty are arranged, the honourable and the ordinary take their corresponding positions. Motion and rest become fixed [as attributes]; the hard and soft are determined. Forms are collected according to species, matter divided into classes, good and evil luck have their origin. In heaven, the *eidola* [of things] are made; on earth [their] material is perfected. Thus change and transformation are manifested." Such is the transcendental basis on which the Chinese philosophers attempted to found a groundwork for human knowledge. Human nature was rigorously excluded; and human nature had its revenge in that enchainment with iron shackles of the intellect, which culminated in the work of Chuhi.

In Europe we find traces of the same process, though fortunately not so marked. Speaking of the earlier Scandinavian folk songs, in many respects akin to the Chinese ballads, an English writer* says: "At an early period this literature would be oral and traditional. Runic characters, the only existing method of writing, were only a clumsy vehicle for the transmission of these literary specimens—much less handy than their tenacious and nimble memories. The introduction of Christianity, about A.D. 1000, brought with it Latin characters, but it was a century or more before they were employed in copying these vernacular productions." When the ancient laws and legends, religious and traditional, were at last written down they were overlaid with such a mass of monkish prejudice and ignorance, that it was not till the almost heroic work of the founders of the science of comparative mythology was brought to bear on them that their true position was recognised.

* Frederick Metcalf, "The Englishman and the Scandinavian;" Trübner, 1880.

The ancient ballads of the Germani, of which Tacitus told us, have perished, but in the *Niebelungen Lied* many of its oldest jewels have been preserved for our edification; and these in turn have blossomed into the great Carolingian epic which formed the well from whence sprung our modern romance. In the ancient ballads of our British predecessors, of which Chaucer tells us:

> "These olde gentil Bretons in hir dayes
> Of diverse aventures maden layes
> Rimeyed in hir firste Breton tonge,"

the purest and greatest of modern nineteenth century poets has found the inspiration for his "Idylls of the King."

The greatest linguistic triumph of the century has undoubtedly been the disinterment from the mass of falsity and ignorance, in which the Brahmanistic school of interpreters buried them, of the hymns of the *Rigveda*. Not only have many problems in history heretofore insoluble been rendered comparatively easy, but the Government of India has in its reforms been able to point to the more wholesome and genuine code of morals prevailing ere Brahmanism threw its cloak of a debasing superstition over the land. A similar development waits in China the true interpretation of the *Shiking*, and the disenthralment of her scholars from the false and materialistic school which has so long enchained them.

Nearly thirty years ago my first study of the tale of the entrance of the Cheo tribes from the north-west and their conquest of Shang Yin, convinced me that, with a true tradition of an actual fact of the first importance towards a critical understanding of the history of Central and Eastern Asia, there was mixed up a myth of the contest of light and darkness, familiar to all those who have made early legends their study. I had the pleasure of bringing the myth before the Society, which did me the honour, in 1872, in Volume X of our Transactions, of publishing the paper in full.

Just twenty years ago, in 1878, I followed up the subject in a paper on the "Ancient Language and Cult of the Chows," which appeared in the Journal for the year. Further study has tended

to convince me of the truth of the conclusions at which I then arrived, and which, with the exception of a few details, I take the opportunity of again employing towards the elucidation of an important epoch in Asiatic history. I have endeavoured to give a rhythmical aspect to my translations. Poetry is at best indifferently represented by bald prose, but in attempting a metrical version I have confined myself as nearly as possible to the structure of the original, both in the versification and also in the metrical structure.

Whatever sacrifices under these somewhat stringent rules I may have been compelled to make of mere verbal accuracy are, I trust, more than compensated in the result of giving a true exemplification of the structure and general meaning of the original.

Mr. Kingsmill continued his lecture by reading several metrical translations from the *Shiking*, intended to throw light on the myths as well as the manners and customs of the Cheo tribes at the time the various ballads were composed. He commenced with a ballad translated into English verse, referring to How Tsik, god of increase, one of the great deities of the race, whom he identified in many particulars with the corresponding Vedic deity Daksha; pointing out the resemblances in functions as well as name, the latter being fundamental and not accidental. He then read his metrical rendering of the ballad of *Fangshuk*, pointing out his connection with the *Yao* of the *Shu*, the *Varuna* of the *Vedas*, and the *Ouranos* of the early Greek Pantheon. This was followed by notes, also with a metrical version, of the ballad of *Szeyin*, the Hermes of the Chinese Myth, and also a spring-song addressed to the Vedettes, *Alpha and Beta Arietis*, a practice which he showed reached from China to ancient Athens; where the orientation of the Asclepium had been recently shown to have been determined by the helical rising of this constellation.

