

p.514, 26:20b) Yangno kosŏl ( 養老歌說 )

-. According to the Li-chi, Emperor Shun (literally. Wu-chih 虞化) doned the simŭi ( 深衣 :ceremonial garment) when "caring for the aged" (yangno: when entertaining aged people). (note: With regard to the clothes worn when entertaining (caring for) the aged, at that time all (such clothes) were the clothes worn when the king held a party for his officials. But it was only that Yu-wu-shih ( 有虞 :Emperor Shun) wore the sim'ŭi because he was chil ( 質 :simple and unadorned--or the clothes were simple and unadorned). K'ung I-ta ( 孔穎達 ) says that when the ruler entertains the aged, there are 4 varieties (of this). The first is entertaining (caring for) the san-lao and wu-keng. The second is when sons or grandsons (of someone) has given his life for the country and the king entertains the father ~~xx~~ and grandfather of the person who has died. The third is entertaining elderly retired officials. The fourth is investigating the household registers to compare ages of people and then entertaining the elderly among the common people. Things were done this way through all four ages of antiquity (the reigns of Wu ( 虞 :Shun), Hsia, Yin, and Chou) (end note)

~~xxx~~ (According to the Li-chi) you entertain the kuo-lao (yang kuo-lao 國老) in the upper hsiang ( 上庠 ) and you entertain the shu-lao ( 庶老 : elderly among the commoners) at the lower hsiang, but ~~xxx~~ you use the ritual used at banquets (yŏn-rye 燕禮). (note: hsiang ( 庠 ) means yang ( 養 :to entertain). The shang-hsiang ( 上庠 ) is the Right School (uhak 右學 or the T'ai-hsüeh ( 太學 ), located in the western suburbs. The hsia-hsiang ( 下庠 ) is the left school ( 左學 ) or the Small school (hsiao-hsüeh 小學) located in the middle of the capital (kuo-chung 國中) to the east of the king's palace. ) (end note) high, exalted

p.515, 26:21a) These were very good rites. (kirye sang i 其禮尚矣 ).

The spirit and substance was taken as a model and nurtured (entertained) (hyŏnyang kich'e 賓養宗體 Pyongyang, 4, 376: They took the virtue of the

p.515, 26:21a) as a model and entertained them out of concern for their health), and it was not felt necessary to speak good words (of instruction) to them (at such times) (pulgŏ ōn 予言). (note: Hyŏn( 宴 ) means pŏp ( 法 :to take as a model). You yang them ( entertain or carefor them) to make them a model, in terms of their virtue and behavior. This practice existed since the time of the 5 emperors)(end note). And if (any of them) have performed good deeds, then you record them and make a tōnsa ( 悼史 :Pyongyang, 4, 376: a history of filial and humane acts) (note: tōnsa means a historical record of filial and humane and generous acts.))(end note)

悼史

悼史

The Hsia (dynasty) people wore ~~the~~ banquet clothes when they entertained the elderly. (note: They changed the system of Wu (Emperor Shun) and exalted the wearing of black ceremonial garments)(end note) They entertained the kuo-lao in the Eastern Shu( 東序 ) and they entertained the shu-lao in the Western Shu, and in doing so they used the ritual for laying out a big spread (yung hyang-rye 用饗禮 ). (note: The Tung-shu( 東序 ) refers to the Tung-chiao( 東樛 ), which was also (called) the T'ai-hsiéh, located in the middle of the capital to the east of the royal palace. The Hsi-shu (western shu) was located in the western suburb)(end note)

東序

用饗禮

東序

東樛

In the Yin dynasty, when they entertained the elderly they wore ~~the~~ white garments (koŭi 緇衣) (note: because they honored the color white)(end note), and they entertained the kuo-lao in the right school, and entertained the shu-lao in the left school, and they used the signnye (shih-li 食禮) in doing so (note: pronounced ssu)

緇衣

食禮

-in the Chou dynasty system, they entertained the elderly ~~by~~ they wore dark (black) clothes (hyŏnŭi 玄纁)(note: the hyŏn'ui were <sup>upper garments</sup> + sodang 素裳 :upper garments were black and lower ones white), and they entertained the Kuo-lao in the Eastern chiao( 樛 ) (chiao means k'e 科) and they entertained the shu-lao in the Wu-hsiang( 廣序 ) which was located in the western suburb of the capital. (note: all of these were

upper garments

玄纁

素裳

樛

廣序

p.515, 26:21a) were names of schools. What was different (in the names of the schools) were just things that were mutually changed (shifted around) during the 4 ages of antiquity in China, and that is all. In some cases one dynasty would elevate the west (in importance), or in others, the east. Or they regarded the capital as more important, or sometimes the suburbs.

