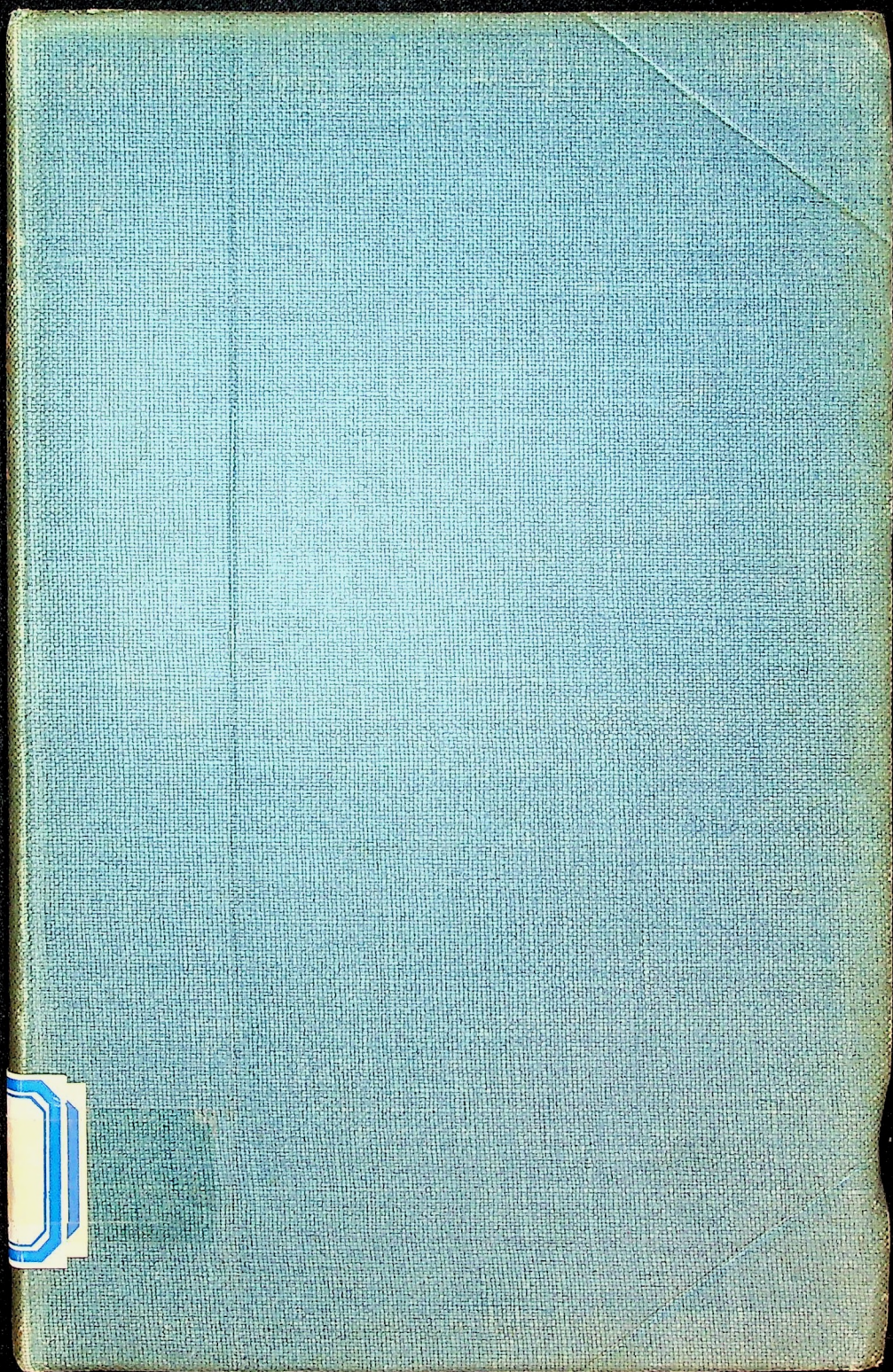




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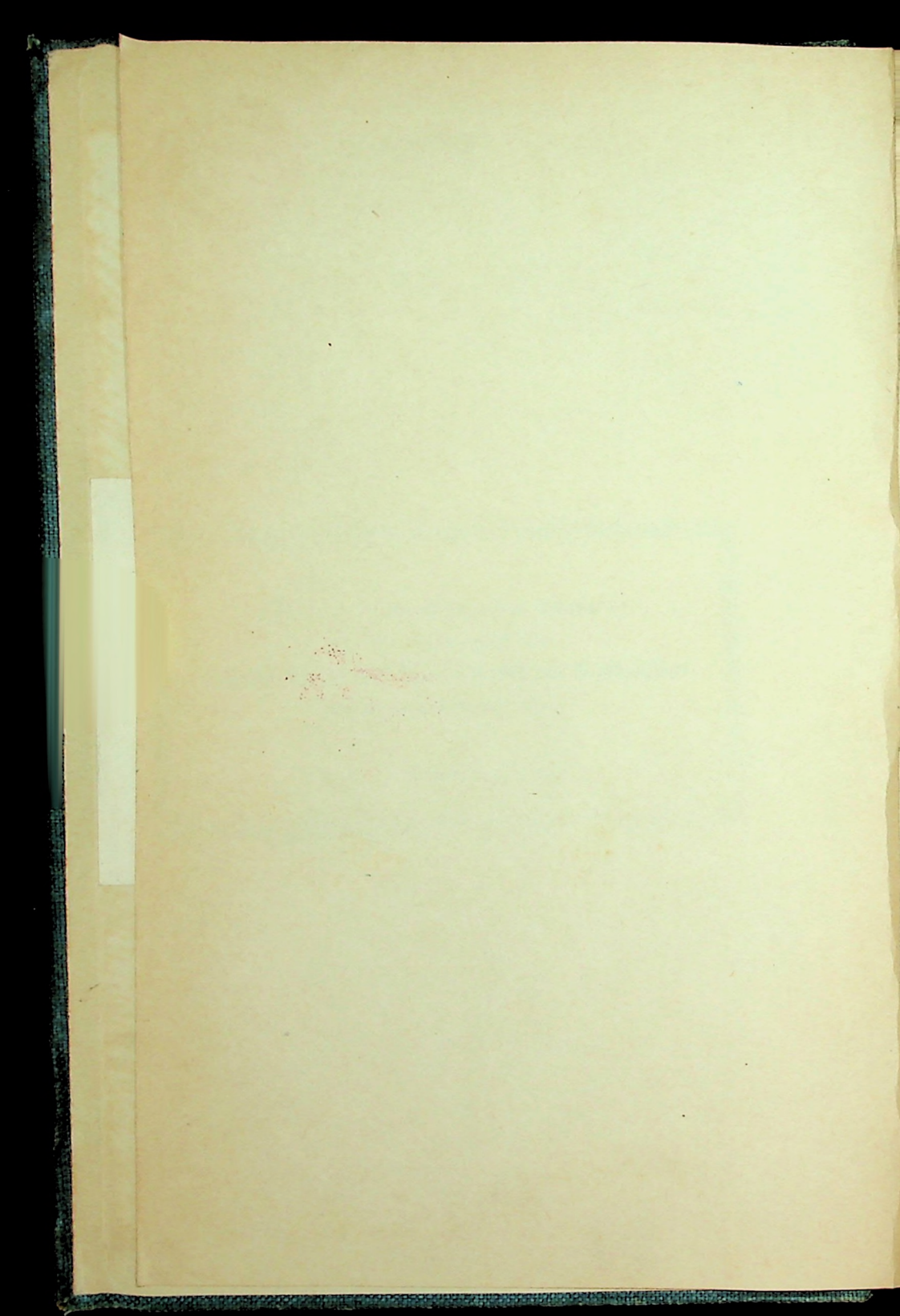
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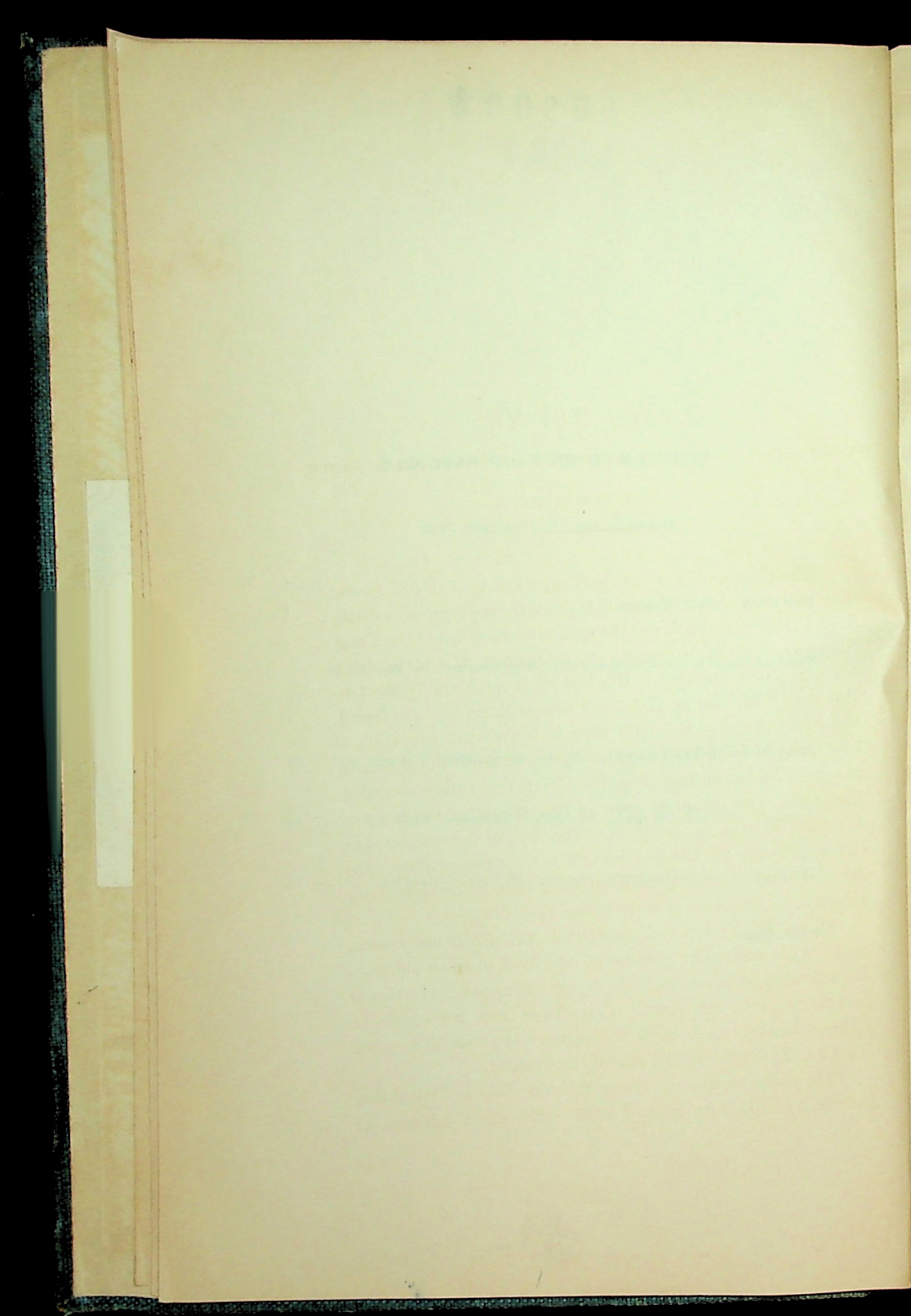
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Edited by JOHN C. FERGUSON, Ph.D.

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KWO TSĪ YI,

AN EMINENT MILITARY COMMANDER OF THE TANG DYNASTY.

By J. EDKINS, D.D.

The Chinese history of the Tang dynasty is in two forms. The writer of the first was Fei Tsi, who was fond of realistic description. His book was thought to be too full, and Ow Yang Sieu was appointed to prepare an abridgement of it. He omits many realistic passages. His history is considerably shorter. But both books are printed in all new editions. I have found it an advantage to use both their histories while preparing a biography of Kwo Tsī Yi. The foreign student will appreciate the help he can obtain from the Chinese minutely compiled histories. The names of most of the officers in the army of Kwo Tsī Yi may be recovered. The mass of facts collected in the biographies of Chinese history is very remarkable. The older History is called the Kieu Tang Shu, "The older Tang History." The later History is the Tang Shu.

Kwo Tsī Yi was rich, had noble rank, had many sons, seven in all, and many grandsons, and lived to be an old man. He was able by prudence and bravery to restore the empire to prosperity for a few years. There have been few epochs in Chinese history when rebel armies were so powerful as when Kwo Tsī Yi fought on the side of the dynasty.

He was a native of Cheng Hien in Honan. His father had been magistrate in five cities. He was a tall man of

noble appearance, fond of military exercises, and from his youth a cultivator of the art of war. In the year 749, regiments had been placed by imperial command at the northern border to guard against raiding parties of Turks. Kwo Ts'Ī YĪ was placed at the head of these regiments.

In 755 a man of Turkish extraction, An Lu Shan, rebelled. Kwo Ts'Ī YĪ was made prefect of Ling Wu, a city to the east of the capital, which was then Chang-an, the modern Sian Fu. He was also appointed governor of northern Shansi and the Ordos country, which had become a frequent battlefield on account of the restless spirit of the Turks, who then shepherded their flocks and herds in the pastures, now "the grass land" of the Mongol nomads. An edict appeared commanding Kwo Ts'Ī YĪ to suppress the rebellion. He soon sent the head of one of the rebel generals to be suspended above the palace gate. The rebels were at Ho Chu near Tai-yuen Fu. Our hero gained a victory over them and advanced to Ta-tung Fu in the north of Shansi, making a conquest of several rebel cities in the northern part of the province. Not long after this he made prisoners of 4,000 rebels in Chili near Chau Chow. A Turkish rebel chief, Shī Sī Ming, followed the army of Kwo Ts'Ī YĪ on the way to Chang Shan. He had a following of 20,000 men, yet he did not dare fight. He stopped when the loyal army stopped, and moved forward when they moved forward. Kwo Ts'Ī YĪ selected 500 horsemen and went to the east to attack this prudently cautious foe. He fought them successfully at Sha Ho near Shun-te Fu in the south part of Chili.

An Lu Shan heard that his confederate had been defeated and added to his forces. Kwo Ts'Ī YĪ advanced to Heng Yang at Chen-ting Fu, where now the Shansi railway branches off from the Peking and Hankow main line. A great battle was fought here. Forty thousand rebels were killed. The

prisoners were five thousand and the same number of horses were captured.

Shī Sī Ming ran away without shoes or stockings and his hair loose and hanging down his back to Po Ling in Tung Chang Fu in Shantung. All over Shansi the people were now eagerly engaged in beheading rebels. The magistrates all came out of their cities and obsequiously welcomed the imperial army. But while Kwo Tsī Yi was successful in Shansi and Shantung, and was planning the conquest of Chili, a rebel force was taking possession of Tung Kwan, the pass which separates Honan from Shansi. This movement of the rebels was the signal which convinced the timid emperor Hiuen Tsung that he should escape to Cheng-tu in Sichuen.

His successor, Su Tsung, proceeded to Ling Wu and mounted the vacant throne in that city. Both the capitals Chang-an and Loyang were in possession of the rebels, and the imperial commander Ko Shu Han sustained a defeat.

The loyal generals Kwo Tsī Yi and Li Kwang Pê now collected an army of fifty thousand men. The young emperor had few soldiers, and when this considerable force arrived at Ling Wu a new feeling of confidence was diffused through the court. The emperor reviewed the army. The prime minister Fang Le Wan asked for 10,000 men, whom he wished himself to lead in order to vanquish the rebels. This request the emperor granted from his admiration for the minister. In the battle that ensued this army was half cut to pieces by the enemy.

In December two rebel chiefs, Ashina and Tsungli, with Tungto Lobokur went beyond the north frontier with 5,000 mounted men to entice the Turkish magistrates of the nine prefectures and six sub-prefectures of the Yellow River bend (now occupied by the Ordos) to come with a force of several ten thousands to attack the city where the emperor was residing. Kwo Tsī Yi with the Wigur chief fought this army. There was an immense slaughter and many prisoners were taken.

The Yellow River bend became a land where tranquillity prevailed under the imperial ruler.

The Tung Kwan is the most important pass in China. It is a few miles to the east of the old capital in Shensi. The rebel chief Tsui Chien Yow, who held it, was attacked and defeated by Kwo Tsĭ Yi. Shansi on the north now became the scene of contention. Tsui Chien Yow escaped to Pu Chow. Four loyal officers gained successes outside of Pu Chow and went into the city to open the gates to Kwo Tsĭ Yi when he should arrive. This they did accordingly, but when he came in by one gate the main body of rebels went out by another. They retired eastward to An Yi, but the people of that city professed to be submissive and planned mischief. When a part of the rebel troops had entered, the gate guards let fall a portecullis. Tsui Chien Yow succeeded in escaping eastward, not having entered the gate. The Tung Kwan pass and the country round it were now perfectly peaceful. An Lu Shan, who had originated the rebellion, died at this time.

The emperor now commanded Kwo Tsĭ Yi to lead his men to Feng Siang, where he could guard the sovereign and the court. Subsequently he was sent to Chang-an, the capital. He sustained a reverse when encamped on the banks of the Chin River. He went to court and asked in the Chinese way for a punishment to be inflicted on him. This was done. He was degraded a few steps and all his titles and employments were continued as before. In October 757, he was second in rank in an army of 150,000 men. The General-in-Chief was a prince, Kwang Ping Wang. They attacked and secured the metropolis Chang-an. The Wigurs sent an army to assist them, and Kwo Tsĭ Yi formed a friendly relationship with the Wigur prince. They took an oath to pacify the country and not to rest till they succeeded. The imperial army extended for ten English miles in length. The rebels had 100,000 men. The battle was fought on the west of the capital. Kwo Tsĭ Yi led the centre.

The battle began with the capture of about sixteen mounted rebels. It ended with the beheading of 60,000 of the robber army. It was a complete victory. The Wigurs operated at the back of the rebel forces, and the battle lasted from noon to six in the evening. The rebel chiefs escaped the same night through the Tung Kwan pass to Shan Chow. The next morning the prince entered the capital. A million of people, old and young, lined the streets with shouts of joy and much weeping. People cried, "We never thought we should see our own army again." The prince gave the troops a three days holiday and then led them eastward. The emperor was congratulated by his courtiers, but he wept at the thought that the temple of his ancestors was burned, and his courtiers without one exception wept too with their sovereign.

In November the rebel chief, An Ching Sū, sent the second in command, Yen Chwang, to collect his force, still 100,000 in number, at Shan Chow, which it will be remembered is in Honan, a few miles east of the Tung Kwan pass. Here on the west of the city he arranged his camps and prepared for another struggle with the imperial army, which he learned by scouts was in a state of activity. Kwo Tsī Yi's army advanced to attack the rebels. The Wigur force ascended the mountain to get round behind them. Here they found an ambush of the enemy and fought with them. There were three thousand rebels, and they tried in the defile to prevent the Wigur junction with the imperial army. Kwo Tsī Yi, by previous agreement, drew back his troops and caught the rebels in a trap. He gave the signal to the Wigur chief and the whole rebel force in the defile was annihilated. He then attacked the main body. Behind them he ordered ten or twenty arrows to be shot. The rebels said in great alarm "the Wigurs are coming." They then took flight and reached Lo Yang, the second capital, which was in their power. The

first in command, An Ching Sū, crossed the river and held Siang Chow. Lo Yang was abandoned and was immediately occupied by the imperialists. Three hundred of the rebels now appeared to beg for mercy. They had changed the revolutionary red, so much in favor with rebels, and wore white, the color of mourners and penitents. The prince dismissed them with gracious words.

Let us now consider the situation. Our hero had driven the rebels out of the Honan capital of that time, and with Lo Yang the province was recovered. The second most important province was now restored to loyalty and peace. When Kwo Tsī Yi went back to the Shensi capital, the emperor sent out soldiers with drums and banners to welcome him, and spoke some words of warm and grateful praise for his noble victories on behalf of the dynasty.

The year 758, at which we have now arrived, reminds me that the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy divided England between them at this time and the people learning Christianity from monks who taught them charity abandoned the cruel massacres of the heathen age and became humane, intelligent and religious. In France, Charles Martel defeated the Saracen hosts at Tours and checked the spread of the Mahommedan religion in Europe.

The benign influence of Christianity is seen in the growth of humane feeling in western countries. Prisoners were not massacred after a battle, as in the days when heathenism prevailed.

The emperor Su Tsung was anxious that the rebel armies should be completely subdued. The governors of all the provinces were ordered to join with Kwo Tsī Yi in leading irresistible forces against the remaining rebels. Li Kwang Pê was the chief coadjutor of Kwo Tsī Yi. They besieged Wei Hwei Fu in north-eastern Honan. The rebel forces came against them in three large bodies.

Kwo Tsī Yi used a stratagem. He placed 3,000 archers in ambush under the shelter of a city wall. Wait, he said to them, till I call our army to retreat a little. The enemy will be sure to advance toward us. It will be your duty to beat drums and shoot your arrows so as to inflict severe loss on the enemy. Accordingly the imperialists advanced and the battle began. The imperialists retreated. Drums were heard. Arrows flew like a heavy shower of rain. The rebels were alarmed and ran. Kwo Tsī Yi led his army in pursuit and gained a notable victory. The rebel chief An Ching Ho was taken prisoner and sent to the emperor as a trophy. Kwo Tsī Yi now took possession of the prefectural city of Wei Hwei. The north-east portion of what is now Honan came into his hands. He pressed on, gained another victory and planted his encampments round the now dwindling army of An Ching Sū, who sent ten horsemen with a pressing despatch to his confederate Shī Sī Ming, urging him to come and take his title of prince, for he wished to resign it. Forty thousand of his men had been beheaded by the imperialists at the hill of sorrowful reflections. He was shut up in Siang Chow, and here Kwo Tsī Yi used another stratagem to vex him. He brought the water of the Chang River up to the city in sufficient quantity to inundate the rebel quarters for four hours. Still the city was not taken. But famine was doing its work and the inhabitants were eating one another. An Ching Sū's message had its effect in bringing Shī Sī Ming from Wei Hwei Fu, which had fallen into his hands. He was met by Li Kwang Pê and Lu Ling, who in a fiercely fought battle was killed by an arrow. In this engagement the loss was equal on both sides and Kwo Tsī Yi was not present. A tempest of wind which rooted up several trees was blowing and the atmosphere was so loaded with dust that he could not advance to take part

in the battle. The dust-storm changed daylight into darkness and objects could not be seen. The rebels retreated to the north and the imperialists to the south. Arms, knapsacks, and flags were scattered on the roads, the sign of a great catastrophe.

Kwo Tsī Yi with his Shofang brigade of Shansi men held Hoyang and cut away the drawbridge there across the river. Soon came another edict requiring him to protect Loyang. Just at this time Yu Chan En, his enemy, spoke against him to the emperor and procured his recall to the capital. A prince, Chau Wang, was put in his place as generalissimo, and Li Kwang Pê, the second in command, took the duty of protecting Loyang, which had been assigned to Kwo Tsī Yi. But General Kwo, although he had lost his military command, still meditated deeply on the war. His sorrow was not for his loss of power but for the danger to the dynasty. Soon Loyang was reoccupied by the rebel Shī Sī Lien. At the same time Chang-an was threatened by Si Fan robbers from Tibet. These robbers devastated a large part of Shensi. Censors now began to say, "Why should Tsī Yi be kept idle in the capital?" He was accordingly made general of troops for all the provinces adjacent to the capital and his power was increased. Soon after this Li Kwang Pê sustained a reverse at Mang Shan and lost the city of Hoyang, besides this two brigades assassinated their generals and became rebels, one in Honan and one at Taiyuan in Shansi. It was not the time to give high military position to young men. Tsī Yi was made governor of Shansi—(節度使 Tsie Tn Shī was then the title of a governor)—with the rank of generalissimo and prince of the second order.

The emperor Su Tsung was attacked by a fatal sickness. He could not transact business or be seen by anyone. Kwo Tsī Yi begged to be allowed to see him. I shall die

away from your majesty. If I cannot have an interview, I shall be in darkness. He was admitted to the emperor's sleeping apartment. The emperor said, "I trust to you the defence of Honan." Kwo Tsĭ Yi shed a flood of tears. The emperor gave him one of his horses, various silver articles and 90,000 pieces of silk and grass cloth.

Kwo Tsĭ Yi then went to Shansi and at once beheaded thirty or forty of the men who were guilty of assassinating their generals. The news of this punishment had a good effect on the soldiers at a distance who were meditating junction with the rebels. They submitted to be ruled by the laws.

The emperor Su Tsung died and Tai Tsung succeeded him. Kwo Tsĭ Yi's enemies recommended that his high military command should terminate. They advised that he should be placed in charge of the late emperor's tomb and that his other honours should be continued as before. The subject of this biography presented a memorial, describing what he had done and suffered during his ten years of active service. The new emperor said in reply, "I am deficient in virtue and intelligence. I listened to what ministers said in an insinuating way and suggesting suspicions. I have been wrong. I am ashamed of what I have done." Yet this emperor, though he spoke in this penitent manner, detained our general in the capital. As often is the case now in despotic monarchies, the emperor is overpowered by the combined will of the army chiefs and the high civil dignitaries.

But it was well for Kwo Tsĭ Yi to be in Chang-an. Robber forces had passed the Wei River. They were advancing at the foot of the southern or Nan Shan chain of mountains towards Chang-an. The emperor in alarm hastened eastward to Shan Chow. Kwo Tsĭ Yi on receiving this intelligence shed copious tears and hurried back to-

Chang-an to find that the emperor and ten or more princes were planning to throw themselves on the mercy of the enemy. He proposed to them to go with him to the emperor's present residence, and to this they agreed. He then proceeded with 3,000 men to Shang Chow, 30 miles south-east of the capital. He now collected 4,000 more men. The strength of his army was spoken of everywhere in the province. Meanwhile the enemy, who were Si Fan men from Tibet, had entered Chang-an and set up a prince, Kwang Wu Wang, as emperor. Chang Sun Tsiuen Su had now joined Kwo Tsĭ Yi with 10,000 men. He was sent forward to Hwun Kung Tai to camp his army there with a great display of flags, to which was added the incessant beating of drums. Chang Sun despatched into the city some officers secretly, to collect a band of able-bodied young men who might assist in carrying out Kwo Tsĭ Yi's plans when the time arrived. On a certain day this band beat drums in the street before the palace. The enemy were alarmed and left the city, which was occupied by the imperialist army. The commander of the bowmen, Wang Fu, was acting as mayor of the city with 2,000 soldiers, who by plundering the people kept the city in a disturbed state. Kwo Tsĭ Yi sent for Wang Fu and beheaded him. The emperor Tai Tsung gave him by edict full authority to rule in Chang-an. As he had restored peace in the city and the emperor was in Honan, everyone throughout the empire threw blame on the prime minister, Cheng Yuen Chen, for his weak policy in allowing the Si Fan robbers to approach the city and compel the emperor to leave it. Many memorials impeaching him were sent in. This minister saw that Kwo Tsĭ Yi was gaining great credit. He therefore advised the emperor to stay in Loyang and make it the capital in order to be at a safe distance from the Si Fan army. To this Tai Tsung consented.

