
In the time of Han Wu-ti, Tung Chung-shu responded to a policy question (taech'aek), saying: "If you want to look for worthy men without providing for scholars during ordinary times (夫不素養士而欲求賢), this is like (is to be compared to) trying to get a jewel to shine without polishing it. Therefore, in providing for scholars (yangsa), nothing is more important than a National University (T'ai-hs"ueh). A t'ai-hs"eh is what outstanding scholars are connected to (related to); they are the origin and source (ponwon) of education (kyohwa). If you want to promote (elevate) the t'ai-hs"eh, appoint intelligent teachers to take care of the scholars of the empire, examine and question them several times in order that they will show all their talents, then you will be able to obtain brave and outstanding men. The kunsu (chün-shou) and hsien-ling (magistrates) of the present day are the teachers of the people who receive (orders from the emperor) and promulgate them and transform (the people). If these "teachers" are not outstanding men, then the virtue of the ruler cannot be spread, and the benevolence of the ruler will not flow (to the people). The officials of the present day have not given instruction to the people below, and perhaps (at times) they have not applied the laws of the ruler above. They are tyrannically cruel to the common people, and they do business (in the marketplace) with the crafty (clerks). (note: This refers to the petty officials who were crafty and deceptive. The magistrates did not investigate them, but on the contrary traded with them in a search for profit.) The poor and destitute, isolated (orphanned) and weak despair and grieve over their lost jobs. This is not at all what the emperor intended.

12:25b) Now most of the chief officials (magistrates, chang) come from the sons and younger brothers of the lang-chung. (郎中)
Selection of personnel: Opinions

The chung-lang-li (中郎吏) and the erh-ch'ien-shih (二千石). The lang-chung (郎中) are also selected from wealthy families, and they are not necessarily outstanding people. Moreover, in ancient times, what was called "merit" (kung 功) was measured by the degree to which one assumed responsibility for an official post and fulfilled his duties (imgwan ch'ingjik 稱職). (Merit) was not determined (simply) by accumulating days of service and being in office for a long time. Therefore even though men of small talent held posts for a long time, they never left their small (unimportant) posts. And outstanding men, even though they were only (in their posts) for a short time were not prevented from becoming aides (to the emperor) (pojwa 補佐). And this is the reason why officials (yu-ssu 襲承) used all their effort and intelligence in striving to manage (conduct) their work (posts), and by this means to achieve merit. At the present time, however, things are not like this. By accumulating days in office (officials) obtain nobility, and by being in office for a long time, they get (higher) posts. A sense of honesty and shame (yomch'i 廉恥) is confused (changed into confusion) and the worthy and worthless men are mixed together (without distinction). I request that the chu-hou (feudal lords), the high ministers, the ch'un-shou (mags) and the 2,000-picul men (er-ch'ien-shih) each select outstanding people from among the clerks and people; that they recommend two people a year (seong 岁貢) who will be given (posts) as guards (sugwi 宿衛). If a high official (ta-ch'en) is able to recommend outstanding men, he will be rewarded, and if he recommends worthless men, he will be punished. If it is done like this, then the chu-hou, li (officials) and erh-ch'ien-shih will all do their utmost to search for worthy men, and the scholars of the empire can be obtained and placed in office (note: Appoint them to office so that with a post they can use their talents) (end note). And do not regard time in office (grade) as a meritorious achievement,
Selection of personnel: Opinions

If you test them and appoint to office the able and worthy (outstanding), and make this the best (policy). Estimate their talents and give them posts; record their virtues and establish their positions (rank: chongwei 司位), then the path of honesty and shame (yomch'i) will be clearly distinguished, and the outstanding and worthless men will (occupy, 各有) different places. (will not be mixed together)

The emperor thereupon ordered the ch'un-kuo (kung-chü 郡國) of each of (all the magistrates and officials) to recommend filial and honest men, one man per official.

During the time of Kuang-wu (Later Han) many people who spoke on government affairs said that the recommendation of men (kung-chü) throughout the districts (ch'un-kuo) was not being done in terms of the order of merit, and for this reason people were becoming more lax in meeting their responsibilities as officials, but that the blame for the laxity (ch'imsok 嫌嫌) in official affairs was to placed on the prefectures and districts (chou-ch'un). The emperor issued a decree to the court ministers and officials to discuss the matter, and proposal Wei Piao 魏彪 submitted a which said that the country should regard the selection of worthy men as its task, and that filial behavior should be the most important criterion (for the selection of) a worthy man. Confucius once said: If a man is filial in serving his father, then his loyalty can be transferred to his lord (chün). This is why in searching for loyal ministers (subjects) you must (go) to the gates of filial sons." With regard to the talents and behavior of men, few can combine both, and that is why Meng Kung-ch'o 孟公绰 was superior as an elder of Chao and Wei 趙魏 but could not become a ta-fu (official?) for 蕭詳. Men who are loyal and filial are close to warmth (thickness: hou 厚) in the way they keep their minds (hearts), while  who are in training (forging, tempering themselves)
Selection of personnel: Opinions -54- Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha 248, 12:26a) are close to thinness in the way they keep their minds. (?) and this is why in the three dynasties of antiquity they were able to behave (conduct themselves) in accordance with the straight path. (In selecting scholars), you ought A shih (scholar) ought to put talent and conduct (chae-haeng 行) as the first (matter of importance). You cannot just simply 求 (put them?) in the ranks of officials? (polyol 勢). But if you 求 summarize the gist (of the argument), then it depends on the selection of the erh-ch'ien-shih (二千石). If they are outstanding then all the people (they) recommend (ch'ü-kung) will be good men."

12:26b) The emperor gave deep thought to this and accepted it.

--- In the reign of Hsun-ti 順帝 (126-125 AD), Chang Heng 張衡 submitted a memorial, which said: "The ancients selected scholars (for office) on the basis of worthiness (hyon 賢). Every year the chu-hou (feudal lords) would recommend (kung 求) people. In the period of Hsiao-wu (Wu-ti of the former Han?), the commanderies (ch'un) recommended (ch'ü) filial and honest people. In addition there were also selections made of worthy and good men and those with literary and learning (talent) (hyollang munhak chi son 賢良文學之選). As a result famous officials all appeared and civil and military affairs were both elevated. The method by which the Han dynasty obtained men (for office) was only by these two or three methods (routes), and that only had small ability to was all, and men who 求 write and paint and compose letters and poetry were not able to manage state affairs and government. When (our?) emperor first ascended the throne, he first searched out (kyongsul: 興師) the techniques of governance?), and in his spare time left over 求 after attending to government affairs, he looked over and perused books and writings, and 求 if he wanted to spend some time in relaxation, he found it appropriate to substitute chess (changi or paduk 博奕). If he (one) does not make education (kyohwa) the basis for the selection of scholars (for office) and students compete with one
Selection of personnel: Opinions -55- Pang ye surok kwoson kosol, ha
248, 12:26b) with one another and people who write (prose?) x stir up
a commotion like a boiling pot. Those with a high degree (of learning,
skill?) also would make reference to what they learned in the classics
or current analogies (p'ung yu chi on 閤彝之言), and those of the
lower levels (of learning?) would string together couplets and popular
sayings in a manner similar to actors (yuryu paeu 有類俳優). Or they
would steal from material already written or vainly dare risk (their own?)
names and reputations. Officials always received imperial edicts at
the Ch'eng-hua-wen 盛化門, and the rank order (of the people)
would be determined and they would be registered as examination passers.
Those who did not pass would again follow (the others) and all hope
to be appointed to office. Although it was difficult for people to
receive changes in the benefits that had already been granted (by the
throne?), they only protected their salaries, and they regarded this
249, 12:27a)
(as sufficient) to x righteousness (?). Such people were not allowed again
to govern the people or to 衛職semmexmxxp be appointed (magistrates, officials
of prefectures or commanderies (chou-chün). In the past, Hsiao-hsüanti 考宣帝
gathered the feudal lords (chu-hou) at the sokko 頃渠, and Chang-ti 章帝 gathered the scholars (hsüeh-shih) at the Pai-hou 白虎
where they studied the classics and interpreted their
meanings. This business (matter) was superior and great, and with
respect to both civil and military affairs, they followed what was
appropriate. If even small talents and small good (deeds) could be
seen (as worthy), and if Confucius considered (this?) to be (the same
as?) arriving at a far place (and then stopping?), then how much more
would so xxx men of princely virtue (chün-tzu) accomplish great and far (reaching)
things."

(check the above passage with someone--not clear)

--. In the time of Wu-ti of the Chin dynasty (265-290), Fu Hsüan
傅玄 submitted a memorial on the fact that the morale of the
scholars had declined (fallen) during the Wei dynasty. He said: "I hear
Selection of personnel: Opinions -56- Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha

Fu Hsiian

249, 12:27a) that when former kings assumed rule of the empire (world),
ye made clear the great teachings and fostered proper and righteous
behavior (changcholui道化); those above paid respect to the
transformation of the way (tohwa道教) and the people below practiced
"pure discussion" (ch'ing-i清議). Those above and those below
venerated (supported) each other and they harbored righteous feelings
in their hearts. When the fallen (mang亡) Ch'ing' dynasty destroyed
the system of former kings they used law and methods (p'ohul法術)
to keep people under control, and the feelings (spirit) of righteousness
was lost. In recent times, Emperor Wu of the Wei dynasty loved law
(p'ohul, fa-shui法術) and the whole world regarded (the study) of the
names of punishments as valuable. Emperor Wen (Wen-ti) of the Wei
(Han: 2422, xxxi translates t'ung-ta as informality)
respected those who were learned and accomplished (t'ung-ta通儒)
in law? (and) the people of the empire held the maintenance of
propriety in low esteem. After that moral standards were not maintained
(kangyu pulsop網紛不競), and empty and unrestrained (choyad野靡)
discussion filled the court and the countryside (choya朝野), causing
there to be no longer any Pure Discussion (ch'ing-i清議), so that
12:27b) the sickness of the lost Ch'ing' dynasty was again made manifest
in the present (age). When our emperor ascended to the dragon (throne),
he still did not select officials who were pure, far (seeing) and
who abided by the li (propriety) as a means of esteeming (ton韓)
proper behavior (p'ungjol風節), and he did not dismiss low and
base officials as a means of warning (punishing: ping懲)
disrespectful behavior (pu-k'og不恪).

The emperor thought this (memorial, speech) was good and
he had Fu Hsiian draft an edict and present it, but he could not use (it?,
him?).

(note: Fu Hsiian also presented another memorial which said:
"Former kings divided up (society) into shih (scholars), nung(farmers),
Selection of personnel: Opinions

Artisans and merchants in order to govern the state and manage affairs, and each of them had their own occupations and different tasks (to perform). From the shih (scholars) on up, their sons and younger brothers (former kings) established a Great University (t'ai-hsueh) in order to educate them, and selected bright teachers in order to instruct them. In accordance with whether their talents were superior or inferior, (the kings) appointed them to office. The peasants (nong, farmers) provided ample food for them, and the artisans supplied their needs in utensils, and the merchants exchanged their goods (for them). Therefore, even though the empire was large and had millions of people, there were no idle people in its midst.

The Han and Wei dynasties did not fix the status (pun 分) of (these people). The sons and younger brothers of the officials did not study the classics and the arts, but devoted themselves to (friendly) association and idle play and had no idea of attending to their official duties (li-shih 蘭事). They just sat around and enjoyed their imperial salaries. The occupations of the farmers and artisans were far mostly in a state of decline. Some of them pursued what was light (of no value) and profitable, taking leave of their occupations. People only hung up their names (registered?) at the National University (T'ai-hsueh), and never heard of the customs of former kings (there?; never studied them?).

At the present time, sage government has just begun, but there still has not been any reform of the mistakes of the Han and Wei dynasties. There are many scattered (idle?) officials (sangwan 散官) and schools have not yet been established. There are many idle hands while few people are attending to agriculture and the supply of utensils by artisans is not complete (not full production). In my view that system (of former kings) ought to be quickly put into practice.