With some notes, accompanied by metrical renderings of some of the ballads relating to the old practice of wife-capture, still in vogue amongst the early settlers in China, which we give below, the lecture closed.

The following was the conclusion of Mr. Kingsmill's paper :—

THE BRIDE-CHASE.

But the ballads of the *Shi* are not always mythological, and sometimes throw curious side-lights on the manners and customs of the ancient Cheos. The traces of a former exogamy, and its natural accompaniment, marriage by capture, are still apparent in Chinese customs. A man, it is well known, cannot marry a woman of his own surname, but must wed out of his clan. He is not permitted to woo in person, but must perforce employ the services of a marriage broker. Finally, the most marked feature of the ceremony is the visit of the groom's friends and relations to the home of the bride, whence they escort her as a prisoner to her husband's home. In the period of the *Shiking*, marriage by capture, even when the woman was willing, was the rule. I quote the *T'sioh Ch'ao* : "The Magpies' Nest" [*Shi*, I, II, 1].

In yonder nest the magpie dwells,
The dove must be his mate ;
His chosen bride, to share his home,
A hundred chariots wait.

In yonder nest the magpie dwells,
The dove his lot must share ;
His chosen bride to her new home
A hundred chariots bear.

In yonder nest the magpie dwells ;
The dove, a bride forlorn,
To her new home, to her new cares,
The chariots home have borne.

A more explicit instance we find in the *Chen pi Loh* [*Shi*, II, VI, 10]. I give only the concluding verses :—

Bright as the flowers at dawn bedewed,
With gold and silver decked,
His love all unawares he viewed !
Four speckled steeds, with harness flecked,
And reins fresh moistened, gaily dressed
His nimble fingers deftly pressed.

Now right, now left, his chariot hies,
Our prince has neared her side;
Now left, now right, the lady flies.—
Our prince has won his bride;
Her veil he holds. Ah, lucky fate!
Like bride—like prince; how well they mate.

The reader, accustomed to take on credit the views of the modern Chinese commentator or teacher, misses not only the essential points, but the inner beauties and quaint humour of many of these ballads. I have mentioned that the marriage broker points to the former existence of the bride-chase. The following ballad, the *Fah Ko* [*Shi*, I, XV, 5], which is usually quoted as a proof of the long continued existence of the present practice, is really evidence to the contrary. When writing down the ballad from oral declamation, the scribe for 某 or 謀 *Plot, strategem*, introduced the radical 女 woman, making it 媒 a go-between, an offshoot of the same root *mil*, to meet together, assemble, concur.

Here is the ballad at length:—

THE LOVER AND THE WOODMAN.

Who wants a helve to hew,
What should he do?
Without an axe 'tis plain
His labour's all in vain.

Who seeks a wife to wed,
How best proceed?
Unless of craft h'avail,
Fair words are sure to fail.

Hew out the helve my man;
Hew as you can!
That hint you dropped to-day
Has not been thrown away.

Let me but get one glance,
I'll take my chance;
Once I've the lady spied,
The knot's as good as tied.

One more, and I am done. The *Chen pi Loh* suggests that the lady was not always unwilling to be captured. Such things happen all the world over. Schuyler tells very similar tales amongst the Kirghiz of to-day [Turkestan, Vol. 1, p. 47], and Cheo damsels were as their sisters elsewhere, who "vowing they would ne'er consent, consented."

Here is the *How jen*: "The Bashful Lovers" [*Shi*, I, XIV, 2].

What a squad of young squires in dainty gear,
Got up to kill with halbert and spear!
Such guys of lovers, who ever did see,
Their three hundred red kirtles docked at the knee?

Like rows of pelicans tied by a string,
Not one of the crowd dares moisten his wing!
A sad lot of lovers they look; alack!
Not worth the fine togs they carry aback!

Like a squad of great pelicans perched on a sill,
Not one has the spunk to open his bill!
Fine lovers indeed! while *we*, maidens gay,
Are lusty and strong and fit for the fray!

And the grass is smooth, and the mist lies still,
And the sun creeps over yon southern hill;
And we girls are fresh, and the air is keen,
As we scamper off through the woodlands green.

Dr. Edkins dissented from some of the conclusions of the Paper, and several other members of the Society took part in the discussion, after which, with a vote of thanks to Mr. Kingsmill, the meeting was adjourned.

COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1897-98.

Shanghai, 22nd June 1898.

The Council of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society presents the following report for the year just closed.

