

From «Inspection» to «Chasse». The Image of King Zhao of Zhou in History and China-West Cultural Exchanges*

by *Xie Mingguang*

From «Inspection» to «Chasse». The Image of King Zhao of Zhou in History and China-West Cultural Exchanges

In a bid to use a historiographic lens to look at the cultural exchanges between China and the West in the 18th century, this paper explores the shaping of King Zhao of Zhou's image in China, comparing it with that in the West. The text will focus on the changes of King Zhao's image in Chinese historical texts and in Western literature. By taking a global view, we see how the Chinese history was read in the West, witnessing the subtle emergence of a specific way to write it.

Keywords: Jean Baptiste du Halde, King Zhao of Zhou Dynasty, Jin Lüxiang, Birth of Buddha, Historiography.

Introduction

In 1733, Pierre-Gille Le Mercier (1698-1773), the publisher of Paris, France, published a pre-sale introduction on a forthcoming book by the French Jesuit Jean Baptiste du Halde (1674-1743). In this introduction, apart from saying that the publication of this work was to satisfy the curiosity of the French public about China, the publisher also mentioned an advantage of this book,

Un ancien Missionnaire Jésuite & fort expérimenté qui a passé près de trentedeux ans à la Chine, partie dans la Capitale, partie dans les différentes Provinces de l'Empire, ayant été député l'année dernière en France pour des affaires particulieres de sa Mission, a eu tout le loisir, pendant le séjour d'un an qu'il a fait à Paris, de lire plus d'une fois & d'examiner cet Ouvrage avec la plus sérieuse attention & avec la plus severe critique. En profitant de ses lumieres, ou pour discuter certains faits douteux, ou pour y ajoûter des particularitez interessantes, le P. Du Halde s'est assuré de l'entiere exactitude de tout ce qu'il avance¹.

Xie Mingguang, Beijing Foreign Studies University, China, xiemingguang@bfsu.edu.cn.

The aged missionary (*ancien Missionnaire*) is none other than the French Jesuit Cyrille Contancin (1670-1733, Chinese name: Gong Dangxin, 龔當信)². Considering the personal story of Father Du Halde, it is no surprise that this work has this advantage. Particularly, the text work he has done related to China since 1711 when he became the editor of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des mission étrangères* not only made it possible for him to know Father Contancin, but also provided him with letters and reports directly from the Jesuits in China. The names of these Jesuits were listed by Du Halde in the foreword to this book, and were described as having «contributed to the editing of this work»³.

In 1735, this book was officially published in Paris with the approbation and privilege from the French royal family. It has four volumes, each of which contains different contents⁴. The title is long and almost occupies the entire book cover: *Description géographique historique chronologique, politique, et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la tartarie chinoise. Enrichie des Cartes generales et particulieres de ces Pays, de la Carte générale & des Cartes particulieres du Thibet, & de la Coree, & ornée d'un grand nombre de Figures & de Vignettes gravées en taille douce* (now *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*). This work is obviously greatly influential. Voltaire (1694-1778), who had attended the school where Du Halde taught, profusely praised the book and its author. He wrote,

Halde (Du), jésuite, quoiqu'il ne soit point sorti de Paris, et qu'il n'ait point sur le chinois, a donné, sur les mémoires de ses confrères, la plus ample et la meilleure description de l'empire de la Chine qu'on ait dans le monde⁵.

Voltaire did not exaggerate. In the following year after the book's publication (1736), a pirated copy of it appeared in Hague, which was more portable and cheaper than the original one. At the same time, it began to be translated in English. Many European readers also spoke highly of it⁶. However, even if Du Halde did refer to various materials compiled by the Jesuit missionaries in China, is this work really «entirely accurate» (*de l'entiere exactitude de tout*) as the publisher claimed?

To answer this question, this paper will take Du Halde's description of King Zhao (昭), the 4th Emperor of the Zhou (周) Dynasty, in his book as an example, to examine his work by comparing the changes of the image of King Zhao of Zhou in Chinese and Western literature, and therefore also to take a look at the cultural exchanges between China and the West in the 18th century in the field of historiography.

The Negative Image of King Zhao in Du Halde's Description

In *Fastes de la Monarchie chinoise*, the first volume of *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, Father Du Halde introduced King Zhao of Zhou. China's history, according to him, began with Fo Hi (i.e. Fu Xi, 伏羲), but it was not until the ruling of the 8th Emperor Yao (堯) that the Chinese chronology officially started⁷. So the first cycle in the Chinese history began with Yao, which was 2357 years before the birth of Jesus Christ⁸. The reign of King Zhao of Zhou was thus determined to be between the 22nd and 23rd cycles, that is, between 1077 and 1017 BC. Father Du Halde gave the account of King Zhao's life as follows:

Tchao Vang Quatrieme Empereur a regné cinquante-un an.
 Une seule passion à laquelle ce Prince s'étoit livré, gâta ses plus belles qualitez, & lui fit négliger le soin de son Empire: il aimoit éperduement la chasse, & ne s'occupoit que de ce divertissement: le dégât que ses chiens & ses chevaux faisoient dans les campagnes, désespéroit les Peuples, que gémissoient sans cesse de voir leurs plus belles moissons ravagées par una armée de chasseur qu'il menoit à sa suite. Cette conduite lui attira la haine de tous ses sujets.
 On rapporte que ce fut l'année seizième de son regne, & la quarante-unième du Cycle, que nacquit aux Indes l'Auteur de la secte abominable des Bonzes, & de la doctrine de la Metempsychose: il se nomma Fo, & ce fut l'année soixante-cinq après Jesus-Christ, que cette secte idolâtre eut entrée dans l'Empire par la protection de l'Empereur, comme nous le dirons en son lieu⁹.
 Les Peuples, qui voyoient continuellement ruiner le fruit de leurs sueurs, & qui lorsqu'ils espéroient une abondante récolte, en étoient subitement frustrez, se portèrent à tout ce que le désespoir peut inspirer de plus affreux: ils conspirèrent la mort de leur Souverain: pour y réussir, sans que cette mort pût être imputée, ils s'aviserent d'un stratagème.
 L'Empereur, en revenant de la chasse, étoit obligé de traverser une riviere asser large, & il y avoit ordre de tenir des Barques prêtes pour son passage: ils en préparèrent une qui étoit tellement construite, qu'elle devoit se briser en peu de tems. L'Empereur y monta avec quelques Seigneurs de sa suite, à peine fut-il au milieu de la Riviere, que les planches se démentirent tout-à-coup, & la Barque enfonça dans l'eau: tous ceux qu'elle portoit, furent noyez.
 Ainsi périt ce Prince l'année seizième du Cycle. Son fils nommé Mo vang lui succéda¹⁰.

The life account by Du Halde of King Zhao of Zhou is very detailed. The image of King Zhao as portrayed shows that he had no virtues, disregarded politics, and in particular, was obsessed with «chasse» («hunting»). He caused the dissatisfaction of the farmers due to an obstruction of their

production work. In the end, his people used tricks to make him fall from the cracked bridge into the water and drown to death. Whether in China or in the West, such a rendition of King Zhao's life leads to an image of an incompetent and self-indulgent ruler. And this is certainly also the image of King Zhao in Du Halde's eyes. Interestingly, in the story of King Zhao, Du Halde also mentioned something unexpected, that is, in the 16th year of his ruling, Buddha was born in India. Nonetheless, in the third volume of *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, when Du Halde once again talked about Buddhism, its teachings, and its influence on China, the story of King Zhao was not mentioned. Father Du Halde seemed to be merely telling his readers that from the very beginning, Buddhism was not a native Chinese religion, but a religion from outside of China. More importantly, just as Father Du Halde here pointed out, the fact that Buddhism spread all over China was probably because of the protection from the emperor¹¹. For Du Halde, and for others, this discovery would give historical grounds to the entry and acceptance of Christianity in China¹².

Here comes the question: is the description of King Zhao of Zhou by Du Halde, especially the recording of the birth of Buddha, grounded or not? Specifically, if we take reference from the accounts of King Zhao of Zhou given in various Chinese literature, how should we perceive the story and image of him as depicted here by Du Halde, and in the West as well?

The Changing Images of King Zhao in China

In China, the earliest record of King Zhao of Zhou was mainly found in the bronze inscriptions from the Western Zhou Dynasty. According to these inscriptions, we can roughly see that during the reign of King Zhao, the kingdom was not yet stable. Against this backdrop, especially since the *sanjian zhiluan* (三監之亂, Rebellion of the Three Guards) in the early period of King Cheng (成) of Zhou, Duke Dan (旦) of Zhou waged wars to defeat the rebellions, which helped maintain and consolidate the rule of the Zhou family. King Zhao seemed to have continued this policy of conquest, sending armed forces to conquer the Hui (會, a city near to nowadays Zhengzhou, 鄭州), Hufang (虎方, a tribe in the Southeastern China), and the Southern regions, and achieved many victories. Therefore, in these inscriptions, the main activities of King Zhao were wars, which made him a «visionary conqueror» (雄主, xiongzhū) of the time¹³.

As of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, the activities of King Zhao began to appear in historical writings. For example,

Zuozhuan (左傳, *The Commentary of Zuo*), completed in the Warring States Period, recorded King Zhao as leading troops to conquer the Southern kingdoms. In 656 BC, Duke Huan (桓) of the State of Qi (齊, reign from 685-643 BC) joined the other seven kingdoms to conquer the Chu (楚) confederation, which lied in the South. In order to justify this conquest, the chancellor to Duke Huan of Qi, Guan Zhong (管仲, c. 720-645BC), explained the reasons to the messenger from Chu. One reason was that «King Zhao of Zhou died when he went to the South and never made it back». The messenger, however, gave a hardline response: «Regarding the death of King Zhao, you'd better ask the water where he drowned»¹⁴. This dialogue tells us that King Zhao did die during the Southern campaign. As for when and where he died, we do not have any information to rely upon. In Guan Zhong's eyes, however, King Zhao is a visionary conqueror who initiated the southward expedition, which was reflected by his quote in *Qiyu* (齊語, *Discourses of Qi*) of *Guoyu* (國語, *Discourses of the States*), another historical document from the Warring States Period¹⁵.

It is exactly from this moment that the image of King Zhao started to change, just as we can see from the descriptions in an annalistic book from the ancient tomb of Ji (汲) County (now in Henan, 河南) found in 281. This book is *Zhushu Jinian* (竹書紀年, *Bamboo Annals*), a chronicle which records the history from the Xia (夏), Shang (商) and Zhou Dynasties to the 20th year of King Xiang (襄) of Wei (魏) (296 BC), and was completed at the end of the Warring States Period. As the original book was lost during the Song (宋) Dynasty, scholars collected information and compiled them into a book, and the text is known today in two versions, a current text and an ancient one¹⁶. Both versions have records of King Zhao of Zhou's Southern campaign, and the ancient version has a briefer story:

昭王十六年，伐楚荊，涉漢，遇大兕。十九年，天大噎，雉兔皆震，喪六師於漢。昭王末年，夜清，五色光貫紫微。其年，王南巡不反。 In his reign of the 16th year, King Zhao waged wars on Chujing (楚荊, referring to Chu). When he crossed the Han (漢) River, he encountered a huge *si* (兕, a kind of rhinoceros). In his reign of the 19th year, there were enormous weather changes and wild chicken and rabbits were scared to run everywhere. King Zhao lost his six troops in the Han River. By the end of his reign, the night was very clear, and a five-colour light went through the *ziwei* (紫微, Pole Star). In the same year, King Zhou did not to turn back, after his inspection in the South¹⁷.

