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鹽 鐵 論

DISCOURSES ON SALT AND IRON

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A DEBATE ON

STATE CONTROL OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

IN ANCIENT CHINA

CHAPTERS I—XIX

TRANSLATED FROM THE CHINESE OF HUAN K'UAN

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT TER VERKRIJGING
VAN DEN GRAAD VAN DOCTOR IN DE LETTEREN
EN WIJSBEGEERTE AAN DE RIJKS-UNIVERSITEIT
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TO
HUGH MCLAREN, GALE, M.D., C.M.

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PREFACE

PREFACE

A translation of the *Yen T'ieh Lun*, Discourses on Salt and Iron, by the Han *literatus* Huan K'uan (1st cent. B.C.), has not hitherto been attempted. The present rendering of the first four *chüan* (nineteen chapters) of the ten (sixty chapters) into which the work has usually been divided, is primarily for the uses of Western readers; and, accordingly, much that has been familiar or even commonplace to the Chinese erudite, is set forth in detail in the notes. Nevertheless, this important literary work of the early Han period, containing what has been termed material of fundamental importance, is perhaps not known as fully to the Chinese themselves, as it deserves; and the present rendering into English may serve the further useful purpose of attracting the attention of Chinese students to a work which so graphically describes the social order of early China.

Hitherto the efforts of Western sinologues have been centred very largely on an exposition of the life and thought of China before the great imperial consolidations of the Ch'in (220-206 B.C.) and Han (206 [202] B.C.-220 A.D.) eras. To be sure, the principles of Chinese ethics, political science and social economy were formulated in the ante-Han centuries, and a literature, rich enough indeed, but whose authenticity is often in dispute, has passed down from these early times. But much of our concept of the earlier era, particularly of the venerated Chou dynasty (? 1122-249 B.C.), risks being but an idealized creation of the Han scholars and administrators. It is in the first two centuries before the Christian era that a knowledge of the conditions attending the societal development of the Chinese people rests on firmer ground. The mists of antiquity lift then, and the innumerable and indefatigable writers, compilers, and editors, who make the time so fruitful in letters, disclose the vast Empire, filled with an active and energetic people, creating a cultural system, which for impressiveness and influence upon the world of Asia Major, was not surpassed by Greece and Rome in the Occident.

Of this world we have as yet only glimpses, and its richness, in all the varied aspects of human activity, still remains largely a subject for such studies, as our own prototypes, the Mediterranean civilizations, have already enjoyed. One work, monumental in scholarship, the translation into French of the first forty-seven chapters of the *Shih-chi*, the Historical Memoirs of Ssü-ma Ch'ien, by the late Édouard Chavannes, provides in part a view of China of the second century B.C. Other Western scholars are continuing the task of translating documents of this era, disclosing more and more the Chinese world contemporary with the Roman empire at its greatest extent. The *Yen T'ieh Lun* is one of the significant works of the time, dealing as it does with the fundamental problems, social, political and economic, which confronted the administrators of the expanding Chinese empire of two milleniums ago. It comprises, in effect, an epitome of Chinese thought and racial experience to the time of the compilation of the work, in the first half of the century before the Christian era. The wealth of historical and literary allusion which embellishes the text, forms a thesaurus for the Western student of early China. For Huan K'uan's pages not only introduce the reader to the author's own times, but lead back to the earlier world of Chinese origins in history and tradition.

In the undertaking of reproducing in a Western language, utterly alien to the original Chinese literary medium, Huan K'uan's first nineteen chapters, I have been fortunate in availing myself of the methods of the European school of sinology. For this advantage I am especially grateful to Dr. J. J. L. Duyvendak, Professor of Chinese and Director of the Sinologisch Instituut at the University of Leiden, Holland, who has generously provided his suggestions and criticism toward a solution of many difficult and obscure passages in the Chinese text. Professor Duyvendak's studies in the economic and political principles of the Chinese *School of Law* have enabled him to indicate in the *Yen T'ieh Lun* important currents of thought which prompted the administrative policies of the Han period, and which proceeded from centuries earlier than Huan K'uan's time.

I have drawn freely, as well, for material in my notes, on the studies of other European scholars, such as Professors Soothill, Maspero, Pelliot, Granet, Karlgren, Franke, Forke, and Margouliès.

For interpretations of the political and economic theory of ancient China, the writings of the late Liang Ch'i-ch'ao have furnished me with valuable suggestions; and for a consideration of the prose of the Han period in its relation to the vernacular language of the time, I have relied on Dr. Hu Shih's studies. It has seemed unnecessary to append a bibliographical list of authorities consulted. These are cited by name in the foot-notes. The various editions of the *Yen T'ieh Lun* are discussed in the Introduction. References to Chinese works are usually made only by chapter or book, as the enumeration of the *folio* number is rarely of utility, due to the variations in the pagination of the innumerable editions of the older standard works. Citations from secondary Chinese sources have been generally avoided as of questionable value.

In the preliminary translation work, I have had the cooperation of Mr. Lin Tung-chi, M. A., assistant in the department of Oriental languages of the University of California, scion of a distinguished family of administrators and scholars, who happily combines, as so many of his nationals of the present generation, a sound background in his national culture with an alert appreciation of Western critical methodology. It is a truism that the most fruitful work in Chinese studies will continue to grow from the cooperation of Chinese and Occidental scholarship. To Baron Peter A. Boodberg, Ph. D., I owe frequent suggestions in the phrasing of certain passages; and the not inconsiderable task involved in the compilation of the glossaries has been undertaken by him.

I am to acknowledge my special indebtedness to Dr. Robert G. Sproul, President of the University of California, and to the Chairman of the Board of Research, Professor Armin O. Leuschner, for their generous support of the protracted research connected with the present work; and to Dr. Berthold Laufer, dean of American sinologists, for his continued interest and encouragement. For the completion of the translation of the *Yen T'ieh Lun*, the American Council of Learned Societies, through the Committee for the Promotion of Chinese Studies, has provided a subvention.

For rendering the many quotations found in the *Yen T'ieh Lun*, I have had recourse to the standard translations of Legge, Soothill, Duyvendak, Dubs and others, on the principle of not doing over

again what has already been adequately done. In style, my own translation of Huan K'uan's text may at times appear a departure from the English idiom, for in this admittedly difficult text, it has often been found necessary to provide the literal rendering of the original Chinese, to retain its true meaning and spirit. The temptation is ever present to interpret, rather than to translate. Passages will doubtless be found which have been misconstrued. The responsibility for such lapses will be wholly assumed by the translator, the more readily as I shall not be the first to fall into such error, "for where even the strongest fall, the weak need not be ashamed to slip".

ESSON M. GALE.

Leiden,
September 18, 1931.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE DEBATE

When Wu-ti¹, the "Martial Emperor" of the Han dynasty, lay on his death bed, after a reign of no less than fifty-four years (140—87 B. C.), the first period in the history of the Chinese Empire was drawing to its close. Ended was the era of prodigious activity in every department of life, when all the latent forces of the consolidated Chinese state sought freedom of expression. The first cursory inventory of Chinese civilization was being completed. Ssü-ma Ch'ien² had just written the last pages of his great history. Everywhere scholars were applying themselves to the task of digesting mentally the accumulated literary material of preceding centuries.

Though a Canon was not yet established, the *Biblia* of Chinese moral philosophy were already taking shape. Saints were being allotted their respective niches in the Pantheon, and fragments of ancient lore were being collected in sufficient number to supply numerous preachers with unanswerable and unshakable texts. At whatever date be fixed the origin of one of the most fundamental ideas of Chinese civilization, the concept that the principal function of government is *education*,³ there is no doubt that in the middle Han period it formed the corner-stone of Chinese political science. An article of faith, it speedily became a method. Chinese thought was set in didactical forms. The homilies of the Han pamphleteers,

¹ 漢武帝.

² 司馬遷 (died at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Chao, 86—74 B. C.), author of the *Shih-chi* 史記, a history of China from the earliest ages down to about 100 B. C. The first forty-seven chapters have been translated by Édouard Chavannes under the title of *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*.

³ 教. Biot, É., *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Instruction publique en Chine*, Sect. VII, gives Han Wu-ti's edicts on the promotion of scholarship. Cf. YTL. p. 27, note 3.

all written *ad usum delphini*, set the standard for future literary productions.

The scholars of the Han renaissance, the "Literati", whose models were the itinerant sages of old, aspired again to the position of permanent pedagogue at the side of the "Son of Heaven". They have for ages deplored the fact that during Wu Ti's reign, when *blood and iron* policy ruled supreme, the gentle, ceremonious method of rule of their paragons of Imperial virtue, the Emperors Wên and Ching,¹ was shaken to its foundation. This resulted from pernicious influences at the Court, where the combined forces of Taoist quacks and unprincipled adventurers, devoid of culture and refinement, as the "Confucian" scholars viewed them, brought again to light the sinister methods and the fatal policies of the execrated Shang Yang and his like.² It is clear, nevertheless, that behind the veil of gross superstition upon which the later Confucian historians loved to dwell, to show the depth of depravity reached by the Court, a battle of ideological principles went on between two traditions. On the one hand was the party repository of technical knowledge, the Legalists, with their reliance on *Power* and their relationship to the Taoists, and on the other hand that of the moralists, later to be distinguished sharply as the Confucian school.

The great stage of history is, however, occupied by those whose primary concern is "real politik", "les hommes de grandes affaires", whose philosophical and religious affiliations are not always clear. Such are the two outstanding personalities of the age, Sang Hung-yang,³ the Lord Grand Secretary of the *Yen T'ieh Lun*, and Ho Kuang,⁴ the "king-maker", men who, busy with the government of the far-flung empire, have little time to bother with ideological

¹ 文帝 (179—156, B. C.); 景帝 (156—141, B. C.). Perusal of the annals of these two Emperors reveals that their reigns were not altogether peaceful. Cf. Granet, *La Civilisation chinoise*, 455.

² Cf. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, I, 463, for the intervention of Taoists in affairs of state at the beginning of Wu-ti's reign. The intimate relationship of the School of Law (with its anti-cultural and anti-moral principles, represented by the administrative officials) to the Taoists, is set forth by Duyvendak in *The Book of Lord Shang*, 88, 91, 124. Cf. YTL., ch. VII.

³ 桑宏羊. Cf. YTL., p. 1, note 3; p. 106, note 1.

⁴ 霍光. Cf. Giles, *Chi. Biog. Dict.*, No. 653.

subtleties and yet are unconsciously swayed by them, and too often see their policies checked by the doctrinaire arguments of the despised "intellectuals".

Sang Hung-yang's whole economic policy, dictated by the exigencies of his master's imperialistic activity, was subjected to the fire of a vicious attack by the men of letters during the famous forum on "Salt and Iron" in the sixth year of Chao Ti's reign (81 B. C.). This debate serves as the canvass on which Huan K'uan embroiders many a dialectical gem, and into which he weaves the red thread of "Confucian" aphorisms and "sacred texts".

* * *

The effective consolidation of the Chinese Empire first took place at the end of the third, and the beginning of the second century before the Christian era. Numerous feudal states, largely autonomous, and hitherto constantly at war with one another save for the brief period of Ch'in's supremacy, were now united under the strong hand of the first emperor of the Han dynasty, Liu Pang, posthumously canonized as Kao Tsu.¹ The Middle Kingdom developed rapidly in industry and commerce, as well as intellectually, from the fifth century onward. Energetic individuals, distinguished for their great wealth, began to appear, and the names and deeds of many of them are found preserved in the chronicles of the time.² Two of the early Chinese industrialists, I-tun and Kuo Tsung,³ are recorded as having amassed princely fortunes through the production of salt and iron. The one resided in Lu,⁴ in the modern province of Shantung, traditional site of salt manufacture, the other was a citizen of Han-tan.⁵ The Cho family⁶ of Shu,⁷ the K'ung family⁸ of Yüan,⁹ and the Tsao Ping family¹⁰ of Lu, were all prosperous iron workers, while

¹ 劉邦, 漢高祖 (206—195 B. C.).

² Cf. *Ch'ien-han-shu* CXXIX, Huo-shih-lieh-chuan. "The merchants of Yüan, Chou, Ch'i and Lu spread all over the world," YTL. p. 16.

³ 伊頓, 郭縱. ⁴ 魯. ⁵ 邯鄲.

⁶ 卓氏. ⁷ 蜀. ⁸ 孔氏. ⁹ 宛.

¹⁰ 曹邴氏.

a certain Tiao Chien ¹ of Ch'i ² accumulated a colossal sum through salt manufacturing and fisheries.

Prior to the Han period, the statesmen and scholars of China, had all, irrespective of the "school" of thought to which later centuries assigned them, stressed the importance of agriculture. ³ Farming was looked upon as the fundamental of national wealth; industry and commerce as merely accessory to the cultivator, "so that his iron implements might be supplied by the artisan and his produce distributed by the trader". Apart from this basic agreement on all sides, various shades of opinion arose. Generally two groups of thinkers dominated, schools which in time came to be designated as the School of Law, the *fa-chia*, ⁴ and the "Confucian School", ⁵ the *ju-chia*, which based itself on the transmitted doctrines of Confucius and his successors.

The *jurists* or writers on law, representing the *fa-chia*, were not, so far as their extant works indicate, a numerous class, though many lost books are also cited in the catalogues. They did not compare in popular esteem with their antagonists, the austere followers of Confucius. ⁶ The *Kuan-tzū*, ⁷ the *Shang-chün-shu* ⁸ and the *Han-fei-tzū* ⁹ exhaust the names of their greatest texts. But as the dominant politicians of the times, having by their effective financial resourcefulness the ear of their sovereign, the power and importance of the writers of the School of Law continued to grow. The influence of their methods is clearly discernible into Han times.

The opponents of the representatives of the *fa-chia*, the *ju*, ¹⁰ are defined in the introductory sentence of chapter XI of the *Yen T'ieh Lun* as those who "venerate Confucius as their intellectual progenitor, and intone lauds in praise of his virtue as being unsurpassed from

¹ 刁間. ² 齊.

³ As, e. g., the *Mencius* and the *Shang-chün-shu*, though with different objectives. Cf. Duyvendak, op. cit., 91.

⁴ 法家. ⁵ 儒家.

⁶ Cf. YTL. p. 38, note 9.

⁷ 管子.

⁸ 商君書.

⁹ 韓非子. ¹⁰ 儒.

high antiquity down to the present time.”¹ The *ju* were thus the Han representatives of the school of Confucius. The strife in words as disclosed in the *Yen T'ieh Lun*, represents the conflict between the economic and political ideology of this group and that of the Han administrative officials, who may be described as the inheritors of the principles of the *fa-chia* writers of the preceding centuries.

This strife did not have for its actual backgrounds merely ideological disputation. According to the Confucian tradition, the adherents of the school did not assume to be philosophers. Confucius believed himself to be a man of action, an administrator and politician, capable of conducting the world in the true *Way*. His ambition was not to record his ideas but to put them into operation through the government of a principality, entrusted to him by his sovereign. Those who followed him, his disciples, did not, accordingly, look to him for a philosophical system, but for a science of government. Displaced in the councils of their princes by the practical administrators of the *fa-chia*, they were not prepared to resign themselves to the passive role of disseminators of ideas, after having expected to be the rulers of men.² On the other hand, the School of Law could not properly be designated a *school*, in-so-far as claiming to be based upon the principles of a founder; it consisted merely of such persons as were inclined to think of government after a certain fashion, and who attempted to associate their empirical view of the world with the principles of such *school* as that to which each one may have belonged.³

In early Chinese economic and political thought we find then, on the one hand, the administrators, the responsible officials, advocating certain methods of government, adumbrated in the writings of the *fa-chia*, and, on the other, the intellectuals not in office, the *ju*, pursuing certain ideas ascribed to Confucius and his successors. It may generally be said that the School of Law emphasized the problem of production, while their opponents, the men of letters,

¹ 文學祖述仲尼稱誦其德爲自古及今未之有也。

² Cf. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 542—543.

³ *Ibid.*, 515—528.

stressed the problem of distribution. They were frankly in favor of trading activities, as clearly exposed in the writings of Mencius.¹ In the late Vth and early VIth centuries, a work assigned to Li K'uei² applied the principles of the law writers and employed scientific statistical methods to problems of political economy. The two central points of his policy were 1) full utilization of soil productivity, and 2) equalization of grain prices. This policy was directed to the encouragement of agriculture. As industry and commerce began to prosper after the middle of the Warring States period, two branches of the School of Law came into being. First, the agrarian branch was represented by the *Shang-chün-shu*, laying stress on agriculture; second, the commercial branch was represented by part of the *Kuan-tzū* text, laying more emphasis on commerce.

The school of the *Kuan-tzū* emphasized especially the importance of the currency and of grain, a suitable control of which would contribute to the wealth of the nation. It held that evils resulting from powerful combinations were due to private manipulations of money and of grain prices. To prevent private competition and the resultant inequality of wealth among the people, what may be termed nationalization of capital was proposed, and the undertaking of commerce by the state. It further advocated nationalization of the salt and iron industries as a source of public revenue. Whether agrarian or commercial, the writers of the School of Law all based their economic policy on national aims, i.e., "I can expand the territory and enrich the treasury for the Prince".

The school of Mo Ti, the *Mo-chia*,³ emphasized production also. But the concept of production was connected with consumption, i.e., to them regulated consumption meant equally production. It is from this theory of regulated consumption that the school attacked the observance of funeral rites, the performance of music, and aggressive warfare. It maintained the theory that by manufacturing necessities to the exclusion of luxuries, the productivity of a nation would naturally increase.

¹ Op. cit., II, i, v.

² 李悝, minister to Marquis Wên of Wei (424—387 B. C.). The book which stands to his name is probably not his own, and may have been composed somewhat later. Duyvendak, op. cit., 43, 72.

³ 墨翟, 墨家. Cf. YTL., p. 116, note 2.

The Confucianist economists emphasized the word Equality, *chün*.¹ Confucius said, "The ruler of a kingdom or the chief of a house is not concerned about his people being few, but about lack of equitable treatment". The idea is to stress the problem of distribution. But the problems of production and consumption are considered too. The *Ta Hsüeh*² of the Confucian School says, "Let the producers be many and the consumers few. Let there be activity in the production, and economy in the expenditure. Then the wealth will always be sufficient". This school purports to concern itself primarily with the "people's economy" or "social economy", in the modern terminology popular in China. The belief was held that if the problem of social economy were solved, the political or fiscal regimen would take care of itself, thus relying upon Confucius, "If the people enjoy plenty, with whom will the Prince share want? But if the people are in want, with whom will the Prince share plenty?"³ Hence the strong condemnation of this school upon the law writers' policy of "enriching the state". The legalist financiers were condemned as "money grabbers",⁴ or "small men", probably because when the ruler and the state were not distinctly differentiated, to enrich the state was to enrich the ruler; and also because concentration of wealth in the government would discourage individual initiative. The Confucianists would not therefore adopt the policy of state interference in individual activity. The function of the government was to remove all obstacles to the productivity of labor, or to equality in the distribution of wealth. The rest would be left to the people.⁵

Now there would appear a reversal of policy or principle on the part of what may be termed the Confucian school of the early Han era. Due to the development of the state, the scholars, unlike

¹ 均. *Lun-yü*, XVI, i, 10; YTL., p. 4.

² 大學, X, 19 [Legge].

³ *Lun-yü*, XII, ix, 4 [Legge]. YTL., p. 95.

⁴ 聚斂之臣; 小人.

⁵ Cf. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超, *History of Ante-Ch'in Political Thought* 先秦政治思想史, 295—298.

their most articulate prototype Mencius,¹ no longer whole-heartedly favor trade. This seems to have come about due to the fact that practical statesmen, such as Sang Hung-yang, responsible for financing an extravagant government, sought to control the profits of industry and commerce for the benefit of the public exchequer. Confucianism, as represented in the writings of Mencius, called for a *laissez faire* policy, government by remote influence, the impressive but inactive "virtue" of the Ruler.² The Han Confucianists now resented the interference of the state in industry and trade, and hence are made to appear to oppose such activities on general principles, which was certainly not the case.

Per contra, the Han dynasts, *parvenus* as they were, even compared with the house of Ch'in which preceded them, erected a façade of conformance to "Confucianism". To acquire prestige, they professed to follow the practices, largely fictive, we may believe, of the venerated house of Chou. They were prepared to conform to the outward ceremonies and observances of traditional antiquity. But in the actual administrative measures of the state, they reverted to the execrated policies of the *legalist* statesmen of Ch'in, whose aim had been to unify the state, by controlling *all* activities. While in Shang Yang's time, as Prime Minister of Ch'in, all was subordinated to agriculture and war, now state control of industry and commerce in the expanded Han Empire, was of equal importance. It was at this point that in the early Han reigns the "Confucianists", represented by the Literati of the *Yen T'ieh Lun*, and the *legalist* statesmen, such as Sang Hung-yang, diverged. The former, desirous of reviving "antiquity", harked back to a perhaps largely factitious "feudal" period; the latter sought to revive and restore in practice the state control of private undertakings of the Ch'in regime. Seeming paradoxes³ in the *Yen T'ieh Lun* where the men of letters, the *ju*, oppose trade, and the Secretary, Sang Hung-yang, advocates

¹ Cf. Mencius, II, i, v, noted *supra*.

² YTL., p. 76, note 4.

³ Cf. YTL., ch. VII, especially p. 49, note 2; also p. 82, note 5, and p. 79, note 1. For the development of this theme, see Duyvendak, *Historie en Confucianisme* (Leiden, 1930, pp. 26—28); also, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 128, and Granet, *La Civilisation chinoise*, 467 seq.

the practices of antiquity, are only intelligible in the light of this interpretation.

The first of the Han Emperors, Kao Tsu, favored agriculture at the expense of industry and commerce, by discriminations enforced against the mercantile classes. This included ineligibility to public office. Kao Tsu's agrarian policy was continued by his immediate successors by the reduction of the land tax.¹ This bore fruit in China's "golden age of agriculture". Within little more than two generations, however, the Chinese Empire appears to have increased greatly in population, with large numbers of people congregating in growing urban centres. Constant "treasury deficits", represented actually by lack of supplies for the armies on the frontiers, were incurred through costly campaigns which extended the boundaries of China to the most distant regions of eastern Asia.² In the distress of the people and the state, new sources of revenue had to be devised.³

To meet the fast approaching bankruptcy of the government, various expedients were resorted to. Notably the *yen-t'ieh-kuan*,⁴ officers to control the salt and iron industries, were instituted in 119 B.C., in Han Wu-ti's reign. Salt and iron were the two most universal necessities, after grain, in the ancient Chinese commonwealth. Their sale by government agency, on the plea of adjusting the price, was maintained at such a high rate as to yield a heavy profit. In the year 115 B.C., officers to "equalize distribution", *chün shu*,⁵ which may be termed *equable marketing*, were appointed. These functionaries undertook to regulate commercial transactions throughout the Empire. Their duty appears to have been to purchase staple commodities when cheap and sell them when dear, thus preventing prices from falling too low or becoming excessively high. A bureau of "equalization and standardization", *p'ing chun*,⁶ to regulate the system of *equable marketing*, was set up at the Capital in 110 B.C. This was done at the instance of Sang Hung-yang,

¹ YTL., p. 94, note 2.

² Ibid., p. 102 seq.

³ Ibid., p. 4 seq., p. 10.

⁴ 鹽鐵官. ⁵ 均輸.

⁶ 平準. YTL., p. 2, notes 1, 2, 3; p. 10, note 4.

who had been promoted Grain Intendant, *Sou-su-tu-wei*,¹ in the same year.

While treasury deficits now disappeared, with adequate stores of grain accumulating in the public granaries, and the armies on the frontiers once more receiving adequate supplies, the country at large seethed with discontent.² Due to its high cost, people were often forced to eat without salt. The iron implements employed on the farms, as supplied by the government monopoly, were criticized as inferior and unsuitable.³ To deal with the situation, the representatives of the Literati and Worthy classes, to the number of sixty, were summoned to present the popular grievances before the Throne, in the sixth year of the *shih-yüan* era of Chao-ti's reign (81 B.C.).⁴ It fell to the statesman and economist, Sang Hung-yang, to defend his and the government's policies, against the demand of the representatives of the people for the abolition of state control over essential commodities, and a return to the *laissez faire* system of earlier times. It is the record of this memorable debate which Huan K'uan,⁵ a scholar of Hsüan-ti's time (73-49 B.C.), has preserved in the *Yen T'ieh Lun*.

Huan K'uan's work, though nominally representing a debate on the state control of salt and iron, actually covers a far broader field than the title indicates. It touches various problems of government, domestic and external policies, social and economic questions.⁶ Though classed among the *ju-chia* writers, Huan K'uan cannot be charged with withholding the most telling arguments of his antagonists, the *legalist* administrators. The work is notable for its impartial and objective exposition of the principles of the two opposing groups of the Han period. The arguments advanced on either side receive equal attention.

The literati attacked the state monopoly of salt and iron, the imposition of the wine tax and the system of *equable marketing*, i.e., equalized or balanced transportation, on the grounds that it was the competition of the state with the people in commerce. This, they

¹ 搜粟都尉, 桑宏羊, Cf. YTL., p. 89, note 3.

² YTL., ch. I, opening para.

³ Ibid., p. 33.

⁴ Ibid., p. 1; cf. also, p. 36, note 9, for this date.

⁵ 桓寬.

⁶ Cf. Index for topical headings of the various chapters.

held, created an atmosphere of greed and extravagance among the people leading them from the essential (agricultural) pursuits to non-essential (commercial) enterprises.¹ The officials are represented as replying to the charge with arguments based on reasons of national defence. The Hsiung Nu, fierce nomads beyond the northern frontiers, were a national menace. To protect the inhabitants of the marches, fortresses must be established and garrisoned. To finance these operations, the very measures complained of had been adopted.² This is the fundamental reason for the introduction of the state administration of essential commodities in Han Wu Ti's time, called into being primarily by the urgent needs of frontier defence.

Again these realistic statesmen pointed out that the wealth of salt and iron was concealed in remote mountains and lonely marshes, and could be exploited only by rich and aggressive individuals. Prior to the institution of state control, there were the examples of Ping of Chü among the commoners, and among the nobles there was Prince P'i of Wu.³ The possession of the resources of the mountains meant the rapid accumulation of wealth, firstly by coinage of money, and secondly by the manufacture of arms. The salt industry was highly profitable. Both the salt and iron industries favored seditious enterprises and full-blown rebellions.⁴ It was because of the existence of such evils that state monopolies had been introduced. These measures had centralized financial power in the imperial government as against over-powerful nobles on the one hand, and prevented, on the other, exploitation of the poor by the rich.

The literati, however, had their own arguments to advance. They refuted the effectiveness of the grandiose military display and advocated pacifying the Huns through the all-rewarding influence of a benevolent rule.⁵ They saw no value in the cold barren lands, the desolate wastes, inhabited by the Hsiung Nu, and emphasized the self-sufficiency and wealth of the Middle Kingdom.⁶

¹ YTL., ch. I, *passim*.

² *Ibid.*, ch. I, p. 3; ch. XII, *passim*.

³ 匈奴; 漢 吳王. Cf. YTL., p. 30, note 3.

⁴ YTL., p. 35.

⁵ YTL., p. 4, para *f*.

⁶ YTL., pp. 6, 90, 93, 100, et al.

The spokesmen for the government maintained, on the other hand, that the repeated incursions of the Hsiung Nu at the frontier could only be held in check by military force. As the financing of the troops depended upon revenue from salt and iron, the abolition of the government monopoly would mean the cessation of military expeditions and injury to the prestige of the Empire.¹ Neither did they hold that the lands of the barbarians² were valueless. They recalled how in former days the central districts of the Empire were over-populated. Supplies of water and fodder were insufficient and the hot damp summers were unfavorable for raising horses³ and cattle.

All labor being done by men, production was meagre. Even the old and the weak had to carry burdens on the roads and the ministers and officials had often to ride in ox carts. But after the extensive conquests of the Warrior Emperor in the south, in the west, and over the Hsiung Nu of the north, the standard of living had been greatly improved. Exotic products filled the palace, and fine horses the Imperial stud. The populace could now ride on excellent mounts and enjoy delicious fruits.⁴ A curious argument was put forth too. The new system placed in the hands of the state the trade whereby the barbarians were *deprived* of their wealth.⁵ This novel theory was developed as a means of getting control of the wealth of the barbarians:

"Now the treasures of the mountains and marshes and the reserves of the *equable marketing* system are means of holding the balance of natural wealth and controlling the principalities. Ju Han gold and other insignificant articles of tribute are means of inveigling foreign countries and snaring the treasures of the Ch'iang and the Hu. Thus a piece of Chinese plain silk can be exchanged with the Hsiung Nu for articles worth several pieces of gold and thereby reduce the resources of our enemy. Mules, donkeys, and camels enter the frontier in unbroken lines; horses, dapples and bays and

¹ YTL., p. 3.

² Chinese Turkestan, the Ordos, and other northerly and western regions.

³ Horses have generally not been raised in China due to climatic reasons or shortage of forage. They are to the present obtained from the northern dependencies, especially Mongolia where they are extensively bred.

⁴ YTL., pp. 14—15; 92—93.

⁵ YTL., p. 14 seq. Cf. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 49—50, for a similar principle of the *Shang-tzu* argument, which is the centry of the mercantile theory.

prancing mounts, come into our possession. The furs of sables, marmots, foxes and badgers, colored rugs and decorated carpets, fill the Imperial treasury, while jade, and auspicious stones, corals and crystals, become national treasures. That is to say, foreign products keep flowing in, while our wealth is not dissipated. Novelties flowing in, the government has plenty. National wealth not being dispersed abroad, the people enjoy abundance.¹

To meet the Scholars' advocacy of a return to agricultural pursuits, Sang Hung-yang asserted that state control of salt and iron would concentrate the people on the land, thus actually encouraging agriculture.² His Literati opponents, with bitter irony, maintained the contrary, "Far-sighted and far-reaching in intent is your policy but contiguous with profit for powerful families. The aim of your prohibitory laws is profound indeed, but manifestly leading you into the path of wild extravagance.... The result is that we see the farmer abandoning his plough and toiling no more; the people becoming vagabonds or growing idle — and why? Because while they toil, others reap the fruit of their labor. Wasters continue to compete with each other, unceasingly trying to reach higher levels of extravagance. This is the only explanation for the people increasing in dishonest practices and the dwindling number of those who turn to fundamental occupations [agriculture]."³

The Literati, and their associates the Worthies, had been summoned to discuss "the grievances of the people".⁴ These were the various forms of injustice, extortion and inconvenience, which the people were subjected to by the salt and iron monopolies, the liquor excise and the system of *equable marketing*. The men of letters were concerned in opposing, as a matter of principle, state interference in commerce and industry. For such policies were those of the *legalist* school represented by Shang Yang, Ch'ao T'so and Li Ssü, all of whom are criticised by the Literati in the debate.⁵

There is, however, a deeper motivation for the courage of the

¹ YTL., pp. 14—15.

² YTL., ch. VI, para 6.

³ YTL., ch. IX, para c.

⁴ YTL., ch. I, para a, 民間所疾苦. Ibid., note 4.

⁵ YTL., chs. VII, VIII and XVIII.

"country intellectuals", as represented at least in Huan K'uan's composition, in opposing the policies of the powerful Minister, Sang Hung-yang. This is their determination to recover the "Confucian" prerogative of advisor to the Throne, a position wrested from them by the adroit *legalist* statesmen, in actual control of state affairs. Their vigorous denunciation of the administrators of the Ch'in and early Han periods, turns at times to a violent invective upon the actual government authorities participating in the debate (usually returned with interest by the latter).¹ The *Yen Ti'eh Lun* thus plays its role among those inspired documents which, like the *Hsin-yü* of Lu Chia² of a century and more earlier, were designed for the express purpose of accomplishing the reinstatement of the scholars in their traditional position of mentor to the Son of Heaven.

¹ See for example the expressions used in ch. VI, "swallows and sparrows", "frogs in a well", "snakes and rats"; and the abusive allegory of "the Kite of T'ai Shan", employed in ch. XVIII.

² Rendered into German, with introduction and notes, by A. von Gabain, *Ein Fürstenspiegel: Das Sin-yü des Lu Kia*, in *Mitteil. des Sem. für Orient. Sprachen*, XXXIII, i, 1930.

CHAPTER II

THE DISCOURSES AND THEIR AUTHOR

§ 1. *Huan K'uan and his Work*

What is known of the author of the Discourses on Salt and Iron and the origin of his work is summarized in the preface to the *hung-chih* edition. This note, generally repeated in succeeding redactions, was composed by a scholar named Tu Mu¹ of Wu Chün² in the 14th year of the *hung-chih*³ era of the Ming dynasty (1501 A.D.), by way of a tribute to his fellow licentiate in letters T'u Chen.⁴

"The *Yen T'ieh Lun*, consisting of 10 books in 60 chapters", wrote Tu, "was composed by Huan K'uan, *tzü* Ts'ü Kung,⁵ a native of Ju Nan,⁶ who served in the Han dynasty as the *T'ai-shou-ch'êng*⁷ of Lu Chiang.⁸ The debate on salt and iron is said to have taken place in the *shih-yuan*⁹ era of the Emperor Chao (86—81 B.C.). The recommended Worthies and Scholars,¹⁰ in response to an Imperial summons and inquisition, petitioned that the official monopoly of salt and iron in the Imperial commanderies and feudal states¹¹ be removed. A prolonged disputation ensued between them and the Lord Grand Secretary¹² the *Yü-shih ta-fu*, Sang Hung-yang. The salt and iron control was nevertheless not [materially] relaxed.¹³

"During the reign of the Emperor Hsüan (73—49 B.C.), Master Huan developed and expanded the subject matter [in the form of a dialogue]¹⁴ in order to establish a school of thought. The book

¹ 都穆. ² 吳郡. ³ 宏治. ⁴ 涂楨.

⁵ 桓寬字次公. ⁶ 汝南. ⁷ 太守丞.

⁸ 廬江. ⁹ 始元. ¹⁰ 賢良文學.

¹¹ 郡國. ¹² 御史大夫.

¹³ Cf. YTL, ch. XLI, concluding para., where it is stated that the lequor excise and the iron controllers in Kuan-nei were removed as a consequence of the objections of the Worthies and Scholars.

¹⁴ Omitted in some editions.

was engraved and printed in the Sung dynasty;¹ but due to the lapse of many generations, it became gradually lost in transmission and was little known to people. Master T'u of Hsin Kan,² while in his second year of office at Chiang Yin,³ found himself in a position to give effect to his administrative policies and to turn to numerous activities along hitherto neglected lines. In moments of freedom from his duties in *renovating the people*,⁴ he devoted himself to editing this book. From his own means he had it printed, so that students might enjoy the literature of the ancients in its complete form. Master T'u undoubtedly had in mind the benefit to his own age of the work's exposition of the principles fundamental to good government; its disapproval of private profiteering showed the way, moreover, how the state might be the gainer, for the advantage of posterity".

The work of the Han literatus Huan K'uan is thus cast in the form of a debate. This type of logomachy as a literary *genre* had been already suggested, in more or less formal style, in writings previous to Huan K'uan. Traditionally, the earliest of these might be taken to be the "Counsels of the Great Yü",⁵ in its present recension, part of the spurious text in "ancient characters", faked by Mei Tsê⁶ in the 4th century A.D., and the "Counsels of Kao Yao",⁷ part of the authentic text, of the *Shu-Ching* (Part I, chaps. iii and iv).

The *Mêng-tzû*⁸ is largely in the form of dialogues. The work of Hsün-tzû,⁹ the philosopher of the third century B.C., contains particularly a debate (chap. XV) on military questions between himself and the Lord of Ling Wu,¹⁰ the King of Chao¹¹ presiding and occasionally interjecting an observation. At the beginning of the *Shang-chun-shu*¹² occurs a brief debate,¹³ "On the reform of the law", an

¹ For recorded Sung editions see section 2, p. XXXV, *infra*.

² 新淦. ³ 江陰.

⁴ 親民, an elegant literary touch, *Ta-hsüeh*, para. 1.

⁵ 大禹謨. ⁶ 梅賾.

⁷ 皋陶謨. ⁸ 孟子. ⁹ 荀子.

¹⁰ 靈武. ¹¹ 趙. ¹² 商君書.

¹³ *Shang-chün-shü* ch. I, para. 1 [Duyvendak 167—175].

imitation of a discussion on the advisability of adopting the clothes of the Hu barbarians in chapter VI of the *Chan-kuo-ts'ê*.¹

In fact, the literature of the ante-Han period may be classified as in the two categories of discourses and chronicles. The former is represented by a large part of the *Shu-ching*, by the *Kuo-yü*² and the *Chan-kuo-ts'ê*³; while the latter is exemplified by the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, its three so-called commentaries, the *Tso-chuan*,⁴ the *Ku-liang*,⁵ and the *Kung-yang*.⁶ Even in the *Tso-chuan*, the novel method appears of a debate by means of quotations from the *Shih-ching*,⁷ which itself is in part antiphonal.⁸ This form becomes, one may say, a literary obsession with Chinese writers beginning with Ch'ü Yüan's *Chiu Wen*,⁹ and continuing with Ssü-ma Hsiang-ju,¹⁰ the *Liang Tu Fu*¹¹ of Pan Ku¹² and their innumerable literary heritors.¹³

In Chapter XXI of the *Shih-chi*, a debate is described between the scholars Yüan Ku,¹⁴ tutor of the Prince of Ch'ing Ho,¹⁵ and Master Huang,¹⁶ on the question of whether Ch'êng T'ang¹⁷ and Wu Wang¹⁸ were justified in overthrowing the traditional tyrants Chieh and Chou.¹⁹ The discussion pointed ultimately to justification of regicide and the name of the founder of the reigning house of Han, Kao Tsu,²⁰ emerged. The presiding Emperor Wu-ti enforced the clôtüre to the embarrassing controversy by observing that "because one fond of meat did not eat horse liver, did not indicate that he was without a taste for delicacies; that is to say: because a scholar did not discuss T'ang and Wu assuming imperial authority, proved [only] that he was [discreet,] not stupid".²¹ Again in 135 B.C., Wu-ti sub-

¹ Duyvendak, *Book of Lord Shang*, 146.

² 國語. ³ 戰國策. ⁴ 左傳.

⁵ 穀梁 ⁶ 公羊 ⁷ 詩經.

⁸ Cf. Granet, *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine*.

⁹ 屈原, 九問. ¹⁰ 司馬相如. ¹¹ 兩都賦. ¹² 班固.

¹³ For the place of these writers in Chinese prose, cf. Margouliès, *Evolution de la prose artistique chinoise*, passim.

¹⁴ 轅固. ¹⁵ 清河王. ¹⁶ 黃生. ¹⁷ 成湯.

¹⁸ 武王. ¹⁹ 桀紂. ²⁰ 漢高祖.

²¹ 食肉不食馬肝不爲不知味言學者無言湯
武受命不爲愚.

mitted to his council the question of the demands of the nomad Hsiung Nu for a royal marriage alliance. Whereupon Wang K'uei¹ and Han An-kuo² debated the matter. The famous VIth chapter of the *Shih-chi* represents the Ministers and Scholars assembled before the First Emperor of Ch'in, respectively offering their advice as to the conduct of the Empire. These speeches appear *in extenso*.

Thus an examination of literary material — and the examples cited could be multiplied — reveals the innumerable harangues and discussions of ancient China. From very early times obscure scribes had employed the debate between Sovereigns and their ministers as a literary artifice to express their own ideas.³ The record of debates before the Throne from the Chou to the Han doubtless stimulated Huan K'uan to produce a literary work in the complete style of the debate. With a store of previous literary specimens cast in the same mould, and the historical debate of 81 B.C. to record, it is to be expected that he would employ this form. It thus fell to Huan K'uan to provide this perfected stylistic medium in the development of Chinese prose writings.

§ 2. The Various Editions.

The earliest printed editions of the *Yen T'ieh Lun*, of which there is record, are the two noted in the bibliography of editions of works issued in the Sung and Yüan dynasties, entitled *Sung Yüan pên shu-mu hsing-ko-piao*.⁴ One is known as the *Sung shun-hsi pên Yen T'ieh Lun*.⁵ This is in 10 *chüan*.⁶ It has nine columns to each half-*folio*, and 18 characters to each column. It is called the *Sung Yüan old edition*.⁷ The information is quoted from the catalogue entitled *Shu ching yen-lu*.⁸ The other edition is the *Sung pên Yen T'ieh Lun*.⁹ It is described as in 12 *chüan*, with 10 columns

¹ 王恢. ² 韓安國.

³ Cf. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 435—436.

⁴ 宋元本書目行格表.

⁵ 宋淳熙本鹽鐵論. ⁶ 卷.