1.—*The Council.*—The office-bearers elected at the annual meeting of the Society held June 30th, 1897, were :—

Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff, *President;* Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., Mr. Jas. Scott, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. E. T. Williams, M.A., *Hon. Secretary;* Mr. E. Fisher, *Hon. Librarian;* Mr. T. W. Wright, *Hon. Treasurer;* Mr. A. Vosy-Bourbon, *Hon. Curator;* Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Rev. E. Faber, D.Th., Rev. J. R. Hykes, Mr. F. E. Taylor, *Councillors.*

Owing to the removal of Mr. von Möllendorff to Ningpo, he resigned the Presidency early in the year, and Mr. Geo. Jamieson, C.M.G., was elected to the vacancy.

Mr. A. Vosy-Bourbon was also called from Shanghai, leaving the post of Hon. Curator vacant, to which Dr. R. H. Cox was elected on 23rd March 1898. We regret that the removal of Dr. E. Faber to Kiaochow will deprive us of his valuable counsel during the coming year.

2.—*Members.*—The following new members in all have been elected during the year:—Hon. R. F. Pettigrew, Washington, D.C.; Mr. G. H. Eichelberger, Shanghai; Mr. Narahara, Peking; Rev. E. Box, Rev. F. H. James, Hon. Jno. Goodnow, Shanghai; Dr. Gruebe, Peking; Dr. Main, M. D., Hangchow; Rev. C. White, Foochow; Messrs. R. H. Cox, M. D.,

R. Holbritter, Johs. Grodtmann, Hermann Wolff, Shanghai; Mr. Pierre Bons d'Anty, Szemao; Mr. W. J. Clennell, Shasi; Captain W. W. Rich, Shanghai; Major E. von Falkenhayn, Tsintao; Mr. R. C. Guernier, I.M. Customs; Mr. Walter Fell, Shanghai; Mr. Byron Brenan, C.M.G.; Mr. P. P. P. M. Kremir; Prince Sampatrao Gaikwad, Hon. Member.

3.—*Meetings.*—Six meetings open to the public have been held during the year, at which papers were read, as follows:—

November 29th, 1897.—The Hsi Hsia Dynasty of Tangut, its Money and Peculiar Script, by Dr. Bushell, read by Dr. Edkins.

January 19th, 1898.—The Limitations of Comparative Philology, by P. G. von Möllendorff, Esq.

February 16th.—A Manchu Ukase, by M. F. A. Fraser, Esq.; and Some Myths of the Shiking, by T. W. Kingsmill, Esq.

March 9th.—The Ethics of the Chinese Sages, by the Rev. F. H. James.

April 6th.—Sealing and Whaling in the North Pacific, by E. Brass, Esq.

May 12th.—Ancient Chinese Thought, Political and Religious, by Rev. J. Edkins, D.D.

4.—*The Journal.*—One fascicule, No. 3, completing Vol. XXIX, was issued during the year, and one other, No. 2, Vol. XXX, is almost ready, but we are still far behindhand. A large number of valuable papers are awaiting publication, and it is very desirable that some method be devised for the issue of the journal promptly and at more regular intervals. Many complaints have been received during the year with regard to this matter.

5.—*Officers' Reports.*—The Reports which are to be presented by the Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Librarian will exhibit the condition of the treasury and call attention to the improvements made in the library. The Hon. Curator having been in charge of the Museum but a few weeks will not submit a report. We regret that his approaching departure from Shanghai is to deprive us of his valuable services. The Museum is still in an unsatisfactory condition from

lack of funds for its care. We are sorry to report that the Municipal Council declined our request for an additional grant.

For the Council,

E. T. Williams,
Hon. Secretary.

Librarian's Report.

Shanghai, 29th June 1898.

Gentlemen,

I herewith have the honour to submit to you the following report concerning the Library for 1897 and 1898.

The number of works and books which were added to the Library since publishing the Catalogue in 1894, including the great number of Proceedings of Learned Societies, etc., which filled our shelves with a great many new volumes, necessitated new arrangements in our Library.

Mr. Ha Hing, who is now in charge of the Library, assisted in all the new arrangements which were made. An Addendum of the Volumes received since publishing our last Catalogue, Part I in 1894, is now in the hands of Messrs. Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., for printing, and will be published in the next Journal; also the Catalogue, Part II, "Museum," a manuscript of the late Hon. Librarian, Mr. J. Haas, which was found after long research, has been handed to the printers.

The new arrangements in our Library have involved great expense during the last year, and there will be still a further large outlay during the coming year for the binding of some hundred volumes, which have accumulated within the last few years.