The current text is lengthier, and keeps most of the content in the ancient text, giving a slightly more detailed story of King Zhao:

昭王，名瑕。元年庚子春正月，王即位，復設象魏。六年，王錫郇伯命。冬十二月，桃李華。十四年夏四月，恆星不見。秋七月，魯人弑其君宰。十六年，伐楚，涉漢，遇大兕。十九年春，有星孛於紫微。祭公、辛伯從王伐楚。天大噎，雉兔皆震，喪六師於漢。王陟。

King Zhao, named Xia, succeeded to the throne in the 1st month of the year *gengzi* (庚子). He rebuilt up the high building *xiangwei* (象魏), where his orders could be demonstrated. In his reign of the 6th year, King Zhao gave an order to bestow an award upon the County Xun (郇). In the winter, the peach was in full bloom. In the summer of his reign of the 14th year, the star disappeared. In the autumn, the people of Lu (魯) killed the Marquis Zhai (宰). In his reign of the 16th year, King Zhao waged wars on Chu. When he crossed the Han River, he encountered a huge *Si* (a kind of rhinoceros). In the spring of his reign of the 19th year, a comet passed through the *ziwei*. The King, whom Duke Zhai (祭) and County Xin (辛) accompanied, led his troops against Chu. There were enormous weather changes and wild chicken and rabbits were scared to run everywhere. King Zhao lost his six troops in the Han River. King Zhao went forward¹⁸.

By comparing these two texts, one would notice that they both talked about the phenomenon of «enormous weather changes and wild chicken and rabbits were scared to run everywhere», which was transcribed as an earthquake in later literature. In Chinese traditional political culture, this is a negative sign. It is a warning, or even punishment to the ruler from Heaven. Hence, we see in both versions the serious consequence of King Zhao of Zhou losing six troops in the Han River. In addition, the description in the ancient text that «the night was very clear, and a five-colour light went through the *ziwei*» corresponds to «a comet passed through the *ziwei*» in the current text, which carries a similar meaning. This astronomical phenomenon in *Zhushu jinian*, as we will see soon, was also cited by later writers for different purposes.

Despite these similarities, the current text mentioned two things that the ancient one did not. One is that the brother of the Duke of the State of Lu (魯) assassinated his Duke and made himself the Duke Wei (魏), which was also recorded in *Luzhougong shijia* (魯周公世家, *Hereditary House Duke Zhou of the State of Lu*) in the *Shiji* (史記, *History*) by Sima Qian (司馬遷, c. 145-c. 86 BC)¹⁹; the other is «Duke Zhai and County Xin followed the King to invade the confederation of Chu». This part of account appeared in *Lüshi chungiu* (呂氏春秋, *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*), compiled by Lü Buwei (呂不韋, 292-235 BC), the Chancellor of the Qin (秦) Dynasty, and his disciples. The work summarizes various philosophical thoughts and quotations, and one of its contributions is «to complete all the things about the heaven, the

earth, the universal, the past and the present»²⁰. One of them is the story of King Zhao, documented in the chapter of *Jixia ji* (季夏紀, *Records of Summer's Last Month*). Lü Buwei wrote,

周昭王親將征荊，辛余靡長且多力，為王右。還反涉漢，梁敗。王及蔡公扞於漢中。辛余靡振王北濟，又反振蔡公。周公乃侯之於西翟，實為長公。殷整甲徙宅西河，猶思故處，實始作為西音。長公繼是音以處西山。

King Zhao of Zhou took part in person in the expedition against Chu. His guardian at the right Xin Yumi (辛余靡) was tall and mighty. When he turned back to cross the Han River, the bridge broke. The King and Duke Zhai dropped down in the Han River. Xin Yumi, holding up the King, swam to the Northern shore of the River. Again, he turned to hold up Duke Zhai to the shore in the North. So Duke Zhou made Xin Yumi the Marquis of the *xidi* (西狄, *tribe of west di*), called Duke Chang (長). King Zhengjia (整甲) of Yin (殷), after having moved to the West side of the Yellow River, longed a lot for his homeland, and created the tones of the West. Duke Chang resided in the West Mountain, continuing the tones of the West²¹.

Lü Buwei also wrote about King Zhao's southward expedition, but the result of this expedition as described by him was a far cry from that of other historical sources, as mentioned above. According to him, on the way back from the expedition, King Zhao fell from the bridge, but was rescued by his subordinate Xin Yumi. The latter was therefore rewarded and carried on the local tone of the State of Qin.

Obviously, by the end of the Warring States Period, the story of King Zhao's Southern campaign had been greatly enriched. Although the descriptions in various documents about it were different, war was consistently the theme or core activity during his reign²². It is worth noting that in *Zhushu jinian*, historians have indirectly expressed their dissatisfaction with King Zhao's character through the description of the anomalous celestial phenomena. However, it was not until Sima Qian in the Western Han (漢) Dynasty that the relationship between King Zhao's declining morality and his death during the Southern expedition was publicly recorded into historical works.

Sima Qian, one of the greatest historians in Chinese history, briefly presented the life of King Zhao of Zhou in *Zhoubenji* (周本紀, *Annal of Zhou*) of the *Shiji*. He said,

康王卒，子昭王瑕立。昭王之時，王道微缺。昭王南巡狩不返，卒於江上。其卒不赴告，諱之也。

After the death of King Kang (康), his son Xia, namely King Zhao, succeeded

to the throne. The Way of the King was suffering from deficiency during his ruling. King Zhao did not turn back to the Court anymore, after his southward expedition. He ended up dying in the river. His death was not announced publicly as it was regarded as a taboo²³.

His criticism of King Zhao's «deficiency in the Way of King» was actively responded to by later historians. In *Diwang shiji* (帝王世紀, *Annals of the Emperors*), Huangfu Mi (皇甫謐, 215-282), one of very important scholars in the Three Kingdoms (三國, *sanguo*), agreed with Sima Qian, although he quoted some descriptions from *Lüshi chunqiu*:

昭王在位五十一年，以德衰，南徵，及濟於漢。船人惡之，乃膠船進王。王御船至中流，膠液解。王及祭公俱沒水而崩。其右辛游靡，長臂且多力，拯得王。

King Zhao reigned for 51 years. With his morality declining, he took part in the Southern expedition. He was ready to cross the Han River, but the boatmen were disgusted with the King, and conspired to overthrow him. They offered the King a boat with the bottom pasted with glue. When the boat started to move in the middle of the River, the glue at the bottom of the boat dissolved. Both the King and Duke Zhai fell off and drowned to death. His Right Guardian Xin Youmi (辛游靡, namely Xin Yumi), mighty with long arms, held up the corpse of the King to the shore²⁴.

Later on, when the Tang (唐) Dynasty historian Zhang Shoujie (張守節, ?) annotated Sima Qian's *Shiji*, he directly quoted Huangfu Mi's account, or Sima Qian's point of view in his *Shiji zhengyi* (史記正義, *Correction to the History*), notwithstanding the deletion of the sentence «King Zhao [of Zhou] reigned for 51 years»²⁵.

From *Shiji*, to *Diwang shiji*, and then to *Shiji zhengyi*, we can find that the relationship between King Zhao of Zhou's Southern expedition and the decline of his morality was clarified. On top of that, many details of King Zhao's death were added. Such are the examples of these details: he reigned for 51 years; the location of his death was the Han River (which corresponds with what the Chu messenger said in *Zuozhuan*, «We will take the Han River as the moat of our State»²⁶); and the specific reason for the death was his falling into the water. Possibly by referring to the breaking of the bridge (梁敗, *liangbai*) in *Lüshi chunqiu* and «the death on the river» in *Shiji*, Huangfu Mi supplemented in the *Diwang shiji* the account of King Zhao's falling into the water, and attributed the disgust of the riverside people against King Zhao as well as his death to the his incompetence and immorality. As a consequence, the image of King Zhao

changed from a visionary ruler who conquered everywhere in the Western Zhou Dynasty to an immoral and self-indulgent ruler. However, as we can observe from Du Halde's description, this image, or this part of King Zhao of Zhou's life account, still did not reflect all Du Halde's account by this time. The missing part, which is the birth of Buddha during King Zhao's reign, did not appear until the Sui (隋) and Tang Dynasties.

In fact, the relationship between King Zhao of Zhou and Buddha had been mentioned as early as the chaotic Southern and Northern Dynasties (420-589). Tan Wuzui (譚無最), the monk of the Northern Wei (魏) Dynasty (386-534), once referred to this part of history amid debates during the Zhengguang (正光) years from 520 to 524. He referred to King Zhao in a book called *Zhoushu yiji* (周書異記, *Anecdotes in the Zhou Book*) which was fabricated by the Buddhists at the time²⁷. He believed that Buddha was born in the 24th year of King Zhao. This argument probably originated from another argument: Buddha was born in the 10th year of King Zhuang (莊) of Zhou (687BC)²⁸. During the Northern and Southern Dynasties, as the Buddhists and Taoists debated the length of their history, they worked hard to push the start of their history backwards to make it longer. Later, with the efforts of the Buddhist monks such as Tan Wuzui, as of the Tang Dynasty, the argument that Buddha was born in the 24th year of King Zhao of Zhou was gradually accepted by people. In the 5th year of Emperor Gaozu (高祖) of Tang (622), the monk Fa Lin (法琳, ?-640), in defending Buddhism, once again mentioned King Zhao in his *Poxie lun* (破邪論, *Defenses for the Buddhism*). In this work, he also cited from the fabricated *Zhoushu yiji* to prove that Buddha was indeed born in the 24th year of King Zhao of Zhou. Fa Lin wrote,

周昭王即位二十四年，甲寅歲四月八日，江河泉池，忽然泛漲，井水皆溢出。宮殿人捨，山川大地，咸悉震動。其夜五色光氣，入貫太微星，遍於西方，盡作青紅色。周昭王問太史蘇由：是何祥也？由對曰：有大聖人，生於西方，故現此瑞。昭王曰：於天下何如？由曰：實時無他，一千年外，聲教被及此土。昭王即遣鑄石記之，埋在南郊天祠前。當此之時，佛初生王宮也。

On the 8th day of the 4th month in the 24th year of his reign, the water in all the rivers, wells, and ponds rose suddenly, and the water in the wells overflowed. The palace, the houses, mountains, rivers, the earth all quaked strongly. The five-colour light passed through the star of *taiwei* 太微 (namely *ziwei* 紫微, Pole Star), and illuminated the whole sky in the West with the blue red colour. King Zhao of Zhou asked the historian Su You (蘇由): «What does this augur?» Su You replied: «It is none other than the great Saint who is born in the West, and hence there are the auspicious symbols». King Zhao continued: «What will happen

to the world?» Su You answered: «At present there will be nothing to happen. One thousand years later, however, his prestige and name will be known here to this land». Then, King Zhao ordered to inscribe this incident on the stone, and buried that stone in front of Devakula (天祠, *tianci* [Heaven Temple]). At that time Buddha was born in the Palace²⁹.

Here, King Zhao's life account was recorded not because of his death during the Southern expedition, but because of another historical event, that is, the birth of Buddha. It is also because of this major historical event that the «mountain and river quakes» that occurred during the period of King Zhao (namely, the celestial phenomenon of «enormous weather changes and wild chicken and rabbits scared to run everywhere» recorded in *Zhushu jinian*) began to indicate a different story. They were no longer seen as the heaven's warning against King Zhao's egregious rule and his declining moral character, but as auspicious symbols for the birth of Buddha. Here King Zhao became a witness to this abnormal phenomenon. Su You (蘇由), King Zhao's official in charge of the astronomical calendar, predicted that Buddhism would definitely be introduced into China, thus providing the historical evidence for the legitimacy and authenticity of Buddhism's entry into China.

With the efforts of different historians, at this point the details about King Zhao of Zhou described by Du Halde have made an appearance in the historical books. With the passage of time, the image of King Zhao was made more sophisticated and vivid by the increments of details³⁰. But the plots of his story are still scattered so far, and have not been integrated in the form of a «complete» history as in Du Halde's description. Such a complete version of the story did not appear until the Song Dynasty.