In the Chou dynasty the Hsiao-hsüeh (small school) was regarded as the hsiang( 序 ) of Yu-wu-shih( 有虞氏; Emperor Shun) and that is why they named it the Wu-hsiang. In establishing the provincial schools (hsiang-hsüeh, hyanghak), it was also like this.)(end note) And in the Chou dynasty they combined the use of the Wu-yen ( 虞燕: Emperor Shun's banquet ritual), the Hsia hsiang( 夏鄉食 ) and the Yin's shih( 殷食 ) rites (in wearing ritual clothes when entertaining the elderly) (note:

yin + yang

In ~~using~~ combining the use of all these rites they were preparing things to meet the requirements of both yin and yang. In general, drinking nurtures the forces of yang (yang-ch'i 陽氣) and eating nurtures the force of yang. For yang they used the seasons of spring and summer and for yin they used the seasons of fall and winter.)(end note)

The hsia-kuan( 夏官 ), La-shih( 羅氏 ) in mid-spring (2nd month) captures ~~spring birds~~ some birds of springtime and presents pigeons (to the king) in order to (use them to) entertain the kuo-lao (state elderly).

(note: The birds of spring refers to those birds who hibernate (during winter) (chih 執) and are the first to appear (wake up)(in the spring). At this time the hawk (ying 鷹) is transformed into a pigeon (鳩), and together with spring birds, they change their old form and become new.

26:21b)

They are appropriate to offer to the aged because they help in rejuvenating the vital forces (cho saenggi 助生氣)(end note)

According to the Yüeh-kingling( 月令 ), in mid-fall (8th month), the Son of Heaven yang (entertains, nurtures) the declining elderly (soero 養老) and gives them a small table (chi, kwé 几) and staff (chang 杖) and feeds them soft gruel to eat and drink. (note...) Those who are 50 yrs of age

entertaining the aged, sources -11- sokp'yŏn, ha

p.515, 26:21b) are entertained in the provinces (hsiang 鄉), and those of 60 years of age are entertained in the capital (kuo 國). Those 70 years of age are entertained in the school (hsüeh), and the etiquette (rites) used is the same for (the Son of Heaven) down to the feudal lords. (note...) Those 80 years of age bow to receive the ruler's command take their seats once and (bow their heads) twice. Those 90 years of age send someone else to accept it for them. (note: the word "command" (ming) means that the ruler does not personally offer them food; he must send it to them in accordance with rites (ritual procedure). The commentary states: Those 80 years of age have gradually declined and weakened, and they cannot stand (the ardor of) coming to the school to receive entertainment (food offerings, banquets), so the ruler in accordance with the rituals involved in ~~holding~~ providing food for the elderly sends someone else to go to ~~at~~ their homes to give it to them. At the time the elderly received the ruler's "ming" (command, food presents), they must bow twice. If they cannot bear the ardors involved in that, it is sufficient if they genuflect once and then ~~go~~ bow the head twice to the ground, in lieu of two bows (kowitz). In the case of those 90 years of age it is not necessary for them to bow themselves; they can send someone else to receive the food offerings in their place.) (end note)

When the ta-ho-lo (大合樂) :Pyongyang, 4, 377, when the king goes to "see" the school (university) is performed, it is necessary to carry out the entertainment of the aged (yang-no). (note: The ta-ho-lo means when (the emperor) goes to the school in the spring and performs the sökch'ae (釋菜) :same as sökchön (奠) :rites at the shrine of Confucius) and convenes (everyone) to dance, and in the fall when he confers (rewards?) on good students and has people join their voices together (insong?). At this time the Son of Heaven "sees the school" (sihak 視學) and entertains the aged.) (end note) As for the rituals for seeking advice and joining words? (kuön habön chi rye 乞言合語之禮), in both cases the Hsiao-lo-cheng (小樂也) announces this (to the ruler) and they are performed at the 東序

合言之禮  
banquets etc.