To keep up the standard of our Library the Council will have to undertake the purchase of several valuable scientific works which have been published during the last few years regarding China and the Far East.

I have to express the thanks of the Society to those who have kindly given donations to this Library during the current year, and the Council will appreciate very much should its aim of having a complete set of scientific works about the Far East be recognised by authors donating copies of their works to this Library. I only beg to mention that we have been much gratified by receiving quite recently a very extensive publication of 44 Volumes comprising the "Report on the Scientific Results of the Voyage of H.M.S. 'Challenger' during the years 1872-1876," published by order of H.B.M.'s Government and presented through H.B.M.'s Stationery Office.

I have the honour to remain,
Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,
EMIL S. FISCHER.

COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1898-1899.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the Society's Hall, on Wednesday, June 29th, 1898, at 9 p.m.

The chair was taken by Mr. Byron Brenan, C.M.G. (President).

The minutes of the last meeting having been read and confirmed, the Hon. Secretary then presented and read the various reports of the year, which were as follows :—

Council's Report.

1.—*The Council.*—The office-bearers, elected at the Annual Meeting of the Society, held June 29th, 1897, were :—

Mr. Byron Brenan, C.M.G., *President;* Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., Rev. T. Richard, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. E. T. Williams, M.A., *Hon. Secretary;* Mr. T. W. Wright, *Hon. Treasurer;* Mr. E. S. Fischer, *Hon. Librarian;* Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Mr. F. E. Taylor, Dr. O. Franke, Dr. Jur., Rev. F. H. James and Mr. Tsêng, *Councillors.*

The post of Hon. Curator to the Museum was left vacant as the Council at that time was unable to find anyone who was willing to take it. Subsequently, at a Meeting of the Council held 2nd September 1898, Prof. E. R. Lyman, having given his consent, was elected to the office.

At the same meeting Mr. E. S. Fischer presented his resignation as Hon. Librarian, made necessary by his approaching departure for home. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded him in recognition of his valuable services, particularly in re-arranging the library and completing the supplement to its catalogue.

Dr. O. Franke was elected to succeed him, and served until 5th April 1899, when he felt compelled, by pressure of other duties, to resign. The Council accepted his resignation with regret, and Mr. C. Fink was elected in his stead. Two Councillors, Rev. F. H. James and Mr. Tsêng, removed during the year to Peking.

2.—*Members.*—During the past twelve months the following new members were elected:—Mr. A. Hauchecorne, Shanghai; Vicomte de Breteuil, Peking; Mr. R. S. Gale, Prof. E. R. Lyman, Shanghai; Mr. Tsêng, Peking; Dr. S. P. Barchet, M.D., Mr. Sam Wakefield, Dr. H. Betz, Mr. Fung Yee, Rev. R. E. Lewis, Mr. C. Fink, Mr. C. McCallum, Mr. F. Hussay-Freke, Mr. P. Bournais, Shanghai; Mr. J. Houston, Hangchow; Rev. M. N. Trollope, Chemulpo, Korea; Dr. J. A. Lynch, M.D., Chinkiang, and Mr. Otto Messing, Shanghai.

Messrs. P. E. O'Brien-Butler and Leonard Lyall were, on April 5th, 1899, elected Life Members, and on June 7th, 1899, Mr. C. T. Gardner, C.M.G., was made a Corresponding Member. Five members have resigned:—Dr. E. Henderson, M.D., Mr. Gustav Kremsir, Mr. J. B. Coughtrie, Mr. N. P. Andersen and Mr. S. Rosenbaum; leaving the present membership as follows:—Honorary Protector, 1; Honorary Members, 5; Corresponding Members, 21; Ordinary Members, 243; Total, 270.

3.—*Meetings.*—There have been eight public meetings of the Society during the year, at which papers were read, as follows:—

October 12th, 1898.— Local Folklore, by Rev. E. Box.

November 16th, 1898.—Chinese Music, by Mrs. T. Richard.

December 14th, 1898.—Chinese Literature, by Rev. F. H. James.

January 11th, 1899.—The Office of District Magistrate, by Mr. Byron Brenan, C.M.G.

April 5th.—The Philosophy of the Taoteh King in its Relation to Early Buddhism, by Mr. T. W. Kingsmill.

May 3rd.—State Education in Japan, by Rev. R. E. Lewis.

June 28th.—The Recent Visit of a Chinese Buddhist Monk to India, by Rev. J. Edkins, D.D.