Chinese Historians and the Account of King Zhao in Chinese Historiography

According to Isabelle Landry-Deron's research, the Chinese history introduced by Du Halde in the *Fastes de la Monarchie chinoise* may have taken reference from *Tongjian gangmu* (通鑑綱目, *The Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government*) by the Song scholar Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200) and *Lishi gangjian bu* (歷史綱鑑補, *Supplement to the Historical Outline and Mirror*) by Yuan Huang (袁黃, 1533-1606) of the Ming (明) Dynasty. She says,

Pour la partie intitulée *Fastes de la Monarchie chinoise* qui constitue la partie historique du tome un, Du Halde a probablement panache au moins deux

traductions, celle du *Tongjian gangmu*, dont il reste à établir quelle édition fut utilisée, et celle du *Lishi gangjian bu* de Yuan Huang. Cet ouvrage est cité dans la translittération partielle *Gangjian* au tome trois³¹.

Indeed, after their publication, these two Chinese historical books were widely circulated, and even became important reference books for some missionaries writing about the Chinese history. They also appeared in some European libraries³².

However, Isabelle Landry-Deron's view needs to be reexamined. Firstly, on Zhu Xi's *Tongjian gangmu*. This book has 59 volumes and took Zhu Xi 30-odd years to draft. It is a reworked version of *Zizhi tongjian* (資治通鑑, *Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government*), authored mainly by another important historian Sima Guang (司馬光, 1019-1086), spanning from the 23rd year of King Weilie (威烈) of Zhou (403 BC) to the 8th year of Shizong (世宗) of Hou Zhou (後周) (959BC)³³. In 1220, the book was printed for the first time in Quanzhou (泉州) [i.e. Wenling (溫陵) version]. With the book, Zhu Xi created and pioneered a new genre in historiography which was presented in outlines, as he said in the *Preface*,

歲周於上而天道明矣，統正於下而人道定矣。大綱概舉，而鑒戒昭矣；眾目畢張，而幾微著矣。

The Year moves around the Up while the Way of Heaven will become clear, and the Order is regulated according to the Down while the Way of the Human will be settled down. When the general outlines are summarized, the warnings will be clear. When the narratives are recorded, even all the subtle things will be revealed³⁴.

Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* and Zhu Xi's *Tongjian gangmu* are greatly influential, becoming important references for later generations to compile history books in *Gangjian* (綱鑑, *outline and mirror*) genres³⁵. However, Du Halde's *Fastes de la Monarchie chinoise* began with Fu Xi in ancient times and ended with the Emperor Yongzheng (雍正) of the Qing (清) Dynasty. Therefore, Zhu Xi's *Tongjian gangmu*, no matter which version it is, only partially overlaps with Du Halde's *Fastes de la Monarchie chinoise*. And it is impossible for the history of King Zhao of Zhou to appear in Zhu Xi's *Tongjian gangmu*.

Another historian mentioned by Isabelle Landry-Deron, Yuan Huang (courtesy name: Xuehai 學海, and then changed into Liaofan 了凡, meaning «to grasp his destiny in his own hands») was born in a family with generations of scholars in Jiashan (嘉善), Zhejiang (浙江) Province. Yuan Huang wrote prolifically, and had such works as *Liaofan sixun* (了凡四訓, *Four Lessons by Liaofan*), *Qunshu beikao* (群書備考,

Bibliographies for the Reference), *Lifa xinshu* (曆法新書, *New Books for the Calendar*), *Shoupi gangjian* (手批綱鑑, *Manual Annotations on the Outline and Mirror*) etc. The *Lishi gangjian bu* is a historical work with a total of 39 volumes, spanning from the time of Pangu (盤古) who in Chinese mythology created heaven and earth to the 27th year of the Emperor Shun (順) of the Yuan (元) Dynasty (1340)³⁶. According to the version from Waseda University Library in Japan, the book was completed in 1606, and published in 1610 by the publisher Shuangfengtang (雙峰堂) in Tanyang (潭陽)³⁷. Later, Wang Shizhen (王世貞, 1526-1590) from Langya (琅琊, now Taicang[太倉]) in Jiangsu (江蘇) collected various books and compiled them into one book called *Gangjian huizuan* (綱鑑會纂, *Compilation of the Outline and Mirror*). Then in Qing Dynasty, Yuan and Wang's books were combined and published as one book entitled *Yuan Wang Gangjian hebian* (袁王綱鑑合編, *Combined Edition of the Outline and Mirror by Yuan and Wang*). Therefore, both in *Lishi gangjian bu* and *Gangjian hebian*, the records about King Zhao are basically the same. The original text is as follows:

昭王（名瑕，康王子，[...]）【紀】己丑元年，周道漸衰，月有光五色，貫紫微（紫微，星名。）井水溢，王巡狩，將反濟漢，[...]。漢濱人以膠膠船，[...]。王至中流，膠液，王及祭公皆溺死，[...]。【紀】十有四年，魯侯弟濫，弑其君幽公而自立（按：弑君爭國之禍，實自此始，而昭王不能討失政甚矣。朱子亦謂周竊夷凌自昭王始有以也夫）。【紀】二十六年，王崩。在位五十一年，子滿立。

King Zhao's name is Xia, and the son of King Kang, [...]. [Recording] In the year of *jichou* (己丑), alias the 1st year of his reign, the Way of Zhou Dynasty was suffering from deficiency, and the moon light had five colours, passing through the *ziwei* (of Pole Star), and the water in the well overflowed. The King, after his Southern inspection, was going to cross the Han River to go back [...]. The people living by the river side assembled the boats with glue, [...]. When the boat arrived in the middle of the River, the glue in the bottom of the boat dissolved. Both the King and Duke Zhai fell off and drowned to death [...] [Recording] In the 14th year of King Zhao, the younger brother of Duke You, Fei, killed the Duke You, and made himself King of Lu (Editor's comment: It is the beginning of the history of the regicide for taking up the State. Meanwhile, King Zhao failed to send a punitive expedition against the bad man. Master Zhu Xi also confirmed that the declining of Zhou probably started from King Zhao). [Recording] In the 26th year of the *jiazi* (甲子) cycle, King Zhao died after 51 years of reign. His son Man succeeded him³⁸.

However, if we carefully compare Yuan Huang's and Du Halde's descriptions of King Zhao, we will find that there are very few similarities

between them. One is King Zhao's conquering activities, although there are mistranslations and misunderstandings, i.e. Du Halde translated «inspection» (which semantically put more emphasis on the King's expedition activities) as «hunting» (or «chasse»). The other is the time of King Zhao's reign. Both believed that King Zhao was in power for 51 years. However, their attitudes towards the birth of Buddha were vastly different. Neither Yuan nor Wang mentioned it in their books. In this sense, Du Halde's account of King Zhao may be associated with Yuan Huang's *Lishi gangjian bu* to some extent, but their descriptions do not correspond exactly. Du Halde should have also referred to other documents in describing King Zhao, especially when it comes to Buddhism.

In fact, as early as the Southern Song Dynasty, some historians integrated exotic events such as the birth of Buddha into the history of King Zhao of Zhou, and Jin Lüxiang was one of them. Jin Lüxiang (金履祥, 1232-1303) was from Lanxi (蘭溪), Zhejiang Province. He was a Neo-Confucianist in the late Southern Song Dynasty, and authored *Shangshu biao* (尚書表注, *Annotation to the Book History*), *Lunyu Mengzi jizhu kaozheng* (論語孟子集註考證, *Annotation Collections of the Analects and the Mencius*), *Daxue zhangju shuyi* (大學章句疏義, *Annotations and Commentaries of the Great Learning*), etc. *Zizhi tongjian qianbian* (資治通鑑前編, *Pre-compilation of the Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid in Governance*) is his main historical work, with a total of 18 volumes. It was completed in 1264 and then published in 1328. The book traces the history from Emperors Yao and Shun (舜) to the 23rd year of King Weilie of Zhou (403 BC). It is said to be the first chronicle of which the events recorded precede those in Sima Guang's *Zizhi Tongjian*³⁹. The account of King Zhao appears in the *juan* (卷, volume) 9 of this book. Jin Lüxiang wrote,

己丑，周昭王元年。二年，子滿生[...]. 十有四年，魯侯弟潰弑其君幽公而自立（[...]履祥按：弑君爭國之禍自是始，而昭王不能討失政甚矣。史稱：昭王之時，王道微缺。朱子亦謂：周綱陵夷自昭王始。有以也夫。）

庚戌二十有二年，釋氏生。（《周書記異》曰：周昭王二十有二年，釋氏生⁴⁰）。甲子三十有六年，五十有一年，王崩於漢，子滿踐位。（《史記》曰：[...];《外紀》曰：昭王南巡返濟漢，漢濱之人以膠膠船。王至中流，膠液船解，王及祭公溺焉。《大紀》曰：王在位久，不能強於政治，風化稍衰。有光五色貫紫微，井水溢。是歲，王徵荊蠻，軍旋，涉漢，梁敗，王及祭公隕於漢。王右辛餘靡振王北濟。反，振祭公。王因是發疾，崩。[...])

Jichou (己丑) year of the sixty-year cycle was the first year of the reign of King Zhao of Zhou. In the following year, his son Man was born [...]. In the 14th year of his reign, the younger brother of Duke You, Fei (費), killed the Duke, and made himself King of Lu ([...]). Author's comment: It marked the first ever incident of regicide in history. However, King Zhao failed to carry out a punitive expedition against the assassinator. The *History* recorded that morality declined during the reign of King Zhao. Master Zhu Xi also confirmed that the decline of Zhou probably started from King Zhao.)-

In *gengxu* (庚戌) year of the sixty-year cycle, that is, the 22nd year of his reign, Buddha was born. (The *Zhoushu jiyi* records: Buddha was born in the 22nd year of the reign of King Zhao). In *jiazi* year of the sixty-year cycle, that is the 36th year of this cycle, and the 51st year of the reign of King Zhao, he died in the Han River. His son Man succeeded him. (The *History* records:[...]; In the *Waiji*, the author said: «The King, after his Southern inspection, was going to cross the Han River to go back. The people living by the river side assembled the boat with glue, not with nails, for the glue would dissolve very easily in the water. When the boat arrived in the middle of the River, the glue at the bottom dissolved. Both the King and Duke Zhai fell into the water and drowned to death». In the *Daji*, the author said: «King Zhao of Zhou ruled very long, and was not good at governance. The public morals declined. There was a five-colour light passing through the *ziwei* (Pole Star), and the water in the wells overflowed. The King took part in person in the southward expedition against Chu. He was going to turn back after the victory and cross the Han River. The bridge broke, and both the King and Duke Zhai fell into the water. His guardian at the right Xin Yumi was tall and mighty, holding up the King, swam to the Northern shore of the River. Again, he turned to hold up Duke Zhai to the shore in the North. The King fell ill because of the accident and died soon» [...])⁴¹.

According to the author of *Jin Tongjian qianbian biao* (進«通鑑前編»表, *The Memorial to the presentation of Zizhi tongjian qianbian*), in compiling *Zizhi tongjian qianbian*, Jin Lüxiang «had referred to more than a thousand pieces of works and compiled them in a book with two volumes»⁴². However, when we carefully examine the narrative of King Zhao by Jin Lüxiang, what he quoted were no more than historical books like *Shiji* and *Zhoushu yiji*, and another two books he mentioned in the notes: *Daji* and *Waiji*.