Yu(禹) and Chi(稷) personally cultivated the ground and the benefit extended to later generations. For the monthly
Selection of personnel: Opinions -58- Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha

249, 12:27b) ceremonies at the ming-t'ang, the emperor ordered the system of the emperor cultivating a plod of earth (cho ti chi chih chih). I Yin, a famous ancient official, cultivated the fields in Yü-Wei.

At the present time the king grants officials supernumery posts. These men that have no duties, if they are not made to study (in school), then they ought to be made to cultivate the soil. There is no reason to let them sit around idle eating (the food produced by) the common people. The number of civil and military officials has already become large, and the number of those who have been given posts without jobs (actual positions) is also large. If you add to this those who are soldiers because of required service obligations, then the number of those who are not able to cultivate the fields is equivalent to half the number of farmers. (peasants, nongja). The number of those who face south and eat (consume) salaries is three times greater than before (in former times). If you make these supernumery officials (with no duties) become farmers and collect taxes (chose) from them, then their families will have "fruit" (sil: enough to eat) and there will be enough grain in the empire so 12:28a) that there will be no shortages. If there is enough to eat in the empire, then the teachings of humaneness and righteousness will be put into practice without issuing orders 'to that effect). (SOUNDS LIKE MENCIUS)

In the Book of Yü (Yü-shu) it says: "Every three years examine the records (of officials) and for three year periods) examine promotions and demotions and which 'officials) are bright and which dark (stupid), and after 9 years then make transfers and appointments (of officials). For this reason if someone is in office a long time, then he thinks of establishing the (hua transforming, cultural values?) of being careful in attending to parents? funeral rites (shen-chung) (Hanhandaesajon: above is second meaning first meaning is: to be careful to complete a matter and make sure that nothing is left undone). If one is not in office for a long time, then
selection of personnel: Opinions -59- Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha 249, 12:28a) he struggles to take care of government affairs only on the short term. (In searching for power? kyong wi iljol chi chong 

A six-year limit is very shallow and near in terms of time, and one cannot be thorough in dismissing and appointing (promoting) officials (pulcho ch'ulch'ok). The Emperor should decide on this.”

The emperor was pleased with both (recommendations), but in the end he was not able to adopt them.) (end note)

--- Ch'en Yüeh(沈約) of the Liang(梁) dynasty once said: ""Chün-tzu (man of princely virtue) and hsiao-jen(小人: amoral man) are generally used terms to differentiate among people (yulong chi t'ongch'ing). Those who tread on (and follow) the (right) path (路道) are regarded as chün-tzu, while those who violate it are regarded as hsiao-jen. This is why (Kang?) T'ai-kung (太子) rose from (the position) of a catcher of animals and a fishermen to become a shih-t'ien (師傅: teacher) under the Chou dynasty, why Fu-shuo(傅說) abandoned his wooden construction (building?) to become prime minister in the Yin dynasty, why Hu Kuang(胡廣) who came from a family that had been farmers for generations reached the position of prime minister; it was why Huang Hsien(黃憲) who was the son of an ox doctor (vet) had a name that was important in the capital. It was not like later ages when there was a division into two routes (paths) (division between upper and lower classes?).

At the end of the Han dynasty (the world) was confusion and rebellion. During the reign of Wu-ti of the Wei dynasty (N. WEI?) beginning with the military they suddenly established as a temporary expedient the chiu-p'in(kup'um) system. This was based on an evaluation of whether a person's talent was superior or inferior; it was not based on whether a person's hereditary family (sejok) was high or low. But the system was passed on and became established
selection of personnel: Opinions 60- Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha

249, 12:28a) law. From the Wei to the Chin dynasties they were never able to change (this law). The chou-tu(州都) and ch'un-cheng(郡正) (pref. and district mags?) ranked people in p'in (p'um) according to their but very few people in the world were promoted or demoted on talents, on the basis of human talent. People just used their hereditary rank on the next guy

12:28b) as a pretext to lord it over one another (yongsang nōngga

(相凌驾 ). The tu-cheng(都非常) people popularly called scholars (soksa俗士) took into the situation of the times, and in accordance with whether a persons p'in rank was high or low either

looked up to the person or looked down on him, according to this rank. According to what Liu I(劉毅) said, "among the lower p'in grades no high (important) households were to be found, and among the high grades (p'in), no base families (ch'onjok賤族) were to be found."

As time passed, this change gradually became more prevalent (thicker). There were no gowned and capped (scholars) who were not regarded as 2nd rank (p'in), and after this time it led to the creation of base and common classes (pisū卑庶). According to the system of the Chou and Han dynasties, intelligent men commanded (the labor of) stupid ones and people of base status (taeye?下屬 ) were mixed in with people of high status, Han, 425, high officials) in the formation of ranks and grades, but since the Wei and Chin dynasties because noble (people: kwi貴 ) commanded those of base (status: ch'i官), a distinction was made between the shih(scholars 士 ) and the commoners (shu, sū庶 ) in terms of grade (sasū chi kwa士庶之科). In general, the ruler faces south and sits in his inner sanctum cut off (from the outside world) by nine layers (of rooms?). He is waited on and served day and night. His duties are far separated from (different from) his ministers and the scholars, but the responsibilities of the palace ought to be in the hands of the yusa (yu-shih有司 )."

In the reign of Wu-ti of the Liang dynasty, in the t'ien-chien period (502-520)
Ch'en Yeh submitted another memorial which said:

"In the past since the Han dynasty age there basically had been no distinction made between scholar and commoner (as had been the case in the past). Naturally if a man was not an official, he did not go to the capital, and if he was dismissed from his post as court minister or local magistrate, then in both cases he would return to his native village. The small (common?) people looked up to this (them?) and it became customary. Moreover, schools were laid out (throughout the country) like a chess board, and in them) the classics were handed down and people studied, and those best in learning were appointed to office. They began (their official careers) with a magistrate's post in a local town basically as a clerk assistant (and in them) the classics were handed down and people studied, and those best in learning were appointed to office. If they happened to attain (to the post of) some sort of official, and accumulated time in office, then they might be investigated and recommended (for a higher post). If a man had special talent, he would first be summoned by the kung-fu and would become a local magistrate, and then enter (the capital, court?) and become a minister. This was the reason why the Han dynasty reached the heights in obtaining good men for office.

The scholars of today all congregate in the capital. If there should be anyone who stays at home and does not move are not just stupid and base men. Moreover at the present time there are a great number of scholars (shih-jen), and they concoct all kinds of strategies (to get a post), but I fear that the number of posts is small while the number of talented men is large, so that there is no place to put them. The hsiu-ts'ai (:degree holders?, talented men), naturally are distinguished as one category, and the appointment of officials is not done in accordance with the procedures used during the Han period for selecting men (for office). If, for example, a hsiu-ts'ai answers 5 questions..."
selection of personnel: Opinions -62- Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha
250, 12:29a), he may be praised for it, and if a hsiao-lien (孝廉: filial and honest person) responds to one policy (ts'e 策) question, then he can pass (the exam, requirement for office?). This then is trifling stuff and the small way (of doing things? choch'ung sodo 頓鄙陋); it is has nothing to do with whether government affairs will be done correctly or mistaken. To look for talented men by this means is nothing but empty words, and nothing more."

--P'ei Tsu-ya (裴子野) said: "The 夏新書 (Book, of History?) says: People are treated as noble (k'ui k'ui 貴貴) because they are close to the ruler. (closely related to?) 'Here are no people who are born into the world as nobles (t'ien-hsia wu sheng erh kuei che 天下無生而貴者). This is because if there is a man who can be respected for his (observance) of the way and righteousness, you don't distinguish (choose) whether he is a carrier (of burdens--a shlepper) or a seller (of goods, merchant). If a person is not the right kind of person, then how can you select people from hereditary lineages (shih-tsu 世家)? After the Chou dynasty declined and li (principles of social usage) were destroyed, then government affairs appeared (came out) (among the officials (cheng ch'ul sinha 政出臣下) (they came to control govt affairs?), and the ching and shih-ta-fu passed on (their positions?) from one another until it got to the point where if there were no legitimate heirs (left), then they still ranked (ranked?) their household retainers (chia-ch'en 家臣). Moreover, the low people of no status (xiang p'ipu 低步匹夫) became the teachers of the feudal lords (Han, 127, transl., phrase is: 見理侯伯). Shih fei 試闗) and yang (擁囊) were never cut off (12:29b) (without support?) at that time, and after that, noble families in all quarters (of the empire) had over 1,000 "house guests" (men-k'o 客). They were low in status and integrity (pisin cholchol 相傾角), shared food and clothing (with their hosts?), and even though they finished with on
selection of personnel, Opinions -63- Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha
250, 12:29b) another (Han, 427: even though they contested for power
(practice of retainers)
with one another), still it became customary. By the time of the
two Han dynasties, Confucianism was respected and emphasis was
placed on the (correct) Way and learning and conduct in the prefectures
and villages was taken as the first order of business. Even the sons
and grandsons of famous officials (ministers) were still on the same
shi level with scholars wearing cotton clothes (雖然公子孫還布衣之士).
Even though there was a distinction made between scholars and commoners
(shih-shu sui fen 士庶之分), yet there was no major difference
the prosperous families and the plain ones
between luxury and simplicity (華素之風).

From the Chin dynasty on, the flow (trends) began to change
gradually. Eccentric scholars (奇士 ) (muddied) by the grass and
swamps (where they resided?) still lived by the side of "pure (discussion)
k in soiled and fallen circumstances? (引清奎降 ?).

By the end (of the Chin dynasty) (groups) were exclusively called (by their
family affiliations)
(三族): Han, 427, munbo and chi: families
and positions). From this time on, the sons of the san-kung (three top
ministers) despised the families of the 9 thatches? (世族之家).
and the grandsons of the hwangsan(黃散)

Local gates and scattered horsemen) looked down on the
local magistrates. This got worse as they fought with one another over
money (shu- liang 銅兩 ). What people talked about was family (lines,
munho 门户), and what they discussed had nothing to do with worthiness
or ability (hyon, ndng). This became a bad habit, and the calamity of arrogance (oman) was made (came about). This was not what
was supposed to be done according to the proper way of respect, mannanimit, modesty, diligent attention to virtue and promotion of education (culture).

-In the time of Hsiao-wen-ti of the Later Wei dynasty
(471-500), Han 427, hwangmun " speak to
the emperor (saying) that in former ages when they selected scholars
(for office), they would definitely first rectify names (cheng-ming 正名).
selection of personnel: Opinions -64- Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha

250, 12:29b) and for this reason people were called by the names of
worthy, good, straight, and correct (hyon, lang, pang, chong).

At the present time, in recommending and examining people from the chou
and chün (pref. and commanderies), we only have the name of hsiu and filial
(talented) (talented), but we don't have the fact of talented and
12:30a) filial people (real people). All the court does is to examine
whether they have the proper family pedigree (munji),
and does not again criticize them or hold them guilty of wrongdoing.
we can (t'anjwa) (彈坐). If things are like this, then make special
recommendations of people from pedigreed families (munji) as a means of
appointing scholars to office, but where will we find the time to
establish names (reputations) for talent and filiality? A pedigree
merit (munji) is bequeathed by a grandfather or father (yuyol);
how can it be of any benefit to the imperial house? If you have a man of
unusual talent, even if he is a butcher or fisherman, a slave or a
prisoner of war, you still should appoint him to office (use him). If
he is not such a man (of talent), then even though he may be the son of
the three empresses, you naturally should drop him down to the post of
a runner (clerk). Some people say that in the present age we don't have
men of talent of this grade and so the best thing to do is to select
men (for office) from (important) (pedigreed) families. This is also
mistaken. How can you say that because an age does not possess the likes
of a Chou-kung or Ch'ao-kung (開召 ), that it must then dismiss its
prime minister and not put anyone (in the position)? We should only select
those with superior talent and great reputations and appoint them to
office first, and (if we do that) there will be no leftover talent (that
is not used).