Kwo Ts'Ī YĪ took this opportunity to address to the emperor a memorial urging the special claims of Chang-an still to be the capital of China. It was prepared for him by two high officers, one of whom was vice-president of the Board of War and the other the governor of a province 宣慰使 Siuen Wei Shī. The emperor yielded and gave the order to prepare his equipage for his return to Chang-an. He wept after reading the memorial and remarked to courtiers present, "Ts'Ī YĪ is truly a loyal and faithful servant of the state and of my dynasty."

In December 764 the imperial procession reached the palace in Chang-an. Kwo Ts'Ī YĪ knelt and prostrated himself before the emperor, asking pardon for his shortcomings. The emperor in his carriage praised him and said, "I employed you too late. It is for this reason that affairs have gone wrong in this sad manner." The emperor gave him a steel ring and ordered his portrait to be placed in the portrait hall of the palace. [The ancient customs of the court are preserved as far as possible in the present court of China. In 1901, I had the opportunity of visiting the western park in Peking where in the Tsi Kwang Ko the portraits of Tseng Kwo Fan, Li Hung Chang, Pen Yu Lin, Lieu Ping Chang and other ancient statesmen of the Tai-ping period, forty years ago, are preserved. I was not able to enter this building, nor was it permitted to foreign visitors to enter the portrait hall of the emperors at the back of King Shan, then under the care of the French.]

Bokuhweien was at this time in charge of Chinese troops at Fen Chow in Shensi. He was a Turkish chieftain, who, when An Lu Shan raised the standard of rebellion, offered assistance to Kwo Ts'Ī YĪ in subduing the emperor's enemies. His troops were now scattered, and he claimed Fen Chow and the adjoining cities as

his own. The Si Fan robbers from Tibet had retired. It was the dead of winter, and his son had been killed by a subordinate officer who sent his head to the capital as that of an enemy whose father was now meditating treachery. Chang Wei Yu, the officer just mentioned, led his troops to Kwo Tsī Yi. Bokuhweien fled in alarm to Ling Chow, leaving his mother behind. Kwo Tsī Yi was sent to reduce Shansi to order and oppose Bokuhweien. This chieftain now appeared at the head of more than 200,000 Turks and Si Fans. He entered China by way of Kansu, and the emperor in alarm ordered Kwo Tsī Yi to lead an army against him. At the same time he asked what should be done. Tsī Yi replied, "In Bokuhweien there is nothing to fear. He has lost his popularity with his men. They want to return to their homes, and that is the reason that they follow Bokuhweien. He has been my officer and his troops are all composed of my former army. I treated them well, kept my promises, and was generous in granting them largess. I know quite well they will not fight against me. It is on this account I say Bokuhweien is as weak as water."

Kwo Tsī Yi at this time sent his eldest son Kwo Yau to the north-west of the capital where Fen Chow was suffering from robbers. Bokuhweien now arrived on the north-east with a host of 300,000 made up of Tu Fan, Wigurs, Si Fans, Tanghiang, and mountain robbers. He first sent an expeditionary force to Tung Chow. He himself followed, intending to find his way to the capital on the east side from Hwa Yin, which is near Tung Kwan. The rest of his army approached the capital on the north-west. The emperor ordered his generals to post their troops all round the city at suitable points. Kwo Tsī Yi was at King Yang on the north. The names of the officers whom he placed on the four sides of his encampments with his 10,000 men are all given. He did not intend to fight. He meant by kind

words to draw over the troops of the enemy to the emperor's side. He sent officers to talk with them. Bokuhweien said, "The emperor is dead. Kwo Tsī Yi is no longer living." The messengers did their work well. They said, "Why should you fight for a traitor? You are our own men." They saw Kwo Tsī Yi walking from one post to another of his little army and asked "Who is that?" They were told "It is Kwo Ling Kung." But they said, "Kwo Ling Kung is dead. Bokuhweien told us so." They were then informed that "It is certainly he." "Then," said they, "we have been deceived." The messengers added, "Do you not remember the time long ago when you marched with him from one battlefield to another?"

Meantime Kwo Tsī Yi's officers said, "Do not trust these foreign people. If you go out to them they will kill you." He replied, "If we fight they are ten times as numerous as we are. How could we conquer with such a disparity of force?" Kwo Tsī Yi went out on his charger with about fifty mounted men. He rode slowly towards the enemy. He removed his helmet that they might see his face, and addressed them in a friendly way. "How are you," he said, "An hu? Long ago you were faithful and loyal. What has brought you here as enemies?" On this the Wigurs threw aside their spears, dismounted and bowed respectfully to Kwo Tsī Yi. They said, "Truly you are our father." He then called their officers to drink wine with him, gave them presents of silks and embroidery, and they conversed in a cheerful way. Our hero also said to the Wigurs, "The Tu Fan are the people to which my mother's brother and my nephew belonged. There has been no offence between us, and if you came here with hostile purpose you are fighting against your own kindred. It will be an easy matter for you to change sides. It was heaven that gave you your countless flocks of sheep and innumerable horses. You

"might drive away the Tibetan men and be friends with us. "Would not this be better?"

Just at this time Bokuhweien died of apoplexy at Mingsha, and the great multitude he had brought together were without a leader. They therefore consented to the offer of Kwo Tsī Yi. The Wigurs' chiefs were conducted to the court for an audience. The Tu Fan escaped as quickly as possible. Kwo Tsī Yi sent one of his generals, Pe Yuen Kwang, to join with the Wigurs in pursuing the Tu Fan. The main body of imperial troops followed. They inflicted a heavy defeat on the Tu Fans, who had a force of 100,000. At Ling Tai they beheaded 500 and took 10,000 prisoners with the whole of their kidnapped men and women, with oxen, sheep, horses and camels. Kwo Tsī Yi returned from King Yang to Chang-an. He was rewarded with 200 additional families. This gift would include their lands and houses. He then returned to Ho Chung.

In the year A.D. 766, the governor of the province of Hwa Chow rebelled. The emperor left his palace by a private road and ordered Kwo Tsī Yi to attack him and punish him with due severity. Officers of Hwa Chow and Tung Chow succeeded in killing the rebel with his son. They sent their heads to Chang-an.

In 767, a large army of Tu Fan tribesmen invaded King Chow. The emperor ordered Kwo Tsī Yi to remove his encampments to the south of King Chow and invite a battle. The engagement took place at Ling Chow. Twenty thousand of the enemy were killed. In 767, Kwo Tsī Yi returned to Ho Chung.

The Tu Fan tribesmen came again to plunder the country about Ling Wu. The emperor ordered Kwo Tsī Yi to lead 50,000 men to Feng Tien and encamp there. General Pê Yuen Kwang defeated the enemy at Ling Wu. When this matter was under consideration the emperor was

advised not to leave Malin unsupported. The Tu Fans were very destructive robbers and Ma's army was not strong enough to resist them. Kwo Tsī Yi was ordered to encamp his troops at Pin Chow 邠州.

In 767, in March, when Kwo Tsī Yi arrived in the capital he was entertained at a banquet by the chief ministers, who spent 300,000 cash on the occasion. The eunuch Yu Chau En made use of 2,000 pieces of silk embroidered with figures to wrap round the hero's head, as it was said. It was a time of great enjoyment to all the assembled party.

In January 768, robbers plundered the family tomb of Kwo Tsī Yi. His father was buried there. The robbers were sought for but were not captured. Many persons said that the eunuch Yu Chau was the cause of this. He had been an enemy of Kwo Tsī Yi for a long time past. Kwo Tsī Yi knew all this. But when he was present at an audience and the emperor asked about this matter, he said, weeping, "I have long been in charge of soldiers. It is difficult to repress their appetite for plunder. They not seldom rob private tombs. As to me, I am punished by heaven for my want of loyalty and filial piety. It is not a calamity inflicted on me by men." The emperor was satisfied with this answer.

By us it may be compared with the Christian duty of the forgiveness of injuries. It is a very fine element in the moral character of a brave and skilful general. We cannot but admire such a man.

Malin was made governor of King Chow and Yuen Chow, both of them on the north-west of the capital and about 140 miles distant from it. Kwo Tsī Yi, to guard the capital, was stationed 35 miles to the west. He was at the same time made governor of the north part of Shensi including the two prefectures Ming Hia and King Yang. His place was

to be near the emperor, he being the safest general at a time when foreign enemies were very powerful.

The Wigurs wanted money and asked China to buy ten thousand of their horses. The officers to whom they spoke replied that China's finances were low, a thousand horses would be enough. Tsī Yi said, "The service rendered us by the Wigurs has been very valuable. We ought to do what they ask. China must have horses. If money is required I willingly offer my salary for a year to help in buying the horses." The emperor said, "This shall not be." Men praised Kwo Tsī Yi for his loyalty. In the year 794 he went to court and presented a memorial. While conversing with the emperor on this occasion he wept as he mentioned the great strength of the Tu Fan army. In his memorial he said "it had always been necessary during fifteen hundred years to guard the northern frontier. Five fortresses had to be kept up along the Great Wall for 1,000 miles to oppose enemies and receive them when they came to announce their submission to Chinese rule. On the north were the 獫狁 Hien Yün (Kam on), the Turks in the Chow dynasty. On the west were the Tibetan tribes, the Kuen-jung (Kon-nung).

"In the period A.D. 713 to 756, the army of China contained 100,000 fighting men with 30,000 horses. They could only guard a part of the frontier. Since that time there has been no peaceful interval. War has been incessant during twenty years. The army has been reduced to one-third of what it was through the destructive raids of the army of Bokuhweien. If the army as it now is be compared with what it was 60 years ago it has not more than a tenth of the soldiers it then had.

"The Tu Fan tribes have now come with an immense force and have seized a large part of our territory. Each year they invade the land near the metropolis, and as to number they have ten times as many men as we can muster. How can we resist them? My forces are not what they once were, nor are

they powerful enough for it to be prudent in me to risk a battle with a foe so strong in numbers. The troops under my command are not equal in number to the fourth of the enemy's forces. I have but two horses to a hundred possessed by the enemy. The foe is so powerful that our people are afraid. How can peace be secured? My thought is in the present distress that it is not beyond your majesty's power to conquer. The troops need discipline. They must learn to obey the word of command and keep step in marching. Each province in the empire should furnish a fair number of men well drilled. I would like to have 50,000 or even 60,000 trained men selected for their military qualities in the various provinces. They should form the army of the frontier in the north of Shensi and Shansi. I feel sure they would be able to keep the enemy out. This programme for the defence of China would secure a lasting peace. He was thinking of the great extent of the country. At present the monthly pay of the troops, he said, is wasted. They have been drilled and are not suited to win a battle. Let me instruct them. If your majesty will send the men to me for instruction, their reputation will be widespread. They may be depended on to make a good appearance in the face of the foe or in defending a fortress. For twenty years I have served the state. I am unworthy of the high employments with which I have been entrusted. My hair is now white and my teeth are gone. The spirits of the universe are my witnesses that I am content. I need to retire and give place to able men who will follow me."

The emperor replied, "Your grief is profound and your plans are far reaching. From my heart I admire you, on you I have always depended, and you must give up the idea of resigning."

It was in the year 780 that the emperor Tê Tsung mounted the throne. He wrote an edict calling on Kwo Tsī Yi to return to court and accept the rank of prime minister.

He was in addition made commissioner in charge of the imperial tombs. He also received the titles of Shang Fu (eminent father) and Tai Yu Chung Shu Ling. He received the proceeds of the sale of 2,000 houses with the property annexed, the grain of fifteen hundred persons, and 200 horses. He gave up his old offices on promotion to these higher posts. His sons, nephews and sons-in-law received posts to the number of twelve or fifteen. In 781 he became dangerously ill. The emperor Tê Tsung deputed Prince Shu to inquire for his health and convey to him the words of a special edict. When the prince arrived at the gate the sons of Kwo Tsĭ Yi received him on their knees. Kwo Tsĭ Yi was himself a prince and did not need to bow to a prince, still less to kowtow. The hero was ill on his bed. He made signs with his hands to represent prostration and his thanks for the imperial favor. He died on the 14th day of the 6th month, in the 85th year of his age. The emperor was much grieved and directed that there should be no audience for five days.

Encomium on Kwo Tsĭ Yi by the historian Fei Tsi.

In the reign of Huien Tsung rebel bands began to collect in Chili. The Emperor retired to Cheng-tu. Both the capitals were lost to insurrectionary armies. The Fen Yang Prince (Kwo Tsĭ Yi) led an army from the north of Shansi, destroyed rebel forces in Shensi, faced the tiger and the wolf, and with one wave of his hand brushed away the briars and thorns. During seven or eight years he was most diligent in re-establishing the imperial authority. The dynasty was restored, which but for him would have disappeared in darkness. His merit transcended that of any other statesman. The state recovered its authority. When backbiting and calumny from men high in authority, but worthless in principle, deprived him of imperial favour, he felt no resentment. He did not in the day of calamity which followed his loss of office

rejoice in it as some men would, nor did he on this ground press the emperor to restore to him his military command. He did not feel hatred against his enemies nor did he aim to punish them for their actions. He was calm in his loyalty and till death retained his one feeling of faithful adherence to his imperial master. He was noble in character, such as the Ta Ya of the Book of Odes would admire. He was a genuine patriot who would live and die for the honour of the imperial house. During a thousand years from the days of the Tsin and Han emperors there has been no one to equal him in meritorious service and vigour of character. He liked plain living. He cared not at all for luxury. He could go to seek the tiger in his den. Where there was suffering he went to deliver from it. Truly may it be said that he inherited the loyalty and filial piety of all loyal subjects and filial sons of whom history speaks.

[The last words of admiration mention the hero's heart of iron and stone. His path was that of benevolence and uprightness. During four reigns he subdued rebellions. In this passage we hear of stone as a quality to be praised. In the 12th chapter of the Prophet Ezekiel we read, "I will take the stony heart out of their flesh." The Chinese writer looks on the heart of iron as a quality to be thought highly of. The Hebrew writer looks on it as unimpressible, ungrateful and stubborn. In both senses the figurative language is strikingly appropriate.]

APPENDIX.

The Tu Fan who came in large force to ravage north-western China in the eighth century were of the Tibetan race. Their capital was Lassa. In the seventh century they offered aid to Kau Tsung in A.D. 650, in case any of his subjects were disloyal. The Tibetan race is now in a state of decay. Twelve hundred years ago they were a warlike people. The climate was warmer then than it is now. They were not then so frozen up by ice and snows as at present. They poured into China, army after army, attracted by the wealth of the country and moved by the love of plunder.

The Wigurs were then the western section of the Turks and the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, but far more numerous and powerful.

The eastern Turks inhabited the region north of the Great Wall now occupied by the Mongols.

An Lu Shan.

The rebel chief An Lu Shan belonged to a Turkish family in Yung Ping Fu, to the east of Peking. He was very stout and weighed 300 catties. He was for several years a favorite of the emperor Hiuen Tsung. The father of the emperor's favorite wife, Yang Kwei fei, became his enemy and this led to his resolving to rebel.

STANDARD WEIGHTS AND MEASURES OF THE CH'IN DYNASTY.

By Rev. F. H. CHALFANT.

In the *Doctrine of the Mean* occurs the precept, "To no one but the Emperor does it belong to order ceremonies, to fix measures and to determine characters."

While the founder of the Ch'in dynasty is not noted for reverence for the sages, it seems that he at least accepted as his prerogative the right to fix measures. In spite of his cruelty and despotic rule, he was a radical reformer, and we may well regret that the standard weights and measures enacted by Shih Huang-ti (始皇帝) have not survived to the present day, at least in the matter of their uniformity. This effort to regulate and unify the diverse standards of the several states amalgamated by the founder of the Ch'in dynasty occurred in the 26th year of his reign, when he had himself proclaimed Czar of all the Chinas [B.C. 221].

While preparing these notes my attention was called to a paragraph upon this subject by Edouard Chavannes [*Mémoires Historiques*, Vol. II, p. 549], who gives a miniature copy and French translation of the edicts issued by Shih Huang-ti and his successor Erh Shih Huang-ti (二世皇帝) relating to the

introduction of standard weights and measures. This author acknowledges the Chinese work *Chin Shih So* (金石所) as the source of his information. In 1797 (2nd year of Emp. Chia Ch'ing) a scholar, Hsüeh Shang-kung (薛尚功), re-edited these edicts in his excellent treatise on ancient inscriptions, called by the ponderous name *Li Tai Chung Ting I Ch'i K'uan Shih Fa-t'ieh* (歷代鐘鼎彝器款識法帖), which may be rendered "Fac-similes of Inscriptions from Ancient Bells, Tripods, Libation-cups and Other Vessels." From this I have carefully transcribed the edicts by the two emperors of Ch'in, with the corresponding modern Chinese characters as therein given [see Figs. 1, 2, 3] and append the following translation:—

"In the 26th year, the Emperor, having effected a tranquil union of all the nobility and black-haired people under Heaven, assumed the title of Huang-ti [Emperor], and hereby commands the Ministers Chuang and Kuan to see to the weights and measures, and, wherever diversity be suspected, let them be made uniform."

Following this is the edict of the succeeding ruler Erh Shih:—"In [this] the first year of our reign we command our Ministers Ssü and Ch'ü Chi to carry into effect the system of measures devised by Shih Huang-ti. To change the title and inscription would be to dishonour Shih Huang-ti. Lest future generations fail to respect his deeds and virtue, we inscribe this edict. Therefore let it be engraved on the left [*i.e.* following the original edict], and let none doubt it—P'ing Yang catty."

The second of these edicts is not the most lucid bit of Chinese, though the main idea is readily perceived, to wit, that the Imperial author wishes the credit for the reform in weights and measures to be given to his royal father, who initiated it, and does not even attach his own title to the endorsement of the system, lest thereby the glory of the originator be dimmed. Let us hope

秩兼天下諸侯
 黔首大矣介於
 不索自王帝了
 相狀綰綰度量
 則不壹新疑者
 皆即壹止
 元方制詔相
 其本秩綰度量
 盡始皇帝始
 有躬短令
 號而不稱始
 皇帝其久遠
 如後嗣無土者
 稱成功盛德
 此詔故所左傳
 疑

Fig. 1. (From Hsieh's Ancient Inscriptions.)

廿六年皇帝盡并
 兼天下諸侯黔首
 大矣介於
 了詔相狀綰綰
 度量則不壹新
 疑者皆即壹止
 元方制詔相
 其本秩綰度量
 盡始皇帝始
 有躬短令
 號而不稱始
 皇帝其久遠
 如後嗣無土者
 稱成功盛德
 此詔故所左傳
 疑

Fig. 2. (From Hsieh's Ancient Inscriptions.)

廿六年皇帝盡并
 兼天下諸侯黔首
 大安立號為皇帝
 乃詔丞相狀綰法
 度量則不壹歟
 疑者皆明壹之
 元年制詔丞相斯
 去疾法度量盡始
 皇帝為之者有刻
 辭焉令罷號而
 刻辭不稱始皇帝
 其於久遠也如後
 嗣為之者不稱成
 功盛德刻此詔
 故刻左使毋疑
 平陽所

Fig. 3. (Modern characters of two inscriptions above.)

* In second inscription (Fig. 2) 殿 occurs for 也

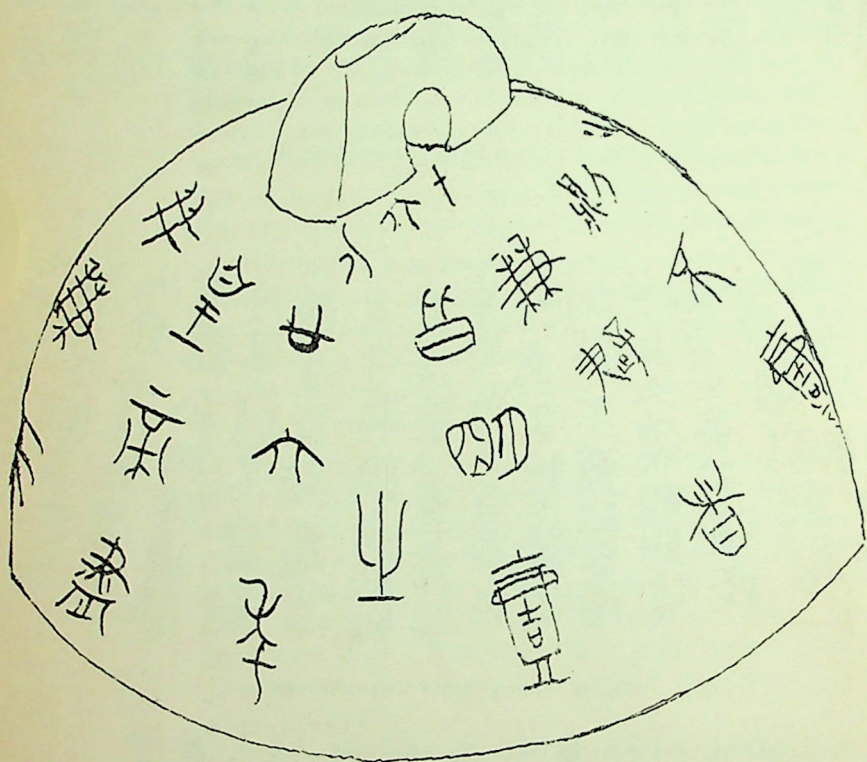


Fig. 4. Outline drawing of 16-catty weight: actual size.

that this is a redeeming trait in the character of a tyrant who was so thoroughly hated by his people that they rebelled and drove him to suicide after a short reign of three years.

The above-cited edicts were engraved upon metal models of the new weights and measures. Tradition has it that the foot-rule was also among the authorised standards, though I have not been able to find any distinct evidence of this. Of the weights, some were copper, some iron* with a copper plate inlaid for the inscription, and others probably of stone. These models were distributed among the officers of the realm as standards to which all commercial weights and measures must conform.

In 1803 a famous scholar of Yangchow, Juan Yüan (阮元) by name, revised the work on inscriptions by Hsüeh Shang-kung, adding sixty-seven transcriptions to the four hundred and ninety-three of the original treatise.

Among these is an incomplete inscription from a Ch'in measure, sixteen characters being illegible. Besides the very different style of writing, the only variation in text is the substitution of 皆 (*chieh*) "all" for 者 (*ché*), an enclitic of somewhat the same meaning. [This occurs in the edict of Erh Shih Huang-ti, *see* Figs. 4, 5.] With the characteristic vagueness of his race, the author fails to state whence these inscriptions were obtained. We know, however, that several finds of these old measures have verified the tradition. The latest, and perhaps the most important find, was at Hsi-Ngan Fu (Shensi), which was the capital city of the Ch'in Dynasty under the name Hsien-Yang (咸陽). So far as I can ascertain, there were found three weights and ten measures, besides some fragments, all in good state of preservation, thanks to the non-alkaline quality of the earth. By courtesy of the dealer

* One of these is described by Mr. Hackmann in *East of Asia*, July 1903, p. 183.

who negotiated the sale of this valuable find, I have obtained accurate rubbings of most of them with their inscriptions. Deposited with these was a copy of the edict of Shih Huang-ti on jade. Of these weights and measures, eight are in the collection of the Ting family, Huang-hsien, Shantung; one, the 8-catty weight, is in the collection of a certain Liu T'ieh Yün in Peking; and one, the 16-catty weight, is now in Weihsien, Shantung. By permission of the owner, I have been permitted to copy and weigh the last-mentioned specimen [*see* Fig. 4]. It is $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches high and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter at the base, and weighs 9 lbs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces avoirdupois, or 4,186 kilogrammes. A square hole has been gouged from the bottom to correct the weight after casting. The whole convex surface is covered with the inscription, being that of Shih Huang-ti without the supplementary edict by his successor. The same is true of all the specimens of this lot, which proves them to be of the original issue of Shih Huang-ti [B.C. 221].

The appended table of comparative weights is deduced from the above-described 16-catty weight. It will be noticed that these ancient weights are barely half the weight of the corresponding modern ones.

One Chu (銖)	equals	0.68 + grammes
24 Chu equal 1 Liang (兩)	„	16.35 + „
16 Liang „ 1 Chin (斤)	„	261.62 + „
16 Chin „ (?)	„	4,186.00 „ (4.186 kilos.)
30 Chin „ 1 Chün (鈞)	„	7,848.75 „ (7.848 + „)
4 Chün „ 1 Tan (石)	„	31,395.00 „ (31.395 „)

According to the wording of one of the above inscriptions, some of these weights were on the basis of the P'ing Yang catty (平陽斤). The precise significance of this I cannot give, but presumably the standard weight of that city (now P'ing-Yang Fu) had some connection with the adopted system.

It would seem that this excellent reform was annulled by the overthrow of the Ch'in Dynasty, and chaos in weights and measures again ensued. It remains for another Son of Heaven to imitate the worthy example of the Napoleon of China and give the nation some uniform standards.

SOME CHINESE FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

By Rev. W. GILBERT WALSH, B.A.

In venturing to introduce this paper some apology is, perhaps, necessary for selecting a subject so familiar and oft-discussed. But I may defend myself by remarking that, with regard to our information on the subject of Chinese funeral ceremonies, "the end is not yet," and it will be long before the subject is exhausted, so varied are the methods which obtain in different parts of the Empire ; and that what I may be able to contribute may be found to contain some elements which are sufficiently novel to merit attention and excite interest. I will endeavour to give an outline not of funeral customs generally, but, as the title of my paper indicates, "some" such customs, *i.e.* those which are found in that part of China with which I am most familiar, *viz.* the Prefectures of Ningpo and Shaohing, in the Chehkiang Province, with some divergencies which are exhibited in other places, and which present some items deserving of special mention.