⁷ Loc. cit., *chüan* b, 19 b.

⁸ 書經眼錄. ⁹ 宋本鹽鐵論.

to each half-*folio*, and 18 characters to each column. A description of the work is quoted from the catalogue entitled *Ch'ih ching shu-mu*:¹ "On the back of the last folio of each *chüan* there is the following colophon in two columns:² "Fine edition published by the family of Chang the tax controller, a native of Chin-ch'i, in the year when the reign title was changed to *shun-hsi* [1174]".³

One of the leading editors and commentators of the late Manchu period, Wang Hsien-ch'ien,⁴ observes in his edition of the *Yen T'ieh Lun*:⁵ "The best copy of the *Yen T'ieh Lun* is the reprint of the *chia-t'ai*⁶ edition of the Sung dynasty [1201—1204]. This was made by T'u Chên, a mayor of Hsin Kan in the 14th year of *hung-chih* era in the Ming period [1501]. During the *chia-ching* period [of the Ming dynasty, 1522-1566],⁷ Chang Chih-hsiang of Yün Chien⁸ issued a new edition with explanatory notes, the text being divided into 12 *chüan*, the original having 10 books. This edition was reprinted by Wang Mo (Ch'ing era)⁹ in his augmented edition of the *Han Wei Ts'ung Shu*, the *Collected Works of the Han and Wei Dynasties*.¹⁰ Due to omissions and changes in words and sentences, this particular recension has been criticized by authorities. Lu Wên-chao, [tzu Shao-kung¹¹ 1717-1795], by means of a comparative study of the copy in the *Yung-lo* encyclopaedia,¹² the T'u edition and the Chang recension, made some corrections in his *Additional Collection*

¹ 持靜書目.

² 清熙改元錦溪張監稅宅善本.

³ The writer is indebted to Mr. M. J. Hagerty, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, for these bibliographical notes.

⁴ 王先謙.

⁵ Cf. Vol. II, notes, p. 1.

⁶ 嘉泰. ⁷ 嘉靖. ⁸ 雲間張之象.

⁹ 王謨. ¹⁰ 漢魏叢書.

¹¹ 盧文弨字召弓. Giles, *Biogr. Dict.* 1438.

¹² 永樂大典. An encyclopaedic work of unparalleled bulk (11,095 volumes containing 22,937 books) compiled from 1403 to 1409 A. D., by order of the third Emperor of the Ming dynasty, whose reign title was *Yung-lo*. Cf. W. T. Swingle's description of this monumental work in *Reports of the Librarian of Congress, Orientalia added*, 1922—23, 187—195.

of *Miscellaneous Works*, *Ch'ün Shu Shih Pu*.¹ In the 12th year of *chia-ch'ing* [1807] ² Chang Tun-jên, [*tsü Ku Yü*]³ reprinted the T'u edition, supplemented by his *Exegetical Notes*,⁴ bringing out many points not covered by Lu.

If we are to rely on the results of Wang Hsien-ch'ien's researches, it may be concluded that the earliest edition preserved to Chinese scholarship in recent times was the *chia-t'ai* edition of the 13th century. That the records should point back to a printed edition of the Sung period is to be expected, as some centuries before Gutenberg and his press, the art of book-printing by engraved blocks reached the height of perfection in China.

The *chia-t'ai* edition is unfortunately lost to the world, but T'u's reprint of the *hung-chih* period of the Ming era is in current use; and its photographic reproduction is now available in the extensive anthology of Chinese literature known under the title of *Ssü Pu Ts'ung K'an*,⁵ *The Collected Reprints of the Four Divisions*.⁶ This edition is regarded generally as the most authentic. It is not clear whether the manuscript copy included in the great encyclopaedia *Yung-lo Ta Tien* was taken from the *chia-t'ai* edition or from an independent source. As this anthology provided parts of the succeeding *Imperial Complete Collection of the Four Libraries*, the *Ssü K'u Ch'üan Shu*,⁷ another of the vast literary compilations of China and to which access has only recently been afforded, the question remains for investigation at some future time. The edition which Chang Chih-hsiang freely arranged as to organisation, punctuation and textual renderings (the text of the *Han Wei Ts'ung Shu*), does not mention its sources. Its variations from the T'u reprint, however, are

¹ 羣書拾補. ² 嘉慶.

³ 張敦仁字古餘. ⁴ 考證.

⁵ This assembly of the "bibliographic riches of China" consists of photographic reproductions of famous old editions of important Chinese works. Cf. W. T. Swingle, op. cit., 1922—23, 174 seq. It is published by the Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai.

⁶ 四部叢刊.

⁷ 四庫全書. Only the catalogue of this work has been printed, containing about 10,585 separate works, representing upwards of 36,000 volumes. A set of this marvelous compilation made in the *ch'ien-lung* era (1736—1795 A. D.), is recently announced as having been placed in the new Metropolitan Library at Pei-p'ing.

now generally regarded as Chang's own work.¹ The Lu edition provides a text based upon a comparative study of the T'u reprint, the *Yung-lo Ta Tien* text, and Chang Chih-hsiang's edition.

The best edition today is doubtless that of Wang Hsien-ch'ien, published in 1891² by the Ssü Hsien Chiang Shê.³ The text is based on the T'u reprint; but for the sake of comparative study, Wang inserts as notes in appropriate sections the textual corrections and comments of the preceding editors Chang Chih-hsiang, Lu Wên-chao and Chang Tun-jên. In addition he appends to his two volumes a body of "Minor Research Notes" of unusual value. These are formed from quotations from the *Yen T'ieh Lun* culled from various works of the T'ang and Sung dynasties.⁴

In the preparation of the present translation into English, reliance has been placed chiefly on the invaluable edition of Wang Hsien-ch'ien. The reprints in the *Ku Shu Ts'ung K'an*⁵ collection, and the *Han Wei Ts'ung Shu* (representing the Chang Chih-hsiang edition), and the *Ssü Pu Ts'ung K'an* reprint (T'u's edition), have been utilized in connection with Wang Hsien-ch'ien's annotated work. The texts made use of by Chinese editors of the *Yen T'ieh Lun* since the Sung era, and their relationship, are represented in the following chart. Necessarily the two editions of the *shun-hsi* era of the Sung dynasty, known only through the catalogues, are not included.

¹ Franke in his recent analysis of the *Yen T'ieh Lun* (Staatssozialistische Versuche im alten und mittelalterlichen China, *Sitzungsberichten der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1931. XIII, 223—225, 223, note 1) describes only the Chang Chih-hsiang edition of 12 *chüan*. The original number of *chüan* was ten, as indicated in early bibliographical references. Cf. p. XL, infra.

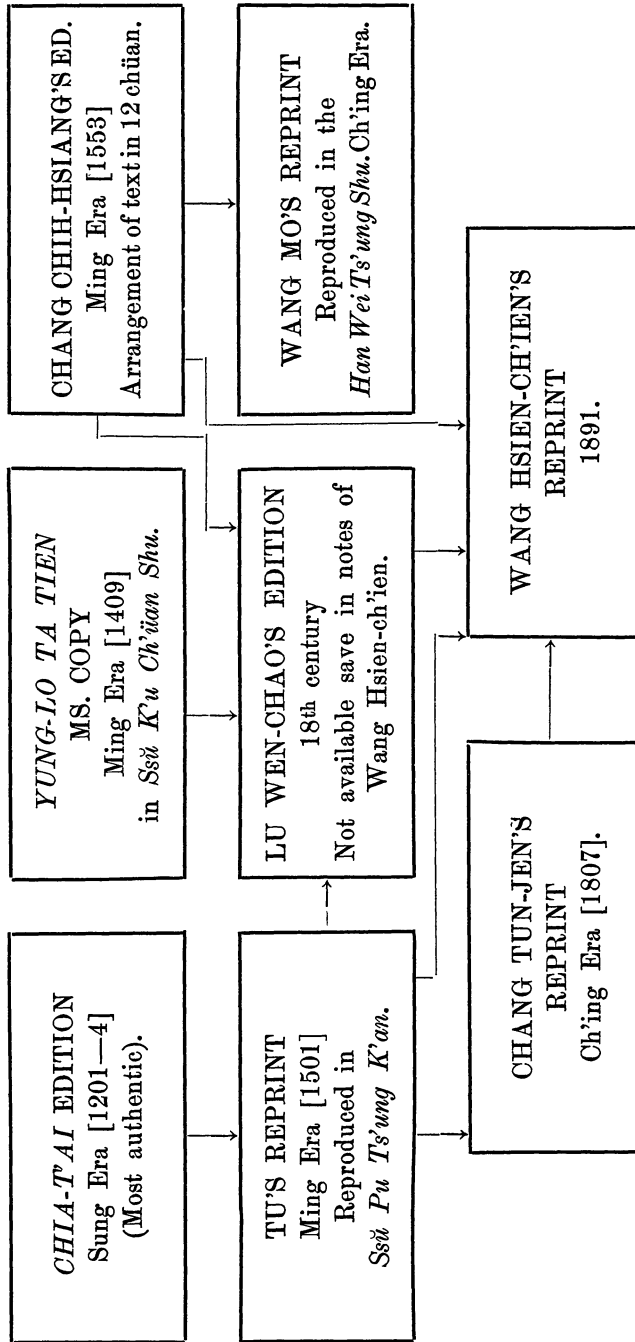
² 光緒辛卯. ³ 思賢講舍.

⁴ E. g., the *Pei T'ang Shu Ch'ao* 北堂書鈔, (circ. 601—610 A. D.); the *I Wên Lei Chü* 藝文類聚 (circ. 627—649 A. D.); the *T'ai P'ing Yü Lan*

太平御覽 (circ. 983 A. D.); the *Ts'ê Fu Yüan Kuei* 冊府元龜 (circ. 1005 A. D.); and the *Ch'u Hsüeh Chi* 初學記 (T'ang period).

⁵ 古書叢刊.

The Relationship of the Editions of the *Yen T'ieh Lun* since the Sung Era.



§ 3. *Authenticity of the Text.*

Textual variations are to be found in the several extant reprints of the *Yen T'ieh Lun*. These are traceable doubtless to the inaccuracy of early scribes, who in the course of over a thousand years must have frequently recopied the work, before the block-printing of books in Ssü-ch'uan, from the ninth century A.D.¹ Moreover, there is much divergence of opinion among the various later editors as to the "corrections" which should be made. Nevertheless, no Chinese critic, ancient or modern, is on record, so far as investigations disclose, who questions the genuineness of this work of the first century before the Christian Era.

The earliest notice of the book is found in the Bibliographical Section of the *Ch'ien-han-shu*² which lists "the ten books of the *Yen T'ieh Lun* by Huan K'uan". In the same work, in the chapter XXXVI on T'ien Ch'ien-ch'iu,³ Chancellor when the debate on Salt and Iron took place and presiding officer of the forum, the concluding chapter of the *Yen T'ieh Lun* is quoted *in extenso*, though with some omissions and alterations of the wording. Yen Shih-ku,⁴ the commentator of the T'ang period, appends the following note: "In Chao Ti's time the Chancellor and the Secretaries debated the salt and iron question with the Worthies and Literati. Huan K'uan edited the discourses."⁵ To be sure, it cannot be ascertained whether the excerpt in the *Ch'ien-han-shu* represents the original text of Huan K'uan. It is possible to believe that the quotation is a modified citation which Pan Ku, the great historiographer of the early Han dynasty, made to suit his own literary taste. Chinese prose writing developed with extraordinary rapidity in the century between the two writers; and already Huan K'uan's style may well have appeared archaic in thought and expression to the skilful artist in rhythmic prose who composed the celebrated *fu* of the "Two Capitals".

Throughout succeeding centuries, the Discourses receive due notice in dynastic histories, in the sections devoted to bibliographical

¹ Cf. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and its spread Westward*, in Chap IX, 48.

² Loc. cit., ch. XXX, Literary Records, 11.

³ 田千秋.

⁴ 顏師古.

⁵ 撰次之.

notices. Thus the *Sui-shu*¹ (ch. 34), the *Chiu T'ang-shu*² (ch. 47), the *Hsin T'ang-shu*³ (ch. 59), and the *Sung-shih*⁴ (ch. 205), each list the *Yen T'ieh Lun* in ten *chüan*. Huan K'uan is named as the compiler in each case, and is classed with the Confucian writers. The three great early encyclopaedic compendia of literature, often grouped together as the *San T'ung*,⁵ equally take notice of the work, either by unacknowledged extracts from its text (a not uncommon practice of the compilers of these *Lei-shu*⁶ or anthologies), or by direct name and citation. Thus the *T'ung Tien*⁷ (ch. 10) and the *Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao*⁸ (ch. 15) quote at length from the *Yen T'ieh Lun* without indicating the source. The *T'ung Chih*⁹ does the same in ch. 62; while in ch. 66 of the latter and ch. 209 of the *Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao*, Huan K'uan and his work in ten *chüan* are listed. In all these notices, the author of the Discourses is grouped among the *ju-chia* writers, save in the *Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao*, where its compiler, the celebrated Chinese economist Ma Tuan-lin,¹⁰ places him among the writers on economics.

Internal evidence is lacking, as well, to cast doubt upon the general authenticity of the work ascribed to Huan K'uan, or to indicate that it was in whole or in part a fabrication of later writers, despite the proneness of Chinese scholars of the early centuries of our era to foist upon the literary world spurious productions of their own as the works of the ancients. The style of the language throughout, save where obvious glosses of the scholiasts occur, reveals that it is a work of one hand. The philosopher and essayist Wang Ch'ung¹¹ provides a very early reference to Huan K'uan and his discourses on salt and iron, in the XXXVIIth chapter of the *Lun Hêng*: "It is very difficult to equal Huan Chün Shan's writings. When two blades cut one another, we see, which is sharp and which blunt, and when two treatises are composed together, one finds out, which of the two is right and which wrong. This is the case of the 'Four Difficulties' by Han Fei Tse, the treatise on 'Salt and

¹ 隋書.² 舊唐書.³ 新唐書.⁴ 宋史.⁵ 三通.⁶ 類書.⁷ 通典 (early 9th century).⁸ 文獻通考 (13th century).⁹ 通志 (12th century).¹⁰ 馬端臨. ¹¹ 王允, d. circ. 97 A. D.

Iron' by Huan K'uan and the 'New Reflections' by Huan Chün Shan".¹

Differing from such ante-Han classics as the *Kuan-tzû* or the *Shang-chün-shu* or the monumental but somewhat discredited *Chou-li*, there is nothing in the *Yen T'ieh Lun* to lend itself, or give inducement, to fabrication. It does not assume to be the work of a great and original thinker, for with extraordinary objectivity the author sets forth the arguments of two schools of thought, and it is only due to certain subtleties of presentation that the editor of the debate slyly indicates his prejudices² in favor of the doctrinaire scholars and thus merits in the Imperial catalogue a somewhat reluctant assignment to the *ju-chia*, adherent of the "Confucian" school.³

Huan K'uan thus does not expound exclusively the doctrines of any particular school, however many there were in his day. In fact the arguments placed in the mouths of the government spokesmen are frequently all too convincing to the Western reader! Yet, as indicated, the author's sympathy is with the Confucianists. Nor does he advocate any systematized program of political, social and economic reform or reconstruction such as is found in the much disputed *Chou-li*, save in the way of pleas, voiced by the Worthies and Literati in the debate, for economic measures of a more *laissez faire* nature, and for a more conservative foreign policy. These are only natural reactions of the national exhaustion induced by the over-active reign of "The Conqueror", Wu-ti. All evidence then points to the conclusion that the *Yen T'ieh Lun* is the authentic work of Huan K'uan in the first century before our era, despite some possible minor corruption of the extant text. It cannot be held, to be sure, that it is an exact and literal record of the discussions of the famous forum of 81 B.C., as they took place between the unofficial "opposition" and the government spokesmen; but that it is generally faithful to the principles and policies which might well have been advocated in the verbal joust before the Throne, there is no sufficient reason to doubt.⁴

¹ 論衡. Forke's translation, I, 468.

² Cf. p. XLIX, *infra*.

³ Cf. Franke, *op. cit.*, p. 223, conclusion of note 1.

⁴ "An seiner Echtheit zu zweifeln haben wir keinen Grund", agrees Professor Franke, *op. cit.*, 223.

CHAPTER III

HUAN K'UAN AS PROSE WRITER

§ 1. *Stylistic Features*

"Pre-Confucian" literature was in style terse, simple and direct. As authentic examples there remain the *Shih-ching* and parts at least of the *Shu-ching*. After the *Ch'un Ch'iu* ¹ period (VIIIth—Vth cents. B.C.) and especially in the era of the Warring States ² (Vth—IIIrd cents. B.C.) came the introduction, then the general prevalence, of an involved, prolix, and ornate style. Due to the so-called southern influence, the school of Ch'u, ³ and the "diplomats", *shuo-k'o*, ⁴ the one exemplified in the *Chuang-tzū* ⁵ and the *Lì Sao* ⁶ of Ch'ü Yüan, ⁷ the other in the discourses of Su Ch'in ⁸ and Chang Yi, ⁹ and the celebrated memorial of Li Ssü ¹⁰ on the employment of "foreigners" in the state, ¹¹ a more poetic and emotional style developed. In the philosophical writings of the schools of Lu and Ch'i ¹² in the ante-Han period, structure is subordinated to logical exposition. ¹³

Chia I ¹⁴ is the typical writer of the early Han. His style is held by the lettered to be one of the most beautiful of all Chinese literature. He already manifests a tendency towards the erudite style, with frequent references to names famous in history and tradition. By Wu-ti's time this characteristic became emphasized. Two types of literary allusion appear. One takes the form of brief aphorisms, upon which the argument is developed as a preacher does with his

¹ 春秋.

² 戰國.

³ 楚.

⁴ 說客.

⁵ 莊子.

⁶ 離騷.

⁷ 屈原.

⁸ 蘇秦.

⁹ 張儀.

¹⁰ 李斯.

¹¹ 諫逐客書.

¹² 魯齊.

¹³ Margouliès, op. cit., has furnished one of few studies in a Western language of the development of Chinese prose style. For his exposition of the ante-Han schools of writers, cf. loc. cit., 24 seq.

¹⁴ 賈誼.

"text". Or again the style assumes the form of a literary mosaic harmoniously pieced together by means of sentences and phrases culled from a variety of sources. The latter stylistic method undoubtedly became more favored by Huan K'uan's time with the rising tide of literary production, as well as because of the recovered writings of the pre-Ch'in period, furnishing a vast treasury to draw upon. The literary renaissance of the early Han produced material which rapidly became stereotyped in its frequency of usage.

The new erudite style depended largely upon quotations from the writings of the Confucian school, later to become the "canonical" books. Well known authors provided further material. The writers of the time indicated their reverence for the old as advocated by the Great Sage himself, by "transmitting antiquity".¹ The abundance of classical allusions and historical references led to their later often absurd applications. The work of Huan K'uan reflects in their entirety these marked literary characteristics of his time.² His *Yen T'ieh Lun* combines the style of the discourses of the Warring States and the didactic style of the philosophers; while the influence of the revival of the "old learning" in the early Han, with its reverence for the writings attributed to Confucius and his followers, is clearly discernible.

A noteworthy feature of Chinese prose style is the *binome* or *synonym-compound*. Two simple monosyllabic words with the same, or at least analogous, meanings are joined together to form a single idea. While this device is already found in the *Mencius*, the two words forming the *binome* still may usually be translated singly, i.e., each with its original meaning. The *synonym-compound* as employed by Huan K'uan furnishes a formidable difficulty to the translator. The two words *yen t'ieh* in the title of the work itself, literally "salt-iron", actually connote "state monopoly of national resources",

¹ 述古 cf. *Lun-yü* VII, 1.

² E.g., YTL. chaps. II, V and XV, especially, where both parties to the debate bandy to and fro the same stereotyped quotation. An alert officer in Chao-ti's reign is recorded as having received the Imperial commendation for justifying the prompt apprehension of a pretender to the throne by a ready historical citation. "Ministers and officers should have ready", said the Emperor, "convincing canonical or historical citations, for every situation!" Wiegner, *Textes hist.*, I, 575.

and illustrate the fondness of the Chinese writer for the balance of two complementary words or phrases.¹ This linguistic phenomenon doubtless indicates a significant trend in the development of the essentially monosyllabic Chinese language.² In many cases the literal translation of the *binome* is superfluous. For example, *chün* and *kuo*, "provinces and demesnes", are almost invariably placed together, by literary habit, as it were. The question arises whether the *binome* represents a natural development of the language in an unconscious attempt to escape the difficulties of homophony; or as might be the case in relation to the written language, which appeals the eye only and not the ear, simply an affection of style.

The former hypothesis has some justification, for Chinese prose was sufficiently young to have escaped, as yet, on the whole, the later processes of "fossilisation", by being divorced from the actual spoken language.³ The prose of the Han era, influenced doubtless by the older literature, brought to light in the "revival of antiquity" was simple in style. In discourses such as those of Chia I or as in *Huai-nan-tzû*, the style followed the *Lun-yü* or the *Mêng-tzû*. In narratives as found in the *Shih-chi* or the *Ch'ien-han-shu*, the *Tso-chuan* or *Kuo-yü* formed the models. The prose literature of the

¹ Some couplets of this type from the text are the following:

稼穡 *chia-sé*, sow-harvest: crop.

賢聖 *hsien-shéng*, worthy-sage: the wise and saintly.

羌胡 *Ch'iang-Hu*, Western-Northern Barbarians. Barbarian tribes in general.

璧玉 *pi-yü*, jewel-jade: gem.

珠璣 *chu-chi*, bead-pearl: gem.

犀象 *hsi-hsiang*, rhinoceros-elephant: ivory.

京師 *ching-shih*, capital-multitude: capital city.

殷富 *yin-fu*, replete-wealthy; abounding.

鎔鑄 *jung-chu*, melt-fuse: cast [metal].

郡國 *chün-kuo*, military commandery-feudal state: province.

² Cf. Karlgren, *Sound and Symbol in Chinese*, passim.

³ "The great syncretism (in grammar and vocabulary) which characterizes literary Chinese from the Han period onwards, was the direct outcome of the book-burning and the ensuing sanctity of the earlier texts." Karlgren *On the Authenticity of the Tso Chuan*, 64.

time, though not identical with the spoken language of the people, retained much of the natural grammar and construction. In fact, in many cases, the spoken language was partially employed and incorporated in written forms. Instances of this are found in the *Shih-chi* and *Ch'ien-han-shu*.¹ Thus, while the prose of Ssü-ma Hsiang-ju (d. B.C. 117) is already indicative of the "fossilization" of Chinese writing, Huan K'uan at least in his liberal use of the *binome* retained touch with the spoken language.

§ 2. *The Citatory Element*

A study of the composition of the *Yen T'ieh Lun* discloses a valuable deposit of material² indicative of the literary resources available to the Chinese writer of the first century before the Christian era. The intellectual backgrounds of the men of letters of the time are made clear through their marked predilection for the use of quotation and allusion. Our own medieval scholastics, "well read in the Latin writers", scarcely equalled in resourcefulness and versatility the literary giants of China, who could at will dig down into the colossal literature of all preceding time and extract an historical or literary similitude to round out their thought. Stereotyped and dogmatic quotation makes its appearance particularly since the Middle Han period, together with cadenced sentence and topical parallelism. Such early Han writers as Chia I³ or Ch'ao Ts'o,⁴ and their successor Tung Chung-shu,⁵ are not found to employ the quotation as a mere literary affectation, but as the necessary basis upon which an argument should rest.

An examination of the borrowed material, the *bagage littéraire*, of Huan K'uan in his complete sixty chapters discloses some one hundred and twenty-nine direct citations from at least twenty different

¹ Hu Shih, *History of Pai Hua Literature*, chap. IV, Prose of the Han Dynasty.

² Cf. Appendix.

³ 賈誼.

⁴ 晁錯.

⁵ 董仲舒. For an analysis of Tung Chung-shu's personality and his literary work see Franke, *Das Problem des Tsch'un-ts'iu und Tung Tschung-schu's Tsch'un-ts'iu fan lu*, Pt. II.

sources. These frequently represent variants from the present-day texts.¹ In the *Yen T'ieh Lun* it is noteworthy that about four-fifths (over ninety) of the quotations emanate from the side of the Worthies and Scholars, the *Hsien-liang* and *Wên-hsüeh*.² Of the entire number, thirty citations are identified as from the *Lun-yü* to which may be added seven ascribed generally to K'ung Tzŭ.³ Ten are from the *Mêng-tzŭ*;⁴ thirty-three from the *Shih-ching* and eighteen from the *Ch'un-ch'iu* (9)⁵ and its commentaries (9).⁶ The remaining represent direct quotations from the *I-ching* (6),⁷ the *Shang-shu* (2)⁸ [*Shu-ching*],⁹ T'ai Kung (1),¹⁰ Kuan Tzŭ (4),¹¹ Lao Tzŭ (3),¹² Yen Tzŭ (1),¹³ Kung-sun Lung (1),¹⁴ Lu Lien (1)¹⁵ [Lu Chung-lien],¹⁶ Yang Tzŭ (1)¹⁷ [Yang Hu or Huo],¹⁸ Sun Tzŭ (1)¹⁹ [Hsün Tzŭ],²⁰ Han Tzŭ (1)²¹ [Han Fei],²² Chia I (1),²³ and Ssü-ma Ch'ien (1).²⁴ These are all introduced by 曰, 云, 言, or 有言. Seven are ascribed to popular sayings.²⁵

A number of personages are mentioned in the text but with no citations from the works attributed to them. We look in vain for the name of the brilliant Chuang Tzŭ.²⁶ The perhaps apocryphal Su Ch'in²⁷ and Chang I,²⁸ whose speeches enliven the *Chan-kuo-ts'ê*²⁹ and are repeated in the *Shih-chi*, are made to appear in the *mise en scène*, but provide nothing for the argument. Tung-fang So³⁰ is mentioned twice, but not Tung Chung-shu, and neither are quoted.

¹ On the provenience and authenticity of various ante-Han texts cf. Maspero in *Journal Asiatique*, CCX, 144—52, and Karlgren, On the Authenticity of Ancient Chinese Texts, in *Bul. of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 1, 165—183.

² 賢良文學. For the definition of these terms, cf. Biot, op cit., 135.

³ 孔子.

⁴ 孟子. ⁵ 春秋. ⁶ 傳. ⁷ 易經. ⁸ 尚書.

⁹ 書經. ¹⁰ 太公. ¹¹ 管子. ¹² 老子. ¹³ 晏子.

¹⁴ 公孫龍. ¹⁵ 魯連. ¹⁶ 魯仲連. ¹⁷ 陽子.

¹⁸ 陽虎, 陽貨. ¹⁹ 孫子. ²⁰ 荀子. ²¹ 韓子. ²² 韓非.

²³ 賈誼. ²⁴ 司馬遷. ²⁵ 語, 鄙語.

²⁶ 莊子 Cf. YTL., p. 114, note 6. ²⁷ 蘇秦. ²⁸ 張儀.

²⁹ Loc. cit., ch. III et passim; *Shih-chi*, LXIX, LXX.

³⁰ 東方朔.

A chapter for each is devoted to Shang Yang¹ and Ch'ao Ts'o² but no acknowledged quotations appear from the works accredited to them. Neither the *Chan-kuo-ts'ê*, the *Han-shih-wai-chuan*,³ or the *Kuo-yü*⁴ is cited by name. Yet the six hundred and twenty-five authors and their works listed in the bibliographical section of the *Ch'ien-han-shu* indicate the volume of literature which may have been available to Huan K'uan. There are accordingly interesting and unexplained lacunae in the citations.

Various conclusions may be drawn from this survey. The author's later editors take it that "he enlarged upon and expanded the ideas set forth in the debate in order to form a school of thought."⁵ The supposition is then that the compilation is not a verbatim report, recorded by Huan K'uan at the time of the great forum of 81 B.C. On the one hand, accordingly, it may be assumed that the compiler of the *Lun* had access to no other material than the authorities actually cited in his text. Many works had been destroyed in the first "bibliothecal catastrophe", the holocaust of literature instigated by Ch'in Shih Huang-ti's minister Li Ssü (213 B.C.). During the disorders which followed the fall of the Ch'in house, and the struggle between Han and Ch'u, most of the great cities were burned. These were the seats of the feudal princes, many of whom as literary Maecenases, such as the later Liu Tê, Prince of Ho-chien,⁶ had made collections of books. The country-side, too, was ravaged by the armies of the generals contending for the Empire.

Only a century or less before Huan K'uan, the law for the suppression of literary works was formally repealed (191 B.C.). Despite vigorous efforts made to recover the ancient writings, even towards the close of the first century B.C. many works were still wanting and others incomplete. It remained for Liu Hsiang⁷ and his son Liu Hsin⁸ in that time to restore the national library as represented in the catalogue of the *Ch'ien-han-shu*. Even if works lay buried in the Imperial archives, as appears to have been the

¹ 商鞅.

² YTL., chs. VII and VIII.

³ 韓詩外傳.

⁴ 國語.

⁵ *Yen T'ieh Lun*, *Hung-chih* ed., preface.

⁶ 河間王德.

⁷ 劉向.

⁸ 劉歆.

case of the *Tso-chuan*,¹ Huan K'uan unlike the Grand Astrologer Ssü-ma Ch'ien and his successor the Archivist Liu Hsin, may not have gained access to them, though residing at the capital as a *lang*.² Later as a provincial *t'ai-shou-ch'êng* at Lu Chiang the presumption is that he would be without easy access even to standard material.

On the other hand, with a voluminous and varied literature already in existence and accessible, the author seems likely to have restricted his references to such works as were immediately pertinent to his argument. Moreover as an adherent of the Han *ju* school, he would defer to those works which, while not yet formally elevated to the *Canon*, where the only primary sources from which to draw lofty moral precepts and sound principles of government. The scholar disdained to make use of those writers who "at times deny the teaching of the classics and criticize the sages, and at times glorify spiritual beings and gods and put faith in prodigies."³ This explains the paucity of quotations or complete disregard of the writings of the economic and jurist school, such as represented by the *Kuan-tzû*, the *Shang-chün-shu*, and the *Han-fei-tzû*, works in circulation in Ssü-ma Ch'ien's time.⁴

Huan K'uan was steeped in the *Kung-yang* commentary⁵ of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*.⁶ Hence after the apostolic *Shih-ching* and *Lun-yü*, the greatest number of references attach to this work, which so engrossed the earlier Han scholars. Seven of the quotations assigned to the *Ch'un-ch'iu* derive from the famous commentary itself.

¹ Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, I, CXCIC, *ap. Ch'ien-han-shu*.

² *lang* 郎 — "chamberlain", "page"; *t'ai-shou-ch'êng* 太守丞 — second administrative officer in a province of the Empire, "deputy governor". Cf. preface to the *Hung-chih* ed. of the *Yen T'ieh Lun*.

³ *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. LXXX, quoted by Chavannes, *op. cit.*

⁴ *Shih-chi*, chaps. LXII, LXVIII; Duyvendak, *op. cit.*, 31, 131 seq.; *Ch'ien-han-shu*, chap. VI, under first year of Wu-ti.

⁵ 公羊傳 "... the dry-as-dust and stale moralizing of Ku-liang and Kung-yang.... the real representatives of the Confucian tradition.... predominant in the centre of the national studies...." Karlgren, *On the Authenticity of the Tso Chuan*, 9, *passim.*; Franke, *op. cit.* 56—86.

⁶ *Chung Kuo Jen Ming Ta Tz'ü Tien*, 812, *ap. Ssü K'u Ch'uan Shu* catalogue: 治公羊春秋.

None of the ascriptions to the *Chuan* are derived from the *Tso-chuan*, although the *Ch'ien-han-shu*¹ indicates that the latter was in circulation in Ching-ti's time (156—141 B.C.). With four-fifths of the quotations belonging to the Confucian bibliography, and half of these from the *Shih-ching* and the *Lun-yü*, these two works appear thus to have already formed the vademecum of the scholar of the time. Contrasted with seeming carelessness in other directions, both of these works are quoted on the whole accurately and faithfully.²

It is a striking fact that Huan K'uan's work reveals only one direct quotation from the monumental compilation of his immediate predecessor, and in part at least contemporary, the historiographer Ssü-ma Ch'ien. Too, the quotation is placed in the mouth of the Lord Grand Secretary, Sang Hung-yang, who speaks of his authority as Ssü-ma Tzū.³ The great historiographers's death has been determined as occurring at the beginning of the reign of Chao-ti (86-74 B.C.).⁴ Thus it is probable that his life terminated shortly before the great debate of the second lunar month of 81 B.C. Had the *Shih-chi* been accessible to Huan K'uan, and had he chosen to make use of it, he would have had at hand a veritable thesaurus of material upon which to draw. Ssü-ma Ch'ien himself records that he placed one copy of his work — whether on boards or silk rolls, we do not know — in the Imperial library, and one at the Capital.⁵ But the *Shih-chi*, in the form completed by its compiler, appears to have

¹ Loc. cit., ch. LIII. Karlgren, op. cit. 29, points to the existence of the *Tso-chuan* in Ssü-ma Ch'ien's time, the text of which the latter paraphrased in the *Shih-chi*. Thus it should have been in existence when Huan K'uan wrote. The identification of the quotations from the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and its (?) *chuan*'s presents a particularly difficult problem. It seems as if the text of the *Kung-yang* commentary in Huan K'uan's time differed somewhat from the modern one. This may possibly explain why so few of the quotations can be found in the present text. On the other hand, the term *chuan*, especially as prefixed to longer quotations that are not in the terse style of Kung-yang, might possibly refer to some other "Record" or "Commentary" unknown to us. Cf. YTL., pp. 9, 96, et al.

² It is to be noted that most of the garbled or mislabelled quotations are put by Huan K'uan into the mouths of the representatives of the "Government party", either out of malice, or to indicate the contempt in which the parvenus of the time held letters. Cf. YTL., pp. 7, 22, 30, 43, 57, 99, et al.

³ 司馬子. Cf. YTL., p. 116, note 1.

⁴ A discussion of this doubtful point is found in Chavannes, *Mém. hist.* I, XLIV.

⁵ *Shih-chi*, ch. CXXX, noted by Chavannes, op. cit. I, CXCVIII.

been withheld from general publication for reasons of state, until Hsüan-ti's time (73-49 B.C.), to be again withdrawn from public circulation in 28 B.C. Its contents represented material of a "heterodox" and otherwise dangerous nature, in contemporary opinion.¹ Thus only a few privileged persons could have had access to its treasures.

It has been found, on the other hand, that the *Shih-chi*, though quoted directly only once by the high officer of state, Sang Hung-yang, yields a number of parallels to Huan K'uan's citatory passages. But Huan K'uan's citations, notably in the case of the *Lun-yü*, prove to be more faithful to the accepted (i. e. present day) texts than those of the historiographer.² Ssü-ma Ch'ien makes a notably limited use of the *Shih-ching*. Only six principal citations from this earliest of extant Chinese literary documents have been noted by Chavannes,³ although others are suggested as occurring; Huan K'uan's *Yen T'ieh Lun* contains no less than thirty-three direct quotations. It may thus be concluded that Huan K'uan had available his own collection of books, from which his citations were culled. Certain passages in the *Yen T'ieh Lun* parallel in style or content the *Shih-chi*.⁴ This suggests little more than that these writers were familiar with the same documents, and that both made use of much which had become common property through oral tradition. Yet the occurrence of an actual quotation from Ssü-ma Ch'ien's work, in the words of the historiographer himself, would tend to indicate that Huan K'uan, nevertheless, was familiar with the *Shih-chi*. The caution in its use, however, would seem to corroborate the tradition of its contemporary disfavor.

The foregoing examination of Huan K'uan's intellectual background reveals with some certainty this early Han writer's place in the evolution of China's school of letters. He represents, in a word, the beginning of the Chinese scholastic mentality. The time had arrived when the ascendancy of the "Confucian" bibliography

¹ Chavannes, loc. cit.

² Cf. Chavannes, op. cit., I, chap. III, passim.

³ Op. cit., I, cxxxvii.

⁴ Two interesting examples are found in chaps. VI (p. 34), VII (pp. 47, 49) and XIX (p. 123) of the YTL.

induced the scholars to ignore the litterature which later was to be definitely regarded as non-canonical. Immediately before him, Ssü-ma Ch'ien earned the condemnation of his own generation by an indiscriminating eclecticism in the employment of all extant literature. Huan K'uan's work may thus be regarded as among the earliest influences which finally formed the Confucian canon.

APPENDIX

*Direct Quotations in the Yen T'ieh Lun*¹

(Chapters I—LX)

The numerals refer to the books (*chüan*) and pages of Wang Hsien-ch'ien's edition of the *Yen T'ieh Lun*. References to the *Lun-yü* are to Soothill's edition, *The Analects of Confucius*, Yokohama, 1910. Those to the *Shih-ching*, *Shu-ching*, and *Mêng-tzû* are to Legge, *Chinese Classics*. Asterisks (*, **, ***), following the *Yen T'ieh Lun* references, designate various degrees of discrepancy between the citations and present-day texts.

I. Quotations from the *Lun-yü*:

<i>YTL.</i> I, 1 <i>b</i>	<i>Lun-yü</i> XVI, I, 10
I, 2 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i> XVI, I, 11
I, 8 <i>a</i> *	<i>ib.</i> XIX, VII
II, 10 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i> IX, VIII
II, 11 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i> XIII, III
II, 11 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i> XVII, VII
II, 13 <i>a</i> ***	<i>ib.</i> XV, XXXIX
II, 13 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i> IX, III
III, 2 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i> IV, XIII
III, 5 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i> XII, IX
IV, 3 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i> VI, IX
IV, 4 <i>b</i> *	<i>ib.</i> VII, XI
IV, 5 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i> XV, XI
IV, 8 <i>a</i> *	<i>ib.</i> XVI, III
IV, 8 <i>b</i> —9 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i> XVII, V
V, 2 <i>b</i> **	<i>ib.</i> XVIII, II
V, 5 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i> VI, XXIII

¹ I have assembled here all references occurring throughout the entire work of Huan K'uan, not limiting myself to the first nineteen chapters of his text translated in this volume.