4.—*The Journal.*—Two fascicules of the Journal were issued during the year,—Nos. 2 and 3 of Vol. XXX, the former containing "Chinese Revenue," Part II, by Mr. E. H. Parker; "The Hsi Hsia Dynasty of Tangut, their Money and Peculiar Script," by S. W. Bushell, C.M.G., M.D.; "A Manchu Ukase," by Mr. M. F. A. Fraser; Notes and Queries and Correspondence. The latter contains the Supplementary Catalogue to the Library. The Journal is still far in arrears. There is a large number of valuable papers on hand unpublished, and much complaint has been made of dilatoriness. Some manuscripts have been withdrawn, and the authors of some papers have preferred to publish elsewhere. This is greatly to be regretted. Much of the delay has been occasioned by frequent changes in the Editorial Committee, and not a little is due to the time consumed in the preparation of the Supplementary Catalogue of the Library. It is hoped that in the coming year the Journal may be brought up to date. One other fascicule is now in the press and will shortly appear.

5.—*Miscellaneous.*—The Council has held eight meetings for the transaction of routine business.

Among other things done, correspondence was had with the I.M. Customs Service relative to the establishment of a Commercial Museum at Shanghai, the use of our own hall being offered for that purpose. So far the effort has been unsuccessful.

Further correspondence was had with the Municipal Council of Shanghai, urging that body to assist in engaging a paid Assistant Curator for the Museum, but the proposition was definitely declined. Permission was granted Rev. Geo. W. Clarke, of Tientsin, to reprint in England his translation of the *Yü Li*. Acceptance was acknowledged of two volumes by Dr. E. Bretschneider on "European Botanical Researches in China," and a case of maps by the same, presented to the Library by the author.

Additional cases have been provided for the Library, which is now in better condition than for some years past. Further details will be found in the report of the Hon. Librarian. The financial condition of the Society will be seen from the report of the Hon. Treasurer

to be fairly good, and the report of the Hon. Curator will inform us as to the Museum.

On behalf of the Council,

E. T. Williams,
Hon. Secretary.

Librarian's Report.

Gentlemen,—I have the honour to submit to you the following report concerning the Library for 1898–1899.

In view of the considerable number of scientific works—mostly publications and proceedings of learned societies, which have enriched our Library—it will be found necessary to arrange for a further large shelf, providing, at the same time, for some space, sure to be required ere long.

I may state that the course of the present year has brought out also the long waited for additions to our catalogue, which can be found in the last issue of our Journal.

To those members of the Society, who have contributed to its compilation, our sincere thanks are due. I may point out that, during the year, many very valuable books dealing with China, and others containing important geographical information, have appeared, some of which ought absolutely to figure in our collection to uphold the standard of the Society, and it is earnestly hoped that in the ensuing year means may be found for bringing the Library to a yet higher efficiency.

I would ask the Society to convey their special thanks to Mr. J. D. Clark, of the *Shanghai Mercury*, who kindly and generously presented our Branch with all those publications of his establishment which were not yet contained in the Library. Our shelves have thereby received 45 additional volumes.

During the greater part of last year Mr. E. S. Fischer ably conducted the affairs of the Library. In the first few months of

the present year Dr. Franke, First Interpreter of the Imperial German Consulate-General, kindly took charge. The undersigned only took the post about two months ago, when he tried to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors, who so ably fulfilled their duties.

C. FINK,
Hon. Librarian.

Shanghai, 28th June 1899.

HON. CURATOR'S REPORT.

During the year the Museum has been open to the public every day, and the number of Chinese visitors has been uniformly large; in fact, it seemed at one time that it would be necessary to restrict the visiting in some way. This, however, has not been done and it may not be necessary.

With the exception of several birds there have been no additions to the collections since I took charge.

The collections under the care of the taxidermist have not been allowed to suffer from neglect, and are in very good order.

During the following year I expect to take steps to get the co-operation of all the foreigners in China in adding to the collections of the Museum. Plans have been made for obtaining a classified collection of the fishes of this region. By asking all foreigners to co-operate it is hoped that we shall be able to make considerable additions to our collections of birds and mammals and also minerals.

But these plans will look better as a report than as a prospectus, so I shall not go into them further but shall hope to be able to report substantial progress at the end of another year. The Museum has apparently fallen from the notice of residents in China. It shall be my endeavour next year to get people interested to the extent of aiding in adding to the usefulness and interest of the collections of the Museum.

Very Respectfully,
E. R. LYMAN,
Hon. Curator.