The historical work *Daji* refers to *Huangwang daji* (皇王大紀, *The Great Recording of Emperors and Kings*), authored by Hu Hong (胡宏, 1102-1161), a representative of Neo-Confucianism in the Southern Song Dynasty. It has 28 volumes and was completed in 1141. The account of King Zhao was written in the 28th volume⁴³. The *Waiji* refers to *Zizhi tongjian waiji* (資治通鑑外紀, *Additional Recordings to the Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid in Governance*), authored

by the Northern Song historian Liu Shu (劉恕, 1032-1078). The account of King Zhao was written in the 3rd volume of this book⁴⁴.

Comparing the narratives of King Zhao by Yuan Huang and Jin Lüxiang, one may find that the main difference is in the birth of Buddha. In Jin Lüxiang's *Zizhi tongjian qianbian*, the birth of Buddha was incorporated into the account of King Zhao's life, but Yuan Huang did not mention it. That being said, in describing this matter, despite quoting from *Zhoushu yiji*⁴⁵, Jin Lüxiang only recorded the birth of Buddha in the 22nd year of King Zhao, without touching upon the abnormal weather phenomenon at the time of the Buddha's birth and the relationship between King Zhao and Buddha, which is different from what was described in *Zhoushu yiji*. Moreover, the 24th year of King Zhao in *Zhoushu yiji* was changed by Jin Lüxiang to the 22nd year, two years earlier. It is unknown what would be the intention for Jin Lüxiang to add this exotic event of the Buddha's birth to this work and what would be the basis for the changes made regarding the date of the Buddha's birth. Perhaps he just recorded this part of history out of the responsibility of a historian to make up for what was skipped by other historians. Nonetheless, the fact that Jin Lüxiang put the birth of Buddha into the book, *a chronicle*, as a significant event in King Zhao's time aroused the dissatisfaction of some scholars in later times. The editors of the *Sikuquanshu tiyao* (四庫全書提要, *Summary of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*) criticized,

至於引《尚書記異》於周昭王二十二年書釋氏生，則其徵引群籍，去取失當，亦未必遽在恕書上也。然援據頗博，其審定群說，亦多與經訓相發明。在講學諸家中猶可謂究心，史籍不為游談者矣。

[Jin Lüxiang] quoted *Shangshu jiyi* (尚書記異) when writing about the birth of Buddha which was in the 22nd year of King Zhao of Zhou. To compose his work, Jin Lüxiang made references to a great number of books but failed to make selections properly. Hence his work would not be superior over that of Liu Shu immediately. However, he quoted widely among various books, examined and approved different opinions, and confirmed the explanations from the Classics. It is right to claim that the author was among other scholars to take a deep dive in the mind. The historical book should not be taken as a book of anecdotes⁴⁶.

Although the scholars and officials of the *Sikuquanshu tiyao* praised the merits of Jin's work, on recording the birth of Buddha, they believed that Jin Lüxiang failed to reach the standard of writing good history because of making selections in his book inappropriately. This criticism is not baseless. Judging from the fact that neither Hu Hong's *Daji* nor Liu Shu's *Waiji* recorded the birth of Buddha, the historians of the Song Dynasty

did not generally accept writing King Zhao's story in association with the birth of Buddha⁴⁷. In later times, we can also see that in some historical books compiled with reference to Jin Lüxiang's *Zizhi tongjian qianbian*, the authors, whether intentionally or unintentionally, skipped the relationship between King Zhao and the birth of Buddha when writing about the former. Take the Ming Dynasty historian Nan Xuan (南軒, 1518-1602) for example. He is from Weinan (渭南), Shaanxi (陝西) Province, and authored *Tongjian gangmu qianbian* (通鑑綱目前編, *Pre-compilation to the Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror*). He wrote about the ancient times based on Jin Lüxiang's work, but he did not mention the birth of Buddha⁴⁸.

Nonetheless, from the perspective of historiography, the historical significance of Jin Lüxiang weaving the historical event of the Buddha's birth into the history of King Zhao is even more noteworthy. As a chronicle of general history of China, although China is the subject of this work, Jin Lüxiang's *Zizhi tongjian qianbian* expanded the range and included history that did not belong to China, such as the birth of Buddha, thus showing a new world history tendency, or reflecting a general trend in society to integrate Buddhism with Confucianism at that time⁴⁹. Not only that, the negative image of King Zhao, which had existed since the end of the Warring States Period, along with the birth of Buddha added by Jin Lüxiang, was accepted by some Chinese historians in later generations as a whole segment in history. For example, the Ming scholar Xue Yingqi (薛應旂, 1500-1574) recorded the assassination of King Lu by his younger brother, Duke Lu of Wei, and the birth of Buddha in the 22nd year of King Zhao, as events that happened during the life of King Zhao of Zhou⁵⁰. In the same vein, another Ming Dynasty scholar Zhong Xing (鍾惺, 1574-1624), when discussing the history of King Zhao, also added the birth of Buddha (but he believed that Buddha was born in the 26th year of King Zhao), despite the fact that some people question this view on the grounds that Buddha belongs to Western history (referring to India) and should not be mentioned here⁵¹. At this point, it can be seen that Buddha's birth in the times of King Zhao has been kept as an integral part of Chinese history and incorporated in orthodox historical writings⁵².

So far, from the bronze inscriptions in the Zhou Dynasty, to the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Period, the Han Dynasties, the Sui, the Tang, and the Song Dynasties, and then to the Ming Dynasty, the image of King Zhao of Zhou has undergone a significant transformation as his stories were passed down, from a visionary conqueror to an incompetent and self-indulgent ruler⁵³. He also became a king

whose morality declined, judged by the Confucian political ethics. The association with the Buddha's birth also means the culmination of a more complete historical image of King Zhao. In shaping this historical image of King Zhao, Jin Lüxiang is undoubtedly a key figure. He left behind a work for later generations to refer to, although it is unknown whether all the authors of later generations have read his work. In this regard, we can draw an indefinite, yet logical conclusion: when Du Halde wrote the history of King Zhao of Zhou and the birth of Buddha, the book on which he took as a basis was more likely to be Jin Lüxiang's *Zizhi tongjian qianbian* or similar versions, rather than Yuan Huang's *Lishi gangjian bu*⁵⁴.

The Construction of King Zhao's Image in Western Historiography

As indicated earlier, this paper does not intend to trace the textual source of King Zhao of Zhou's history written by Du Halde, but aims to examine the *authenticity* of its textual sources from the perspective of Chinese historiography. We know that since the Song Dynasty, due to the great influence of *Zizhi tongjian* and *Tongjian gangmu*, the Ming and Qing Dynasties witnessed the emergence of a large number of so-called «gangjian» (綱鑑, outline and mirror)-style historical books. They imitated the structure of the «gangmu» (綱目, outline) and «tongjian» (通鑑, mirror) works of the Song Dynasty, and removed the redundancy in the contents. They became not only important popular readings for scholars taking the imperial examinations and lower-class people at the time, but also reference books for some Western missionaries to study and discuss Chinese history⁵⁵. In the context of Chinese historiography, the works by Jin Lüxiang and later generations made it possible for Western missionaries including Du Halde to write about Chinese history, in the course of the cultural exchanges between China and West. Those Chinese texts, which were spread over Europe, not only became a source of knowledge to the Europeans to understand Chinese history, but also a source of knowledge to criticize it, providing them with first-hand evidence to go deep into the debates over the origin of Chinese history⁵⁶. Just as Du Halde shows in his «Avertissement», he was involved in these debates. But as a supporter of Jesuit missions in China as well as a Jesuit that intended to shape a good China image, Du Halde was more inclined to incorporate Chinese history into the world history defined by the Bible, specifically, the *Septuagint*, so as to justify the entrance of Christianity in China from a historiographical point of view⁵⁷. Therefore, he stressed

the importance of the genuineness and continuity of the ancient Chinese history⁵⁸. Such kind of the genuineness was not only achieved with his knowledge of Sima Guang and Zhu Xi as well as their historical works which he referred to in his *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*⁵⁹, but also with those so-called *gangmu* texts, translated and sent by the missionaries in China, such as the text he quoted in speaking of the legitimacy of Yao's succession to the throne⁶⁰.

However, we are unable to find out the relationship between the writing by Du Halde on Chinese history and the Chinese texts, or identify so certainly the Chinese texts he used, because of the complexity therein: Du Halde had never been to China and did not speak Chinese. His knowledge of Chinese history came from various letters and reports sent to Europe by Chinese missionaries, and the China-related materials when he acted as the editor (1711-1743) of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des mission étrangères*. For example, Father Du Halde once read a letter sent by the French missionary Father Dominique Parrenin (1663-1741, Chinese name: Ba Duoming, 巴多明) on August 12, 1730 from Beijing (北京) to Jean Jacques Dortous de Mairan (1678-1771), the member of Académie Royal des Sciences in Paris. The main content of this letter later became a historical work entitled *Version littérale du commencement de l'histoire chinoise depuis Fou-hy jusques à Yao*⁶¹. According to Dominique Parrenin, in order to complete this manuscript, he referred to the Latin *nams* used by the Italian Jesuit Father Martino Martini (1614-1661, Chinese name: Wei Kuangguo, 衛匡國), and transcribed them into French based on their pronunciation⁶². More importantly, Dominique Parrenin admitted that his work was translated from *Tse tchi ton kien kam mou tsien pien*, i.e. *Zizhi tongjian gangmu qianbian*. Its author is the abovementioned Nan Xuan, but Father Parrenin mistakenly thought Sse ma Kouan, i.e. Sima Guang, was the author⁶³. Besides, he also mentioned Kim Lu Siam, i.e. Jin Lüxiang, his *Tsien pien*, i.e. *Qianbian*, and a *Su pien*, i.e. *Xubian* (續編, *The Sequel*)⁶⁴. Since the events discussed in this manuscript ended with Emperor Yao, and since he stopped sending his reports on China to the readers including Du Halde in Europe, he was unable to supply Du Halde with more information about the history of King Zhao⁶⁵. Therefore, Du Halde must have referred to other historical works to complete his narrative of King Zhao.

From the historiographical point of view, the account of King Zhao in the West should have appeared for the first time in the works of the Portuguese Jesuit Father Antonio de Gouvea (1592-1677, Chinese name: He Dahua, 何大化), who worked as a missionary in China for 47 years,

and was buried in Fuzhou (福州), Fujian (福建) Province. He engaged in the creation of ancient Chinese chronicles earlier than Martin Martini, leaving two works, unpublished, about the history of China, namely *Asia extrema* completed in 1644 and *Monarchia da China dividida por seidades* completed on January 20, 1654⁶⁶. Within a Biblical framework of the universal history, Antonio de Gouvea introduced China's dynasties and emperors from the time of Fu Xi (*Foc Hy* by Father de Gouvea), the so-called first emperor of China 150 years after the Deluge, to the tartaric monarchy⁶⁷. Naturally, the story of King Zhao, as part of the history of ancient China, was recorded by Father Antonio de Gouvea, but at the same time such narratives as «The younger brother of Duke You, Fei, killed the Duke, and made himself Duke of Lu» and the birth of Buddha were excluded⁶⁸. Antonio de Gouvea's narrative of Chinese history represented his own observation of the Chinese history and was, to a certain degree, an ongoing effort by the Western missionaries to compile the Chinese history after Martín de Rada (1533-1578), Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza (1545-1618) from Spain, and João Rodriguez (1561 or 1562-1633 or 1634)⁶⁹ and Álvaro de Semedo (1585 or 1586-1658) from Portugal. His works, at least the *Monarchia da China dividida por seidades* had aroused attention outside the Society of Jesus and was cited by French Dominican and theologian Noël Alexandre (1639-1724), and Spanish Franciscan Antonio Caballero de Santa Maria (1602-1669, Chinese name: Li Andang, 利安當)⁷⁰, both of whom opposed Chinese rites that the Chinese Christians practiced. The familiar topic of Chinese rites controversy witnessed the Chinese history becoming an important issue with the debates around Chinese rites intensifying. As a Jesuit, Father Antonio de Gouvea seemed to have been involved in these debates. According to another Spanish Dominican Domingo Fernández Navarrete (1610-1689), he stood on the same front with such Jesuits as Niccolò Longobardi (1565-1654, Chinese name: Long Huamin, 龍華民) and Sebatino de Ursis (1575-1620, Chinese name: Xiong Sanba, 熊三拔) who thought that the knowledge of true God was absent in the origin of Chinese history, a potentially dangerous discovery that pointed to the atheism about the history of China⁷¹. It is unclear how the circulation of his works succeeded, after they were written down. It is sure, however, that his knowledge about the history of China was not so much diffused among the Jesuits⁷². Neither did the two historical works by Father Antonio de Gouvea have an impact upon them. Martino Martini, a Jesuit from Trento, a city in Northeastern Italy, when introducing his own Chinese chronology, namely, *Sinicae Historiae decas prima res*, to the European readers, said that «the history

of the extreme Asia, or the history of the great Chinese Empire was not known until now»⁷³. Antonio de Gouvea's work was ignored, and Father Du Halde did not include the name of Father Antonio de Gouvea into his list of the Jesuit Fathers who contributed to his work.