The importance of the subject will be at once evidenced when we consider that there is, perhaps, no event in the "pilgrimage" of the Chinaman which demands so great attention, such scrupulous observance of immemorial custom, and lavish expenditure of labour and capital, as the carrying out of a "decent funeral." Birth and marriage are occasions

of very great importance, but Death, in a double sense, figurative and literal, overshadows all; and it is for this reason that we may expect to find, in the study of some of these customs, a further glimmering of light upon that mysterious entity which we call the Chinese mind. The outward observances upon which he devotes so great an expenditure of time and money must, to some extent, exhibit the trend of his inward thought, and this should be especially the case in a matter of such importance as that which we are considering. Here, too, we see him as he is, not posing for his photograph, as it were, but naturally following the bent of his nature and education. Another point which deserves consideration is this, *viz.* that these ceremonies are, to a large extent, "home-made"; they do not arise from Confucianism, nor are they wholly Buddhistic or Taoistic,—the fact that they differ so widely in adjacent districts may serve to evidence their local origin; and it is further confirmed by observation, for it is obvious to the most casual observer that funeral observances grow from year to year in number and variety, and, in a place like Shanghai, one might almost say there is an evolution exhibited in each successive funeral. Confucius lays down no rules with regard to the treatment of the dead, beyond the admonition that all things should be done "decently and in order," that the family circumstances should be taken into account, and that the various classes of society should be guided by the precedents which obtain in each class,—the tradesman should not seek to emulate the official, and so forth; but he enunciates one general principle, which should govern the conduct of the entire affair: "In mourning it is better to be sorrowful than punctilious." I need hardly point out that Chinese funerals of the present day exhibit the exact antipodes of these two principles—there is a frantic desire on the part of all classes to "go one better" than their neighbours, and the

copious tears which are shed are less due to a feeling of heart-broken grief than to the artful application of a piece of raw ginger to the eyes. It is hardly necessary to say that the observance of these customs is inseparably connected with the extraordinary development of the idea of filial piety, and the ancestral worship of which it is the inspiration and the key. Time will not permit of a more detailed investigation of the lessons which such customs are calculated to impart, but one conclusion we may arrive at is this, that the conduct of Chinese funerals supplies a cue to Chinese character which has not been sufficiently emphasized. Nothing shows so plainly the spirit of frantic egotism and emulation which seems to possess every Chinese household; a spirit which insists upon carrying out, to the utmost detail, all the traditional funeral observances, without the slightest reference to the pecuniary circumstances of the case, or the load of debt which the outlay is sure to involve. Appearances must be kept up at whatever cost, and though everyone knows that the family is not worth \$100 it is determined to make a show of spending \$1,000. Gambling and opium smoking are perhaps the vices of the present day which most impoverish the Chinese, but I venture to say that funeral expenses make a good bid for third place. Innumerable cases are met with of families being irretrievably ruined by the extravagance of one funeral ceremony, and the acquisition of a grave site; and the evil shews no sign of abatement but rather of aggravation. It would be well for all students of the Chinese and Chinese affairs, and especially for those who have direct dealings with the Chinese—diplomats, merchants and missionaries—to bear this national characteristic in mind. I believe that many of our failures to impress the Chinese, in whatever way, have resulted from the inability to comprehend this remarkable trait of the Chinese character. Patronise the Chinese, and what is the result? Punish him,

and do you find yourself in any better position? By either method you offend his pride without advancing your own cause by a hair-breadth; he refuses to acknowledge himself beaten, and is utterly unaffected by your assumption of superiority. Full allowance must be made for the national pride before armed remonstrance or lofty condescension can be of the least avail. I submit the thought to your consideration; but as my proper business this evening is to describe rather than to discuss, I will address myself to the subject in hand.

When all remedies have failed to retain the departing spirit, the dying man is prepared for entering the presence chamber of the Gods, before whom he must appear: the God of the local temple 本境神, the God of the city walls and moats 城隍神, and the God of Hades 閻羅王. His head is shaved; his body and extremities washed; his nails on hands and feet are cut, and the parings carefully preserved; and his underclothing changed. When *in articulo mortis* he is supported in a sitting posture, and not permitted to lie down, it being believed that the soul makes its escape from a recumbent figure by the lower part of the body, and, as a result, on re-incarnation will be gross and stupid; whilst from the upright body it flies aloft through the mouth, and re-appears eventually by transmigration in a highly developed condition. Tinsel money and charms 經佛號 are burnt before him, and the ashes collected, wrapped in paper, and placed in his hand, whilst he is informed that the expenses of the journey have all been provided, and he frequently nods his head in contentment if unable to give vocal expression to his feelings [*c.f.* the Chaldaean custom of placing a bowl of dates in the hand to provide food for the journey, and the Russian custom of furnishing the dying with a printed paper in the Slavonic character which has been already recited by a priest]. [In Shaohing no effort is made to assist the dying to a sitting

posture, but it frequently happens that a man just before expiring makes an effort to sit up, in order, as they say, that the messenger of Hades may put a chain around his neck with which to lead him away, and it is at this stage that his hand opens and the ashes of the burnt sycee are put in it, when it immediately closes; dollars or cash he will reject, but this he clutches convulsively.] Sometimes a small lantern, obtained from a Buddhist temple, and already used in the worship of heaven, is placed in his hand, and he is advised to hold it fast, as the way before him will be dark; and again he nods his acquiescence. If the family can afford it, a paper sedan-chair with two bearers is purchased, and the bearers are given distinctive names and invited to partake of food which is set before them, and strings of paper money are placed upon their shoulders; the small lantern is taken from the hand of the dying man and fastened to the pole of the chair, and the whole paraphernalia—chair, bearers, tinsel and lantern—are burnt in the open air. If by any chance the sick man should recover after the burning of the chair and bearers it is supposed that they are still to be found within call if necessary, so that in case of a relapse it will not be necessary to buy a new outfit, but only to recall the bearers by name and present them with refreshments, and a fresh supply of paper money is burnt before the invisible conveyance and its bearers. To die in the early morning is in some places considered felicitous, because there are three meals left for his posterity to enjoy, but to die after the consumption of the evening meal is considered to be ill-omened, for then, by implication, there is nothing left for his successors.

It is important that the several sons of the dying man and other relatives should be present to attend the death-bed; and, as they weep, they call upon him not to leave them but to awaken from his sleep,—very much as the ancient Romans did.

The cries of daughters are considered to have special virtue in opening Heaven's gate, and a man who does not possess a daughter or two is much to be pitied,—contrary to a prevailing but very erroneous idea current among Foreigners. The moment death takes place an elder conducts the proceedings and orders the queues of the sons to be unravelled, and candles to be lighted before the ancestral shrine and the God of the Hearth, because the warrant for the capture of the departed soul is supposed to have arrived from the God of Hades, and it must be countersigned by the ancestral spirits, or their representative, and the God of the Hearth. This warrant is supposed to have arrived three days before death, and its advent is frequently announced by the dying man, who requests that arrangements be made for his departure which is to take place at such a time three days later. When asked what he has seen he will sometimes reply: "I saw a man bearing a white thing about six inches long by one inch wide, which he shewed me, bearing some characters written on it." Sometimes the warning is given to some other person who suddenly hears the peculiar sound made by a split bamboo striking against something, and thrice repeated; occasionally the dread messenger is said to be seen by others—a gigantic figure clothed in white, whose back alone is seen, his face being invisible.

The messengers of the God of Hades are said to be two, viz. the living *Wu-ch'ang* 活無常 and the dead *Wu-ch'ang* 死無常, the name *Wu-ch'ang* meaning "Uncertain" and being explained by the uncertainty of the summons of Death. The living *Wu-ch'ang* is not a demon, but the soul of a living man who is employed by the *Wu-ch'ang* to guide him to the house of his victim. The true Uncertain, as coming from the hidden world, is unable to find his way in the light of day, and requires a mortal spirit to guide him; and the living man thus selected falls into a trance or faint, during which he

fulfils the behests of the messenger from Hades, and when he awakens from his trance refuses to reply to all questions put to him, except to say that he has been employed in catching a soul: to say more would be to "reveal the secrets of his prison house" and bring down the wrath of King Pluto. Some say that these two characters represent not individual agents of Pluto but only the two souls (the animal and the spiritual, *i.e.* the psyche and the pneuma) which everyone possesses—the *Hun* and the *P'ö* as they are called in Chinese. The first of these is written in Chinese with a character which means *black* attached to the word for *spirit* or *demon*, and hence represents *black spirit* 魂, and the other has the character which stands for *white* prefixed to the same word meaning *spirit*, and hence represents *white spirit* 魄, and these have been personified, by the ignorant, as the lictors which come to carry off the soul; whereas they themselves are the essential parts of the soul which of its own accord is about to leave its tenement. The *hun*, in conformity with its nature, soars aloft and is dissipated, the *p'ö* descends into the element of earth and haunts its old neighbourhood.

[The *p'ö* is said to be found in a concrete form in the case of a suicide by hanging; in such a case the person must not be cut down, but the knot must be unravelled; and digging down into the earth immediately beneath somewhat less than three feet, a small ball of a substance resembling charcoal will be found, which is no other than the *p'ö*; and when this is put into the mouth of the suicide his life will return to him and the *hun* also be ultimately restored.] The matting on which the deceased is lying is given a pull, with the idea that this will prevent a lingering illness in the next incarnation. A party is dispatched to a neighbouring canal to "buy water" with which to wash the corpse. The water having arrived, the face, hands, feet and chest of the corpse are perfunctorily washed, and the dead man is

removed from his bed and supported on a chair; the matting and straw on which he has been lying are removed and burned in the open street, at a distance of not less than one hundred paces from the house; the direction taken is carefully arranged according to the time of the year, *e.g.* in the first, fifth and ninth months it must not be Eastward from the house: in the second, sixth and tenth months it must not be Northward; in the third, seventh and eleventh months it must be anywhere but West; and in the fourth, eighth and twelfth months it must not be South. It is of the utmost importance that the feet of the corpse should not touch the ground, and they are supported in the lap of the daughter-in-law, generally covered with a cotton cloth; a small table is spread before the body, containing two bowls, one of rice and the other containing vegetables, etc., the vegetable being of the long stalk variety, representing a long life and firm root in the next stage of existence.

Meanwhile another party has gone to announce the death at the local temple. [In Shaohing this is one of the first things to be done: the sons of the deceased, with the braid removed from their queues, wearing their white gowns, aprons, and white fillets round their heads, and shod with straw sandals, take candles and paper money of two kinds, one representing sycee or shoes of silver 銀錠, and another folded up in squares so that when released it falls into long strings representing strings of cash 紙錢.] On arrival at the temple of the God of Agriculture, the eldest son, as chief mourner, lights the candles, makes his prostrations and burns the paper money; this money is supposed to act as a cumshaw to the God of Agriculture, who is represented as the agent of Pluto in the arrest of the soul, and hence requires a little remuneration. In fact the whole process is described as *p'u t'ang* 鋪堂 or "strewing the Hall," a phrase applied in real life to "squaring

the officials" at a Yamen in order to be assured of "justice," and it is fairly inferred that the officials in the nether world are equally amenable to a "consideration." The chief mourner then approaches one of the upright pillars (on the left-hand side if he is mourning for his father or male relation, and the right-hand one if the deceased happens to be a female) and gives three rubs, as if to loosen the cords which are supposed to detain the captive soul. Every image in the temple, without exception, including those of the attendant demons, is respectfully saluted, and all are supposed to have a share in the rich outlay of (paper) "money" which is submitted to the flames. In Peking the visit is paid, not to the temple of Agriculture, but to the "Wu Tao" temple, 五道廟 *i.e.* a temple devoted to the five Gods of Hills, Horses, Grain, Fire and Plague, which are depicted upon the walls, and not moulded into statues as is usual. No cries must be emitted *en route*, lest the spirit of the dead should become confused and miss the way, but once arrived at the temple weeping and wailing are permissible. The visit must be repeated a second and third time in the same way; the first time to escort the spirit thither, the second time to visit it when there, and the last time to escort it home again: on this last occasion an old broom is invested with some garments belonging to the dead, and placed in a chair carried by two men. The son precedes the chair to the temple, where, on arrival, he burns incense and paper money and prostrates himself before the Gods; then every member of the party grasps a handful of paper money, and, either inside or outside the temple, endeavours to recall the spirit, calling upon him as "Father," "Uncle," etc., according to the degree of relationship, and at each cry he strikes the wall with the paper money, relaxing his hold of the paper at the same time. Should the paper by any chance adhere to the wall and remain there,

he at once cries out eagerly "He's here," "He's here," and the son hurries forward, and, calling out repeatedly "Father" or "Mother," as the case may be, reverentially places the paper in his bosom, and, calling out all the time, whilst the others cry in chorus "Uncle," "Aunt," etc., walks to where the broom is placed, and inserts the piece of paper, now supposed to contain the wandering soul, in the breast of the effigy. The procession then returns home and the effigy is placed in front of the coffin. On returning to the house arrangements are made for removing the dead to the middle hall, which is reserved for special occasions, and which also contains the ancestral shrine [but in Shaohing the position of the corpse is first reversed, indicating the hope that the dead man may return from the hidden world, and this is illustrated by the transposition of the *foetus* before birth]. A meal is laid out on a large sieve and placed before the dead, with wine and candles, and is then carried in procession to the front of the house and laid outside the door; the members of the family, in white clothing, kneel on a piece of coir matting, weeping and prostrating themselves alternately. Poor people, at this stage, burn three pairs of straw shoes, intended for the two messengers from Hades and the son of one of them, whose name is said to be "Ah-ling." Wealthier people burn instead a paper sedan-chair, with bearers, a valet and a maid, one carrying a pipe and the other a tea-cup. This process is called "sending off the Wu-ch'ang" and must not be postponed until the next day, for if the Wu-ch'ang is detained he may be tempted to commit an act which will involve the house in ruin. The shoes and sycee are burned, and it is considered a fortunate circumstance to wear a pair of these shoes which may have escaped the fire. The candles are then thrown away and the family retires inside. [In Peking a paper cow, in the case of a female,

or a horse, in the case of a male, is burned at the front door to furnish a mount for the departed; and a man ascends the roof, and with a long bamboo pole pokes the chimney from above, in order to clear a space for the departing spirit, which is now supposed to be liberated by the gods, and is expected to return home before starting on his long journey.] The bed is carried out and put in position, its situation varying with the aspect of the building. If, for instance, the hall faces *East*, the head of the bed is placed towards the *North*, *i.e.* cross-wise; if *West*, the head is towards the *South*; if *South*, the head is *East*; if *North*, the head is *West*. It is considered unlucky to convey a corpse into the house from the outside,—in such cases a temporary shed must be erected on the spot,—but, if the body should be carried inside, in defiance of custom, then it will be necessary to remove the ridge pole of the roof, and with an ox-plough turn up the ground on the spot where the coffin had rested: this is supposed to be equivalent to rebuilding the house. In the case of an unmarried person the bed is placed at the side of the hall with the head towards the inside,—the idea of this is that the position of honour, *i.e.* crosswise, is reserved for those whose tablets are to have a place in the ancestral shrine, at which unmarried persons are allowed no representation. [In Shaohing the body is placed at the side of the hall with the feet towards the north, and in Peking the head is always towards the door. In Greece and Rome the position was reversed, the feet being towards the outer door.]

The body is then carefully secured to a chair by broad bands, and four strong men are selected to convey it to the state apartment; the head is supported by the eldest son, and the feet by the daughter-in-law. The burden must on no account be laid down until its destination is reached; a fall would be considered a frightful calamity. An

umbrella is held over the chair as it moves, to hide one who is now a denizen of the shades from the light of Heaven, and handfuls of rice are thrown upon it, with the idea of expelling all evil influences. The corpse is placed on the bed and covered with a coverlet. [In Shaohing a bed is not used, but a door or two planks are substituted.] A sheet of white paper is placed over the face—the Egyptians used gold-leaf,—and the feet are placed close together and propped in position; to allow them to fall apart would mean the death of the nuptial partner shortly after. A messenger is then sent to a Taoist priest and informs him the date of the deceased's first attack of illness, the time of his death, and the number of his years. The priest writes a large sheet of yellow paper mentioning these particulars, and the date on which the spirit may be expected to return, together with the classes of persons, born under certain auspices, whose presence at the confining is contra-indicated; and on obtaining this information, which is sometimes pasted up diagonally on the wall of the house, the family is able to prepare for the return of the departed spirit and his attendant, and a courteous treatment of the latter is considered advisable, in order to secure good treatment for the dead relative on his ghostly journey. Amongst other information given by the Taoist is the date on which the process of confining should be undertaken, and the "double days" when crying is not permissible, lest a second death should ensue; together with the days when the Gods are making holiday, on which days it is of the utmost importance that no dog or other four-footed animal should be permitted to stray under the bed, or rat to run over the coverlet, for if such event were to happen, the dead man would certainly try to get out of bed and move about in the manner of the galvanised dead, *i.e.* by a succession of short hops as in a sack race. To guard against any such emergency a chair is

placed at the side of the bed, on the left-hand of the dead man, with its back close to the bedside; and a table set in front of it containing two cups of tea, one for the dead and one for his keeper; the idea being to make a show of providing for the spirit in case he should decide upon getting up, but really to prevent him doing so, for it is understood that, as soon as the corpse embraces anything with his arms, he at once falls back again into unconsciousness, and the chair is thus insinuated so that he may have something on which to hold. A single straw shoe is fastened to the cross-piece or round of the table, and its fellow thrown into the canal; the intention being that the attendant demon may not be able to travel so fast as to tire his victim, and his pace is thus retarded by his being shod on one foot only; another expedient is the placing of one chopstick for the attendant, so that he may not be able to eat his rice very expeditiously.

A large sheet is hung to screen the body from the observation of people passing the door, and a basket of lime containing a rude lamp, consisting of a bowl of oil with a wick in it, which is kept constantly alight, day and night, so that the deceased may have "a lamp to his feet" wherever he journeys. (Sometimes a special lamp, six branched, is borrowed from the temple for this purpose.)

If the deceased happens to be aged, say seventy years old or more, the curtain at the foot of the bed is red in colour, to shew that death, in his case, should not be considered an occasion of sorrow; and no word of consolation is spoken or sign of grief is shewn by the visitors; on the contrary, nothing but compliments are heard that such a happy consummation has been reached, full of years and in the midst of a numerous posterity. Wine-drinking, the "Morra," etc. are all the rule, and anyone would be laughed at who insinuated that there was any occasion for grief. It is to be noted that until the actual

coffining takes place the candles used are of the usual red variety; white candles are not employed until all hope of revival has departed, and the body is about to be placed in the coffin.

The head and feet of the corpse are supported on specially made pillows of yellow cotton, stuffed with paper waste [in Shaohing the pillow is made of paper specially cut to represent strings of cash; or, in country districts where cotton is manufactured, a reel on which cotton is wound is used instead].

A swift messenger is despatched to inform the relatives of the decease, who are expected to send gifts to the bereaved family. [In Shaohing two duck-eggs are given to the messenger by each family, and as the messenger travels very fast, the gift has passed into a proverb, so that sometimes when a man in a great hurry collides with another man in the street, he is asked in an injured way:—"Are you going to announce a death?" or "I suppose you are going to eat duck-eggs." The messenger carries an umbrella under his arm, and on arrival at a house he places it on end outside the door, it being supposed that the soul of the departed is confined within it. The presents consist of small quilts, about three feet long and a little more than a foot wide, which are carefully marked and reserved for placing in the coffin in due course; they are thus marked to ensure that those furnished by important members of the family should have a first place. Someone is in constant attendance in the "Hall of Filial Piety," as it is called for the nonce, generally the daughter or daughter-in-law; and at night all the male members of the family sleep in attendance on the dead. The day on which visitors are invited to pay their respects to the dead (called Kai Tiao 開弔) varies in different places; in Ningpo it may be on the third or fifth day before the funeral; in Shaohing it is held on the day before the funeral. Notices are posted up announcing the programme for each day. If, for instance, five days are so arranged, five separate posters give the events. Notice of the

arrival of visitors is given by the gateman, who beats three times on a drum, a trumpet is sounded and a hand-cannon discharged. The musicians then strike up and the mourners are warned of the approach. The chief mourner kneels at the side of the spirit table—the stewards escort the visitor to the curtain, where he kneels four times and bows four times. His offerings have been sent on before him, and consist of paper articles, meats for sacrifice, or a pair of small scrolls called *wan* and a larger one of silk containing four large characters in gold, which is called *chow*. The two words *wan* and *chow* contain a paronomasia implying a desire to bear a hand in drawing the hearse, the word *wan* 輓, meaning “to pull,” and *chow* 軸 “an axle.” The name of the visitor and the nature of his offering are recorded in a book by a writer who sits at a side table, so that, when occasion requires, a similar return may be made to the donor.

The servants who bring these gifts are given money or pieces of calico, and a set of ten handsome bowls with a large piece of calico is given them for presentation to their master; numbers of people on such occasions go to the house of mourning with cheap gifts of candles, etc., in the hope of receiving presents in return, on the Chinese principle of “presenting a quince in the hope of receiving a gem.” Refreshments are served to visitors before departing. At noon a notice is posted bearing the characters 閉靈 *Pi Ling*, which indicate that the reception of visitors is concluded for that day.

The style of the coffin varies throughout the empire. In some places it represents the trunk of a tree; in the North the lid projects considerably over the head. In Ningpo and Shaohing there is nothing remarkable about the shape, and the quality is determined by the circumstances of the family. Wealthy people prefer to buy their own coffin beforehand and keep it stored either in an outhouse or in a temple, paying

200 cash a year for rent. Some buy the planks, keep them till seasoned, and then employ carpenters to make the coffin when required; whilst others buy theirs from a coffin-shop or from one of the Charitable Societies. At the end of the coffin a lotus flower is carved, expressing the hope that the deceased may become a Buddha and take his stand on a lotus, as Buddha is represented doing.

When the time for coffining has arrived [at Ningpo it takes place at the time of full tide, and preferably after dinner, so that the deceased may not be put hungry to his "narrow bed"; but in Shaohing it must be done before daylight in the morning, or in the dark of evening, on a day bearing an odd number, 3, 5, 7, etc., for fear of another death taking place if an even day should be selected] the floor of the coffin is covered with a layer of fine sifted lime or charcoal; then a layer of large squares of coarse paper, five in number; upon these a narrow strip of matting, sometimes manufactured of special material like lamp-wick, is placed, and upon the top of all a cotton mattress. [At this stage the "purchase of the water," to which I have referred, takes place at Shaohing and not at the earlier period as at Ningpo.] The chief mourner (the eldest son) invests himself in the clothes which are eventually to be put upon the corpse; whether male or female garments makes no difference.

While dressing he stands in the middle of a large bamboo tray used for drying rice, etc., and the garments he puts on in order must be in odd numbers; his head is bound with a white fillet, and, holding a bucket in one hand and a bundle of incense in the other, he walks, or, in the case of an infant, is carried to the waterside, an umbrella being held over his head all the time, as he is impersonating the dead and must be screened from the eye of heaven. In some cases he is escorted with music and fireworks. Paper money of different kinds is burnt; a cash, with a large nail fastened in the centre, is thrown into

the water, and the water is thus supposed to be bought and is drawn up and taken to the house. Here it is first warmed, and a few rubs are given to the chest of the corpse by way of a bath. The water is then carried away to a distance and poured slowly away; it must not be done hurriedly, or the demon attendant will be roused to anger. In some cases, where there is no son, a number of loafers come forward and offer to unravel their queues and act the part of sons, in order to obtain a share in the dead man's effects, causing much trouble thereby.

The hair of the dead man is then combed by the daughters and daughter-in-law, each taking a turn, kneeling and weeping at the same time; and then the hair is rolled up into a kind of knot on the top of the head, something like the top-knot worn by the Chinese of the Ming dynasty, thus exemplifying the popular proverb "The living submit [to the Manchus], the dead do not" 生投死弗投.

The garments for the dead are specially made for the occasion, if the family can afford it, and are fashioned after the pattern of the old Chinese costume, like that of the present Coreans; no buttons or knots are permitted,—the Chinese word for *knot* 結 being pronounced like that meaning *difficulty* 急 or *trouble*, and all such difficulties must be prevented from accompanying the traveller. Instead of buttons the wick of a candle is sometimes employed to take the place of tape, and is said to act as a walking-stick to beat off the dogs which beset the traveller at certain stages. [In Shaohing no pregnant woman is allowed a part in the making of these garments.]

The son then divests himself of the clothes he has assumed, taking them all off in one movement without separating the several garments, and they are suspended over the backs of two chairs and perfumed or aired, by means of a brazier, containing fragrant herbs, placed underneath. Furs or leather of whatever kind are carefully excluded, lest the

dead should be turned into an animal in his next re-incarnation. [It is interesting to note that in Russia equal care is taken to avoid a pigeon's feather being inserted in the pillow.] Written characters of all kinds are entirely excluded, such as might be found in the shape of shop-marks on the clothing or shoes being carefully erased, for the burial of these with the corpse would mean a defilement of the sacred literary character, and the descendants of the dead man would inevitably be punished by being born without intelligence.

A peculiar custom found in Hupeh and Ngan-hwui is the swathing of silk balling which is wound tightly round the trunk, body and limbs, being then joined together at the edges. It covers the head and the whole body like a glove, reminding one of the Egyptian mummy bandages; a small section is afterwards cut out to expose the features. This is worn between the inner and outer suits.

The clothes are then laid out on the inverted lid of the coffin, and the dead man carefully placed in position for convenience of dressing; his arms are drawn through the sleeves; a long cord, which runs through the sleeves, is then fastened in a "lucky" knot, and the clothes are carefully smoothed into position. The hands are placed crosswise over the lower part of the body, the left hand uppermost in the case of males and the right in the case of females. A pair of cheap shoes, gummed instead of stitched, are placed on his feet, and an official hat with a red tassel is put on his head. If he is entitled to wear a button on his hat, as a sign of having graduated or of holding office, he retains the button, but if he has obtained his decoration by purchase, the certificate setting forth the fact must be burned, and the ashes placed in a bag for burial with him, in case his right to such distinction should be challenged in the next world. A true graduate or officer has no need of such credentials.