During the reign of Wen-ti of the Sui dynasty, in the
kai-huang period (581-601), the chih-shu shih-yü-shih (治書侍御史 ),
Li ? submitted a memorial on the fact that the selection
of talented men for office was not being done right. He said:
"Since the three ancestors (founding fathers?) of the Wei dynasty switched to a respect for belles lettres? (munsa) and neglected the great way of the ch'un-jen (lords?), (We, they?) liked small arts of no consequence (choch'ung chi soye) and those below followed their superiors just as the same shadow and echo, and they fought and struggled (to achieve excellence?) in literary useless/frivolities, and in the end this became a custom and habit.

On the left bank of the river in the states of Ch'i and Liang outstanding this evil became even worse. The noble and base, the worthy and stupid (all of them) only strove to recite (intone) poems, and in the end they abandoned what was reasonable and preserved what was strange (unorthodox) (they sought what was empty and chased after things of little value (small). They competed over one sound (a character of one sound) because it was unusual (strange) and fought over one character because it was skillful (lended to their skill in writing?). They strung together and piled up letters. They never threw away anything about the moon or a dewdrop but piled up (slips of paper with poems on them?) on their desk until they overflowed the boxes only with things about the wind and the clouds. And it was the custom of the age to hold this in high regard. The court selected scholars for office on the basis of this, and once the path to salary and profit was opened, then the respect and love (for writing, composing poetry) got even worse. Thus the children and uneducated (youth) in the villages and the bachelors (ch'onggak) of the nobility and idle did not bother looking at the (characters of?) the hexagonal cycle, but first composed five-word (poems?) And when it came to the likes of the institutes (t'ien) of Fu-hsi, Shun and Yu, and the work of I Yin, Fu Shuo, The Duke of Chou and Confucius, they did not even open their minds (to them), so how would (this kind of important learning) ever enter their ears?
selection of personnel: Opinions

They regarded haughty and arrogant talk as if it were very clear (ch'ung-ho 以傲語為清遠). They regarded connections and doing favors for people because of human feeling as the same as having a meritorious record (以緣情為勤績). They pointed to real Confucians and plain (simple persons) and regarded them as old (fuddy-duddies) and inferior (指儒素為古拙). They regarded those who could compose words and letters as if they were princely men of virtue (ch'un-tzu). As a result, letters and writing became every day more troublesome (complicated), and government affairs became every day more confused. They were really abandoning the models of the great sages and selecting what was of no use and regarding it as useful. They abandoned the root (basis of things), and chased after (pursued) the branches (minor points, things of lesser importance), and these (habits, customs) spread through all of China. People treated one another as teachers and grandfathers, and inferior habits became even more bruited about. When the Great Sui dynasty received the Mandate the way of the sages finally arose and what was light (inconsequential) and fanciful (floating) was rejected. A stop was put to embellishment and falsification.

And if people did not hold the classics to their breasts, did not preserve a simple mind, did not intend to keep to the way, and rely on humaneness (jen), they could not participate in "the outhouse" (in government: ch'amen-ch'ung). In the fourth year of the k'ai-huang period (584 AD) an order was issued throughout the empire that all official and private writings (documents? munhan) should be truthfully recorded. In the 9th month of that year, the Ssuch'ean ts' u-shih (四川刺史), Ssu-ma Yu-chih (司馬翊之) submitted a memorial which was too flowery in language and he was turned over to the court for punishment. As a result the ministers and high officials all knew what was the correct path and there were none who in studying (the classics) did not respect simplicity and abandon a flowery style of writing.
252, 12:31a) From what I hear, in the provincial pref. and districts, they continued to follow in the old evil ways, and in the selection of officials and recommendation of men, they did not follow laws and regulations. What was worse, respecting one's clique (chong'bang), was regarded as filial (loyalty); the countryside returned to humaneness?, and learning had to be on the ch'om (laws and instructions in the Book of History?). And in associating with people if one did not combine (with powerful people?), then one would be rejected by private (influential?) families and not accepted into the ranks of anyone else.

In their studies they did not investigate the ancients (稽古), and the followed custom and acted in accordance with the times subsequently mores followed the times (rather than adhering to principles?). They composed light and think essays and combined into (groups of) friends and cliques (chieh p'eng-tang, kyööl pongdang) and praised one another and held each other in high repute (on the basis of factional favoritism), so that when they selected (magistrates and prefects) did not carry out well instruction as to mores (p'unggyo). Rather they (magistrates) narrowly (held to) private feelings and did not preserve the public interest (kung-tao: the common god?). When I held the post of hsien-ssu (縣司), I should have impeached them (kyuch'al) and investigated, but if you impeach people by "listening to the wind" (rumors), I fear that there will be many people who will be caught in the net of the law (提網). I request that there be an imperial decree issued to the various bureaus to carry out a broad investigation, and if there should be people like this, then the details should be reported and sent to the censors (taim-kuan).
In the time of Kao-tsu of the T'ang (618-27 AD), Liu Hsiang-tao (劉祥道) submitted a memorial on the gradual (development of) evils in the selection and recommendation of men (sŏn'gŏ, hsŭan-chü) saying: In recent times the Board of Personnel has been choosing too many people and doing damage (to the country?). Every year the number of those who enter the ranks surpass 1400 persons. This is too many.

(subnote: In the 5th year of the ying-hui era (654 AD) there were --- men, in the 6th year (655) there were 1,018 men. In the first year of the hsien-ching era (656) there were 1,450.)(end subnote) The miscellaneous clerks (chapsaeg'in 雜色人) were not selected out (pulgan 子簡); but were just put into office. Thiwas harmful and excessive.

(The chapsaek (雜色) included the chieh-wen san-wei(解文簡), the nei-wai hsing-shu(內外行署), the nei-wai fan-kuan(內外監官), the ch'ın-shih-chang(親事帳), the nei-p'in-tzu(內品子), the tsai-tsa-chang(在雜堂), the chih-shu-chih(伎術直), the ssu-shu-shu(司書手), the ping-pu p'in-tzu(兵部品子), the ping-pu chian-chiao(兵部長枝) the hsun-kuan ch'i-shih(勲官記室), the (及功替參軍、檢校官,副騭校尉,牧長)(end subnote)

The chapsaek (雜) were compared on their (knowledge of?) the classics and the affairs of the times, etc., and not 1/3 of them (passed?). As for scholars knowledgeable in the classics and cultivated in their behavior, they were rather (still) rare. And many upright people took jobs as clerks and runners, so how could all the men of virtuous behavior be found? There were few people 萬千 in the empire to regulate the affairs of the common people but many bad people (available to regulate their affairs) Since the state (dynasty) was formed (founded), more than 40 years have gone by, and still such men have not been punished. How can it not but be because of this?

Moreover, the fact that officials are not men of talent is basically because there are too many people appointed to office, and the reason for this is that...
The process of selecting people to enter the ranks (imnyu) is not done right (properly). At the present time when the haeing-shu and other (misc. posts) personnel reach the limit of their terms (of office), the agency (ts'ao-ssu) in testing their judgement does not distinguish whether they are good or bad but uncritically (just copy someone else's criticism, without distinguishing whether anything is good or bad) recommend them for office. Men of small talent do injury (harm) in the (to the? künchín, Han, 432) in urgent situations (??). As for those people who ought to enter the ranks of the miscellaneous officials (tsa-se) I request that the agencies (ministries) (ts'ai-ssu) be ordered to examine their judgment, after which they will select them into four grades and then present a memorial. (Subnote: If you determine that there are people who have the talent to be appointed to office and are also virtuous in their behavior, they should be put in the 1st rank. Those who are strong and robust in physique and who pass the examinations at the top and who are sent over from the Board of War are (comparable to) those who have not been long in the 1st rank and should be sent to the Board of War, will be put in the second rank. The others will be evaluated and selected for the 3rd and 4th ranks.) (end subnote)

Those in the 1st rank will be attached to the Board of Personnel. Those in the 2nd rank will be attached to the Board of War. Those in the 3rd rank will be attached to the chusaek. Those in the 4th rank will be attached to the ssu-hsun, and will be treated in accordance with their rank. As for (clerks) in the haeing-shu, and other (offices), they will be demoted in rank for private violations (of law) and for failing the exams. If they are held responsible for low-low rank in their public conduct (in office), then even though they may have received an imperial pardon, those people who warrant punishment for circumstances may still be turned over to the San-ssu for punishment. And those who have not received a pardon will be released and sent back to their home towns (pon'gwan!!). No matter how many people...
selection of personnel, opinions -70- Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha

252, 12:32a) may aspire to enter the ranks (of officeholders), there will not be excessive (numbers of them). If at the present time those groups of clerks understand that they will be selected, then even though they may not be honest and diligent, they will necessarily gradually themselves be diligent.

He also said: In ancient times when selections (of men were made for office), I never heard where they selected too many officials for a small number of posts. In selecting people at the present time, they only select them; there is no basis for determining the number to be selected. There are no limits on those who enter the ranks. And if there are no limits on the number of people selected for a limited number of positions, and every year there are more and more of them, then how would you be able to prevent a surplus. I respectfully (request) that there should be a determination of the number of people needed and a calculation made of quotas of people to be allowed into the ranks every year. At the present time in the capital and provinces there are 13,465 posts of civil officials from ranks 1 to 9. Roughly speaking, in round figures there are 14,000, but people live for different lengths of time (fu-ming yu hsiu-tzu?), and it is rare that someone assumes a post (at age 20) and retires (at age 70) and consumes a salary for 50 years. Usually a person serves only for a total of thirty years from the time when as an adult male he assumes his post and then later retires. If then 14,000 men serve out (their terms) in 30 years, then, the number of men to enter the ranks every year would be 500, and after 30 years you would then obtain 15,000 men. As for the designated quota (needed no. of) men, 13,465 is sufficient to fill the number of those needed. How much more when you consider that there are still large numbers of officials who serve beyond 30 years. With this surplus of people, there need be no fear of a shortage. At the present time, the number of those who enter the ranks comes to over 1,400 men.
selection of personnel, opinions -71- Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha

always

252, 12:33a) This/comes to more than 1 times (double the number) of
500 men needed. Moreover, recently there are also more than a thousand men
who have been released from their posts to return home who remain (don't
go home), and every year more of them are added on. Truly this is
not the way to search out and elevate (men of talent).

He also said: *With regard to the) miscellaneous officials
(chapsaek), that he requests that they be appointed to office
together with the ming-ching (明經) and chin-shih (進士)
degree holders), and that the quotas for people allowed into official (rank)
(ju-liu) be divided into three parts, and that every time two parts
(2/3) be devoted to the selection of ming-ching and chin-shih, and 1/3 to
the selection of the tsa-se (chapsaek).