Very soon, Father Du Halde turned to other Jesuits, for example, Martino Martini and Philippe Couplet for help to acquire the knowledge of Chinese history. Each of these two Jesuits compiled their own historical work about China. Father Du Halde referred to them and their names appeared in the notes of his work. Meanwhile, his descriptions of King Zhao had some connections with theirs⁷⁴.

Philippe Couplet (1623-1693, Chinese name: Bo Yingli, 柏應理) was a Jesuit from Belgium. He arrived in China in 1656 and returned to Europe in 1681 to propagate Jesuit missions in China. He never returned to China after that. The *Tabula Chronologica monarchiae Sinicae Ante Christum juxta Cyclos annorum 60* edited by him was first published in Paris in 1686. Regarding the description of Chao vam, i.e. King Zhao, Philippe Couplet wrote,

Cyclus XXVIII. Annus ante Christum 1077.

Alta pax & concordia tanta, ut emissi è carceribus ad agros colendos ex pacto redeant omnes.

Anno 25. Cam vam moritur, cui an. 26 succedit Chao vam filius, venationi immodicè deditus, hinc regiminis neglectus.

Anno 41. Imperatoris autem 16 nascitur in India ex Regulo Cim fan & Matre Mo ye auctor Sectae Bonzyorum & transmigrationis Pythagoricae, Foe dictus. Haec post annos 1060, anno post Christum 65 in Sinam regia auctoritate primum introducetur. Lustrat imperium Imperator.

Cyclus XXIX. Annus ante Christum 1017

Anno 16, rustici redeuntem à venatu Imperatorem navi malé agglutinata dolosè excipiunt, quà in medio alvei dissoluta Rex una cum suis mersus perit⁷⁵.

Martin Martini arrived in China in 1643, and engaged in the missionary work with Hangzhou (杭州), a Southern metropolis, as the center. In 1651, in order to defend the *accommodatio* policy adopted by the Jesuit missionaries in China, he left for Europe. In 1658, he returned to Hangzhou. Three years later, in 1661, he died of illness and was buried in Hangzhou Dafangjing (大方井) Jesuit Cemetery. He wrote a historical book entitled *Sinicae Historiae decas prima res*, which was completed during his mission in Europe. In 1658, the book was published in Munich for the first time. He talked about Emperor Chaus, i.e. King Zhao, in the 4th volume of this book:

Quartus Imperator Chaus imperavit annis LI.

Quantum Kangus hujus pater rei agrariae profuit; tantum hic nimia venatione fere obsuit. Quippe longa pacis segnitie, majoresque imitandi studio torpens, neglecta republica totum se venatui dedit. Unde in illum odium offensioque populi, & praecipue rusticorum, non modo injurias sibi à Praefecto, sed suis agris etiam a feris aut ab ipso potius illatas impune dilabi quiritantium. Demum eo adducta res est, ut ab rusticis, ira in rabiem versa, necaretur. Parricidii, praequam à talibus ingenijs expectares, hujusmodi erat molitio. Usu non raro venerat, ut è venatione redeunti flumen HUN provinciam XENSI alluens, prope HANCHUNG urbem esset trajiciendum. Rustici, quibus naves ad transitum imperabantur, repetitae toties operae fastidio concepto, regiam navim tali artificio conglutinant, ut cum in alvei medium venisset, facile atque ad eorum arbitrium solveretur. Itaque hac navi exceptum Imperatorem, ubi provexerunt ad destinatum periculum, repente tabulas subiesto nexu cohaerentes reglutinant, quibus aquarum vi ac mole disjectis, ille cum purpuratis aliquot fluctibus haustus interijt.

Hunc exitum portenta quaedam minari visa sunt. Nam & Lunae lux longe solito clarior apparuit, oblongum praeterea radium usque ad leone (locum Lunae non notat author) quotientis in Cometae modum; & in palatio aqua ex puteo super os abundavit cum omnium admiratione. Anno hujus Imperatoris quarto decimo Fius Lu Reguli frater Yeum dynastam bello persecutus, acie victum contra jus fasque interfecit. Armorum quippe causa non alia Fio, quam illius dynastiae ad ditionem suam adjiciendae nefaria cupido erat. His malis Imperator per socordiam non tantum non obviam ivit, reprimendo Fio, quod erat facillimum; sed si arma poneret, praeteritorum oblivionem, ut affini spondet, ereptaeque dynastiae injuriam ratam habet.

Anno inde vigesimo septimo (erat is ante Christum natum millesimus vigesimus sextus natum esse XACAM tradunt, Indiae Philosophum, idolorum & transmigrantonis ad Sinas authorem: de cujus placitis tum plura memorabo, cum res anni post Christum natum sexagesimi quinti venient explicandae. Hujus enim anni mense decimo penetravit ad Sinas, ut initio historiae jam ex parte diximus⁷⁶.

Comparing the descriptions of King Zhao by the three of them (Du Halde, Martino Martini, and Philippe Couplet), we can find that they all translated King Zhao's «nanzheng» (南征, Southern expedition) in the Chinese texts as «hunting» («venation»/ «venatuum») and attributed the cause of his drowning to his declining morality. The story of the Buddha's birth also appeared in their texts. But beyond these similarities, some differences are equally obvious. For example, neither Du Halde nor Philippe Couplet mentioned the incident «The younger brother of Duke You, Fei, killed the Duke, and made himself King of Lu» in their works. Besides, they both set the time of the Buddha's birth in the 16th year of King Zhao's reign, which is not common in Chinese Buddhist texts⁷⁷. Lastly, the two were consistent on another matter of Taoism, that is, the name

of Laozi (老子, Lao Kium), his place of birth (Hou quang / Hu quam), and his age (84 years)⁷⁸. Apparently, when it comes to the history of King Zhao, Du Halde and Philippe Couplet's descriptions were more similar, or in other words, Du Halde might be more influenced by the latter.

But Du Halde did not take everything in Philippe Couplet's as true. For example, regarding the *jiazi* (namely sixty-year) cycle of King Zhao, Du Halde believed that it was between the 22nd and 23rd cycles, not the 28th and 29th cycles as deemed by Philippe Couplet. In addition, in explaining the Taoist teachings, Du Halde's explanation was more detailed, and therefore closer to Martin Martini's narrative⁷⁹. The differences and similarities between these texts show that Du Halde did not rely on only one or a few sources when editing his own Chinese history. He is considered by Virgil Pinot as an *accapareur* (hoarder) of these Chinese materials sent to Europe, and he constantly selected and synthesized the information for his own purpose⁸⁰. In this regard, this paper disagrees with the publisher's evaluation on Du Halde's work mentioned at the beginning, which is, «entirely accurate».

Conclusion

The above is a brief discussion on the changes of the story of «King Zhou of Zhao failing to return from his Southern expedition» in China, and the history of the story entering into the Western intellectual world. In the dissemination of this knowledge from China to the West, we can find that Antonio de Gouvea, Martino Martini, Philippe Couplet who once lived in China, and Jean Baptiste du Halde who never went to China, have a relatively consistent description of the Chinese history. Even if they mistranslated «inspection» as «hunting» (or «chasse»), this error still continued in the later missionary historical works⁸¹. At the same time, some of them also included in their works some historical events that should not belong to the narrative about King Zhao of Zhou, such as the birth of Buddha. But we should not blame them for the «mix-up», because the so-called «mix-up» originated from the historical works composed by the Chinese historians. For these missionaries, their focus of these historical texts coming from China was not on how they were shaped in process, but on the historical events per se recorded in texts. Thus, when we take a close look at the relationship between King Zhao of Zhou and the birth of Buddha as recorded by the Western missionaries, we should know that this segment of history was produced merely based on how they were originally recorded in the Chinese texts, at least in the case we are discussing now.

In the context of the cultural exchanges between China and the West during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, these historical books became the missionaries' references to acquire knowledge related to China and its history. Therefore, from the Chinese historical works written by the Chinese to those written by the Europeans, in the field of historiography, we can see the subtle emergence of a way to write the Chinese history against the backdrop of globalized knowledge exchanges in the 17th and 18th centuries. This was achieved by the initiatives of the Western missionaries. For their own purposes, they incorporated the Chinese history into the historical tradition of Catholicism. This historical tradition means the composition of Chinese history is based on the Biblical chronology. And this kind of Chinese history they constructed will soon be challenged due to the challenges that the Biblical chronology encountered in Europe.

List of Chinese names and books

B

Bao Xi (包犧, namely Fu Xi)
Beijing (北京)
Biannian tongzai (編年通載, *Annals for the General History*)

C

Chang (長), Duke
Chao Hao (i.e. Shao Hao, 少昊)
Cheng (成), King of Zhou (周) Dynasty
Chin Nong (i.e. Shen Nong, 神農)
Chu (楚)
Chujing (楚荊, referring to Chu)

D

Dafangjing (大方井)
Dai Zhen (戴震, 1724-1777)
Daji (大紀, *Great Recordings*)
Daxue zhangju shuyi (大學章句疏義, *Annotations and Commentaries of the Great Learning*)
Dan (旦), Duke of Zhou (周) Dynasty
Diwang shiji (帝王世紀, *Annals of the Emperors*)

F

Fa Lin (法琳, ? -640)
Fan Qin (范欽, 1506-1585)
Fei (費), younger brother of Duke You
Fo Hi (i.e. Fu Xi, 伏羲)
Fujian (福建) Province
Fuzhou (福州)

G

Gangjian (綱鑑, outline and mirror)
Gangjian huizuan (綱鑑會纂, *Compilation of the Outline and Mirror*)
«gangmu» (綱目, outline)
Gaozu (高祖), Emperor of Tang (唐) Dynasty
gengzi (庚子)
Gu Jiegang (Ku Chieh-kang, 顧頤剛, 1893-1980)
Guan Zhong (管仲, c. 720-645BC)
Guoyu (國語, *Discourses of the States*)

H

Han (漢) River
Hangzhou (杭州)
Henan (河南)

Hoang Ti (i.e. Huang Di, 黃帝)
 Hou Zhou (後周)
 Hu Hong (胡宏, 1102-1161)
 Huan (桓), Duke of the State of Qi (齊)
Huangwang daji (皇王大紀, *The Great Recording of Emperors and Kings*)
 Hufang (虎方)
 Huangfu Mi (皇甫謐, 215-282)
 Hui (會)