In upper class families a winding-sheet of deep red is used, sometimes of satin and elaborately embroidered, forming a sort of large bag like a sleeping-bag, in which all but the head is enclosed, and it is fastened at one side with tapes. [In Shaohing the dead is invited to partake of food before he is placed in the coffin.] A satchel containing paper money, a piece of silver, and the Taoist placard is put on his shoulder; a piece of silver is placed under his tongue [just as the Greeks placed an obolus in the mouth of the dead, with which to pay the ferryman Charon]; a small pearl, called "tranquillising the heart" pearl, 定心珠, is placed on the breast; [reminding one of the scarab which the Egyptians placed there]; and, in the case of a woman, a small pearl is inserted in the toe of each shoe.

Pious women, who have been ardent Buddhists in their lifetime, wear a black fillet, with a small Buddha of silver or jade in the centre, round their foreheads, and a silver hair-pin, after the fashion of "Moginlin's staff," 目犍連, the staff with which he forced the gates of hell and released his mother, is placed in the hair.

When a young betrothed maiden dies before her wedding-day has arrived, she is buried in the clothes she should have worn at the marriage ceremony [reminding one of the Russian custom of burying young married women in their wedding-dress]. Young girls, too, have their heads decorated with flowers, as in Russia. Another point of similarity is the practice of having the grave-clothes prepared beforehand, in the case of old people. The Chinese often do this, and like to "hansel" the clothes by wearing them on a visit to a temple: they are carefully preserved, and the loss of them, through fire or otherwise, would be considered a dread calamity, for "merit" is supposed to be stored up in them.

The mention of unmarried persons suggests a reference to the curious custom of post-mortem marriage. If, for

instance, a young man of marriageable age should die unmarried, the parents make enquiries in order to discover a suitable bride for him amongst the young maidens who have died about the same time, and when the arrangements are completed the two coffins are buried together.

The corpse is now lifted and placed carefully in the coffin, the son supporting the head and the daughter-in-law the feet, with others assisting at the sides. It is important that it should rest exactly in the centre, and in some places a long cord, weighted at both ends, is placed over the coffin, lengthwise, so as to find the exact centre, and the nose of the corpse is brought into line with this. Small bags of lime, varying in number [in Shaohing nominally 36, really 18; in Ningpo 24] are then inserted to keep the head and feet in position; the feet must be kept close together, or the partner of the deceased will be called away to keep company in the world of spirits; the pipe, fan and handkerchief of the deceased are also inserted, and five small bags of different colours, containing nail parings, old teeth which have fallen out from time to time, tea and rice [*cf.* Egyptian custom of collecting the sawdust from the floor on which the body was cleansed, and burying it in bags, 20 or 30 in number, so careful were they that no fragment of the mortal frame should be misplaced], a small casket containing a rosary, and the undress cap and "riding" jacket are also added; for the garments which the dead is at present wearing are his ceremonial clothes, required for his audience with the Gods; these others he will wear on his journey. If the deceased happens to have parents living he is also furnished with a complete set of mourning-clothes, which he will be able to wear in the unseen world when his parents' decease takes place. Then each person present takes from his breast a small piece of cotton-wool, called "warm the heart cotton" 煖花心, and, rolling it up into a

small ball, throws it into the coffin; the relatives are then invited to take a last look, and care must be taken that no tears are allowed to drop in, lest the corpse should be found in another existence with marks or stripes on his face. Then the various coverlets are laid on in regular order, those presented by near relatives being given first place, and so on in order of precedence, until the coffin is quite full; whatever quilts are unable to find a place inside the coffin are burned. Before the lid is put on, all who are regarded as representing astral influences inimical to the deceased are requested to withdraw, either to the open air or to a space more than one hundred paces distant, and are only allowed to return when the lid has been put in place. The lid is first smeared with crude varnish, to make it air-tight, or sometimes a cement made of rice, vinegar and flour is used. Usually four large nails are employed to fasten the lid; but sometimes a sort of double wedge, fitting into a socket in the lid above and another in the side of the coffin, is used instead. Another very large nail is placed in position, called "posterity nail" 子孫釘, because the word for *nail* is similar to that used for *man*, and the idea is that in adding a *nail*, *posterity* will be also increased. This nail is not driven home at once, but reserved until the day before the funeral.

The nails are driven in by a senior, the sons and, in some cases, the daughters meanwhile crouching under the trestles on which the coffin rests, lest the eyes of the departed should start out at the hammering.

When the lid is fixed in position the mourners are allowed to plait their queues with hemp-cord and wear coarse shoes instead of the straw sandals they have been wearing, and they are permitted to eat. The coffin is then bound with strong ropes and a carrying-pole placed in position; this pole is called "Tai-ping pole" 太平槓 and is never removed, however long the coffin may remain in the house, the object

being to have everything ready for removal in case of fire. Food is now placed at the side of the coffin, and the dead and his gaoler are invited to partake; the friends and relatives kneel to pay their last respects, and the chief mourner returns the compliment on behalf of the departed. Two piles of paper money are then burned, one for the dead and the other for his guardian; and it is important that the supply intended for the former should be first consumed, for if the keeper gets his share first he may draw off his victim before he has had an opportunity of taking his quota. [In Shaohing tall bamboos with a cross-piece or yard, and bearing streamers and lanterns, are set up after the coffining, but only when Buddhist and Taoist priests are employed.]

The mourners then partake of a meal, and if the friends from a distance elect to return home at once they may do so, but if they decide to stay longer they must not go before the third day: this is a further observance of the principle that odd numbers must obtain in all funeral ceremonies. The "Filial curtain" 孝幃, a white cotton curtain, is then hung up before the coffin, drawn partially back at both sides, with a table and chair placed at the opening, a white cover like an altar-cloth draping the table. Regular meals are served to the deceased on this table every day, tea about 5 a.m., breakfast at 8 or 9, tiffin at noon, and tea at night, and, each time a meal is served, the server is expected to wail and cry. This continues until the funeral. On each side of the chair are placed tall paper structures representing hills, one called the "golden" and one the "silver" hill, intended to indicate the vast sums which the fond relatives have provided for the voyager, and behind these are tall figures of the "Golden Youth" 金童 and the "Jade Maiden" 玉女, bearing streamers to guide him across the "Fairy Bridge" 仙橋. The portrait of the deceased is hung up behind the chair, supported on each side by scrolls bearing doleful inscriptions,

and with white candles placed in front. The chair is occupied by the ancestral tablet, mounted on an inverted tub, and crowned by a piece of red silk fastened with red cord. The wording of the tablet reads "Ch'ing (dynasty) of the Rank of such-and-such, Master So-and-so's Spirit Chief." The last word *Chief* (王) stands for the character for *Lord* 主 (representing another word of similar sound which means *tablet* 砗 and *present* 住), which contains an extra dot. This dot is not inserted until later on, when a scholar of eminence is invited to add the dot and thus become the "Surety" or "Advocate" of the dead person.

The day before the funeral Bonzes and Taoists are invited to conduct "masses," called "The Water Mass" 水懺, the object of which is to cleanse the departed of all sins and transgressions committed during his life. In the afternoon a bowl containing rice, and a thread rope consisting of seven strands, on which are threaded and tied twenty-four cash, is presented to a Bonze, who places it on a table in front of the table already referred to, and, as he recites the virtues of Buddha in releasing souls from pain and trouble, he unties the knots in succession, putting the cash one by one into his vest; he then appropriates the string, and finally hands the rice to a novice, to be put aside in a place where he will be able to find it again. The meaning of this untying of knots is to illustrate the release from all tightness and difficulties in the next world. When this is done the Bonze takes a "wooden fish" 木魚 in his hand, and, beating the fish with a small wand, leads a procession of the women and children present, including a younger son of deceased, who follows immediately after the priest and holds a stick of incense in his hand; each take paper "sycee" and all do a sort of "ring-a-ring-a-rosy" around the coffin, repeating the Buddhistic formula *Nan wu o me to fu* 南無阿彌陀佛, each in turn dropping his sycee in a brazier placed before the table, and taking up

another sycee for the next round; nine revolutions are made in all, with a short interval after each third round. The next thing is done by a Taoist, who takes a tray containing rice, a nail, and a handkerchief containing forty-eight cash. He places the tray on the coffin, and touches the four corners of the coffin with the bundle of cash and the nail consecutively, repeating at the same time some pious expressions for the welfare of the family. He then empties the rice on to the coffin-lid. The chief mourner having removed his inner vest hands it to the priest, and, as he kneels down and holds out the skirts of his robe, receives the rice which the priest sweeps into his lap. This he carries off secretly and adds it to the family store, which is supposed by this means to derive the properties of the "barrel of meal" and the "cruse of oil" of Scriptural reference. The cash, I need hardly say, is not returned.

A Taoist then takes his stand at the corner of the table, holding a bell in his hands, and, as he rings the bell, he chants a sort of sermon whose text is "All is vanity," and whose language has a remarkable similarity to the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes. He then describes the different stages of the journey to Hades. The journey is divided into seven periods of seven days, or "weeks," which correspond with the various stages of the spirit's wanderings in the infernal regions. These stages are described in detail with a wealth of impromptu illustration and elaboration. The first "week," when the traveller reaches the "Demon Gate Barrier" 鬼門關 and is assailed by demons who demand his money, on the excuse that at his last transmigration he borrowed so much from the infernal treasury and must now return it. If he has money to pay he is let pass, but if not he is beaten, stripped, and suffers many indignities. The second "week" he comes to a place where he is weighed: the good man proves to be as light as air, but the evil are borne down by their ill

deeds and are punished by being sawn asunder, ground to powder, etc. Nirvana, however, is still very far off, a wave of the "two-sided fan" restores him to his former condition and he is sent forward on his journey. The third "week" he arrives at the "Bad Dog Village" 惡狗村, where, if good, he is recognised joyfully by the fierce beasts, but, if evil, he is torn until his blood flows in rivers. At the fourth "week" a gigantic mirror, called the "Mirror of Retribution" 業鏡, is exhibited: the good man on looking into it sees himself as he is, in all the beauty of innocence, but the sinner sees only the presentment of the doom which awaits him; is he to be turned into an animal? then an animal form is reflected before his horrified vision. The fifth "week" he begs to be allowed to return to life, but the God replies that he is no longer fit to take his place with uncorrupted mortals; he thereupon begs at least to be permitted to take a last look at his old home, and is allowed to ascend a high platform from whence he may obtain a view. He sees his loved ones at home, occupied with their various duties, and his heart is all the more sorrowful as he realises that he himself has no longer a place in mundane affairs; and it is in order to mitigate his grief that his relations at this period make special offerings of tea and sweetmeats. On the second day of this "week" all the offerings are provided by his married daughter, for, as the proverb says, "In the fifth 'week' he does not eat at the expense of his own family." In the sixth "week" he reaches the bridge which spans the "Inevitable River" 奈河橋. This bridge is very high and very narrow, and the water rushes underneath like a whirlpool, shewing enormous snakes lifting their heads high out of the water on the look-out for human flesh. At the foot of the bridge stand lictors who, with iron maces and other weapons, force the unwilling travellers to ascend the bridge and essay the crossing which inevitably ends in destruction. The bridge is

100,000 feet high and 1 inch and $\frac{3}{10}$ ths wide, and the only possible way of crossing is by "riding" straddle-legged as on a horse. The good are not forced to attempt the passage, but are led by the "Golden Youth" and his companion on to the "Fairy Bridges," the gold and the silver bridges which cross the river at the side of this demon "Bridge of Sighs." In the seventh "week" the abode of the "Rajah of the Wheel" 轉輪王 is reached, and he is petitioned by the traveller to expedite the process of transmigration. The petitioner is handed over to a "Runner," who takes him off to the place of the wheel; and on the way a rest-house is visited, where old Mrs. Mang 孟婆 gives tea "free gratis" to passers-by, they being already thirsty after all their experiences. When the good man has imbibed the tea he enjoys a comfortable sensation, and a sense of coolness takes possession of him, but the moment the evil-doer tastes the liquid he forgets all the past, both good and bad. The victim is then driven on towards the great "Wheel of the Law" 法輪 and takes his place between the revolving spokes. If he is permitted to escape at the top right-hand corner he finds himself, on re-incarnation, admitted into the ranks of nobility; if by the top left-hand corner he is relegated to the status of widower or widow, orphan or childless, the lame, the halt and the blind; if he emerges on the right-hand, lower down, he is classed among viviparous animals; if on the left-hand, among oviparous animals. The right-hand, still lower, is the place of creatures with shells or scales; the left-hand corresponding is the sphere of insects.

All this and very much more is chanted in a melancholy voice, together with descriptions of the Buddhist Inferno; and the moral of all is the importance of repentance for not having spent one's days in Vegetarianism and the repetition of Buddha's all-potent name, in order to avoid such horrors as have been related. Many of those present

are struck with remorse, and exchange notes on the importance of a religious life. When this long discourse is finished a space is cleared in front of the "spirit table" 靈前桌 and a large square with ornamental borders is mapped out on the floor with chaff; in the centre of the square four large characters are traced—twelve oil lamps, provided by the Taoist priests, are disposed round the sides of the square, and the chief mourner has them filled with vegetable oil and supplied with wicks. These lamps are supposed to illumine the darkness of the gate of the Hades. A table is placed, and a Bonze and six so-called "Taoists" sit at this table, each performing on a different instrument. In the intervals they sing ribald or humorous songs with the intention of exciting laughter, reminding one somewhat of the Roman actors who accompanied funerals and made facetious remarks and gestures. They also sing the "Flower Song of the 12 Moons" 十二月花名, describing the different flowers which bloom in the different months, and other compositions which have apparently very little funereal reference. Ten articles are placed on the spirit table, such as gold and silver, a rosary, a candle, a bun or loaf of bread, a piece of black gauze, fruit, etc., and flowers cut out of red paper are scattered by the six singers in turn, and are eagerly snatched up by the children and others, the idea of the flowers being that the dead may imagine that his praises are being sung in flowery rhetoric. The lamps are soon extinguished and the oil appropriated by the priests, who are said to more than cover the cost of their living by the sale of the oil gained in this way. After a short space all the family and friends join in an evening meal.

After supper the ceremony known as "Fang Yen kow" 放焰口 takes place. The spirit table and chair are removed; another chair is substituted and raised by the insertion of something placed underneath, and a priest takes his seat in it;

the spirit table is raised up also and another placed in front of it but on a lower level. A bushel measure full of rice, supporting a small figure of Buddha, is placed on the high table, and five figures of acolytes, bearing streamers, are set in order in front, with a candlestick at each end of the table and a censer in the middle. The six assistants sit at each side of the lower table, with a book placed in front of each triplet, together with their musical instruments. Two other tables, supporting two large candles, and twenty-four bowls of vegetable food are placed at a little distance in front, intended for the delectation of the various gods. Five other bowls of breadstuffs and a large basin containing "Buddha's fingers" 佛手, made of pastry, which if eaten by children are said to ensure regularity of teeth. Six small cups of wine are placed on the front table, with three larger cups of tea and three of wine put between. Four other tables are disposed at the sides of the hall, two on each side, intended for the sacrifice to the family ancestors; a small table a little lower down contains the offerings intended for the dead person, and the spirit tablet sits at this table in the chair as before, attended on each side by relatives in light mourning garments. In the Court in front six other tables are placed, three on each side, with food and wine, and lighted by lanterns, and in front of all, in the middle, is a table at the sides of which are placed the "Gold and Silver Hills," reserved for the "Prince of the Demons" 鬼王, whose effigy, made of paper and bamboo, sits in place. Paper "Gods" are suspended on the backs of chairs at each table, representing the ghostly visitants. On the floor a door is laid to represent another table, intended for the lowest grades of spirits, and the wine on this table is contained in a large bowl, and the rice in a basket, no wine-cups or rice-bowls being furnished. Two long ropes of straw hang from the pillars at each side, from which

are suspended, as on a clothes-line, paper garments, cash, cheques, and sycee in strings. One of the Priests, when all is prepared, gives three rolls to the drum, and the Chief Priest puts on his tiara and his patchwork robe with jade buckle. He holds in his hand a piece of parti-coloured stuff which he opens out at each genuflexion and rolls up when he stands upright. The chief mourner now assumes a lighter mourning costume, and follows the Priest as he visits each table in turn and bows before it, and then invites the Priest to resume his seat within the spirit curtain, presenting him with a packet containing 100 cash. Seven bowls of "Longan" 龍眼 fruit are now placed before the Priest and his assistants for their delectation. When the priests have finished their reciting, a number of paper garments and money are burned outside the house. By this time it is about 10 p.m. The apartment is now re-arranged, and preparations for the sacrifice to the dead are made: musicians are requisitioned, large quantities of flesh and fowls are laid out, lamps are hung all over the room, and the chief mourner reverts to his deep mourning garments and appears from behind the curtain, leaning upon the "Filial Staff" 孝杖棒 and supported by attendants. He kneels before the tablet and makes humble offering of the meats, etc. As he prostrates himself, a person standing at the side reads a long panegyric on the dead in a melancholy voice, and the chief mourner weeps as he lies upon his face. He is then escorted to the rear of the screen, and repeats the process three times; all the relatives and friends present follow him in his genuflexions. When all is finished, the offerings and all the temporary fittings are removed and preparations are made for the funeral. This may take place early or late, sometimes as late as a year. If it is not done during the seven "weeks," boards are put up in front of the coffin, and

it is not then necessary to offer the daily portions of food, etc. until the boards are removed, some three days before the funeral takes place.

In Shaohing the funeral takes place in the fifth watch, *i.e.* between four and five in the morning, perhaps in the fifth week, or as late as one hundred days after death, sometimes even later, and in cases of poverty the coffin is left in the house, or put in a mortuary chamber at an annual rent of two dollars.

Wealthy families erect platforms at the door of the house, the canal-side, the city gate, and the graveside, which are decorated very elaborately and furnished with musicians; and when the funeral procession stops at each of these stations, sacrifices are offered and a panegyric is read. Sometimes the platforms, when once passed, are taken down and re-erected further on and the ceremony is repeated.

On the night before the funeral three or five Taoists [in Nganhwui, etc., 32 helpers] are called to invite the deceased to start on his journey; and at each watch paper money and white paper balls, five in number, are burnt, the last one being fired by an elder in order to "speed the parting guest." Before day-light the mourners [in Nganhwui and Hupeh] eat "Clothing Rice" 衣飯, composed of glutinous rice, boiled with beans or lentils, and eaten in regular sequence by all present. This is supposed to ensure that the family will never be without food or clothing. Whatever remains over is placed in a couple of bottles. [In Shaohing the bottle is filled with eatables of all sorts, and is wound round and round with cotton thread, each member of the family giving a wind to the thread, kneeling and wailing at the same time. The bottle accompanies the coffin to the grave and is placed on one side for the benefit of any hungry wayfarer who may pick it up.] The expenses of this function are borne by the daughter.

Everyone is awake and stirring at day-light when the day arrives, and arrangements are made for the start. An immense paper figure, representing the "Clear-the-way God" 路開神, leads the van; then come two large bamboos bearing streamers, and four "Wagheads," paper figures of men, whose heads bob continually as they are carried along; then follow two large lanterns bearing the name of the family on the one side and the titles of office, if any; or, in lieu of this, the "T'ang ming" 堂名, or nickname; then two large gongs, which are beaten at intervals; a small lantern is carried by a man following, who repeatedly burns quantities of "right of way" or "buy the road" "money" as he goes along, and when the procession arrives at a bridge an extra amount is consumed; then follows a man who sets off squibs from time to time; next in order come four men bearing the "Gold and Silver Hills" and the two figures of the "Golden Youth" and "Jade Maiden," followed by the son-in-law or nephew, who carries a dish containing rice, in which is placed the Ancestral Tablet. Another person follows, bearing an umbrella, which he holds over the tablet. In wealthy families the tablet sits in a sedan-chair, which is supported on each side by the son-in-law or nephew. The bearer of the tablet is robed entirely in white, and the friends of the family walk on either side of him. Then follows the coffin, borne by four men or a larger number, according to the rank of the deceased, and covered with a red pall or with a satin embroidered cover. After the coffin comes the chief mourner, wearing a head-dress of coarse hemp gauze, shaped something like a biretta, with "pom-poms" of cotton-wool placed at the intersections of the frame, and worn over a small white cap. Two long ribbons of gauze hang down the back of his head. His white gown reaches to his ankles and is not hemmed at the edges; a jacket of coarse gauze is worn over this and a cincture

or belt of straw rope, twisted reversely from left to right, is wound round his waist, and a bangle of muslin on his wrist, the left wrist in the case of a male and *vice versa*. In his hand he holds a short bamboo wand covered with white paper clipped into a fringe at the edges. [In Shaohing the staff is made of "Wu-t'ong" 梧桐 wood, if the deceased is a male, of bamboo if a female.] He hangs his head as he walks, and is followed by the relatives male and female. The daughter-in-law wears a cowl or hood of coarse gauze over her head, and a jacket and skirt of the same material; she also carries a staff or wand like that borne by the chief mourner; she sometimes sits in a sedan-chair, and the heavy head-dress is then placed on the top of the chair instead of on her head. She weeps and cries aloud as she goes, like the "Keener" at an Irish wake. Rice is thrown over the coffin and chief mourners as soon as they move towards the outside door; and, whilst the carrying-poles are being adjusted, in the street before starting, a table containing three bowls of tea, three of wine and four plates of sweetmeats, with candles, incense and paper sycee, is placed at the foot of the coffin, and these are reverentially offered up to the various gods concerned. One of the bearers lights a paper "horse" (*i.e.* a painted effigy of a "God" and intended to represent the horse upon which the God mounts on his heavenward journey), and touches the different poles one after another; and, in country districts, a bearer, with a reputation for wit, pours a little wine at the four corners, chanting appropriate or facetious remarks at each. The figure of a crane, with outspread wings and uplifted foot, is placed upon the centre of the coffin, and four paper fan-like decorations bearing the character Ya 亞 are set up at the corners. The crane is supposed to convey the soul to the "Western Heaven," and the other fittings seem to be connected with the white cotton sheets 功布, representing

the cords with which the chief mourner is supposed to drag the coffin to its destination. The bearers then drink the wine and pocket the sweetmeats. [In Peking, just before the funeral starts, the effigy of the dead man, composed of an old broom and some garments, is, by the way, washed and combed, and food is placed inside the clothes. He is pressed to make a good meal before starting, for fear he should grow hungry *en route*. He is also asked whether his henchmen, *i.e.* paper figures of male and female attendants, have had enough to eat and have received their "tips". A voice, that of a man counterfeiting the dead, replies that all has been attended to and that there is no occasion for anxiety. The attendants are then exhorted to serve their master well on the way. The broom is burnt outside the door just before the funeral starts, and the son takes a large bowl and breaks it on the ground in front of the coffin.] The son then takes his wand and walks backwards in front of the coffin, but in Ningpo he simply turns at intervals and kow-tows before it. On arrival at a bridge the crying of the mourners increases in intensity. In Peking the procession is accompanied by immense quantities of paper goods, including men, horses, carriages, chairs, opium, tobacco, flowers, birds, beasts and furniture of all sorts, intended for the comfort of the departed in the Spirit world. When the place of burial is reached the coffin is temporarily supported by a couple of blocks, the streamers placed at the head, and the wands propped up at the foot, whilst the exact location is being considered, with special reference to the points of the compass. When this is ascertained the coffin is placed in position, and perhaps a brick vault built over it, or a straw or matting case put upon it. In wealthy families a stone receptacle is prepared beforehand, and the coffin laid very carefully in the exact centre, the son having first removed his inner vest, without

divesting himself of his other garments, and carefully dusted the interior of the sarcophagus. The vest is presented to the mason standing by. A bonfire is then lighted in the vault, and paper money charms, together with sesamum seeds and "Hundred Sons' Crackers" 百子炮 are burned in it. The coffin is rolled in on a couple of bamboo rollers, and a meal is laid out, to which the deceased and also the denizens of the neighbouring tombs are invited. The mourner's head-dresses and cinctures are then burnt, with a lot of paper money, and the streamers and staves are left at the grave. All present then set up a cry; the stone door of the tomb is placed in position and the tomb sealed. The head-stone is then set up, bearing the names of the deceased, with the date of erection. The mourners then join hands and perform a sort of "merry-go-round" about the tomb, which is repeated three days later. The procession returns in the same order as before, escorting the Ancestral Tablet to the home with crying and burnings. On arrival at the house a great bonfire is made outside the door, and all who have attended the funeral are expected to step across it before gaining the threshold; no one is exempted. [In Shaohing a little water is sprinkled over each person by the Taoist priests. This process, through fire and water, was an universal practice with the Romans.] The tablet is placed at the side of the hall, and, at the place where the coffin had rested, a weighing-beam is discovered, with a bag fastened to the hook; this had been placed on the spot as soon as the coffin was moved, and the sack suggests a punning reference to a long line of descendants, the word for *sack* 袋 and *generation* 代 being similar in sound. On each side of the beam, but a little in front, are placed two chairs, and, in front of these, tables set close together, on which is spread a meal for the twenty-four or forty-eight ancestors; and another meal is placed before the tablet of the new ancestor,

who occupies, as I have said, an inferior place at the side of the hall. The son, in (lighter) mourning garments of blue, kneels and offers the viands prepared, and burns a quantity of paper money. He then climbs by a ladder to the ancestral shrine over the central partition, and lights candles before each shrine, and then carries up the new tablet and places it in position, on the right side, if the new ancestor is a male, or the left side if a female, whilst the gongs are loudly beaten below in the hall. All present are then invited to partake of the feast. [In Shaohing the tablet is kept in the hall and "invited" 請 twice a day by the daughter-in-law until the end of the seventh week, when it is placed in the ancestral shrine. The feast above referred to is not spread until the first day after the funeral.] On the third day a visit is paid to the tomb, and provisions, candles, etc. carried thither, together with a sort of hive or crate composed of fourteen upright ribs of bamboo joined together at the top and fastened to a wide rim at the base; on twelve of the ribs is written one of the twelve honorary characters, and on the remaining two, one on either side, the characters for *sun* and *moon* respectively. This structure is placed on the tomb or coffin whilst the offerings are being made, the spirit being supposed to take its place therein; and, after the offering is finished, the crate is burned with paper money. All present then join hands, forming a ring round the grave, circle round in one direction three times and then reverse three times; this is with the idea of confining the spirit in his proper habitat. The party then returns home.