-He also said: Confucian learning (儒) is the basis of education
(chiao-hua, kyohwa) and the great family (ta-tsung)
of learning (hsüeh-che). If Confucian teachings are not high
(flowering), then mores will decline (替). At the present time
hsiang and hsü schools are found throughout the four seas (empire), and
Confucian students (yusaeng) overflow in the three schools (Han, 433--
Kuo-tzu-hsüeh, T'ai-hsüeh, ssu-men hsüeh), but the way of encouraging and
advancing (learning) has not become universal throughout the state. (This
dynasty has) now been in existence for 40 years, but still we have not
had any recommendations of talented and filial men from among the common
people and officials. I do not think that it is because the people of today
are not as good as those of the past. Could the way for recommending
men of talent not be extremely important? I request that to those of
rank six and below, even extending to the mountains and valleys, that the
emperor issue a special decree, and that another investigation and search
be made, and then adequate regulations drawn up, so that even more
couragement would be shown. If this is not done, then at a time when
something great (fearful?) happens, the practice of recommendation will subsequently be lost, and the court will regret it.
selection of personnel, opinions, -72- Pangye surokkyoson kosol, ha

252, 12:33b) --. At the beginning of the shang-yulan period (674-5), Liu Yao? (刘? ) submitted a memorial which said: In the state, the Board of Rites is the agency in charge of the investigation of men of talent and (they) investigate (and classify) people's writing ability (wen-chang, munjang) into A and B. Therefore (everybody) throughout the world accommodates themselves (to this system) and chases after (the accomplishment) of talent and skill (in the arts) and does not strive for virtuous behavior. Without it is men of virtuous behavior who can influence others (to virtue--hua-jen) and create (good) mores. It is the men of talent and skill in the arts (才技) who can formulate? (keep?) the laws (yueh-fa) and establish names (reputations for themselves?) promoted (chosen) (li-ming) Therefore, you have cases where people are raised to the A category in the morning, but by the evening they have fallen into a punishable offense. It is so because the institutions and laws cause it to be so. So how can the emperess not reform this and spread again (his instructions). If (people?) every day recite 10,000 words, how does this have anything to do with managing government affairs (li-t'ie)? If a (piece of) writing is done in 7 steps, it still is not sufficient for influencing (transforming) the people (others). In ancient times, Tzu-chang (子張) wanted to learn how to (obtain) a salary, and Chung-ni(仲尼:Conf) said: If in your words (mistakes) are few and in your deeds (errors) are few, then a salaried post is to be found in this. (?

He also said:"If you have strength left over after (achieving good) behavior, then you can study letters." At the present time we have abandoned the root and are following the branches (of things, learning). How much more so when in ancient times in composing letters (writings), they harmonized with (諧:matched) mores and refinement, but at the present time the study of branch (inconsequential things) is such that people do not draw near to the laws and plans (models)(典謨:of the sages) but devote their minds to the leaves and branches grass and trees(木之間) and
selection of personnel, opinions -73- Fangye surok, kyoson kosol, ha

252, 12:33b) and devote all their writing (pens) to smoke and clouds (poetry?). As for the creation of good mores, this is greatly mistaken.

In the past (ancient times) you could tell about (a country's) customs and mores by looking at their poetry. You could recite poems by ( ), and loyal ministers would be happy, or you could recite ( ), and filial sons would be sad. Warmth and goodness, and honesty (tonhu 敷厚) were the teachings of poetry. How could they have regarded as primary lewd writings? Generally speaking, men love reputation like water tends to flow down. If those above have (know) what they like (regard as good), then those below will necessarily (must) be even more (so, in their liking of it). If the emperor takes virtuous behavior as the first (priority) and talent in the arts (chaeye 才藝) as secondary (inconsequential) and A places in the first category (of exam passers?, recommended men for office) talented those who are sincere in virtue and diligent in their behavior; if he people like? ( ) are sunken into obscurity and are not ranked (with officials) while (crummy) people like Ch'en Shih(陳實) are exalted and selected for office, than most of the scholars will scatter to the four corners of the earth like the blowing of the wind. But if the wind blows from the outside and then how would it be that there would be no changes (reforms)?

--- In the time of Empress Wu (Wu-hou 武后)(684-705), Hsieh Ch'ien-kuang (薛謙光) (said) that at that time even though they were equipped with schools and had systems for preventing and prohibiting (things that were not right), yet customs and mores were flowing into evil ways ( ), and all of this was because they had turned their backs on the roots of things and were following after (chasing after) the branches (minor, inconsequential things). (ponmal) And everybody was making it their business to make requests of people (to gain what they wanted by asking for favors) and by rushing around (making their way in the world). He submitted a memorial (sangso), which said:
In ancient times when they selected men scholars, they investigated the source of their pure behavior (sohaengト) and looked into their reputations in their villages. They respected propriety and yieldingness and made bright chaste and righteous (behavior), and they regarded honesty blending (rhyming of words) and simplicity as the first priority, and the composition of belles-lettres (t'iao-wen) as the least important thing. Therefore the people respected the encouragement of good behavior and propriety and yielding behavior, and the scholars abandoned light (frivolous) and lascivious behavior. By this means they compared the outstanding and stupid (ignorant) men people who were made to be either glorified or shamed in the district. Because a man like Chi Ch'Ueh was promoted (to a position) because of his propriety and yieldingness and modesty (jang), but the people of Chin knew what propriety was. Because Wen-ti (文帝) taught the classics (ching-shu, kyŏngsul經成), the many of the scholars of Shu(蜀) below were Confucians. There never was a case where the people did not follow if those above were good. In the Han dynasty, when they searched for scholars, they had to look at a man's behavior, and for that reason the scholars (shih) cultivated themselves, and only after they were recommended by their villages would they be summoned to office (pusi kyo-bŏk府史交辟). But the Wei family (Dynasty) in selecting people liked what was informal (offhand, Bohemian? pangdal, and during the Chin(晉) and Sung dynasties (they only regarded as important family lineage/(wen-tzu, munja門賢) which encouraged (an atmosphere) in which people sought for government posts and it violated the principle whereby the granting of posts should only be given to outstanding men. During the Liang(梁) and Ch'en(陳) dynasties, special awards (praise) was given to the composition of ssu and fu (poetry,詞賦), therefore it was the customs that poetry and wine drinking were regarded as important and people never took as their task the cultivation of themselves. Emperor Wen-ti of the Sui accepted the recommendation of Li (李) and issued an edict prohibiting letter (wen-chang, munjang), and frivolous poetry (floating ssu). At the time, the tz'u-shih(刺史) of
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252, 12:34b) of Ssu-ch'Uan (Szechwan) was punished as a criminal because his writings were too flowery (以表革華麗). Because of this, customs could be noticed. Sui Yang-ti for the first time established the chin-shih and other grades (of examination degree) after which later scholars again began to chase one another in competition for office. They quickly followed the (custom) of the times and composed small essays (hsiao-wen), which learning was dubbed ts'ie-hsüeh (策學: policy studies), and everybody regarded frivolous and empty writing as valuable. Now at the present time all the scholars are violating the root of things and village decides in favor those who are skilled in the use of the pen. There is no talk of men who excell in deportment and cultivation. Those who pass (the exams) in policy studies view with one another and raise a hubbub in the chou and fu (yamen, offices), where they pray for good fortune (in receiving office) and bow and prostrate themselves. Or if it should happen that there is an examination in comprehension and composition (ming-chih) for the selection of talented men, then the people rush to the government offices powerful and asking for interviews with important people. Or at times, they submit memorials hoping to receive benefits. They rub their heads on their feet (bowing down?) in the hopes of being recommended or taken along (by someone powerful), and therefore the customs has become to call these recommended men (chü-jen) as the mi-chü (those who search for a recommendation). The term, mi, means those who themselves search for (a post). It is not a term that means that other people know us (recommend us because they know who we are or what our quality is). At the present time even though we may have lost all trace of name or learning and has also suffered punishment for crime, he might still dare to (falsify his name) on the registers, or steal (false) rank, or court? meritorious honors (勲勲), or steal (falsify) grade, and borrow bribes (emoluments, therefrom), and thus get rid of his violation (for crime).
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Even if in the village there should be someone who appears to have the talent to govern the country, they only order that he be tested on policy (ts'ê). If there is a person who seems to have the military talent to keep enemies in check, all they do is test him to see if he can shoot a bow and arrow. If his writing style is pure and unusual, then he is elevated to the first rank of passers (chia-k'o, kapkwa), and if he is in the slightest deficient in his composition of poetry (ts'ao-su), then he fails the examination. If men are selected on this basis, then I fear that it will go against the true facts. How is it that Lo Kuang borrowed the writing and pen (style) from Fan An-jen, that She Ling-yun was better in composing ssu (poems) than Mu Li; that Ping Tsin's letters (style) was inferior to Ssu-ma Chang-ch'iên's poems were more brilliant than Hsun? If people are made officials for their ability to shoot arrows and write policy (statements), then Fan, She, Ts'ao and Ma must sit to the right of Sun and Lo. If people (are chosen for their ability to) give advice on the opportunities (ssu), then An-jen and Ling-yun also should not be of any use in giving assistance. If you talk about it on the basis of this then none of these people should have been selected. It is also the same way for military arts. Therefore generals who can make plans (strategy) do not excel at shooting the bow or riding horses, and outstanding ministers do not have the wherewithal (qualifications) for shooting and making policy (ts'ê, essays). I would like the emperor to hand down clear regulations and strict punishments and examine civil officials on the basis of their ability to handle official affairs, and military officials on their ability to defend and protect (the country). And he should cause it (see to it that) people with bad reputations (chiao-ming) and excessive rank (for their qualifications) be given no place to hide their common (talents) and errors. In my respectful opinion, when Wu Chi went to the field of battle, his underlings to the left and right of him advanced
selection of personnel, opinion -77- Fangye surok ikpyoson kosol, ha

253, 12:35b) with their swords, and Wu Chi said: When advancing into a
difficult situation, making decisions about doubtful matters is the affair
(the business) of generals, but the responsibility of handling a sword is
not the business of generals." I also recollect that Yang Te-i(陽德儀)
once recited a poem (saying? Of Ssuma Hsiang-ju(司馬相如), and
I regret that
Wu-ti said: "We don't live in the same time period as this person. Hsiang-ju
spent the end of his life in the wen-yuan (garden of letter, culture--Han, 4367.
wen-yuan-kung 文園公) as master of letters?) and never attained the position
of chief minister, and the reason was basically because he was not fit for
the responsibility.

Also, according to my recollection according to Han dynasty law, the
person who recommended somebody for office (so chū chih chu 典舉主)
had to guarantee the recommendee to the end of his life. The fact that Yang Hsiung
(楊雄) was implicated in crime together with Tien-i(田儀) was because
he was held responsible for having dared to make a bad recommendation. And
the fact that Ch'eng-tzu (成子) was able to gain the post of
minister of Wei(魏相) was in compensation for his having obtained (recommended)
worthy men xi (for office). If rewards and punishments are carried out, then
people will stop requesting and xixiingxi (offices) and paying calls
on people (to gain favors (ch'ing-yeh 請讜). If the people behave
modestly and in a yielding manner, then the route to coveting and competing
(for office) will be blocked off.

What I request is that there be
lenient establishment of year (time)

12:36a limits (deadlines), that talented men be selected and that qualified men
be chosen to be magistrates in order to see whether they have any ability or
not. Their behavior should be observed to judge whether they are right
or wrong (good or bad). Those who meet their responsibilty should receive
rewards for recommending worthy men, while those who recommend badly
should be indicted for the crime of deception. Then naturally talented
men of good deportment will be recommended and the way of the chūn-tzu (princely
man) will be made great."
Liu Chih (劉秩) in his essay on recommendation (Chü-hsüan-lun 候選論), said: The selection of scholars in the Hsia, Yin, and Chou dynasties had to be done through the hsüang and hsü (schools). Nobody could obtain a post if it was not by this path (route). This is why there were not two (ways) to attract people, and why there was also only one (way) for people to respond (accommodate themselves to the search for talent?). By the end of the Chou dynasty the feudal lords (chu-hou) differed in their way of governing, and there were many ways of selecting men (for office).