<i>YTL.</i>	V, 5 <i>b</i>	<i>Lun-yü</i>	V, ix
	V, 8 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	IX, xxix
	V, 9 <i>a</i> **	<i>ib.</i>	III, iv
	V, 9 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i>	IV, xxv
	V, 11 <i>a</i> **	<i>ib.</i>	II, vii
	V, 13 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i>	XI, xvi
	VI, 8 <i>b</i> ***	<i>ib.</i>	VIII, iv
	VI, 12 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	VIII, x
	VI, 12 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	XIX, xix
	VI, 13 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	XIII, ix
	VII, 1 <i>a</i> *	<i>ib.</i>	XV, v
	IX, 8 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i>	XI, xi
	X, 10 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	XII, xiii

II. Quotations from the *Shih-ching*:

<i>YTL.</i>	I, 4 <i>b</i> , 5 <i>b</i>	<i>Shih-ching</i>	IV, i, (iii), VI
	I, 9 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	II, vi, VIII, 3
	I, 12 <i>b</i> —13 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	II, v, I, 4
	III, 6 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i>	II, iii, IV, 3
	III, 7 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	IV, i, (i), VI
	IV, 1 <i>a</i>	not in <i>Shih-ching</i> ; cf. <i>Mencius</i> , V. i. IV, 2	
	IV, 1 <i>b</i>	<i>Shih-ching</i>	I, viii, VII, 1
	V, 4 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	IV, i, (i), I; III, i, I, 2?
	V, 7 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i>	III, iii, I, 7
	V, 10 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	II, i, IX, 5
	V, 13 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	III, ii, X, 3
	VI, 1 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i>	II, iv, VII, 1
	VI, 3 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i>	I, xv, I, 7
	VI, 13 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i>	II, vi, VIII, 3
	VII, 4 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	II, i, VII, 6
	VII, 4 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i>	I, i, I, 2
	VII, 5 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i>	I, x, VIII, 1
	VIII, 2 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i>	I, iii, IX, 3
	VIII, 3 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i>	II, iv, VIII, 11
	VIII, 7 <i>b</i> *	<i>ib.</i>	III, iii, II, 5
	VIII, 9 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i>	III, iii, II, 8
	VIII, 9 <i>b</i> *	<i>ib.</i>	III, ii, VIII, 1—3

<i>YTL.</i> IX, 1a	<i>Shih-ching</i> III, i, X, 6
IX, 1a	<i>ib.</i> II, iii, III, 5; II, i, VIII, 3
IX, 1b*	<i>ib.</i> II, iii, III, 1
IX, 5b	<i>ib.</i> III, ii, IX, 1
IX, 9b	<i>ib.</i> IV, i, (i), IX
IX, 10b	<i>ib.</i> IV, i, (i), VIII
X, 2a	<i>ib.</i> II, v, IX, 1
X, 4b	<i>ib.</i> IV, i, (ii), VII
X, 5a	<i>ib.</i> II, iv, X, 1
X, 7a	<i>ib.</i> II, iv, VIII, 6
X, 8b*	<i>ib.</i> II, v, I, 6

III. Quotations from the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and its (?) *Chuan*:

<i>YTL.</i> I, 3ab	?
I, 10a	?
II, 2a	not in the <i>Ch'un-ch'iu</i> , but in <i>Kung-yang Chuan</i> 桓公 XV
II, 5a	?
II, 6b	<i>Kung-yang Chuan</i> 僖公 XXXI
II, 8a	?
III, 4b	?
III, 6a	?
V, 1b	?
V, 12a	?
VII, 2a	(old saying, cf. <i>K'ang Hsi Tzū Tien</i> sub 探 ?)
VII, 5a **	<i>Kung-yang Chuan</i> 僖公 IV
IX, 3a	<i>Ch'un-ch'iu</i> , 莊公 IX; cf. <i>Kung-yang</i> in loc.
IX, 4a	?
IX, 6a	not in the <i>Ch'un-ch'iu</i> ; <i>Kung-yang Chuan</i> 莊公 XXX
IX, 9b	not in the <i>Ch'un-ch'iu</i> , <i>Kung-yang Chuan</i> 宣公 XV
X, 2b	?
X, 6a **	not in the <i>Ch'un-ch'iu</i> ; <i>Kung-yang Chuan</i> 成公 XVI

IV. Quotations from the *Mêng-tzŭ*:

<i>YTL.</i> I, 8 <i>ab</i> ***	<i>Mencius</i> I, I, 3, 3
II, 11 <i>a</i> ***	<i>ib.</i> VI, I, 9, 3
II, 6 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i> VII, I, 37, 2
V, 12 <i>b</i> ***	<i>ib.</i> VI, II, 7
VI, 14 <i>a</i> ***	<i>ib.</i> I, I, 3, 5
VII, 4 <i>b</i>	?
VII, 5 <i>a</i> *	<i>Mencius</i> III, I, 1, 4
VII, 6 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i> I, I, 2, 5
VIII, 5 <i>a</i>	<i>ib.</i> VI, II, 9, 3
X, 11 <i>b</i>	<i>ib.</i> V, I, 8, 4

V. Quotations from sayings of Confucius:

<i>YTL.</i> I, 8 <i>a</i> ?	<i>YTL.</i> VII, 5 <i>a</i> ?
V, 13 <i>a</i> ?	IX, 1 <i>a</i> , ? <i>Chung Yung</i>
V, 13 <i>a</i> , <i>Hsiao-ching</i> , ch. XV	X, 11 <i>a</i> ?
V, 1 <i>ab</i> ?, cf. <i>Lun Hêng</i> , ch. XXIX, 2	

VI. Miscellaneous quotations:

a. *I-ching*:

<i>YTL.</i> I, 2 <i>a</i> 繫辭下	<i>YTL.</i> IX, 4 <i>a</i> 繫辭下
V, 8 <i>a</i> ?	IX, 9 <i>a</i> Hexagram 14
V, 11 <i>a</i> Hexagram 63	IX, 10 <i>a</i> Hexagram 2

b. *Shu-ching*:

<i>YTL.</i> II, 8 <i>a</i> II. iii. 4	<i>YTL.</i> VI, 7 <i>a</i> V. xiii. 12
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c. *Kuan-tzŭ*:

<i>YTL.</i> I, 2 <i>b</i> ?	<i>YTL.</i> VI, 13 <i>a</i> *	<i>Kuan-tzŭ</i> ch. I, also ch. LXXX
I, 8 <i>a</i> ?	X, 2 <i>a</i> **	<i>ibid.</i> ch. I

d. Lao Tzŭ:

<i>YTL.</i> I, 2 <i>b</i> ?	VIII, 8 <i>a</i> * <i>Tao-tê-ching</i> ch. L;	X, 6 <i>b</i> * <i>ibid.</i> ch. LVII
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e.

T'ai Kung	<i>YTL.</i> I, 10 <i>b</i>	?
Yen Tzŭ	V, 8 <i>b</i> ? cf. <i>Yen Tzŭ Ch'un Ch'iu</i> 外篇	
	VIII	
Kung-sun Lung	VI, 9 <i>a</i>	?

LVI

Lu Lien	IX, 6 <i>b</i> <i>Chan-kuo-ts'ê</i> ch. XX; <i>Shih-chi</i> ch. LXXXIII
Yang Tzŭ	IV, 3 <i>a</i> Yang Hu? See Mencius III, I, 3, 5. Cf. <i>Lun-yü</i> XVII 1
Sun Tzŭ	IX, 7 <i>a</i> ? <i>Hsün-tzŭ</i>
Han Tzŭ	X, 3 <i>a</i> ? <i>Han-fei-tzŭ</i> ; cf. <i>Shih-chi</i> , ch. LXIII
Chia Shêng (Chia I)	VI, 9 <i>a</i> ?
Ssŭ-ma Tzŭ	IV, 6 <i>b</i> <i>Shih-chi</i> , ch. CXXIX, preface.
Popular sayings	III, 1 <i>b</i> ; V, 10 <i>a</i> ; VI, 9 <i>a</i> ; 10 <i>b</i> ; VII, 2 <i>a</i> ; VII, 8 <i>b</i> ; VIII, 2 <i>b</i> .

TRANSLATION
OF THE
DISCOURSES ON SALT AND IRON
CHAPTERS I TO XIX

CHAPTER I

THE BASIC ARGUMENT

a. It so happened that in the sixth year of the *shih-yüan* era ¹ an Imperial edict directed the Chancellor² and the Imperial secretaries³ to confer with the recommended Worthies and Literati,⁴ and to enquire of them as to the rankling grievances among the people.⁵

b. The Literati⁶ responded as follows: It is our humble opinion that the principle of ruling men lies in nipping in the bud⁷ wantonness and frivolity, in extending wide the elementals of virtue,⁸

¹ In the second month of the sixth year of Chao Ti's reign according to the *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. VII (81 B. C.). See Introduction.

² 丞相. Chang* inserts a note based upon T'ien Ch'ien-ch'iu's 田千秋 biography to prove that T'ien was the "Chancellor" of the debate; also known as 車千秋.

*Note: References to the principal editions and commentators will be given hereafter as Chang (Chang Chih-hsiang), Lu (Lu Wên-chao) and Wang (Wang Hsien-ch'ien). The various editors are discussed under "Editions of the *Yen T'ieh Lun*" in the Introduction.

³ 御史: Yü-shih, i.e., Sang Hung-yang 桑宏羊, the "Lord Grand Secretary", and his assistants. Son of a shop-keeper of Loyang, he was made a 侍中 at the age of thirteen due to his ability in "mental arithmetic" 心計. In 110 B.C. he was promoted 搜粟都尉. For his biography, cf. *Ch'ien-han-shu*, XXIV, 6.

⁴ 所舉賢良文學: the Worthies and Literati who took part in the debate had been selected and recommended in the preceding year, (*Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. VII). Persons so designated were first called upon to discuss official affairs in the 11th month of the second year of Wên Ti's reign. See the edict in *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. IV., where the Emperor summons them to 以匡朕之不逮.

⁵ 民間所疾苦; thus the actual subject for discussion was not specifically "the salt and iron monopolies", as indicated in the title of the work.

⁶ Presumably a "spokesman" from among the Literati group assembled.

⁷ 防...本; Chang reads 坊. Cf. K'ang Hsi Dictionary on 坊.

⁸ For 道德 the *T'ung-tien* reads 教道(導), "education".

in discouraging mercantile pursuits, and in displaying benevolence and righteousness. Let lucre never be paraded before the eyes of the people; only then will enlightenment flourish and folkways improve.

c. But now, with the system of the salt and iron ¹ monopolies, the liquor excise, ² and *equable marketing*, ³ established in the provinces and the demesnes, ⁴ the Government has entered into financial competition with the people, ⁵ dissipating primordial candor and

¹ 鹽鐵. As to the establishment of the salt and iron control, the *Shih-chi* (Chayannes, *Mém. hist.* III, 570—71) relates that in 119 B. C. two wealthy manufacturers of salt and iron, Tung-kuo Hsien-yang 東郭咸陽 and K'ung Chin 孔僅, were designated to organize the state administration of these two commodities throughout the Empire. A special office 官府 within the Treasury 大農 was created for this purpose. For the political rôle of salt in ancient China to the establishment of a definitive system of state control in the Early Han era, see E. M. Gale, *Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association* (1929), "Historical Evidences Relating to Early Chinese Public Finance"; also O. Franke, in *Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, (1931), XIII, "Staats-sozialistische Versuche im Alten und Mittelalterlichen China".

² 酒權; evidently a system of state supervision and taxation (excise) imposed upon the wine trade. The term 權 has been preserved in this special sense in connection with the transportation, distribution and sale of salt in the officially supervised "salt transportation offices" in the four central China provinces. These bureaux are designated 權運局, where salt transported by private merchants is sold by official agency and a tax collected. Cf. E. M. Gale, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, (Vol. 152, November, 1930) "Public Administration of Salt in China: A Historical Survey".

³ 均輸. I have adopted the term *equable marketing* to designate this interesting attempt to solve the problem of distribution in Han times. It has also been translated as "equalized transportation", "adjusted taxation". It appears to be also the name of the officials charged with the administration of the system. The *Shih-chi* (chap. XXX) assigns its institution to K'ung Chin and Sang Hung-yang. The institution of *chün shu* dates from the second year of *yüan-ting* (115 B. C.). These functionaries were distinguished as 令 (principals) and 丞 (assistants). They were under the "Treasury" 大農. Their actual duty was to equalize or balance prices by transporting commodities from such places as they were abundant to where they were scarce. The two characters signify "to equalize and to transport". Cf. Chayannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 579, note 4; also, Franke, *op. cit.*

⁴ 郡, 國. For definitions see glossary.

⁵ Chang's explanatory note gives the quotations from the *Ch'ien-han-shu*, XXIV, 6, and *Shih-chi*, XXX, clarifying these technical terms.

simplicity and sanctioning propensities to selfishness and greed. As a result few among our people take up the fundamental pursuits of life,¹ while many flock to the non-essential.² Now sturdy natural qualities decay as artificiality thrives, and rural values decline when industrialism flourishes. When industrialism is cultivated, the people become frivolous; when the values of rural life are developed, the people are simple and unsophisticated. The people being unsophisticated, wealth will abound; when the people are extravagant, cold and hunger will follow. We pray that the salt, iron and liquor monopolies and the system of *equable marketing* be abolished so that the rural pursuits may be encouraged, people be deterred from entering the secondary occupations, and national agriculture be materially and financially³ benefited.

d. The Lord Grand Secretary said:⁴ When the Hsiung Nu rebelled against our authority and frequently raided and devastated the frontier settlements, to be constantly on the watch for them was a great strain upon the soldiery of the Middle Kingdom; but without measures

¹ In Wên Ti's time the same warning had been sounded, but it was as yet qualified by the word 'perhaps' 或, cf. edict in the 9th month of the second year of his reign: 農天下之大本也民所恃以生也而民或不務本而事末....

² Pên 本 and Mo 末; the "fundamental" ("radical", "constitutional") industry of the Empire was considered to be agriculture, while manufacture and trade were considered "non-essentials" ("secondary", "branch" industries). 商 and 工, trade and industry, were, of course, recognized early as legitimate occupations by the Confucian Literati, who, however, always warned the ruler against over-developing them to the detriment of agriculture. Shih Huang-ti had boasted of having 上農除末 and having enriched the people thereby (cf. *Shih-chi*, K'ang-hsi Diet. *sub* 末). 末, therefore, should be taken as designating both the *secondary professions* (legitimate, though circumscribed) and *industrialism, industrialization* (condemned *in toto*) vs. rural life, rural values, rural pursuits. Cf. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 15, 43, for a discussion of these terms as employed by the *jurists* in earlier times.

³ 廣利. The first term usually refers to the extension of acreage, while the second is applied to the disposal of the crops (distribution).

⁴ The "inferiority" of the Lord Grand Secretary is indicated by some Confucian editors, as in Chang Chih-hsiang's edition, by beginning paragraphs one space lower in the column than those in which the Literati are the interlocutors.

of precaution being taken, these forays and depredations would never cease. The late Emperor,¹ grieving at the long suffering of the denizens of the marches who live in fear of capture by the barbarians, caused consequently forts and seried signal stations to be built, where garrisons were held ready against the nomads. When the revenue for the defence of the frontier fell short, the salt and iron monopoly was established, the liquor excise and the system of *equable marketing* introduced;² goods were multiplied and wealth increased so as to furnish the frontier expenses.

e. Now our critics here, who demand that these measures be abolished, at home would have the hoard of the treasury entirely depleted, and abroad would deprive the border of provision for its defence; they would expose our soldiers who defend the barriers and mount the walls to all the hunger and cold of the borderland. How else do they expect to provide for them?³ It is not expedient to abolish these measures!

f. The Literati: Confucius observed that *the ruler of a kingdom or the chief of a house is not concerned about his people being few, but about lack of equitable treatment; nor is he concerned about poverty, but over the presence of discontentment*.⁴ Thus the Son of Heaven should not speak about *much and little*, the feudal lords should not talk about *advantage and detriment*, ministers about *gain and loss*, but they should cultivate benevolence and righteousness, to set an example to the people, and extend wide their virtuous conduct to gain the people's confidence. Then will nearby folk lovingly flock to them and distant peoples joyfully submit to their authority.⁵ Therefore *the master conqueror does not fight; the expert warrior needs no soldiers; the truly great commander requires not*

¹ Han Wu Ti 漢武帝. On his "grieving" cf. *Ch'ien-han-shu*, VI, rescript in Spring of 2nd Year of *yüan kuang* 元光, 邊境被害朕甚閔之.

² The historical reasons for the introduction of these financial expedients are given in the Introduction.

³ 贍; Chang has 澹.

⁴ *Lun-yü*, Soothill's translation, XVI, 1, 10, p. 781. 聞.... 'I have heard', omitted.

⁵ *Lun-yü*, XIII, xvi, a concept of early Chinese political writers, that the Ruler could obtain the submission of distant peoples by an example of virtue.

to set his troops in battle array.¹ Cultivate virtue in the temple and the hall, then you need only to show a bold front to the enemy and your troops will return home in victory. The Prince who practices benevolent administration should be matchless² in the world; for him, what use is expenditure?

g. The Lord Grand Secretary: The Hsiung Nu, savage³ and wily, boldly push through the barriers and harass the Middle Kingdom, massacring the provincial population and killing the keepers of the Northern Marches.⁴ They long deserve punishment for their unruliness and lawlessness. But Your Majesty⁵ graciously took pity on the insufficiency of the multitude⁶ and did not suffer his lords and knights to be exposed in the desert plains, yet⁷ unflinchingly You cherish the purpose of raising strong armies⁸ and driving the Hsiung Nu before You to their original haunts in the north. I again assert that the proposal to do away with the salt and iron monopoly and *equable marketing* would grievously diminish⁹ our frontier supplies and impair our military plans. I can not consider favorably a proposal so heartlessly dismissing the frontier question.

h. The Literati: The ancients held in honor virtuous methods and discredited resort to arms. Thus Confucius said: *If remoter*

¹ A frequently used quotation of uncertain source. The *T'ung-tien*, ch. 148, 11 r., ascribes it to 老氏 (老子?). The passage is indeed reminiscent of Lao-tzu. Cf. *Tao-té-ching*, ch. 68.

² Confucian truism; cf. Mencius, VII, II, iv, with his condemnation of "expert warriors", 有人曰我善爲陳我善爲戰大罪也.

³ 桀: Chang says, murderous, 賊人多殺. It is of course the posthumous name of the traditional tyrant Chieh, last of the Hsia.

⁴ Or the Shuo-fang 朔方 commandery established by Wu Ti. The name Shuo-fang as designating the Northern region occurs in the *Odes*.

⁵ 陛下: beneath the steps [of the Throne], "he at whose feet I am", "Your Majesty". This direct address to the Throne would indicate that the Emperor himself, although only thirteen years of age at the time (81 B. C.), was present at the debate.

⁶ 元元: a term commonly used in Imperial edicts.

⁷ Wang suggests omitting 縱.

⁸ 被堅執銳: "put on strong (armour) and seize sharp (weapons)", referring apparently to the Emperor himself.

⁹ 憂邊用: Lu thinks this an error. However, as Wang observes, it can very well be taken in the sense 邊用絕乏可憂.

people are not submissive, all the influences of civil culture and virtue are to be cultivated to attract them to be so; and when they have been so attracted, they must be made contented and tranquil? ¹ Now these virtuous principles are discarded and reliance put on military force; troops are raised to attack the enemy and garrisons are stationed to make ready for him. It is the long drawn-out service of our troops in the field and the ceaseless transportation for the needs of the commissariat that cause our soldiers on the marches to suffer from hunger and cold abroad, while the common people are burdened with labor at home. The establishment of the salt and iron monopoly and the institution of finance officials to supply the army needs were not permanent schemes; it is therefore desirable that they now be abolished.

i. The Lord Grand Secretary: The ancient founders of the Commonwealth made open the ways for both fundamental and branch industries ² and facilitated equitable distribution of goods. Markets and courts ³ were provided to harmonize various demands; there people of all classes gathered together and all goods collected, so that farmer, merchant, and worker could each obtain what he desired; the exchange completed, everyone went back to his occupation. *Facilitate exchange so that the people will be unflagging in industry* says the Book of Changes. ⁴ Thus without artisans, the farmers will be deprived of the use of implements; without merchants, all prized commodities will be cut off. The former would lead to stoppage of grain production, the latter to exhaustion of wealth. It is clear that the salt and iron monopoly and *equable marketing* are really intended for the circulation of amassed wealth and the regulation of the consumption according to the urgency of the need. ⁵ It is inexpedient to abolish them.

¹ *Lun-Yü* XVI, 1, ii, Legge's rendering.

² 開本末之途.

³ Paraphrase of the *I-ching* 繫辭下. (Legge, *Sacred Books*, vol. 16, p. 383, para. 15).

⁴ *I-ching* 繫辭下 (ibid., para. 14). This passage is quoted in Wu Ti's edict of the 3rd month of first year of *yüan shuo* 元朔, *Ch'ien-han-shu*, VI.

⁵ 委財緩急: 委 is "to amass". Cf. 委府, "Receiving Bureau" as below.

j. The Literati: Lead the people with virtue¹ and the people will return to honest simplicity; entice the people with gain, and they will become vicious.² Vicious habits would lead them away from righteousness to follow after gain, with the result that people will swarm on the road and throng at the markets. *A poor country may appear plentiful, not because it possesses abundant wealth, but because wants multiply and people become reckless*, said Lao-tzū.³ Hence the true King promotes rural pursuits and discourages branch industries; he checks the people's desires through the principles of propriety and righteousness and provides a market for grain in exchange for other commodities, where there is no place for merchants to circulate useless goods, and for artisans to make useless implements. Thus merchants are for the purpose of draining stagnation⁴ and the artisans for providing tools; they should not become the principal concern of the government.⁵

k. The Lord Grand Secretary: Kuan-tzū is reported to have said: *A country may possess a wealth of fertile land and yet its people may be underfed — the reason lying in lack of an adequate supply of agricultural implements. It may possess rich natural resources in its mountains and seas and yet the people may be deficient in wealth — the reason being in the insufficient number of artisans and merchants.*⁶

¹ Paraphrasing the *Lun-yü*, II, III.

² 薄: better perhaps, "fickle", "volatile".

³ A quotation unidentified as to its source.

⁴ Saturation of a market with local products is apparently meant.

⁵ The Literati, the representatives of the *ju-chia* 儒家 or Confucian school of the Han period, do not oppose a necessary minimum of exchange and trade. See Introduction.

⁶ The passage is not found in the present *Kuan-tzū* text. This work has been traditionally attributed to Kuan Chung 管仲, the celebrated minister of Duke Huan of Ch'i 齊桓公, of the seventh century B. C. It is now held that the original work was written at the end of the Warring States era (IV—III centuries B. C.) by perhaps several of the so-called jurists or writers on legislation. Maspero classes it as a *roman philosophique* of the second half of the fourth century B. C. As to the modern *pseudo-Kuan-tzū*, perhaps some portion of the original work remains, but intermixed with excerpts from other ancient works, as well as with entirely new interpolations. It is possible, accordingly, that Huan K'uan's citations are from a text now lost. For discussions of the composition of the *Kuan-tzū*, cf. Maspero, *Journal Asiatique*, CCX, 1927, 144—152; and Karlgren, *Bul. of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, N^o. 1, 1929, 165—183.

The scarlet lacquer and pennant feathers ¹ of Lung and Shu, the leather goods, bone and ivory of Ching and Yang, the cedars, lindera, ² and bamboo rods of Chiang-nan, the fish, salt, rugs, and furs of Yen and Ch'i, the lustrine yarn, ³ linen, and hemp-cloth of Yen and Yü, ⁴ are all necessary commodities to maintain our lives and provide for our death. ⁵ But we depend upon the merchants for their distribution and on the artisans for giving them their finished forms. This is why the Sages availed them of boats and bridges ⁶ to negotiate rivers and gulleys, and domesticated cattle and horses for travel over mountains and plateaux. Thus by penetrating to distant lands and exploring remote places, they were able to exchange all goods to the benefit of the people. Hence His late Majesty established officers in control of iron to meet the farmer's needs and provided *equable marketing* to make sufficient the people's wealth. Thus, the salt and iron monopoly and the *equable marketing* supported by the myriad people and looked to as the source of supply, cannot conveniently be abolished.

1. The Literati: That *a country possesses a wealth of fertile land and yet its people are underfed* is due to the fact that merchants and workers have prospered unduly while the fundamental occupations have been neglected. That *a country possesses rich natural resources in its mountains and seas and yet its people lack capital* is because the people's necessities have not been attended to, while

¹ 丹漆旌羽: 丹砂毛羽, in the *T'ung-tien* and the *Yü-lan*.

² 枏 "cedars", *Machilus Nanmu*; 梓 "lindera", *Lindera Tzumu*, according to H. Giles, *Chinese and English Dictionary*.

³ 漆絲 could mean also lacquer and silk; lacquer has already been mentioned and besides is not a product of Yen. The two characters are often used together and may have designated some sort of glossy silk.

⁴ Lung 隴, Shu 蜀, Ching 荆, Yang 楊, Chiang-nan 江南, Yen 燕, Ch'i 齊, Yen 兗, Yü 豫; see glossary for these geographical names.

⁵ The whole sentence is greatly reminiscent of the *Shih-chi* Ch. CXXIX, preface. Some of these geographical divisions retain the names given the nine *Chou* of the *Shu-ching*, Yü-kung.

⁶ For this passage cf. the *I-ching* (繫辭下). 'Availed them of boats and bridges', lit. 'of the use of....' 舟楫之用.

luxuries and fancy articles have multiplied. The fountain-head of a river cannot fill a leaking cup; mountains and seas cannot overwhelm streams and valleys. This is why P'an Kêng practised communal living, Shun hid away gold, and Kao Tsu forbade merchants and shopkeepers to be officials.¹ Their purpose was to discourage habits of greed and fortify the spirit of extreme earnestness. Now with all the discriminations against the market people, and stoppage of the sources of profit, people still do evil. What if the ruling classes should pursue profit themselves? The *Chuan* says, *When the princes take delight in profit, the ministers become mean; when the ministers become mean, the minor officers become greedy; when the minor officers become greedy, the people become thieves.*² Thus to open the way for profit is to provide a ladder to popular misdemeanor.³

m. The Lord Grand Secretary: Formerly the Princes in the provinces and the demesnes sent in their respective products as tribute. The transportation was vexacious and disorganized;⁴ the goods were usually of distressingly bad quality, often failing to repay⁵ their transport costs. Therefore Transportation Officers have been provided in every province to assist in the delivery and transportation and for the speeding of the tribute from distant parts. So the system came to be known as *equable marketing*. A Receiving Bureau has been established at the capital to monopolize⁶ all the commodities,

¹ 盤庚, 舜, 高祖; see glossary for these names. A variant for the last is 高帝 (Chang) which would alter the reference from the founder of the Han house, who is held to have enacted discriminatory regulations against merchants, to the practices of the "ancient Emperors".

² The source of this quotation is uncertain. 傳 may simply mean a transmitted saying. This question is discussed in the Introduction.

³ 爲民罪梯者: a phrase employed in the *Kuan-tzŭ*, as Chang points out.

⁴ 雜: Lu suggests 難, so the *T'ung-tien*, which is a good emendation according to Wang.

⁵ 或: omitted by the *T'ung-tien*, which Wang approves.

⁶ 籠: 'cage', 包舉 'gather together', *K'ang Hsi Dictionary*, cf. *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. XXIV: 籠貨物籠鹽鐵.

buying when prices are low, and selling when prices are high,¹ with the result that the Government² suffers no loss and the merchants cannot speculate for profit.³ This is therefore known as the *balancing standard*.⁴ With the *balancing standard* people are safeguarded from unemployment; with the *equable marketing* people have evenly distributed labor. Both of these measures are intended to equilibrate all goods and convenience the people, and not to open the way to profit and provide a ladder to popular misdemeanor.

n. The Literati: The Ancients in levying upon and taxing⁵ the people would look for what the latter were skilled in, and not seek for those things in which they were not adept. Thus the farmers contributed the fruits of their labor, the weaving women, their products. Now the Government leaves alone what the people have and exacts what they have not, with the result that the people sell their products at a cheap price to satisfy demands from above. Recently in some of the provinces and demesnes they ordered the people to make woven goods. The officers then caused the producers

¹ 賤即買貴則賣: for 即 Lu suggests 則. In old texts both characters are used as practically synonymous.

² 縣官: "the Government of the Emperor".

³ 無所貿利: for 貿 Chang and the *T'ung-tien* have 牟. So also the *Shih-chi*, ch. XXX, 富商大賈無所牟大利.

⁴ 平準: this was the organ (and the designation of the officials in charge) established at the Capital to regulate the delicate mechanism of the 均輸. The measure, for which Sang Hung-yang was responsible (adopted in 110 B.C.), is described in the *Shih-chi* (Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 598). There would be established in the Capital *p'ing chün* who would have charge of deliveries and shipments for the whole Empire. The several officers of the *ta nung* were to buy up all merchandise and commodities of the Empire. When they were dear, they would sell; when they were cheap, they would buy. Thus it would follow that the rich traders and the big shop-keepers could not make great profits and would return to the fundamental occupations; and furthermore commodities would no longer undergo fluctuations in price; by this means there would be regulation of prices throughout the whole Empire. The famous chapter XXX of the *Shih-chi* obtains its title from this expression, *p'ing chün*.

⁵ 賦稅: a binomial compound representing both levies on the people (計口發財) and taxes on grain and merchandise. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 541, note 6, explains these terms.

various embarrassments and bargained with them. What was collected by the officers was not only the silk from Ch'i and T'ao, or cloth from Shu and Han,¹ but also other goods manufactured by the people which were mischievously sold at a standard price. Thus the farmers suffer twice over² while the weaving women are doubly taxed. We have not yet seen that your marketing is "equable". As to the second measure under discussion, the government officers swarm out to close the door, gain control of the market and corner all commodities. With commodities cornered, prices soar; with prices rising, the merchants make private deals by way of speculation. Thus the officers are lenient to the cunning capitalists, and the merchants store up goods and accumulate commodities waiting for a time of need. Nimble traders and unscrupulous officials buy in cheap to get high returns. We have not yet seen that your standard is "balanced." For it seems that in ancient times *equable marketing* was to bring about equitable division of labor and facilitate transportation of tribute; it was surely not for profit or to make trade in commodities.

¹ Ch'i 齊, T'ao 陶, Shu 蜀, Han 漢: see glossary.

² 重: ch'ung.

CHAPTER II

HOLD FAST THE PLOUGH

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: The true King should stopper Nature's wealth,¹ restrict and regulate tax-barriers and markets; in his hand lies the power of adjusting the balance of trade and in his keeping is the right utilization of the seasons; for through his control of the *ratio of production*² he can curb the people. In years of abundance with harvest tall, he stores and bins to provide for times of scarcity and want; in evil years of dearth he circulates moneys and goods and tempers the flow of surplus to meet³ the deficiency. In ancient days during the flood of Yü and the drought of T'ang, when the masses of the people, at the end of their resources, were forced to borrow from one another in order to obtain the prime necessities of life, food and clothing, Yü coined money for the people out of the metal of Li Shan, and T'ang out of the copper of Yen Shan, and the world praised their benevolence.⁴ Some time ago, on account of financial difficulties, our fighting forces occasionally could not get their pay. Recently⁵ due to natural calamities East of the Mountains, Ch'i and Chao⁶ suffered from a

¹ The *Kuan-tzû*, ch. LXXXIV, uses the expression 官天財.

² 輕重, as in chap. XIV, i. e., the balance between agriculture, and industry and trade. The compound lends itself to a variety of interpretations, "the light and the heavy", i. e., weight; "les poids du léger et du lourd" (Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 602), "money" (idem, IV, 49). The present rendering is adopted as suiting Huan K'uan's theme.

³ The *T'ung-tien* reads 拯 for 調.

⁴ 禹...歷山,..湯....嚴山: cf. the *Kuan-tzû*, ch. LXXV: 湯以莊山. For these mountains see glossary.

⁵ 而, but the *T'ung-tien* has 今, "more recently", in opposition to 往者, "some time ago".

⁶ 齊, 趙.

major famine.¹ It was entirely due to the stores accumulated through the system of *equable marketing* and the hoard in public granaries that the troops were provided for and the distressed people succored. Thus the goods of *equable marketing* and the capital of the Treasury are not for the purpose of exploiting the people or solely for military uses, but also for the relief of the needy and as a recourse against flood and drought.

b. The Literati: The rulers of antiquity taxed the people but a tithe, while they kept open the ponds and weirs according to season without restrictions, so that all the *Black Haired People spread themselves in the southern fields*² never neglecting their occupations. Thus *three years' farming would yield a store of one year's surplus; nine years' farming would yield a store of three years' surplus.*³ This is how Yü and T'ang prepared against flood and drought and made the people content. But if the grass and weeds be not cleared and the fields not regularly cultivated, there would be no sufficiency even though a monopoly over the wealth of the mountains and seas be effected and a hundred sorts of profit⁴ be developed. Hence the ancients honored manual labor and attended to the fundamental industry, so that they sowed and planted in abundance, everyone worked on the land according to season, and food and clothing were always sufficient. People did not suffer even in the face of several bad years. Agriculture should be the fundamental occupation of men, clothes and food being of primary necessity to the people. With both of these attended to, the country will be rich and the people at peace. In the words of the Book of Poetry: *Those hundred houses being full, the wives and children have a feeling of repose.*⁵

c. The Lord Grand Secretary: The worthies and the sages did

¹ Chang quotes the *Ku-liang Chuan*; "when the Five Cereals do not mature this produces a 大饑 major famine".

² 南畝: agricultural lands in general, as Chavannes concludes. Cf. *Mém. hist.*, III, 572, note 4.

³ This is apparently based upon the *Li-chi*, Wang Chih 王制 (Couvreur, I, 285).

⁴ 通百味之利; Lu suggests 末. Wang approves as 末 and 未 were frequently confused in ancient times.

⁵ *Shih-ching* IV, I, (iii), vi, Legge's translation.

not found their families by means of one room,¹ nor did they enrich the state through one way. Thus Kuan Chung² won the Protectorate through the shrewd use of his power, while the Fan³ clan perished because of its strength and size. If one must resort to agriculture alone to make a living and found a family, then Shun⁴ would not have had to make pottery and I Yin⁵ would not have had to be a cook. Hence, the Empire Builder acts according to the principle: *I honor what the whole world despises and value what the whole world slights.*⁶ He would exchange the non-essential for the fundamental and secure the substantial with his own emptiness. Now the treasures of the mountains and marshes and the reserves of the *equable marketing* system are means of holding the balance of natural wealth and controlling the principalities. Ju Han gold⁷ and other insignificant articles of tribute are means of inveigling foreign countries and snaring the treasures of the Ch'iang and the Hu.⁸ Thus, a piece of Chinese plain silk can be exchanged with the Hsiung Nu for articles worth several pieces of gold and thereby reduce the resources of our enemy. Mules, donkeys and camels enter the frontier in unbroken lines; horses, dapples and bays and prancing mounts,⁹ come into our possession. The furs of sables, marmots, foxes and badgers, colored rugs and decorated

¹ The Lu commentary in Wang's edition makes 術 for 室. The later Confucian commentators would doubtless delicately seek to ignore the patent fact that the ancients followed polygamous practices, as disclosed by Granet in his several studies on the matter.

² 管仲.

³ 范氏. Though Chang tries to explain this as a reference to the Fan princely house, one of the "Six Families" of Chin 晉 which brought about its downfall, 范 is undoubtedly a mistake for 紀. See glossary.

⁴ 舜.

⁵ 伊尹.

⁶ Cf. *Kuan-tzŭ*, 輕重, 乙.

⁷ 汝漢, mentioned in the *Shih-chi*, ch. CXXIX. These two rivers are spoken of by Mencius (III, i, iv, 7), after the *Shu-ching*.

⁸ 羗胡; cf. the *Kuan-tzŭ*, ch. LXXX, last para., where Kuan-tzŭ develops this idea.

⁹ Mules, donkeys and camels and 驢驘 are mentioned in the *Shih-chi*, ch. CX, as the 奇畜 rare domestic animals of the Hsiung Nu.

carpets¹ fill the Imperial treasury, while jade and auspicious stones, corals and crystals, become national treasures. That is to say, foreign products keep flowing in, while our wealth is not dissipated. Novelties flowing in, the government has plenty. National wealth not being dispersed abroad, the people enjoy abundance. So the Book of Poetry describes it: *Those hundred houses being full, the wives and children have a feeling of repose.*

d. The Literati: In ancient times merchants circulated goods without premeditation, artisans got their price² without cheating. Therefore when the true gentleman farmed, hunted or fished he was in reality doing but one thing. Trade promotes dishonesty. Artisans provoke disputes.³ They lie in wait for their chance without a scruple. Thus avaricious men become cheats and honest men avaricious. In the olden time when Chieh filled the palace halls with singing girls in embroidered clothes, I Yin withdrew himself and went to Pao,⁴ while the singing girls finally ruined his state. Now mules and donkeys are not as useful as cattle and horses. Sable and marmot furs, wool and felt goods do not add substance to silk. Beautiful jades and corals come from mount K'un.⁵ Pearls and ivory⁶ are produced in Kuei Lin.⁷ These places are more than ten thousand *li* distant from Han.⁸ Calculating the labor for farming and silk raising and the costs in material and capital, it will be found that one article of foreign import costs a price one hundred

¹ 旃, 罽.

² 牢; for this usage, cf. *Shih-chi*, ch. XXX, 價直 as explained by one of the commentators.

³ 至. A possible reading, according to Lu, is 飾 or 致賈, "artisans excessively elaborate their wares so as to get exorbitant prices". For 賈 as 價, cf. *Lun-yü*, IX, 12.

⁴ 亳. The *Kuan-tzû*, chap. LXXX, details this episode. See glossary.

⁵ 昆山. Jade is frequently mentioned by Huan K'un as derived from this mountain (i.e. the west). Coral 珊瑚 could scarcely have the same provenience.

⁶ 犀象: lit. "rhinoceri and elephants".

⁷ 桂林.

⁸ 漢: the domain of the Han Emperors.

times its value, and for one handful, ten thousand weight of grain are paid. As the rulers take delight in novelties, extravagant clothing is adopted among the masses. As the rulers treasure the goods from distant lands, wealth flows outward. Therefore, a true King does not value useless things, so to set an example of thrift to his subjects; does not love exotic articles, so to enrich his country. Thus the principle of administering the people lies only in carefulness in expenditure,¹ in honoring the primary occupation, and in distribution of land according to the "well tithe".²

e. The Lord Grand Secretary: From the capital,³ east, west, north and south, across the mountains and rivers, and throughout the provinces and the demesnes, you will find that none of the prosperous, rich and great municipalities has not streets extending in all directions, where the merchants gather and all commodities are exposed. Thus, the Sage utilizes nature's seasons and the Wise utilizes the wealth of the land. Superior men acquire through others. The mediocre burden their own bodies. Thus Chang Chü and Chieh Ni⁴ never accumulated even a hundred pieces of gold, and the followers of Chih and Ch'iao⁵ never possessed the wealth of I-Tun.⁶ But the merchants of Yuan, Chou, Ch'i and Lu⁷ spread all over

¹ 節用: an expression employed by the philosopher Mo Ti 墨翟 (5th cent. B.C.), in chaps. XX and XXI of his works.

² 井田: a system of land allotment ascribed to ancient China, the actual practice of which is in dispute. The expression is derived from the first character, which if enclosed on the four sides, forms the nine squares into which land was supposed to have been divided. The individual cultivators of the eight outer squares worked, it is held, the central or ninth in common for the benefit of the overlord. The existence of the system is based on references to it in Mencius and the *Tso-chuan* 左傳. Cf. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 108—110, and Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 41—48, for resumé of various discussions of the *ching t'ien* system of land holding.

³ I. e. 長安 the capital of the Western or Early Han dynasty.

⁴ 長沮, 桀溺.

⁵ 蹠, 躅: see glossary. The commentators suggest that 蹠 should be taken as 蹠耒 'to trudge (behind) the plough' (as in ch. XV) and 躅 as 躅屨 '(wearing out) straw sandals'.

⁶ 猗頓.

⁷ 宛, 周, 齊, 魯.

the world. These merchants doubtless amass ¹ fortunes of ten thousands of pieces of gold by going after profit and utilizing the surplus. Why then must one encourage simple agriculture in order to enrich the country, and observe the "well-tithe" to provide for the people?

f. The Literati: *When the great flood threatened Heaven*,² we had the achievement of Yü.³ When the River broke loose, we had the building of the Hsüan Fang.⁴ When Chou of Shang⁵ raged in tyranny, we had the plan at the ford of Mêng.⁶ When the world is in disturbance, we have speculative fortunes. In remote antiquity when perfect order prevailed, the people were simple and held to the fundamental; peaceful and happy their wants were few. At that time, few travellers were seen on the roads and grass grew in the markets. If farmers do not work hard, there will be nothing to fill the empty stomach; if weavers do not work hard, there will be nothing to cover our bodies; and in spite of the needs of a great congregation of people, there would be no chance for a potter's family to exercise their craft.⁷ For from ancient times till now, there has never been reward without contribution or achievement without effort.

¹ The text has 乃[萬]賈. Lu corrects it to 商. This character is missing in Chang's ed. 乘羨 'utilizing the surplus'.

² 洪水滔天, stereotyped expressions from the *Shu-ching*, ch. I.

³ 禹.

⁴ 宣房: the famous dam, described in the *Shih-chi*, ch. XXIX.

⁵ 商紂.

⁶ 孟津之謀: referring to the "Great Harangue" forming the first 3 chaps. of the Chou-shu in the *Shu-ching*.

⁷ I.e., the art of the potter, after all, is only secondary, and comes after the needs of food and clothing have been satisfied. Doubtless a reference to *Mencius*, VI, ii, x, 3:

萬室之國，一人陶。

CHAPTER III

CIRCULATION OF GOODS

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: Tso and Chi of Yen, Han Tan of Chao, Wên and Chih of Wei, Ying Yang of Han, Lin Tsê of Ch'i, Wan Ch'iu of Ch'u, Yang Chai of Chêng, the two Chou of San Ch'uan,¹ in riches surpassing all within the seas, are famous municipalities of the world.² They are so not because there has been some one who has helped them to cultivate their country side and till their fields, but because they are situated on the intersecting routes of the five feudal states³ and sit astride the network of highways. In other words, where products abound, the people multiply; when the house is near the market, the family will get rich. Getting rich depends on 'methods' and 'statistical calculation', not on hard manual labor; profits depend on 'circumstances',⁴ not on strenuous farming.⁵

b. The Literati: In Ching Yang, there is the fertile land of Kuei Lin to the south, the facilities of the rivers and the lakes within

¹ 燕之涿薊，趙之邯鄲，魏之溫軹，韓之滎陽，齊之臨淄，楚之宛邱，鄭之陽翟，三川之二周。

² 都, i.e., cities with ancestral temples, or residences of feudal lords.

³ The feudal states in the "five directions", 五方, east, south, west, north and the center.

⁴ 術, "political methods"; 數, "statistical calculations"; 勢 "conditions", "influences", "power". These are typical expressions of the *legalist* school. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 92 seq. discusses these *fa chia* terms at length.