On the seventh day a number of Taoists are hired, seven in all, to "open the road," and a great variety of ceremonies take place on this day, morning, afternoon and evening. One of the most interesting of these is "Walking the Fairy Bridge" 走仙橋, as it is called, consisting of a bridge composed of tables and chairs, over which an effigy of the deceased is

assisted to move. Another function, known as "Treading the Cardinal Points" 穿五方, is performed by a Taoist who, with wild gesticulations and flourishing a sword, spouts water from his mouth, and makes wild rushes in different directions, followed by the chief mourner, who simulates the dead taking advantage of the openings thus presented to him. There is also the "Treading the Eight Diagrams" 踏八卦, which consists in a complicated series of movements, supposed to be based upon the principles of the "eight diagrams," which are believed to be an effective protection against all noxious influences. The ceremony of untying the knots, referred to above, takes place on this evening, at Shaohing, and also the ceremony of "cursing the dogs." This is done by the Priests, who curse all the dogs in the neighbourhood, mentioning them particularly, "Brown's dog," "Jones's dog," "Robinson's dog," dogs of all colours and kinds, and dogs exhibiting various deformities, and ending by addressing the crowd of bystanders to the effect that they, too, are a pack of dogs. This ceremony is connected with the idea of the "Bad Dog Village."

On the evening of this day the hall is again arranged, with a table and chair, and a portrait of the deceased hanging behind the chair. Two cups of tea are put on the table, and two bowls of light food, together with candles and incense. The daughter-in-law weeps before the picture, as she "invites" the spirit to partake of refreshment, and a quantity of paper money is also burned. The lights are then put out, and the family retires. At daylight tea, etc. is laid as before. At breakfast-time food of different kinds is offered and candles lighted. The performance is repeated at noon, with this difference, that the viands are more elaborate. This takes place every "week" until the seventh, the only exception being that in the fifth week a further spread is made in the death chamber. If it should happen that throughout the seven

"weeks" the first day in every case should fail to fall upon a day of the month containing the figure seven, then a special extra day must be set apart and a meal offered. The odd "weeks" are known as the great "weeks," *i.e.* the first, third, fifth, seventh, and on the first of each of these weeks the relatives make presents of small loaves, numbering forty from each person, this quantity being supposed to last the spirit for one year, and so he is provided for as many years as he possesses relations. In wealthy families Bonzes and Taoists are hired to conduct these proceedings.

In the fifth "week" Taoists are called to "Force the City" 破城, or "Force the Gate of Hell" 破地獄門. A paper city with men, horses, etc. is set up, and, when night comes, a Taoist priest in full robes breaks through the city with the sword he carries, and liberates the imprisoned soul; afterwards a great bonfire is made in the open air, and three or four priests take their stand around it, holding long bamboos to which are attached elaborate "fireworks." They wave these over the fire, and soon the outer covering in each case bursts, and a beautiful fish or other object unfolds itself out of the packet; this, too, is exposed in turn to the fire and shrivels up, revealing some other lovely shape, and so on until at last the effigies of the dead are exposed, and these are carried to the house and given to the chief mourner.

In the sixth "week" the daughters are expected to provide a feast for the dead, and they are given a share in the division of the clothing which he has left.

At the end of the seventh "week" the chief mourner is allowed to shave his hair for the first time, but, if the coffin has not yet been removed, he is not permitted to do so until one hundred days have expired.

The next year the mourners, wearing white garments, pay their first annual visit to the grave on the day known as "Clear Bright (Ts'ing-ming)" 清明, and on this day the

sounds of wailing are heard in all directions. A small sum, of one hundred cash or so, and a gift of food, are given to the hillmen for looking after the grave. A further visit is sometimes paid in the 9th moon, and at the winter solstice paper garments, representing warm winter clothes, are presented and burnt.

On the night appointed for the return of the spirit a table of eatables is laid in the death chamber, which is then evacuated by the relatives. In the kitchen a quantity of lime is placed beneath and around the fireplace. When the hour arrives, as announced by the Taoist priest, a procession is formed, the Priest leading, and all enter the chamber; the kitchen is then visited and the lime examined, and the traces of the spirit's presence are discovered by the marks, as of the feet of a goose, upon the lime. The story is told that, on one occasion, all had retired with the exception of an old woman-servant, who was sometime after heard crying out loudly for help; and when the family re-entered the apartment she reported that she had seen a creature, the size of a large dog and like a monkey in semblance, which jumped on the table and was devouring the eatables; on perceiving her the creature jumped down again and began to attack her, hence her loud cries for help, which penetrated to the outside and brought the family together; too late indeed to see the creature, which had disappeared as mysteriously as it had come. A white cock is caught and carried in one hand in front of a basket-lid, and, as the lid is struck by a measure held in the other hand, the cock crows; he is thus escorted outside and paper money burnt. This represents the sending off the spirit's escort, and if not done the spirit is said to suffer for the uncivil treatment offered to his attendant.

A white cock is said to be a protection against baneful astral influences and to be the only capable guide of transient spirits.

In this connexion one is reminded of a custom observed by modern Jews, *viz.* the substitution of a cock for the scape-goat as a means of expiation. The sins of the offerer are said to be transferred to the entrails of the fowl, and these are exposed upon the house-top, to be carried away by birds of the air.

This is but an outline of the more general customs which are observed on funeral occasions; to give details of all the ceremonies which appertain to the several classes of society, the rich and poor, the official and the civilian, the modern monstrosities such as are observable in Shanghai and elsewhere, would require a much greater expenditure of labour in preparation on my part. Unless where I have expressly indicated the fact, the ceremonies I have described obtain in the circles of the great middle class.

WANG AN-SHIH (王安石).

By JOHN C. FERGUSON, PH.D.

Wang An-shih was a product of the age in which he lived. It was the flourishing period of the Sung (Northern Sung) dynasty, during which military glory was added to the more permanent blessings of peaceful progress. The dynasty was founded by the warrior Chau, who had led his troops successfully against various rivals and Tartar enemies. Though he was not above the vices of camp-life, yet after his proclamation as Emperor by his military commanders, he gave himself to the establishment of peace and to the restoration of prosperity to the people. During the reigns of his two successors, the power of the dynasty was extended over several feudal kings to the west and south, and the Empire was divided into fifteen provinces. Among these were names which have been preserved down to our present time—Hunan, Hupeh, Fuhkien, Szchuan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Chehkiang and Shensi. Around the capital city of Kaifengfu were other provinces which have not preserved their names. The capital was well separated from the Khitans and other Tartar tribes, but war was carried against them into their own borders, and under the Emperor Chen-Tsung the Khitans suffered a severe defeat, the good effects of which, however, were weakened by the subsequent treaty in which the Emperor promised to make yearly payments of silver and

silk. A regency of ten years under the Empress Dowager Liu greatly disturbed the general prosperity and incited the Khitans to send an ambassador to Ren Tsung demanding the cession of territory, but by the skilful diplomacy of the Minister Fu-pi, these demands were changed into an increase of yearly gifts. However, the humiliating addition was made in the new treaty that these yearly gifts were to be considered as tribute. Fan Chung-ren also secured a victory over Yuan, the ruler of Hsia, who promised to acknowledge the Emperor as his Lord. The result of these two treaties of peace was to give the Emperor Ren-tsung a feeling of security and to enable him to solidify the government of his country. He surrounded himself with men of great ability—scholars, statesmen and patriots—and these men continued their influence through the reign of his successor Ying-tsung and into the reign of Shen-tsung. In addition to Fu-pi and Fan Chung-ren, already mentioned, there were Sz-ma Kwan, Eo-yang Hsiu, Han Ki, Lü Hwei-king and Wang An-shih.

The period of time in which Wang An-shih came into prominence is, roughly speaking, A.D. 1055 to 1085. It was the time in Europe when the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy was approaching a climax, during which the great Hildebrand came into power and did so much to shape the future policy of the Papacy. Both East and West were in a turmoil in which great minds could assert themselves. A contrast between Europe and China at this period would show that China was in a more peaceful and more prosperous condition than Europe. For this reason it was possible that the socialistic and reformatory schemes of Wang An-shih could be attempted.

One leading characteristic of the Emperors of the Sung dynasty must be noted. They were ever ready to listen to the advice of their ministers and encouraged them to speak frankly. On one occasion Sz-ma Kwan pointed out to the

Emperor Ren-tsung that the benevolent duty of a sovereign to his people was to provide for their education, their maintenance and their prosperity, and that an intelligent sovereign would make it his constant duty to distinguish between good and bad advisers. His advice is known as "The Three Instructions." On another occasion, the Emperor Ren-tsung was complaining to his minister, Han Ki, of the scant courtesy shown him by the Empress Dowager. Han Ki replied to the Emperor that if he only showed filial respect to the Dowager because she was kind to him, it would be nothing to his credit; but that, if in spite of her ill-treatment, he was filial, it would be a true mark of the sincerity of his heart. This willingness of the Sung Emperors to receive advice even when it was distasteful was another favoring condition for the governmental experiments of Wang An-shih. The open-mindedness of the sovereigns gave a great stimulus to the healthy development of the powerful minds among the ministers of state, and was one of the chief causes which enabled the Sung to add more names to the roll of China's illustrious statesmen and scholars than any other dynasty.

Wang An-shih was a native of Ling-chwan city in the prefecture of Fu-chow in the southern part of Kiangsi province. He is said to have been fond of study in his youth and to have been brought to the attention of Eo-yang Hsiu while still quite young. After attaining his degree of Tsing-sz he was made Prefect of Yang-chow, from which he was afterwards transferred to Ningpo and Nganking. On account of his aged mother, he at first declined recommendations from Eo-yang Hsiu and Wen Yon-poh to positions in the capital, but finally accepted and was appointed as an assistant in the Revenue Office. He showed himself at once to be a man of extraordinary ability and acquired a great reputation for his scholarly discussion of governmental affairs. At an Audience with the Emperor Shen-tsung, he was asked what

he considered to be the most important thing in the government, and he replied that it was the choice of method. He then referred to the example of Yao and Shun, adding that the men of his generation thought the principles of Yao and Shun too exalted to be practicable, but that the reason of this thought was their failure to comprehend what these principles really were. At another time, when the government finances were low on account of a famine, Wang An-shih contended with Sz-ma Kwan that it was not necessary to increase taxation in order to bring sufficient revenue to the Government, but that this could be accomplished by plans to increase the wealth of the people. This object he considered to be one of the chief aims of government.

At first Wang An-shih made much of the example of the sages Yao and Shun and of Chow Kung; but later, when he passed from the academic discussion of governmental problems with learned friends to the more difficult task of government administration as Prime Minister, he rather emphasized the present needs of his country, and tried to show that the principles which underlay these needs were the same as those which had helped the early sages to settle the questions of their generation. In following the principles of righteous government there should be unison with the highest ideals of the past; but in method there should be freedom to follow such as were adapted to present needs. This seems to have been the position assumed by Wang An-shih as the basis for his reformatory proposals. In carrying out this principle he laid emphasis upon improving the condition of the people, so that their wealth might increase and their lives become less irksome. In other words, he brought into prominence the material and practical elements of social life rather than the intellectual and moral. One is reminded of the general position taken by Professor Huxley in his "Social Diseases and Worse

Remedies" when he says: "What profits it to the human Prometheus that he has stolen the fire of heaven to be his servant and that the spirits of the earth and the air obey him, if the vulture of pauperism is eternally to tear his very vitals and keep him on the brink of destruction?" Professor Huxley maintains the same general position as Wang An-shih in making the material prosperity of the people a question of primary importance. The reforms introduced by Wang, which are now to be treated in detail, rest upon this general principle as their basis.

These reform schemes embraced the (1) State Monopoly of Commerce, (2) Equality of Taxation, (3) Militia Organization and (4) Impressed or Conscripted Labor for the State. In order to carry out his various plans, Wang asked the Emperor Shen-tsung to appoint a Special Council of Three, whose duty would be to inaugurate, develop and administer them. This Council was independent of the ordinary administration of the Boards and was similar in organization to the present Board of State Affairs, Chen-Wu-Chu, which deals with all memorials recommending changes. The Emperor trusted Wang and this Council very fully and gave them a free hand to carry out their ideas.

1.—The State Monopoly of Commerce—Kuing-shu 均輸—was the most far-reaching in its purpose and the one most bitterly opposed of all the reforms. Wang considered it to be modelled after a plan of the Han dynasty called Ping Chun 平準 or Equalization of Prices. The records of the scheme leave many minor points obscure on which more light is greatly to be desired, but enough is given to show us the general outline. The method was called Kuang-Shu or Equality of Payment. The produce of a district was to be used first for the payment of taxes, then for the direct use of the district, and the residue was to be purchased by the Government at a cheap price. The Government should

then either hold this produce in possession till there was a demand for it in the district at an increased price or should transport it to some other district in need of it. The Government was to undertake, in short, the purchase, transport and sale of all products which were in excess of the local needs of any district. Special officers were appointed to act with the local magistrates in the administration of this huge scheme. It was intended by Wang to provide a fixed market for all products, thus increasing the wealth of the people, and at the same time to give the Government a large revenue from the profits of handling, thus avoiding the necessity of increased taxation. Another feature of the plan was called Tsing-miao 青苗, Verdant Sprouts, or what McGowan calls "State Advances to the Cultivators of the Soil," by which the Government was to lend to all farmers, at the commencement of sowing time in spring, a fixed sum of money which was to be repaid in the autumn when the crops were gathered. It was probably meant at first to make loans to the needy, but it was finally decided to make loans compulsory, making no distinction between those who needed the money in order to plant their crops and those who did not. All must alike take the Government's loan and pay interest at the rate of two per cent per mensem. Orders were issued that the plan was to be inaugurated in the district adjoining the Capital, Kai-feng-fu, and if successful that it was to be introduced throughout the whole country. In later developments the plan was known under the names of Shih-yi 市易 and Ho-mai 和買, the general idea of which two names was also Equalization of Prices.

That such a far-reaching scheme, which penetrated into every enterprise of the people, should be met with intense opposition was only to be expected. Han Ki objected that the better class of people would not want to be pauperized by

accepting loans from the Government, and that while the poorer class would be ready to take the money in the spring they would be very slow to pay anything back in the autumn. The only method of collection would be to make an assessment upon the district. He called Wang the "Money-making Statesman." Sz-ma Kwan objected that the scheme would make the rich poor and the poor poorer. Su Chih said that even well-intentioned people who drew money in such an easy way in the spring would probably squander it in useless expenditures and would have nothing to repay in the autumn. Fu-pi said that the plan contemplated the collection of wealth by the Government, whereas the proper function was to assist in the diffusion of wealth among the people. The opinion of this scheme of Wang's now held by the literary class is that of Chu Hsi, who said that Wang had only the one idea of making profits for the Government, and that his plan made people weary of their lives while it afforded rascals coveted opportunities for robbing industrious, well-labored citizens. A time of great drought came on and there were many complaints from the people and from officials that the drought showed Heaven's displeasure of the scheme, but Wang stoutly maintained that times of drought and rain were beyond the reach of human power and that they were not affected by his methods of administration. This was indeed a bold stand for even such a strong man as Wang to take.

The plan did not long survive the Emperor Shen-tsung. The Dowager Regent, who followed him, suspended the Kuing-shu method, and his successor Cheh-tsung suspended the Tsing-miao. The founder of the Ming dynasty, Hung-wu, made an attempt to revive some features of the scheme by establishing huge Provisionary Granaries. The Emperors Kien-lung and Kang-hsi made also some attempts to regulate the price of products, but the limits of the present paper do not allow of their discussion.

2.—Equality of Taxation—Kuing-shui 均稅—by means of an arbitrary division of the country into squares—Fang-tien 方田—was another part of Wang's reform movement. It was found that there had been great inequality in the collection of taxes because of the difficulty of fixing proper boundaries. Taxes were being paid on much less ground than was being actually cultivated. To obviate this abuse, Wang proposed to divide the countries into squares of 1,000 *pu* (say 5,000 ft.) on each side. Every year in the ninth moon taxes were to be appraised on each square according to the general average of the producing power of the soil, which was divided into five classes, according to its fertility. The amount of the taxes was to be announced to the people in the following third moon. Taxes must be collected in full and no discounts allowed. The principle of payment according to the fertility of the soil seems quite in harmony with Adam Smith's language in describing what he considered to be equality of taxation. He says: "The subjects of every State ought to contribute to the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State." The great difference in Wang's scheme was that it was an amount fixed upon the fertility of a district independent of the number of inhabitants. The scheme seems to have been complicated and to have covered more than was necessary to secure the purposes for which it was inaugurated. It would seem that a simple re-survey of the land of each owner would have been sufficient and would not have involved any controversy with individual owners. As it was, Wang's division into squares broke down from the difficulty of excluding from a given square any parts of it such as hills or sand-banks which were not arable. The whole plan was abandoned soon after the death of Shen-tsung,

and it cannot be said ever to have come into effective operation.

3.—Militia Organization—Pao-kia 保甲—is a name with which we are still familiar in Chinese local administration. Wang's plan was to organise every ten families into one section—Pao—over which a headman—Paochang—should be placed; fifty families were to be a large section over which a higher headman should have the jurisdiction, and ten of these large sections should form a district. In every home which had more than one son, one must serve as a militiaman. These men were to be provided with bows and were to be regularly drilled. Each large section was to provide for five men to act as night patrol. Apprehenders of criminals were to be rewarded and any district which concealed criminals was to be fined. The whole of the police and defence of the country was to be in charge of the militia, and each section was to be held responsible for the discipline of its men and for its good order. This plan could claim many ancient precedents, and the most that even an opponent like Sz-ma Kwan could say against it was that the number of militiamen was excessive. When Han Ki told the Emperor in the presence of Wang that there were many complaints against the scheme, Wang reminded the Emperor that, if he weakly listened to foolish objection, it would never be possible to accomplish anything.

In various forms the system has been revived by the Emperors of the Ming and Tsing dynasties. Cheng-hwa and Hung-chi, at the latter part of the fifteenth century, introduced the military side, and Kien-lung, in the middle of the eighteenth century, introduced the police side under an elaborate system which has remained to the present time. The Boxer movement three years ago was founded upon the idea of a defensive militia, and in its organization used many of the terms which have been handed down from the

the time of Wang An-shih. This feature of his reform schemes has had more permanency than any other, and is to be praised for its low estimate of militarism.

4.—The last of the great schemes to be noted is that of Impressed or Conscripted Labor for the State 募役. Wang's plan was to do away with the abuses which had grown up around the system of the State's requiring service from its subjects. He proposed to divide the people, including women and the unmarried, into five classes, according to their wealth, and then to issue money to them called "Tsu-yu" 助役, or help for service, on which interest must be paid at the rate of two per cent per mensem. This interest was to be taken by the State in lieu of labour, which had been formerly required. The plan was to commence in Kai-feng-fu as an experiment and then extend to all parts of the Empire. Sz-ma Kwan objected to the feature of causing women and the unmarried to take money, as they had never formerly been liable for work. He also pointed out that work had not been required of the people all the time but only when necessary, and that under the new money-plan the people would be under an incessant burden. The scheme never came into full operation and was finally abandoned in the first year of Cheh-tsung.

These were great schemes for social and political reform introduced by Wang An-shih. There are many features of his life which I have been obliged to pass over, such as his intimate relations with Lu Hwei-ching, his degradation to the Prefecture of Nanking and his death in that city. Neither has it been possible to elaborate upon his relation to the development of the Sung philosophical system. I have endeavoured to confine myself to his reform schemes. The conception of such schemes shows that Wang An-shih was a man of deep thought and broad sympathies. He was of the utilitarian school but his heart was with the

suffering populace. His moral enthusiasm never failed him in the face of hostile criticism, and he labored steadily for the good of the people. No suspicion of sordid means or covetous purposes was ever hinted of him. His failing was in being too sanguine of the readiness of the people to fall in with what he considered to be for their good. Though he was practical, he still sought to conserve the good of the past which had been handed down but was anxious to develop and to improve upon it. The terminology which he invented for reform and reform schemes has been used by all subsequent reformers even down to the Reform Party of our own day. Mr. Lecky, in his "Political Value of History," has observed that "the foundation of the prosperity of nations is laid in pure domestic life, in commercial integrity, in a high standard of moral worth and of public spirit, in simple habits, in courage, uprightness and a certain soundness and moderation of judgment which springs quite as much from character as from intellect." While Wang An-shih laid great stress upon the foundations of prosperity being in the increased wealth of the nation, yet his intense sympathy with the people and his anxiety for their welfare ennobled all his plans with a high standard of moral worth.

THE MANTSES AND THE GOLDEN CHERSONESE.

By T. W. KINGSMILL.

The Third Edition of Yule's *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, with the additional notes of M. Henri Cordier, contains notices of nearly all our extant sources of information bearing on the immediate subject of the work. Not the least interesting of the old traveller's wanderings was that undertaken by him in his journey to the West and South-west of Cathay, contained in the second part of Book II; and, along with all serious students who have perused the book, I am pleased to be able to express my admiration for the extremely careful and able manner in which the work of annotation has been carried out. Curiously neither the late Sir Henry Yule nor the newer Editor, M. H. Cordier, has even named one of the most important, if not actually the most important mention of these regions amongst the Classical writers,—The *Periplus* of Marcian the Heracleot.*

* *Περίπλους τῆς ἑξω θαλάσσης ἐδών τε καὶ ἐσπερίου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μεγίστων νήσων.* This somewhat scarce work was first published from the existing fragments by Dr. HOESCHELINS in his *Geographica*, A.D. 1600. Afterwards by Morell, Paris 1602, and subsequently by Hudson in the 1st volume of his *Geographi Græci Minores*, Oxon, 1693. Smith mentions only two later editions, in 1830 and 1841 respectively, one in Paris and one in Leipzig.

Ptolemy, writing in the second century, seems to have been the first, in the Seventh Book of his *Geographia*, to bring to the notice of the West these Far-Eastern lands; but his descriptions, based on imperfect information, and moreover confounding the opposite coasts of the Bay of Bengal, are so utterly untrustworthy that they have hitherto only served to lead into a veritable slough of despond those who have attempted to unravel them. Two centuries after the time of Ptolemy Marcian wrote his *Periplus* of the principal Coasts and Islands from Ireland to the Straits of Malacca. He speaks in the highest terms of his predecessor, whom he does not hesitate to describe as "most divine and wise," but evidently does not hold himself debarred thereby from availing himself of the additional knowledge and experience gained in the interval. In the earlier portions of the work, which has been handed down unfortunately in an imperfect state, our author describes in brief the countries which he intends to mention more at length after parting from the lands of the Homerites,—the Himyarites of the Arabian authors,—including the coasts of the Persian Gulf to Gedrosia and "India intra Gangem." This takes him to Taprobane, the Island of Ceylon, after which he goes on to that "other India," that "Extra Gangem," which marches with the former.

"In India beyond Ganges," he tells us, "is the Chersonese called Chrysê (Golden), by which is the Bay called the 'Great,' (Megas)." [It seems here possible that *Megas* should be taken as a proper name as seen in modern Mergui, and with a change in the fourth letter from *g* to *t* in Martaban.] "Here is the middlemost of the marches of India beyond Ganges, and the people of the Sinæ and their metropolis known as Thinæ,—the furthest limit of the earth, whether known or unknown."

Whoever may have been his authority for his description of the lands beyond Ganges, the chapters treating of them bear internal evidence of having been written or inspired by an expert who had actually seen what he describes, and are invaluable in the light they throw on the condition and the distribution of the peoples inhabiting these regions in the fourth century. I append a translation of the chapters relating to these districts, as far as the text permits; there are, however *lacune* in the MSS. on which the text was founded, and through the ordinary carelessness of copyists the distances, expressed in the Greek numeral alphabet, are plainly untrustworthy. After a description of the Island of Taprobana occurs a hiatus, and the next chapter seems to begin in the middle of a sentence:—

“From this emporium reaches a vast gulf called the Gangetic Bay; near whose inmost recess by five mouths debouches the River Ganges, which, as we have stated, forms the boundary line between the two Indias. The length of India within Ganges at its greatest extent, from the fifth mouth of the Ganges, which is called Antibolê (*Sans.* Anta-bala, for Anta-bala-sithiti, “border stronghold”), to the shipping port on the Kanthian Gulf (Rann of Cutch), is 18,290 *stadia*: its width from the cape called the Aphetêrion to the sources of the Ganges is 13,000 *stadia*. It contains 54 nations or provinces (*lit.* satrapies), 216 cities, towns or emporia worthy of note, 6 conspicuous mountains, 23 rivers, 2 capes, 1 distinguished port, 5 bays, 12 estuaries. Besides these are one important fitting-out port, 10 river confluents and 9 islands. The run from the fitting-out port (Aphetêrion), through part of the Gangetic Bay to the fifth mouth called Antibolê, is in all 5,660 *stadia*. From the port on the Rann of Cutch to the same spot is 35,695 *stadia*.

Periplus of India without Ganges and its Rivers and Gulfs.

"India without Ganges its bounded on the north by portions of Skythiæ and Sericæ; on the west by the River Ganges itself; on the east by the (country of) the Sinæ as far as the gulf called Megas and the gulf itself, (Gulf of Martaban); on the south by the Indian Ocean, and partly by the Prasôdan (*Sans.* prasâda, *tranquil*) Sea, which beginning at the island of Methusias, or Menuthias (*Sans.* Madhvasaras, *Sweet-water*), extends in a line parallel with the opposite coast to the 'Great,' as before explained, Gulf.

"The length of India without Ganges where it is greatest is 11,650 *stadia* (say 900 miles, which is about the actual distance from the Baleswar mouth to Rangoon). Its extreme width is (about) 10,009 *stadia*. It contains 50 (separate) nations or provinces; cities, towns or emporia 67, conspicuous mountains 18, headlands 5, ports 3, large bays 1, and notable islands 30. The entire length of the navigation from the promontory [*sic*] up to the boundary close to Sinæ of the part of the 'Great Gulf' which lies near India without Ganges comes to 2,500 *stadia*. [There is evidently some error here; the MS. seems imperfect: the Latin gloss reads 12,550 *stadia*; neither meet the case.] The navigation of the entire littoral of India without Ganges from the fifth mouth of the Ganges called Antibolê up to the boundaries near the nation of the Sinæ comes to 4,550 (or 5,550) *stadia*." There is an error here of importance, the text reads $\delta\epsilon\tau'$ which is an impossible number.

Periplus of the Region of the Sinæ and the Adjoining Gulfs.

"The nation of the Sinæ lies on the north alongside Sericæ; on the west is India without Ganges, along the before-mentioned boundary to the 'Great Gulf.' On the east is

unknown land, and on the south the Southern Sea and the unexplored southern land. This is the account given in all quarters.