Shang Yang (商鞅; the Duke of Shang) asked Ch'in Hsiao-kung (孝公) to change the laws (pien-fa), and it was ordered that one could not obtain rank of position unless he was (skilled in) war and agriculture. The Ch'in (state) subsequently because of this swallowed and absorbed the six states. When the Han house was first founded, they respected simplicity and truth. Empress Kao selected (for office) men who were filial, respectful of their elder brothers and diligent in working the fields. Emperors Wen and Ching (文景) maintained this and did not change it. Therefore below (among the people), they had their standard tasks (ch'ang yeh 茲業) and the court was filled with (worthy) scholars. By the time of emperors Hsiao and Wu, they searched out filial and honest men and established the po-shih of the five classics. Even though the disciples of the po-shih (were divided into) two or three important families, they never strayed from morality. By the end of the Han dynasty, the empire extended its domination to the four barbarians and military expeditions were sent out one after the other, and there were not enough officials. For that reason this gave rise to the type of government that was involved in the collection of resources (taxes) and there began to appear officials with treacherous plans and who sought to increase profit, and there was no place to appoint to office men who modelled themselves on the methods of former kings and who practiced the proper rites. For this reason intelligent scholars and men of talent did not attend school, while those who did attend schools only concerned themselves with belles lettres (munjang) (literary style). Thus during the
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Regn. 253, 12:36b) reign of Chao-ti (昭帝) (86-73 BC), Huo Kuang (霍光) asked why the common people were plagued and suffering, he did not base it on (ask questions of?) the T'a-chang chu-sheng (太常諸生: students of some school); he summoned the worthy and good scholars 亟亟 to inquire find out about it.

In the time of the Eastern Han dynasty, Kuang Wu-ti liked learning (liked schools), but he was not able to spread it throughout his government, so he himself lectured on the classics. From the reign of Su-tsung 袭宗) and later on, from time to time (emperors? they?) handed down the doctrines of their forefathers (chou-lin 学) and showed respect and esteem for the methods of the Confucians, but they did not attain their intent. And as for the composition? of letters (chak ki mun, chak ki mun 子) the san-kung and shang-shu (三公尚書 : high officials?), even though they used scholars (knowledgeable) in the classical learning (for these posts?), still they did not put into practice the way of classical learning. This was the reason that by the time there were few scholars who mourned for the country of the Eastern Han dynasty 人民憂傷 (kang-gae-gi) and 興 and 达旭 adjusted matters to the circumstances (fang-t'ung chih shih 方通之至?), while there were many people who were scrupulous and proper (the rule of the Han clan 失败 the Ts'ao Wei secretly stole (it) and 詭信 in selecting scholars for (the post of?) chung-cheng(中正 : straight and upright posts?), power reverted to the hands of local prominent surnames (families). Even though they were able to repress Hua-t'o(華佗) and Hsü Shu(徐庶) it was not the method (way) of respecting worthy men. At that time no sages made their appearance and worthy and wise men did not obtain positions. The way of poetry was greatly opened wide (as a means of recruitment), which was the origin of resentment and neglect (of true scholars?) By the time of the Chin, Sung, Ch' i and Liang dynasties(晉宋齊梁) again and again this became the customs of the ancestors and the custom flourished even more (of relying on poetry writing for recruitment). They abandoned (true) learning (hsteh-wen 節間) and exalted composition style (wen-chang 文章).
They regarded humaneness and righteousness as something small and regarded license and empty boasting as great. They expounded the doctrines of Chuang-tzu and Lao-tzu and recited the words of the Ch'ü-su (楚辞: poems of Ch'ü) and the Wen-hsüan (文選). The six classics and nine classes of literature just barely passed by people's eyes while the hundred schools and three histories were rarely heard by the ears. They regarded the collecting of poetry as scholarship (learning) and they gathered together poems and regarded it as material (worthy of study). They said that those who were good at writing poetry as men of government, and they regarded those who "engraved insects" (a hack writers) as qualified for the three highest ministerial positions (t'ai-ching).

Below (the people) regarded themselves as important (chabu) on account of this, and above (the rulers, government) selected talent on the basis of this. Those above (the rulers) and those below (the people) were concealed from one another (?). They took this (poetry) as their main task, and even though a man's name (reputation) was regarded as important at that time, still he could not attain to a government position. Therefore it was said: "It is through the means (way) of selecting men that you can achieve great transformations". The Chou-shu (History of Chou) says: "If you choose men on the basis of words (what they say), then people will advance (yeh, present themselves) on the basis of words; if you select people on the basis of their deeds, then they will advance (present themselves) on the basis of their deeds. With regard to the way of selecting men, you have to be cautious." Originally the purpose of poetry (shih and fu) was so that (the ruler above) could attain (to an understanding) of the feelings of (the people) below and as a means of people ridiculing (satirizing, feng) the ruler. As for writers in recent times, they place priority on wen (writing style), and put principle behind them (to the rear). If a poem is not elegantly written, it has nothing to do with (proper) criticism (ridicule--feng-tzu), and furthermore you do not see their feelings.
254, 12:37a-b) This in general loses the root of things, so how can you do (it right? the selection of men?)? In the Sui dynasty they abolished (the post of) chung-cheng(正) and the selection of men (chiao-hsuan, kyoson) was not based on the villages (recommendations of people by villagers). Therefore in the villages there were no important families (hojok), and in the small towns (villages with wells) were no officials with (official) garb and caps (no officials were selected from the remote villages). The people do not settle in their (own) localities (jen pu t'u cho) but gather together (ts'ui ch'u) in the capital province (kyonggi).

The scholars do not embellish their behavior, and the common people are weak and dull (stupid). In ancient times they rewarded meritorious men and appointed talented men to office (li-chih), and for this reason the posts and the people matched one another. But in recent times they reward men for merit on the basis of the posts (they hold), and that is the reason why the posts and the people that fill them are contrary to one another (do not match; good people are not appointed to high office).

In ancient times they judged men and presented (recommended) scholars (kung-shih, for positions), and they judged the official (posts, they needed?) and appointed men (to them). For this reason there were no (bona fide) scholars (shih) who did not hold office, and there was no dearth of officials to fill posts. But in recent times there are double the number of officials as in ancient times and there are 10 scholars (shih) for every official (kuan), and there are also 10 people looking for a post for every scholar (that there is). For that reason the scholars do not hold positions (posts), there is a dearth of salaries for officials, (salaried posts), and the officials bother the people.

In ancient times, 1,000 li outside the king's capital district (wang-chi), they enfeoffed the feudal lords (feng-chien chu-hou) and the officials of the feudal lords, from the post of ching(卿) down each selected his own (subordinates) and appointed them to posts.
As for the assistants (tso-shih) of the chou and hsien (districts), all of these people were transferred and hired (ch'ien-p'ien) by the mu (chou mags) and the shou (hsien mags). As for the kung and ching (公卿), they were the responsibility (jeng) of the chu-hsiang (主相 : chief minister). As for officials of the tien-wai (甸外: the territory outside the imperial domain), they were also the affairs of the feudal lords and the mu-shou (local magistrates). As for those officials shifted around (appointed and dismissed) by the chu-ssu (主司 : personnel ministry), they were only the officials within the imperial domain (t'ien-nei) and those clerks attached to the office of the kung-ching & (kung-ching-fu chih su abridged). How was this not a simple (system)? And since the appointment of officials was kept simple (寡), how could it help but be refined (精). In recent times we have enforcement (feng-chien) but we do not have the kuo-i (國邑 -- imperial domain?). Within the five divisions (of China, of Yü the great, wu-fu 五服, all government decisions are made by the king's court, and appointments and dismissals of officials from the i-ming (一命) up must all be handled by the Li-pu (Ministry of Personnel). As for giving posts to people on the basis of their reputations, we are still not able to do this uniformly, then how will we find the time to investigate worthy and good men and ferret out the men of good behavior and able (talent)? At this time (口), everyone smiles at the mistakes (beg{ made), but (no one) knows what the reasons for the error is. It is for this reason that I have prepared this detailed discussion of it.

- The Yang-chou tz'u-shih (洋州刺史 ), Chao K'uang (趙匡) (Han, p.445, man of T'ang dynasty, attained post of tz'u-shih), in his discussion of the recommendation (sôn'gô) and selection (system) said: In ancient times during the three dynasties of antiquity, they enfeoffed the feudal lords (a system) which is different from present times. I submit (request) that the principles involved in the way of ruling (the country) in terms of the advantages and disadvantages began to be discussion from the Han
selection of personnel, opinion -83- Fangye surok kyonson kosol, ha

254, 12:38a). The Han court in its appointment of men to office, in addition to the selection of men by imperial decree (ch'ao-ch'ih chih wai), the clerks and officials attached to the Fangye surok kyoson kosol, haselection of personnel, opinion -83- Fangye surok kyonson kosol, ha agency (heads of them) -83- Fangye surok kyoson kosol, haselection of personnel, opinion -83- Fangye surok kyonson kosol, ha were all left to those agencies (heads of them) to appoint themselves (tzu-shu). Therefore, the shhola of the world (t'ien-hsia) cultivated themselves at home, and the documents summoning them to office (pi-shu) arrived (at the homes of?) each of them (chiao-chih). Because of this the scholars strove to attain a reputation for probity and customs and mores were good (well cultivated). The Wei dynasty

have used 12:38b) of personnel (chü-hsüan) of this dynasty (kuo-ch'ao) the system of the Sui dynasty for many years, and the law has become even more erroneous (ngo, o). It is a natural principle (ku-jan chih li) that talent and knowledge has tended to follow the custom of the times. Those people who are chin-shih are all regarded as important (ku-e--noble) by the people of the time, and the praise and blame (p'op'yōm) of the chu-ssu (ministry in charge of personnel?), in fact depends upon poetry (shih-fu).

People strive to attain skill and flowerly (literary style) and on this basis are regarded as outstanding (hsien). Not only is this of no advantage for the appointment of men to office, but in fact it also obstructs correct habits. Not only does it break up pure and good (mores) (frivolousness), but in fact it also promotes frivolousness (kyōngbak). Unless you have people whose intelligence and perspicacity is superior, you might have an isolated individual of talent, but the rest of the people will be sunken into (bad) habits and all will be ignorant of (dark about) the basic essence (of things, learning), and even though you might want to enlighten and guide
selection of personnel, opinion

254, 12:38b) the natures and spirits (of the people) and achieve progress later on, this will indeed be difficult to do. Therefore, the shih-lin (saryim: retired scholars) rarely discuss the problems of governing the state (t'i-kuo). This is one of the evils (of the time).

Also, the minds and intelligence of man is generally limited (yai-pfen-- according to one's natural endowments-- Hanhandaesajon), but the books and writings of the 9 categories of learning (chii-lu) and the seven types of literature (as classified in Ad 7 Han dyn. are without limit (endless). When the personnel office (chu-ssu) summons people (for examination), it does not establish standards or limits, and for that reason when people study and practice (read books, to prepare for the exams: hsii-shu chih shih t'uo), they strive to copy things (t'ao), and when they take the examinations, they may, by chance, hit on the right thing. And the reason why learning (scholarship) is not well accomplished is definitely because of this. For this reason there are few scholars worthy of being the teachers of men. And this is the second evil.

To interpret the classics by means of subcommentary is a snare (trap), and that is all. In learning the classics and reading books, one should be diligent and hard-working, and you should ask the meaning of what has been said (recited), and also recite the commentary until the whole meaning has been thoroughly explored (or--by using one's whole spirit in the task) and not rush your studies, but at the present time with regard to the method of prosperity (li-fa), there is nobody who does not "face the wall" (in darkness and ignorance). And when it comes to dealing with others and making decisions, they just adopt the mouth (words) of the clerks and that is all. What people talk about and what they study is not what is of use (utility), and what is of use is not what is studied. And thus there are few men who can meet their responsibilities as officials. This is the third evil.

When people are selected in the examinations, generally only one man is taken for 20 (candidates), and therefore there are extremely many
selection of personnel, opinion

and therefore there are very many who never go up to the exams (pass them) for their whole lives. It is a difficult matter and the route (to office) is narrow. Nevertheless, the route to the posts of petty clerk (chapsaek) is broad and wide. For every one official there are ten clerks, and for every hundred officials there are a thousand clerks, and when you look at the hierarchical order, there is nothing by which they may be distinguished and graded (commissioned or demoted). As for those who do receive official posts, many of them are low (inferior) men. Those who do engage in study bear bitter regrets. How well are the men without talent treated, and how poorly are the men with talent treated. The branches are respected (the inconsequential people are respected) and the roots are repressed. The path is opened up for the ignorant while it is closed off for the intelligent (knowledgeable, bright). And for this reason, the sons of the scholars abandon their studies and chase after small (unimportant) skills. This is the fourth evil.