BALANCE SHEET

Dr. *30th April 1898 to 31st May 1899.* *Cr.*

INCOME.	Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.	Tls.	cts.
To Balance, on 1st June 1898	552	43	*By* Wages Account	208	88
„ Members' Subscriptions	365	73	„ Insurance Account	59	40
„ Life Members' „	111	...	„ Taxes	43	64
„ Hire of Room	74	86	„ Gas and Coal	74	01
„ Rent of Building	250	...	„ Publishing Account	421	39
„ Sales of Publications	190	20	„ Postage and Stationery	92	42
„ Interest on Current Account	30	31	„ New Fixtures and Repairs	203	60
			„ Bookbinding	173	85
			„ Advertising	82	10
			„ Sundries	10	39
			„ Shroff, for collecting (2 years)	15	...
			„ Loss by Exchange	...	51
			Taels	1,385	19
			„ Balance	189	34
Taels	1,574	53	Taels	1,574	53

E. & O. E.

Compared with vouchers and found correct, 23rd June 1899. SHANGHAI, *23rd June 1899.*

A. W. DANFORTH.
J. W. RICHARDSON.

T. W. WRIGHT,
Hon. Treasurer.

Dr. MUSEUM. *Cr.*

INCOME.		Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.		Tls.	cts.
To Balance on 1st June 1898		1,064	92	*By* Wages Account		307	50
„ Grant from English Municipal Council... ...		500	...	„ Interest on Loan		25	...
„ Donation : French Municipal Council		100	...	„ Birds' eyes		36	78
„ Work done by Taxidermist		131	02	„ Rent of Building		250	...
				„ Sundries		34	36
					Tls.	653	64
				„ Balance		1,142	30
	Taels	1,795	94		Tls.	1,795	94

E. & O. E.

Compared with vouchers and found correct, 23rd June 1899. SHANGHAI, *23rd June 1899.*

A. W. DANFORTH.
J. W. RICHARDSON.

T. W. WRIGHT,
Hon. Treasurer.

On motion of the Hon. Secretary a vote of thanks was extended to Messrs. A. W. Danforth and J. A. Richardson for their services in auditing the accounts.

The following officers were elected for next year:—

Mr. F. S. A. Bourne, *President;* Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., Rev. T. Richard, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. E. T. Williams, M.A., *Hon. Secretary;* Mr. T. W. Wright, *Hon. Treasurer;* Mr. C. Fink, *Hon. Librarian;* Prof. E. R. Lyman, *Hon. Curator;* Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Mr. F. E. Taylor, Mr. C. W. Campbell and Mr. L. A. Lyall, *Councillors.*

The Chairman then called upon Dr. Edkins to read his paper on "The Recent Visit of a Chinese Buddhist Monk to India." The paper, which was a very interesting one, noted the fewness of Buddhist pilgrims to the holy land of their faith, as compared with Christian pilgrims from Europe and America to Palestine. He mentioned, however, the visits of a number of Chinese monks at various times to India, particularly that of Fah Hien and his companions in the year 399 A.D., just 1,500 years earlier than that of Hwui Kung, the monk of whom he was particularly to speak.

There was an important difference, however, between these two parties, as Fah Hien and his companions went particularly to recover sacred books and to visit the places made holy by the life of Gautauma Buddha, while Hwui Kung's object was to raise money for the improvement of the temples on P'u-t'o, and to secure images to be placed in them. He described Hwui Kung as a very interesting man, who had travelled much in Buddhist countries, and who had undertaken this journey in obedience to the orders of his Abbot, who had been urged to the enterprise by the Taotai of Ningpo. Three years had been occupied in the journey, the greater part of it spent at Oudh, near Benares, in whose quarries the images were carved. He had had but little time to visit other points, and seemed to know nothing of the recent discoveries of the Buddha's birthplace and the site of Kapilavastu. The images are made of a very pure white marble, and the three principal ones are on exhibition at Woosung. These are of Amitabha, Kwan-ying,

and the "Reclining" Buddha. They lose somewhat of interest, however, when we learn that they are not true specimens of Hindoo art, but were made to order for Hwui Kung, who had designs drawn according to Chinese ideas, and who watched the sculptor at his work and directed him.

They are richly decorated with jewels and tinsel, the monk claiming that the jewels are real, though, aside from a few garnets, they are more likely mere imitations. Hwui Kung stated the cost of two to be some Tls. 10,000. To others he mentioned $20,000 as the cost of the three now on exhibition. We learn that Sheng Taotai is anxious to have the images kept at Woosung, as a large number of Chinese daily visit them, which is quite profitable to the railway.