"Beyond this begin to dwell the Fish-eating Sinæ up to the unexplored southern land. For it is needful to assume here two unknown lands,—one lying east, inhabited, as we have said, by Sinæ, and the other south, which stretches along the entire of the Indian Sea, called the 'Prasôdan,' and which is a part of the Indian Sea: so that either meeting describes, as it were, an angle about the Gulf of Sinæ. Whatever may be the site of the Seres and their metropolis, it overlies Sinæ: the land which runs the more easterly of these is unknown, being a marsh covered with forest, where the reeds are so great and thick as to interfere with communication."

Periplus of the Thêriôdan Gulf.

"To the vessel, then, sailing past the 'Great' Gulf, and the 'Rainy Cape' and keeping on the left and east the land of Sinæ, the Thêriôdan Gulf presents itself, (with the 'Wild-beast Gulf' of Marcian we may compare the modern Singapore, *Sans. Sinha-pura, City of Lions*, situated at the extremity of these very regions); this gulf extends to the Promontory of Satyrs, 'Apes' Head,' (the modern Acheen Head). The run from the Promontory ('Rainy Cape?') to Apes' Head is counted 503 *stadia*." [The missing figure here is probably γ say γη' 3,500 *stadia*: the text has γγ'.

Periplus of the Gulf of Sinæ.

"After Apes' Head follows an extremely large bay called the Gulf of Sinæ, which reaches up to the unexplored land on the south, and conjoins also the unexplored land to eastward, near which, as we have said, dwell the Sinæ. From Apes' Head, then to the mouths of the Kottiaris R.,

which empties into the Gulf of Sinæ, are 1,250 stadia. [The Kottiaris here spoken of clearly represents the modern Irrawadi, the word is pure Sanscrit, Çatavari, 'Hundred-streams,' and evidently is named from the almost innumerable mouths of the delta. The distance mentioned, in Greek numerals Ϡσ'ν' 1,250, is certainly incorrect: it should probably read ισ'ν' 10,250, which according to the author's general estimate of distances would be approximately correct. In the first two syllables of Irra-wadi the Irra is probably a last echo of the Sanscrit vara, *stream, river*. The River Kottiaris leads to Kattigara (evidently for Çata-nagara "Hundred-town"), the emporium of the Sinæ, the terminus of the explored and habitable earth towards the south.

"The number of *stadia* reckoned in this peregrination, (periplus) is [blank in original]; indeed it is by no means easy for anyone, even if inspired by wisdom approaching that of the celestials, clearly to describe the course which extends beyond the emporium of the Sinæ, or to open out to human knowledge those unexplored lands lying to the extreme south, or the region which bounds on the east the unexplored parts of Sinæ.

"The length of Sinæ is at most *stadia* 7 [so states the MS.: it seems useless to attempt any conjectural amendment]; the width at its greatest 7,250 *stadia*. It contains 5 nations or provinces (satrapies), cities or towns worthy of note 7; one conspicuous mountain; four great rivers; two extensive gulfs, the Thêriôdan and that of Sinæ, and two well marked promontories. The whole navigation of the coast of Sinæ from the limit of the Sinæ in the 'Great Bay' towards India without Ganges on the River Kottiaris amounts to, in all, *stadia* 2,650." [This figure is of course incorrect: the text reads βχ'; a figure has dropt out at the beginning. For a similar reason to that stated above it is inadvisable to seek to supply the omission.]

The next chapter gives a recapitulation of the distances from the Gulf of Akaba to India, which it is not necessary to quote. It however goes on to tell us of India, that the distance from the westernmost mouth of the Indus River to Antibolê is 35,695 *stadia*. The actual distance is 3,000 miles, so that the *stadium* may be roughly estimated as about the twelfth part of an English mile.

Having arrived at Antibolê, it goes on to tell us that the distance from that to the limits opposite the Sinæ, which touch the middle of the "Great Gulf," is —5330 *stadia*: then along the coast from the extreme limit of the Sinæ back to the Kottiaris is 2,650 *stadia*; if by the insertion of ρ in each case we add 10,000 *stadia* we shall get 15,330 or, say, 1,275 miles for the distance from Antibolê to Rangoon, which is some 350 miles in excess. The second estimate of 12,650 *stadia*, say 1,050 miles, would, however, fairly well represent the position of the Isthmus of Kra, which was seemingly then the limit of Sinæ, as in modern times of Burma. A discrepancy, however, difficult of explanation occurs between the first estimate of the extent of 11,650 *stadia* given on p. 4 as that of India beyond Ganges.

However we manipulate Marcian's figures, it is impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that the land of Sinæ, as represented by him, lay on the west side of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. India without Ganges commenced at the fifth or Antibolan mouth of the Ganges, in which we must find the modern Baleshwar. This India, as Marcian called it, extended to the Great Gulf, itself in immediate connection with the "Prasôdan," which is pure Sanscrit for *Tranquil*, Sea. The voyager, still going south towards the unexplored land, has, the *periplus* is careful to explain, on his left, and towards the east, the land of Sinæ, while all to the south is utterly unknown, so that even to one endowed with "celestial" knowledge it would be

difficult to speak with confidence as to what came next. The old Greek voyager, if he succeeded in reaching Rangoon, which even is doubtful, certainly never got beyond it, his guides having evidently failed him at this point.

Curiously enough, we have from an almost contemporary writer, a glimpse of light thrown on the subject in an unexpected quarter. About the year 412 the Buddhist monk Fahhien, on his travels in search of Buddhist texts, found himself in Kandy on the island of Ceylon. Here he found a number of wealthy merchants living in large and elegant houses whom he calls Sabu, 薩薄. There is no doubt that these Saban merchants were Arabians, who under the name of Sabæans during the earlier centuries of the Christian epoch carried on an extensive trade with the East, and are mentioned by practically all the Greek and Roman geographers.

Fahhien, finding himself after eleven years' journeying at Ceylon, and probably feeling unequal to the task of retracing his steps by the long and dangerous route over the Hindu Kush, took advantage of the opportunity offering of returning in a ship bound for Batavia. The ship was evidently Arabian, or at all events not belonging to a Buddhist country. For two days the ship sped merrily with a favourable wind; when the wind must have changed to N.E. and freshening, the skipper found himself on the verge of a cyclone; the wind suddenly increasing to a hurricane, and the craft labouring heavily enough to spring a leak. To ease her everything that could be spared was hove overboard, and Fahhien, fearing that the unbelieving skipper would insist on pitching overboard the manuscripts he had collected during his weary journey, and knowing that it would be useless to appeal to any religious scruples on the part of the skipper or crew, had recourse in secret to prayer to Avaloketeshvara. After drifting at the mercy

of the wind for thirteen days, during which the ship must have been driven by the cyclone south of the equator, and carried round in a circle to the northward again; the gale going down, they found themselves off a small and apparently uninhabited island. This turned out to be one of the innumerable islands skirting the outer coast of Sumatra near Acheen head, the Apes' Head of Marcian. Here advantage was taken of the tide to repair the leak, and, finding her position, the ship took the outer course through the Straits of Sunda to Batavia.

It is evident that all these passages were at the time of Marcian perfectly well known to the Arabian traders. The knowledge was, however, carefully preserved as a trade secret; and hence the yarn about divine wisdom told to Marcian's authority. The Arabians were only doing for the East what Parthia did for the West, and seeking to keep in their own hands the monopoly of the profitable trade. The incident is paralleled by the experience of Kanying at the Persian Gulf. Towards the close of the first century that intrepid traveller found himself at Hormuz, whence he desired to make his way by sea to Egypt and Rome. The Arabian shipmen, probably inspired by Parthia, told him just such another yarn about the uncertainties of the voyage and the strange longings that seized the the adventurous voyager.

From other sources, as well as from the numerous and enormous ruins which they have left behind in Cambodia and Java, we know of the wide diffusion of Indian influence, as well as of the prevalence and power of the religion of Buddha in the east of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the East-Indian islands. Marcian's *Periplus* displays to us the existence of a similar condition of affairs in the valleys of the Irrawadi and Salwin. The whole country is saturated with Indian influence, and the cities, towns, rivers

and headlands all bear Sanscrit names. India beyond Ganges was in fact a good deal more than a mere geographical expression,—the “other” India being for all practical purposes nearly as Indian as the hither.

According to Marcian, the inhabitants of this country were Sinæ, and it has been taken for granted that these Sinæ, spoken of by both Ptolemy and Marcian, were the Chinese under another name. Both these authors state distinctly that the Sinæ were bounded on the north by the Seres, and on the east and south by the unknown land. I have shown elsewhere that Serica, the land occupied by the Seres, was the state of Ts'in, and on the conquest of China by Ts'in Shihwangti the name came to be applied to the whole of the Chinese state. Here, however, the Chinese records come to our aid. The *Shi Ki* [chap. cxvi] first lifts the veil on these south-west frontagers of China, and describes a mission, partly exploratory and partly political, sent into these regions by the great Emperor Wu Ti, in the second century B.C. [*China Review*, vol. xxv, p. 103]. Wu Ti, a prince far in advance of his age, was as anxious as any English statesman of the nineteenth century to open up to Chinese trade the entire of Asia, and as a fact did succeed in establishing intercourse through Central Asia which lasted several centuries; he was equally desirous, though in the end not so successfully, of promoting intercourse with India by way of the south-west. All the countries to the south were known in an indifferent way as Yuet 越, which is simply the transliteration of Sanscrit *varsha*, a general name for a large expanse, a country. Thus we find Nanyuet, Southern Yuet; Tungyuet, Eastern Yuet; Minyuet, Fuhkien and Chehkiang, etc. Nanyuet was subsequently conquered and annexed, but lying towards its west the explorers found the powerful state Tien 滇, occupying all the lands south of Shuk, the present Ssch'wen. The king

of Tien did not receive Wu Ti's envoys very cordially: when they complained of the obstacles placed in their way by the tribes on his northern frontier, he made the reply, that, compared with Han, his was but a small country; the obstruction, had, however, not proceeded from him but from the prince of the Yelangs, tribes along the modern Yalung River. For himself he only wanted to be left in peace, and did not care to pry into the affairs of Han. Wu Ti, however, did not care to be balked, and sent a second mission who assured him of the perfectly peaceful intentions of the Emperor; and, apparently convinced that no conquest was intended, he joined in the measures taken to restore order. In reward for this, in the usual grandiose manner, "the Emperor presented the king with a royal seal, and gave him authority over the various chiefs of the South-west." It was not, of course, for fourteen centuries that Tien came under the dominion of China. Up to the present day, in the official language of the Chinese court, Yünnan preserves its original name of Tien.

Now there is not the slightest doubt that geographically the country, called by Marcian Sinæ, and which had its emporium in the delta of the Irrawadi, corresponds with the position of the Chinese Tien* while philologically there is as little difficulty in the representation of Chinese Tien by Greek Sinæ. Nor is this all; Marcian gives us as "their metropolis Thinaë," which apparently we find in the still surviving province of Theinni, south of Bhamo, and which apparently included at one time a former capital, old Pagân, of which I shall have occasion to speak later on. If not identical with the widely extended people of the Shans, there is little doubt of the ethnological connection of the two races. So much for the information to be drawn from Greek sources.

* Rather Tin

For further enlightenment as to the intimate ethnology of the southern frontagers of China, we must naturally look to our Chinese authorities. The *Nanchao Ye-shi*, written in the 16th century by Yangts'ai of Ch'engt'u, gives us some of the earlier legends. It has been translated in part by Mr. G. W. Clark. Ages ago there came to Yunnan from the kingdom of Malikut 摩立曷國 Malakuta—which Cunningham [*Ancient Geography of India*] identifies with the modern Travancore and Madura—a certain prince called Ah-yu, in other words, as we learn from Fah-hien's Travels, Açoka. He had a son, in modern Chinese Ti-mung-tsu 低蒙苴, where the phonetic value is Tâla-maurya. In time Tâla-maurya had a family of nine sons, who became the eponymic founders of as many states,—the Chinese Mung, 蒙; Shan and Burmese Muang or Maung. There is so much foundation for this story, which can hardly be called myth, that Chandragupta, the founder of the famous line of kings of Magadha, and grandfather of the still more celebrated Açoka, was actually a descendant of the Maurya family. Still the story is not history. The son of Açoka who went to Madura and Ceylon, and there introduced the religion of Buddha, which spread from thence over the entire Indo-Chinese peninsula, was named Mahinda; he was an ordained Buddhist priest, and as such vowed to celibacy, and left no issue. Still there must have been some reason for inventing the tale, and we can only find this in the wide expansion of the Maurya race, which ranged from Magadha, the modern Bengal, through the greater part of the region called by the old geographers India beyond Ganges. To trace the connection we must go back far beyond the rise of Buddhism.

At any rate this Maurya race must have been widely diffused, and has left its mark everywhere, not only over the entire of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, but into Yunnan, Ssch'wen, and even far into the Hukwang provinces.

This fact is well exhibited on the face of the maps of these regions in the frequent occurrence in place names of the syllables *mung*, *meng*, *mieng*, *muang*, *man*, etc., where the final *ng* in Chinese and the Indo-Chinese languages is the regular representative of Sanscrit *r*.

To return to the legend, Timungtsu (Tâla-maurya) had a family of nine sons who became the eponyms of as many peoples. Unfortunately Mr. Clark's narrative does not give here the Chinese characters, and it is somewhat difficult to discover what he really intended. The first was the ancestor of the "Sixteen States," apparently the Siamese, Cambodians and the other southern peoples. The second was ancestor to the T'ufans, Tibetans [apparently here the writer went beyond his brief]. The third was called Mungtsule, and was the ancestor of the Hanjen, Chinese, of which the same may perhaps be said. The fourth was Mungtsu cheo, eponym of the Mantse peoples. The fifth founded the Mung families, (?) the Muong of the "Black" River. The sixth founded the Lion peoples, (?) the Shans. With the seventh and the eighth we are on more familiar ground. The former Mungtsulung, of whom I shall speak lower, was the founder of Kiao-chi, Annam; and the latter of Paktse 白子 kwoh, apparently the same as Pakngai 白崖, the capital of Tien, which must, I take it, be identified with old Pagan on the Irrawadi about 120 miles due west of Theinni. This leaves only the ninth, Mungtsu yuet, Maurya-varsha, and this we must apparently place amongst the upper Laos in the extreme south of Yunnan, somewhere about the junction with Annam.

In a work so ancient and respectable as the *Heo-Han Shu*, written in the fifth century, another form of the legend is to be found, but here referring to a different tribe—the Ngailaos, co-residents with the Mauryas. This version of the story indicates that in the third century, as at present, there

were at least two races dominant in south China and the Indo-Chinese peninsula, both, however, intimately associated with India. The story is told in chapter lxxxvi, and accounts for the origin of these Ngailaos by a miraculous birth. A woman dwelling in the 牢山 Lao-shan [where the phonetic power is *dra* or *drai*], when fishing came in contact with a sunken stake and conceived. The name of the woman was Sha-yak 沙壹. Here the phonetic power is (S)Marak,—apparently Maurika, an adjectival form from Maurya. After ten months she gave birth to ten sons, nine of whom disappeared, but the tenth, bearing the name of Kiulung, or older Kaulung, grew up and eventually became king of the Ngailaos. The phonetic element in Kaulung 九隆 is, however, the same as in Kiao-chi, an old name for Annam and the adjacent countries, the connections of which I shall refer to lower down. Ngailao, of which Kaulung became subsequently king, seems to represent phonetically Drau-i-drai, and this we must connect with a form Dravida, the name given to the dark tribes of Central and Southern India. The story of Chandragupta, and Açoka's conversion to Buddhism, is by Rhys Davids taken to imply that the Maurya family to which Açoka belonged was of low caste or aboriginal origin, so that in this respect the two accounts do not seriously clash. These people, although they pierced their noses and extended their ears, were otherwise in a fair stage of civilisation; they wore their clothes so that from behind they seem to carry tails, a peculiarity they shared with the Mâns. This custom seemingly does not survive at the present day.

Two thousand years ago the Mâns had a much wider distribution than at the present day, ranging from the centre of Ssch'wen over the entire of the Hukwang, and even further east. The *Heo-Han Shu* finds for them a supernatural origin. The mythical Emperor Kaosin had a favourite dog,

so goes the story [chap. lxxxvi], seemingly a Tibetan mastiff, called P'wanhu. Kaosin had been robbed by some Turkish outlaws, and made an unsuccessful raid on the tribe. He then offered rich rewards in "yellow gold" and a well dowered wife to anyone who would bring him the head of the chief of the robbers. None cared to undertake the task, but one day the dog appeared with the head and laid it at his feet. The puzzle was how to reward the animal, but as he had promised a wife he thought the promise should be fulfilled, and issued a proclamation calling for a volunteer. After some time a woman appeared, and the dog showing his willingness everything was arranged and P'wanhu and the woman were married. He took the woman, threw her across his back, and carried her into the mountains where they were most thickly covered with forest. In due course the woman gave birth to twelve children, six boys and six girls, who became the ancestors of the Mâns: they wove the bark of trees, dyed the grasses and made of them many coloured clothes, which always had the appearance of a tail hanging down behind. Such was the appearance of the Mâns two thousand years ago, and to the present day they keep to the lofty wooded hills, and wear brightly coloured clothes.

The tale is, of course, purely mythological, to account for the personal peculiarities of these tribes. The Mâns, two thousand years ago, had already become more or less mixed in blood with the Tibetans, then living very much more to the east than at present. The name of the dog, P'wanhu, 槃瓠, in the story is Tibetan, and is apparently identical with 番禺, that of a Tibetan town on the Dzunggo, in modern Chinese the Tung, and which is mentioned in Sz'ma T sien's history. The Tibetan form of the name would be Baryul, or Bardul, the Pa 巴 of history.

We can, however, trace the Mâns many centuries further, when they were limitotropes of the ancient Cheo settlers in the basin of the Hwangho, and formed the chief obstacle in the way of their advance into Central China. The Mien-man [*Shi*, II., viii. 6.] sings :—

In swarms the Mâns round Min's steep crest,
Like orioles on the housetops crowd.
So rash a task how dare we breast?
With palsied fear our hearts are cowed.
E'en food and drink offend our taste,
Our boldest schemes aye bootless prove,
As our war chariots homeward haste,
Or from our flanks in panic move.

The Min Shan 緡* as Williams [*sub voce*] informs us, formed a "range of mountains in the north of Ssch'wen province, a spur of the Pihling, separating the valleys of the Yellow River and Yang tsz' kiang." The northern states had planned an invasion of the Yangtse basin, and had advanced to the foot of the Min Shan; when the soldiers saw the formidable hosts of the Mâns, with their bright coloured jackets capping the crests of the Min mountains, they refused to advance further.

The Mâns are always closely associated with King 荆, which may be roughly described as corresponding with modern Hukwang, extending, however, along the lower country as far as the boundaries of Wu; the *Lunyü* couples Mân with *mak*, 蠻貊, as if intended for some form like Manyak, i.e. Mauryika, the probable original of the Manyaks of the extreme west of modern Ssch'wen. In connection with the character 荆, in modern Chinese pronounced King, occurs one of those changes, which merely phonetic in the gradual development of the language, have been interpreted as implying an actual change of name. Thus Leolan became Shenshen; Sienpi Wuhwan, etc. In a precisely similar manner King changed to Ts'u, and the literate explains that the name of the country was altered:

* So in the *Great Learning*; the *Shi* has 緡, but the sound is identical.

what really took place was, however, merely a change in the name of the ideograph: 荆 and 楚 originally represented the same sound, *Kshar* or *Kshur*, signifying the watery, or flooded country [*Sans.* *Kshara*, the modern Hukwang], but coming to be understood as the country of the thorny *tribulus*, [*Sans.* *Kshura*]. The original tongue of the Maurya settlers, a polysyllabic language allied to the Sanscritic dialects of India, was gradually assuming its modern monosyllabic form: the Maurya woman had coupled with the Tibetan Fân, and the Mâns were the offspring. The Yin-wu ballad [*Shi*, IV, iii, 5] indicates the gradual change by using the double word King-t'su, 荆楚.

The kingdom of Ts'u was finally put an end to by the Seres (Ts'in) about B.C. 339, when Ts'in Shihwangti attacked it, and in a comparatively short space of time succeeded in overrunning the country and extinguishing the royal house. In connection with this a curious incident is incidentally recorded by Sz'ma Ts'ien in the cxvth chapter of his history. A few years before Ts'in's attack, the king of Ts'u had sent his general Chwang Kiao, a near relation of the house, to make an attack on the states bordering the upper Yangtse. The old hegemony of the Cheo states was being broken, and Ts'u and Ts'in were both aiming at the establishment of an empire to include the whole of China from the Great Wall to the borders of Annam. Chwang Kiao was so far successful that he had already advanced up to the lake of Yunnan Fu, and had reduced the intervening lands to submission, when he was recalled by dangers at home. He was leading his army back when he met Ts'in Shihwangti's forces returning after the destruction of Ts'u; fearing to risk a battle he halted, and turned back, and, adopting the dress and ways of the countries he had conquered, became the first king of Tien. This he was the better able to do that the substratum of the

population of his new country was closely related to that of Ts'u, both being Mâns. The story need not be accepted as historic, but it points to the wide expansion of the Maurya race at the opening of history.

Nor are other and more tangible evidences of the former wide distribution of these races before the time of written history wanting. From K'wei Fu, at the very entrance to Ssch'en, to P'ingshan and Yacheo in the west—wherever, in fact, the great sandstone formation of the province is to be met with—are everywhere to be found river banks honey-combed with caves, known to the natives as "Mantse caves," the residences or tombs, for the two almost imperceptibly run into one another, of these ancient people. Of their age we have no record: the early histories incidentally speak of them as then existing much as at present, but no Chinese author of any age has ever interested himself in their exploration. A few foreigners in their travels through these recently opened lands—foremost amongst whom was Baber—have made a beginning; but, moving about from place to place, their investigations were merely superficial. Enough has been done to prove that they were the work of a highly civilised people, who had made considerable progress in the arts. The art is, however, not Chinese, and its predominant features approach more nearly to ancient Indian types. Besides the caves along the river banks in evidence to the most careless passer-by, there is reason to believe that the soil of Ssech'en and a large part of Yunnan, especially about the sites of the larger cities, is deeply bored with excavated graves dating back to a similar antiquity; and discoveries are constantly made of antiquities disturbed by the most superficial of excavations which must be referred to pre-Chinese occupation.

The style of the so-called cave dwelling, probably induced by the conditions of the site, is peculiar. One of the most marked peculiarities is the lowness of the entrances, from three to three-and-a-half feet, so that it is necessary to stoop almost double in entering. Ornament is sparingly used, but the stonework is solid and carefully finished: the doorways were originally closed by portcullises, apparently of stone, and the jambs and lintels are carefully grooved for the purpose. No inscriptions of any sort have been noticed, writing not having been as yet introduced in India. When the rock was of such a nature as not to permit of the formation of caves, brickwork was adopted: the bricks were frequently ornamented with well-designed patterns on the surface, but the patterns are distinctly un-Chinese and approach more nearly an Indian type. Doubtless when the Empire becomes more settled, and the more learned amongst the Chinese begin to take an intelligent interest in their own antiquities, these caves will be excavated with care, on account of the light they are capable of shedding on the early history of Chinese civilisation.

Equally distinct from ordinary Chinese types are the physical characteristics of the descendants of the old inhabitants still to be found in the wilder and more elevated districts of Ssch'wen and Yunnan. All travellers in the west of China have noticed the very great distinctions, mental and bodily, between the so-called aboriginal tribes and the more modern Chinese squatters in the rich valley bottoms, who with their national dogged persistence are little by little pushing to the rugged western mountains the older tribes. From a European point of view these remnants of the ancient populations are especially interesting,—gay and light-hearted, brave and open, they are in marked contrast with their

prudish, selfish and calculating neighbours; and in consequence have inch by inch had to give way, and are now only to be found in the thickly wooded uplands unsuited for the Chinese terrace cultivation.

Nor are the physical characteristics of the two races in any degree in less marked contrast. The principal distinction, noticeable at first sight, is that in the MantSES, and in a less degree in their more mixed neighbours the Lolos, the yellow pigment, characteristic of the Parææan races, is either altogether absent or at most slightly developed. Another marked distinction is the absence of the fold of the upper eyelid which gives to the Chinese and their allied races the peculiar appearance known as the almond-eye. The distinctive colouring, in fact, closely approximates to the Aryan type of the Indian Peninsula, where the foundation is pink, more or less tinged with brown in proportion to the admixture of Dravidian blood. The stature is tall and slight, erect and graceful; the face oval, with the cheek-bones but slightly prominent; the nose elevated, though rather broader than in the pure Aryan; the lips thin and well formed, and the hair with a tendency to chestnut, and sometimes decidedly wavy; the eyes, as Baber informs us, are large and level, and in all these characteristics they form a marked contrast to their Chinese neighbours.

So much for the people: the land they inhabited merits some notice. The oldest allusion to it seems to occur to the ancient topical ballad enclosed in the more modern Yükung. Internal evidence would place this ballad prior to the fifth century B.C., how much earlier we have no means of judging [see on this subject *China Review*, XIV. 17]. The ballad sings [Pt. I. Chap. ix]:—

Min and Po (came under) civilisation.
 Along the courses of the T'o and Ts'im.
 The Ts'ai-Mung were planted.
 The Ho (Ghor) tribes were brought under.

The gloss, itself ancient, ascribes these localities to Liang Chow, a name still existing in Liang Shan, a general name for the districts inhabited by the Mântse. The gloss then goes on to enumerate the articles of so-called tribute—pearls, iron, silver chased work, turned pottery, and embroidered bear and fox skins. These, it adds, came from the western passes, and Hwan? went up the Kialing valley to Hanch'ung, and were thence carried to Singan, the Capital. This gloss cannot be earlier than the 3rd century B.C. but contains doubtless older tradition.

Min, as I have explained, is the range of highlands parting the basins of the Hwangho and Yangtse. Po, as if Bod, is the great Tibetan plateau. The T'o is the modern T'ung and its tributary the Min, the old Tibetan Dar-chu. By a process of exhaustion, then, Ts'in must be the modern Kialing, which agrees with the conditions. Ts'ai-Mung, in the third line quoted, is then plainly the Tâla-maur-ya of the of the Nanchao Yeshi, referred to above [p. 87, *ante*]. Of the Ho or Ghor mentioned in the last line we shall hear a good deal lower down.