J

Ji (汲)
jichou (己丑) year
Jigulu (稽古錄, *Recordings of Antiques*)
 Jiangsu (江蘇)
 Jiashan (嘉善)
jiauwu (甲午) year
jiayin (甲寅) year
Jixia ji (季夏紀, *Records of Summer's Last Month*)
jiazi (甲子) year
 Jin Lüxiang (金履祥, 1232-1303)
Jin Tongjian qianbian biao (進«通鑑前編»表, *The Memorial to the presentation of Zizhi tongjian qianbian*)
Waiji (外紀, *Additional Recordings*)
juan (卷, volume)

K

Kang (康), King of Zhou Dynasty
Kaoding zhushu (考定竹書, *The Edition of Bamboo Annals*)

L

Lanxi (蘭溪)
 Langya (琅琊, now Taicang[太倉])
 Lao Kium (i.e. Laozi, 老子)
liangbai (梁敗, breaking of the bridge)
Liaofan sixun (了凡四訓, *Four Lessons by Liaofan*)
 Liu Shu (劉恕, 1032-1078, courtesy name: Dao Yuan 道原)
Lifa xinshu (曆法新書, *New Books for the Calendar*)

Lishi gangjian bu (歷史綱鑑補, *Supplement to the Historical Outline and Mirror*)

Lu (魯)

Lunyu Mengzi jizhu kaozheng (論語孟子集註考證, *Annotation Collections of the Analects and the Mencius*)

Lüshi chungiu (呂氏春秋, *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*)

Lü Buwei (呂不韋, 292-235 BC)

Luzhougong shijia (魯周公世家, *Hereditary House Duke Zhou of the State of Lu*)

M

Ming (明) Dynasty
 Mu (穆), King of Zhou Dynasty
 Nan Xuan (南軒, 1518-1602)

N

nanzheng (南征, Southern expedition)
 Ningbo (寧波)

P

Pangu (盤古)
Poxie lun (破邪論, *Defenses for the Buddhism*)

Q

Qiyu (齊語, *Discourses of Qi*)
 Qin (秦) Dynasty
 Qing (清) Dynasty
 Qu Yuan (屈原, 340-278 BC)
 Quanzhou (泉州)
Qunshu beikao (群書備考, *Bibliographies for the Reference*)

S

Sanguo (三國, Three Kingdoms)
sanjian zhiluan (三監之亂, Rebellion of the Three Guards)
 Shaanxi 陝西 Province
 Shang (商) Dynasty
Shiji (史記, *History*)

Shiji zhengyi (史記正義, *Correction to the History*)

Shizong (世宗), King of Hou Zhou (後周)

Shun (順), Emperor of Yuan (元) Dynasty

Si (兕), a kind of rhinoceros

Sikuquanshu tiyao (四庫全書提要, *Summary of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*)

Sima Guang (司馬光, 1019-1086)

Sima Qian (司馬遷, c. 145-c. 86 BC)

Shangshu biao (尚書表注, *Annotation to the Book History*)

Shoupi gangjian (手批綱鑑, *Manual Annotations on the Outline and Mirror*)

Shuangfengtang (雙峰堂)

Shun (舜)

Song (宋) Dynasty

Su You (蘇由)

Sui (隋)

Sun Zhilu (孫之騷, ?-1744)

T

taiwei 太微 (namely *ziwei* 紫微, *Pole Star*)

Tan Wuzui (覃無最)

Tanyang (潭陽)

Tang (唐) Dynasty

Tchuen Hio (i.e. Zhuan Xu, 顓頊)

Tchi (i.e. Chi, 蚩)

Ti Co (i.e. Di Ku, 帝嚳)

tianci (天祠), Heaven Temple, Devakula

Tianli 天歷 era

Tianwen (天問, *Questions for the Heaven*)

Tianyi Ge (天一閣, Tianyi Library)

«tongjian» (通鑑, mirror)

Tongjian gangmu (通鑑綱目, *The Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government*)

Tongjian gangmu qianbian (通鑑綱目前編, *Pre-compilation to the Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror*)

W

Wang Shizhen (王世貞, 1526-1590)

Wei (魏), Duke of Lu

Weilie (威烈), King of Zhou Dynasty

Weinan (渭南)

Wenling (溫陵)

Wu Liwei (吳莉葦)

X

xidi (西狄, *tribe of west di*)

Xia (夏) Dynasty

Xiang (襄), King of Wei (魏)

xiangwei (象魏)

Xin (辛), County

Xin Youmi (辛游靡), namely Xin

Yumi

Xin Yumi (辛余靡)

Xubian (續編, *The Sequel*)

Xu Qian (許謙, 1269-1337)

Xue Yingqi (薛應旂, 1500-1575)

Xun (郇), County

Y

Yao (堯)

Yili (儀禮)

Yin (殷) Dynasty

Yongzheng (雍正), Emperor of the Qing (清) Dynasty

Yuan (元) Dynasty

Yuan Huang (袁黃, 1533-1606, courtesy name: Xuehai 學海, and then changed into Liaofan 了凡)

Yuan Wang Gangjian hebian (袁王綱鑑合編, *Combined Edition of the Outline and Mirror by Yuan and Wang*)

Yuanfeng (元豐) era

Z

Zhai (祭), Duke

Zai (宰), Marquis

Zizhi tongjian qianbian (資治通鑑前編, *Pre-compilation of the Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid in Governance*)

Zizhi tongjian waiji (資治通鑑外紀,

<i>Additional Recordings to the Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid in Governance</i>	Zhou (周) Dynasty
Zhao (昭), King of Zhou Dynasty	<i>Zhoubenji</i> (周本紀, <i>Annal of Zhou</i>)
Zhang Heng (章衡, 1025-1099)	Zhuang (莊), King of Zhou
Zhang Shoujie (張守節, ?)	<i>Zhushu jinian</i> (竹書紀年, <i>Bamboo Annals</i>)
Zhejiang (浙江) Province	Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200)
Zhengzhou (鄭州)	ziwei (紫微), Pole Star
Zhengjia (整甲), King of Yin Dynasty	<i>Zizhi tongjian</i> (資治通鑑, <i>Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government</i>)
Zhengguang (正光) years	<i>Zuozhuan</i> (左傳, <i>The Commentary of Zuo</i>)
Zhong Xing (鍾惺, 1574-1624)	
<i>Zhoushu yiji</i> (周書異記, <i>Anecdotes in the Zhou Book</i>)	

Notes

* I am grateful towards Prof. Elisabetta Corsi, my colleagues Dr. Zhang Mingming (張明明) and Dr. Xie Hui (謝輝), whose kind help made this paper possible. I also would like to thank my wife Tang Zhongli (唐中黎) for her valuable input, in particular the editing of the text in English version. I would like to thank the two anonymous referees whose comments and suggestions contributed to the improvement of this paper; I am solely responsible for any mistake that might still be present. This research is financed by the National Social Science Fund of China (Grant No.: 17BZJ029).

1. Quoted from I. Landry-Deron, *La Preuve par la Chine, La «Description» de J.-B. du Halde, jésuite, 1735*, Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris 2002, p. 968.

2. Cf. Ivi, p. 968. For the role Father Contancin played in editing the *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, cf. Ivi, pp. 926-31.

3. «Praface», in J.-B. du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (now *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*), P.G. Lemerrier, Paris 1735, vol. I, p. LI.

4. As far as different contents of the four volumes are concerned, see “Le prospectus de vente de 1733”, in Landry-Deron, *La Preuve par la Chine*, cit., pp. 968-75.

5. Voltaire, *Le siècle de Louis XIV*, Belin frères, Paris 1909, p. 963.

6. For the influence of the *Description de l'Empire de la Chine* concerns, we can refer to the excellent research by Landry-Deron, *La Preuve par la Chine*, cit., pp. 97-47, 977-82.

7. Besides Fo Hi, the other six Emperors in order, according to Du Halde, are Chin Nong (i.e. Shen Nong, 神農), Hoang Ti (i.e. Huang Di, 黃帝), Chao Hao (i.e. Shao Hao, 少昊), Tchien Hio (i.e. Zhuan Xu, 顓頊), Ti Co (i.e. Di Ku, 帝嚳) and Tchi (i.e. Chi, 蚩), cf. du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, cit., vol. I, pp. 970, 971-83.

8. «Avertissement», in du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, cit., vol. I, pp. 964, 984.

9. Cf. du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, cit., vol. III, pp. 99-29. But here Father Du Halde failed to mention King Zhao of Zhou.

10. du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, cit., vol. I, p. 932.

11. Pinot thought the spreading of Buddhism in China could be attributed to the royal order, cf. V. Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France (1640-1740)*, Paris 1932, p. 958.

12. Cf. Landry-Deron, *La Preuve par la Chine*, cit., p. 983.
13. In terms of the wars waged southward by King Zhao of Zhou depicted in the bronze inscriptions, cf. Hsu Cho-yun (許倬雲), *Xizhou shi* (西周史, *History of Western Zhou*), Shenghuo-Dushu-Xinzhi sanlian shudian, Beijing 2018², pp. 997-200; Yang Kuan (楊寬), *Xizhou shi* (西周史, *History of Western Zhou*), Shanghai renmin chubanshe, Shanghai 2019, pp. 990-6.
14. The original texts are «昭王南巡而不復» and «昭王之不復，君其問諸水濱», in Du Yu (杜預), *Chunqiu jingzhuang jijie* (春秋經傳集解, *Annotations of the Chunqiu Annals*), Shanghai guji chubanshe, Shanghai 1988, p. 944.
15. In the *Qiyu* of *Guoyu*, Guan Zhong praised highly of the achievements of King Zhao: «Our former Kings Zhao and Mu穆, just like the Kings Wen文 and Wu武, succeeded in expeditions and waged wars» (the original text is «昔吾先王昭王、穆王，世法文、武遠績以成名», in Chen Tongshen (陳桐生), *Guoyu* (國語, *Discourses of the States*), Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 2014, p. 926, p. 927; as for the «visionary conqueror», cf. Tong Shuye (童書業), *Chunqiu zuoshi yanjiu* (春秋左氏研究, *Studies on Chunqiu of Zuo*), Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 2006³, pp. 93-4.
16. As for the current text, the Ming book-collector Fan Qin (范欽, 1506-1585), owner of the *Tianyi Ge* (天一閣, Tianyi Library) in Ningbo (寧波), printed a book entitled *Zhushu jinian*, which is nowadays the current text (which is found forged); the ancient *Zhushu jinian* was compiled soon after that current text was proved to be forged.
17. Fan Xiangyong (范祥雍), *Guben zhushu jinian jijiao dingbu* (古本竹書紀年輯校訂補, *Annotation and Addition to the Bamboo Annals of Ancient Version*), Xinzhi shi chubanshe, Shanghai 1956, p. 95.
18. Shen Yue (沈約), *Zhushu jinian*, in *Wenjing sikuquanshu* (文津閣四庫全書, *The Four Depositories of Books in Wenjin Library*), Shangwu yinshuguan, Beijing 2005, ce (冊) 104, p. 9.
19. About Duke Wei's assassination, Sima Qian wrote as follows: «In the 14th year of Duke You (幽), the younger brother of Duke You, Fei (潰), killed the Duke, and made himself Duke of Lu, who was called Duke Wei (of Lu)» (The original text is «幽公十四年，幽公弟潰殺幽公而自立，是為魏公», in Sima Qian, *Luzhougong shijia*, in *History*, Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 1959, ce 5, p. 9525. Most probably, Sima Qian's story on Duke Wei of Lu is based on the records of the *Zhushu jinian*.
20. The original phrase is «備天地萬物古今之事», in Sima Qian, Lü Buwei liezhuan (呂不韋列傳, *The Biography of Lü Buwei*), in *History*, ce 8, p. 9510.
21. Chen Qiyou (陳奇猷), ed., *Lüshi chungqiu xinjiaoshi* (呂氏春秋新校釋, *New Annotations to Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*), vol. I, Shanghai guji chubanshe, Shanghai 2009, pp. 938, 943-6; Xu Weiyu (許維適), *Lüshi chungqiu jishi* (呂氏春秋集釋, *Collective Annotations to Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*), Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 2016, pp. 919-20.
22. Qu Yuan (屈原, 340-278 BC), a great Chinese poet and politician from the State of Chu and living during the Warring States Period, mentioned King Zhao in his poem *Tianwen* (天問, *Questions for the Heaven*): «The King Zhao travelled to the edge of the Southern land. What would be the benefits to Chu if the King was only there to look for the wild chicken?» (The original text is «昭后成遊，南土爰底。厥利惟何，逢彼白雉», in Hong Xingzu (洪興祖), *Chuci buzhu* (楚辭補注, *Supplementary Annotation to the Verses of Chu*), Shanghai guji chubanshe, Shanghai 2015, p. 963, p. 965, n.9. But here the Chinese character «遊» (you, «travelling») might be referred to «a punitive expedition», cf. Tang Bingzheng (湯炳正), Li Daming (李大明), Li Cheng (李誠), Xiong Liangzhi (熊良智), *Chuci jinzhu* (楚辭今注, *Recent Annotation to the Verses of Chu*), Shanghai guji chubanshe, Shanghai 2019, p. 919, no.10; Chen Lun (陳淪), *Chuci jieyi* (楚辭解譯, *The Paraphrase of the Verses of Chu*), Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 2018, pp. 953-4. It is