At the close of the paper there was a brief discussion, participated in by Mr. F. E. Taylor, Mr. F. S. A. Bourne, Rev. T. Richard, Mr. V. Dent and others, and the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the learned lecturer, and an expression of good wishes for a pleasant vacation for the retiring President, who is about to leave for home.

NOTES ON THE *TAOTEH KING*.

The following is a précis of Mr. Kingsmill's notes read before the Society, April 12th, 1899.

Mr. KINGSMILL followed up some notes on the subject of this book which had appeared in the *China Review* [vol. xxiii, p. 265, *et. seq.*] by pointing out the compound nature of that work. This had been proved by Professor H. A. Giles as long ago as 1886 [*China Review*, vol xiv., p. 231, *et. seq.*]. The chapters in most cases begin with a text copied from Hwai Nautsze or Han Feitsze, generally introduced by the formula 老子曰, at best an indefinite phrase by no means necessarily implying any particular individual. There is in fact no trustworthy evidence of the existence of an individual bearing the very un-Chinese name of Laotsze, and from the form and the doctrines contained, which were essentially Indian, he felt constrained to attribute its composition to a time subsequent to the opening of intercourse with India. The form itself is evidently founded on that of the Indian Sutras as described by Professor Max Müller [*History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, p. 71], and was remarkable for its artificial obscurity, which from the beginning, as the corresponding works in India, required a running commentary. Professor Giles has fortunately in every case given the original authority for the quotation, and with the light thus thrown on the subject, and the clues given, it is in the majority of cases just possible to get an inkling of what was passing in the writer's mind.

The *Taoteh King* really owed its origin to that period when Buddhism was the prevailing religion in India, but a Buddhism in many respects different from the later development. Gautama, it was to be remembered, was no opponent, as his later followers became, of Hinduism. His whole life and training was Brahmanic, and he doubtless considered himself the most correct exponent of that faith.

In this respect the *Taoteh King* was essentially Buddhistic. Tao, the WAY (Marga) to Nirvâna (*Wuwei* of the author) was absolutely a Buddhist conception, and so was the Karma (成功) of the writer,—the *merit* attained during previous existence. "This is the doctrine that as soon as a sentient being dies (man, animal or angel), a new being is produced in a more or less painful and material state of existence, according to the Karma,—the desert or merit, of the being who had died. . . . Sensations originate in the contact of the organs of sense with the exterior world; from sensation springs a desire to satisfy a felt want, a yearning, a thirst (in the *Taoteh King* 欲, *yuk*, desire) from which results a groping after objects to satisfy that desire. . . . 'Be awake, shake off your illusion, and enter resolutely on the Path which will lead you away from those restless tossing waves of the ocean of life;—the Path [in the *Taoteh King* 道 Tao] of the Joy, and Rest of the Nirvâna of Wisdom and Goodness and Peace.'" This, quoted from Rhys David's *Buddhism*, p. 85, is the foundation of the ethical teaching of the *Taoteh King*. But mixed with this high ethical strain there are many unmistakable allusions to the Sankya philosophy of the Indians.

Out of primeval matter, 譏, was developed nature, 天地, and out of nature were born, 生, all things. But nature was made up of three constituent principles, the *Gunas-Sattva*, goodness or purity (Chinese 德); passion, or activity, *rajas* (Ch. 欲 *yuk*); and darkness or inertia, *tamas* (Ch. 淡 *tam*), the last of which was apparently a word imported for the occasion. The interaction of these two schools, which seems to have presented little difficulty to the Hindu mind, was evidently received in a similar spirit by the author of the book, and may account for part of the obscurity of thought and diction which, after the most careful consideration of the text, I have at times found it impossible to rectify.

It will be seen that none of my predecessors had access to the whole of the field. Mr. Giles, from his intimate knowledge of the older Chinese philosophers, has been able to trace most of the

aphorisms which form the texts of the various chapters to their original sources. While having a general tendency, they are eminently disconnected. The author of the work attempted to bind these together by a running commentary. He was markedly unsuccessful. First he himself was seldom able to grasp the meanings of the older writers; secondly he was but partially acquainted with the spirit of the older Buddhistic schools of India, and thirdly the "telegraphic" style, which in imitation of his Indian prototypes he essayed, besides being eminently unfitted for the purpose, was beyond the grasp of his genius.

The character of the work may be well seen in the first chapter, the opening of which contains the pith of the whole book, and is quoted from Han Feitsze, a philosopher whose life is attributed to the 3rd century B.C.