Liang, the name given in the gloss to this country, was not its oldest designation. Liang still survives in Tibetan under its older form of Dêrgê, or Dêrjê; this, however, was not the name by which it was known to its Maurya settlers. This was Gandhar, a name still surviving under a scarcely recognisable form in modern Kiench'ang. Sir Henry Yule [*M. Polo*, 1st ed. II. 43] quotes at second hand from Quatremère the Arabian writer Rashid:—"To the south-west of Cathay is the country called by the Chinese *Dailiu* or Great Realm," and by the Mongols *Karajang*, in the language of India and Kashmir *Kandar*, and by us *Kandahâr*. This country, which is of vast extent, is bounded on one side by Tibet and Tangut, and on others by Mongolia, Cathay and the country of the Gold Teeth."

In modern times the name transliterated by the Chinese as 建昌, in the old language *Gan-dar*, but by the regular changes becoming *Kiench'ang*, is applied to the rich valley of Ningyuen Fu, but anciently it had a much wider extension, including apparently the entire country occupied by the Mauryas, as far as Kiulung, but another form of the same word. The territory of *Kiench'ang* on its conquest by the Mongols became transformed into Mongol *Karâjang*, but, the tradition of its former wide extension surviving, it was officially made to cover the whole of the new conquest of Yünnan. We meet with the same word in *Kiaochi*, the old name of Annam, and possibly in Kiangtung, in the upper Shan States. *Caindu*, Polo's name for *Kiench'ang*, is but an echo of the same sound, as if he heard it as *Kandar*. It was the name by which their country was designated by the Maurya peoples.

The other and alternative name for the country was that by which it was known to the Tibetans, *Dêrgê*, spelt also, by Baber, *Degê*. *Dêrgê* still survives as an independent principality in Eastern Tibet on the *Drêchu*, the Tibetan name for the upper course of the *Kinsha*. As before mentioned, this name survives in the old *Liang Cheo*, where the phonetic value was *Dar*. The same word occurs in the name given to the *T'ung River* in the *Shiki* 牂牁, which Playfair transliterates as 牂牁, *Tsangke**, and gives as the name of a *cheo* extending in the Han period into Kweichow and Hunan, but where the old pronunciation was *Dargê*, or *Dêrgê*. The old general name for the province of *Ssch'wen*, still its literary name, was *Shuk* 蜀, which, as the phonetic portion of the character shows, was pronounced *Tuk*; the low tone of which points to an initial *D*. *i.e.* *Dêrgê*. *Shuk* was

* According to the *Shi Ki*, *Tsangki* was a name given to the country about the *T'ung R.* when formed into a *Kün* by the Emperor Wu of the Former Han.

of sufficient extent to be chosen as the appellation of the western kingdom, when after the fall of the Later Hans the Empire was divided into three states.

Nor is this all we have to show the former wide extent of the country known as Dergè in the time of the Hans. We find it, in fact, during the Early Han officially known as Yik Cheo 益州, which we must apparently read as *Dik*, or *Derg* Cheo. According to Playfair, it included Ch'engt'u and Yunnan Fus. The name still survives in modern Tali, a name simply phonetic, and intended as nearly as possible in modern Chinese to recall the traditional appellation of Darg, or Dêrgè.

These traces of the old nomenclature, extending far to the east of the present limits of Tibet, coincide with what the common tradition of the country relates, as well as agree with the record of maps. Indeed it was not till after the beginning of the last century that the official maps included in Ssch'wen any of the districts west of the T'ung river.

Another instance of the western shift of Tibetan names before the Chinese advance is seen in what in northern Chinese is called Chantui. In official language this is a term applied to Eastern Tibet generally, and Baber uses the term as synonymous with Menia. Most writers too would associate the name, from a fancied similarity, with Kiench'ang (Gandar); the latter, in the corrupted northern dialects, being pronounced Chiench'ang. Chantui 瞻對 in the southern, and older form, is Chintui, or Chiamtui. The name survives, but has been moved to the upper Meikong in about 31° N.L., where, as the independent state of Chamdo, it interposes between Hlassa, Dêrgè and Assam.

I do not here propose to enter into details of the present nomenclature and former distribution of the many tribes, Maurya or Tibetan, in these still but half-settled lands,

further than is necessary to indicate the original tribal connections of the more important. These tribes, though inhabiting the same land, are split up into innumerable sections and subsections, as the blendings of the original stocks are more or less complete. There are, however, one or two divisions calling for more particular note. Above [p. 89] I have connected phonetically the tribes called in the *Heo Han Shu* (NG)ailao with Drau-i-drai. About 60 A.D. Hien Tsung, otherwise the Emperor Ming, second of the of the Later Han, according to the same authority, divided these territories into two parts, which he named the Ailao and Paknam *Hiens* respectively. He also cut off from Yik (Dêrgè) *Cheo* six *hiens*, which were under the jurisdiction of the *Tuwei* of the western tribes, and, uniting them all, constituted the Principality (Kün) of Yungch'ang, which lay along both banks of the Lantsang (Upper Meikong) River. In 97 A.D. Yungyutiao 永由調, i.e. Dravidra, King of Shen 憐, i.e. Ceylon (*Sans.* Simhala), sent an embassy to China, bearing presents of ivory, water-buffaloes and humped oxen. In 120 A.D. this embassy was repeated, and amongst other presents were a number of conjurers who performed some wonderful sleight-of-hand tricks. In answer to enquiries as to who they were, they replied: "We are men of the Western Sea. To the west of the sea (Bay of Bengal), south-west of Shen, lies Tats'in (Syria), and the two are in close communication." The next year, at the annual feast, the Emperor conferred on Dravidra the (honorary) rank of *Tuwei*.

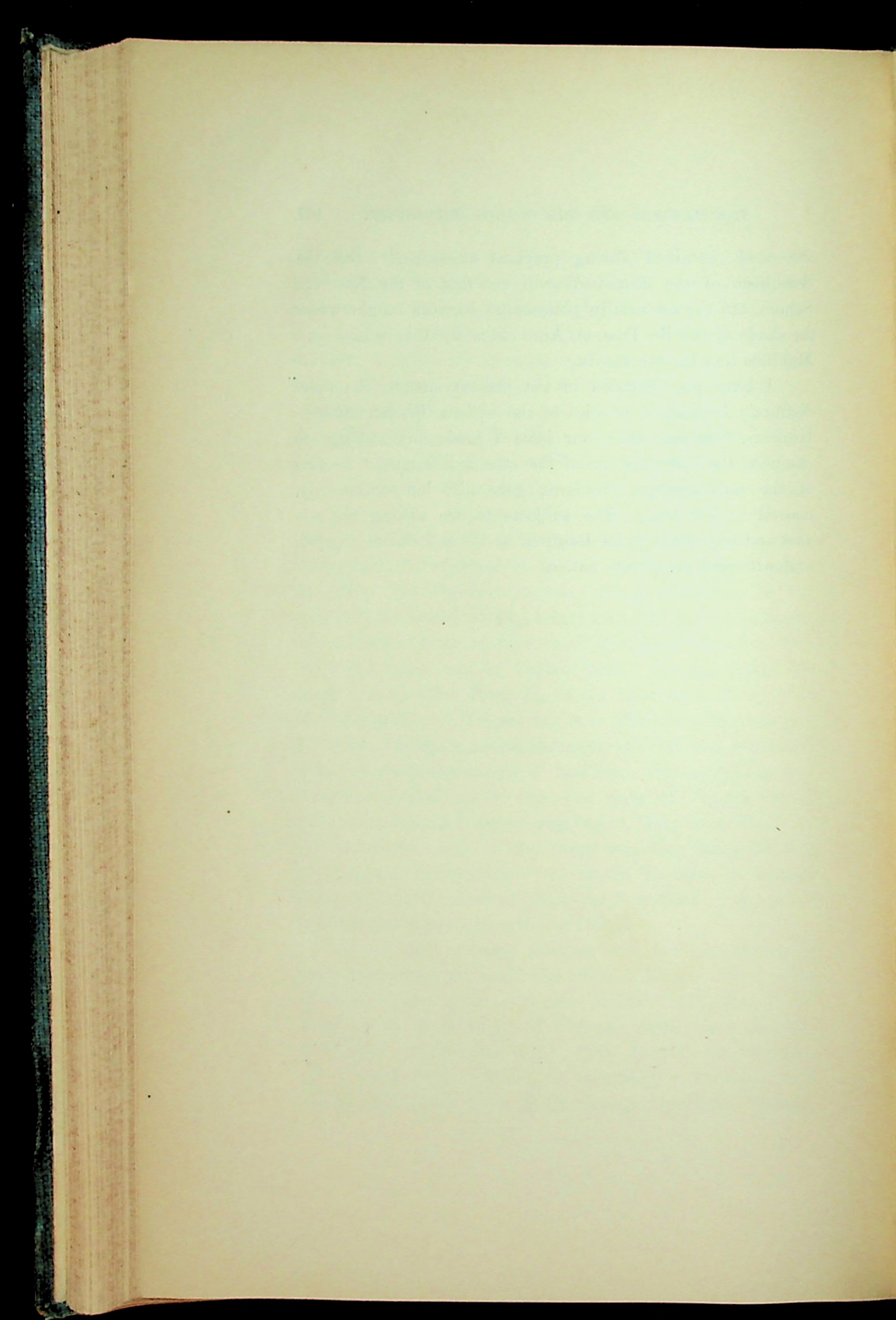
But the name of the new state Yung-ch'ang 永昌, which still exists as the name of a prefecture, within which is Momien, where Margary was murdered, contains the same phonetic elements, and is but an echo of the old NGailao under new ideographs. Commonly we find that the phonetic element was strong when selecting names for new towns or

territorial divisions, and more especially does this prove to have been the rule in the modern provinces of the south-west, not incorporated into the Empire till the 13th century. In tracing back, moreover, the country of Yungch'ang to ancient Dravidra we conform not only with Chinese and Greek indications, but with the Buddhist histories of Ceylon. Burma, we learn from them, was not indeed officially converted to Buddhism till about 450 A.D., but Burma received Buddhism from Ceylon, which in turn received it from Mahinda, the son of King Açoka. The "Bo Tree" of Anurâddha-pura marks the introduction of the religion into Ceylon, and it was planted in 288 B.C. Notwithstanding the late official acceptance of Buddhism in Burma, we have every reason to believe that Buddhist monks, taking advantage of the constant intercourse existing between Ceylon and the mouths of the Irrawadi, carried there the "Doctrine" almost as soon as it had taken root in Ceylon itself. It was under the auspices of the Han Ming Ti, as we have seen above, that the Principality of Yungch'ang was officially acknowledged by China. It was the same monarch who had the celebrated dream of the golden image of Buddha. The inspiration had doubtless reached him by the same route of Yungch'ang as did the subsequent Western jugglers of King Dravidra. At all events the result of the dream was that Ming Ti sent messengers to the ancestral home of the Mauryas in Central India, and thence obtained, from the holy land of primitive Buddhism, copies of the sacred writings.

It is to this embassy that we owe the compilation of that much disputed work, the *Taoteh King*. As I have elsewhere shown [*China Review*, XXIV, 147], the *Taoteh King*, so far from being of Chinese origin, is essentially Buddhistic. "Tao, the WAY, (the *Marga*), to Nirvana, (the *Wuwei* of the author), is essentially a Buddhist conception, and so also is the 成功, Kungch'eng (the *Karma*),

the *merit* obtained during previous existence." But the Buddhism of the *Taoteh King* is not that of the Northern School, but the essentially philosophic doctrine taught under the shade of the Bo Tree of Anuráddha by the royal monk Mahinda and his successors.

I have not included in the present memoir the more distinctly Himálayic peoples of the eastern Tibetan lands—Horbars, Sharbas, etc.—nor have I made any attempt to elucidate the early history of the so-called Tangutian peoples of the north-eastern frontiers, generally, but erroneously, classed as Tibetans. The subjects thence arising are too vast and important to be discussed at the tail end of a paper, and will need a separate notice.



PROCEEDINGS.

PROCEEDINGS.

At the Meeting of the Society held on Thursday, October 16th, 1902, the forty-fifth anniversary of the institution of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was observed. Letters were read from Baron von Richtofen, Monsieur Cordier, and from Sister Societies, and the Vice-President, Dr. Edkins, delivered an address. This address of Dr. Edkins and the letter from Monsieur Cordier contain so much interesting information that they are made part of this copy of the Journal.

Dr. Edkins said :—" Our Society was founded on the principle which guided the promoters of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society at Hongkong. A strong desire was felt to encourage research in this country—so far in the East and so little known in Europe. There were splendid examples of scientific investigation in the *Mémoires concernant les Chinois* and the *Lettres Edifiantes* of the Jesuit missionaries. From the first we undertook the publication of a journal, which has appeared year by year from that time till now. The Hongkong Journal ceased to be published when Sir John Bowring left the Colony. Our Journal was seen to be of so much value that it was imitated at Yokohama. These two repositories of much valuable research and rivals in utility have maintained an unbroken existence since their commencement. They have been well supported by the fees of members and by the intellectual labour of literary contributors.

" On October 16th, 1857, the first meeting of the Society was held, and this evening, therefore, we celebrate our forty-fifth anniversary. Dr. Elijah Coleman Bridgman was our first President and delivered the inaugural lecture. He, in describing the origin of

the Chinese, accepted the ancient account of Yao and Shun, as everyone did at that time. Scepticism in regard to the credibility of the *Shuking* had not then appeared. Dr. Bridgman briefly sketched the field of study which the Society should undertake to explore. He enumerated Natural History, Geology, Meteorology, Physics, Geography, Ethnology, History, the Chinese Political System and Government, Law, Foreign Relations, Philology and Literature.

"Dr. Bridgman was the first editor of the *Chinese Repository* and held liberal views. He encouraged research, and both he and Dr. Williams, the second editor, took a wide range. Bridgman's *Canton Chrestomathy* represents in a realised form the plan of the inaugural lecture. By asking Dr. Bridgman to be our President—a man whose memory went back to 1829, when he was welcomed to Canton by Dr. Robert Morrison, the first English missionary to set foot in China—we linked the literary and scientific work to be done in Shanghai under the auspices of the new Society with the work that had been already accomplished in Canton during the twenty-eight years of Dr. Bridgman's missionary life and during the period represented by the *Repository*. Thus we joined the past with the future. The Society started hopefully on its new career, at a time when thick clouds, caused by the Taiping movement, hung over many of the provinces of China. Dr. Benjamin Hobson, from Canton, was also with us, and Dr. William Muirhead, so well known and so useful in Shanghai, and Dr. Griffith John, so well known and so useful in Central China. He was then a missionary in Shanghai, and contributed to the *Journal* one of its most important papers, that on the Ethics of the Chinese. It was translated into Welsh and appeared in a Welsh periodical.

"Our Society from its foundation proceeded to investigate subjects of very great importance, moral as well as physical. Among physical subjects were the Hangchow Bore, the Typhoons of the China Sea, the Climate of China and its Geology. My thoughts go back to-day to the birth of our Society forty-five years ago. I was the first Secretary of the Society. On October 16th, 1857, the first paper was read to a large and interested audience by Sir Fred. W. Nicolson,

Bart., Captain of the 'Pique.' It was upon the Law of Storms. Plato says in his 'Symposium' that it is most just and desirable that anyone who has heard interesting facts from his friends should tell them to others. In Cato's 'Soliloquy,' as we are informed by Addison, it is said 'It must be so, Plato thou reasonest well.' Now if this philosopher reasoned well on the immortality of the Soul—that being the subject about which Cato was thinking when he committed suicide—he also reasoned well on other things, and therefore I feel it a duty to tell what happened when Sir F. W. Nicolson read his lecture on the Law of Storms. I was the Secretary. The name of the Society was the Literary and Scientific Society of Shanghai. Some of our friends in commercial circles, among them Mr. W. G. Howell, thought this name would be better than North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. However, the students of Chinese on the Council exercised their influence to favour affiliation with the Royal Asiatic Society. These were Alexander Wylie, Dr. Griffith John, Dr. William Muirhead, Dr. D. J. Macgowan, Sir Harry Parkes, Dr. Benjamin Hobson and Sir Walter Medhurst. These men were all with us in the early years of our Society. We joined the Royal Asiatic Society, and secured by so doing a sisterly relationship with the Indian, the Straits and the Japanese branches of the Asiatic Society of London.

"The room was crowded with captains and first officers of ships, with commercial men and missionaries wishing to learn what the British commander of the 'Pique' would say on the Law of Storms. That so many captains of vessels should be present that night shows how, while the Taipings were still in Nanking and Admiral Seymour was preparing to bombard Canton, trade at Shanghai never ceased. Two years later Peking was taken by the British and French forces. All through the intervening time the political atmosphere was seething with disturbances. It was during that period of almost universal commotion in China that this Society was founded, with the peaceful design of conducting useful research into the history, the industries, the philosophy, the literature, the language and the

manners of the Chinese people. We were determined to understand both their religion and their want of religion. We wished to know what makes the Chinese hate us and how far they love us.

"The work of our Society has been carried on in conjunction with the labours of kindred Societies. London, Berlin and Paris have their Asiatic Societies. We were stimulated by their zeal in inquiries of a far reaching nature, and endeavoured to follow in the same path. We have had relations with the American Oriental Society, and when in Peking a Society for research was inaugurated, we took part in it, along with Sir Harry Parkes, Mr. Popoff, Dr. Martin, Professor Arend, Dr. Blodget, Dr. Dudgeon and others. We agreed, as a compliment to America, to call it the Peking Oriental Society. Its Journal has proved to be of great value.

"One of the founders of this Society was Alexander Wylie. He came to China in 1847 as Superintendent of the London Mission Press. He became the distinguished author of the Notes on Chinese Literature with introductory remarks on the progressive advance of literature among the Chinese and a list of translations from Chinese into various European languages. This work is most valuable, because Wylie was a voracious, steady, unwearied reader of Chinese books. When he came to China in 1847 he began reading the Classics and Four Books. He wrote out, I believe, a full translation of the whole. He was a quiet, industrious man, and excellent mathematician and very fond of acquiring languages. He was never weary in collecting books and of mastering the contents of the books he collected. He was a modest man whose mind was full of multifarious learning. His library was purchased by the Society, and as we look round upon its well-filled shelves we learn what sort of mental constitution Wylie possessed. He understood readily everything to which he gave his attention. He felt great interest in collecting Chinese coins, and furnished to our first number a careful and learned paper on the coins of the present dynasty. His later years he spent in the service of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He was also before this for some years editor of the

Chinese Recorder. He translated largely into Chinese and made very interesting discoveries in regard to the progress made by the Chinese in algebraical science.

"The subject of *Ethnology* has supplied many interesting papers to our Journal. Dr. Bretschneider and Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Past President of the Society, and always a valuable member of our Council, have written on the ethnology of tribes in the West of China.

"Mr. Kingsmill has given us an interesting paper on the Chinese calendar, and the result of his inquiries into the ballads of old China. He has gone over wide fields of research, and not only did he give to the Society a valuable inaugural lecture on one occasion on the geology of China, but he has also followed in the footsteps of Chalmers and Wylie in studying the ancient astronomy and archaeology of China.

"Dr. D. J. Macgowan read a paper in 1880 on the Middle Yangtse. He wrote on the Hangchow Bore in the Journal of the Hongkong branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He also wrote upon the same subject for our Journal. One of his papers discussed the question of the cat, the sheep and the ass, showing when they appeared in China for the first time. Perhaps the most valuable article contributed by Dr. Macgowan to our Journal was that on Chinese guilds. When the Yellow River changed its course and wandered back again to the Gulf of Pechili, its old embouchure, Dr. Macgowan was the first to announce it. He also gave a paper on trials by ordeal mentioned in Chinese history, and this appeared in our first volume of Transactions. Another in a later volume treated on Government by female chiefs in certain portions of Tibet. Our Journal has been enriched by contributions from Mrs. Timothy Richard on Chinese music and on Chinese customs, and by Mrs. E. T. Williams on the popular religious literature of the Chinese. Mrs. Pruett of Kweichow gave us one evening a description of a religious dance by the Black Mautse called the "gathering of the clans."

"Dr. Forke's departure for Berlin, where he succeeds Professor Arend, is a distinct loss to us. He has studied the philosophical schools of the Chinese. His articles in our Journal on these subjects will be found to be most instructive. We had one evening a paper by Dr. Landis on the Tunghaka, a religious sect among the Koreans. Three of our contributors wrote on the game of Chess—Heily, Halling and Volpicelli. The last of these was for some time our Secretary.

"Many of our Consuls have helped us with contributions. Mr. Carles wrote on the Grand Canal, Mr. G. J. Morrison added his experiences as a skilled engineer. He condemned strongly the want of science in the Chinese management of the Grand Canal. Consul Byron Brenan wrote upon the duties of the Chinese District Magistrate. Consul G. M. H. Playfair has contributed to our Journal a keen criticism of Giles' translation of Chwangtsi.

"Mr. Giles himself was at one time an active member of our Council and a Past President. Among other fruitful thoughts of his was to devote an evening to the study of the Chinese drama. Dr. Robert Alexander Jamieson was for many years a member of our Society.

"Dr. E. Bretschneider, for many years physician to the Russian Legation in Peking, added to the Journal of our Society several valuable contributions. He died in St. Petersburg two years ago. His publications on Chinese Botany are of special value. He was an industrious collector of books and information on the Botany of China. Dr. Bretschneider had a most extensive knowledge of Chinese Botany and of its bibliography. Here he was without a rival. He gathered up into his books all that had been done in Botany by Swedes, Germans, Dutchmen, Frenchmen, Englishmen and Russians, and arranged it in orderly shape.

"Ritter von Joseph Haas was at one time Librarian of our Society. He wrote for the Journal Notes on Siamese Coinage. This paper contained a sketch of Siamese history. He visited Bangkok and collected much curious information regarding that country, including its embassies to France in the 17th century. He adds

some notes on the history of Cambodia, and on the early foreign trade with that country and with Siam. As a librarian Joseph Haas was diligent and careful. He came after Henri Cordier, who was an enthusiast in bibliography. It is high praise of Haas to say that he was worthy to succeed such a predecessor. The Index to our Journal constructed by von Haas will be found most useful. There is seen at one view the wide range of subjects which had diversified our Journal down to the time of his lamented death. He arranged the papers in the Journal according to years and according to subjects.

"Dr. James Legge was one of our honorary members. He translated the Classics, and by this accurate and laborious work he has won undying honours. He has also conferred very high benefit upon all students of Chinese. His books have gone into general use and have found their place among the Hundred Books which Sir John Lubbock selected as the pith and marrow of the world's literature.

"Dr. Ernst Faber was appointed a missionary to the Chinese by the Evangelical Missionary Society of Basel, and reached Hongkong April 26th, 1865. He had studied at Tübingen University under Dr. Gustav Friedrich Oehler. Dr. Faber wrote on the famous Men of China, the Status of Women in China, and on the Famous Women of China. By his peculiar genius he was attracted to the consideration of social questions. He studied the philosophical standpoint of the great writers of the Sung dynasty. He was like Wylie in this, that he mastered what he read. He illustrated the philosophy of the Sung dynasty with surprising clearness. His education at Tübingen and elsewhere had been, as is usual in Germany, very thorough.

"Herr P. G. von Möllendorff was born 17th February 1847, at Zehdenich, in the Uckermark. In 1869 he was sent to China by the Foreign Office at Berlin, after an interview with Prince Bismarck. It was arranged that he should first order himself to the Customs and join the Consular Service of Germany after five years. Accordingly, in 1874 he left the Customs and joined the

Consular service. In 1882 the Viceroy of Chihli, Li Hung Chang, made him his private secretary, and in November 1882 sent him to Korea. There he became Vice-President of the Foreign Office, Chief of the Customs and Director of the Mint. He introduced silkworms and mulberry trees from China, and Soochow silkweavers. He left Korea in 1886, after four years' residence there, and became again Private Secretary to Viceroy Li at Tientsin, who sent him back to Korea in 1888, but only for a short time. In 1889 he rejoined the Chinese Customs and became Deputy Commissioner at the Statistical Office, Shanghai. He joined the Asiatic Society and became our President. He was for many years a Vice-President. In 1897 he went as Commissioner to Ningpo, and died there April 20th, 1901.

"Captain Moore was one of the most useful of our contributors. He commanded the Rambler and he made a careful study of the Bore near Hangchow in September 1888. He made great efforts to secure the most complete information on the Bore.

"J. Khein wrote on rock inscriptions on the north side of the hill at Chefoo, 1879.

"Thomas Watters, who died in London about two years ago, was a very able scholar. He made great progress in the study of Buddhism and Taoism.

"We have tried to keep an even path between ancient and modern matters. Among the archaeological subjects discussed was Ta tsin, the Roman Empire, by Mr. G. M. H. Playfair. Dr. Cox, of the quarantine service near Woosung, interested us greatly one evening by a lecture on the Röntgen Rays. Dr. Reid, on another evening, entertained us with a lecture on Bacteriology. These are instances of the manner in which we have combined the old and the new, the literature of two thousand years ago and the newest scientific discoveries. We were told about the stone drums of B.C. 800 by Dr. Bushell, our best authority on ancient vases. His work may be contrasted with that of Dr. Cox and Dr. Reid. In the two thick volumes on Inland Communications, published in 1893, 1894 and 1895 shew how much we owe missionaries for information of places

far in the interior. Some of those who helped us were cruelly slain by the Boxers in 1900. I allude to Mr. Pigott and Mr. Bagnall. Among the journeys taken by the pioneers of the Chinese Empire and in Mongolia, I may here make a passing reference to travels undertaken to the sources of the Orchon in Mongolia by Mr. M. F. A. Fraser. Here lay Karokorum, the ancient site occupied by the Wigur tribes, and afterwards the Mongolian capital of the Mongols.

"The Rev. E. T. Williams described to us the ancient capital of the Ming emperors.

"Mr. E. H. Parker read a valuable paper on the inscriptions of the Orkhon as deciphered by Viht Thomsen, Professor of Comparative Philology at Copenhagen. Dr. Radloff, differs in some points from Dr. Thomsen in his renderings of the Turkish word, and Mr. Parker points out that Dr. Radloff, being a very high authority in the Philology of the Russian Empire, is likely to be right.

"The Rev. W. G. Walshe gave us a valuable paper on the city of Shaohing, in which he touched upon traditions connected with the tombs of the great Yu, said to have been buried very near that city.

"When Dr. Timothy Richard came to Shanghai to become Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge in China, he joined our Society and was placed on our Council. He read at one of our meetings an important paper on Buddhism.