notable, however, that Qu Yuan also criticized the behavior of King Zhao of Zhou for his declination of morality. In fact, the statement of King Zhao travelling to Chu is not very popular with the later writings. Other descriptions about King Zhao can be found in *Taiping yulan* (太平御覽, *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*) compiled by Li Fang (李昉) from 977 to 983. Cf. Li Fang, ed., *Taiping yulan*, Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 1995², in Bingbu (兵部, Armies Department) 74, p. 9a; Renshibu (人事部, Human Bodies Department) 13, p. 9b; Fuzhangbu (服章部, Clothings Department) 11, p. 9b; Fuyongbu (服用部, Daily Products Department) 4, p. 9a; Zhoubu (舟部, Boats Department) 2, p. 9a; Yuzubu (羽足部, Birds and Beasts Department) 2, p. 9b; 3, p. 9a.

23. Sima Qian, *Zhoubenji*, in *Shiji*, Book 1, p. 934.

24. Huangfu mi, *Diwang shiji*, in *Xuxiu sikuquanshu* (續修四庫全書, *The Continuation of The Four Depositories of Books*), Shanghai guji chubanshe, Shanghai 2002, ce 301, History Department, p. 91.

25. Zhang Shoujie, *Shiji zhengyi*, in Sima Qian, *Zhoubenji*, in *Shiji*, Book 1, p. 935. As for the elimination of the reign time by Zhang Shoujie, he might not agree with the statement of Huangfu Mi that King Zhao reigned for 51 years.

26. The original phrase is «漢水以為池», in Du Yu, *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, p. 945.

27. Cf. Tang Yongtong (湯用彤), *Hanwei liangjin nanbeichao fojiao shi* (漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史, *Buddhism History in Han, Wei, Liangjin and Nanbeichao*), Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, Shanghai 2015, p. 978.

28. Liu Linkui (劉林魁), *Chunqiu jishi yu zhonggu fodaan zhushuo* (春秋紀事與中古佛誕諸說, *Records in the Spring and Autumn and Buddha's Birth in the Middle Age*), in "Shijie zongjiao yanjiu" (世界宗教研究, *World Religions Study*), no. 2, 2017, pp. 94-75; Wei Shou (魏收), the author of the *Weishu* (魏書, *Book of Wei*) and living in the North Wei Dynasty, took the 10th year of King Zhuang of Zhao for the birth of Buddha, either. Cf. Wei Shou, *Shilao zhi* (釋道志, *History of the Buddhism and Taoism*), in *Weishu*, Zhonghua shuju, Beijing [s.d.], Book 8, p. 9027. Obviously, the point that Buddha was born in the 24th year of King Zhao was not widely accepted during the North Wei Dynasty.

29. Fa Lin, *Poxie lun*, in *Dazheng xinxiu dazhengzangjing* (大正新脩大正藏經, *The Taishō Tripiṭaka*), vol. 52, no. 2109, p. 9.

30. The point that «the ancient history of China is created by the increments of details» was put forward by Gu Jiegang (顧頡剛, 1893-1980), one of the best known Chinese historians in modern China, in his *Zixue* (自序, Self-preface) to the *Gushibian* (古史辨, *Symposium on Ancient Chinese History*), Bushe, Beijing 1933, pp. 9-103; cf. Liu Qiyu (劉起鈞), *Gu Jiegang xueshu* (顧頡剛學述, *Academics of Gu Jiegang*), Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 1986, pp. 902-12.

31. Landry-Deron, *La Preuve par la Chine*, cit., p. 189. Although Isabelle Landry-Deron was uncertain of the edition of the *Tongjian gangmu*, she came to conclude that the *Tongjian gangmu* is attributed to Zhu Xi (cf. *ivi*, p. 993). In fact, there were many historical texts based on Zhu Xi's *Tongjian gangmu* that were composed from the Song Dynasty to the Ming Dynasty and at last to the Qing Dynasty, and circulated among the missionaries in China, cf. N. Standaert, *The Intercultural Weaving of Historical Texts: Chinese and European Stories about Emperor Ku and His Concubines*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2016, pp. 94-163 (Chinese version: *Yesubushi de zhongguoshi yu jinianzhuzuo jiqi suocankao de zhongguowenxian* (耶穌會士的中國史與紀年著作及其所參考的中國文獻, *Jesuit Accounts of Chinese History and Chronology and Their Chinese Source*), in "Shijie hanxue" (世界漢學, *World Sinology*), vol. 11, pp. 95-102.

32. Standaert, *The Intercultural Weaving of Historical Texts*, cit., pp. 94-163.

33. However, Sima Guang did mention King Zhao of Zhou in his another historical text *Jigulu* (稽古錄, *Recordings of Antiques*), by citing the passages from Sima Qian's *Shiji*, «After the death of King Kang (康), his son Xia, namely King Zhao, succeeded to the

throne. The Way of the King was suffering from deficiency during his ruling. King Zhao did not turn back to the Court anymore, after his southward expedition. He fell into the Han River and died. His death was not announced publicly as it was regarded as a taboo. His son Man (滿) succeeded him», in Sima Guang, *Jigulu*, in *Wenyuange sikuquanshu* (文淵閣四庫全書, *Sikuquanshu in the Wenyuan Room*), vol. 108, p. 13.

34. Zhu Xi (朱熹), *Zizhi tongjian gangmu xuli* (《資治通鑑綱目》序例, *Preface to the Zizhi tongjian gangmu*), in *Zhuji quanshu* (朱子全書, *Complete Works of Master Zhu*), Book 8, p. 92.

35. Cf. Qian Maowei (錢茂偉), *Mingdai shixue de licheng* (明代史學的歷程, *Historiography of Ming Dynasty*), Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, Beijing 2003.

36. Yuan Huang, Wang Shizhen, «Fanli» (凡例, General Introduction), in *Gangjian hebian* (綱鑑合編, *Combined Edition of the Outline and Mirror*), Book 1, Zhongguo shudian, Beijing 1985, p. 9. Cang Xiuliang (倉修良), however, thought that Yuan Huang was not the real writer of the *Lishi gangjian bu*, cf. Cang Xiuliang, *Zizhi tongjian gangmu yu gangmuti* (《資治通鑑綱目》與綱目體, «The Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government» and the gangmu genre), in http://www.sohu.com/a/321262265_523187 (checked on August 5, 2019).

37. Cf. http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/rio8/rio8_00744/index.html (checked on November 26, 2019).

38. Yuan Huang, *Lishi gangjian bu*, vol. 2, pp. 96a-b; *Gangjian hebian*, pp. 92-3. Meanwhile, Zhuzi sighed with sorrow that «The boat from the Jing River stuck to the wetland of Chu, which is the beginning of deterioration of the Way of Zhou», and this sentence did not appear in the *Gangjian hebian* of Yuan and Wang.

39. Xu Qian (許謙, 1269-1337), disciple of Jin Lüxiang, wrote: «The events that occurred after King Weilie of Zhou, were recorded and commented on by Gentleman Sima Guang in order. Meanwhile, the events before the Spring and Autumn were not edited in terms of chronicle history. Thus, this book [of Master Jin Lüxiang] has to be printed» (The original text is «周威烈王以後，司馬公既已論次，而春秋以前迄無編年之書。故是編不可以不著也»), in Xu Qian, Xu (序, *Preface*) to *Zizhi tongjian qianbian*, in *Wenjing sikuquanshu*, ce 115, p. 952.

40. The correct title of the book should be *Zhoushu yiji*, as we can see the mentioned above.

41. Jin Lüxiang, *Zizhi tongjian qianbian*, p. 944.

42. The original text is «考摭近千餘，匯次為上下卷», in *Jin tongjian qianbian biao*, in *Wenjing sikuquanshu*, ce 115, p. 953.

43. Cf. Hu Hong, *Huangwang daji*, in *Wenyuange sikuquanshu*, ce 108, p. 915. Hu Hong did not contain the comments of Zhu Xi, for the latter was born much later than Hu.

44. Liu Shu, whose courtesy name is Dao Yuan (道原), participated in the compiling of *Zizhi tongjian*. His *Tongjian waiji*, completed in the first year of Yuanfeng (元豐) era (1078) of the Northern Song Dynasty, consists of five *juan* (volumes) of Tables, and ten *juan* (volumes) of contents arranged from Bao Xi (包犧, namely Fu Xi) to the 22nd year of King Weilie of Zhou (404 BC). His account for the life of King Zhao can be found in Liu Shu, *Zizhi tongjian waiji*, in *Wenjing sikuquanshu*, ce 108, pp. 941-2.

45. Cf. Jin Lüxiang, *Zizhi tongjian qianbian juyao* (資治通鑑前編舉要, *Summaries to the Pre-compilation of the Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid in Governance*), in *Wenjing sikuquanshu*, ce 115, p. 928.

46. The *Zhoushu yiji* was wrongly transcribed into *Shangshu yiji* (尚書記異). Besides, the birth of Buddha should be in the 24th year, rather than the 22nd year of the reign of King Zhao, cf. *Zizhi tongjian qianbian tiyao* (《資治通鑑前編》提要, *Summary to the Zizhi tongjian qianbian*), in *Wenjing sikuquanshu*, ce 115, p. 951.

47. For example, Zhang Heng (章衡, 1025-1099), the contemporary historian of the Northern Song Dynasty, wrote the *Biannian tongzai* (編年通載, *Annals for the General History*). Based on the *Shiji* of Sima Qian, he accounted the life of King Zhao: «Xia, namely King Zhao, is the son of King Kang. The Way of the King was suffering from deficiency during his ruling. King Zhao sent a punitive expedition southwardly and died on the river. His death was not announced publicly, only just because of avoiding the taboo. He reigned for 51 years» (The original text is «昭王瑕, 康王子, 王道微缺, 南巡守, 卒於江上, 其卒不赴告, 諱之也。在位五十一年»), in Zhang Heng, *Biannian tongzai*, Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, Beijing 2003, *juan* 1, p. 93a. Zhang Heng did not mention the birth of the Buddha in his historical text, when referring to the history of King Zhao.

48. Cf. Nan Xuan, *Zizhi tongjian gangmu qianbian*, in *Sikuquanshu cunmu congshu*, History Depository 9, vol. 25, p. 930. Some Qing scholars did not insert the birth of the Buddha into the historical texts anymore, cf. Jia Guirong (賈貴榮), Geng Suli (耿素麗), ed., *Lidai diwang jinian yanjiu ziliao huibian* (歷代帝王紀年研究資料彙編, *Sources Collections of the Annals of the Emperors and Kings in the History*), Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, Beijing 2011.