"*The way that may be traversed is not the Eternal WAY. The name which can be uttered is not the Eternal NAME.*

"Without name.—Heaven and Earth [Nature] at the beginning were called the mother of all things. Thus it always is that [he who is] without passion can grasp the inner essence, while [he who is blinded] by passion can only apprehend the outer form. These two have really the same issue, and differ only in name. Together they are spoken of as the First Cause. The cause of the First Cause itself is the gateway of the Essential."

The history of the work is obscure. Beyond these occasional allusions to the shadowy "laotsze," a favourite trick with the early writers, especially Chwangtsze, who never scruples to point his moral by attributing his parables to some imaginary being, we actually know nothing of a teacher called by the remarkably un-Chinese name of "Laotsze." The *Shi Ki* indeed speaks of him, but in such guarded terms that, reading between the lines, it can be readily perceived that the writer was more than sceptical of his personality. At all events we hear nothing of the work till, towards the latter end of the Han dynasty, the work was "discovered," one of the last of a long series of forgeries, professing to be "findings" in odd places of literature, which the subsidised

scholars of the Hans would have us believe existed prior to the "Burning of the Books" by Shi Hwangti. Most of the works thus "discovered" under the influence of high rewards in an uncritical age have disappeared, but a few remaining, *e.g.* the *Bamboo History*, the *Shanhai King*, etc., still exist to show us the barefaced nature of the imposition. In translating the *Taoteh King* the principal difficulty consists in the highly artificial nature of the work, and occasionally its attempted archæisms. The former, as I have shown, is in direct imitation of the Indian style, which the compiler took for his model. The latter is common to writers of all ages in China. In the *Taoteh King* the differences between the older quotations and the text of the anonymous author are very marked, the latter being, from their affected style, occasionally incapable of being literally translated. This probably accounts for failures such as those of Julien, Chalmers and Legge, not to speak of pretenders, such as Balfour and others.

A careful study of its contents and a comparison with the contemporary remains of Indian philosophy will, however, convince the student not only of its late date, probably late in the 2nd century A.D., but that the *Taoteh King* is one of the few remains existing of primitive Buddhism. Suppression of self was the root of the teaching of Gautama. For him existed no God, no future, no past; only the illimitable and eternal Marga,—the PATH, the WAY to the extinction of Nirvâna.

PRINTED BY KELLY & WALSH, LTD., SHANGHAI.

Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

VOL. XXXI. 1896-97.

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BYE-LAWS RELATING TO COMMUNICATIONS TO THE SOCIETY.

1. Every paper which it is proposed to communicate to the Society shall be forwarded to the Hon. Secretary for the approval of the Council.

2. When the Council shall have accepted a paper, they shall decide whether it shall be read before the Society and published in the Journal, or read only and not published, or published only and not read. The Council's decision shall in each case be communicated to the author after the meeting.

3. The Council may permit a paper written by a non-member to be read and, if approved, published.

4. In the absence of the author, a paper may be read by any member of the Society appointed by the Chairman or nominated by the author.

5. No paper read before the Society shall be published elsewhere than in the Journal, without the permission of the Council, or unless the Council decide against publishing it in the Journal.

6. All communications intended for publication by the Society shall be clearly written on one side of the paper only, with proper references, and in all respects in fit condition for being at once placed in the printers' hands.

7. The authors of papers and contributors to the Journal are solely responsible for the facts stated and opinions expressed in their communications.

8. In order to insure a correct report, the Council request that each paper be accompanied by a short abstract for newspaper publication.

9. The author of any paper which the Council has decided to publish will be presented with fifty copies; and he shall be permitted to have extra copies printed on making application to the Hon. Secretary at the time of forwarding the paper, and on paying the cost of such copies.

COUNCIL.

Season 1898-99.

President: Byron Brenan, C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents: Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D.; Rev. T. Richard.

Hon. Secretary: Rev. E. T. Williams.

Hon. Librarian: Dr. O. Franke.

Hon. Curator of Museum: Prof. E. R. Lyman.

Hon. Treasurer: T. W. Wright, Esq.

Councillors: T. W. Kingsmill, Esq.; F. E. Taylor, Esq.; Rev. F. H. James.; Mr. Tsêng.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

Old Series:

Vol. I,	Part I, (June 1858)	$ 2.50
„ I,	„ II, (May 1859)	2.00
„ I,	„ III, (Dec. „)	1.00
„ II,	„ I, (Sept. 1860)*	1.00

New Series:

Vol. I,	(Dec. 1864)	1.00
„ II,	(„ 1865)	1.00
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