Since the number of people selected for office is small, people compete urgently with one another to pass the examinations. They associate with and run after the high ministers seeking to be sucked in (to the system). They slander their fellows in the competitive struggle to be first. Therefore in their Confucian studies, they follow elegance, and in their behavior it is dangerous and shallow (weak). It is not their natures with which they are endowed that are like this, it is the situation (se, shih), that causes them to be this way. And this has gradually become a habit (established custom) and harm is done to the mores of the country. This is the fifth evil.

Generally speaking, in the selection of men (the men who are to be selected) take off on the road in early fall and do not return home until late spring. They do not have any fixed (stable) time to rest (breathe), and they are not able to gather in food (grain). Furthermore when the fall season comes they are not able to pursue their studies, and their skills and ability become even shallower and weaker. This is the 6th evil.
Travelling expense for going back and forth are extremely high. It not only does it interfere with the (family's) earning of a living, but it also uses up inherited family property (old property) and before (a family) has had a couple of people stand for the examinations they are completely wiped out (left empty). This is the seventh evil.

Poor scholars living in remot areas may desire to expend their efforts to go to the capital, but as for what they hope to do there is no limit (to the transportation, travel costs?) (Han, 444). When they consider this (how impossible it is) and subsequently reach the end of their lives?, it causes them to feel resentful (bear a grudge), and the state has a shortage of leftover talent (the state suffers the deficiency, a lack from abandoned talents). This is the 8th evil (with the examination system).

Four-fifths of the expenses of government agencies is taken up with the cost of river transportation, so that when (these candidates) get to the capital they find that the cost of food and fuel is 10 times as expensive as it is in the provinces. Every year the examination candidates (men to be selected, sòng/p chì in) gather (at the capital), and when you calculate the number of men and animals, it generally comes to 20-30,000, but 70-80% of them return home without success. This causes obstruction (to work) in the country and eats away (at resources). This is the 9th evil.

In selecting men to be officials, the only thing you should do is wait (for the right men) to come along. (yu făng shí shì), but at the present time standard quotas are set (for the number of men to be selected--irrespective of whether they are talented or not). Even though the are accepted men who qualify for the examinations may be inferior, all of them qualify to take and as for those who do not pass the examinations without qualifying, then even though they may have only some minor flaw all of them are abandoned (left out). Therefore, scholars of no talent reach the highest ranks, while men of talent and ability sit around and turn grey. This is not what the ancients did when they searched for worthy men for
255, 12:40a) This is the 10th evil.

The selection of men is not restricted to the home prefecture, but all the candidates are brought to the capital for the examinations. The number of people (who come) are extremely many and the papers (tests, paper work) is great and complicated. Because of this the (number of people) is overflowing (excessive), and the matters to take care of are too many (a 100 ends). Therefore it is commonly said among people that 30-40% of these who attend the exam are not real people, and that 20-30% of those who take office are not who they are supposed to be (cheng). This is also a great evil. If at the present time we cannot eliminate the examination system (Chü-hsüan) and follow (turn back to) the ancient system, we should also make small changes in order to eliminate the evils, so that among the officials there will be many whose customs (mores) can be changed.

---. The discussion of Ch'en Chi-ch'i (沈既濟) on the selection system (son'g0). (note: See the cho (section) on imgwan (任官: appointment of officials).

(note cont.: I note that (Yu Hyŏng-wŏn): When a selected scholar was about to assume office, even though there were distinctions made in terms of the regulations and order (of precedence), yet basically there were not two routes (paths). In later generations, there was an increase in (the no. of) laws pertaining to examination categories (kwamok 刑科) and qualifications (chagyŏk 資格), and subsequently the pan?(判) test was divided into two and for this reason the opinions on it also could not avoided being divided in two. At the present time, with regard to the various opinions on the selection system (son'g0) and the appointment of officials (imgwan), I have included each of them under the categories (to which they pertain), but I also have also cross referenced them (as in this case) to allow people to see them. Ma Tuan-lin (馬端臨) of the Sung dynasty said: When the ancients appointed people to office, virtuous
behavior was the most important thing, and talent and ability came second. In the record of officials of the Yu's court, they also had "the nine virtues" (nine virtuous ones). In the Chou house, when they elevated guests, they looked to see whether their behavior was virtuous; they did not concern themselves that much with talent. In the two Han dynasties and after the "tz'u-shih" and the shou-hsiang, the power to appoint subordinates exclusively (chüan-p'i-ch'ao chih ch'üan) was able to control subordinates exclusively. In the Wei and Chin dynasties and after, the chung-cheng (中正) of the chiu-p'in (九品 :9 grades, Han, p.446—who established the 9 grades?) was able to gain control over personnel matters. All of them investigated (people) to see if they were either criticized or praised in their own villages, and when they examined them, they tested them on their ability to do work (and only after that would they allow them to become the king's officials and they gave them prestigious rank. Even though this system (law) was not as good as the method of the ancients for selecting people for office on the basis of virtuous behavior, yet it still they were able to obtain men of talent by it (tsai-nung chih shih). But when you get to the Sui dynasty, all the subordinate clerks (officials) of the appointed chou and hsi ch'ün were ordered (to their posts) by the ministry of personnel, while the route to office of the silk-clad officials was all via the examination system (kwamok). And when the ministry of personnel began to control appointments, the only thing it looked at was whether a person met the qualifications or not (chagyökg). Therefore the petty clerks who were in charge of the ledgers and records were able to control the power to raise or lower people. Even though officials were selected through the examination system, still what they were tested on was poetry and literary style and that was all. Therefore those people with poor writing skills were able to advance on the path to glory (and office)
selection of personnel, opinions -2189- Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha

255, 12:40b. When they first began to advance (along the route to power and influence), they were examined for their writing ability, and the main emphasis was placed on literary style (ssu-chan'). After they were appointed to office they were given posts as petty clerks in charge of the records and ledgers, and they had exclusive control over the qualifications (chagyok; of people to stand for the examinations). Therefore it became impossible ever to revive the (ancient) intent of selecting men of outstanding talent and ability.

Also when the ancients selected people, they generally did so in order to make officials of them. In the time of the three dynasties of antiquity, even though the laws and institutions were simple, they looked into the root of things, and they could see clearly who was outstanding and who was stupid. But in later periods (dynasties) every scholar who was selected was appointed to office (without an evaluation?), so that from the first there was not these two paths (between regular officials and clerks? between bona-fide men of virtue and talent and those not qualified to hold office?). Coming down to later generations, trickery and chicanery increased by the day and the laws became more complicated and numerous. The examination system (kwamok) became the route for selecting scholars, and the selections of the ministry of personnel (chonson) became the path for appointing officials. Both of them were methods for preventing and blocking off (the route to office for men of virtue?). Then by the T'ang dynasty, the examination of scholars (shih) was assigned to the Ministry of Rites (Li-pu), and the examination of officials was given to the Ministry of Personnel, and because of this the laws (method) of the examination system (kwamok chi pòp) and the laws for the personnel ministry's selection of officials (chonsôn chi pòp) were made new (changed) by the day and made different (from one another) by the month.

(The two routes he's talking about are the examination system and the Ministry of Personnel?) so that they two of them could not be compared (planned for together) By reading this opinion (of the guy above), you can also understand
selection of personnel, opinions -90- Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha

p.256, 12:41a) generally what happened.)(end note)

--- Tu Yu (杜佐) said: In the age of the Three Kings (san-wang), they established the hsiang and shu(schools) in the villages (hsiang-khîmû), and they contrusted the kuang?-hsûeh (費學) in the capital city (to-i) (where) they instructed the sons and younger brothers jeman (chaje) of the kung, ching, and ta-fu. They established titles (categories) of"exalted and accomplished" (chun, tso --Han, 447, says chun-shih and tso-shih, exalted scholar and accomplished scholar) and people strove to work hard and achieve these (titles). Children entered school from a young age, and by the time they were forty years old they would be appointed to office. Only after that (was it considered that) their behavior was good and their studies completed, that they were able to manage affairs and that their record of accomplishment was high. From the Ch'in and the Han dynasties on things were different from this. In carrying out teaching, it was not done deeply. And in selecting men of talent (for office), they strove to be quick (do it quickly). They wanted people to be immersed in the way of the five standards of moral behavior, so that everyone would rise to the area of humanness and long life, but how could they attain to this (by this means)? Generally speaking there are only a few men with superior talent, while there are many people of middling talents. Given the fact that man has a nature that can be moved (transformed, influenced), therefore with education he can become good. But if you do not give him plenty of education, then even if you want to seek many men of worth, indeed you would not be able to do it. It is not that nowadays there are many worthless people while in ancient times there were many talented people; it is depends on whether in your government administration you establish the root of things and cause them to be that way (shih-cheng li-pen shih-chi jan ye). And how much more so when scholars are selected on the basis of words (what they say) is this mistaken, and when they examine those words, they only rely on
selection of personnel, opinions, -91- Fangye surok kyonos kosol, ha

256, 12:41a) a florid style—the error here is even greater. If this (these) (erroneous) methods were changed, how would talent be far away (too far away to find)?

12:41b) In the time of Jen-tsung (仁宗) of the Sung dynasty, Wang An-shih (王安石) submitted a private memorial (sangso), which said: With regard to (the way in which) former kings selected men (for office); it had to be done at the hsiang and tang (local, village) level, and it had to be done in (through) the hsiang and shu schools. They made the mass of the people (chung-jen 習能) select (推薦) those people who were so-called "worthy and able" people (hsien-nung 寔家) and they wrote (their names down) and reported it to the superior (official), who then examined them to see if they were really worthy and able. Only after that were they given official posts in accordance with how great their virtue was and how high their talents were. As for this so-called investigation (of their abilities), it did not rely exclusively on hearsay (what knowledge to be gained from listening to or looking at the person), nor did it depend on listening to the private words (gossip) of a single man. If they wanted to investigate to find out about a person's virtue, they inquired about his behavior (hsing, haeng). If they wanted to investigate to find out about his talent, they inquired about his words (what he had to say). When they had got (found out about) his words and behavior (deeds), then they examined him on affairs, and the so-called investigation meant examining people on affairs. At the present time, the selection of scholars (for office) emphasizes memorization, wide reading, and general comprehension of letters (and such scholars are referred to by such names as mu-tsai, i-tung, hsien-liang, fang-cheng, 韓昌, and these above persons (with these titles) are chosen by the kung-ching (high ministers). It is not necessary that you have memorized too much nor that your reading be that broad, if you have a general understanding of letters and have also studied poetry (shih-fu), then you are called a chin-shih (進士), and the highest chin-shih are selected by the high officials (kung-ching) also.
The skills and talents obtained by these two methods (kwa--categories of examination) were not sufficient to become kung and ching (high officials), and you don't have to wait for me to tell you this to know it. But the people who discuss this matter consider that we have always selected the scholars of the world (empire) this way, and the way that men of talent can become high officials (ministers) has always come from this (method); it is not necessary to model ourselves after the methods of the ancients in selecting men before we can obtain scholars (for office). This also (indeed) betrays an ignorance of the principles of the matter. In the times of former kings, even though they did their best (to devise) a way for the selection of men for office, still they were afraid that it might be difficult for worthy men to advance and that worthless men might (inadvertently) be taken in. At the present time we have completely abolished the methods used by former kings for the selection of scholars, and we urge on all the talented scholars of the empire to become hsien-liang(賢良) and chin-shih(進士). If the talents of a scholar are such that he should be considered as (eligible to be) a high minister, then definitely such a person ought to be (regarded as) a hsien-liang or chin-shih, and such hsien-liang and chin-shih also definitely ought to have the opportunity from time to time to be made high officials on the basis of their talents. (we ought to be able to obtain from time to time men of talent qualified to be high officials from among the hsien-liang and chin-shih).