⁵ Chang quotes the *Shih-chi*, ch. CXXIX: Agriculture cannot be compared with practising some craft, practising a craft cannot be compared with commerce, sticking the needle in [trading in] rich embroideries cannot be compared to getting a favorable place at the market gate, 農不如工工不如商刺繡文不如倚市門。

its borders, the gold of Ling Yang to the left and the timber supply of Shu and Han ¹ to the right. Forests were cut down in order to raise grain, and brush was burnt to give room for the sowing of millet. Through clearing by fire for farming and water-weeding, ² arable land was extended and natural resources were abundant. Thereupon evil habits of idleness imperceptibly grew up. People wear fine clothes and eat delicate food. Even in humble cottages and straw-thatched huts, we hear ballad-singing and playing on stringed instruments; wanton for a day, in want for a month, carolling in the morning, mourning in the evening. Chao and Chung Shan ³ border the great River; ⁴ they form the connecting center of the radiating roads and are situated on the highway of the world. Merchants throng the ways. Princes meet on the streets. But the people's trend is to the non-essential pursuits. They grow luxurious, disregarding the fundamentals. The fields are not cultivated, while the men and women vie with one another in dress. Without a peck of reserve ⁵ in the house, the lute thrums in the hall. This is why of the people of Ch'u and Chao ⁶ most are poor and few rich. On the other hand, the people in Sung, Wei, Han and Liang ⁷ adhere to the fundamental and till the soil. Among the common people and yeomanry ⁸ every house prospers and every person is satisfied. Therefore profit comes from care for one's self, not from favorable location on the highways. Riches come from thrift and labor at the right

¹ 荆楊, 桂林, 陵陽, 蜀, 漢.

² 水耨: *Shih-chi*, ch. CXXIX. The field was flooded, destroying the weeds but not harming the rice plants. This was done after the grass and brush had been burned. Cf. *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. VI, quoted by Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 589, note 1. These easy ways of cultivation in the south accounted for the "evil habits of idleness".

³ 趙, 中山.

⁴ 大河: the Yellow River.

⁵ 斗筰: peck or hamper, having a derogatory sense. Cf. *Lun-yü*, XIII, 20, 斗筰之人.

⁶ 楚, 趙.

⁷ 宋, 衛, 韓, 梁.

⁸ 編戶齊民.

season and not from having supervising officials throughout the year and in increasing the display in the ceremonies.¹

c. The Lord Grand Secretary: According to the theory of the Five Elements,² the East pertains to Wood, but at Tan Chang³ we have mountains containing gold and copper. The South pertains to Fire, but in Chiao Chih⁴ we have rivers as big as the ocean. The West pertains to Metal, but in Shu and Lung⁵ we find forests of famous timber. The North pertains to Water, but in Yü Tu⁶ we find the land of heaped up sand. This is how Heaven and Earth compensate scarcity with abundance and facilitate the circulation of all goods. Now the supply of bamboo in Wu and Yüeh,⁷ and the timber in Sui and T'ang⁸ is more than can be used while in Ts'ao, Wei, Liang and Sung⁹ they are forced to use coffins over again for the dead.¹⁰ The fish of the regions of the great River and the lakes and the globe fish of Lai and Huang¹¹ are too many for local consumption, while in Tsou, Lu, Chou and Han¹² they have only vegetable fare. The wealth of nature is not deficient, and the treasures of the mountains and the seas are indeed rich, and yet the people still remain necessitous and the available wealth is not adequate.

¹ 歲司羽鳩. The phrase is rather obscure. Chang refers to the *Tso-chuan*, Chao Kung, XVII, where are enumerated the "bird-officers" of the Emperor Shao-hao. The five "turtle-dove" officers 鳩 (assemble, settle) the people. On the other hand 羽 are the rows of pantomimes used in ceremonial dances. Thus "increase 鳩 of the rows of pantomimes" is an outward show of wealth. A reference to this use of 鳩 in the *Shu-ching* is found in Couvreur, *Dictionnaire classique*, 1047.

² 五行. The Five Elements or Primordial Essences are Water, Fire, Wood, Metal and Earth. Upon these perpetually active principles of Nature, the whole scheme of Chinese philosophy, as originated in the "Great Plan" of the *Shu-ching*, is based. Cf. Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, Pt. II, 333.

³ 丹章.

⁴ 交趾.

⁵ 蜀, 隴.

⁶ 幽都.

⁷ 吳, 越.

⁸ 隋, 唐.

⁹ 曹, 衛, 梁, 宋.

¹⁰ 采棺轉尸: "turn out corpses in search for coffins".

¹¹ 萊, 黃.

¹² 鄒, 魯, 周, 韓.

The reason is that surplus and scarcity have not been adjusted and the wealth of the world has not been circulated.

d. The Literati: In olden times, the rafters were not carved, and the hut-thatch was left untrimmed. People wore plain clothes ¹ and ate from earthenware. They cast metal into mattocks and shaped clay into containers. Craftsmen did not fashion novel, clever articles. The world did not value things that could not be worn or eaten. Each was satisfied with his own dwelling, enjoyed his own customs, found his own food and implements satisfactory. Hence; things from distant lands were not exchanged and the jade of K'un Shan ² did not arrive. Nowadays manners have degenerated in a race of extravagance. Women go to the extreme in finery and the artisans aim at excessive cleverness. Unadorned raw materials ³ are carved and strange objects prized. They bore into the rocks to get gold and silver. They dive into the watery deeps looking for pearls. Pitfalls are devised to trap rhinoceri and elephants. ⁴ Nets are spread for the kingfisher. Barbarian products are sought out to dazzle the Middle Kingdom. The goods of Kung and Tso ⁵ are transported to the Eastern Sea at a cost of ten thousand miles. Time and labor are spent for nothing. This is why the common men ⁶ and women, weary and heavy-laden, wear themselves out without getting enough

¹ 衣布褐: 褐 is translated by Legge (*Mencius* II. i. II. 4, 7; III. i. IV. 1, 4) according to the dictionaries as 'hair cloth'. The implication is that it was unwoven, and worn by the lower classes. It may have been felt such as used by the Mongols. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the term may mean actual fur garments, such as the sheepskins worn by the shepherds and camel-drivers of northern China today, in the winter season. See below 褐衣 "the common men".

² 昆山之玉. Jade in China has been dealt with in various aspects by Laufer in *Jade A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*, (Chicago, 1912).

³ 樸: a word favored by Taoists in their preaching of the simple life. Employed by the Han "Confucianists", it indicates that the later Taoist and Confucianist schools had not yet become distinctly differentiated. The word frequently appears in the *Shang-tzu*, cf. Duyvendak, op. cit., passim.

⁴ 犀象: the animals, not "ivory" as above. The actual existence of the rhinoceros in China has been discussed by Laufer and H. Giles.

⁵ 邛, 苻.

⁶ 褐衣: cf. note above.

to clothe and feed themselves. Hence the true King would prohibit excessive profits, and cut off unnecessary expenses. When undue gain is prohibited, people return to the fundamental. When unnecessary expenses are cut off, people have enough to spend. Hence people will not suffer from want while alive, nor from exposure of their corpses when dead.

e. The Lord Grand Secretary: In ancient times, reasonable limits were set to the style of palaces and houses, chariots and liveries. Plain rafters and straw thatch were not a part of the system of the Ancient Emperors. The true gentleman, while checking extravagance, would disapprove of parsimoniousness because over-thriftiness tends to narrowness.¹ When Sun-shu Ao was the prime minister of Ch'u² and his wife did not wear silk nor his horses feed on grain, Confucius said: *One should not be too thrifty so as to be hard on one's inferiors.*³ This is how the poem *The Cricket*⁴ was written. Kuan-tzū said:⁵ *If palaces and houses are not decorated, the timber supply will be over-abundant. If animals and fowls are not used in the kitchens, there will be no decrease in their numbers. Without the hankering for profit, the fundamental occupation will have no outlet. Without the embroidered ceremonial robes, the seamstresses⁶ will have no occupation.* Therefore, artisans, merchants, carpenters and mechanics

¹ 儉則固: a paraphrase of the *Lun-yü*, VII, xxxv.

² 孫叔敖: Chang has Chi Wên Tzū 季文子 (the minister of Lu who used to think thrice before acting, *Lun-yü*, V, xix) instead of Sun-shu Ao, and Lu 魯 for Ch'u 楚. The parsimoniousness of Sun-shu Ao is also confirmed by *Han-fei-tzū*, ch. 外諸說.

³ This quotation, not identified, seems to represent a general sentiment of the Chinese social order, for which Confucius is here made the high authority.

⁴ 蟋蟀: *Shih-ching*, 國風, 唐, I, a poem written in criticism of Duke 僖 of Chin's parsimoniousness. Cf. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. IV, Pt. I, 174, for the translation.

⁵ Not in the present *Kuan-tzū* text. 'Hankering after profit' 味利; Lu suggests 未. 'Will have no outlet' 本業所出, undoubtedly a mistake, as Lu points out, with 不 or 無 missing.

⁶ 女紅: the latter character is pronounced *kung* in the special sense of a "weaving woman", as Chang indicates. Cf. Couvreur, *Dictionnaire Classique*, sub rad. 120.

are all for the use of the state and to provide tools and implements. They have existed from ancient times and are not a unique feature of the present age. Hsien Kao fed cattle at Chou.¹ Wu Ku carried on a cart-renting business in order to enter Ch'in.² Kung-shu Tzū³ was an expert in the compass and square and Ou Yeh⁴ in founding. Thus the saying goes: *The various craftsmen dwell in their booths that they may do their work effectively.*⁵ Farmers and merchants exchange their goods so that both the fundamental and the accessory pursuits may be benefited. People who live in the mountains and marshes, or on moors and sterile uplands, depend on the effective circulation of goods to satisfy their wants. Thus it would not be only those who have abundance that have a surplus and only those who have little that would starve. If everybody stays where he lives and consumes his own food, then oranges and pumaloes would not be sold, Ch'ü Lu⁶ salt would not appear, rugs and carpets would not be marketed and the timber of Wu and T'ang⁷ would not be used.

f. The Literati: Mencius⁸ says that *if the seasons of husbandry are not disturbed there will be more grain than can be eaten. If silk*

¹ 弦高....周.

² 五穀....秦.

³ 公輸子.

⁴ 歐冶.

⁵ The source, really the *Lun-yü*, ch. XIX, 7, reads 成 for 致, 百工居肆以成其事.

⁶ 胸鹵之鹽: salt made from the(?) rock salt of Ch'ü, a place name. Cf. 胸邴. Ping of Ch'ü, a person later mentioned in the YTL. See glossary.

⁷ 吳, 唐.

⁸ Cf. Legge, I, i, III, 3, paraphrased as follows: YTL.: 不違農時穀不可勝食蠶麻以時布帛不可勝衣也斧斤以時入材木不可勝用佃漁以時魚肉不可勝食.
Menc.: 不違農時穀不可勝食也數罟不入洿池魚鼈不可勝食也斧斤以時入山林材木不可勝用也. This is an example of either Huan K'uan's carelessness in quotation, or an indication that the extant *Mencius* differs from the text of the Han era.

worms and hemp are raised according to the seasons, cloth and silk will be more than what is required for wear. If the axes and bills enter the forest according to season, the timber supply will be more than the demand. Hunting and fishing according to season, fish and game will be more than can be eaten. If you do not do all these things according to the seasons, and on the other hand, you decorate the palaces and dwelling houses and raise terraces and arbors higher and higher, and if carpenters and mechanics carve the large into the small, the round into the square, so as to represent clouds and mists above and mountains and forests below, then there will not be enough timber for use. If the men folk abandon the fundamental in favor of the non-essential, carving and engraving in imitation of the forms of animals, exhausting the possibilities of manipulation of materials, then there will not be enough grain for consumption. If the women folk decorate the small things and work on the minute and form elaborate articles to the best of their skill and art, then there will not be enough silk and cloth for wear. If the cooks boil and slaughter the immature, fry and roast and mix and blend, exhausting all the varieties of the Five Flavors,¹ then there will not be enough fish and meat for food. At present while there is no question of suffering from fowls and animals not declining in number, and of the timber supply being more than can be consumed, the trouble is that we are extravagant without limit; and while we do not suffer from the lack of rugs, carpets, oranges and pumeloos, the trouble is that we have no hovels and husks and chaff.

¹ 五味: Salt, Bitter, Sour, Acrid, Sweet, 鹹, 苦, 酸, 辛, 甘.

CHAPTER IV

DISCORDANT CURRENCIES ¹

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: That the exchange of money and the circulation of commodities still does not advantage the people ² is because goods have been monopolized. Even when taking thought for the fundamental and weighing the non-essential, that the people still starve, is because grain is hoarded. ³ The clever are able to utilize the labor of a hundred men, the simple cannot even repay ⁴ themselves for their own labor. Should the rulers not adjust wealth evenly, there will be among the people property interests mutually detrimental. Thus it is that some accumulate a sufficiency for a hundred years while others are obliged to rest content with husks and chaff. When people are too wealthy they cannot be controlled through salaries; authority will be insufficient to impose penalties upon them. These inequalities cannot be removed except by relieving congestion and evening profit. Therefore the Ruler must first accumulate the people's food, conserve their consumption, regulate their

¹ 錯幣. The first character is not found in the text. (We have no evidence as to whether Huan K'uan wrote the chapter-titles himself, or whether they were composed by later editors.) The word has various connotations and was employed in Wang Mang's 王莽 time to indicate a coin 錯刀, shaped like a knife and inlaid 錯 with gold. Doubtless here the term is as in the *Shu-ching*, Yü Kung, 海物惟錯, 'varied', 'different'. The other terms in this chapter relating to currency or coinage 布, 幣, 刀 and 錢 appear to have been in use in Huan K'uan's time or previously. Numerous works exist on Chinese numismatics by Chinese or Western authorities (cf. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, I, 687 seq., for the latter). One of the earlier works by W. Vissering, *Chinese Currency* (Leiden, 1877), is based chiefly on chaps. VIII and IX of the 文獻通考 (13th cent. A.D.), and its discussion of ancient Chinese currency must accordingly be taken with reserve. Chavannes, (*Mém. hist.*, III, ch. XXX) supplies valuable notes on early Chinese exchange media.

² 民事不[及]: 給 according to Wang.

³ Chang's note calls attention to the *Kuan-tzū*, ch. LXXIII, upon which this passage seems to be based.

⁴ 更 which should be 償 according to Lu.

surplus,¹ ease their lack, prohibit undue gains and check the source of profit making. Only then will the common people be able to provide for their homes and the needs of every individual be supplied.

b. The Literati: The Ancients honored virtue and scorned profit; they esteemed justice and held riches lightly. At the time of the Three Kings² prosperity and decline followed each other in cycles, but they were able to arrest decline and steady the unstable. Thus it was that the Hsia dynasty relied upon loyalty, the Yin upon reverence, the Chou upon culture, so that the lustre of the instruction in their schools and the deference and self-abnegation of their etiquette was eminently worthy of contemplation.³ But in later times etiquette and justice have collapsed, and good customs are extinguished. Since the gentlemen in office turn their back on honor and scramble for wealth, the big and little devour and overthrow one another by turns. This is the reason that some have a sufficiency for a hundred years and others nothing to fill their emptiness or cover their forms. Those who held office in ancient times did not farm; those who tilled did not fish; the gatemen and the watchmen had each their permanent stations and did not attempt to double their income or corner goods. In this manner the simple and the clever labored without undermining each other. Thus the Book of Poetry says:

There shall be handfuls left on the ground,

And here ears untouched: —

For the benefit of the widow.⁴

That is to say, there was no monopoly of goods.

c. The Lord Grand Secretary: T'ang and Wên⁵ came after a

¹ 制其有餘 omitted in Chan's edition.

² 三王: 大禹, the Great Yü; 成湯, T'ang the Completer; and 文王 and 武王 together, thus representing the traditional founders of the three dynasties of Hsia, Yin and Chou.

³ The phrasing is from Mencius, I. 1. iii. 4, et al.

⁴ *Shih-ching*, II. vi. VIII. 3, [Legge's translation], a favorite quotation, cf., e.g., the *Ch'un-ch'iu-fan-lu*, ch. 27; the *Li-chi*, 坊記.

⁵ 湯: 成湯, founder of the Yin dynasty, according to tradition. 文: 文王, father of 武王, reputed founder of the Chou dynasty.

period of decline, and Han ¹ rose upon an era of decay. Primitive nature alternates with culture, and this is not a casual change of custom. When social habits decay they must be met by new laws, ² nor is this an intentional departure from the Ancients, but in order to correct mistakes and arrest decline. Administration ³ must adjust itself to society, and currency ⁴ changes with the generation. The emperors of the Hsia dynasty used black cowries, those of the Chou purple stones, while later generations at times circulated metal currency and knife money. ⁵ Anything overripe tends to decay, as end and beginning alternate in cycles. Now, if the hills and marshes are not state-controlled, they will yield profit to both Prince and Minister. If there be no interdiction on coinage, the counterfeit will circulate with the genuine. ⁶ If the officials and the rich vie with one another in extravagance, the lower classes will devote themselves to gain, and thus the two will undermine one another.

d. The Literati: The Ancients had markets but no coinage; each exchanged that which he had for that which he lacked, packed his cloth and peddled his silk. Later generations have used tortoise shells and metal currencies, [knife coins and cloth] ⁷ as a medium of exchange. But as currency has frequently changed, the people

¹ 漢: the ruling house of Huan K'uan's time.

² Read 革 for 家.

³ 教 education, but in connotation close to the English 'to minister' (to administer).

⁴ The text has 弊, a mistake for 幣.

⁵ Statements doubtless based on tradition. There is evidence that cowries 貝 must have been used in remotest times. Vissering, op. cit., 3—4, points out numerous words referring to money and wealth in the composition of which 貝 "shell" appears. Cf. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 91—92, for a discussion of currency in ancient China.

⁶ The question of the coinage had become exceedingly grave in the Early Han period, according to Ssü-ma Ch'ien's account (*Shih-chi*, chap. XXX, passim). The historiographer tells of the first issue of coins of white metal in the year 119 B. C. (cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.* III, 565 seq.). This money began to deteriorate and by 115 B. C. was worthless. It had been gradually replaced by a brass coin with a red border, but this became debased two years later. Thereupon the government issued an edict making coinage a function of the 上林, and no other money than that put out by its three officers was permitted (ibid. 584—585).

⁷ 刀布之幣. Chang's edition inserts these four characters after 錢.

have become increasingly dishonest. Now to correct dishonesty one must resort to simplicity,¹ and to prevent mistakes one must fall back upon propriety.² T'ang and Wên, following upon a period of decline, altered the laws and changed education, and in the time of Yin and Chou culture flourished.³ But for the Han dynasty, which has succeeded to a period of decay, not to make necessary reforms but, with a view to profit, to keep on changing the currency, and yet wishing to return to the fundamental, is like extinguishing flame with frying fat, and stopping boiling with a burning brand. If the upper classes love propriety, the common people will shun gaudy ornamentation;⁴ but if they love material things, the common people will risk their lives for gain.

e. The Lord Grand Secretary: In the time of the Emperor Wên⁵ the people were permitted to cast money, smelt iron, and evaporate salt. But the Prince of Wu⁶ monopolized the sea and marshes, and the family of Têng T'ung⁷ monopolized the Western Mountain, whereupon all the rogues from east of the mountains congregated in the dukedom, and Ch'in, Yung, Han and Shu⁸ were brought to depend upon the Têng clan. The coins of Wu and Têng overspread the Empire. For this reason the laws against coinage were promulgated.⁹ With these, dishonesty will cease, and with the occasion for dishonesty removed, the people will no longer hope for wrongful gain. Each will devote himself to his proper task. If this is not a

¹ 質: 'nature', as opposed to the complexity represented by the centralization of authority.

² 禮: innate righteousness, attained by ceremonial observances, as opposed to multiplication of laws.

³ 湯, 文; 殷, 周.

⁴ 闇飾.

⁵ 文帝: the Han emperor who reigned from 179—157 B.C.

⁶ 吳王: Liu P'i 劉濞, Prince [King] of Wu, son of Kao Tsu's older brother. Cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 543, for his exploits in this connection (*Shih-chi*, XXX).

⁷ 鄧通: a courtier in Wên Ti's reign who was given the right to exploit a copper mine and the privilege of coining money. Cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 543, note 2 (*Shih-chi*, XXX).

⁸ 秦, 雍, 漢, 蜀.

⁹ Sang Hung-yang's statement here follows closely the *Shih-chi*, loc. cit.

return to fundamental principles, what is it? Therefore unify the coinage, and the people will not resort to double dealing. If coinage proceeds from the Crown, the people will not be in doubt.

f. The Literati: In former times there were many currencies, wealth circulated and the people were happy. But afterwards, as the old currency was gradually replaced by the white metal of the tortoise and the dragon issue,¹ they became wary of the new. As coinage changed frequently, the questionings of the people increased. Then all the coinage in the empire was demonetised, and the authority to re-issue new was lodged with the three officers of the Shui-hêng.² Recently, it seems, a profit has been made and the coins are not up to standard; they are thin or thick, light or heavy. The farmers are not experienced in comparing the relative trustworthiness of such tokens. Thus they suspect the new issue, not knowing the false from the true. The dealers and shopkeepers for the bad barter the good; and with a half, exchange for double. Thus in case he buys, the farmer loses value; if he sells, he violates his conscience. Suspicion spreads widely. If there were proper laws about coining bad money, the presence of privately made coins with official issues would neither aid nor harm the government. But if money is discriminated against, goods will stagnate. Moreover the employment of officers will lay up much grief. The *Ch'un Ch'iu* says, *A budget which does not take into account the Man and the I³ barbarians is not sufficient.* Therefore let the Prince on the one hand, for the sake of the people's needs, not restrict the use of the seas and the marshes, and on the other, for the sake of their benefit, not shut down on the privately made coinage.

¹ 百金龜龍. See note supra. The *Shih-chi* relates (Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 565) that the white metal was an alloy of silver and tin. Three kinds of coins were issued. The first was round bearing the figure of a dragon; the second, square, and weighing less, bore the figure of a horse; and the third, oblong, weighed still less, and was marked like the tortoise.

² 水衡: an administrative organ explained in the *Shih-chi* (Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 586). In the beginning the "Treasury" 大農 administered the salt and iron and dealt with the currency. This was too much. The *Shui-hêng* was instituted for the purpose of handling the salt and iron.

³ 蠻夷. This quotation has not been identified.

CHAPTER V

HINDRANCE TO FARMING

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: If a private individual have an article of value, he places it in a box or cabinet and keeps it.¹ Then what if a Ruler possesses the mountains and the seas? Now the sources of power and profit are assuredly in the mountain fastnesses and the depths of the marshes. Only aggressive people can come at their wealth. In another time, before the sequestration of salt and iron, there was among the smock-frocked² people one Ping of Chü, and among the princes was the King of Wu;³ then the salt and iron monopoly first came up as a matter of discussion. The King of Wu took sole control of the surplus products of the mountains and marshes, taxed his people lightly and gave doles to the poor and humble. Thus he established his personal prestige; when his personal prestige was increased, his heart was moved to rebellion. Thus you see if you do not stop the source early and only worry about the outcome, as in the bursting through of Lü Liang,⁴ the damage will be very great. As T'ai Kung⁵ said: *One*

¹ Cf. *Lun-yü*, IX, XII.

² 布衣: the common people, the peasants, later "cotton-clothed", but not at this time when cotton was probably unknown. The *T'zü-yüan* quotes this passage.

³ Chang's note on this passage reads: In the *Huo-chih-chuan* (*Shih-chi*, CXXIX) it is recorded that the people of Lu 魯 were commonly industrious. A certain Ts'ao Ping 曹邴 through an iron-smelting industry brought unusual prosperity to many tens of thousands in Tsou and Lu, so that many neglected letters and learning and hastened after profit, after the example of Ts'ao Ping. It is said that this prosperity arose at Lin Chü 臨朐, therefore he is called Ping of Chü. The King of Wu, by name P'i 沸, coined money and evaporated sea water [for salt], so that revenue for his state was abundant. Then he pleaded sick, absented himself from Court, and secretly nourished plans of rebellion.

⁴ 呂梁: the mountain, which Yü pierced, in order to permit the waters of the Great Flood to escape. *Shu-ching*, Yü-kung, Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Vol. III, Pt. I, 95, note.

⁵ 太公. Source of quotation unknown.

family would harm a hundred families, a hundred families would harm the nobles, and the nobles would harm the ruler of the Empire. This is why the prohibitory laws are made to prevent it. Now to give the people free rein to strive after power and profit and to end the salt and iron monopoly would be to give the advantage to the overbearing and aggressive in the pursuit of their covetous practices. All the evil-minded would come together, cliques would become parties — for the aggressive if not constantly curbed are ungovernable — and combines of disorderly persons would take form.

b. The Literati: The people have their wealth at home; the Princes have theirs in the states; the Emperor has his in the land within the seas. Therefore the people use walls for their hiding-places while the Emperor has all the land within the seas as a treasure-chest. The Emperor in visiting a Prince, ascends the steps of the Prince's palace. The Prince offers him the official keys, and holding the whip, waits attentive for orders. This shows that he is not the lord there. That is, the ruler does not collect his wealth but keeps it out among the people. He keeps away from fleeting profit and makes the social duties of the people his chief concern. When their social duties and the rules of intercourse ¹ are established, then the people will pattern themselves after the ruler. Even if T'ang and Wu were still living, they would have no cause for anxiety. ² The business of the workmen and the merchants, the duties of the iron smelters ³ — what evil could grow out of these? The three Huan ⁴ maintained the sole control of Lu, and the Six Ministers ⁵ divided between them the administration of Chin without the use of the salt and iron monopoly. Thus we see that the sources of power and profit are

¹ 義, 禮.

² 湯, 武, i. e., these ancient paragons of government by example, would find times unchanged.

³ The offices of Ou-yeh 歐冶, the excellent sword-maker of ancient times.

⁴ 三桓, "the three families", the descendants of Duke Huan, who ruled Lu 魯. Cf. Legge, *Analects*, XVI, III, note.

⁵ 六卿: the six hereditary ministers of state from the six clans of Chin 晉 in the Ch'un-ch'iu period. Three were in time overthrown, while three increased in power and partitioned Chin, forming three out of seven of the Warring States.

not in the mountains and the seas but in the court. That *one family harms a hundred families* lies behind the gate screen ¹ of the [ruler's] household and not in such fellows as Ping of Chü.

c. The Lord Grand Secretary: With restrictions upon the mountains and the seas, the people are not subverted. With the establishment of equilibrium in prices, the people are not suspicious. When the magistrates set up standard weights and measures, the people obtain what they desire.² Even a lad only five feet tall may be sent to the market and no one could cheat him. If now the monopolies be removed, then aggressive persons would control the use and engross the profits. They would dominate the market; prices would be raised or lowered at a word; there would be no stability in prices, dear or cheap. These people would be sitting firmly and would grow more aggressive. This would serve to nourish the powerful and depress the weak, and the nation's wealth would be hoarded by thieves. Nourish the powerful and depress the weak and the rank and file of law-abiding people will dwindle away. It would be like letting the weeds flourish and spoiling the grain. *One family harms a hundred families*, forsooth, if this does not apply to such as Ping of Chü, what does it mean?

d. The Literati: The material basis ³ for economic prosperity is in the mountains and seas; life and death for the farmers lie in their implements of iron. When these arbiters of life and death are ready at hand to use, then enmity will perish; when enmity perishes, then waste land will be under cultivation; when waste land is cultivated, then grain ripens and the road to economic prosperity is opened; when the road to prosperity is opened, then the common people will be fed and their needs met; when the people's needs are met, then the nation is prosperous; when the nation is prosperous and instruction is given according to the rules of propriety, then

¹ Paraphrasing the *Lun-yü*, XVI, 1, 13.

² 人從所欲. Lu reads 而人得其所..., which I follow.

³ 財用之寶也. Supply 路 after 寶 to make it agree with the line below: "then grain ripens and the road to economic....". Chang is followed in the translation: 五穀熟 [而寶路開 (omitted by Wang)]. 寶路開則百姓....

there will be courtesy in giving way in passing on the road and the artisans and merchants will not compete with one another. Men will cultivate simplicity and sincerity, with the result that they will seek to share with others, and none will seek profit at the expense of another.

e. Now in Ch'in, Ch'u, Yen and Ch'i¹ the quality of the soil differs. There is variety in the methods of cultivation of heavy and light soils. The use of large or small, the suitability of straight or curved ploughs,² are different according to districts and customs. Each has its convenient use. But when the magistrates establish monopolies and standardize, then iron implements lose their suitability, and the farming population loses their convenient use. When the tools are not suited to their use, the farmer is exhausted in the fields, and grass and weeds are not kept down. When the grass and weeds cannot be kept down, then the people are wearied to the point of despair.

f. Because the places where salt is crystalized and iron smelted are in most cases in mountains and on rivers near to iron and coal,³ their operation is all remote and their working is laborious. The shifts of laborers are assembled in the demesnes without any investigation as to their liability.

g. Utilizing conscripted labor, the county and city magistrates sometimes cheapen the equalized price and make per capita levies [through forced sales]. People of good families are forced in their turn to work on the roads. The transport of salt and iron cause trouble and expense; cities are in doubt as to their population; the people suffer bitterly. As I see it, a single magistrate damages a thousand hamlets. All this trouble is not because of such as Ping of Chü.

¹ 秦, 楚, 燕, 齊.

² 居局: read 倨句. Cf. *Chou-li*, 冬官考工記: straight ploughs for hard earth, curved ones for soft 堅地欲直 庇柔地欲句 庇.

³ 炭, also mentioned in Ch. X. Whether coal or char-coal is meant, is not evident.

CHAPTER VI

BACK TO ANCIENT TRUTHS

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: In his report on the salt and iron regulations the former military commander at Shan-shui, P'êng-tsu Ning,¹ has stated that said regulations were very explicit; the conscripted laborers receive food and clothing from the district magistrates and they make and mould iron implements in great plenty to meet the need, with no hindrance from the people. However, there may be subordinate officers who are not disinterested and do not give effect to the regulations, with the result that the people are disturbed and distressed.

b. The present plan for unifying the salt and iron monopoly is not alone that profit may accrue [to the state], but that in the future the fundamental [of agriculture] may be established and the non-essential repressed, cliques dispersed, extravagance prohibited, and plurality of offices stopped. In ancient times the famous mountains and great marshes were not given as fiefs to be the monopolized profit of inferiors, because the profit of the mountains and the sea and the produce of the broad marshes are *the stored up wealth*² of the Empire³ and by rights ought to belong to the privy coffers of the Crown; but Your Majesty has unselfishly assigned them to the State Treasurer⁴ to assist and succor the people. Ne'er-do-wells and

¹ 扇水都尉彭祖寧, otherwise unknown.

² 藏, here not "treasure house", "magasin" (Chavannes), "Vorratskammer" (Franke, op. cit., 7), as in the original passage in the *Shih-chi*.

³ Wang's note: Chang suggests reading 天地 for 天下, following the *Shih-chi*, ch. XXX, and the *Han-shu*, ch. XXIV.

⁴ The revenues derived from "salt and iron" should be paid into the *shao-fu* 少府, the personal treasury of the Emperor, and not into the *ta-nung* 大農, the public treasury. Cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 570, note 4. 大司農 "State Treasurer", actually "Minister of Agriculture and Commerce", a title established in 104 B.C. Ibid., II, 519.

upstarts¹ desiring to appropriate the produce of the mountains and the seas as their own rich inheritance, exploit the common people. Therefore many are those who advise to put a stop to these practices.²

c. Iron implements and soldiers' weapons are important in the service of the Empire and should not be made the gainful business of everybody. Formerly the great families, aggressive and powerful, obtained control of the profit of the mountains and sea, mined iron at Shih-ku³ and smelted it, and manufactured salt. One family would collect a host of over a thousand men, mostly exiles who had gone far⁴ from their native hamlets, abandoning the tombs of their ancestors. Attaching themselves to a great house and collecting in the midst of mountain fastnesses and barren marshes, they made wickedness and counterfeiting their business, seeking to build up the power of their clique. Their readiness to do evil was also great. Now since the road of recommending capable men has been opened wide, by a careful selection of the supervising officers, restoring peace to the people does not wait on the abolition of the salt and iron monopoly.

d. The Literati: What the commander at Shan-shui said was to the benefit⁵ of the administration at the time; but all these artifices are not to be continued interminably, for generation after generation.

¹ 浮食: itinerants, vagabonds, "des gens dont les moyens d'existence sont incertains". Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 570.

² The *Shih-chi*, ch. XXX, reads 其沮事之議者不可勝聽. "Les délibérations qu'on a entendues sur les moyens d'arrêter ces pratiques sont innombrables". Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 571. The passage is based upon the *Shih-chi*, loc. cit., the celebrated address to the Throne of K'ung Chin and Tung-kuo Hsien-yang in advocacy of the state control of salt and iron. The memorial of these two former industrialists, manufacturers of iron and salt, who now had come to identify their interests with the government as ardent advocates of the new fiscal system, has been translated by Chavannes (*Mém. hist.*, III, 570—571), and by Franke (*Staatssozialistische Versuche*, 7). Cf. also Gale, *Hist. Evidences relating to Early Chinese Public Finance*, for the rôle of these persons in establishing the public control of salt and iron at this time.

³ 石鼓, a place-name, "Stone-drums".

⁴ 大抵盡[收]放流人民[也]遠去 etc. Wang states that 收 crept in due to its similarity in shape to 放, while 也 is also superfluous.

⁵ 利權: "profit and power".

This is not the way of an enlightened Ruler in administering the country and patronizing the people. It is said in the Odes:

"Alas! our formers of plans

Do not take the ancients for their pattern,

And do not regulate them by great principles.

They only hearken to shallow words. . . ."¹

The poet here slashes at those who are not in accord with the Kingly Way, but are skillful at² power and profit. The Emperor Wu³ put down the nine barbarian tribes and pacified the hundred Yüeh,⁴ repeatedly raising armies. As grain was insufficient, he established officers in charge of the fields to procure money flowing into the grain-dispatching office⁵ to tide over the crisis when food supplies were not being delivered. Now Your Majesty succeeds to a task of great merit in nourishing the burdened and wearied people. This is a time of using thin gruel!⁶

e. The high officers of state should bethink themselves as to how to pacify and bring together the people, attain profitable ends and abolish evils. They should help the Enlightened Lord⁷ with their benevolence and righteousness and prepare ways of benefiting his Vast Heritage.⁸ The Enlightened Lord came to the throne more than six years ago.⁹ Among the high officials there is no one who has yet demanded that unnecessary offices be abolished and profiteers be dismissed. While others have left the matter in abeyance too long, the people have fixed their hope on the Emperor. Proclaiming Your holy virtue and showing forth Your brilliance, Your Majesty has commanded the worthies and the learned from

¹ *Shih-ching*, II. v. I. 4 (Hsiao Ya, Ode 小旻), Legge's translation.

² 善爲, i.e., clever at doing [the things which bring them power and profit].

³ 孝武皇帝, the Han Emperor (140—86 B.C.) whose reign of fifty-four years is renowned in the military annals of the Chinese Empire.

⁴ 夷, 越. ⁵ 穀射官.

⁶ 麤糲 *chou chu*: "hard times".

⁷ 明主, the Emperor, a term favored by the Legalists.

⁸ 修潤洪業: restore and enrich the Empire.

⁹ This indicates the time of the debate, equivalent to 81 B.C. See Introduction.

the provinces and demesnes to come up post-haste at public expense ¹ to discuss the ways of the Five Emperors and the Three Kings, ² and the principles of the Six Arts. ³ We have set forth the difference between peace and danger, profit and harm, clearly and fully ⁴ according to our ideas. Now the high officers of the state have made great argument without arriving at a decision. This is what is called sticking to trifles and ignoring the main body, clinging to small advantages and forgetting greater advantages.

f. The Lord Grand Secretary: Within the universe the swallows and sparrows know nothing of the distance from earth to heaven; the frogs in a well know nothing of the vastness of rivers and seas; poverty stricken bumpkins and their stupid wives know nothing of the cares of statecraft. Peddlers with packs on their backs know nothing of the wealth of I Tun. ⁵ The former Emperor, ⁶ pondering on the profit to be got from foreign countries, estimated the opposing forces of the barbarians as weak and easily overwhelmed. Exerting himself but little, his achievement was great; and the result was that by availing himself of circumstances ⁷ he made himself master of the four I. ⁸ Territories from the mountain slopes to the shores of the sea were brought within the Great Wall. He opened roads into the country of the Hsiung Nu beyond the River on the northern boundary. The task is not yet completed. After Wên Wang ⁹ received the mandate to attack Ch'ung, ¹⁰ and built a

¹ 乘傳, 公車. The latter may be taken also as "central depot", "capital", as well as an office in charge of memorials, rescripts, etc., where persons awaiting Imperial orders were boarded temporarily.

² 五帝, 三王: the five legendary Emperors of remote antiquity, T'ai Hao 太昊, Yen Ti 炎帝, Huang Ti 黃帝, Shao Hao 少昊 and Chuan Hsü 顓頊; the three Kings, traditional founders of the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties.

³ 六藝: 禮 ceremonial observances, 樂 music, 射 archery, 御 charioteering, 書 writing, 數 mathematics.

⁴ 粲然, lit. "brilliantly".

⁵ 猗頓.

⁶ Han Wu Ti, the Military Emperor, cf. note supra.

⁷ 勢, an expression employed by the *fa-chia* writers in this sense. Cf. ch. VII.

⁸ 四夷: barbarian tribes.

⁹ 文王.

¹⁰ 崇.

city at Fêng,¹ Wu Wang² succeeded him and carrying his corpse on the march,³ conquered Shang, captured Chou,⁴ and built up a kingly heritage. Ts'ao Mo, despite the humiliation of three defeats, recovered the lost territory. Kuan Chung, though bearing on his shoulders the complicated affairs of his age, established the glory of the Hege-mony.⁵ Thus we see that those of great determination ignore small things, and those who employ exceptional measures⁶ suited to the circumstances, differ from the commonplace. Those in office think to emulate the plans of the tutor Wang⁷ and complete the task of the late Emperor. Their aim is to destroy the barbarian Hu and Hê⁸ and cut off the chiefs of the Hsiung Nu. Therefore they have no time for deliberations behind closed doors, and recording the discussions of bigoted Confucianists.⁹

g. The Literati: The swallows and sparrows on leaving their

¹ 豐. ² 武王.

³ 載尸以行 is not to be taken literally. The *Shih-chi*, ch. IV, relates how Wu Wang made a tablet of wood representing his ancestor Wên Wang and had it carried on a chariot in the centre of his army. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, I, 165, note 1.

⁴ 商, 紂.

⁵ Ts'ao Mo 曹沫, Kuan Chung 管仲. For these personages and the episodes referred to, see the glossary.

⁶ 權, another *fa chia* term. Cf. ch. VII.

⁷ This is evidently 太公望 who was counsellor to both Wên Wang and Wu Wang. See Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, N^o. 1862.

⁸ 胡, 貉: barbarian tribes. Maspero, who characterizes early China as "un îlot civilisé au milieu des barbares", has assembled the notices of the aboriginal tribes of China in his study, "Les origines de la civilisation chinoise", in *Annales de Géogr.*, 1926, 138—142. (See also *La Chine Antique*, 5—11).

⁹ 儒 is here rendered "Confucianist", a term which found its own special definition in the Han dynasty. It cannot, however, have obtained at this time the precision attached to the later Confucianist school, for, as has been indicated (see Introduction), the Literati are under influences which can be associated with both the Legalist and Taoist schools. It would seem to mean firstly "a scholar", "a man of learning"; "a *ju* is said to be one who understands heaven, earth and man", said Yang-tzŭ 通天地人曰

儒 (楊子). The *ju chia* are those who make use of the six classics 六經, who make benevolence and righteousness 仁義 their end, who pattern after Yao and Shun, and Wên and Wu, and who follow Chung Ni 仲尼 as their master. Cf., sub 儒家, the *Ch'ien-han-shu*, XXX.

nests for the sky have their troubles from eagles and hawks; the frogs in the wells on leaving their habitations have worries from snakes and rats. What if they should soar a thousand cubits or swim in the four seas? Their disaster would be great. This is how Li Ssü ¹ broke his wings and Chao Kao ² drowned in the deep. We have heard that Wên and Wu ³ received the mandate to punish the unrighteous in order to bring peace to the nobles and ministers; we have not heard of ruining all the Chinese people that warfare be carried on against the I and the Ti. ⁴ Formerly the Ch'in ⁵ dynasty frequently raised the forces of the Empire and used them against the Hu and Yüeh. ⁶ With the use to exhaustion of the wealth of the Empire they could not achieve success. Moreover a million expeditionaries were used for one fellow's affair. This is universally known. Furthermore, much fighting overburdens the people; long campaigns ruin the soldiers. This is the grievance of the people and the concern of your "bigoted Confucianists".