乞言合語之禮

see note

小樂也

at the 東序

p.515, 26:22 21b) (note: The term kuŏn <sup>乞言</sup>:seek advice) means to entertain (nurture) the worthy among the aged and accordingly seek their good advice on what constitutes good behavior. The term hab'o <sup>合語</sup> refers to various types of rituals, like the wine-drinking and banquet and archery rites. The Hsiang-she-chi <sup>鄉射記</sup> states... )

In general the kings of the three (dynasties) in entertaining the aged, all did it according to their ages. (Investigated the ages of people by referring to the household registers). (note: One should consult the household registers and compare ages and on that basis exempt (people from taxation?). Many of the large number of aged are not worthy men and you cannot entertain all of them. After the entertainment of the kuo-lao (state elderly) is finished, then immediately consult the household registers to find the ages of people, and grant awards to (the meritorious) elderly)(end note)

p.26:22a)  
佐傳?

-the chüan says ( <sup>傳</sup> :Pyongyang, 4, 377, i.e., the Li-chi Wen-wang shih-tzu p'ien <sup>禮記 文王世子</sup> ): When the son of Heaven goes to the school (t'ai-hsüeh), at dawn he beats the drum for the purpose of alerting (the students) who will attend the function) (note...) Only after the masses (of students) arrive will the son of Heaven come and order the ~~official~~ official in charge to carry out the ceremony, and in accordance with the regulations for the ceremony offer ritual sacrifice to former teachers and former sages. (note ...the reason why the Emperor does not conduct the sacrifice himself is that the sihak <sup>視學</sup>:observing the school) means that he "observes the rites"; the purpose is not for him to reciprocate (pay back) (the benevolence of former sages).)(end note) Then the responsible official finishes the ceremony and reports back to the (son of Heaven) (note: He reports that the rite is finished, and then the son of Heaven enters the place)(end note), and then they entertain (the elderly) (note: Also he goes to the place where the aged are to be entertained.

In general at the taehap-rak <sup>大合樂</sup>:sihak) ceremony, the aged must be entertained. It is for this reason he goes).(end note)

p. 515, 26:22a) At the Eastern shu (東序) he performs the sacrificial rites (sŏkchŏn 釋奠) to former elders (note: When the emperor himself offers sacrifice, it is because there is already some matter (related to it?).

When the aged are entertained at the eastern shu (school, dorms?), the this is the sihak (emperor visiting the school) at the upper hsiang)(endnote) Subsequently they set up the cushions (seats) and places for the san-lao, wu-kung, and chün-lao there. (note: There is one man each of the san-lao and wu-kung. They are all people who are old in years, who have had experience in affairs, and are retired from office. They are able in and have experience and knowledge of the 3 virtues and 5 affairs, and the Son of Heaven entertains (nurtures) them as if they were his father and ~~his~~ elder brothers to set an example for the world in filial piety and brotherly respect. The names 3, and 5, are taken from the 3 chin (三辰) and the 5 stars (osŏng 五星), and the Heavens thus will shine down on the empire. The san-lao are (equivalent) to guests (pin 賓), and the wu-keng are equivalent to kae (介), and the chün-lao are like the chungbin (象賓).)(end note) And he provides them with side dishes... and inspects what they are (note: He personally looks at what they have)(endnote) and then withdraws And then he provides music to entertain them...to show filial piety. (note...)

26:22b) When they are finished eating (the Son of Heaven) returns to his seat ~~and~~ and has songs sung at the ch'ŏngmyŏ (清廟) (note...) And when the singing is over, he then exchanges words with them. He speaks of the Way (concerning the relationship between) fathers and sons, rulers and subjects, the elders and the young. (note...) And then below they perform the sang (象 : name of a dance that Wen-wang of Chou performed for children of age 15 and below) and they (he) dances the ta-wu (大武), and then he gathers together all the students and by this means shows that he has attained to ~~the intelligent~~ level of divine intelligence (sinmyŏng 神明) and promoted virtue (Pyongyang, 4,378: shows that his virtue is like that of kings Wen and Wu of the Chou dynasty) (note: The sang (象) is the music played when King Wu

p.515, 26:22b) of Chou defeated Chou (of Shang)(end note) Then the official in charge reports that the music is finished. Then the king gives orders to the dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, barons and officials, saying: You all return (home) and hold banquets for the elderly in the Eastern Shu (schools)," and by so doing shows his humaneness (jen) throughout. (note...)