Nevertheless, worthless men, if they are skilled at hack writing (雕章纂刻之學) they can on this basis advance to the posts of high official (minister), while those people who actually have the talent to qualify them for high ministerial posts struggle (suffer, are in difficulty) in studies (learning) for which they receive no (state) support and die in poverty in the fields. This happens to 80 or 90% (of the able scholars).

In general the reason why the ancients were able to obtain the empire was because they were careful and cautious only in selecting their...
high ministerial officials (kung-ching), and that was all (i.e. they only had to be careful in the selection of their top officials). Once they had obtained the right men for the high ministerial posts, they had them recommend their fellows (people in the same category as themselves) to be summoned to court, and thus for all the bureaus and for all affairs they were never unable to obtain the right men. At the present time we allow worthless men, on the basis of good luck, advance to the highest ministerial posts and then have them recommend their fellows (people in the same category as themselves) to be summoned to court. This is why the court is filled with worthless men, and even though we have worthy and wise men, they are frequently in difficulty without support and are not able to put their wills into practice. Moreover, given the fact that worthless men in high ministerial office recommend people of their own kind to be summoned to court means that these worthless people at court also recommend people of their own kind to fill posts in the provinces, and the officials in the provinces also recommend each of them worthless people who are spread about in the chou and chun (prefectures). Even though we have a law whereby people who recommend officials share their guilt in any crimes they may commit, how is this sufficient to rely on (to ensure the selection of good men for office)? It is only something which is sufficient for the worthless people to rely on.

Next, with regard to the course of study (examination category?) of the nine and five classics and the law examinations, the court has been worried over the fact that these are of no use to the world, but yet has sometimes put the responsible on them for (teaching of?) great principles (ta-i). But what we have obtained through the ta-i (teaching of great principles has never been people who are worthier than those of ancient times. At the present time the court has opened up the system of selection based on understanding of the classics in order to advance scholars with learning in the classics, but those people selected on the basis of their knowledge of the classics have also been people good at memorization,
If so, then that is all right. But if we want to obtain men who understand the intent of former kings and who can be spread throughout the empire and the country to be used (as officials), then in my view we definitely will not be able to select them through this process.

(Wang An-shih) also said: At the present time even though we have schools in the chou and hsien (districts), what we have are only the walls (of the buildings) and that is all; it is not a case where officials for teaching and guidance are educating men of talent. It is only in the T'ai-hsleh (T'aehak) that we have officials of teaching and guidance (kyodo chi kwan), but we also have never been strict in their selection. At court the administration of rites, music, and punishment has never depended on the schools, and those engaged in learning (the schools) are also vague and (unclear on these matters). Naturally we regard the administration of rites, music, and punishments as affairs of a bureaucratic agency (bureaucrat-yu-ssu chih shih), and not something about which we ought to have knowledge. What the schools teach is only the explanation of words and phrases (kangsŏl changgu) and that is all. And in recent years they have been teaching material (munjang) for the examinations. With regard to material (munjang, reading material) for the examinations, if you do not read widely and study hard and spend all your time at it, then you cannot become skilled and able at it. At its best, it is not sufficient use (utility) for producing mandarin or human magic by the empire and the state. And at its worst it is not sufficient to be used by the empire and state. Therefore, even though old people with white hair are in the schools and spend all their days studying and leading the teachings of those above so that they can be used to serve in government administration, they are all people who are lacking in understanding of the methods (of governance). With regard to what is being taught nowadays, it is not only that is unable to cultivate talents in men, it also is responsible for making life difficult for them and destroying them
Wang An-shih's selection of personnel, opinions, and making it so that they cannot develop their talents. Why so?

Generally speaking, the talents of men are developed by concentration and specialization (chuan-ye) and are destroyed by scattering (miscellany, divided interests among many misc. things? tsa). For this reason, former kings placed scholars in the hsiang and shu schools and made each of them concentrate on his studies (chuan chi yeh) and not look at other (distracting) things. In everything they showed them the way of former kings, and the heterodox doctrines of the 100 houses and various philosophers were all blocked off (from their sight), and no one dared study them. Generally speaking what scholars ought to study is what is of use to the empire and the state. But at the present time all of this (kind of utilitarian learning) has been abandoned and is not taught, but what is taught is the munjang (sentences and phrases) needed for the examinations, and people are made to use up their spirits and exhaust their bodies and spend their strength all day long pursuing these studies, and when they are appointed to office, then they abandon (all their previous studies of texts for the exams) and are given responsibility for managing the affairs of the empire and the state.

Generally speaking, among the people of ancient times, even though they concentrated their studies (concentrated on their studies, chuan-yeh) morning and night, still when it came to talent, there were those with ability and those without ability. Nowadays people turn their spirits (to another direction); their time is taken away from them in labor (study), and they spend night and day in the pursuit of useless knowledge. And it is only after they have been given charge of affairs (as officials) that they suddenly are charged with responsibility and are regarded as of utility to the empire and the state. And there are few people whose talents are sufficient for the task. Therefore (I) say, not only are we unable to cultivate follow up (after them) talent among men, but also we go further and cause them difficulty and destroy them, causing it that they cannot develop their talents.
An-shih selection of personnel, opinions  

257, 12:44a). Also there is something even more harmful. In the time of former kings, what the scholars studied was the way of Wen and Wu. The talented among the scholars could become high ministers (kung-ching), and there were those among the ta-fu who could become shih (scholars). There were those whose talent was great and those whose talent was small, those who were suitable, and those who were not. When it came to military affairs, then (people were selected) on the basis of how great their talent was, and you never had anybody (chosen for office) who did not (had not) studied. Therefore the people with great (talent) when residing (at home, in the capital?) were the high ministers (ching) of the six offices (officials, boards, liu-kuan), and when they went out (from the capital, on tours of duty?, on military duty), then they became generals of the six armies. Those next to them (in talent) were the shih (teachers) of the pi, li, tsu, and tang (local subdivisions), and addition they were also the commanders (shuai) of the tsu, wu, shih, and yu (military units). Therefore for border defense and for watch guard duty (in the capital? sugwi), in both cases they obtained shih-ta-fu to do it, and small people (of no talent) were not able to corrupt their responsibilities (tasks). Those people who are engaged in study at the present time only regard civil and military matters as something strange (different) (not to be taken seriously), and say that "I known how to handle sentences and phrases (wen-chang, munjang, letters), and that is all. And when it comes to border of defense and (capital) guard, they push (these off) and hand them over to the these people are rank and file (troops) (sol'o). Frequently the corrupt, wily and irresponsible people (無懲無懲之人). If xiaoxi talent and behavior in sufficient to be entrusted (with responsibility themselves in the villages, they also are not willing to abandon their relatives (families) and go to recruit (trumps for defense). Border defense and capital guard are the most serious responsibilities (tasks) of the empire, and the ruler of men ought to treat them cautiously and seriously.
Therefore, the ancients instructed scholars (shih) to take shooting (the bow) and driving (chariots) seriously (as urgent). As for other skills and abilities, then they saw whether a man's talents were suited for them, after which they instructed them (in it). If a person's talents were not able, then they did not force him (to do something he was not suited for).

When it came to shooting (the bow and arrow), this became the thing for men (namja) to do. If a man was born with some illness (deficiency), then they stopped (that was it, they didn't teach him), but if he had no defects (deficiency, physical hindrances), then there was never a case of a person abandoning shooting and not learning (how to do it). And in the local schools, they definitely were obliged to devote their efforts to shooting. Whenever they had an affair (local ritual?) involving guests, then they (conducted it) with shooting.

And if they had some matter involving performance of a rite, then they conducted it with shooting. If they wanted to distinguish between scholars (shih) whose behavior was about the same and whose abilities matched, then they did it by means of a shooting (contest), and whenever they had an affair dealing with rites or music there was never a time that they did not match people up by means of a shooting (contest), and shooting (matches) were also never conducted without being related to a matter of rites, music, or sacrifice. The Book of Changes says: By means of this skill at the bow and arrow they overawed the empire (wei t'ien-hsia). How could it be that former kings regarded shooting as sufficient to practice the moral principle of bowing and salutation (i-jang)? Definitely they regarded shooting as the most important aspect of military affairs and the tool by which to overawe the empire (wei t'ien-hsia) and defend the state. When they stayed (at home), then they used this to practice rites and music, and when they went out (on military campaigns), then they used it for fighting.

Because the scholars devoted themselves to this night and day, there were many men able at it, and everybody could be chosen and selected for border defense and capital guard. And because the shih (scholars) studied the ways of former kings, then in their behavior and virtue, they were recommended by their villages.
Wang An-shih selection of personnel, opinions 258, 12:45a) and only after that (only after they were recommended by their villages), were they entrusted with the affairs of border defense and capital guard on the basis of their talent. This was the way in which the ancient rulers gave out weapons and entrusted them to people, and there was nothing to be feared either domestically or in foreign (affairs). At the present time the ruler should be most cautious about the selection of personnel, which is a serious serious responsibility of the empire, but he entrusts (positions) to the corrupt, crafty and irresponsible, and to people whose talents and behavior (conduct) are not sufficient to be trusted by the people of the local villages. This is why there is concern and worry at the present time, and why we always entertain fears for border defense and are concerned that capital guard (defense) may not be sufficient to put us at ease.

-- In the time of Shen-tsung ( 神宗 ), Ch'eng-tzu ( 程子 ) Ch'eng Ming-tao ( 程明道 ) submitted a private memorial on ten points. In speaking of the tribute (recommendation) of scholars (kung-shih ), he wrote: The teachings of the hsiang and shu (local schools of ancient times) were what former kings used to clarify human ethical relationships and transform and accomplish the empire. At the present time the teachers (shih) and schools (hsüeh) have been abolished and morality (tao-te) is not uniform (single, prevalent everywhere). The archery shooting in the villages (hsiang-she--local archery ritual contests) have disappeared, and rites and righteousness does not flourish. The recommendation of scholars (kung-shih ) is not based on the opinions of the local villages (hsiang-li), and conduct is truly not cultivated. Talented people are not being trained in the schools, and many talented men have been abandoned.

-- Ch'eng-tzu (Ch'eng I-ch'üan 程頤 ) submitted a private memorial (sangso) in which he wrote: The governance of the empire (t'ien-hsia, world) depends on a well governed empire. 天下之治由得賢
selection of personnel, opinions -99- Fang ye surok kyoson

258, 12:45b) a result of obtaining worthy men (for office), while a poorly
governed empire is a result of losing (failing to find) worthy
men (for office). The world is not lacking in worthy men; you have to
consider the method by which they are sought. At the present time the
search for men of worth is basically on behalf of (achieving) good government,
and the way of governing the empire well is nothing but the
Five Emperors (wu-ti), the Three Kings (san-wang), the Duke of Chou, and
Confucius. You should search for those who have a clear understanding of
the way that the five emperors, three kings, duke of Chou, and Confucius
governed the empire, and you should employ each of them in accordance with
how great his talents are. Those people who are qualified to do the tasks
of a prime minister should be made prime minister; those who are qualified
do the work of the ching-ta-fu (high ministers) should be made high ministers
(ching, ta-fu); those who have the skill for governing the ch'un should be
made tz'u-shih ( ); those who are capable of governing a hsien should
be made hsien-ling ( ). If each man has his responsibility, then
there will be no job for whom a person will not be recommended. If that
is the case, then there never will be a time when the empire is poorly governed.

With regard to the state's selection of scholars (for office), even though
there are several categories (of titles, of degree holders? worthy men),
nevertheless, with regard to the hsien-liang ( ) and fang-cheng ( ),
every year only one or two of them (are selected), and that is
all. Also, those people who are obtained (this way) are no more than scholars
who have read widely and are strong at rote memorization. Those people who
are learned in the classics think only of reading (books), and they do
not have a clear understanding of principles; they are even more worthless.
The most honored and valuable people (in the country) are only the chin-shih
make degree holders who poetry and rhyme their chief work, and
the way of proper governance of the empire is not to be found in poetry.
If people study this and by means of this take and pass the examinations, and after accumulating long periods of time (in service) they finally reach the position of minister, how would they ever know about the way of the (ancient) emperors and kings or the root (foundation) of true education (教化). If they are kept in their positions and given charge of duties (tasks), then they would never (have the opportunity) to learn it. This is like an northern (inner asian nomadic) barbarian trying to navigate a boat, or somebody from the state of Yueh (Viet-nam, in the south) trying to ride a horse (drive a chariot). Would it not indeed be difficult to find such people good at those things?