¹ 李斯.

² 趙高.

³ 文, 武.

⁴ 夷, 狄.

⁵ 秦.

⁶ 胡, 越.

CHAPTER VII

IN CRITICISM OF SHANG YANG¹

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: Formerly when the Lord of Shang was Chancellor of Ch'in he pursued in *internal affairs* the policy of putting the laws and regulations on a firm basis, of making *punishments* and *penalties* harsh and severe, and of ordering government and education. In this no mercy was shown to the criminals and the cheats. In his *external policy*² he managed to obtain profits of a hundred fold and collected taxes on mountains and marshes. The state became rich, the people, strong; weapons and implements were kept ready, complete in every detail, and grain-stores had a surplus.

¹ 商鞅. Biographies of the historical character, known also as Kung-sun Yang 公孫鞅 or Yang of Wei 衛鞅, are found in the *Chan-kuo-ts'ê*, ch. 7 (Ch'in-ts'ê), in the *Lü-shih-ch'ün-ch'iu* and in ch. LXVIII of the *Shih-chi*, (trans. by J. J. L. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, Introduction, ch. I, 8—32). The text of an extant work, the *Shang-chün-shu* 商君書, "is a compilation of paragraphs of different styles, some of which are older than the others; the older ones contain probably the mutilated remnants of the original book that has been lost; the later ones date, on the whole, from the third century [B.C.]", (op. cit., 159). The political and social theories of this interesting text, representing the "school of law", *fa chia* 法家, have been exhaustively treated by Professor Duyvendak in the introduction to his complete translation of the *Shang-tzû*.

² Cf. the *Shang-chün-shu*, para. 22 (held by Duyvendak to be of late origin, op. cit., 150), entitled "External and Internal Affairs" 外內, i.e., war and agriculture. "Of the external affairs of the people, there is nothing more difficult than warfare, . . . Therefore, he who desires to make his people fight, sees to it that the law is severe; consequently rewards will be numerous, authority will be strict, depraved doctrines will be obstructed . . . (Duyvendak's trans.)" 民之外事莫難於戰 . . .

故欲戰其民者必以重法。賞則必多。威則必嚴。淫道必塞 . . . Curiously, Huan K'uan assigns such a policy to "internal affairs" in his passage, evidently employing 內 and 外 as terms applicable to measures taken at the capital and in the provinces, respectively.

b. As a result of these measures he was able to wage war on enemy countries, to conquer foreign states,¹ to annex new lands, and to extend wide his territories, without overtaxing the people for the support of the army. Thus he could draw constantly upon the resources² of the people and the people would not even notice it; he could extend the territory of Ch'in to include all west of the Yellow River³ and the people bore no hardships on this account.

c. The profits derived from the salt and iron monopolies serve to relieve the needs of the people in emergencies and to provide sufficient funds for the upkeep of military forces. These measures emphasize conservation and storing up in order to provide for times of scarcity and want. The beneficiaries are many; the State profits thereby and no harm is caused to the masses. Where are those hardships of the common people which cause you so much worry?

d. The Literati: At the time⁴ of Wên Ti was there not no profit from salt and iron and was not the nation prosperous? Now we have this system and the people are in dire circumstances. We fail yet to see how profitable is this "profit" [of which you speak], but we see clearly the harm it does.⁵ Profit, moreover, does not fall from Heaven, nor does it spring forth from the Earth; it is derived entirely from the people. To call it hundredfold is a mistake in judgment similar to that of the simpleton who wore his furcoat inside out while carrying wood, hoping to save the fur and not realizing that the hide was being ruined.

e. Now, an abundant crop of prunes will cause a decline for the year immediately following; the new grain ripens at the expense of the old. For Heaven and Earth do not become full at the same

¹ The *T'ung-tien* reads correctly: 征伐敵國 "conquer enemy states", e.g., Wei 魏, as in the *Shih-chi*, ch. LXVIII.

² 用不竭. Wang suggests prefixing 利, following the *T'ung-tien*, as 利用 in the succeeding paragraph f.

³ 西河 meaning part of the state of Wei 魏, whose armies Shang Yang captured by treachery. Cf. *Shih-chi*, ch. LXVIII (Duyvendak, op. cit., 21).

⁴ 蓋. Wang suggests 昔. Wên Ti 文帝 (179—156 B. C.), one of the "model Emperors" of the Literati.

⁵ The *T'ung-tien* omits the 也 and inserts 所 before 害.

time: so much more is this the case with human activities! Profit in one place involves diminution elsewhere just as *yin* and *yang*¹ do not radiate at the same time and day and night alternate in length.²

f. When Shang Yang³ introduced his harsh laws and increased his "profit", the people of Ch'in could not endure life and among themselves wept for Duke Hsiao.⁴ When Wu Ch'i⁵ increased the army and engaged in a series of conquests, the people of Ch'u were grievously disturbed and among themselves they shed tears for King Tao.⁶ After their death Ch'u's position became more precarious every day, and Ch'in grew weaker and weaker.⁷ So resentment increased with the growth of "profit", and sorrows multiplied with the extension of territory. Where is all that "inexhaustible profit to use"⁸ without the people noticing it, and the territory extended to include all west of the Yellow River without the people suffering from it?"

g. At the present time, as the Government uses in the management of internal affairs Shang Yang's system of registration⁹ and abroad Wu Ch'i's methods of war, travellers are harassed on the road and the residents are suffering from want in their homes, while old women cry bitterly and grieving maidens moan. Even if we, the Literati, try not to worry, we cannot help it.

h. The Lord Grand Secretary: Ch'in, by employing the Lord of Shang, waxed strong and rich and after his death finally absorbed the Six States and established an empire which lasted to the time of the Second Emperor, when corrupt ministers usurped power and

¹ 陰, 陽: the "negative" and "positive", etc., principles of nature upon which a school of thought, *yin-yang-chia*, was based.

² 有長短也. Wang suggests 代 for 有 as in the *T'ung-tien*.

³ The Literati refer to the Lord of Shang 商君 always as Shang Yang 商鞅, "Yang of Shang", to show their contempt for his policies.

⁴ 秦. 孝公: Shang Yang's patron, Duke of Ch'in (361—338 B.C.).

⁵ 吳起: the famous strategist who served Ch'u.

⁶ 楚悼王: King of Ch'u (401—381 B.C.).

⁷ A statement historically incorrect, as to Ch'in.

⁸ 利用. Cf. note 2, p. 41 *supra*.

⁹ I.e., for soldiering, ap. Duyvendak, op. cit., 83, 293, and 295.

ruled arbitrarily.¹ The public good and justice were lost sight of, the feudal lords rebelled and broke out of control, and the dynasty finally went to its ruin. *Why*, as the *Spring and Autumn* says, *should we mention the death of Chai Chung?*² *A good singer makes men (able) to follow his notes;*³ a talented artist causes others to continue his work; fitting the rim of a cart wheel, depends upon the training of an apprentice.⁴ The achievements of Chou virtue depended upon the strength of Chou Kung.⁵ Though there may be the preliminary draft of *P'i Shên*, but none of the embellishment of *Tzŭ-ch'an*,⁶ and though there may be the traced lines of Wên and Wu,⁷ but no boring and no handle of Chou⁸ and Lü,⁹ then the work will not be successfully completed. Now you blame Shang Yang for the work of Chao Kao¹⁰ who brought Ch'in to ruin. It is just like blaming I Yin¹¹ for the disruption of the Yin¹² Empire by Ch'ung-hu.¹³

i. The Literati: An expert with the chisel can make a perfect

¹ Ch'u 楚, Ch'i 齊, Yen 燕, Han 韓, Wei 魏, Chao 趙, the Six States. The Second Emperor is Erh-shih-huang-ti 二世皇帝 with whom the Ch'in dynasty closed; and "corrupt ministers" include particularly the eunuch Chao Kao 趙高, mentioned below.

² 祭仲. Not from the *Ch'un-ch'iu* but the *Kung-yang* Comm., Huan Kung XV. "(Confucius) does not mention Chai Chung's death, he is indifferent to the statesman's fate 存則存...亡則亡." See glossary.

³ This sentence occurs in the *Li-chi*, 學記, with 繼 for our text's 續. Legge, *Sacred Books*, v. 28, p. 87.

⁴ A puzzling passage, but the translation given appears to continue the sense of the preceding passages. Chang quotes in explanation *Huai-nan-tzŭ*, ch. 說林訓: If one could not change what had been done in ancient times (古之所爲不可更), then the 推車 would still be even now without a rim.

⁵ 周, 周公.

⁶ 裨諶. 子產. The phrases are from *Lun-yŭ*, XIV, x.

⁷ 文, 武. ⁸ 周, Duke of Chou.

⁹ 呂, known as Lü Shang 尚, 姜子牙, or 太公望, preceptor of Wên and Wu.

¹⁰ 趙高. ¹¹ 伊尹. ¹² 殷. ¹³ 崇虎.

round hole without exerting himself. An expert in laying foundations can reach a considerable height without the work collapsing. I Yin took the principles of Yao and Shun as the foundation of the Yin Empire, and for countless generations descendants of the founder occupied the throne in an unbroken line. Shang Yang made heavy punishments and harsh laws the foundation of the Ch'in state, and within two generations Ch'in lost the Empire. Not satisfied with the already severe and inhuman laws, he created also the system of mutual reponsibility, devised an organization of spying and accusation and increased bodily punishments.¹ The people were terrorized, not knowing even where to place their hands and feet. Not satisfied with the already exacting and numerous taxes and levies, he established abroad prohibitions on the resources of the mountains and seas and set up a hundredfold profit in the interior,² while the people had no means to express their opinion. The worship of profit and neglect of rectitude, the high regard for might and emphasis on merit, resulted indeed in extension of territory and acquisition of land, but it was just like the case of a man suffering from dropsy and being given water which only increases his illness. [The Lord Grand Secretary] knows well how Shang Yang laid the beginnings of an Empire for Ch'in but does not know how he caused its downfall. With a bore pierced in a wild and uncertain manner,³ Kung Shu-tzū⁴ himself would be unable to fit the handle. With a panful of earth for his foundation, the most skillful builder cannot reach any height. They would be like autumn weeds which when touched by the frost wither and fall at the first encounter with the wind. What can ten Tzū-ch'an's⁵ do then? So, Pien Ch'iao⁶ cannot cover white bones with flesh, nor can Wei

¹ 相坐之法，造誹謗，增肉刑， thus more detailed than in the extant biographical sketches. Huan K'uan appears to have made use of tradition, or of a biography now lost.

² 外...內. The distinction here of Shang Yang's measures as "abroad" and "in the interior", is indicated in note 2, p. 40, *supra*, the country and the capital.

³ The commentators take 狐 as 狐 (不正), "all askew".

⁴ 公輸子.

⁵ 子產.

⁶ 扁鵲, the physician.

Tzū¹ and Chi Tzū² preserve a country predestined to ruin.

j. The Lord Grand Secretary: To talk is easy, but to act is difficult. So the ancient worthies would stick to the realities and exert their efforts and would banish the mere exhibition of empty learning. Formerly, the Lord of Shang intelligently pursued the policy of encouragement of proper activities and restraining the improper.³ He made use of the powers in the contemporaneous world for the advancement of Ch'in, sought profit and achieved success; therefore he was victorious in every battle and always captured his object of attack, absorbing his nearest opponents and crushing the distant. He took advantage of Yen and Chao⁴ and terrorized Ch'i and Ch'u.⁵ The feudal lords, gathering up their skirts, faced westward and followed Ch'in's leadership. After him came Mêng T'ien⁶ who led armies against the barbarian Hu, ejecting them from their lands to the extent of a thousand *li* and going as far as the north side of the Yellow River, all that as easily as breaking rotten wood or destroying decayed matter. How, may I ask? — by virtue of the plans of the Lord of Shang, handed down, brought to perfection and constantly followed. Every undertaking brought advantage and every move had its reward as a consequence of this. Accumulation, storing up, and shrewd calculations are the means of strengthening a state. To slacken and disperse [authority], therefore, and leaving things to the people, that is not yet having conceived a Great Scheme and walking in a Great Path.

k. The Literati: Shang Yang's policy of "encouragement and restraint" was by no means unsuccessful. Mêng T'ien's pushing back the northern barbarians a thousand *li* is certainly an achievement. That awe of them over-spread the Empire proves indeed that they

¹ 微[子].

² 箕[子].

³ 開塞, the title of one of the books of the *Shang-tzū* (7th), which Ssü-ma Ch'ien states that he read (*Shih-chi* LXVIII). Duyvendak is of the opinion that, while the expression occurs in para. 7, this title belonged originally to para. 8 "where the terms are used in a far more typical sense of 'opening', *k'ai*, only one gate to riches and honour, i.e., agriculture and warfare, and by 'closing', *sai*, all other gates". Loc. cit., 149. "Policy" 術 here used is also a special expression of the *legalist* school to which the *Shang-tzū* belongs.

⁴ 燕, 趙.

⁵ 齊, 楚.

⁶ 蒙恬.

were strong; and that the feudal lords submitted to their dictates and faced westward is in itself a record of success. Yet all these facts were the cause of Ch'in's fall. Shang Yang with his opportunist and calculating policy ¹ jeopardized the Ch'in state, while Mêng T'ien by the acquisition of a thousand miles of territory brought about the fall of the house of Ch'in. These two men recognized advantage but not peril, knew well how to advance, but not the way of retreat. So they themselves died and their adherents were defeated. This is what we call the wisdom of a warped mind ² and the scheme of a fool. Now, may we ask, where is the Great Path in this? Thus as the saying goes: *Narrow-minded men at first may unite their efforts but will disagree afterwards. Though at the start they may ride [proudly] on horseback, they will end in weeping tears of blood.*

l. The Lord Grand Secretary: Handsome persons are deeply envied by the ugly and deformed. Scholars of character and wisdom are hated by the unsuccessful. Thus Shang-kuan, ³ the Minister, belittled Ch'ü Yüan ⁴ before Ch'ing Hsiang, ⁵ and Kung-po Liao calumniated Tzū Lu before Chi Sun. ⁶

m. Now the Lord of Shang rose from obscurity ⁷ and came from Wei to Ch'in. ⁸ A year afterwards he was made Chancellor. He reformed the laws, made clear the instructions and the people of Ch'in became well disciplined. As a result, the mobilization of troops brought always new additions to the territory, and peace a constant increase in wealth. Duke Hsiao, ⁹ greatly pleased with him, gave him Shang ¹⁰ as a fief and as a reward five hundred *li* of territory. His achievements were as enduring as the mountains, while his fame passed on to posterity. Average people cannot achieve the

¹ 權數, the *fa chia* terms.

² 變胸: lit., "bound" and "strips of dried meat", evidently an opprobrious epithet.

³ 上官. ⁴ 屈原. ⁵ 頃襄.

⁶ 公伯寮, 子路, 季孫, from *Lun-yü*, XIV, xxxviii.

⁷ 布衣, not from the "hemp-clothed" commoners, as he was of noble descent, as the name Kung-sun (公孫) Yang indicates. Cf. *Shih-chi*, ch. LXVIII. The particulars here given appear generally in the various biographies, cf. Duyvendak, op. cit., 23, text and note 1. ⁸ 魏, 秦. ⁹ 孝公. ¹⁰ 商.

like, so they envy his ability and find fault with his accomplishments.

n. The Literati: The noble man enters into a career always with Principle as his guide and retires without failing in his duty. High in the social scale, he is not overbearing; active, he is not boastful; when occupying an honorable position, he is circumspect in his conduct; and when his achievements are great, he is still compliant in his measures. Therefore, the common man does not envy his ability, and his contemporaries begrudge him not his acquisitions.

o. Now Shang Yang abandoned Principle and became an opportunist; ¹ discarded Virtue and relied upon might; established harsh laws and increased punishments, making oppression and tyranny the order of the day. He cheated his friends to accomplish his ambition, punished members of the ducal house to make his authority felt. He had no compassion for the people, nor did he show any faith in his relations with the feudal princes. Individuals had nothing but hate for him, families nothing but enmity. Though he obtained success and was ennobled, it was as if he had eaten poisoned meat: he may have felt pleased and satiated but soon suffered from his mistake.

p. Su Ch'in ² formed horizontal and divided vertical alliances and united the Six States. This task was indeed great! Chieh and Chou ³ are mentioned together with Yao and Shun ⁴ and are not forgotten

¹ 權, again the term favored by the *fa chia* writers: "the practice of weighing out things against each other" (Duyvendak, op. cit., 100). The estimation of Shang Yang here, though not in the same words, agrees with Ssü-ma Ch'ien's characterization (*Shih-chi*, ch. LXVIII): 商君其天資刻薄人也。... 所因由嬖臣及得用刑公子虔欺魏將卬不師趙良之言亦足發明商君之少恩矣。... 卒受惡名於秦有以也夫。 The Lord of Shang was naturally, in character, a hard and cruel man.... after having succeeded in obtaining employment through the introduction of a favorite, he punished Prince Ch'ien, betrayed the Wei general, Ang, and did not follow the advice of Chao Liang, all of which facts show clearly that the Lord of Shang was a man of little favour.... There is reason enough why he should have finally left a bad reputation in Ch'in. (Duyvendak's translation, op cit., 30—31).

² 蘇秦. Cf. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 588.

³ 桀, 紂.

⁴ 堯, 舜.

to the present day. Their name is lasting indeed! Yet wrong-doing being unquestionably dishonorable, their deeds should not lightly be esteemed nor should their name lightly be transmitted.

q. The Lord Grand Secretary: White cannot hold its own in the presence of black; a Worthy or a Sage¹ cannot order things as he wishes in an age of anarchy. Thus, Chi Tzŭ suffered imprisonment and Pi Kan² was tortured. Wu Yuan³ was Chancellor to Ho Lü⁴ and made him Protector, but Fu-ch'ai⁵ unjustly exiled and then killed him. Yo I⁶ was a trusted servant and served well King Chao of Yen⁷ yet he was suspected of treason by King Hui.⁸ These ministers were to the last blameless in order to achieve fame but met the neglect of the contemporary rulers. Chung, the Minister,⁹ was the right hand of the King of Yüeh¹⁰ and designed deep schemes for him which culminated in the capture of the powerful state of Wu¹¹ and the occupation of the lands of the Eastern Aborigines;¹² he finally was presented with the 'Shu-lou'¹³ sword and committed suicide. Proud princes who turn their backs upon compassion and virtue and listen to corrupt whisperings and disregard their accomplishments, are the cause of their downfall. What guilt have these [faithful ministers]?

r. The Literati: That Pi Kan had his heart cut out, and that Tzŭ-hsü's¹⁴ body was thrown into the river in a leather sack, was not due to a light-hearted antagonizing of the princes at their own peril, or to obstinate admonishments to promote their fame, but the loyalty and sincerity in their distressed hearts moved them from within and they forgot the danger appearing from without. Their only aim was to assist their Prince and save their people, and they died without resentment. A true gentleman can do what is right but can not ward off evil. Though he may meet with torture and execution, it is not his fault. Therefore when Pi Kan died the people of Yin clamored, and when Tzŭ-hsü died the people of Wu sorrowed.

¹ 賢聖. Chang curiously reverses the usual order of these words.

² 比干.

³ 伍員.

⁴ 闔閭.

⁵ 夫差.

⁶ 樂毅.

⁷ 燕昭.

⁸ 惠王.

⁹ 大夫種.

¹⁰ 越王.

¹¹ 吳.

¹² 東夷.

¹³ 屬鏑, cf. the *Tz'ü-yüan*.

¹⁴ 子胥 = 伍員 Wu Juan.

s. Now the people of Ch'in hated the laws of Shang Yang more fiercely than they did their personal enemies. So on the day of the death of Duke Hsiao [his protector], they rose as one man and attacked him; east, west, north or south he found no place to flee. Looking up to heaven he said with a sigh, "Alas! Has the evil of my policy reached such an extreme?"¹ Finally his body was torn apart by chariots, his kinsmen exterminated. An object of mockery to the whole Empire, this man was killed by himself, not by others.²

¹ 嗟乎爲政之弊至於斯極也. Cf. Ssü-ma Ch'ien's text: 嗟乎爲法之敝一至此哉, "Alas, that the worthlessness of the law should reach such a point" (Duyvendak's translation, op. cit., 29).

² Only the traditional activities and policies of one of early China's greatest administrators are discussed in this chapter. Unfortunately, no direct citations from the work associated with Shang Yang's name are given, which might have thrown light on the value of the modern text. The interest of the chapter lies, however, in its emphasis (within the vast display of learning indulged in by the interlocutors) of the unpopularity of the social and economic theories of the School of Law with the "Confucianists" of Han times; and equally, the ardent advocacy of many of the *fa chia* policies by the Han administrators is disclosed. Cf. Duyvendak, op. cit., 126 seq., on the influence of the School of Law in the establishment of the Han regime.

CHAPTER VIII

CH'AO TS'O¹

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: This is the guiding principle of the *Spring and Autumn* that *there should be no designs*² made against Prince or Parent and those guilty of such designs must be punished by death.³ There is, therefore, no greater crime for a minister than the assassination of his prince, and no greater crime

¹ 晁錯, held to be an adherent of Shang Yang's school (Duyvendak, *Book of Lord Shang*, 54). He brought on a grave rebellion of the feudatories against his Imperial patron, Ching Ti (156—140 B.C.), through ill-conceived advice to reduce their power. To satisfy the animosity of the nobles, he was made the scapegoat and was executed. Cf. *Shih-chi*, chaps. XI, XXIII, (Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, II, 499, 509; III, 210—11), and CI, where his biography appears. It would seem, though the argument is somewhat obscure and must be largely inferred from the several historical allusions employed by the disputants, that the Lord High Secretary lays the blame for Ch'ao Ts'o's death on the Scholars; while the Literati accuse Ch'ao Ts'o of having been too sweeping in his punishment of the feudal princes. Perhaps the fact that it was recent history (122 B.C.) induced the Literati to express their opinion in a rather guarded manner.

² 君親無將. Chang quotes Yen Shih-ku's explanation of 將 as "to have designs upon", 將有其意. The exact quotation occurs in the *Kung-yang Chuan*, Chao 昭, I. Cf. *Tz'ü-yüan*, sub 將, and *K'ang Hsi Tz'ü-tien*, the latter assigning the quotation to op. cit., Chuang 莊, XXXII.

³ This dogmatic interpretation of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* 春秋, in a work of the first half of the century before the Christian era, is of special interest. The critical school of K'ang Yu-wei asserted that the great commentary on the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, the *Tso-chuan* 左傳, was specially composed from earlier works by Liu Hsin 劉歆 at the beginning of the Christian era, to make manifest that the venerated chronicle, whose entries contain numerous accounts of murders and usurpations in the feudal states, did not necessarily reprobate regicide and usurpation. Liu Hsin's purpose, according to K'ang, was to vindicate his patron, Wang Mang 王莽, who had obtained the throne through such measures. Karlgren argues against such a theory (cf. *On the Authenticity of the Tso chuan*, 1926). The *Ch'un-ch'iu* has been subjected to a renewed examination by Franke in *Studien zur Geschichte des Konfuzianischen Dogmas und der chinesischen Staatsreligion: Das Problem des Tsch'un-ts'iu und Tung Tschung-schu's Tsch'un-ts'iu-fan-lu* (1920).

for a son than the murder of his father.¹ It is but recently that the princes of Huai Nan and Hêng Shan,² encouraging literary studies, invited footloose scholars from the four corners of the Empire. The Confucianists and Mihists from east of the mountains³ all congregated betwixt the Chiang and the Huai,⁴ expounding, arguing, compiling and epitomizing, producing books by the score. Yet finally we saw these princes discarding loyalty, turning to rebellious ways, planning sedition, and perishing the death of criminals together with all their kith and kin. Thus Ch'ao Ts'o was led⁵ to change the laws and alter customs,⁶ disregard precedent and rule, in his attempt to curb the hereditary houses⁷ and curtail the appanages of the feudal lords, until outlying vassals refused allegiance and the royal flesh and blood threw off the bond of consanguinity. Long did Wu and Ch'u⁸ nourish their grievances — beheaded was Ch'ao Ts'o in the Eastern Market, sacrificed for the purpose of quieting the soldiers of the army and placating the nobles. Now tell me, pray, who was his real murderer?

b. The Literati: *Confucius would not drink of the outflow at "Robber's Spring"; Tsêng Tzû would not enter the hamlet of "Mother Surpassed"*.⁹ These mere names they hated; how much more would they shrink from doing anything disloyal or unfilial? Thus *Confucius*

¹ A possible reference to the *Lun-yü*, XI, xxiii, 6, where regicide and parricide are under discussion. Cf. Soothill, *Analects*, 540, note.

² 淮南, who is described as gathering about him a heterogeneous group of scholars. With the Prince of Hêng Shan 衡山, he rebelled against the Han house, and ultimately committed suicide (122 B.C.). Cf. Wieger, *Textes historiques* (ap. *Ch'ien-han-shu*), I, 468—9.

³ 山東儒墨.

⁴ 江 (Yangtzu) and 淮 (Huai) rivers.

⁵ 使. It was the activities of the seditious scholars that led Ch'ao Ts'o to adopt his vigorous policy of centralization.

⁶ 變法易常. The *Shih-chi*, ch. CI, has 變古亂常.

⁷ 宗族 should read 宗室. The substitution crept in under the influence of the preceding 宗族.

⁸ 吳, 楚.

⁹ Cf. ch. XVI of the *Shuo-yüan* of Liu Hsiang (B.C. 80—9) where the same passage indicates the fastidiousness of the two ancients regarding improper names.

bathed himself and went to Court where he petitioned Duke Ai,¹ and although Ch'en Wên Tzû held a fief of ten chariots he abandoned all and left the country.² The superior man, says the *Chuan*,³ may be exalted and may be humbled; he may undergo punishment and be executed; but never can he be forced to become seditious. Now a man may have polished manners and yet be empty in substance; he may offer lip-service at the shrine of culture but in his conduct never follow its paths. Let him, then, keep company with knaves, for he is nothing short of that; he is not to be tolerated in the precincts of gentlemen. The *Spring and Autumn* never countenanced opposing the many in behalf of the few. The justice of extreme penalties has its limitations; it should not involve the victimizing of others. Thus when Shun was forced to resort to executions, he executed but Kun, the chief criminal, just as when he made rewards by promotion he chose Yü as the worthiest of all.⁴ If all uncarved precious stones were discarded because of some flaw found in the crown jewels,⁵ or all members of a group were implicated in the guilt of one individual, there would remain in the whole world not a single precious jewel and not a single trustworthy knight. Master Ch'ao claimed that the feudal lords had waxed strong and rich on their estates and had become so proud and extravagant that they might in time of crisis unite their forces with sinister designs. So for a fault of Wu⁶ he decimated Kuei Chi,⁷ for the crime of Ch'u⁸ he deprived of power Tung Hai⁹ so that he might preserve the balance of power and divide their authority; he planned for gene-

¹ 哀公. To obtain vengeance for the murder of Duke Chien of Ch'i 齊簡公. *Lun-yü*, XIV, xxii.

² When Ts'ui Tzû 崔子 put to death Duke Chuang of Ch'i 齊莊公. *Lun-yü*, V, xviii.

³ The quotation occurs substantially in the *Li-chi*, 表記, para. 44.

⁴ Shun 舜 executed Kun 鯀, father of Yü 禹, for failure to curb the waters of the great flood, a task accomplished by Yü, as recorded in the *Shu-ching*.

⁵ 璊璠, "crown jewel" of Lu.

⁶ 吳. ⁷ 會稽.

⁸ 楚. ⁹ 東海.

rations to come. Just as Hsien Kao ¹ cheated Ch'in ² but kept faith with Chêng, ³ Master Ch'ao was faithful to Han and thus came to be an enemy to the princes. Any man serving as minister must be ready to die for his prince in the service of his state. It was thus that Hsieh Yang ⁴ requited himself fully before Chin ⁵ by slighting the barbarian power of Ching. ⁶

¹ 弦高, an example of disinterested loyalty.

² 秦. ³ 鄭.

⁴ 解楊, who, despite all pressure brought to bear, remained faithful to his Sovereign. The anecdote is in the *Tso-chuan*, Hsüan 宣, XV, (Legge, *Chi. Classics*, V, I, 327).

⁵ 晉 ⁶ 荆, i. e. Ch'u 楚.

CHAPTER IX

TAUNTING THE PUISSANT

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: Let us consider for a moment the Imperial riches of such places as Chü-ch'ü of Yüeh, Yün-mêng of Ch'u, Chü-yeh of Sung, and Mêng-chu of Ch'i;¹ they are all of substance worthy of a Lord Protector or a King. It is when he has them consolidated and well guarded² that the Ruler of Men grows strong; should he fail to put any restrictions upon their use, he will speedily go to his ruin. Thus when the state of Ch'i³ gave away its vitals to private individuals, its vassal houses grew powerful beyond control, just as the branches of a tree when they become too big break the main trunk, all because the vassal houses succeeded in laying their hands upon the riches of the ocean and obtained control of the profits derived from fisheries and salt beds. They were now in position to use their accumulated strength in order to manipulate the masses, and their bounties to distribute doles to the plebs. As a consequence Ch'i, divided against itself, became dependent of outside powers; sovereign authority shifted to the ministers and the administration was cast down into the hands of the vassal clans; the ducal house was humiliated, while the patrician family of T'ien⁴ waxed strong. Their caravans and cargoes⁵ often reached three thousand cartloads! All this serves to prove that once you let go of the root, nothing can save for you the branches.

b. At the present time our natural resources contained in mountains,

¹ 越之具區, 楚之雲夢, 宋之鉅野, 齊之孟諸.

These famous "reservations" changed hands frequently during the feudal period. Both Chang and Wang discuss their exact locations. See glossary.

² 人[君]統而[守]之: in Chang's text, 主....一.

³ 齊. ⁴ 田宗.

⁵ 轉轂, 游海. The first compound refers to land transportation. Cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 562, "ils avaient des convois de transport d'une centaine de chars".

rivers, seas and lakes are not limited to Yün-mêng and Mêng-chu. Metallurgists and brine-boilers always choose for their activities the seclusion of sombre valleys, seldom visited by people. As they craftily and cunningly ply their trade betwixt mountain and sea, there is danger that great evils might arise from this situation. With these people riding on prosperity, they dispel simplicity and increase dishonest practices,¹ with the result that few will be those who hold in honor fundamental occupations. K'ung Chin and Hsien-yang,² Commissioners of Salt and Iron for the Exchequer, proposed to the government, therefore, that the people be summoned to provide for the necessary expenses themselves to boil salt with implements supplied by the authorities, in order to bar the road to shifty and dishonest practices. You can see from that how profound was the aim of the prohibitory laws and also how far-sighted the intent of the officials.

c. The Literati: Far-sighted and far-reaching in intent is your policy but contiguous with profit for powerful families. The aim of your prohibitory laws is profound indeed, but manifestly leading you into the path of wild extravagance. Since the establishment of the Profit-and-Loss System and the initiation of the Three Enterprises,³ the privileged families throng the streets like drifting clouds, the hubs of their chariots knocking against one another on the road. Violating all public laws, they promote but their own interests; sitting astride mountains and marshes and monopolizing all offices and markets, they present a far greater problem than the feudal possessors of fisheries and salt-beds. They hold the state authority and travel around the Empire. This is more than the influence of T'ien Ch'ang⁴ and the power of the feudal ministers.⁵

¹ 敦樸滋僞. Lu suggests reading 散 for 敦.

² Cf. p. 2, note 1; p. 35, note 2. Chang omits [Tung-Kuo] Hsien-yang: "K'ung Chin and others."

³ 三業. The salt monopoly, the iron monopoly, and the liquor excise are apparently meant. Cf. p. 2, notes 1 and 2. For "Profit-and-Loss System", cf. p. 10, note 4, 平準.

⁴ 田常.

⁵ 陪臣. Cf. *Lun-yü*, XVI, 11, "... When a minister's minister holds command in the kingdom it is rare if it be not lost within three generations."

Their prestige is higher than that of the Six Ministers¹ and their wealth double that of T'ao and Wei.² In the style of their chariots and their dress they usurp the prerogatives of dukes or kings; their palaces and mansions overstep the limits prescribed by the regulations; they combine whole rows of dwellings, cutting off thoroughfares and alleys. They build intersecting galleries to accommodate themselves in their strolls and sight-seeing tours; dig ponds and build winding lanes for their *parties de plaisir*: they fish along deep water-courses, unleash their hounds at fleeting hare and fierce wolf, revel in feats of strength, football³ games and cock-fighting. The singing-girls of Chung-shan⁴ play their inflammatory music⁴ on the balconies of their halls, while the drums beat and spirited dancing⁶ is going on below. Their wives and daughters dress only in the finest silks and their maids and concubines trail trains of the finest linen.⁷ Their sons and grandsons ride out with long retinues of chariots and horsemen; in and out they ride to the hunt and display their skill in handling net and dart.⁸ The result is that we see the farmer abandoning his plough and toiling no more; the people becoming vagabonds⁹ or growing idle—and why? Because while they toil, others reap the fruit of their labor. Wasters continue to compete with each other, unceasingly trying to reach higher levels of extravagance. This is the only explanation for the people increasing in dishonest practices and the dwindling number of those who turn to fundamental occupations.

¹ See p. 31, note 5.

² 陶, 衛.

³ Cf. *Ch'ien-han-shu*, XXX, for a work on football, 蹴鞠二十篇, listed under the military writers.

⁴ 中山素女. Cf. *Tz'ü-yüan*.

⁵ Play the ("rippling") 流) *Chih* 徵 note. *Chih* corresponds to Summer and Fire.

⁶ 巴俞. Chang reads 巴歛 (渝), apparently "Ssü-ch'uan dancing". Men from the two provinces of Pa and Yü were famous for their dancing skill.

⁷ 曳絺紵. 曳 in the sense of trail or drag along. Cf. *Shih-ching*, T'ang Fêng, ode 山有樞: You have suits of robes, but you will not wear them 子

有衣裳弗曳弗婁 (Legge, *Chi. Classics*, vol. IV, 1, 176, note).

⁸ 畢, 弋: small net for catching birds, and an arrow propelled by a thong.

⁹ 百姓冰釋, literally, "the people melt away like ice".

d. The Lord Grand Secretary: That an exalted office is synonymous with handsome emolument is as natural as a sturdy root producing luxuriant branches. Therefore, Wên Wang's sons and grandsons received fiefs because of their father's virtue, and Po Ch'in ¹ became rich because of Chou Kung's having been Chancellor of the realm. Sons achieve prestige when their fathers hold exalted positions, just as fish wax big in extensive waters, for as the *Chuan* says, *Rivers and seas can fatten a thousand li of land.* ² If great virtue can extend to the Four Seas, so much more does it benefit one's own family! Thus when the husband is exalted at court, the wife is honored in the home. To speak of riches as passably fine ³ was a principle with the Ancients. *The Prince while not different from other men,* says Mencius, *is what he is chiefly because of his station.* ⁴ But for the rank and file of the people to aspire to the station of the scions of high ministers is just as preposterous as for a cripple to wish to overtake Lou Chi. ⁵ Is it not rather a vain hope to long for a treasure of a thousand pieces of gold with not a farthing of capital?

e. The Literati: Even in their days of obscurity as simple commoners Yü and Chi ⁶ would regard themselves responsible for every luckless person ⁷ in the Empire, as if it were they who had pushed him into the pit of distress. They arose, therefore, and assisted Yao in subduing the flood, regulating the land, and teaching the people the agricultural arts. Such was the heavy responsibility that they took upon themselves for the sake of the whole world. How can you say that they sought appointments for the mere support of their families? Now, he who feeds upon the labor of ten thousand men, should take upon himself their cares and shoulder their burdens. Whether it is a man losing his employment or an official neglecting his duty, it should be alike a load on a minister. Thus

¹ 伯禽.

² *Kung-yang Chuan*, Duke Hsi, 僖公, XXXI.

³ 苟美. *Lun-yü*, XIII, VIII: The Master said of Ching... when he had amassed plenty he called it "Passably fine" (Soothill's trans.).

⁴ Apparently based on Mencius, VII, i, xxxvi, 1 and 2: Great is the influence of position... The residence [etc.]... of the king's son are the same as those of other men. That he looks so is occasioned by his position (Legge's trans.).

⁵ 樓季.

⁶ 禹, 稷.

⁷ 不得其所者.

the gentleman in serving his government carries out his duty but does not take delight in his station. The salary he receives is meant to benefit the worthy, not for him to pocket profits; he should not obscure worth when he sees it, and use his appointments exclusively for himself. Thus did Kung-shu ¹ earn the title of "The Cultured" and Wei Ch'êng Tzŭ ² become known as "The Worthy"; thus Chou first perfected his virtue and then enfeoffed his descendants — in this way his action could never be considered as partizan. ³ Thus Chou Kung completed his work and then only accepted his fief—in this way he could never be considered by the world as being covetous.

f. But how different is the situation now! Relatives push each other to the front; partizan cliques recommend one another. When the father is exalted in his position, the son becomes overweening at home; when the husband is honored at the court, the wife pushes her calls ⁴ into the higher social circles. You have the wealth of Chou Kung without possessing his virtue, and the extravagance of Kuan Chung without his achievements. No wonder that even paupers and cripples entertain vain hopes of quickening their pace.

¹ 公叔.

² 魏成子.

³ Lu suggests: 'and the world [天下 to be inserted] did not consider him partizan'.

⁴ 謁行: visits her superiors.

CHAPTER X

THRUST AND PARRY

a. The Lord Grand Secretary, ¹ though inwardly perturbed, assumed an air of arrogant importance and said: Can you, mere stay-at-home's, know anything of the toil of burden-carriers, ² of worries of incumbents in office, incommensurable with yours, critical bystanders? Here we sit now in the heart of a mighty Empire, with all the outlying states looking up to us for the solution of crucial domestic and foreign problems. ³ Our minds are in a state of watchful tension, as if we were crossing a great waterway ⁴ in the face of a gale, with no haven yet in sight. Thus day and night we ponder and worry over the expenditure of this great Commonwealth, forgetting sleep while in bed and oblivious of food when hungry. Statistical tables ⁵ never depart from our presence; we ransack our minds ever searching to solve a myriad problems. Our assistants are, of course, of mediocre ability and not fit for consultation! We struggle alone with great principles and our thoughts have turned to the Scholars with hope and expectation, as to some Duke Chou or Duke Shao, ⁶ and we crave their bounties as if from some Tzŭ-kao. ⁷ While our Secretariat manages affairs, year after year a search is made throughout

¹ The text has 大夫曰, a mistake. Chang reads 乃 for 曰.

² 負載. Chang reads 戴, a more orthodox reading: "those who carry burdens on their backs and heads". Cf. Mencius I, i, III, 4, 頌白者不負戴於道路矣. ³ 中外未然.

⁴ 涉大川, a common figure in the *I-ching*, (cf., e.g. hexagrams, 5, 6, 26, 27 et al.). "Watchful tension", 憧憧, cf. *I-ching*, 31.

⁵ 計數. ⁶ 周[公], 召[公].

⁷ Chang, quoting the *Kao-shih Chuan* 高士傳, attempts to identify Tzŭ-kao with 伯成子高, a worthy of high antiquity. Lu's note points out that the reference is to 沈諸梁 Shên Chu-liang.

the provinces and demesnes for men of high integrity, and talented and worthy scholars are recommended.

b. We have now convened with us over sixty of your class, oh Worthies and Literati. You who cherish so the practices of the Six Arts, ¹ fleet in thought and exhaustive in argument, — you ought now to let out the flood of your light and dispel our ignorance. Come, show to us now how you disparage everything modern, putting all your trust in the past; how you discourse upon Antiquity, with never a reference to present conditions. Is it due to our ideosyncracies that we are unable to recognize a scholar; or is it rather your habit of falsifying truth by slandering ability in your stilted tirades? How difficult indeed it is to find a really worthy scholar! From Ni K'uan of Ch'ien-shêng, ² upon whom was bestowed the hat of a high minister for his studies on the Book of History, down to all the recommended scholars that I have ever seen or heard or as soaring high as recipients of Imperial favor, — none has shown transcendent ability, none has helped the government in solving difficulties, none has had any merit whatever!

c. The Literati: When working as a carpenter Shu Tzŭ ³ would first adjust his square and compass, then "handle and hole" would fit each other perfectly; the music-master Kuang, ⁴ when harmonizing the scale, would first regulate his *six sharps*; ⁵ then only he achieved the perfect blending of the *sol-fa*. ⁶ Our present artificers and mechanics, when unable to fit handle and hole, find fault with the square and compass; and when unable to harmonize the simplest tune, begin to tamper with the time-honored musical scale. No wonder that their handle and hole are all askew and never fit each other, that their music is a cacophony of unsynchronized sounds. Now the real master artist is he who knows how to adjust square and compass as soon as he picks them up; he who knows the musical variations as soon as he begins to blow into the organ-pipe. Next comes he who follows in the beaten path and waits for the right man before starting an

¹ Cf. supra, p. 37, note 3.