He also says: "Feed the san-lao and wu-keng in the T'ai-hsüeh, and the emperor will personally <sup>cut</sup> ~~buy~~ the meat and lift the wine cups to offer to them, and he will wear his formal hat and participate in the dancing in order to instruct the feudal lords that virtue of brotherly respect (respect for their elders). (note: . . .The meaning of "three" (in the ~~san-lao~~ divided into three parts? san-lao) is that The Way is ~~divided~~ accomplished in three (ways), meaning Heaven, Earth, and Man. Lao (老) means "old" (ku 舊) or to be advanced in years (su 壽). The Book of Poetry says: pangsuk wön-ro (方叔元老) and the Book of History says: "If you do not abandon the words of the elderly, then nothing will be done wrong." (無遺耆老之言 則國所怨).

五更

"Five" (wu, of the wu-keng) means "the five ranks" (wu-pin 五品). Keng means "to change (keng 更). The wu-tai (five generations) means that the eldest sons (chang-~~ch~~ja, chang-tzu) mutually replace each other and those who are able and good at (practicing) the way will replace me (the ruler). Therefore, for the san-lao and wu-keng, in all cases you select a man who "has the way" and appoint him (to that post). Cheng Hsüan said that "the Lao and the Keng talk to one another, and that is all" (mutually instruct one another) and all of them are always elders who have knowledge of the 3 virtues and the 5 affairs." Ts'ai Yung (蔡邕) (雍)

p.516, 26:23a) said keng ought to be written (更).)(end note)

--. In the Later Han dynasty, in the reign of Ming-ti, in the 2nd year of the ying-p'ing era, 3rd month, (59 AD), ~~Li~~ Li Kung? (李躬) was appointed the San-lao (三老) and Hwan Ying (桓榮) was appointed wu-keng, and they led all the officials to be entertained (yang 養) in the Pi-yung (辟雍: T'ai-hsüeh, national academy).

59 AD  
Ming-ti

p.516, 26:23a) (note: In Ying Shao's (應劭) Han-kuan-i (漢官儀) :Ceremonies of Han dynasty Officials) it says: "The san-lao and wu-keng were greatly respected in the three dynasties of antiquity. They were sent off and with greeted in secure carts and soft (easy-going) wheels and when they got to their homes, the Son of Heaven alone (himself) would bow to them at their gates. Ting Chin? (鄧辰) said: "In the Han dynasty they would appoint one of the kung (公) to be san-lao and wu-keng; it was not a regular appointment.) (end note)

Prior to the (designated) lucky day the Ssu-tu (司徒) would send up the name of a T'ai-po (太傅) or Kang-shih (康士) (old one of the/san-kung (三公) who had a reputation for virtuous behavior, who was advanced in years and lofty (in reputation) to be appointed san-lao. X And he would recommend the next best person to be the wu-keng. (Note: Lu-Chih? (盧植) said: Pick one of the elderly sank-kung to be appointed san-lao, and pick one of the elderly ch'ing-ta-fu to be the wu-keng) (end note) All of them would be wearing the tojŏ taep'o (柳紉大袍) and the tanŭi (單衣) and the chungŭi (中衣) with a black stripe lining the sleeves. For a hat they would be wearing the chinhyŏn (冠 presented worthy cap) (冠) and would be holding a jewelled staff. The wu-keng was also like this, but would not be holding a staff. All would be put up at the Ta-hsŭeh (natl academy) in the Kangdang (講堂: lecture hall). On the designated day, they would get in their carts (palanquins) and prior to their arriving at the Li-tien (ritual hall) of the Pi-yung (National Academy), the emperor would be seated in the Eastern Hsiang and would send off someone with a secure cart with soft wheels to send off and greet the san-lao and the wu-keng, and the Son of Heaven would great them at the gate and exchange ritual (bows) and ~~xxxxx~~ <sup>the emperor</sup> would ascend the eastern ~~xxxxx~~ the stairs. The san-lao would ascend (the stairs) from the guest s staircase (on the west)...The Son of Heaven would bow and the san-lao would ascned and face east. The san-kung wou.d offer tables to them and the 9 ch'ing (ministers) would lay out shoes for them... (etc.)