In the past Ting To submitted a proposal (in which he said) that since the time of our ancestors the number of good men selected (for office) has not been small, but this is an extremely stupid and ignorant (opinion). People who have discussed (this problem) have to the present time are gnashing their teeth (in anger). Basically if you let the ignorance talk about their ignorance, then you will consider ignorance as good. At the present time the reason why the empire is not well governed is truly because we have a good ruler, but we do not have good officials. How could it be that there are no good men in the world? It is because we have failed in the method by which we search for them. If really want to select good scholars, we definitely should be able to obtain them. How could it be that there is no method for doing so?

(Note: He also said: The way of the kings has not been practiced for 2,000 years. Later ignorant people all said that the times were different and conditions had changed and that they could not restore the practice (of the ancient kings). This then is a profoundly ignorant (lacking knowledge) opinion, but from time to time rulers were misled by this view. At present (recently) there was a man who picked up something on the road and he showed it to a jade artisans who said it was jade; he also showed it to the common people who said it was stone. So should we consider that the jade worker was...
Ch'eng I-ch'Uan selection of personnel, opinions -101- Fangye surok kyoson kosol, ha

258, 12:46b) right or that the common people were right? We definitely should
think that the jade worker was right. If you ask why, then it is because
there is a difference between those who have knowledge and those who don't.
If you consider applying the teachings of the sages to the governance of later
ages and the ignorant say that it cannot be applied to the present time, then
how will we (ever) preserve the way of the sages? Should we follow the
views of the (ignorant) common people (masses, chung-jen)? Trying to convince
common (ignorant) people that the ways of the former kings can be put into
practice is like asking blind musicians about the beauty of the five colors
or asking deaf people about the beauties of the eight tones. They will
obviously reply that it is not so, and it is not because they hate the
5 colors or dislike the 8 tones; it is because of the limitations of their
hearing and eyesight (that they would so respond.).(end note)

Ch'eng-tzu also said: With regard to the examination of worthy and
good men on policy matters in the Han dynasty, this was still where others
recommended people, and with regard to men like Kung-sun Hung
they had to force him to get up and answer the questions
it was like they forced him to rise (come forward?) and answer the questions.
But in later ages worthy men then themselves sought to be recommended
(for office), and that was all there was to it. If there really was someone
who said, "My hear (mind) is only in the hope that I may respond on
policy matters at court and to desire to speak straightforwardly on matters
of empire," then he should also be respected. But if his intent is to gain
wealth and nobility, then if he gets his way, he will become even more
arrogant and unrestrained; and if he doesn't get his way, then he will become
dissolute and resentful, and that is all.

--Chu Hsi said: The ancients taught people virtuous behavior and the right
(moral) arts (tao-i), and the elevated the worthy and able.
Their methods were well prepared and their intent was profound. At the present
time the method of doing this is not this way. The details of what is taught and the investigation (conducted) for the selectin of men are constantly
Chu Hsi selected personnel, opinions -102- Fangye surok kyonson kosal, ha

259, 12:47a) being changed (panbok) and the good methods selected and bad weeded out (tungdo, tot'ae--Han 456) two or three times, but what has been prepared has not surpassed useless and empty words, and that is all. If you deeply want to seek their intent, then you will have to rely on what is of utility (use), but they are aware only of empty and worthless words which they think is sufficient to get our (their) rank and salaries. So when will we have the time to give thought to how we are to select people and as to what their true intentions were?

He also said: In ancient times, the methods of schools and the selection of men (hakkyo, sön'gô) began at the hsiang and tang (level), and extended to the kuo and tu (kuo--capital). They instructed (taught) people in virtuous behavior and moral arts (tæo-i), and elevated the worthy and able people. There was no different way for handling people who stayed (at home), and no different method for handling those who became officials. This was why there was no different route for selecting people (for office, than for educating the populace in general?).

This is why the scholars had minds that were fixed (stable, at ease) and had nothing outside that they respected (more?). They were busy day and night (ch'oya chaja) and were only afraid that they might not be cultivating their virtuous task (behavior) (sufficiently) and were not concerned that their salary and rank was not (good) enough.

As Confucius said: If in one's speech (what one says), (errors) are few, (regrettable acts) and in one's conduct (errors) are few, then salary is to be (found) in it."

As Mencius said: If you cultivate the rank (endowment?) that Heaven has conferred on you (天賞), then man's endowment (rank) will follow after it." (懵其天賞而人賞從之)

These two statements say it (right). In what was taught during the three dynasties of antiquity (san-p'tai), the arts (skills, i, ye) were
Chu Hsi, selection of personnel, opinions -102 Pangye surok kyoson kosol, ha

259, 12:47b) the very last (things to be taught). Nevertheless, in everything (taught) there was practical utility (shih-yung), and could not be lacking in the details of laws and institutions. (they still had minute and detailed laws and institutions, despite the fact that they emphasized moral education?). And also it was sufficient as an aid for ruling (controlling) (putting in order) the mind and cultivating the vital force (yang-ch'i) and reverting to (leading to) the path of morality. This is the reason that the ancients were able to develop talent in men (x sâng injae) and develop full (correct) (proper) customs and mores, regulate the affairs of the time and achieve a great peace (hsing t'ai-p'ing).

But the making of laws at the present time is not this way. Even though we have (regulations for) recommending people from the village (hsiang-chi), still the quotas for the selection of men is not equal (fairly distributed). In addition we have established as a single path for Great Learning and the inducement to profit (t'ai-hsüeh li hsiu) easy routes (ch'êpkyông) for deception and chutzpah (such as the chien-shih, ts'ao-shih and fu-shih) examinations, thereby opening up the path to those who busy themselves (with chasing after fame and fortune) and to wandering and footloose types, actuality what is taught has not been based on the facts (shih) of moral behavior, and what is referred to as the skills (arts: i, ye), are also all empty words of no utility. And when it comes to the worst evils, then what is referred to as "empty words" are all strange and absurd (k'uei-mang) and without foundation (mûjêk), and are sufficient thus to destroy the minds and wills of those who learn (study). This is why human talent is depleted by the day (dai) and customs and mores get thinner by the day, and whether at court or in the districts (chou, hsien), every time there is some matter that can be doubted (is a problem), then the high officials (kung-ching), ta-fu, regular officials, and clerkes are startled and look at each other and do not know whence it came (what it's cause it).
In this too you can verify that it comes from mistakes made in education. If you definitely want to reform institutions (k'ai-chih) in order to restore the ancient (ways) of former kings and improve the customs of the present day, then you must do like (Ch'eng) Ming-tao (proposed in the hsi-ling period (1068-1678), and only after that will you be able to greatly rectify the root of it and thoroughly eliminate the evils of a declining age (mallyu chi p'ye).

He also said: As for the education of ancient times, there was nothing that did not take moral behavior (virtuous behavior) as the first thing, as when Emperor Shun gave orders to the ssu-tu (he instructed them on the given teachings, and when he gave orders to the tien-lo (he gave instruction to the sons (of officials and ministers). Both of these were cases of this. And when it came to the Accomplished Chou (dynasty), for the first time laws were greatly prepared, and as a result the flourishing of human talent and the beauty of mores and customs were (greater than) what later ages could attain to. At the beginning of the Han dynasty, they still possessed the leftover laws (vestiges), and the articles for the selection of man (sän'gô) required respect for elders and superiors and respect for (obedience) to the (opinion of) the villages. They made government strict and taught people in going out and coming in not to go against what they heard--and this is what they praised the most. From the Wei and Chin dynasties on, even though they did not attain to (the practices of) ancient times, nevertheless the laws pertaining to the chiu-p'ìn (九點) and the chung-cheng (中正) were close to them. But when it came to the Sui and T'ang dynasties, they selected scholars exclusively on the basis of belles lettres (munsa, wen-ssu), and the practice of recommending men out of respect for virtue was not seen any more (again). And continuing down to the present time, the evils of a declining age became extreme, so that the situation cannot help but be changed.
The above proposals on the advantages and disadvantages of the selection system (Sŏn'gŏ, hsüan-ch'u) by discussion officials (court officials making proposals) and former worthies throughout the ages, have thus been prepared (set forward) and do not require much further discussion (about them).

If you have an intelligent ruler to change what is evil and to restore what is godd, then in the time it takes (to turn your hand?) over what is in decline can be made to flourish and what is in confusion can be put in order.

(Note: People in the world commonly say that the circumstances in ancient times and the present are different. Even though they know that this opinion is wrong, still they are not able not to be misled (deceived, confused). If they were to look into the situation, then they would understand that this opinion is in error and without foundation: The basic nature of Heavenly principle, and that wherein the human mind is put at ease, and that whereby circumstances take shape, (is such that) (then they would know) that if things are like this, then it is right, and if things are like this then it is wrong, that if it is like this then things are well regulated, or if like this then things are in confusion, or if things are like this then there is peace, or if like this, then danger--(with regard to these things) the ten thousand generations are as one. (things are the same for every age, no matter what the period, no matter what the circumstances--the principles discussed in the above opinions are universal, cross time barriers)

So what is to be changed? If you search into the root causes of evil laws, whence they first arise, then in general, then you find that at the beginning rulers who are in the dark and have ambitions (desires), and ministers (officials) who are fawning and flattering act in order to make things easier for (the achievement) of private (desires) which lie right before their eyes and they change and make more confusing the ancient laws (in order to do this).

Those people who inherit the world (from them) accordingly follow (what they
Pangye: selection of personnel, opinion

260, 12:49a) what (their predecessors) have done) and it becomes long established practice. And if you have an old law, then even though you might have a good pure ruler, yet still he does not have the learning that one obtains with one's mind nor the merit of investigating the ancient ways as in the manner of the enlightened kings of ancient times, and (such a ruler) is always obstructed by inferior (mediocre) people, and he can never reform the root (of things), which just remain like this (as they were), add that is all. How is it that there was ever anybody who when a situation changed devised institutions in accordance with changed circumstances? If the laws and institutions are like this, then it is the custom to feel that the circumstances made it that way and that (the current situation) cannot help but be different from ancient times. People see that it is different from ancient times and subsequently they think that the customs and spirit of the time (and human feelings) have changed from what they were in ancient times. But alas! Can anything be more regrettable than this?

Some people say that with regard to any (all) matters, you ought to look for what's good (best), and that is all; why is it necessary to get stuck in old tracks and in every individual matter restore what is ancient (practice). (To this I would respond), it is not a case of sticking to old tracks. As for is best in any affair, the ancient practiced it in every case, and whatever is not best in any matter was always done (followed) by people of later ages. Therefore if we are to adopt what is best, then naturally we should restore (the practice of) the ancients, and if we are to abandon what is not best, then naturally we should change what exists (is done) at present. Only people who know this can really understand (what is right). Mencius said: Can you say a person understands if in governing he does not put into practice the ways of the former kings? This is truly knowledgeable words. And it is not just with this one matter; for all matters are like this. (not just recommendation and selectin?)
As for the poetry examination (ssu-k'o) and military examination (wu-k'o), they were (equivalent to) "the making of funerary images" (what Confucius said was as bad as human sacrifice) in the words by Sui Yang-ti and Empress Wu (of the T'ang). This is like when Yônsan'gun recklessly and lewdly changed and confused things in his (reform of) the tribute registers (kong'an), and up to the present time, we have not been able to reform (this system). There is not other purpose or intent (to my own words than this).