² 千乘兒寬. ³ 輸子. ⁴ 師曠. ⁵ 六律.

⁶ Literally, the *kung* 宮 and *shang* 商, the 1st and 2nd notes of the 5-note musical scale.

innovation. This explains why Chancellor Ts'ao held drinking parties daily, and Lord Ni kept his mouth shut, refusing to speak on anything.¹

d. Thus, it seems to us, those in charge of important affairs should not allow themselves to be vexed with trifles, for this leads to confusion; while dealing with small details, one should ever be diligent, for laxity leads to negligence. *It is he who has a broadly comprehensive grasp of administrative methods that is fit to become a member of the Cabinet*, says the *Spring and Autumn*; but *he whose administrative methods are over-inquisitive is only fit to be the most common citizen*.² Now it should be a matter of the gravest concern to ministers of state when the social tenets are not disseminated and propriety and justice do not function. As to files and documents and matters of expediency, this is the business of office assistants. As the Book of History says, *In office should be the eminent, the different officers go about their work, the various artisans labor according to season, all working in harmony*.³ That is to say, for every office the right man was secured and every man attended to his business; thus every office was well regulated without confusion arising and every affair was attended to without being neglected. Minor officers should keep strictly to their duties, higher officials should regulate their offices, while ministers of state should only take up general and essential affairs.

e. Therefore, for those who know how to employ able men, responsibility is shouldered without laborious effort, but with those

¹ 曹丞相，兒大夫。"Ts'ao Ts'an . . . consciously practiced the political philosophy of laissez-faire. During his 3 years of Premiership, he was drunk every day, and when his subordinates came to him to make new proposals, he made them drink to intoxication, to prevent them from talking about their new schemes." Cf. Hu Shih, *The Establishment of Confucianism as a State Religion*, 21.

² Not found in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* or its commentaries. Cf. *Tao-té-ching*, ch. 58:

其政察察, "whose administrative methods are over-inquisitive."

³ *Shu-ching* II, iii, 11, 4. Legge translates: "Then men of a thousand (俊) and men of a hundred (父) will fill the offices of the State; the various ministers will emulate one another; all the officers will accomplish their duties at the proper time" . . . The end of the sentence is missing in the *Yen T'ieh Lun* whose 庶尹允諧 is apparently equivalent to the *Shu-ching's* concluding 庶績其凝, "and thus their various duties will be fully accomplished". The former phrase occurs later on in the *Shu-ching* II, iv, 11, 10, "and all the chiefs of the officers become truly harmonious".

who know only how to use their own resources, business is neglected and everything left uncompleted. Duke Huan let Kuan Chung¹ be his eyes and ears. Thus the superior man exerts himself in his search for worthy men and takes his rest in employing them—do you see any danger in that? In former days when Chou Kung² was Chancellor, he was meek and humble, never stingy³ when patronizing the scholars of the Empire. Therefore, able and distinguished men filled his court, the worthy and wise thronged at his gate. Confucius, a simple commoner without rank or privilege, commanded the following of over seventy talented scholars who were all fit to become high ministers of state to any feudal prince. What could he have done in supporting all the Empire's scholars had he possessed dignity comparable to that of the Three Highest Ministers!⁴ But you with your superior ministerial rank and handsome salary, you are unable to attract scholars, as you never possessed the secret of promoting the worthy.

f. When Yao promoted Shun,⁵ he treated him as his guest and gave him his daughters in marriage; when Duke Huan promoted Kuan Chung, he likewise treated him as his guest and made him his mentor. For a Son of Heaven to become related by marriage to a commoner—Yao could surely be termed to be on intimate relations with the worthy; for a great prince to appoint as his mentor a commoner—Duke Huan could surely be said to show respect to his guest. This is why worthies flocked to them like a rushing stream and attached themselves to them without hesitation. But in our modern times we look in vain among those in high places for men who would show as much regard for scholars as was exhibited by King Chao of Yen,⁶ or as much delight in associating with worthies as is depicted in the poem, "With pleased sounds the deer call."⁷

¹ 桓公; 管仲.

² 周公.

³ 鄰, which here is 吝, according to Lu.

⁴ 三公: under the Chou dynasty, the Grand Tutor 太師, Assistant 太傅, and Guardian 太保. ⁵ 堯, 舜. ⁶ 燕昭.

⁷ 鹿鳴. Cf. *Shih-ching*, Hsiao Ya, 1st ode, a festal ode, sung at entertainments to the King's ministers and guests from the feudal States. See Legge's translation, *Chinese Classics*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, 245.

We see you, on the other hand, adopting the ideas of Ts'ang Wên¹ and Tzū-shu² in ignoring the worthy and envying the able, exalting your own wisdom and belittling the ability of others. Too conceited to ask for advice, too snobbish to befriend the scholars, trying to impress worthy men by your high rank and to intimidate men of scholarly attainment by your high salaries, it is indeed not surprising that you find it so difficult to secure the service of scholars!

g. The Lord Grand Secretary, confounded, said nothing while the Worthies drew prolonged sighs. Then advanced one of the Secretaries and addressed them: T'ai Kung,³ as Chancellor to kings Wên and Wu, made them Emperors of the world; Kuan Chung, as Prime Minister to Duke Huan, made his master Lord Protector of the feudal princes. Thus when real worthies obtain high positions they are like dragons plunging into water, or soaring serpents disporting on the clouds. But Master Kung-sun Hung, when acting as Chancellor, lectured his late Majesty upon the *Spring and Autumn*, and while secure in the position of one of the Three Highest Ministers, and with all the advantages of Dukes Chou and Shao,⁴ with powers extending over ten thousand *li*, and with the possibility to set a standard for the whole world, proceeded to establish examples for the Empire to follow by never dressing in two colors and never dining on more than one dish,⁵ all with no noticeable benefit to the administration.⁶

¹ 臧文. Cf. *Lun-yü*, XV, XIII: "Was not Ts'ang Wên Chung like one who had stolen his office?" remarked the Master. "He knew the superiority of Hui of Liu-hsia yet did not appoint him as a colleague".

² 子叔. Cf. Mencius, II, ii, x, 6: "A strange man was Tsze-shu I. He pushed himself into the service of government...."

³ 太公.

⁴ 周公, 召公.

⁵ 食不兼味. Wang's text has 位 for the last, "never held more than one office". But the same attribute is assigned to Kung-sun Hung in the *Shih-chi* (cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 559). The *Lü-chi*, 哀公問, para. 4, has a similar expression: 食不貳味.

⁶ Kung-sun Hung 公孫弘 was one of Han Wu Ti's chief ministers. His biography appears in ch. CXII of the *Shih-chi*. He was noted for his personal frugality and public generosity. The account in this paragraph follows generally the *Shih-chi*, ch. XXX (cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 558 seq.).

h. Learned doctors such as Chu T'ai and Hsü Yen¹ in accordance with an Imperial rescript, and endowed with special powers, rode through all the length and breadth of the Empire, through every province and demesne, making selection among the filial and incorrupt,² and urging the people of the realm to reform—yet folkways and morality showed no great change for the better. We have seen also recommended scholars of the classes of Worthies, Probi and Literati suddenly raised to high rank and honor, some of them even holding ministerial posts. This is certainly doing more in promoting scholars than king Chao of Yen ever did, and wider employment of the worthies than Wên Wang ever attempted. Yet in spite of all this we never saw anything accomplished by these men. We should say that these worthies could not be exactly described as possessing talents that would lead us to compare them with dragons and soaring serpents; nor were they as commendable as those in whom the poem "With pleased sounds the deer call" took pleasure.

i. The Literati: Ice and coals are not kept in the same receptacle, nor can the sun and moon shine side by side. In Kung-sun Hung's time the Ruler of Men was turning his thoughts, and inclining his mind, to deal with the Barbarians on the four borders. Therefore, this was the time when cunning strategic plans were submitted and the knights of Ching and Ch'u³ were paramount in employment; generals and commanders often were raised to feudal rank and given fiefs; the rapacious⁴ received handsome rewards. It was the period of the ascendancy of swashbuckling officers, and for a long time afterwards wars continued unceasing, expedition following expedition at short intervals until men-at-arms were completely exhausted and the Government found itself short of funds.

j. Now came to the fore ministers specializing in levying taxes and promoting profits, while "angling scholars"⁵ and "bearskin

¹ 褚泰; 徐偃.

² 孝廉.

³ 荆楚之士. Wang quotes from the biography (*Han-shu*, LIV) of the famous Li Ling 李陵, where this general describes his soldiers as coming mostly from Ching and Ch'u.

⁴ 勉獲者: *vul.* "go-getters".

⁵ Literally, 'scholars of the P'an Brook' 磻溪. According to tradition T'ai Kung

knights”¹ sank into obscurity. On the Ching, on the Huai,² sluices were now built to facilitate transportation. Tung-kuo Yen³ and K’ung Chin proposed their plan for the salt and iron monopoly and other sources of profit. The rich were allowed to purchase rank and office, and to escape punishment through the payment of fines. Public expenses continued to grow, while the administrators chased after their own private profit, the people being forced to satisfy both.⁴ The masses being hardly able to bear this, they opposed malpractices and observed the law. Thus ruthless officials were given promotion; there appeared the novel laws of “implicating witnesses” and “lèse majesté”.⁵ Men like Tu Chou and Chien Hsüan⁶ won renown by their harsh interpretations of the law, and others of the type of Wang Wên-shu became prominent through their pitiless, vulture-like, judicial murders. Few were those who, holding fast to the principles of benevolence and justice, wanted to serve their prince; while a multitude conformed themselves, to secure toleration⁷ from above. What could Kung-sun Hung do alone under such conditions?

(Lü Shang), future mentor and generalissimo of Wu Wang, was living in retirement in Shen-hsi and fishing in this brook, “waiting for his opportunity”; it was there that Wên Wang, while hunting, met him and brought him to the Chou court.

¹ 熊羆, commonly translated “bears and grizzly bears”, who fought on Huang-ti’s side against Ch’i-yu. Thus they are a synonym for brave warriors of antiquity. For the use of the words, also cf. Legge, “The Annals of the Bamboo Books”, 148, and *Shu-ching*, II, i, v, 22, footnote. “Angling scholar” and “bearskin knight”, the exemplary scholar and warrior.

² 涇, 淮, the rivers of these names.

³ 東郭偃, 孔僅: Yen 偃 is here used for 咸陽, the name as given in the *Shih-chi*, *Han-shu* and in chs. IX and XIV of the *Yen T’ieh Lun*. Cf. p. 2, note 1; p. 35, note 2, *supra*.

⁴ 上下[無]求: undoubtedly a mistake for 兼, 上 and 下 referring to 公 and 私 respectively.

⁵ 見知廢格之法. Cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 558.

⁶ 杜周, 滅宣, 王溫舒, persons mentioned in this connection in the *Shih-chi* (*Mém. hist.*, III, 582).

⁷ The acrimony of this discussion develops from the Lord Grand Secretary’s charge that the Scholars are incompetent. The Scholars vigorously refute the charge, contending that the officials do not attract Scholars, upon whose services they could safely rely.

CHAPTER XI

DISCOURSING ON CONFUCIANISTS ¹

a. The Secretary: You venerate Confucius, oh Literati, as your intellectual progenitor, and intone lauds in praise of his virtue as being unsurpassed from high antiquity down to the present time.² Yet in spite of the fact that Confucius cultivated virtue betwixt Lu and Wei³ and spread enlightenment on the banks of the Chu and Ssü,⁴ his disciples mended not their ways and the world around him turned not to good government, while the dismemberment of the state of Lu went on apace. In Ch'i, King Hsüan⁵ likewise encouraged the Confucianists and honored the learned. The followers of Mêng K'o⁶ and Shun-yü K'un⁷ accepted salaries worthy of high lords and discoursed on affairs of state without holding regular appointments.

b. It seems that at the gate of Chi of the Ch'i capital there were assembled over a thousand of these doctors.⁸ Master Kung-sun

¹ See note 9, p. 38, *supra*, on the term *ju* 儒, as applicable to the scholars of the Han period; also the discussion of the "Confucian School" of the Han period, in the Introduction.

² Cf. Mencius, II, i, II, 23: "Since there were living men until now, there never was another Confucius."

³ 魯衛. Chang has Ch'i 齊 and Lu. "Lu and Wei" seems to be the correct reading, as it often occurs elsewhere.

⁴ 洙, 泗: rivers of these names. See glossary.

⁵ 齊宣王. ⁶ 孟軻 (Mencius). ⁷ 涓 [淳] 于髡.

⁸ 齊宣王. Le roi Siuen aimait les hommes instruits qui voyageaient (de pays en pays) pour donner des conseils. Soixante-seize hommes, parmi lesquels Tseou Yen (鄒衍), Choen-yu K'o'en, T'ien P'ien (田駢), Tsie Yu (接予), Chen Tao (慎到), Hoan Yuen (環淵) reçurent tous de lui des palais particuliers et furent nommés grands officiers de premier rang. Ils ne participaient pas au gouvernement, mais ils discutaient (sur les affaires d'état). Ainsi, dans le pays de Ts'i, les savants au

Hung¹ would not have been unique at the time. Yet, when the weak state of Yen attacked Ch'i and in one campaign drove right down to Lin-tsê, King Min fled before the Yen forces to perish miserably at Chiu and none of these gentlemen could save the situation.² When King Chien was made prisoner by Ch'in,³ the learned doctors went into captivity with him, none of them succeeding in preserving the state. If we judge by these examples, it seems that the Confucianist way of bringing peace to a country and honor to its ruler has as yet never proved to be very effective.

c. The Literati: Without the help of a whip even Tsao-fu⁴ would not be able to manage his four-in-hand; without some measure of power⁵ even Shun and Yü would not be able to rule effectively the Myriad People. *The phoenix comes not, exclaimed Confucius, the river gives forth no chart—it is all over with me.*⁶ There are thus situations when even with racing chariots and excellent horses one can not show his speed, and when sagely virtue, benevolence and a sense of duty have no chance to be displayed.

d. During the reign of King Hsüan⁷ of Ch'i the worthy were manifestly honored⁸ and scholars promoted indeed; that nation was

pied de (la porte) Tsi (稷) redevinrent abondants; ils se comptèrent par centaines et furent près de mille. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, V, 258—260. While the *Yen T'ieh Lun* includes the name of Mencius, the text of the *Shih-chi* does not.

¹ 公孫弘. See page 63, note 6, supra.

² The overthrow of King Min 湣 at Lin-tsê 臨淄 (284 B. C.) at the hands of Yen 燕, and his subsequent assassination at Chiu 莒, are noted in the *Shih-chi*, ch. XLVI (cf. *Mém. hist.*, V, 272 seq.).

³ 建王. *Shih-chi*, ch. LXVI. Our text has 禽 for 擒, "make prisoner". The incident occurred in 221 B. C. (Cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, V, 279).

⁴ 造父, the celebrated coachman.

⁵ 世位. Chang has 勢 for 世, the two characters being often interchangeable. The Literati employ a *legalist* argument here. Cf. Duyvendak, *Book of Lord Shang*, 98.

⁶ The *Lun-yü*, IX, VIII, Soothill's rendering.

⁷ Chang suggests: "During the reigns of kings Wei 威 (predecessor of Hsüan) and Hsüan . . .", to accord with the following ". . . through two generations of prosperity".

⁸ The text has . . . 不顯 . . . The translation follows Chang's suggestion of inserting 無 before 不.

rich and powerful and its prestige prevailed among the enemy states. Then the majestic vigor accumulated through two generations of prosperity was energetically displayed by King Min. In the south he took Ch'u¹ and Huai,² and in the north annexed the lands of the great state of Sung,³ taking into his fold twelve petty kingdoms; while in the west he drove back the three states of Chin,⁴ and forced powerful Ch'in⁵ to retreat. The embassies of the five states⁶ paid him homage, and *the princes of Tsou and Lu and all feudal lords from the banks of the Ssü river acknowledged themselves his vassals.*⁷ But he did not cease in displaying boastfully his prowess until his people could bear no more. All the Confucianists⁸ in his service, finding their criticism of no avail, scattered abroad; Shen Tao and Chieh Tzū disappeared, T'ien P'ien⁹ went to Hsieh,¹⁰ and Sun Ch'ing¹¹ proceeded to Ch'u.¹² Not a single good minister remained in the country, and the feudal princes now seized their chance to make common cause and fall upon Ch'i. King Chien gave ear to rumors, believed in treacherous intrigue; and following the suggestion of Hou Shêng,¹³ he neglected to entertain friendly relations with the feudal princes. It is but natural that with such a policy he should ruin his country and fall prey to Ch'in.¹⁴

¹ 楚. ² 淮. ³ 宋. ⁴ 晉. ⁵ 秦.

⁶ Yen 燕, Ch'in 秦, Ch'u 楚, Chao 趙 and Wei 衛, who later, under the leadership of Yen, attacked Ch'i and drove King Min from his capital.

⁷ 鄒魯之君泗上.... This sentence occurs in the *Shih-chi*, ch. XLVI, but with 稱臣 for 入臣.

⁸ The text reads 諸侯, but with Duyvendak ("The Chronology of Hsün-tzū", *T'oung Pao*, 1928, N^o. 2, p. 80) I read 諸儒, despite the fact that the persons named are usually classified as representing various schools. Cf. p. 66, note 8, supra. For a description of the *Ch'i-hsia* scholars, see Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 516, 553; and Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 73 seq.

⁹ Shen Tao, Chieh Tzū, T'ien P'ien. Cf. p. 66, note 8, supra.

¹⁰ 薛. ¹¹ 孫卿. ¹² 楚.

¹³ 后勝. Cf. *Shi-chi*, ch. LXVI (*Mém. hist.*, V, 279). At the advice of his counsellor, Hou Shêng, King Chien of Ch'i surrendered to the armies of Ch'in (221 B.C.).

¹⁴ The appearance of the name of Sun Ch'ing 孫卿, Sun the Minister (al. Hsün K'uang 荀況), in this passage has been noted by a number of scholars in

e. The Secretary: I Yin¹ entered the service of T'ang² through his ability as a cook, and Po-li³ ingratiated himself with Duke Mu⁴ while feeding cattle. They ingratiated themselves with their princes first, and then only would introduce them to the subject of aspiring to the Protectorate or the Kingship. It is only thus⁵ that they secured for them these positions, when every word of theirs was followed, and every principle enunciated put into practice. Following this method, the Lord of Shang, having found that Duke Hsiao would have none of the "Ways of Kings"⁶ which he had expounded to him, came forward with a plan of building a strong state and was thus able finally to accomplish great things; similarly Tsou Tzū, after having tried in vain to interest contemporary rulers in Confucian lore, finally won renown by his treatises on Mutation, Change, and the Beginning and End.⁷ One may say, therefore, that just as a horse is valued for its capacity to run a thousand miles irrespective

the establishment of the chronology of the philosopher. Our principal modern editor of the *Yen T'ieh Lun*, Wang Hsien-ch'ien, apparently first called attention to the importance of Huan K'uan's statement in his edition of the *Hsün-tzū* (1891). See Maspero, op. cit., 564, note 2; and Duyvendak, *T'oung Pao*, loc. cit., passim. The names 荀 and 孫 by which the philosopher has been known, are discussed by Maspero, op. cit., 265, note 3; and Duyvendak, op. cit., 75, note 1. Dubs, *Hsün-tze, the Moulder of Ancient Confucianism*, does not take cognizance of Huan K'uan's references to Sun Ch'ing (cf. *Yen T'ieh Lun*, ch. XVIII, where the text reads 荀卿).

¹ 伊尹. Cf. Mencius V, i, VII, 1—8, *Vindication of I Yin from the charge of introducing himself to the service of T'ang by an unworthy artifice* [Legge].

² 湯. ³ 百里. ⁴ 穆公.

⁵ 如此, omitted in Chang's edition.

⁶ Referring to Shang Yang's initial discourses, before Duke Hsiao, which failed to attract the Duke's attention. See note 1, p. 40, supra. (Duyvendak, *Book of Lord Shang*, 11).

⁷ 鄒衍 was the author (according to the *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. XXX) of two works, the *Tsou-tzū* 鄒子 and the *Tsou-tzū-chung-shih* 鄒子終始, *Beginning and End*, classed in the school of *yin and yang*. (Cf. *Mém. hist.*, V, 258, note 8). The *So Yin* comm. to the *Shih-chi* (ch. LXXIV), mentions Huan K'uan as sharing with Wang Ch'ung 王充 the opinion that Tsou Yen's work, though wild and diffuse, dazzled his feudal patrons. Cf. *Lun-héng* (Forke's translation), I, 463. Tsou Yen, a voluminous writer, whose works however are lost, occupied an important place in early Chinese thought, particularly in the field of natural philosophy. Cf. Forke, *Geschichte der alten chinesischen Philosophie*, 503—506.

of the fact that it comes from Hu or Tai,¹ so a scholar is honored for his practical ability and not because of his proficiency in letters or dialectics alone. Your Mêng K'o stuck to old practices and was ignorant of worldly affairs, and consequently came to trouble in Liang and Sung;² Confucius "could square but could not round", and so came to hunger at Li-ch'iu.³

f. Now, the Confucianists of these latter days, though striving after virtue, find themselves often in dire material circumstances; they speak only to criticize and find therefore no chance to put into effect their ideas. For them, during the long period of over a thousand years since the foundation of the House of Chou, there has been only Wên, Wu, Ch'êng and K'ang,⁴ to whom they would refer whenever they speak. They take up the unattainable and praise it, just like lame men who can only speak about great distances but cannot walk them. The sages may follow different paths, but have one and the same goal; some advance, some stop, but all have the same aim.

g. Though Lord Shang revolutionized laws and changed moral teachings, his object was to strengthen the country and benefit the people; though Tsou Tzŭ enunciated the doctrine of Mutation and Change, he also concluded with the principle of benevolence and righteousness; Chai Chung⁵ humiliated himself in order to seize later the opportunity presented by circumstances. One must therefore bend one's self a little in order to stretch one's self in a greater measure: true gentlemen have repeatedly done it. But you, with

¹ 胡, 代. ² 梁, 宋.

³ 黎邱. Cf. the *Shih-chi*, ch. LXXIV, where Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien discusses the success of Tsou Yen and his kind in comparison with 'Confucius starving at Ch'ên and Tsai' 仲尼菜色陳蔡, and 'Mencius being in straits at Ch'i and Liang' 孟軻困於齊梁.

⁴ 文, 武, 成 [湯], 康.

⁵ 祭仲. By being forced to agree under duress to the deposition of the rightful heir of Chêng Hu (duke Chao) and the usurpation of the throne by Li. He was playing for time, cf. *Tso-chuan*, Duke Huan 桓公, XI and XV (Legge, *Chi. Classics*, vol. V, pt. 1, 57, 64), and especially the *Kung-yang* comm., XI.

your *one-ideaed* obstinacy,¹ stick only to one principle after the fashion of Wei Shêng.² It does not seem worth while for you to mention that Duke Wên of Chin³ deceived the feudal nobles in order to honor the house of Chou, nor to praise Kuan Chung for his courage in facing disgrace in order to survive a debacle.

h. The Literati: When I Yin courted the favor of T'ang, he knew him to be a sagely ruler; when Po-li went to Ch'in, he knew the king to be enlightened. In the ability of these two princes they could already recognize future King and Protector: their patents were already written in their lofty countenances. Not blindly nor with their vision obscured did the two worthies decide upon their course of action. *If terms be incorrect, said Confucius, then statements do not accord with facts; and when statements and facts do not accord, then business is not properly executed.*⁴ How could it be said that they ingratiated themselves with purposeful intent in order to accomplish the task of elevating their masters to the positions of Protector and King? A gentleman never acts save by holding fast to virtue and clinging to justice. Therefore, *in moments of haste he cleaves to these [principles]; in seasons of peril he cleaves to them.*⁵ Again Mencius said: *To stay now at court and yet not to improve its morality—even if I should secure the power of a lord of a thousand chariots, I would not remain for a single day.*⁶ He would rather live in poverty and hunger in a mean alley than to change his mode of thought to conform with the ways of the world.

¹ 硜硜然. *Lun-yü* XIV, XLII, 2; *ibid.* XIII, xx, 3: "obstinate little men" [Legge].

² 尾生. ³ 晉文 [公].

⁴ Soothill, *Analects*, XIII, III. 孔子曰名不正則言不順言不順則事不成. Hu Shih, in *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*, 23—27, bases the problem of Confucianism, "rectification of names," on this passage: "If names be incorrect, speech will not follow its natural sequence. If speech does not follow its natural sequence, nothing can be established."

⁵ Soothill, *Analects*, IV, v. The antecedent of 於是 in our text is 德義.

⁶ The nearest approach to this sentence found in Mencius is VI, ii, ix, 3: 由今之道無變今之俗雖與之天下不能一朝居也. "Although a prince, pursuing the path of the present day, and not changing its practices, were to have the empire given to him, he could not retain it for a single morning" [Legge].

i. When Ho-lu¹ murdered King Liao,² Tzū Cha³ left the country and betook himself to Yen-ling⁴ and never to the end of his days crossed the border of the state of Wu.⁵ When the Duke of Lu⁶ killed Tzū-ch'ih,⁷ Shu-mien retired⁸ and became a hermit refusing to enjoy a salary. To impair one's right conduct to obtain dignities, and to twist one's principles to gain indulgence, are things a gentleman would not do even if his life were at stake. We know of cases when a gentleman would resign office even when righteous doctrines were put into effect; but we have yet to hear of one who bent his principles in order to gain a prince's indulgence.

j. The Secretary: According to⁹ the *Lun Yü*, *With the man who is personally engaged in a wrongful enterprise the true gentleman declines to associate.*¹⁰ Such is the saying but in practice it is difficult to follow. Thus when the Chi clan,¹¹ lawless and unprincipled, drove their prince from the throne and usurped all power, Jan Ch'iu¹² and Chung Yu¹³ still remained to serve them. The rules of Propriety prescribe, *Men and women do not give nor receive ceremonial cups from one another.*¹⁴ Yet when Confucius passed through Wei he

¹ 闔廬. ² 僚公. ³ 子札. ⁴ 延陵.

⁵ This passage occurs in *Kung-yang* comm., Duke Hsiang 襄公, XXIX. The only variation is that the YTL. inserts 而 between 去 and 之. The murder of King Liao by the usurper Ho-lu (522 B. C.) is recounted in the *Shih-chi*, XXXI (*Mém. hist.*, V, 20).

⁶ Duke Hsüan 宣, cf. glossary. ⁷ 子赤.

⁸ 叔畋; for 畋 mien read 肸 hsi, according to Chang. Cf. glossary under Shu-hsi.

⁹ The text has 論語 immediately followed by the quotation. Chang's edition inserts 云 after *Lun Yü*.

¹⁰ Soothill, *Analects*, XVII, VII, 2. Although Confucius in 3, in loc., admits having made the statement, Huan K'uan is careful not to assign the sentence directly to Confucius.

¹¹ 季氏.

¹² 冉求. ¹³ 仲由.

¹⁴ Cf. *Li-chi*, 坊記: 禮非察男女不交爵; *Sacred Books*, Legge, vol. XXVIII, 298: "According to the rules, male and female do not give the cup to one another, excepting at sacrifice." Chang's edition has 不授受 inserted after 女.

paid a visit to the mistress of the Duke of Wei ¹ prompted by the favorite Mi Tzū-hsia, ² incurring thus the disapproval of Tzū-lu. Since Tzū-hsia was a court favorite, it was improper for Confucius to get his introduction through him; since men and women are not allowed to mix socially, it was a breach of etiquette for Confucius to visit Nan Tzū. The principles of propriety and right conduct originated with ³ Master K'ung himself, yet he personally dealt a blow to the Law while seeking a prince's indulgence. Where, may we ask, is recorded the fact that he retired from office after these events?

k. The Literati: The enlightened ruler is concerned when the Empire is not at peace and the states are not at rest; worthies and sages grieve when there is no Emperor above and no margraves below and chaos reigns in the Empire. Thus Yao was concerned over the Deluge, I Yin worried over the people, Kuan Chung went into captivity, and Confucius roamed about the world. They all worried over the people's misfortunes and aspired to set at rest their troubles. Therefore, they toiled either carrying pots and dishes, ⁴ suffering in prisons, or crawling on their bellies, all to bring succor to the people. One must run when pursuing fugitives; one can not avoid a drenching while trying to save a drowning man. Now that the people are trapped in a drain-ditch, we can not but dive to their rescue even at the expense of getting drenched!

The Secretary remained silent and did not reply.

¹ 衛[公]夫人 whose name, as given below, was Nan Tzū 南子.

² 彌子瑕. The reference is, of course, to the well-known incident when the Master's call on a notorious woman displeased the disciple Tzū-lu 子路. *Lun-yü*, VI, xxvi.

³ 禮義由孔氏, add here 出, according to Lu.

⁴ 伊尹負鼎俎調五味而爲相 I Yin carried his pots and dishes [lit., tripods and stands], blending the five flavors, and became Chief Minister. Cf. *Han-shih-wai-chuan* 韓詩外傳.

CHAPTER XII

FRONTIERS, THE GREAT CONCERN¹

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: You say, oh Literati, that the Enlightened Ruler is concerned when the Empire is not at peace and the states are not at rest.² To be sure, the Prince should consider the Empire as if it formed a single household. Even if one man find not his proper position in life, he cannot be happy. Consequently, he is not a Benevolent Prince who lets his people drown in distress³ without making an attempt to rescue them; and he is not a loyal minister who shows no concern for the misfortunes of his state. To hold fast to his charge in defeat, even unto death, is the duty of a minister; to clothe the cold and feed the hungry is the way of a kindly father.

b. At present as our sons and younger brothers, far from home,

¹ 憂邊. Cf. ch. I, paras. d to h. The most detailed study of the age-old conflict of the Chinese with the peoples on the north and west frontiers, designated by Ssü-ma Ch'ien as the Hsiung Nu (Hung-nö) 匈奴, has been made by de Groot in *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*. (*Chi. Urk. zur Gesch. Asiens*, I). The Chinese sources made use of by de Groot for the Han period are especially, *Shih-chi* CX, 匈奴列傳 (to 97 B.C.), and *Ch'ien-han-shu* XCIV, 匈奴傳 (to about 25 A.D.). His posthumously published work, a continuation of studies on the peoples beyond the western frontiers of China, has appeared as a second volume, *Chi. Urk. zur Gesch. Asiens*, II, *Die Westlande Chinas in der vorchristlichen Zeit*. The Chinese records of the wars with the Hsiung Nu, the subject matter of the discussion in this chapter of the YTL., appear in chaps. XII and XIII (for the periods 96—85, 85—68, B.C.) of de Groot's first volume. The extraordinary importance in the world's history of the unremitting defence of China's frontier (as advocated by Sang Hung-yang), is summarized by de Groot (op. cit., I, 192): Die Stiftung eines westlichen Hunnenreichs war nun im Werden begriffen; die Abwanderung der Hunnen nach dem weiten Westen und Europa, die den Anstoss gab zu der grossen Völkervwanderung, hatte ihren Anfang genommen.

² A repetition of the Literati's dictum in para. k, XI.

³ 故民流沈溺.... Wang omits 沈, as 流 and 沈 are interchanged in ancient texts. 沈 is held to be a copyist's gloss.

suffer privations on the borders, the Ruler of Men feels uneasy for them day and night; and all the ministers turn all their energies to the consideration of methods whereby the state revenue might be increased. Thus it came about that the Keeper of the Privy Treasury ¹ proposed to establish the liquor excise, ² in order to provide for the frontier, supply the needs of our fighting men, and bring succor to the people in distress. Out of sheer humanity, could we, their fathers and elder brothers, help but do it? But it has been found insufficient to have thus economized in the interior on prime necessities, in order to relieve the need abroad. If we follow your repeated suggestions to abolish these sources of revenue, and to decrease thereby the provisions for the frontier, we would certainly be acting contrary to the ways of kindly fathers or worthy elder brothers.

c. The Literati: In the period of Chou's decline, the Emperor's power grew weak and the feudal lords ruled by force. Consequently, princes sat uneasy on their thrones, and their counsellors rushed restlessly about. Why? Because, threatened by enemy countries on all sides, the Dynasty ³ was in constant danger. At present, however, the Nine Provinces ⁴ are enclosed within one boundary and the whole Empire is under one rule. Your Majesty can leisurely promenade through Your lofty halls, while the ministers advance their exhaustive proposals. In unison ⁵ the hymns and chants sound within Your

¹ 少府丞令. Cf. p. 34, note 4, *supra*.

² 酒權. Cf. p. 2, note 2, *supra*.

³ The term used here is *shé-chi* 社稷, the spirits, or gods, of the land and grain. In early times each prince, feudal lord, or district, possessed a tutelary god of the soil. The Lord of the Harvest 后稷 was necessarily associated with the god of the soil. The two terms thus became a synonym for the protecting institution of the ruling family, the "palladium" of the reigning dynasty, as in our text. The origins of the term *shé* have been exhaustively treated by Chavannes in *Le Dieu du Sol dans la Chine antique*, and have been recently discussed by Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛 in the autobiographical section of his *Ku Shih Pien* 古史辨, 自序. Cf. also Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 167—175; and Karlgren, "Some Fecundity Symbols in Ancient China," in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, N^o. 2, 1930, on the possibility of the original phallic significance of *shé*.

⁴ 九州: the Empire. Cf. p. 8, note 5 *supra*.

⁵ 論, here, is taken as 和.

court, and the jingling bells of Your chariot resound merrily outside.¹ Your pure virtue is as illuminating as that of Yao and Shun; Your illustrious deeds will flow down to posterity. How could the barbarian tribes of the Man or Mai,² and their barren lands, be worth all this trouble and worry that brings us back to the uncertainty of the Warring States³ period. Should Your Majesty be unwilling to abandon them to their fate, You have but to manifest Your virtue⁴ towards them and extend Your favors to cover them, and the northern barbarians will undoubtedly come of their own accord to pay You tribute at the Wall. If held to be our "outside subjects",⁵ then the Hsiung Nu will never⁶ in all their lives lack the sustenance they need.

d. The Lord Grand Secretary: The Sage Ruler gives much thought to the fact that the Middle Kingdom is not yet tranquilized and the northern frontier not yet pacified. So He dispatched the chief criminal judge⁷ P'ing to inquire about the grievances among the people, to

¹ *Li-chi*, Ching Chieh 經解 [Legge, *Sacred Books*, Vol. XXVIII, 256]: At his entertainments he listens to the singing of the Odes of the Kingdom and the Odes of the Temple and Altar When he rides in his chariot, there are the harmonious sounds of the bells attached to his horses.

² 蠻, 貊. See glossary.

³ 戰國: the several states of China of the Vth to the IIIrd centuries B. C., who struggled incessantly for the hegemony, culminating in the triumph of Ch'in 秦. (Cf. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 392 seq.). The wars of the period form the subject matter of the *Chu-shu-chi-nien* 竹書紀年, the *Chan-kuo-ts'ü* 戰國策, and ch. V of the *Shih-chi*.

⁴ That peoples may be attracted by a manifestation of Kingly virtue is of course a favored tenet of early Chinese literature. The theme of the Odes (*Shih-ching*, III, i, x, King Wên 文王),

"From the west to the east,

From the south to the north,

There was not one who thought of refusing submission,"

has been repeated by Mencius (II, i, III, 2), and by Hsün-tzū (Bk. XIV [cf. Dubs' translation, p. 166]).

⁵ 胡制於, found in this passage, are omitted, following Wang's opinion.

⁶ 沒齒 "to the end of their days", cf. *Lun-yü* XIV, x.

⁷ 廷尉 "chief criminal judge", an office dating from the Ch'in dynasty and maintained under Han Wu Ti. The text here is evidently corrupt. The *t'ing-wei* Wang

succor the poor and the lowly, and satisfy all the wants of the needy. Envisaging, however, the possibility that in spite of their efforts to make manifest the Imperial virtue and to give peace to the world, the officials ¹ might not obtain complete records, He gave orders that the scholars were to be questioned on these subjects.

e. Now, your learned men in their arguments would either try to reach high Heaven or penetrate the Abyss.² Then they would attempt, and how ineffectively, to compare the conduct of the affairs of some hamlet or village with the great business of the nation! They come straight from farms or out of their beggars' alleys, unmindful of cold douches of icy waters, as half-awakened drunkards. They have certainly proved unfit to take part in discussions.

f. The Literati: If one desired to find the Way to pacify the people and enrich the country, one would find it in a return to the fundamental; for *when the fundamental is established, the Way comes of itself*.³ Follow the principles of Heaven and utilize the wealth of the Earth, and you will accomplish deeds without laborious effort. If you do not improve the fountain-head and busy yourself only with the stream; if you have not the fundamental as the rallying point, although you exhaust your energy and overtax your mind, you will not advantage the administration. In your attempts to settle matters, you only succeed in endangering the situation. And in your efforts to save the situation, you only bring about destruction. The principle of order and disorder depends

P'ing 王評 and others, altogether five officers, were despatched to make such enquiries (cf. the *Han-wu-chi* 漢武紀, *Ch'ien-han-shu*, 2nd year of the *shih-yüan* era).

¹ The text has 君臣, probably 羣臣, as an edition, the Hua-pên 華本, cited by Chang, reads.

² Cf. *Huai-nan-tzû* ch. XIX: Speakers (所爲言者) should stay on the level with the mass (齊於衆) and be in agreement with custom (同於俗). Nowadays if they do not discourse on the "Empyrean" (九天之頂), then they speak of the "Tartarean" (黃泉之氏)....

³ 本立而道生, from the *Lun-yü* I, 11: The true philosopher devotes himself to the fundamental, for *when that has been established right courses naturally evolve*... [Soothill].

on whether the fundamental or the non-essential is cultivated. With that understood, you can attain to the Way without exerting your mind. Confucius said: *Those who do not understand one's speech are difficult to speak with about administration; men of different ways cannot deliberate with one another.*¹ As for you, the Minister, your mind is biased, and therefore you have no use for our words.

g. The Lord Grand Secretary: I have heard that a minister should execute his duties with all loyalty, and a son should assume his patrimony with due filial piety. When the ruler commits some error, the minister should cover it. When the father does some wrong, the son should aid and abet.² Thus, when the ruler dies, the minister does not change his policy. When the father dies, the son does not alter his ways.³ The *Spring and Autumn*⁴ disapproved of the destruction of the Ch'üan Tower, because the work of the ancestors was destroyed; and this created the impression of a wrong act of old by rulers and fathers.

h. Now the salt and iron monopoly and the *equable marketing* are long standing.⁵ To abolish them, would that be possible without

¹ The first half of this quotation is not found in the *Lun-yü*; the second is from ch. XV, XXIX: Those whose ways are different do not make plans together [Soothill]. The *Lun-yü* reads 爲謀 for YTL. 與謀. Cf. *Shih-chi*, LXI, where the quotation from the *Lun-yü* is found followed by 亦各從其志也, "and so each one follows the bent of his own will."

² Cf. *Lun-yü* XIII, XVIII, where Confucius defends this principle: The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father [Legge]. Here and in the ensuing paragraphs, the statesman employs the Confucian argument, evidently with the direct purpose of attacking his opponents with their own weapons. The clash between the Confucian standards of personal morality, and the emphasis on civic duties maintained by the School of Law, is discussed by Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 114 seq.

³ Paraphrase of *Lun-yü*, I, XI: ... when [a man's] father is dead mark his conduct. If for three years he does not change from his father's ways ... [Soothill].

⁴ The story is based on the *Kung-yang* comm., Wên Kung 文公, XVI. "... lady Kéang was ... the mother of Wán. Kungyang says that 'the tower of Ts'eu'en' [泉臺] was the name given to that built at Lang by Duke Chwang in his 31st year. The Chuan says: 'There came out from the palace of Ts'eu'en, and entered the capital, serpents, as many as there had been marquises of Loo; and when Kéang died on Sin-we in the 8th month, [the duke] caused the tower to be pulled down'" [Legge, *Chi. Classics*, vol. V, pt. I, 27; cf. also op. cit. 281, note, par. 1].