p. 516, 26:23b) (footnote: According to the Wu-ching jan-pi (五经然否) of Ch'iao Chou (諫周): it says: At the beginning of the Han dynasty 's bow some say that the san-lao replied to the Son of Heaven/by bowing in reply.

WANG MANG

During the time of confusion of Wang Mang, laws and institutions (pōpto 法度) were in confusion (were in a state of disrepair), then the Han dynasty was restored (chung-hsing), and rituals and ceremonies were fixed (established). The officials wanted to have the san-lao reply with a bow (to the Son of Heaven) at the city gate, but the Chiao-wei (諫尉), Tung Chün (董鈞) rebutted (opposed) this saying that the reason for the nurturing (entertainment) of the san-lao was for the purpose of teaching ~~the way~~ (people) the (proper) way to serve their fathers and mothers. If there were to be any bow in reply, then it should be the Son of Heaven who would be made to make a bow in reply. (make a return bow) Ch'iao Chou discussed this saying: In the rites, the corpse clothes? (one who impersonates the dead? sibok 尸服) replies with a bow to the bow of the son because of the fact that he (the one who impersonates the dead?) is not the (real?) father. When a scholar meets the ruler of a foreign (different) country, (that ruler) also returns a bow to the scholar's bow, and all these cases are because the persons should not be regarded as if he were the son.

According to Wu Hsi (虞喜), in the Han dynasty the ceremony took place at the gate where they exchanged rites, and the exchange of rites (ritual bows) consisted of a return bow. After the Later Han restoration they erred (in their conduct of the ceremony) and followed the opinion of Tung Chün, but later on they changed it and ~~it was~~ they got the right idea behind the ritual.) (end note)

(the san-lao and wu-keng)

On the next day, everyone goes to the palace and gives thanks for (the emperor's) benevolence, and this is because (they emperor) has shown great respect to them in his conduct of the ritual. Thereupon (the emperor) gives 1 picul of wine to all the san-lao of the empire and 40 kūn of meat.

p.516, 26:23b) --. In the Later Wei dynasty, during the reign of Hsiao-wen-ti, in the 16th year of the T'ai-hua era in the 8th month (492 AD) an edict was issued making the former Ssu-tu, Wei Yüan (尉元) the san-lao and making the former Ta-hung li-ch'ing (大鴻臚卿), Yu Ming-ken (游明根) the wu-keng. In the Ming-t'ang (明堂) they set a place for the kuo-laó (elders of the state), and the shu-lao (other elders) ~~had~~ took their places beneath the staircase (stairs). The Huang-ti (emperor) bowed twice and then cut the meat, held the wine cup and offered food. ~~to the~~ ~~wu-keng~~ To the wu-keng he made a serious bow. And then he granted to the kuo-lao and shu-lao clothing in degrees (according to their age? rank?), after which the san-lao said: Ever since ancient times among the things that people have respected nothing has been more important than filial piety and obedience. As for the 5 types of filial piety (Pyongyang, 4, 379: Son of Heaven, feudal lords, ch'ing ta-fu--ministers, shih (warriors, scholars), and commoners--which they show to their parents) and the 6 types of obedience (shown to their elder brothers), these are the first things in the empire. I would like the emperor to regard these with importance in order to transform the four parts of the empire.

And the emperor said: The way of filial piety and obedience is the rule of Heaven and Earth. At the present time I accept the words of the San-lao and will engrave them in my heart (mind).

Then the wu-keng said: The utmost filial piety penetrates the mind of the spirit (the godlike emperor?), and the utmost obedience moved (the feelings) of the dark (spirits). Therefore the Book of Poetry says: Filial piety and brotherly respect penetrates the spirit (holy) clear (intelligence) and shines throughout the four seas. I would like the emperor to think of this and by this means to <sup>care for</sup> save the black-haired common people (of the empire).