49. As for the relationship between the Buddhist history in the Song Dynasty and the historiography, cf. Cao Ganghua (曹剛華), *Wenhua ronghe shiyexia de songdai fojiao shixue* (文化融合視野下的宋代佛教史學, *Buddhist Historical Studies in the Song Dynasty from the Perspective of Cultural Convergence*), in “Shixueshi yanjiu” (史學史研究, *Journal of Historiography*), no. 2, 2006, pp. 97-43.

50. Xue Yingqi, *Jiazi huiji* (甲子會紀, *Recording and Collection of the Sixty-year Cycle*), in *Sikuquanshu cunmu congshu* (四庫全書存目叢書, *The Four Depositories of the Surviving Books*), Qilu shushe, Jinan 1997, History Depository 11, pp. 953-4.

51. Zhong Xing, *Zizhi gangjian zhengshi daquan* (資治綱鑑正史大全, *The Comprehensive Official History of the Outline and Mirror for the Aid of Government*), in *Siku jinhuishu congkan* (四庫禁毀書叢刊, *The Four Depositories of Banned Books*), Beijing chubanshe, Beijing 1998, Depository of History 65, p. 91a.

52. Later on, this view may have been revised, as we have seen in some scholars, such as the abovementioned editors of the *Sikuquanshu tiyao*, Sun Zhilu (孫之騷, ?-1744), a historian from Zhejiang Province, and Dai Zhen (戴震, 1724-1777), one of the most important scholars in Qing Dynasty. Sun Zhilu had read the passage in which the weather anomaly appeared in the reign of King Zhao, but he did not associate it with the Buddha's birth, cf. Sun Zhilu, *Kaoding zhushu* (考定竹書, *The Edition of Bamboo Annals*), in *Sikuquanshu cunmu congshu*, History Depository 2, vol. 13, p. 96. While, Dai Zhen opposed the mixture of Buddhism and Taoism with Confucianism, cf. Dai Zhen, *Dai Zhen quanshu* (戴震全書, *Complete Works of Dai Zhen*), Huangshan shushe, Hefei 2010, vol. 6, p. 953.

53. In the early texts related to King Zhao, the younger brother of the Duke of Lu was not linked to the declination of the morality of King Zhao, just as we can find both in the *Zhushu jinian* and the *Shiji*.

54. By comparing the work of Du Halde with that of Chinese historical texts, Wu Liwei (吳莉葦) thinks that the *Description* of Du Halde was made on the basis of Jin Lüxiang's *Zizhi tongjian qianbian*, cf. Wu Liwei, *Mingqing chuanjiaoshi zhongguo shanggubiannianshi yanjiu tanyuan* (明清傳教士中國上古編年史研究探源, *Study on the Chronicle of Early Chinese History by the Missionaries of Ming and Qing*), in “Zhongguoshi yanjiu” (中國史研究, *Study of Chinese History*), no.3, 2004, pp. 937-56; Wu Liwei, *Dang nuoyafangzhou zaoyu fuxishennong: qimeng shidai ouzhou de zhongguo shanggushi lunzheng* (當諾亞方舟遭遇伏羲神農: 啟蒙時代歐洲的中國上古史論爭, *When Noah's Ark Meeting with Fu Xi and Shennong: Disputes on Ancient Chinese History in Renaissance Europe*), Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, Beijing 2004, pp. 916-24. However, the founder of Taoism, Laozi (老子), inserted by Du Halde into the part related to King Ding

(定) of Zhou (cf. du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, cit., vol. I, pp. 948-9), was missing in the work of Jin Lüxiang, which means that Du Halde relied on the text of Jin Lüxiang only partly.

55. As for the lower-class people in China to prepare for the imperial examinations, cf. Maowei, *Mingdai shixue de licheng* (明代史學的歷程, *Historiography of Ming Dynasty*), cit., p. 909; and for some missionaries in China to study the history of China, cf. Standaert, *The Intercultural Weaving of Historical Texts*, cit., pp. 91-73.

56. Just as we can see in the letter of «Fréret au P. De Mailla» on 1st November, 1736, in V. Pinot, *Documents inédits relatifs à la connaissance de la Chine en France de 1685 à 1740*, [s.l.], Paris 1932, pp. 942-51.

57. Cf. «Avertissement», in du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, cit., vol. I, p. 966.

58. Cf. du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, cit., vol. I, p. XVI, p. 964.

59. Ivi, pp. XIII-XV.

60. Cf. du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, cit., vol. III, pp. 9-8. Professor Isabelle Landry-Deron attributes the *cang kien* (gang jian), a general history book referred to in the *Description* of Du Halde, to *Lishi gangjian bu* of Yuan Huang (cf. Landry-Deron, *La Preuve par la Chine*, cit., p. 978, and Standaert, *The Intercultural Weaving of Historical Texts*, cit., p. 924). However, similar story can be found in the work of Zhong Xing, *Zizhi gangjian zhengshi daquan*. Probably, the *cang kien* can be referred to other historical texts, not only Yuan Huang's historical work.

61. In the National Library of France (now BNF) the letter can be found in *Mélanges sur la Chine* with a piece of introduction, cf. BNF, FR. 17240, ff. 90a-108a. On this manuscript, cf. Standaert, *The Intercultural Weaving of Historical Texts*, cit., pp. 917-9.

62. «Version littérale du commencement de l'histoire chinoise depuis Fou-hy jusques à Yao», in BNF, FR. 17240, f. 90b.

63. Father Parrenin wrote, «Fait par Sse Ma Kouan», cf. BNF, FR. 17240, f. 90b.

64. Cf. BNF, FR. 17240, f. 90b. This *Xubian* may be referred to the Ming historian Chen Jing (陳經, ?)'s *Tongjian xubian* (通鑑續編, *Sequel to the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid to Governance*), consisting of 24 volumes. As for its advantage to the knowledge of the missionaries in China, cf. Standaert, *The Intercultural Weaving of Historical Texts*, cit., pp. 91-2.

65. Cf. Pinot, *Documents inédits relatifs à la connaissance de la Chine en France de 1685 à 1740*, cit., p. 980, n. 96.

66. Dong Shaoxin (董少新) takes Antonio de Gouvea as the first Jesuit missionary to compose the general history of China from the ancient time, differently from that sustained by Luisa M. Paternicò, who took the work of Martino Martini as the first book about the history of China in Western language. Cf. Dong Shaoxin, *Putaoya yesu hui shi he da hua zai zhongguo* (葡萄牙耶穌會士何大化在中國, *Portuguese Jesuit Antonio de Gouvea and China*), Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, Beijing 2017, p. 917; L. M. Paternicò, *La scelta delle fonti per la compilazione della Sinicae Historiae Decas Prima*, in M. Martini S.J., *Opera Omnia*, edizione ideata da Franco Demarchi, Giuliano Bertuccioli, vol. IV, Università degli Studi di Trento, Trento 2010, p. XXIX.

67. Cf. A. de Gouvea, *Monarchia da China dividida por sei idades*, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid 1654, mss 2949, ff. 1b-2a, ff. 11b-12a.

68. As far as the recording of King Zhao of Zhou concerns, cf. A. de Gouvea, *Monarchia da China dividida por sei idades*, ff. 34b, and A. de Gouvea, *Asia extrema*, Ajuda, Ms. 49-V-1, s.n.t.

69. As for the ancient Chinese history of João Rodrigue, cf. T. Meynard, *Ruhe jiedu zhongguo shanggushi: Bo Yingli Zhonghua dizhi lishinianbiao*, pp. 957-65, and in particular p. 958.

70. Cf. L. Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine (1552-1773)*, vol. I, Imprimerie de la mission catholique, Chang-hai 1932, p. 923.

71. Cf. D. F. Navarrete, *Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos, y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, Madrid s.d. [1676], p. 9.

72. Antonio de Gouvea had introduced the foundation and origin of Chinese history to Spanish Jesuit Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595-1658), cf. *ivi*, p. 9.

73. Martini S.J., *Opera Omnia*, cit., vol. IV, p. 9 (*Latin version*), p. 97 (*Italian version*).

74. Cf. du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, cit., vol. I, p. XII. As for study on the relationship between Du Halde to these two Jesuits, cf. Standaert, *The Intercultural Weaving of Historical Texts*, cit., pp. 919-25; T. Meynard (梅謙立, Mei Qianli), *Ruhe jiedu zhongguo shanggushi: Bo Yingli Zhonghua dizhi lishinianbiao* (如何解讀中國上古史: 柏應理《中華帝制歷史年表》), *How to read the Ancient Chinese History: Filipp Couplet's Tabula Chronologica Monarchiae Sinicae*, in "Aomen ligong xuebao" (澳門理工學報, *Revista do Instituto Politécnico de Macau*), no. 4, 2017, pp. 957-65; Wu Liwei, *Mingqing chuanjiaoshi zhongguo shanggubiannianshi yanjiu tanyuan*, pp. 937-56; Wu Liwei, *Dang nuoyafangzhou zaoyu fuxishennong: qimeng shidai ouzhou de zhongguo shanggushi lunzheng*, 2004, pp. 916-24. Du Halde took advantage of the works by Martino Martini to continue his *Les Fastes de la Chine*, after Father Parrenin stopped sending him his writing on Chinese history, cf. Pinot, *Documents inédits relatifs à la connaissance de la Chine en France de 1685 à 1740*, cit., p. 980, n. 96.

75. P. Couplet, *Tabula Chronologica Monarchiae Sinicae*, Paris 1687, p. 90 (version of Vienna, 1703, p. 95).

76. Martini S.J., *Opera Omnia*, cit., vol. IV, pp. 93-4 (*Latin version*), pp. 994-5 (*Italian version*).

77. Regarding the different dates of the birth of Buddha, cf. Chen Zhiyuan (陳志遠), *Bian changxing zhi yeluo: Zhonggu foli tuisuan de xueshuo ji jieshi jiyi* (辨常星之夜落: 中古佛曆推算的學說及解釋技藝, *To Talk about the Drop of the Star at Night: the Date Calculating of the Buddha's Birth in Middle Age and Its Art in Interpretation*), in "Wen Shi" (文史, *Literature and History*), no. 4, 2018, pp. 917-38.

78. As for the description of Taoism, cf. du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, cit., vol. I, pp. 948-9, and Couplet, *Tabula Chronologica Monarchiae Sinicae*, cit., p. 93 (version of Vienna, 1703, p. 91).

79. As for Martino Martini's writing on the Taoism teaching, cf. Martini S.J., *Opera Omnia*, cit., vol. IV, pp. 916-7 (*Latin version*), pp. 929-31 (*Italian version*).

80. Cf. Pinot, *Documents inédits relatifs à la connaissance de la Chine en France de 1685 à 1740*, cit., p. 947.

81. However, Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Maila (1669-1748, Chinese name: Feng Bingzheng, 馮秉正), a Jesuit from France who arrived in China in 1703, modified two points in his historical text, *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annales de cet empire*. Although the story of King Zhao was recounted on a continuous basis by Du Halde, Martino Martini and Philippe Couplet, Father Joseph de Mailla added another detail to the death of the King by writing as follows, «Tchao-ouang résolut d'aller en personne à la tête de ses troupes pour les contenir dans la soumission; mais pour satisfaire en même-temps son inclination, il y conduisit son armée en chassant, ce qui causa un dommage irréparable aux pays par où elle passa». Besides, he did not refer to the birth of Buddha. Cf. J.-A.-M. de Moyriac de Maila, *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annales de cet empire*, Paris 1773, Tome Premier, pp. 942-4.