⁵ See p. 2, notes 1 and 3, supra, where the date for the establishment of the salt and iron control is stated as 119 B.C., and for the introduction of *equable marketing* as 115 B.C.

destroying the achievement of His late Majesty, and thus aspersing the virtue of the Enlightened Ruler! The officials, therefore, are *biased in favor of* the ways of loyalty and filial piety.¹ This is how their ways “differ” from, and why they cannot “deliberate” with, the Literati.

i. The Literati: Enlightened persons adapt themselves to the times. The wise devise systems to conform with the needs of their contemporaries. Confucius said: *A linen cap is the prescribed form, but nowadays silk is worn. This saves expense and I follow the general usage.*² Therefore the Sages and the Worthies without departing from antiquity, follow custom but without being partial to what is convenient. Duke Ting of Lu arranged his ancestors’ tablets in the order of his remote progenitors and immediate ancestors.³ Duke Chao⁴ dismissed his ministers and officers to save expense. No one could call this a change in their ancestors’ policies or in their father’s ways. On the other hand, the Second Emperor wasted money in elaborating

¹ Here the Lord Grand Secretary cleverly reverses his usual arguments *against* following the precedents of antiquity; while in the ensuing passage (para. i), the Literati, on the defensive, employ the *legalist* principle of opportunism, 因時而變.... 隨世而制, quoting Confucius to justify it.

² Soothill, *Analects*, IX, III. The commentator (Chu Hsi 朱熹) is quoted: The prescribed cap was of the very finest linen and of a dark color. Its warp had 2400 strands.

³ 序昭穆順祖禰. In the ancestral temple 廟, the four shrines or tablets of the ancestors of a feudal prince were arranged in two rows, north and south of the shrine of the founder of the house 祖. On one side, fronting south, were the shrines of fathers. These were called *chao* 昭. On the other side, fronting north, were those of sons; these were called *mu* 穆. Upon the interment of a prince, the tablet of one of the remote ancestors was removed to make room. The *ni* 禰 was the shrine or tablet of the deceased father of the prince. The arrangement of the tablets in the shrines of the ancestral temple was thus specifically prescribed, and any departure therefrom was “unnatural.” Duke Ting of Lu 魯定公 (508 B.C. [Legge]) corrected a previous error in the arrangement of the tablets of his ancestors, by restoring them to their proper places. For the arrangement of the ancestral tablets, cf. Couvreur, *Li Ki*, I, 287, note on 廟, and for 禰, *ibid.*, 415, note. The record of the incident appears in the *Ch’un-ch’iu*, XI, VII, 15 [Legge, *Chi. Classics*, vol. V, pt. II, 768—9, and note].

⁴ 昭公. The incident has not been found in the *Ch’un-ch’iu*, in the chronicle of Duke Chao (Book X).

the O-pang Palace ¹ to promote the prestige of the House, and Chao Kao piled up ² the legislation of Ch'in to extend its awesomeness. No one could call them a loyal minister and a filial son.

¹ 阿房, the celebrated edifice constructed by Shih-huang-ti, the "First Emperor" 世皇帝, and described by Ssü-ma Ch'ien (*Shih-chi*, VI). Any elaboration of the original structure by the Second Emperor 二世[皇帝], would be an example of extravagance. For the pronunciation and meaning of *O-pang*, cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, II, 174, note 5.

² 趙高增累秦法. 增 is omitted by Chang, but is required to complete the parallelism of the two sentences.

CHAPTER XIII

PARKS AND PONDS

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: The feudal lord, whose fief can be considered as forming but one household, has his concern limited to his manor. The Emperor, whose domain has as its boundaries the Eight Extremities,¹ has concerns extending far and wide. It is clear that under the small manorial roof the expenses are trifling, in comparison with the great expenditure necessitated by the immense undertaking [of ruling the Empire]. Herein lies the reason for the Government's opening up of parks and ponds, and its concentrating under one hand the mountains and the seas, to secure profits that could be used to supplement tribute and levies.

b. We improve canals and sluices, promote various kinds of agriculture, extend farm and pasture lands,² and develop national reservations.³ The offices of the *t'ai-p'u*, the *shui-héng*, the *shao-fu*, and the *ta-nung*,⁴ compute annually the revenue derived from farm and pasture, and the rentals from farming out pond and weir. Up to the limits of the Empire in the north, supervisors of fields have been appointed;⁵ and yet with all these efforts to provide for the

¹ 八極, the eight points of the compass, north, south, east, west, north-east, south-east, north-west and south-west. In this, and the preceding sentence, the terms *nei* 內 and *wai* 外 are used again. Cf. p. 40, note 2.

² The text has 田收; the second character should be altered to 牧, which, according to Wang, is the better reading.

³ 苑囿.

⁴ 太僕, 水衡, 少府, 大農, are mentioned together in the *Shih-chi*, XXX, and are explained by Chavannes (*Mém. hist.*, III, 587, note 4) as: "Le *choei-héng* administrait le parc *Chang-lin*; le *chao-fu*, le trésor privé de l'empereur; le *ta-nong*, les finances publiques; le *t'ai-p'ou* avait la charge des équipages du palais." For previous mention of the terms *shui-héng*, *shao-fu* and *ta-nung*, see pp. 2 (note 1), 29 (note 2), and 34 (note 4).

⁵ 置任田官.

different items of expenditure, there is still a deficit. Now you desire to abolish all these measures, to stop the fountain of income and the source of revenue, with the result that the people, both high and low, will be in dire need, devoid of means of subsistence. Even though we would like to save effort and cut down expenditure, how can we do it?

c. The Literati: The Ancients managed to control land so that it would suffice to nourish the people, and the people would have ample means to satisfy demands from above. In a kingdom of a thousand chariots, or in a district of a hundred *li*, duke, marquis, count, viscount and baron ¹ each filled his want and satisfied his desire; while Ch'in, who consolidated the territory of the Myriad States and possessed himself of the wealth within the Four Seas, remained yet with longings unsatisfied. There was no question here of the trifling expenses under the small manorial roof, but of lust for so many things that the people below could not suffer his exactions. *The prince's kitchen stuffed with rotting meat, says the adage, while people hunger in the provinces; the prince's stable full of sleek horses, while starvelings walk the highways.*² As now going on, is it not true that raising hound and horse, and rearing reptile and beast, even exceed in expense "the wastage of rotting meat and horses' fodder?" With offices superfluous, activities irrelevant, ever-changing fashions for prodigalities and vagaries, those unwarrantedly feeding and clothing at the expense of the Government are so numerous that it is no wonder we have deficiency above and poverty and distress below!

d. Yet the present policy is to strive to make ends meet³ without making an attempt at rigid economy at the source. All kinds of devices are put up to obtain capital: ⁴ farming, and rearing of animals, are taken up; the government competes with the people in fodder production, and with the merchants in the matter of market profits.⁵

¹ 公, 侯, 伯, 子, 男, as these titles of feudal China are usually rendered.

² Cf. Mencius I, i, iv, 4, and III, ii, ix, 9.

³ 而欲澹其末. ⁴ 設機利.

⁵ The Scholars' criticism is of course not directed against agricultural pursuits generally. It is the intervention of the officials 縣官 (the Government) and their exploitation of the fields, that they oppose.

Such a policy will never help you to make illustrious the Ruler's virtue, or become real gerents of the Commonwealth. Now that men should till and women should weave, this is the "Great Vocation" in the Empire. So the Ancients subdivided the land ¹ to settle the people, and made farming profitable to give them an occupation; as a result, for every occupation there was a plot of land assigned to the individual, ² and there were no unemployed in the country.

e. At present, we see on the other hand the Government opening up national reservations, public fields, ponds, and marshes; but the result is that while the Commonwealth enjoys in name the rentals from the dykes, all the profit derived from them reverts to the plutocrats. ³ The Metropolitan District, ⁴ hemmed in by rivers and mountains, is greatly overpopulated. With the people flocking to it from all quarters of the Empire, the supply of grain and fuel falls short; but with the public fields rented out, the mulberries and elms, vegetables and fruits fall in production, and the land is not tilled to full capacity. ⁵ It is our humble opinion that this was not the purpose of the late Emperor ⁶ in opening up parks and

¹ Probably the *ching-t'ien* system of land holding is here in mind, previously advocated by the Literati. Cf. p. 16, text and note 2.

² 業無不食之地: in (every) occupation there was no unproductive (unoccupied, untenanted) land.

³ 權家, i.e., "powerful families", who with the suppression of the feudal lords in Han times, and the development of industry and commerce, had become the rich traders. Cf. pp. 11, 17, 25, 31, et al., where the existence of a class of wealthy speculators is referred to. See also Introduction.

⁴ 三輔, the district in the neighborhood of the capital, Ch'ang-an 長安, in the early Han period.

⁵ 地力不盡. The term 盡地力 was applied to the school of "Intensive Agriculture," ascribed to Li K'uei 李悝. Cf. Duyvendak, *Book of Lord Shang*, 43 and 51.

⁶ 先帝. The "late Emperor", if it be Han Wu Ti, was, however, known not for opening up national reservations, but on the other hand for enclosing them, to gratify his passion for the chase. Tung-fang So 東方朔 (cf. Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, N^o. 2093) lectured His Majesty on the impropriety of enclosing great tracts of productive land as hunting parks 上林苑 (cf. Wieger, *Textes hist.*, I, 470, ap. *Ch'ien-han-shu*); while Ssü-ma Hsiang-jü 司馬相如 (Giles, *ibid.*, N^o. 1753) addressed a

reservations, ponds and weirs. They could be turned over to the people in return for certain levies; the Government should get nothing but rents and taxes. Though lease and tax¹ are different terms, they are identical in substance. With such an arrangement the male population would exert themselves in working in the southern fields,² while the women would spend all their effort in the production of woven goods. With fields and fallows worked to capacity, and the production of linen going at full speed, both rulers and subjects would have plenty, and what deficiency and distress would there be?

Silently the Lord Grand Secretary regarded the Chancellor and his Secretaries.

memorial, celebrated in Chinese prose writings, to the Emperor warning him of the dangers of the hunt (cf. Margouliès' translation in *Le Kou-wen Chinois*, 74).

¹ 假, 稅, i.e., the funds obtainable are identical.

² Cf. p. 13, note 2, *supra*.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RATIO OF PRODUCTION ¹

a. Then advanced one of the secretaries who said: Formerly, when T'ai Kung was enfeoffed at Ying Ch'iu, ² he had to clear away the jungle before settling down. The land being poor and the population sparse, he developed the ways and means of benefiting secondary pursuits, and he encouraged to the limit the weaving industry, with such success that the neighboring states began trade with Ch'i; and Ch'i, accumulating capital and increasing the production of goods, became a stronger state with every succeeding generation. When Kuan Chung became Chancellor to Duke Huan, he followed the policy of Ch'i's former ruler, and so manipulated the *ratio of production* that he forced the submission of mighty Ch'u in the south, and won the protectorate over the feudal lords for his master. ³

b. His Excellency, the Minister, ⁴ has adopted at the present time the policies of T'ai Kung and Kuan Chung. He has put salt and iron under unified control, developed the profits from mountains and seas, so that the production of goods is on the increase. Thus the Government has ample and rich revenues, and people suffer no

¹ 輕重, the title of chaps. 80—86 of the *Kuan-tzū*. For the various renderings of this compound, see note 2, p. 12, *supra*. I take the meaning here to be "the right balance between production and distribution (consumption)". Cf. also p. 7, note 6.

² 太公, 營邱.

³ Similar attributions to Kuan Chung by virtue of his employment of *ch'ing-chung* are made by Ssü-ma Ch'ien in the *Shih-chi*, XXX and XXXII (cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.* III, 602, and IV, 49).

⁴ 今大夫各修太公.... According to Chang, 各 is superfluous, as it is in a succeeding sentence. In two later passages 君 follows 大夫. In each case, Chang construes 各 and 君 as errors for 名, *name*, and as representing in the original record of the debate the *name* of the Minister [Sang] Hung-yang, to whom the remarks of the Secretary and the Literati are directly addressed.

distress or need. Both the fundamental and the secondary industries are benefited, and all classes are well provided for. All this has been achieved by budgeting and accounting, not by concentrating on the rural occupations, the cultivation of mulberries and grain fields, alone.

c. The Literati: the rules of ceremonial and the social duties ¹ are the foundation of a nation, but the lust for power and profit are the bane of administration. *Is a prince able to rule his country with courtesy and deference, — then what difficulty will he have?* ² said Confucius. While I Yin and T'ai Kung exalted high their ruler with a territory of but a hundred *li*, Kuan Chung, enjoying the full confidence ³ of Duke Huan, could not attain Imperial sway even with power of a thousand chariots, all because he engaged himself in wrongful enterprises. Hence his achievements and fame fell to the ground, and he never succeeded in making his policies prevail. At his time, none of the feudal lords could make use of virtue. They were competing with each other both in public and private matters, and sought thus to undermine one another by power.

d. But now that the united Empire forms one big family, why should you wish to make the profits from secondary pursuits prevail, and spread luxury and sophistication? His Excellency, the Lord Grand Secretary, ⁴ having calculated all the state revenue in his head, ⁵ has already incurred the denunciations of the feudal lords, on account of his liquor excise. Hsien-yang and K'ung Chin have now swelled [the revenues] with their salt and iron monopoly. In company with Chiang Ch'ung and Kêng Ku-chih, ⁶ always keen and sharp-witted in discussing matters of secondary profits, they

¹ 禮，義。

² Soothill, *Analects*, IV, XIII.

³ 管仲專於, omitted by Chang.

⁴ Cf. note 4, p. 85, *supra*.

⁵ 以心計. Cf. p. 1, note 3. This unusual faculty for "mental calculations" is mentioned in the *Shih-chi*, XXX (cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 568, and note 1). The Literati, perhaps, are ironical here.

⁶ 江充，耕谷之. The latter person is unknown, and Kêng is not used as a surname. Chang suggests reading Yang K'o, a person mentioned in the *Yen T'ieh Lun*, ch. XXVIII, together with Chiang Ch'ung.

have split hairs ¹ so thoroughly that, it might be said indeed, they have not left a single outlet. They certainly did not limit themselves to establishing the Nine Bureaux, ² and mustering the profits of mountains and seas, as Kuan Chung did. Yet the nation passes now through a period of depression, and the cities are deserted. There is no other way to educate the people outside of exalting benevolence and social duty; and no other means of enriching the realm apart from applying oneself to the development of agriculture, the fundamental industry.

e. The Secretary: The fish in the pond are agitated when otters appear in the water. ³ With powerful recalcitrants among the nation, the common people's livelihood declines. Thus, there cannot be luxuriant herbage beneath a flourishing forest. Nor can grain sprout prettily between great clumps of earth. The principle of governing a country consists in removing the noxious and hoeing out the unruly. Only then will the people enjoy equal treatment, and find satisfaction under their own roofs. Justice Chang ⁴ codified the laws and statutes; published them to give a common standard to the Empire; executed the evil and the crafty, and exterminated those fellows who organized combines. As a consequence, the strong could not take advantage of the weak, and the many could not ill-treat the few. His Excellency ⁵ has busied himself with statistical calculations to increase the state revenue. The resources of salt and iron are monopolized in order to put down the rich traders and big merchants. Offices are offered for sale and criminals may buy themselves off, thus taking from those who have, to aid the needy, ⁶ in the interest

¹ 秋毫, "autumn hairs", a term also used in the *Shih-chi* (cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 568, note 2).

² 九府, the title of a treatise attributed to Kuan Chung, but now lost.

³ *Huai-nan-tzû*, ch. Ping-lüeh 兵略: 畜池魚者必去獮獪.
"He who raises fish in a pond, must be careful to drive away the otters".

⁴ 張廷尉. For the title, cf. note 7, p. 76, *supra*.

⁵ Cf. note 4, p. 85, *supra*.

⁶ These principles are developed in a celebrated memorial by Ch'ao Ts'o (cf. p. 50, note 1, *supra*), who advocated substantially the sale of offices as a means of reducing the wealth of the rich (cf. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 55, 64—65). Such measures have been previously referred to on p. 65, *supra*.

of equality among the Black-Haired People. Consequently, in spite of the fact that our armies made expeditions east and west, expenditures were well provided for without increasing the levies and taxes. *Arithmetic*¹ is perceived only by the talented and not understood by the multitude.

f. The Literati: Pien Ch'iao² diagnosed the cause of a disease by merely feeling the pulse of the patient. Where the positive fluid was over-developed, he would lessen it to harmonize with the negative.³ When the cold fluid was predominant, he would subdue it to harmonize the positive. Consequently the vital fluid and the pulse were harmonized and balanced, and evil influences were unable to remain. The inferior physician does not know the lines of artery and vein, or the difference between the blood and the vital fluid. He stabs in his needle blindly without any effect on the disease, and only injures the skin and flesh. Now [the Government] desires to subtract from the superabundant to add to the needy. And yet the rich grow richer, and the poor grow poorer. Severe laws and penalties are intended to curb the tyrannical and suppress malefactors. Yet the wicked still persist. Possibly these measures differ from the way Pien Ch'iao used his acupuncture and probing, and hence the multitude have not felt their salutary effect.

g. The Secretary: When Chou established the Empire, there were probably a thousand and eight hundred feudal barons. Later on, the strong swallowed the weak, and the large engulfed the small, with the result that there were formed Six States.⁴ These Six

¹ 損益, lit., loss and increase, "subtraction and addition", evidently a reference to the special talent of the Secretary's patron, "mental calculations", ironically referred to by the Literati, as above, p. 86.

² 扁鵲 (6th cent. B.C.). His biography appears in the *Shih-chi*, CV, concluding with the words: "Up to the present [Ssü-ma Ch'ien's time, circ. 100 B.C.] all discussions on the pulse have been based upon Pien Ch'iao" 至今天下言脈者由扁鵲. Cf. Fr. Hübotter, *Die chinesische Medizin zu Beginn des XX. Jahrhunderts und ihr historischer Entwicklungsgang*, 12 seq.

³ Pien Ch'iao appears in the *Shih-chi*, CV, as discussing the influence of *yang* 陽 (the "positive" principle) and *yin* 陰 (the "negative"). The uses of the "needle" 鍼 for acupuncture, and the "probing stone" 石, mentioned at the end of this paragraph, are also set forth by the surgeon in the same passage.

⁴ Cf. note 1, p. 43, *supra*.

States fought with one another, settling their scores. For several hundreds of years, they fought at home as enemy states, and beyond the frontiers stood off the surrounding barbarians. Thus it is seen that their armies never rested and fighting never diminished. Yet while the troops kept aloft their standards at the front, the storehouses and treasuries in the interior remained full.

h. Now, with the resources of the Empire, the wealth within the seas, and the tribute from the hundred commanderies, we possess not merely the food reserves of Ch'i and Ch'u, or the warehouses of Chao and Wei.¹ Calculating provisions and estimating income, there should be no needy moment even in times of urgency. Should the whole Ministry of Finance throw themselves body and soul into practicing farming personally in imitation of the illustrious example of Hou Chi,² the armies sent out in the four directions would still be without [a guarantee of] continuous supplies. This is not because Nature provides us only meager wealth. Nor is it merely a matter of employing "surgical instruments," equalizing surplus and want, or subsidizing the needy.

i. But when His Excellency, the Minister, in his capacity of Grain Intendant,³ took over the administration of the Imperial treasury, with his "needle pricks" and "cauterizing" he stimulated the stagnant flow of wealth, and opened up the pulsing sources of profit along the hundred arteries. As a result all commodities were circulated, and the Government got substantial revenue. At that time, expeditions were sent in four directions against the rebellious and disorderly. The expenses for chariots and armor, and the rewards for conquests and captives, were estimated by billions.⁴ All, however, was supplied

¹ 齊, 楚, 趙, 魏.

² 后稷, traditional patron of agriculture. Cf. note 3, p. 75.

³ 上大夫君與治粟都尉. For 君, see note 4, p. 85, *supra*. Chang holds that 與 "with" should read 爲 "in his capacity of", which I follow. Chavannes points out that the title 治粟都尉 did not exist under the early Han and should read 搜粟都尉 (*Mém. hist.*, III, 597, note 1).

⁴ 以億萬計, omitted in Chang's edition.

by the Treasury. This is certainly an effect like that of Pien Ch'iao and the boon of the salt and iron monopoly.

j. The Literati: The people in the frontier districts dwell among mountains and valleys, where *yin* and *yang* are not in accord ¹ and freezing cold cracks the earth. The swirling winds raise storms of acrid dust. Sand and gravel heap up in dunes, and the land in its lay is fit for naught. On the other hand, the Middle Kingdom stands at the center of the Universe ² at the merging point of *yin* and *yang*. The orbits of sun and moon pass to the south. The mansion of the Dipper and the Pole appear out of the north. ³ The land comprises a variety of harmoniously blending climates, and produces all manner of things. To abandon these as we are doing, and seek for conquests beyond the frontier in an attempt to expand more into the sterile land of bitter cold, is like forsaking the fertile valleys of the rivers and banks of the streams, to till on the uplands or in the reedy marshes.

k. The stores of the granaries are trundled out, and the riches of the treasuries scattered to the winds, that the needs of the frontiersmen may be met. The Middle Kingdom is in the throes of forced labor and levies, ⁴ while the frontiersmen are beset by garrison duties. While people toil at their cultivation, to obtain grain either by growing or buying is inconvenient. Without the benefit of mulberry trees and hemp growing, they are forced to look to the homeland for their stuffs for clothing. Coats of skins and haircloth are never enough to cover their persons. They cannot discard their

¹ 陰陽不和. For the place of *yin* and *yang* in the phenomena of day and night, cf. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 614.

² 中國天地之中, lit., at the centre of Heaven and Earth.

³ The astronomical observations of the Chinese appear first in the Yao Tien 堯典, the opening chapter of the *Shu-ching*. The earliest notions of the Chinese and the subsequent influence of Iranian and Hindu astronomical systems, have been studied at length by L. de Saussure in the volume, published posthumously and comprising papers appearing over a number of years, *Les Origines de l'Astronomie Chinoise* (1930). Maspero summarizes Chinese ideas of the solar and lunar cycle in the ante-Han period in the *T'oung Pao*, No. 4 and 5, 1929, "L'Astronomie chinoise avant les Han"; and a chapter (II) on "L'Astronomie chinoise", is included in *La Science orientale avant les Grecs* by Abel Rey (Livre IV La Science Chinoise [1930]).

⁴ 繇賦. Chang's edition reads 役 for 賦.

doublets in the summer,¹ nor dare they leave their caves in the winter. Fathers and sons, husbands and wives, live crowded in one room with mud walls. With both the central and the outlying districts depleted, what effect have your so-called Pien Ch'iao's methods had; from the salt and iron monopoly what boon?

¹ 夏不失複. Wang holds that this should be 暑不去複衣.

CHAPTER XV

UNDEVELOPED WEALTH

a. The Secretary: The provinces of the interior, — with a great population, where the water supply is not adjusted to fodder-growing requirements, with climate warm and damp, — are not suited to raising horses and cattle. When farming, people trudge wearily behind the plough; and when walking, they carry their loads on their backs or on poles. They wear out their strength and still obtain little results. Thus the common people have suffered great hardships, insufficiently provided even with clothing and food. Old men and children have been forced to carry burdens and pull carts on the highways, and even ministers and high officials often rode in ox-carts.¹

b. But since His Majesty the Emperor Hsiao-wu² conquered the Hundred Tribes of the South³ and turned their lands into orchards, drove away the Western and Northern Barbarians,⁴ and established national reservations, precious novelties and foreign articles fill the Inner Palace,⁵ and fleet-footed palfreys and chargers pack the Outer Stables. Every common man can ride a fine mount, and the people feast to satiety upon oranges and pumaloes. This shows what affluence the profit derived from the frontier commandeering has brought. To ask, as you do, what are the blessings that we now enjoy, is to show complete lack of judgment.

c. The Literati: When Yü had settled water and land, and laid out the Nine Provinces, every part of the Empire sent in as tribute

¹ The opening paragraphs of the *Shih-chi*, XXX, employ similar expressions in describing conditions at the beginning of the Han era. (Cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 539; and Giles, *Hist. of Chinese Literature*, 103).

² 孝武皇帝, Han Wu Ti.

³ 平百越.

⁴ 卻羌胡.

⁵ Cf. ch. II, pp. 14—15, *supra*.

the produce of its soil¹ in quantities to fill up the palaces and supply the demands of the Ruler of Men. The wealth of the mountains and rivers, and the rich produce of ten thousand *li* of fertile land, were ample enough to enrich the people, there being no necessity to rely upon the lands of the Barbarian, and the products of distant countries, to provide for all immediate expenditure.

d. We have heard that in the not very distant past before the expeditions against the Barbarians of the North and South, labor conscriptions and levies were few, and the people were rich and satisfied. Well fed and warmly clad, they put away the new harvest and subsisted on last year's storage; linens and silks were plentiful, and horses and cattle were gathered in large herds. Farmers employed horses for ploughing or packing, and everyone among the people could ride in saddle or chariot. In fact they considered at the time the advisability of *restricting the use of horses to the fields*.² But later on, because of innumerable military expeditions, there was such lack of battle-horses, that mares and cows were despatched to the front. *Colts and calves were now born on battle-fields*,³ while the six domestic animals were not raised at home; the five cereals were not cultivated on the countryside, and the people had not even enough husks and chaff to go around. How could they feast upon oranges and pumaloes? *Following a great war, says the Chuan, recovery is slow to come even after several generations*.⁴ In province and demesne at the present time we often see clearly demarcated but uncultivated fields; in city and burg are houses, but unoccupied. Where is the fat of the land of frontier commanderies of which you speak?

¹ The *Shu-ching*, II, 1, "Tribute of Yü", describes the various products of the Nine Provinces, offered as tribute.

² 卻走馬以糞. Cf. *Tao-tê-ching*, ch. XLVI: 天下有道卻走馬以糞 "When the *Tão* prevails in the world, they send back their swift horses to (draw) the dung carts" [Legge, *Sacred Books*, vol. XXXIX, pt. 1, 88]. Cf. also *Han-fei-tzû*, Part VII, ch. XXI, opening paragraph.

³ 駒犢生於戰地. Cf. *Tao-tê-ching*, loc. cit., 天下無道戎馬生於郊 "When the *Tão* is disregarded in the world, the war-horses breed in the border lands" [Legge, loc. cit.], as also in *Han-fei-tzû*, loc. cit.

⁴ The quotation has not been identified.

e. The Secretary: According to the ancient regulations, one hundred paces of field formed a *mou*, which the people farmed in accordance with the "well-tithe" system, one share in ten devoted to mutual support,¹ following the principle that the "public interest comes first, private interests second". Such was the fundamental duty of citizen and subject. The late Emperor, taking pity upon the hardships and the sufferings of the multitude and their insufficiency in food and clothing, promulgated new regulations whereby two hundred and forty paces of field constituted an acre, and the tax was levied at the rate of one thirtieth.² But idle³ subjects refusing to work strenuously on their farms bring hunger and cold upon their own heads by their obstinacy: they want to sow without having ploughed, and to reap without having planted. Why lay the blame for this on the salt and iron monopoly?

f. The Literati: The tithe collected for the public benefit consisted only of the people's labor, and the Government shared with the people in the good or bad crops. It would not get more when the people had less, nor would it get less when the people had more. Hence it is said that the tithe was the most proper and just measure for the whole Empire. But now, though the farmers are taxed but one thirtieth, the rate is based upon acreage. Thus *in good years when the grain lies about in abundance*,⁴ the actual exaction would be [too] small, while in bad years with famine rampant, the full stipulated amount would be demanded. Add to this the poll tax

¹ For "well-tithe" 井田, cf. p. 16, note 2, *supra*; and for the statements in this passage, cf. Mencius III, i, III, 6—9, where occur the terms *mou* 畝, the Chinese "acre" of varying size, and *chi* 藉, translated by Legge as "mutual dependance".

² The *Ch'ien-han-shu* (ch. XXIV, Shih-huo-chih 食貨志) states that at the beginning of the Han era the tax on land was $\frac{1}{15}$, and under Ching-ti (156—141 B.C.), evidently the "late Emperor" of the YTL., was reduced to $\frac{1}{30}$. The term used for the land tax is 田租, which has generally been taken as a levy on the *produce* of the land (in proportion to its annual productivity). Cf. Forke, *Das Chinesische Finanz- und Steuerwesen*, in *Mitteil. des Sem. für Oriental. Sprachen* (1900), 168. The YTL. makes clear in the succeeding paragraph, "But now....the rate is based on acreage", that the levy was fixed on *acreage*, not produce, in the Early Han period.

³ The text has 墮. Chang reads 惰, followed in the translation.

⁴ The text reads 梁糲, while Chang reads 狼戾, as in Mencius III, i, III, 7.

and corvée duty, and the rate would become actually exactly one half of a man's labor. The farmers are forced not only to yield all of their produce, but are even often obliged to go into debt in order to fulfill the required amount. Thus are the people overtaken with hunger and cold, in spite of their strenuous farming and intense labor. As the wall-builder is first careful to lay a broad foundation before he begins to build to a height, so must the shepherd of the people first stabilize the people's occupation before demanding adequate returns. The *Lun Yü* says: *If the people enjoy plenty, with whom will the Prince share want?*¹

g. The Secretary: In olden days when the feudal lords were struggling for power, and the Warring States came into existence amidst unceasing strife, people were often prevented from working in the fields, yet rendering the tithe did not interfere with their work. But at present by virtue of Your Majesty's sacred powers, there has been no mobilization of troops for a long time. Yet people do not all go to work in the southern fields, and in spite of the subdivision of land in proportion to the population, they still suffer from deficiency. The grain stores are emptied for the relief of the poor and needy more and more every day, idleness being thus increased with more people looking to the government expecting support. It is certainly a matter of exasperation for the Prince, for, while he exerts himself in the service of the people, they still, ungrateful and with no regard to a sense of duty, migrate and flee to distant regions and evade their public duties. The contagion spreads from one to the other; daily the acreage under cultivation decreases; taxes are not paid; attempts are made to resist government agents! Even if the Prince would like to enjoy plenty, with whom is he going to share it?

h. The Literati: Frequent transplanting kills a tree; frequent change of habitat weakens animal or reptile. Thus the horses of Tai² long for the wind of the North, and the flying bird wings its way to its old nest; they all pine for the place of their birth.

¹ Soothill, *Analects*, XII, ix.

² 代馬, from beyond the northern frontier (cf. p. 70, *supra*), where the horses used in China are bred.

It is thus plain that the people evade their public duties not because they seek profit; nor can it be said that they find especial delight in migrating. Some time ago, when frequent military expeditions brought about financial distress, constant levies ¹ were exacted and the burden fell again on the people's farms and homes. These burdens being again increased, they would not go to work in the southern fields. Most of the evasions, however, were committed by the great families, whom the hesitating and pusillanimous officials did not dare to press, and the responsibility was shifted to the common people. The latter unable to bear their extortions, fled or migrated to distant regions. The middle class families were then forced to pay, and the stay-behinds were obliged to fulfill the duties of the lucky fugitives. This is why the people, constantly plundered by the wicked officials, follow one another's example, and in great numbers flee from the places of the hardest pressure to regions where the situation is slightly better.

i. The *Chuan* says: *For a liberal administration the people are ready to die; fathers leave sons, and sons fathers, under an oppressive government.* ² This is the explanation for the daily decrease of the acreage under cultivation, and for the cities becoming gradually deserted. For the principle that a shepherd of the people should follow lies in removing their ills, and leading them to contentment, pacifying them without disturbing them, and employing them without overburdening them. Then the people would diligently apply themselves to their work, and gladly contribute their share of public taxes. Under such conditions, the ruler would need no assistance from the people, and the people would look for no doles from the ruler; rulers and subjects would freely intercommune, and songs of praise would rise. Thus [the Government] would be able to take from the people without provoking their disgust, and enlist their labor without their murmuring. In the poem of the "Spirit Tower," ³ it is shown how the people would address themselves to work without

¹ 徵賦 are taken as "universal mobilization", "conscription", both financial and bodily.

² The citation has not been identified.

³ *Shih-ching* III, i, VIII; also Mencius I, i, II, 3.

ever being obliged to do so. In such a case, how would the Prince suffer any deficiency?

j. The Secretary: In ancient times a lad fifteen years of age entered the higher school, and had to take part in minor corvées; at twenty he received his cap of maturity, and was liable to military service; when he was over fifty, still in his prime and sound in health, he would be called an *ai chuang*¹. The Book of Poetry says: *Fang Shuh is of great age, but full of vigor were his plans.*² Therefore the army of Shang was as numerous as marsh-flowers and that of Chou like crows. Now Your Majesty shows his commiseration for the people by liberal regulations in the matter of corvées. One becomes subject to taxation at the age of twenty-three; at fifty-six one is exempted; the purpose is to aid the elders and to give rest to the aged. Those in their prime are given the chance to cultivate their lands and fields, and the aged to work on their plots and gardens. If they economized their strength and worked according to season, they would have no worry as to hunger and cold. But they do not regulate their families and yet complain against the magistrates. This is indeed absurd.

k. The Literati: Those under the age of nineteen should be called *shang*; ³ they are not yet full grown men. They are capped at the age of twenty, marry at thirty and become subject to military service. After fifty, they should be called *ai-chuang*; they stay at home, leaning on their canes, and they are not subject to corvées; the purpose of these regulations should be to assist the needy and give rest to the advanced in age. At the Village Feast the rule is that the older folk have a separate meal—a special privilege instituted to comfort old men from sixty to ninety years of age, and to indicate clearly how elders should be treated. Thus the elders are not supposed to be satisfied without meat, to be made warm without silk, ⁴ or to walk without the support of canes. No such principle

¹ 艾壯, lit., "old and sedate". For this passage, cf. the *Li-chi*, ch. I (Legge, *Sacred Books*, vol. XXVII, pp. 65—66).

² *Shih-ching* II, iii, iv, 3 [Legge, *Chi. Classics*, vol. IV, pt. II, 287].

³ As indicated by the radical, 殤 originally meant "untimely death [before 19]"; it then became a synonym for "a youth under 19". Cf. *K'ang Hsi Tzu-tien*.

⁴ Cf. Legge, *Sacred Books*, [*Li-chi*], vol. XXVII, p. 241; also Wên Ti's edict in the first year of his reign, *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. IV.

of nourishing the elders is in force now when men from fifty to sixty are still made to serve in the transportation service, together with their sons and grandsons, and are equally subject to *corvées* and labor conscriptions.

7. In ancient times, in the event of a major mourning, for a period of three years, [the Prince's call] did not resound at one's door. The idea was to facilitate the execution of the duties of filial piety and leave one free to vent a sorrowing heart. Is not mourning for a parent the unique occasion when a true gentleman wishes to concentrate for the fullest self-expression? But now people are obliged to leave their parents' corpses unattended and to forego the mourning dress to join military service. This is not the proper way of loving the people like children or conforming to their filial and brotherly affections.¹ When the Duke of Chou held the baby Ch'êng Wang in his arms in attendance on the affairs of the Empire, his favors filled the Four Seas, and his bounties extended to the Four Directions. How much the more should one who reigns in his own right follow this example? All mankind cherished his benevolence and virtue, and everyone was properly occupied. The Book of Poetry says: *Night and day he enlarged its foundations by his deep and silent virtue.*² Your Majesty is still youthful in age³ and is forced to rely upon Your chief subjects and great ministers in carrying out Your administration. It is because of the fact that administration and education are not well balanced, that the common people find it necessary to criticize.

The Secretary remained silent, making no reply.

¹ The passage "But now people..... brotherly affections", is omitted in the Chang text.

² The *Shih-ching* IV, ii, 1, vi [Legge's rendering].

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 5, note 5; and p. 36, note 9.

CHAPTER XVI

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: The Prince is all embracing and all sheltering. There is no place for favoritism in his universal love for all; he confers no extraordinary bounties on those near him, nor does he forget to spread broad his favors to those far away. Now we are all equally his subjects, and all are equally his ministers. Yet there is still no equality in security of life, and no even division of labor. Should there then be not any adjustment? You seem to be merely captious, when you only take into account the remote, never thinking of the near.

b. The frontier people on the fringes of the Empire, living in a land of bitter cold, ever facing the menace of the powerful barbarians, constantly risk their lives at the first flash of the beacon fires.¹ Therefore, that the Central Domain is able to live in peace, while the frontiersmen are fighting a hundred battles, is all due to the protecting screen of the border commanderies. Says the *Odes* in criticism of inequality: *This is all the sovereign's business, and I alone am made to toil in it.*² Therefore the sagacious Emperor in his care of the Four Corners of the earth, alone exerted himself in raising armies to drive back the barbarians, north and south. Enemies were now kept at a distance and calamities were averted. The surplus of the Middle Kingdom, fertile and rich, was distributed to meet the need of the frontier regions. As the frontier regions are strengthened, the Central Domain will enjoy peace. With a

¹ 烽燧. The former, *féng*, was a conical brick structure in which to light a beacon fire by night; the latter, *sui*, a heap of brushwood, the smoke of which was used as a signal by day. Here the two characters are translated as a binomial compound.

² Not in the present *Shih-ching*, but from Mencius V, i, iv, 2, where Mencius, analyzing a passage of the *Shih*, says: "as if the author said: "This is all the sovereign's".

peaceful country, there will be no untoward events. What else would you want, and why not keep silent?

c. The Literati: In ancient times, the Son of Heaven stood at the center of the world. His domain comprised a perimeter of not more than a thousand *li*. Territory assigned to the feudal lords did not reach to the non-productive lands.¹ The "Tribute of Yü"² extended to five thousand *li*. People supported their respective rulers, and the feudal princes protected their respective territories. Hence the people enjoyed equality and harmony, and the duties involved in forced labor were not strenuous. Now we have pushed back the Hu and the Yüeh several thousand *li*. The routes have been circuitous and lengthy.³ The troops are worn out. Hence the people of the frontier are brought face to face with suicide, and China suffers from death and ruin. This is why the people clamor and will not be silent.

d. The principle of administration lies in proceeding from the center to the periphery, beginning from the near. Only after those near at hand have attached themselves submissively to the government, steps may then be taken to rally the distant. After the people within are contented, then care will be taken of those afar. Hence when the ministers proposed to colonize Lun T'ai,⁴ the Enlightened Monarch did not give his assent, thinking that his proper calling

¹ The feudal system of China of the Chou period has been studied by various Occidental scholars, especially Franke (*Zur Beurteilung des chinesischen Lehenswesens*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXXI, 1927), who holds that "An dem Lehenswesen ist das Reich der Tschou zugrunde gegangen (p. 376)". Granet includes a chapter (part I, book II, ch. II) on "La période féodale" in *La Civilisation chinoise* (1929).

² 禹貢, regarded as one of the genuine parts of the *Shu-ching* (Hsia Shu, I), dating from the period between the ninth and fourth centuries B.C. It contains a somewhat idealized description of ancient China, with the determination of the tributes payable by the several regions, intermixed with the legend of Yü's labors in curbing the floodwaters. It is partly in prose and partly in verse. Cf. Legge, *Chi. Classics*, vol. III, pt. 1, 93, notes. Chavannes has made an analysis of the *Shu-ching* (*Mém. hist.*, I, cxiii—cxli), and of the Yü Kung (ibid., note from 102). Cf. also Pelliot, *Le Chou King en caractères anciens et le Chang Chou Che Wen*, in *Mém. concernant l'Asie orientale*, vol. II (1916). See p. 8, note 5, supra.

³ 避遠 in Chang's edition, which I follow.

⁴ 輪臺.

was to remedy the immediate problems of the moment. Thus he issued an edict to the effect that the problem of the present was to interdict harsh and cruel treatment of the people, to put a stop to arbitrary levies, and to concentrate upon the fundamental industry of agriculture. The ministers ought, therefore, to follow the wish of the Emperor by reducing and removing the incompetent to help the people in their extremity. Now that the Empire within is in decline, yet they show no anxiety, but busily engage themselves rather in the frontier questions. Is it not probably true that there are vast areas lying uncultivated, much sowing without harrowing, and much labor without fruit? Well may the *Odes* say: *Do not try to cultivate fields too large; — the weeds will only grow luxuriantly.*¹

e. The Lord Grand Secretary: It was not out of sheer delight in war that T'ang and Wu² resorted to arms. Nor was it due to lust of conquest that King Hsüan of Chou³ extended his territory a thousand *li*. Their purpose was to uproot foreign foes and internal rebels and thus to tranquilize the people. For a wise man will not undertake a purposeless expedition and a sage King will not covet a useless land. The late Emperor raised armies in the spirit of T'ang and Wu and settled the distress of the Three Frontiers.⁴ Then he turned in one direction to subdue the enemy. As the Hsiung Nu fled, he constructed defenses along the rivers and the mountains. Hence he turned away from the barren wastes of sand, rock and alkali, ceded the district of Shih-pi,⁵ and the territory of Tsao-yang⁶ to the Hu tribes. He dispensed with the garrison at the bend of the Great Wall, occupied the strategic positions on the Yellow River, and limited himself to guarding the important points in order to lighten garrison duty and yet render adequate protection to the people. From this it can be seen that the Sage Ruler's aim is not to aggrandize the Empire through burdening the people.