"The usefulness of our Journal in furnishing suggestions to authors may be shown in the following manner:—

"In Dr. James Legge's *Chinese Classics* the Fan Books occupy two volumes. The first contains a copious and useful life of Confucius. The second, on Mencius, enters into ethical questions in the prolegomena. Legge inserted an essay on Human Nature by Siuntsz and one on Universal Love by Me-ti. He also extracted from Lietsz a section on Yangchu, a philosopher whose opinions are condemned by Mencius. Yangchu's principle was that every man acts and speaks for his own advantage. He defends this and Mencius condemns it. Han Wen-kung holds that human nature is both good and bad. Legge also prints his argument and points

out the contrast between the moral theory of Bishop Butler and the three views contended for by Chinese philosophers. In the earlier numbers of the Society's Journal is contained, as already mentioned, an able essay on the ethics of the Chinese by Dr. Griffith John, who gave us a criticism on the three opinions which have prevailed among the Chinese. Legge also refers to my own article on Me-tsz, printed in our Journal. Our Journal in its early years happily led to the introduction in the volume on Mencius of the very useful extracts here referred to. We have watched with interest the publication of the *Variétés Sinologiques* by the Jesuit Missionaries of Zikawei. The Roman Catholic and Protestant Missionaries are alike in the interest they feel in the Nestorian monument at Sianfu and in the remnant of the Jewish people at Kai-feng-fu. What interests us is also interesting to them. With conspicuous industry and learning they follow in the path of their predecessors in the 17th and 18th centuries.

"Our Society is rather literary than political. Everything which interests China interests us. The political condition has been the subject of our inquiries in many ways. The need of reform in currency has been pointed out by Chief Justice Bourne and by Commissioner F. E. Taylor. We have had communications of striking interest from Dr. Macklin on land, and on taxation as taught by Mencius and as expounded by Patrick Edward Dove in his work on Theory of Human Progressions.

"When it is considered that the work of the Society has been so diversified as these instances of its activity plainly show, I feel strongly that the people whose history and literature have furnished us with so much instruction and entertainment deserve our heartfelt sympathy. The people are too poor. Famines are too frequent. The nation suffers through political corruption. A dark cloud of ignorance hangs over the uneducated multitude. We think of the poet's words:

But knowledge to their eyes her ample page,
Rich with the spoils of time, did ne'er unroll;
Chill penury repressed their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul.

"We live in a time of transition. The old conditions are changing, a new era is dawning upon us. The people are unhappily too much under the dominion of fashion, but they have unquestionable intelligence and a fine country. Sympathizing foreign friends are willing to help them. Let them seek and follow good advice, and in the future the country will be more prosperous than it was ever before."

The following is the letter of Prof. Henri Cordier who for so many years has been connected with this Society.

Paris, 54 rue Nicolo (16e),
8th August 1902.

*Hon. Secretary of the
North China Branch of
the Royal Asiatic Society.*

SIR,

You do me great honour in asking me on behalf of the Council to send to the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society a message which may be presented to the Meeting to be held on the 16th of October next to celebrate the 45th Anniversary of its inaugural Session. It is certainly gratifying to me to think that after an absence of more than a quarter of a century, some old friends still keep my souvenir in mind and I am very grateful to them not to have forgotten me long ago.

I arrived at Shanghai on the 7th April 1869, and through my friend Mr. F. B. Forbes, one of the partners of Russell and Co., the head of this ancient and once famous firm being then the highly and deservedly respected Edward Cunningham, Chairman of the Anglo-American Municipal Council, one of the most public-spirited men Shanghai has ever known, I soon joined the Asiatic Society which was on the eve of a great transformation, since rooms for its accommodation were about to be built. I have related under the

nom de plume of *Old Mortality* in the *North-China Herald* of October 30th, 1873, the early history of the Society, and it may save some troublesome research to our contemporaries to quote the following lines from this notice.

"The Society was created in 1857. A gossiping Pepys or Evelyn would not fail to relate how, over a breakfast table, *entre le fromage et la poire* two worthy missionaries, both distinguished scholars, had the idea of starting a Literary and Scientific Society; but an historian cannot stoop to minute details. The first meeting we find mentioned in the original Minute Book is on the 24th of September 1857. The hour selected was 4 p.m.; the battle-field, the Reading Room of the Shanghai Library. To-day, the two Institutions once located in the same building, then for many years so far distant, are again *fratres gemelli*, sharing the same roof.

"Eighteen gentlemen were present at that meeting; it will prove valuable to the future chronicler to have their names recorded here: Sir Frederick W. Nicolson, Bart., R.N., in the chair, Revs. Dr. Bridgman, E. W. Syle, J. Edkins, R. Nelson, W. Aitchison, and T. Davies, Drs. Nelson, Sibbald and Lockhart; Messrs. Monerieff, Compton, Howell, Keswick, Williams, Hanbury, Franks and Reid.

"The following officers were appointed:—

President—Rev. Dr. Bridgman.

Vice-President—Thomas Monerieff.

Secretary—Rev. J. Edkins.

Treasurer—F. D. Williams.

Directors—Rev. E. W. Syle, A. A. Ranken, and W. G. Howell.

"The other persons present were considered as Members of the newly born Society, which took the name of the *Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society*; and it was further agreed upon that Taels 5 should be the amount of the yearly subscription.

"The second meeting took place three weeks later at the Freemason's Lodge, on the 16th of October, when the President delivered an inaugural address, Capt. Sir F. Nicolson read a paper on *Cyclones*, twenty-four new Members were admitted, and one of

the three Directors (Mr. Ranken, who declined to serve) was replaced by Mr. H. N. Lay.

"It is interesting to note the dates of the election of some of the best known Members: Mr. Alex. Wylie (Nov. 17, 3rd Meeting), Mr. (now Sir) Robert Hart (16th Feb. 1858), Dr. S. Wells Williams and Capt. (to-day Rear-Admiral) Shadwell (20th April 1858).

"The first number of the Journal was published in June 1858, and is the only one which appeared under the name of the *Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society*, for it was announced on the 20th of July that this learned body had become affiliated with the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and decided on the 21st of September that the name should be changed to *North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

"But the new undertaking was to be a short-lived one. The little interest taken in it—as was generally the case in Shanghai for literary or scientific pursuits—and the death of Dr. Bridgman (he had resigned the Presidentship in 1859 and been succeeded in the office by Mr. T. T. Meadows) on the 2nd of November 1861, were the chief causes of the brief existence of the Asiatic Society. The last regular meeting was held on Tuesday the 15th of October 1861, when new officers were appointed, and we hear no more of the North-China Branch till the time of its revival in 1864.

"On the 1st of March 1864 a meeting was held in the rooms of the Shanghai Library to reorganize the Society, Dr. Henderson taking the chair; and at the next meeting (9th March) the following office-bearers were selected:—

President.—Sir Harry S. Parkes, K.C.B.

Vice-President.—Dr. Henderson.

Corresp. Secretary.—T. Hanbury.

Treasurer.—H. W. Dent.

Rec. Secretary.—R. A. Jamieson.

Directors.—R. Hart, Dr. Sibbald and R. F. Gould.

Librarian.—O. R. Crockett.

"In 1866 Mr. Geo. F. Seward, U.S. Consul-General, succeeded Sir Harry Parkes, and after him Mr. W. H. Medhurst, H.B.M.'s Consul (1869), Mr. C. W. Goodwin, Asst. Chief Judge (1872), and Mr. F. B. Forbes have successively occupied the Presidential chair, which I may remark in passing is the very throne of the T'ai-p'ing Wang.

"After various fortunes, and I may add misfortunes, after endless removals—Shanghai Library (Masonic Hall), Ningpo Road, in June 1865—this room was due to the generosity of the ex-Taotai of Shanghai; New Masonic Buildings (1869), Commercial Bank Buildings, Nanking Road (16th May 1870), the Society, thanks to the liberality of the British Government, to the public spirit of the Shanghai community, and to the energy and enterprise of its members, at length found a permanent home, in 1871, in the Gnaomen Road.

"A prospectus issued by the Council on the 1st of June 1871 had made an appeal to the Public on behalf of the Society: H.B.M.'s Government had conceded to the Society in 1868 a piece of land situated behind the Consular Gaol, for the purpose of erecting a building thereon within three years; the delay was drawing to a close, and it is saying a great deal to the credit of the Residents that the Tls. 2,700 required were subscribed in time."

In 1871 Mr. Karl Himly, interpreter to the German Consulate, was the Honorary Librarian of the Society; he was a man of retired and studious habits, which he has kept since he left active service to reside at Wiesbaden and prosecute quietly his researches, publishing occasional and learned papers; he was about to go home for leave, his place was offered to me, I accepted it. On the 1st of April 1871 Mr. Ney Elias, then a merchant, took me to the library, which was indeed in a most dilapidated state in a large room of the Commercial Bank Buildings. Ney Elias was already known for his exploration of the new and old channels of the Yellow River, with Mr. H. G. Hollingworth; a sum of \$800 having been suscribed by

the Public to cover the expenses, the two travellers started on the 24th of September 1868 and returned on the 20th September, after a very successful expedition. Their report is to be found in the *Journal*, No. V., 1868, pp. 259 *seq.* As you know, Elias, after a remarkable journey across Central Asia, joined the Indian Service on the 20th of March 1874, and, being Consul-General at Meshed, he died in London on the 31st May 1897. Mr. Hollingworth, who has written a most valuable paper on Tea, in the Society's *Journal*, is now living quietly in Merionethshire, taking always a deep interest in Far Eastern questions.

I began at once the Catalogue of the Books (16th April) and it was published the next year (1872) at the "Ching-Foong" General Printing Office, newly established by Pedro Loureiro. Including the books of Mr. A. Wylie recently purchased (April 1869)¹ and forming the richest part of the Library, the Catalogue contained 826 works (with transactions of periodical societies and periodicals), more than 81 maps or charts, and 48 Chinese works, mostly provincial histories. M. Joseph Haas, Consul-General for Austria-Hungary, who died in so shocking a manner on the 26th July 1896 at Pootoo, has published, in 1894, a third edition of this Catalogue: it numbers 1,325 works and only 7 maps, all the Admiralty Charts were missing! 67 Chinese works against 48, but the 上海縣志, *Shanghai District History* is also missing! and three Manchu Works. This is indeed slow progress in 22 years.

During my tenure of office, *viz.* until 1876, when I returned to Europe, I had to record some very valuable acquisitions. General W. Mesny, then living at Kwei-yang, in Kwei-chow, sent us a Lolo MS., which I had occasion to show to Father Crabouillet, one of the Sze-ch'wan Missionaries of the Missions étrangères de Paris. It was the most important and the only one illustrated of all the Lolo MSS. I have seen either in London or in Paris. Many

¹ Mr. Wylie's Library included 718 volumes or pamphlets and 1,023 Chinese volumes.

years ago I wanted to have it reproduced in facsimile, and I wrote to the Society on the subject. The Lolo MS. had vanished!

Through M. Ernest Renan I received a collection of the *Journal Asiatique*, and through M. Charles Schefer, Head of the Ecole des Langues Orientales vivantes, I got a series of the Publications of this School; I do not believe that the latter has been kept up to date after my departure. Mr. (since Sir) Walter Henry Medhurst, then British Consul-General at Shanghai, obtained from his Government the gift of a complete collection of Parliamentary Papers relating to China; it was of the greatest usefulness to the historian of the Affairs of the Far East. I have no doubt that some gifts might be obtained from the various Governments having interest in China, if they were requested through their Consuls to present the Society with the works published at the expense of their Public Offices.

In 1874, the collection of the periodicals of the Society had been increased by the valuable gift of a set of the *North-China Herald*, extending from the commencement of this newspaper in 1850 (Vol. I, No. I, August 3rd, 1850) to the year 1863. The Society purchased also the collection of *The Shanghai Evening Courier* left by its Editor, Mr. Hugh Lang, who died on the 19th January 1875. But the most notable addition to the Library was made with a sum of money generously placed at my disposal by the public-spirited Mr. Thomas Hanbury.

The idea of a Museum in Shanghai could not be carried out until accommodation had been provided for the Asiatic Society. The departure of Father Armand David¹ left unemployed his taxidermist Wang, whose services were engaged. At a meeting of the Society on February 13th, 1874, Mr. Michie proposed and Mr. Wylie seconded: "That the Council be recommended to take immediate steps to organize a Museum and to make arrangements with the Trustees of the Recreation Fund for a loan of one thousand five hundred Taels."

A second meeting, semi-private, was held on the 24th of March and the following Committee was appointed :—

- Messrs. Medhurst and Stronach.—*Botany*.
 Mr. T. W. Kingsmill.—*Geology and Conchology*.
 Mr. Keswick.—*Reptiles and Animals*.
 Mr. Pryer.—*Lepidoptera*.
 Mr. Wylie.—*Archæology and Numismatics*.
 Mr. Guekett.—*Ichthyology*.
 Messrs. Cordier and Forbes.—*Ethnology*.
 Messrs. Hawtrey and Fitzgereld.—*Birds*.
 Mr. Taintor and Dr. Gottburg.—*Industry and Products*.
 Dr. Henderson.—*Microscopy*.
 Père Aymeri.

Many of us were but *larn-pidgin*, but all were full of good will. Practically, Mr. W. B. Pryer,¹ who was Hon. Curator, had the burden of the whole work on his shoulders; he was most devoted to his task, and his departure from Shanghai was a great loss to the Society and to the Community at large. Among the wants of the newly-born Museum was a library of technical books, and it was to meet this special want that Mr. Thomas Hanbury gave me the sum of money referred to above, with which I bought a collection of most valuable books of Natural History, among others De Candolle's *Prodromus*, Walpers' *Repertorium* and *Annales*, Meximowicz' works, Regel's *Tentamen*, Ledebour's *Flora rossica*, Siebold's *Flora Japonica*, Thunberg's *Flora Japonica*, Benth & Hooker's *Genera Plantarum*, Benth's *Flora Hongkongensis*, etc.

The Presidents of the Society were in my days Mr. (since Sir) Walter Henry Medhurst (1869, 1875, 1876), Mr. C. W. Goodwin

¹ He embarked at Shanghai on the 2nd April 1874; he was so weak that I thought I should never see him again; yet he lived till the 10th of November 1900.

² He was appointed Consular Agent at Sandakan, North Borneo, February 18th, 1880, and he died at Port Said, 8th January 1899.

(1870-1872) and Mr. Frank Blackwell Forbes (1873-1874). Walter Henry Medhurst, H.B.M.'s Consul-General at Shanghai, was the son of the learned Dr. W. H. Medhurst, of the London Missionary Society;¹ though he has not left any work of the importance of the *Dictionary of the Hokkêen Dialect* and the *Chinese-English, English-Chinese Dictionaries* of his father, Sir Walter has devoted the time left to him by his official duties to write a few interesting papers and a still more valuable little book, *The Foreigner in Far Cathay*.² Charles Wycliffe Goodwin,³ Assistant Chief Judge, was a genuine savant and he has his name recorded in good place among Egyptologists; he was moreover a good Anglo-Saxon and Greek scholar—a man of kindly and modest disposition—but few in Shanghai knew how vast his learning was and how appreciated it was in scientific circles. Mr. Forbes was the head of Russell & Co., and was one of the men who have done most for the prosperity of the Society; he had made a special study of botany, and he published, with Mr. W. B. Hemsley, of Kew Gardens, his most valuable *Enumeration of all the Plants known from China Proper, Formosa, Hainan, Corea, the Luchu Archipelago, and the Island of Hongkong, together with their Distribution and Synonymy*; it is to be regretted that other pursuits have not allowed him to continue his researches in this field of science.

But the working man of the Society was Alexander Wylie, who was really the editor of the Journal. I wrote formerly: ⁴ "It was during this brilliant period that the Society built rooms for itself, that the library was removed and catalogued, that a museum of natural history was created, and that in the Journal were published the remarkable articles of W. F. Mayers, on the introduction and use of gunpowder among the Chinese, of the Abbé Armand David on the Natural History of China, of the Archimandrite Palladius on Marco Polo, of Dr. Emil Bretschneider on the Mediæval

¹ Died 24th January 1857.

² Died 26th December 1885.

³ Born at King's Lynn, in 1817.

⁴ *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, XIX, Part 3.

Geography of Central and Western Asia." Wylie himself gave little to the Journal, his time being fully occupied with the revision of the work of others, as he was also the editor of the *Chinese Recorder* when it was a scientific as well as a missionary periodical. I may recall that Wylie's library "was situated on the ground floor at the farthest end of the premises belonging to the London Missionary Society in the Shantung Road. Four or five large book-cases contained the works comprising his new library.¹ The Chinese books were at the back in a sort of passage. Wylie was exceedingly proud of his Chinese library, rivalled or surpassed in China only by the collection of that very learned sinologist and distinguished diplomatic agent, Sir Thomas Wade, Her Majesty's Minister at Peking. Many an afternoon, winter and summer, did I sit with Wylie at his small round writing table, he doing some useful work for someone who might never think of thanking him for it, I copying titles in view of my *Bibliotheca Sinica*."²

It is perhaps forgotten that the first meteorological and magnetical tables of the Zi-ka-wei Observatory, beginning in September 1874, were first published in the Journal of the Society as an Appendix to Vol. X of the New Series. The head of the Observatory was then Père Henri Lelec.³ You know the great progress the Observatory has made since under the management of Fathers Marc Dechevrens, Stanislas Chevalier and Froc.

Occasionally we received the visit of some distinguished person from the north or the south. Dr. S. Wells Williams, who spent some months in Shanghai to supervise the printing of his great *Syllabic Dictionary* which appeared in 1874, gave in a most interesting lecture, delivered on the 13th of January 1873, his *Recollections of China prior to 1840*. Dr. James Legge, who with Dr. J. Edkins had been visiting in May the native place of Confucius in Shantung, was present at the meeting of the Society

¹ The first library was sold to the Society, as I have already said.

² *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, XLX, Part III.

³ Died at Wu-hu, 16th October 1882.

of the 2nd June 1873, when his fellow-traveller gave an account of their trip. Legge soon after returned to Europe, when he was appointed Professor of Chinese at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1876). Williams, who also had a chair of Chinese at Yale College during the last years of his life, died on the 16th of February 1884.

I have thought that the best manner to answer your friendly call was to give you some of my recollections of the Asiatic Society during the happy years (1869-1876) which I spent in Shanghai—and some idea of the work that was done at the time. As the Delegate of the Society at the Florence Congress of Orientalists (1878),¹ I have already marked what had been the progress then made and retraced some of the characteristic features of the (then) only learned Association of the Far East.

I cannot take leave of you without expressing the pleasant feelings I have in my heart in speaking of these days of yore; I can say that the little work I have done at the Society's rooms has not been without some deep influence on my after life: no doubt there did I take the idea of the *Bibliotheca Sinica* and perhaps did I gather some of the knowledge that was useful to me to edit the new and third edition of my regretted and illustrious friend's grand work, Sir Henry Yule's *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, which will have appeared in London when you receive this letter.

Believe me,

Faithfully Yours,

HENRI CORDIER.

¹ Sur les travaux de la Société royale asiatique de Shanghai. [*Atti del IV Congresso internazionale degli Orientalisti*, Vol. II, 1881, pp. 269-272.]

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

At the Annual General Meeting held November 10th, 1904, the following reports were submitted and adopted.

REPORT OF THE HONORARY SECRETARY.
1903-4.

The session of 1903-4 opened on December 11th, 1903, when a paper was read by Mr. Montalto de Jesus on Siu Kuang Ki, the Mæcenas of Western China.

Other papers were read: "Kuo Tzu-yi," an eminent Military Commander of the T'ang Dynasty, by Dr. Joseph Edkins; "The Mantses, or Golden Chersonese," by Mr. T. W. Kingsmill; and "Chinese Funeral Customs," by Rev. W. Gilbert Walshe.

Sixteen new members were elected to this Branch during the Session:—Mr. J. W. Davidson of the American Consular Service, Messrs. F. W. K. Busse, Roessler and Nord of H.I.G.M. Consular Service, Mr. E. G. Lowder, of the I.M. Customs, Messrs. W. S. Ridge, B.A., N. F. Drake, Ph.D., D. W. Lyon, F. H. Chalfont, G. Ohlinger, W. Broad, L. Siebold, H. F. Handley-Derry, Rev. W. A. Cornaby, Rev. P. D. Bergen and Prof. J. W. Jenks.

Considering the number of papers read at the Society's Meetings, this session cannot be considered as successful. There were but four papers during the session, and, if one may judge the interest taken in these papers by the attendance at the readings, one can but be disappointed.

The Committee met twice to discuss questions of publication, of the purchase of a certain Ts'in weight and some inscribed bones. The latter were, through the generosity of the President, added to the Society's Museum.

H. F. HANDLEY DERRY,
Hon Secretary.

REPORT OF THE HONORARY TREASURER.

I have now the pleasure to present a statement of accounts made up to the 30th September 1904.

China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

During the period under review it will be noticed that the Society's expenses have been considerably less than last year, but it should be remembered that while \$724 was expended last year in publishing volumes 33 and 34, this year nothing has been brought out, the result being that whereas the account was started with a debit balance of \$221.74, we have now in hand a balance of \$690.48.

Subscriptions received from ordinary members amount to \$835, as against \$790 last year.

Shanghai Museum.

In this account there is nothing special to call attention to, revenue and expenditure amounting, as it did last year, to practically the same sum, resulting in a cash balance in hand of \$2,663.32.

The usual donations from the two Municipal Councils have been duly received.

The thanks of the Council are due to Mr. Danforth for once more auditing these accounts.

J. WEST,
Hon. Treasurer.

Shanghai, 10th November 1904.

CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH
THE HON. TREASURER.

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
\$	cts.	\$	cts.
To Subscriptions Ordinary Members ...	835 00	By Balance from last year August 27, 1903	221 74
" Life Member ...	50 00	" Advertisements ...	22 23
" Rent for use of large room and smaller rooms ...	263 75	" Gas 93.28, Land Tax 97.05 ...	196 33
" Shanghai Museum for one year's rent for 1903, Tls. 250 @ 75 ...	333 34	" Municipal Rate 30.02, Postage 57.71 ...	87 73
" Account Sales of the Society's publications for year ended June 30, 1904 ...	408 34	" Salaries 377.00, Insurance 102.89 ...	479 89
" Interest, H. & S. D. C. on Current A/c to end of June 1904 ...	41 21	" Interest, Recreation Fund ...	33 42
		" Coal and Wood ...	17 18
		" Coolie's Wages ...	98 00
		" Sundries ...	14 29
		" Binding ...	41 10
		" Stationery ...	7 25
		" Fixtures, Shelves ...	22 00
		" Credit Balance ...	690 48
	\$ 1,931 64		\$ 1,931 64

Compared with vouchers and found correct.

SHANGHAI, 10th November 1904.

A. W. DANFORTH.

J. WEST,
Hon. Treasurer.

Journal
OF THE
China Branch
OF THE
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VOL. XXXV.

1903-1904.

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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 twenty-five 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.

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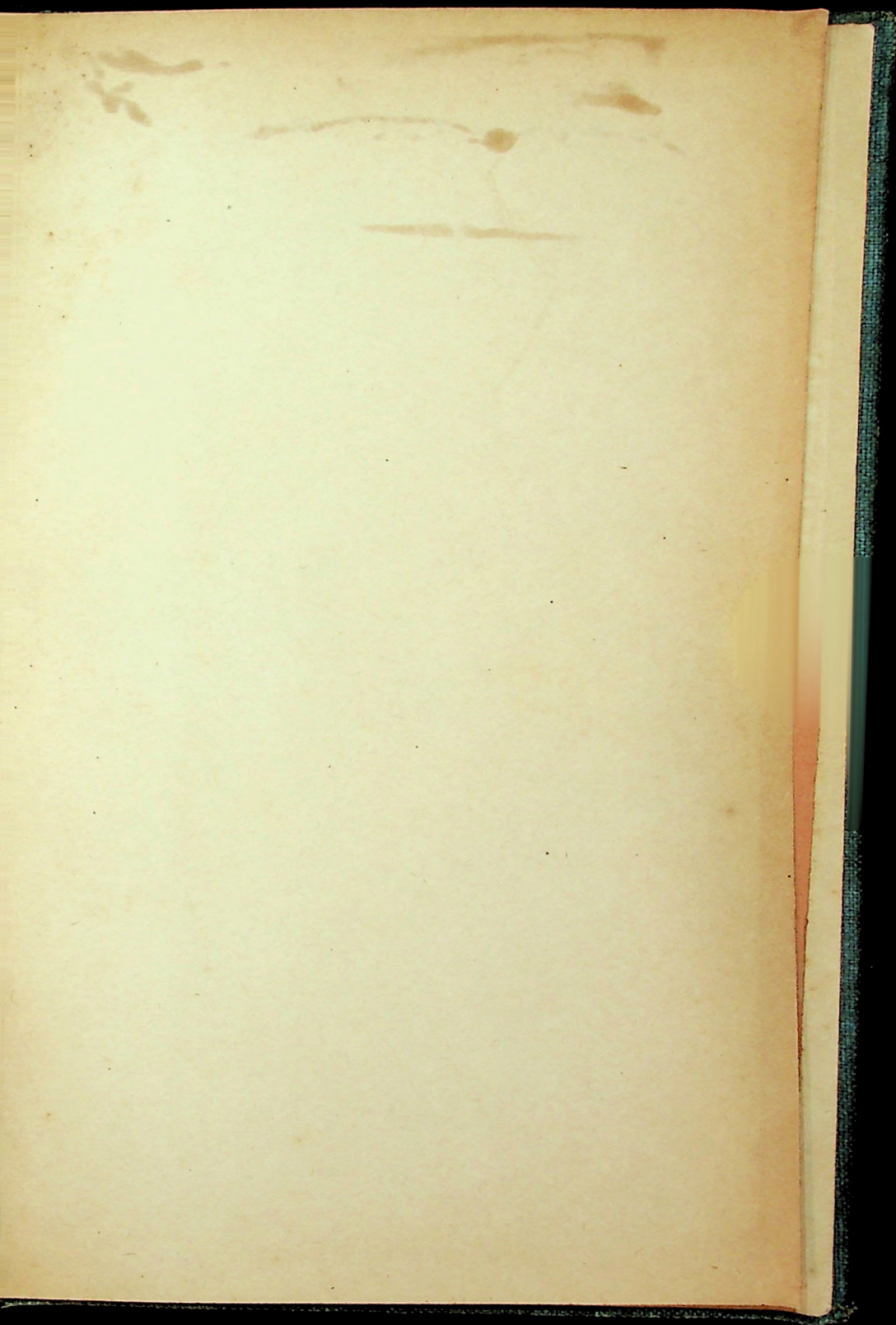
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