The emperor says: The wu-keng has added to (aided) the words of the san-lao and has spoken extremely good words (worth taking as a model).

p.516, 26:24a) and has given forth (expressed) extremely good words. I ought to repress the desires in my own mind (tang kük ki <sup>當克己</sup>) and restore the old rites return to (resbore) the rites in order to carry out ~~instruction~~ (these things)." After the rites were ended he gave a chariot to the elders.

--. In the Later Chou dynasty in the reign of Wu-ti, in the 3rd year, 4th month of the pao-ting era (563 AD), the emperor was about to carry out the sihak (<sup>視學</sup>:visit to the national academy). He appointed the

26:24b)

T'ai-fu Yen-kuo kung, Yü Chin (<sup>太傅燕國公 于謹</sup>) as the San-lao. And after giving him the yen-nien-chang (<sup>延年杖</sup>) :name of a special staff), he then went to the national academy (T'ai-hsüeh) in order to feed him. The san-lao entered the gate and the emperor greeted him and bowed to him at the gate. The san-lao made a return bow.

Then he set up a seat (mat) for the san-lao at the middle pillar facing south. The T'ai-shih, Chin-kuo kung, Yü <sup>斯</sup> (<sup>大師晉國公 宇文護</sup>) ascended the stairs and put a table at his place. The san-lao rose from his seat and faced south and leaned on the table and took his seat.

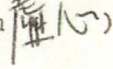
The Ta-ssu-k'ou Ch'u-kuo kung Tu Lu-ying (<sup>大司寇楚國公 豆盧寧</sup>) mounted the stairs and laid out shoes for him (the san-lao). The emperor ascended and stood in front of the screen (<sup>屏</sup> <sup>pyōngp'ing?</sup> <sup>齊展之前</sup>), facing west. The yu-ssu (official in charge) presented food. The emperor genuflected and presented the wine cup and personally cut the meat for him. The san-lao ate, and when he was finished the emperor again personally genuflected and gave him the wine cup in order to toast him. When this

was finished the emperor faced north standing and asked his counsel (pangdo <sup>訪道</sup>)

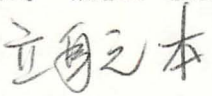
The san-lao then stood up behind his seat. The emperor said: "This worthless person (<sup>猥</sup>) occupies the most important position in the empire, but I have no talent and no knowledge of the essentials of government. I would hope that you would instruct me. (hu-chih <sup>誨之</sup>).

The san-lao replied: Wood is made straight by means of the plumb string. If a ruler listens to remonstrance, he becomes a sage. Since ancient

右木從繩則正  
左水從繩則正

p.516, 26:24b) times bright kings and sage rulers have all emptied their minds (hsü-hsin ) and accepted remonstrance in order to know what was right and wrong, and the ~~empire~~ empire was thus at peace. ¶ You, emperor, should only give thought to this.

517, 26:25a) He also said: The basis of ruling the state is to be found in loyalty and trust, and that is the reason why people in ancient times said: you cannot make a mistake in trust abandon food, abandon weapons; have trust and you will not err. Whether the state prospers or falls depends on rewards and punishments. If someone performs merit, he must be rewarded; if someone commits a crime he must be punished, and if so then the number of those who do good will increase by the day and the number of those who do bad will be stopped every day. If good deeds are not rewarded and crimes are not punished, then there will be no differentiating between good and bad in the empire, and the low people (common people) will have nothing on which to place their hands and feet (nothing to rely on).

He also said: Words and actions are the basis of establishing oneself (ipsin chi pon  ). When words are spoken, actions must follow them (be in accord with what you say). Both must see each other (be in accord with each other). You, emperor, should think three times before speaking, and ruminate 9 times before acting. If you do not think and ruminate (before you act), then you will ~~surely~~ surely make mistakes. When the son of Heaven makes a mistake with regard to an affair, ~~there~~ <sup>no matter</sup> how great or small, ~~is nothing greater or smaller;~~ it is like the eclipse of the sun or moon because there is no one who does not know about it. I would like the emperor to be cautious about this.

When the words of the san-lao were over the emperor bowed twice and received him (the words). The san-lao returned the bow. When the rite was over, he went out.