¹ *Shih-ching* I, viii, vii, 1 [Legge's rendering, *Chi. Classics*, vol. IV, pt. i, 157].

² 湯, 武, again the traditional founders of the Shang and Chou dynasties.

³ 周宣王, who began his reign 828 B.C.

⁴ 三垂.

⁵ 什辟.

⁶ 造陽.

f. The Literati: The Ch'in dynasty assuredly went to extremes in waging wars. Mêng T'ien¹ certainly extended the boundary to a great distance. Now, we have far overreached the barrier set up by Mêng T'ien, and have established administrative areas in the land of the raiding nomads. As the land extends to greater distance, people suffer from a greater burden. To the west of the Shuo-fang,² and to the north of Ch'ang-an,³ the outlay for the organization of new commanderies, and the expenses of the outposts are beyond calculation. It is not only this. When Ssù-ma [Hsiang-ju] and T'ang Mêng⁴ bored through a road to the south-western tribes,⁵ Pa and Shu⁶ began to be oppressed by the Chiung and the Tso.⁷ "Across the seas"⁸ despatched expeditions against the southern barbarians;⁹ "High-decked ships"¹⁰ attacked the eastern Yüeh;¹¹ but Ching and Ch'u¹² were then overwhelmed by the Ou-lo tribes.¹³ After the "General of the left wing"¹⁴ attacked Korea¹⁵ and opened up the land of Lin T'ao,¹⁶ Yen and Ch'i¹⁷ came to grief at the hands of the Wei and

¹ 蒙恬.

² 朔方.

³ 長安.

⁴ 司馬[相如], 唐蒙, two of Wu Ti's generals, who accomplished the conquest of west and south-west China.

⁵ 西南夷, aboriginal tribes of Ssü-ch'uan. Cf. *Shih-chi*, CXVI.

⁶ 巴, 蜀, the region of modern Ssü-ch'uan.

⁷ 邛, 笮, the mountain passes from the east into Ssü-ch'uan. For the latter the *Shih-chi* reads P'o 樊, a tribe of aborigines in Kuei-chou. For both names, cf. Chavannes, op. cit., III, 551, note 2.

⁸ Cf. glossary sub *Héng-hai chiang-chün*.

⁹ 南夷, tribes of Yünnan.

¹⁰ Cf. glossary sub *Lou-ch'uan chiang-chün*.

¹¹ 東越, southern Chêkiang.

¹² 荆, 楚.

¹³ 閼駱, tribes of Tongking. Cf. Grousset, *Hist. de l'Extrême-Orient*, II, 600.

¹⁴ Cf. glossary sub *Tso chiang-chün*.

¹⁵ 朝鮮. The conquest of Korea and its division into four prefectures, was also effected under Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.). Cf. Wieger, *Textes hist.*, I, 512—515, ap. *Shih-chi* CXV, and *Ch'ien-han-shu*. The *Shih-chi* devotes chaps. CXIII—CXVI, to a recital of the Chinese conquests of various tribes herein mentioned. For the *Ch'ien-han-shu*'s record of these campaigns, cf. Krause, *Fluss- und Seegefechte nach chinesischen Quellen*, in *Mitteil. des Sem. für Orient. Sprachen*, XVIII, 1915, pp. 65—74.

¹⁶ 臨洮.

¹⁷ 燕齊.

Mai¹ tribes. Chang Ch'ien² penetrated to strange and distant lands, but brought in only useless exotics. Thus the reserves of the treasuries flow to foreign countries,³ and the vast outflow is incomparable with [the economies effected on] the cost of Shih-pi, and the labor for Tsao-yang [which had been saved].⁴ From this it is seen that the whole affair is not due to the solicitude of the Emperor, but the mistaken calculations for the government of busy-body officials.

g. The Lord Grand Secretary: He who possesses the wisdom of Kuan Chung⁵ would not take up the offices of an underling. He who possesses the acumen of T'ao Chu,⁶ would not remain in poverty. The Literati are capable of speech, but incapable in action. They occupy a low position, and yet blame their superiors. They remain poor, while criticizing the rich. They make extravagant speeches, without following them up. They are high sounding, but their conduct is low. They criticize, praise, and discuss, in order to gain a name and the favor of the time. Those who earn salaries of not more than a handful, are not qualified to talk about government. Those who at home possess less than a load or *shih* [of grain] are not qualified to plan things. All the scholars are poor and weak, unequipped with necessary clothes and hats.⁷ What do

¹ 穢, 貉.

² 張騫, the famous general of Han Wu Ti who made two expeditions into central Asia, one in 138, and again in 115, B.C. A short biographical note occurs in ch. CXI of the *Shih-chi*, and his second expedition is mentioned in the same work, ch. CXXIII. Cf. also Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, I, LXXII seq. De Groot, in *Die Westlande Chinas in der vorchristlichen Zeit*, chaps. II—III, assembles the notices of Chang Ch'ien's exploits as general, envoy, and explorer, as found in the *Shih-chi*, loc. cit., and ch. XCVI of the *Ch'ien-han-shu*. See also Wieger, *Textes hist.*, I, 494—499.

³ Cf. ch. II, para. c, supra.

⁴ The conquests of Han Wu Ti, referred to in paras. e and f, are narrated at length by Ssü-ma Ch'ien in his famous chapter XXX, translated by Chavannes, with extensive notes on the geographical regions involved, in *Mém. hist.*, III, 548—553. See glossary for the numerous names employed.

⁵ "The wisdom of Kuan Chung": "of Kuan and Yen 晏" (Lu). "Chung" 仲 seems to be the accepted reading.

⁶ 陶朱. The biography of this Croesus of ancient China is given in the *Shih-chi* ch. CXXIX, under his original name of Fan Li 范蠡.

⁷ A telling thrust for those scholars who talk about ceremoniousness 禮 and yet do not possess the prescribed cap and dress, indispensable to the "true gentleman" 君子.

they know about the affairs of the state or business of the officials? What [do they know about] Shih-pi and Tsao-yang?

h. The Literati: A humble station does not circumscribe wisdom. Poverty does not impair one's conduct. Yen Yüan ¹ was frequently down to a bare cupboard, but he cannot be said to have been unworthy. Confucius, though not looking the part, ² cannot be denied as a sage. If one must recommend a man according to his appearance and promote a student according to his métier, then T'ai Kung would have wielded his butcher's knife throughout his life ³ and Ning Ch'i ⁴ would never have ceased to tend his cattle. The ancient gentleman maintained his principles in establishing a name, and cultivated his personality while waiting his opportunity. Even poverty would not make him change his principles, nor would he alter his objective because of low position. ⁵ He would abide in benevolence and act according to duty. He was even fastidious in the presence of money. Discerning profit he turned his regard to duty. To acquire riches in an improper way and high position without justification—this the benevolent would not do. Hence Tsêng Shên and Min Tzû ⁶ would not exchange their benevolence for the wealth of Chin and Ch'u, ⁷ and Po I ⁸ would not sell his character for the rank of a prince. With such as they, Duke Ching of Ch'i ⁹ with all his thousand four-in-hands could not compete in fame.

¹ 顏淵, the favorite disciple of Confucius.

² 孔子不容. 仲尼之狀面如蒙俱, "The physiognomy of Confucius was such that his face was like a rumpled square" [Dubs' translation, 69], said Hsün-tzû in his attack upon the ancient Chinese belief in "physiognomy", which professed to read the character of a person by his appearance (*Hsün-tzû*, Bk. V, 非相篇).

³ 太公終身鼓刀. 鼓刀 is explained as the knife used in slaughtering the sacrificial ox. Cf. *Tz'ü-yüan* sub 鼓刀.

⁴ 甯戚, a carter who rose to be a Privy Councillor of Ch'i. Cf. Giles, *Biog. Dict.* No. 1568.

⁵ This, and the succeeding sentences, represent Confucianist and Mencian aphorisms.

⁶ 曾參, 閔子, disciples of Confucius.

⁷ 晉, 楚.

⁸ 伯夷.

⁹ 齊景公.

i. Confucius said: *What a man of worth was Hui! A single bamboo bowl of millet; a single ladle of cabbage soup; living in a mean alley! Others could not have borne his distress, but Hui never abated his cheerfulness.*¹ Therefore only the benevolent knows how to live in straits, enjoying his poverty;² while the mean man becomes oppressive when rich, and shifty when poor. Yang Tzŭ said: *He who seeks to be rich will not be benevolent. He who wishes to be benevolent will not be rich.*³ If gain is preferred to honor, and all try to acquire and to rob with an insatiable appetite, then the ministers will accumulate millions of wealth, the high officials gold in thousands of pieces, and the smaller officers their hundreds. With this self-enrichment and the accumulation of concentrated wealth, the common people will be left in cold and misery, wandering along the roads. How could the Scholars alone keep up a complete outfit of caps and clothing?

¹ Soothill, *Analects* VI, ix.

² Paraphrasing the *Lun-yü*, IV, ii.

³ Legge's translation. Mencius III, i, iii, 5. Mencius has 陽虎曰.

CHAPTER XVII

THE POOR AND THE RICH

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: For more than sixty years have I¹ been the recipient of Imperial emolument and favor since the time when, at the age of thirteen, I first tied my hair and girded myself with the sash,² and had the fortune of becoming an Imperial chamber page,³ serving in the Emperor's retinue⁴ until I rose to the rank of minister. In regulating the expenses for cars, horses, and robes and the expenditure of my family, servants and clients, I balance the debit and credit side of my budget and live a life of strict economy. I keep account of each and everyone of my salaries, appointments, and gifts. My wealth has accrued gradually until I have become rich and acquired an estate. Thus do the worthy maintain their holdings through a uniform system of subdivision, and the wise keep an account of their wealth by systematic distribution.

¹ The biography of the noted statesman and fiscal expert, the Lord Grand Secretary Sang Hung-yang 桑弘羊, appears in the *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. XXIV, 2nd part. His important rôle in the institution of the state monopolies is described in the *Shih-chi*, ch. XXX. (Cf. p. 1, note 3, supra). In 87 B.C., six years before the present debate, the Emperor Wu had promoted him to the high post of *Yü-shih ta-fu* 御史大夫, which I translate as "Lord Grand Secretary". He occupied the post seven years, then was executed by order of the Emperor Chao, on the charge of plotting a rebellion. The term *Yü-shih* is found in the *Chou-li* 春官, 御史, and in the extant *Shang-chün-shu*, para. 26, and up to the later Han period involved secretarial duties (cf. Franke, *Der Ursprung der chinesischen Geschichtsschreibung, Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, XXIII, 1925, p. 283). From the later Han period the office took on the functions of a "censorate", perhaps acquiring some of its features as such, from the ideas of the School of Law, as suggested by Duyvendak, *Book of Lord Shang*, 124.

² 結髮束修. Cf. *Li-chi*, XI, III, 10 (Couvreur, *Li Ki*, I, 710).

³ 宿衛.

⁴ 給事輦轂.

Now, when Po Kuei ¹ made use of goods neglected by others and Tzū Kung three times acquired a capital of a thousand gold pieces, were they necessarily forced to draw upon the resources of others? No, they simply manipulated it with the squared inch, manoeuvred it with surplus and deficit, and gathered it in between high and low prices.

b. The Literati: In ancient times, no man pursued two occupations at the same time, and trading profits and official salary could not be combined. For only then would there be no disparity between occupations, and no tipping of the balance of wealth. Had you borne your high rank and appointments with humility and courtesy, you would have all the fame you could desire; but as you seek profit by taking advantage of your power and station, ² your income reaches levels incomputable. Indeed with him who feeds on the Nation's lakes and pools and controls the mountains and seas, shepherds and woodcutters are unable to compete for benefit, and merchants and peddlers, for gain. Tzū Kung secured wealth in the capacity of a common citizen; yet Confucius disapproved of him. How much more would he frown on him who does it through his position and rank! In fact, in ancient times ministers were thoughtful of benevolence and duty in fulfilling their office, and never considered using the advantages of their power to satisfy their private interests.

c. The Lord Grand Secretary: It is only when mountain and hillside have abundance that the people can enjoy plenty, and only when the seas and rivers have their riches that the masses can satisfy their wants. An ordinary scoop can not irrigate terraced fields, nor can timber from hillocks and downs be used for the construction of palace halls, for the small can not encompass the big nor can it be of assistance to the plentiful. We know of no case when one unable to provide for himself was yet able to provide

¹ Chang's edition has Tzū Kung 子貢 first (instead of Po Kuei 伯圭), and T'ao Chu-kung 陶朱公 for Tzū Kung. The *Shih-chi*, ch. LXVII, contains the passage that Tzū Kung's house "piled up a thousand pieces of gold" 累千金; while in ch. CXXIX, the same faculty is ascribed to Fan Li 范蠡 (al. T'ao Chu[-kung]), 三致千金 in the space of nineteen years, a phrase which has become proverbial.

² 權勢, the *legalist* terms, reprobated by the scholars, though sometimes used by them for argument's sake, as in para. d, below. Cf. note 1, p. 47, *supra*.

for others; when one unable to regulate himself was yet able to regulate others. Thus he can do most for others who has proved his ability in working for himself; and he can best regulate others who has proved his worth in regulating himself. But you Scholars who have never been able to regulate your own homes, how can you hope to be able to regulate affairs beyond your ken? ¹

d. The Literati: One has to make use of carts in travelling over great distances, ² and to depend on ships in crossing rivers or seas. A worthy scholar has also to rely on capital and avail himself of materials in order to reach achievement and make a name for himself. ³ Kung-shu Tzū ⁴ was able to construct great palaces and towers with the timber supplied by his royal patron, but unable to build for himself even a small house or a tiny hut, his own timber being insufficient. Ou Yeh ⁵ could cast whole ⁶ cauldrons and huge bells out of the copper and iron supplied by his prince, yet could never make for himself even a single tripod-kettle or a wash-basin, ⁷ as he possessed not the necessary material. A true gentleman may base himself on the legitimate sovereign ⁸ authority of the Ruler of Men, in order to harmonize the interests of the people and bring prosperity to the masses, but can not enrich his own family, for his position is not conducive to such an end. Thus when Shun was farming at Li Shan, ⁹ his bounties did not extend

¹ 內 and 外, here, are thus construed.

² The *Chün-shu-chih-yao* 羣書治要 inserts 道 after 行遠, as an extra character to balance the following 濟江海.

³ Chang's edition omits this sentence altogether (15 characters).

⁴ 公輸子, the carpenter.

⁵ 歐冶, the founder.

⁶ Chang reads 全 (for 金 of our text), which I follow, to balance the succeeding 大鍾.

⁷ The text here, 一鼎盤材, is quite corrupt, and discloses an interesting confusion of characters. 一, originally in its equivalent form 壹, should be 壺, "kettle", while 材 should be 杆, a "wash-basin", in the opinion of the commentators.

⁸ Wang notes that 正 is equivalent to 政, and inserts 能 after 君子, to balance the same character in the preceding sentences.

⁹ 歷山, the mountain mentioned on p. 12 supra.

to cover all the villages of the province; when T'ai Kung was a butcher at Ch'ao Ko,¹ his profits did not benefit his wife and children. But when they finally found official employment, their munificence flowed to the uttermost limits of space, and their virtue filled to the brim the Four Seas. Shun, therefore, was obliged to rely on Yao, and T'ai Kung depended upon Chou. A true gentleman can only cultivate his person² so that, relying on right conduct, he will be able to benefit others; but he can not twist his principles in order to increase his own capital.

e. The Lord Grand Secretary: *Tao*³ hung its laws in the heavens and spread its products on the face of the earth for the wise to increase their substance therewith, while the stupid remain in distress. It was thus that Tzū Kung became famous among the feudal nobles for his display of accumulated wealth, and T'ao Chu-kung was esteemed by his contemporaries for his abounding riches. The rich sought their friendship; the poor looked to them for support. Thus all, from the ruler above to the simple-dressed commoner below, venerated them for their virtue and praised them for their altruism. At the same time, Yüan Hsien⁴ and K'ung Chi⁵ suffered all their

1 太公，朝歌。

2 君子能修身, cf. *Lun-yü* XIV, xxv and xlv. The Literati here touch upon the basic Confucian principle that virtuous conduct is for the benefit of all. For a discussion of the principle of "self cultivation", cf. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 464 seq. The following use of 道 "right conduct", in the ethical Confucian sense, inspires the Lord Grand Secretary to repeat the same term, but in the meaning employed by the Taoist school. See succeeding note.

3 道, the term of the Taoist school, representing the ultimate principle of all being: "There was something undefined and complete, coming into existence before Heaven and Earth. How still it was and formless, standing alone, and undergoing no change, reaching everywhere and in no danger (of being exhausted)! It may be regarded as the mother of all things . . . I do not know its name, and I give it the designation of the Tao (the Way or Course) . . ." *Tao-tê-ching*, para. 25 [Legge's translation, *Sacred Books*, XXXIX, 67]. A recent discussion of the Taoist school is found in Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, Bk. V, ch. III, L'École Taoïste.

4 原憲, a disciple mentioned in the *Lun-yü* VI, III, XIV, 1, who retained his good nature despite poverty.

5 孔伋, known as Tzū Ssü 子思, a disciple of Tsêng Tzū 曾子, whose name has been associated with the composition of the *Ta Hsüeh* 大學 and

lives from hunger and cold, and Yen Hui¹ lived in chronic want in a beggars' alley. In those moments when pursued by poverty, they found shelter in caves and caverns and covered their bodies with ragged hemp-wadded clothes, even if they wished to place their reliance on wealth, resorting to crime and deceit, they would not be equal to it.

f. The Literati: *If wealth were a thing one could (count on) finding, said Confucius, even though it meant my becoming a whip-holding groom, I would do it. As one can not (count on) finding it, I will follow the quests that I love better.*² The true gentleman seeks duty, not wealth at any price. Hence the criticism pronounced on Tzū Kung for not being content with his lot and increasing his goods. A true gentleman would attain wealth and rank when the times favor him; otherwise he would retire, and enjoy the way of virtue,³ and never seek to burden himself with questions of profit. Thus he never turns his back on duty or is recklessly grasping; he would rather live an inconspicuous life and cultivate his principles lest he injure his conduct. He therefore never ruins his reputation in pursuit of position. *Though to him be added the families of Han and Wei,*⁴ he would not remain with them should it be contrary to his objective. Wealth and rank add not to his honor, slander and defamation do him no harm.

g. Therefore the shabby hemp-quilted robe of Yüan Hsien was more illustrious than all the fox and raccoon furs of Chi-sun;⁵ the *Chung Yung* 中庸. Cf. Fêng Yu-lan 馮友蘭, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. I, 中國哲學史, 卷上, 1931.

¹ 顏回, favorite disciple of Confucius. Cf. Soothill, *Analects*, Introduction, 86.

² Soothill, *Analects*, VII, xi. The YTL. reads 事 for 士 of the original.

³ 道, used here in the Confucian sense, i.e., in its moral application, — the courses or ways that are right and proper. The passage is suggestive of the *Lun-yü*, IV, v, 1: "wealth and rank are what men desire, but unless they can be obtained in the right way", etc.

不以其道得之.... [Soothill's translation].

⁴ Cf. Mencius VII, i, xi: "add to a man the families of Han and Wei. If he then look upon himself without being elated, he is far beyond the mass of men" [Legge's translation].

⁵ 季孫. "The head of the Chi family was richer than the Duke of Chow had been....", *Lun-yü*, XI, xvi, [Legge's translation].

meager fish fare of Chao Hsüan-mêng¹ far more delicious than all the viands of Chih Po;² and Tzŭ Ssü's silver pendant more beautiful than the *Ch'ui Chi*³ gem of the Duke of Yü.⁴ Marquis Wên of Wei bowed to the front bar of his carriage while driving past Tuan Kan-mu's⁵ residence, not because the latter possessed any temporal influence; and Duke Wên of Chin alighted from his chariot and ran out to meet Han Ch'ing,⁶ not because the latter was a great capitalist. They did so because the two scholars' were rich in benevolence and complete in their virtue. Therefore, why must honors be given to wealth, when they are really due to benevolence and righteousness?

¹ 趙宣孟. ² 知伯. ³ 垂棘. ⁴ 虞公.

⁵ 魏文侯, 段干木. The latter was a worthy of the Warring States era, who preferred to remain in poverty rather than to accept the Marquis' invitation to serve him as Prime Minister.

⁶ 晉文公, 韓慶.

CHAPTER XVIII

VILIFYING THE LEARNED

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: It is not the nature of a scholar to nurse crookedness while speaking straight and true, to rely upon himself as if desiring nothing while actually not following in conduct.¹ Li Ssü² and Pao Ch'iu Tzŭ,³ according to tradition, both sat at the feet of Hsün Ch'ing.⁴ Their training completed, Li Ssü entered the service of Ch'in where he subsequently rose to the rank of one of the Three Highest Ministers,⁵ and possessed of the power⁶ of a lord of ten thousand chariots he held sway over the realm within the Seas, in achievement equal to I Yin and Lü Wang,⁷ in fame loftier than Mount T'ai.⁸ But Pao Ch'iu never got beyond the

¹ The *Shih-chi*, ch. LXXXVII (Biography of Li Ssü) has the phrase 自託於無爲非士之情也 "relying on one's self in a condition of non-activity, that is not the nature of a scholar", [Duyvendak's translation, *T'oung Pao*, XXVI (1928), The Chronology of Hsün-tzŭ, p. 92], while the YTL reads 自託於無欲而實不從此非士之情也.

² 李斯, perhaps the most execrated person of all time in the minds of Chinese scholars, for his instigation of the first "bibliothecal holocaust", the destruction of all existing literature, save works on agriculture, medicine and divination (213 B.C.). Ssü-ma Ch'ien devotes his LXXXVIIth chapter to a lengthy biography of the First Ch'in Emperor's Prime Minister; while in the VIth chapter appears the account of the famous debate before the throne, when the decision against the scholars was taken. The *Shih-chi*'s biography (translated in part by Duyvendak, loc. cit.) confirms the statements regarding Li Ssü as a pupil of Hsün Ch'ing and his subsequent career.

³ 包邱子. Cf. glossary.

⁴ 荀卿, the philosopher Hsün-tzŭ or Sun-tzŭ, cf. p. 68, note 14.

⁵ Cf. p. 62, note 4, *supra*.

⁶ 之權, omitted in Chang's edition.

⁷ 伊尹, 呂望 [太公望 or 呂尙]. See glossary.

⁸ 太山 (otherwise 泰山), in Shantung, the chief of the Five Sacred Mountains
五嶽 of China. For its place in Chinese religion, cf. Chavannes *Le T'ai Chan*.

*oeil-de-boeuf*¹ of a thatched hovel, his fate comparable to that of frogs which, though multisonous indeed during a flood year, are but destined to perish sooner or later in some drain or ditch. Now, lovers of disputation,² without proper means to support yourselves at home and with no great reputation abroad, poor and inconspicuous that you are, even though you can talk on proper conduct, neither is your weight very great.

b. The Literati: When Li Ssü became Chancellor of Ch'in, Shih-huang appointed him to an office which was higher than that of any other person or minister. Yet Hsün Ch'ing did not take office under him, prescient that he would fall into unfathomable disasters.³ Pao Ch'iu Tzū, who lived on wild kraut growing among the hemp, and cultivated the Way of virtue beneath a plain white-washed roof, was happy in his aspirations, more contented than were he living in a spacious mansion with meat as his fare. Though never enjoying resplendent station, he was yet free from all petty anxiety.

c. Now Duke Hsien of Ch'in's⁴ *Ch'ui Chi* gem⁵ was beautiful beyond dispute; but Kung Chih-ch'i,⁶ seeing it, groaned, knowing well that it was part of Hsün Hsi's⁷ plot against his country. Chih Po⁸ possessing all the wealth of the Three Chin States⁹ was certainly at the height of his power; yet hardly did he suspect that Hsiang Tzū¹⁰ planned to entrap him. The fox and raccoon furs of Chi Sun¹¹ were undoubtedly magnificent; yet never did he sus-

¹ 甕牖 an expression meaning either a broken jar used for a window, or a small window, round as the mouth of a jar, often in houses of the poor. Cf. the *Tz'ü yüan*.

² The text has 好義; the last character, according to Chang, should be 議.

³ Cf. Duyvendak, *T'oung Pao*, loc. cit., where this passage from the YTL is quoted in connection with the establishment of the dates of the philosopher, the conclusion being that Hsün-tzū never took office under his pupil, during the many years of Li Ssü's service with Ch'in.

⁴ See next page note 2.

⁵ 垂棘, referred to on p. 111, supra.

⁶ 宮之奇. Cf. Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, N^o. 1021.

⁷ 荀息. Cf. Giles, op. cit., N^o. 805.

⁸ 知伯.

⁹ 三晉.

¹⁰ 襄子.

¹¹ 季孫.

pect that the prince of Lu¹ considered him as a menace to his state. Thus did Hsien of Chin² hook Yü and Kuo³ by means of the precious horses, and through the city did Hsiang Tzū enveigle Chih Po with the result that the latter fell into the hands of Chao, and Yü and Kuo were both annexed by Chin. Thinking only of what they were about to obtain, regardless of consequence, Chih Po and the two states only coveted territory or valued prized mounts. As Confucius said: *Who heeds not the future will find sorrow at hand.*⁴

d. But our present-day authorities see only gain, never providing against possible loss; and only covet prizes, never considering possible disgrace, always willing to exchange their lives for profit and to die for money. They enjoy the privileges of wealth and rank without ever possessing the virtues of altruism and right conduct; indeed they are as one who steps upon a trap ready to be sprung, or one who is dining under a portcullis! Thus it was that Li Ssü suffered the five penalties:⁵ *There was a bird in a southern clime called Wan-chu. He would eat nothing but the bamboo core, drink nothing but the water of the clearest spring. As he flew over Mount T'ai, the Kite of T'ai Shan, who was just picking up a decayed rat, looked up and saw Wan-chu. "Shoo!" cried the Kite.*⁶ Now, with all your wealth and rank, Lord High Minister, it pleases you to scoff at us Confucian scholars, as you do so frequently. Is not your

¹ 魯君. ² 晉獻[公].

³ 虞, 虢. For these and the preceding names, see glossary.

⁴ Soothill, *Analects*, XV, xi.

⁵ 五刑, as related in the *Shih-chi*, LXXXVII. This was the extremity of the law, and represented branding on the forehead 墨, cutting off the nose 劓, maiming (cutting off the ear, the hands, or the feet) 剕, castration 宮, and death 大辟. These "five punishments" prevailed under the Chou and Han dynasties.

⁶ This allegory is found substantially in the *Chuang-tzū* 莊子, in which Chuang-tzū ridicules the sophist Hui-tzū 惠子, who at the time was minister of the state of Liang 梁. (Cf. 莊子, 外篇, 卷六, 秋水, [Legge, *Sacred Books*, vol. XXXIX, pt. i, p. 391, and Wilhelm, *De Chuang Tzai*, p. 134]). The Literati turn this tale against Sang Hung-yang, eliciting from the Minister a lecture on the propriety of refined manners.

conduct similar to that of the Kite of T'ai Shan "shooing" at the Wan-chu!

e. The Lord Grand Secretary: 'Tis Learning's part to curb crude speech, and Courtesy's function to veneer rustic manners. Thus Learning should prop Virtue, Courtesy should civilize Crudeness. Our minds should weigh words before speaking; action after thought gives pleasure. Lips should not open to let forth bad language, and one should keep away from evil doings. In every move and action one should comply with good manners, endeavoring to walk with dignity along the path of decorum. Behave therefore in accordance with propriety, and let your utterance be in accordance with the rules of courtesy. It is only thus that you may speak all day without being malapert, and act all your days without setting a bad example.¹ Now, the Ruler of Men, in order to govern the people, has provided offices and established courts, and has distributed ranks and assigned salaries to honor the worthies—and you speak here of portcullis and decayed rats! Fie! To be so coarse in speech and so pervert to schooling!

f. The Literati: The Sage Ruler provides offices for carrying out necessary functions; it is for the able to occupy them. He distributes salaries for the sustenance of worthies; it is for the capable to receive them. For the just and honorable, no honor should be too high and no emolument too great. Thus Shun received the Empire from Yao, and T'ai Kung could not but occupy the post of one of the Three Highest Ministers with the Chou. If one be unfit for any position, even the giving of but a basket of rice and a plate of soup,² would be like giving alms. Therefore, those whose station was high and yet their virtue thin, whose responsibility was heavy but strength small, were few, for they were not equal to it.³ The Kite of T'ai

¹ 無冤尤. Lu reads 怨 for 冤, "without incurring malevolence".

² The passage expresses the sentiment found in Mencius, VI, i, x, 6, "Here are a small basket of rice and a platter of soup, and the case is one in which the getting them will preserve life, and the want of them will be death; — if they are offered with an insulting voice, even a tramp will not receive them . . . even a beggar will not stoop to take them" [Legge's translation]. The same figure, "the matter of a dish of rice or a platter of soup", in a similar association, appears in Mencius, VII, ii, xi.

³ 鮮不及. I place the comma after 鮮.

Shan picked up but a decayed rat in some remote marsh or obscure valley; he never intended to do harm to anyone. But you, our present officiators, you rob the Ruler's treasury and feed upon it in the very face of the punitive laws, unaware that their mechanism may be set into motion! And with all that, you "shoo" at people! In villainy indeed you can hardly be compared to the Kite of T'ai Shan!

g. The Lord Grand Secretary: Said Magister Ssü-ma:¹ *Hustling and bustling, after gain the world is rushing: Maids of Chao not particular as to beauty or homeliness; matrons of Chêng indiscriminating between foreigner and countryman; merchants willing to face dishonor and disgrace, soldiers not willing to serve to the death; officers, indifferent to relatives, in serving their Prince willing to face any risk at his expense; everyone and all working but for profit and salary. The Confucianists and the Mihists,² with greedy hearts but*

¹ 天下壤壤皆爲利往. This is the only direct citation from Ssü-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi*. It is from the introduction to ch. CXXIX, and appears much like a common saying. For 壤, Huan K'uan has 穰, which Chang suggests may have been in the original text of the *Shih-chi*. The latter part of the quotation is a paraphrase from the same chapter where "maids of Chao" 趙女, and "matrons of Chêng" 鄭姬 also appear, the *Shih-chi* having 姬, probably "singing girl", for the last character. Cf. Introduction for a discussion of this quotation.

² 儒墨. For 儒 see p. 38, note 9. The Mihists 墨家, with whom the *ju* are here grouped, were the transmitters of the doctrines of Mo-tzū 墨子 or Mo Ti 墨翟, a native of Lu, who lived in the Vth century B.C. He continued the teachings of Confucius with certain variations, notably with less predilection for the lessons of antiquity. He was opposed to music (holding it to be the origin of all the corruption and immorality of his time), as well as to prolonged mourning. The extant work associated with his name consists of 53 sections in 15 chapters, of which 10 sections (8—37) are held to emanate from the hand of the philosopher himself, and to present his actual teaching. Mo-tzū, unlike Confucius, did not justify his doctrines upon the authority of the ancient Sages, but upon logic. His fundamental principle was "universal love" 兼愛, to which the ills of the world would respond. The success of Mo-tzū was largely due to his logical method of exposition, as exemplified in his writings. From this grew the various schools of sophists, who flourished in the IVth and IIIrd centuries particularly. Mencius was strongly opposed to the teachings of Mo-tzū, referring to him especially in the passage (loc. cit. III, ii, ix, 9—10): "If the principles of Yang and Mih are not stopped, and the principles of Confucius not set forth, then those perverse speakings will delude the people, and stop up the path of

dignified mien, roam back and forth with their sophists' arguments. *Their perching here and perching there*¹ can also be explained by their appetite not being satisfied. For the scholar's want is also honor and fame; wealth and rank, the object of his expectations.

h. When Li Ssü was studying at the door of Hsün Ch'ing, he rode side by side with ne'er-do-wells. Then, when he raised his wings in high flight surging forth like a dragon, breaking into gallop like a charger, "passing by nine and overtaking two," soaring to a height of ten thousand cubits, the wild swan and the fleet courser² could hardly keep pace with him, to say nothing of lame ewes and finches and sparrows! Seated in the seat of power over all the Empire, driving the masses of the world before him, he enjoyed a retinue of a hundred chariots and an income of ten thousand measures, while your doctrinaire Confucianists can not have even a full suit of cotton clothes nor enough husks to fill their stomachs. Not that they find bean and legume tasty and hold

benevolence and righteousness" [Legge]. Elsewhere the *Book of Mencius* combats the principles maintained by Mo-tzü. While the school of Mo-tzü failed to survive the persecutions of the Ch'in empire, the dialectical methods developed by its adherents became the common property of Chinese thought, and thus continued to persist. Mo Ti and his school are treated at length by Forke in his *Geschichte der alten chinesischen Philosophie*, 368—417, and by Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 468—479, 529—541. Translations of the extant *Mo-tzü* have been made by Forke, *Mé Ti des Sozialethikers und seiner Schüler philosophische Werke*, and in part by Y. L. Mei, *The Works of Mo-tze*. Hu Shih devotes Part III of *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China* to "The Logic of Mo Tih and His School". It is of interest to note the mention of representatives of this school as existing in Huan K'uan's time, in view of the belief (cf. Maspero, loc. cit.) that it did not survive the Ch'in era. Its gradual extinction in the Han era has been assigned especially to the opposition of the Mihist school to the rites or ceremonial. The Han epoch of reconstruction above all demanded formal rules for society. Thus the Mihists disappeared, while the Legalists and Confucianists continued to contribute to Chinese societal development. Cf. Duyvendak, "Études de Philosophie chinoise", in *Revue Philosophique*, Nov.—Dec., 1930, pp. 372—417.

¹ Cf. *Lun-yü* XIV, xxxiv [Soothill]. "Wei-shêng Mou addressing Confucius said: Ch'iu, what are you doing with this perching here and perching there?"

² *Hung-ku* 鴻鵠, mentioned in Mencius VI, i, ix, 3; *Hua-liu* 驊騮, the name of one of the four fleet steeds of King Mu of Chou 周穆王, driven by Tsao-fu (cf. p. 67) 造父. Cf. *Shih-chi*, ch. V (*Mém. hist.* II, 5). The two allusions might be rendered in terms of European mythology as "Cygnus and Bucephalus". The *Mu-t'ien-tzü-chuan* 穆天子傳, an account of the travels of King Mu, held to be a composition of a late period (IIIrd cent. A.D.), names eight horses.

spacious mansions in low esteem, but they can never obtain the latter for themselves. Even though they would like to "shoo" at others, how can they do so?

i. The Literati: The gentleman esteems virtue, the mean man dotes on land; the worthy scholar suffers martyrdom for his good name, the miser dies for gain. Li Ssü, coveting desirable objects, came to a hateful end, while Sun-shu Ao,¹ foreseeing early possible troubles, three times resigned from his Chancellorship and had no occasion for regret. Not that he found pleasure in stations low and mean, and disliked generous salaries, but he considered the distant future and took care to avoid all harm. The ox, reserved for the suburban sacrifice, is fed and taken care of throughout a whole year, before being bedecked in rich embroidery and led into the temple hall. Then does the Great Sacrificer seize his belled sword, about to part open its hair. At that moment, even if it wanted to be panting up a steep hillside under a heavy load, it cannot get its wish.

j. When Shang Yang was hard pressed at P'êng Ch'ih² and Wu Ch'i³ cowered behind his prince's body, they undoubtedly wished they were in coarse clothes living in some wretched straw hut. When Li Ssü was Ch'in's Chancellor, seated in the seat of power over the whole Empire, a realm of ten thousand chariots would seem small to his ambition; but when locked in prison and finally when being torn apart by chariots in the market place of Yün-yang,⁴ he also undoubtedly wished he were carrying wood to

¹ 孫叔敖, spoken of by Mencius, VI, ii, xv. "Thrice minister without elation; thrice he retired without regret" 三得相而不喜.... 三去相而不悔 (*Shih-chi*, ch. CXIX).

² 彭池 [written 黽池 in the *Shih-chi*, LXVIII], where the army of Ch'in defeated Lord Shang and slew him. Cf. ch. VII, supra.

³ 吳起之伏王尸, as related in the *Shih-chi*, LXV. For Wu Ch'i cf. Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, no. 2320.

⁴ 雲陽, the modern Shun-hua-hsien 淳化縣 in Shensi. The *Shih-chi*, Biography of Li Ssü, places the scene of his execution at the Ch'in capital, Hsien-yang 咸陽. For "torn apart by chariots" 車制, Ssü-ma Ch'ien has "cut in two at the waist" 罾斬.

Hung-mên ¹ or walking through the crooked short-cuts of Shang-ts'ai, ² but he could never get his wish. Su Ch'in and Wu Ch'i killed themselves by their power and position; Shang Yang and Li Ssü brought themselves to destruction by their prestige and honor; all of them came to their end through their greed and vanity. All the hundred chariots of their escort could not have carried away their load of grief!

¹ 鴻門. The *Shih-chi*, Li Ssü's biography, reads 東門.

² 上蔡, Shang Yang's native city in Ch'u.

CHAPTER XIX

EXTOLLING THE WORTHY

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: Out of extreme probity Po I¹ starved to death and Wei Shêng² met his end through punctilious fidelity. Clinging to insignificant appurtenances, they sacrificed great realities. Theirs was *the petty fidelity of common men and women, who (show it by) committing suicide in some ditch, nobody being the wiser*.³ Can achievement and fame be acquired in this manner? Su Ch'in and Chang I,⁴ on the other hand, possessed wisdom equal to the task of making their countries strong, and daring sufficient to overawe their enemies. *Let them once be angry, and all the princes are afraid. Let them live quietly, and the flames of trouble are extinguished throughout the Empire*.⁵ There was not a single ruler of a kingdom of ten thousand chariots who, bearing heavy gifts, sought not their friendship in abject attitude and with humble speech.

¹ 伯夷, by refusing to accept support from Wu Wang of Chou, whom he considered to be a usurper.

² 尾生, who "had made an appointment with a girl to meet him under a bridge, but when she did not come, and the water rose around him, he would not go away, and died with his arms round one of the pillars." Legge, *The Texts of Taoism, Sacred Books*, XL, 174 (*Chuang-tzŭ*).

³ Soothill, *Analects*, XIV, xviii, 3.

⁴ 蘇秦, 張儀, a Machiavellian pair who studied the sophistical art of "persuading any one to anything" under the Taoist philosopher Kuei-ku-tzŭ 鬼谷子. They took up the adventurous career of itinerant volunteering diplomat. (Cf. Hirth, *Ancient History of China*, 285, *passim*). Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien devotes two chapters to their lives (*Shih-chi*, LXIX and LXX). See further note below.

⁵ Mencius III, ii, 11, 1 [Legge's translation]. For 息 of the YTL. Mencius reads 熄 (cf. Legge's note). Mencius has Kung-sun Yen 公孫衍 instead of Su Ch'in, which supports Maspero's opinion that Su Ch'in is a late creation, since he was unknown to Mencius. Cf. Le Roman de Sou Ts'in, in *Études asiatiques publiées par l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, II, 141.

These were what we call world-famed scholars! But those whose wisdom is not equal to the demands of counsel, and whose authority cannot arouse their contemporaries, *form the lowest class of men.*¹ Now watch them take up Naught and consider it as Substance and as Fullness! Their plain clothes and torn sandals, their absorption in meditation and lingering walk, as if under the burden of some loss! Those are not scholars who can accomplish great things and establish a name for themselves; they do not even rise above the commonplace.

b. The Literati: Su Ch'in, who won renown in Chao for his policy of Latitudinal Alliances, and Chang I, who obtained office in Ch'in by advocating a Longitudinal *Bloc*, were undoubtedly greatly esteemed at the time.² Yet wise men followed their careers with anxiety, knowing well that he whose advancement is due to complete disregard of right conduct, can not expect to retire by right conduct; and that which is not acquired in the proper way, is inevitably lost through improper ways. The power of the Chi and Mêng clans, and the wealth of the three Huan families, were high above ordinary achievement, yet Confucius once spoke of them, saying: *Depleted are they!*³ Such is the case of ministers who possess themselves of power equal to that of the prince, and wealth comparable to that of the state: they are doomed. Thus the higher becomes their position, the heavier and heavier become their crimes; and the more inflated become their salaries, the more numerous their misdeeds.

¹ 民斯爲下, from the *Lun-yü*, XVI, IX.

² See note 4, p. 120, supra. Of the authenticity of the deeds of these two diplomats of ancient China, Maspero opines (*La Chine Antique*, 405, note): "Tchang Yi est un personnage réel qui fut ministre au Ts'in de 328 à 312 [B.C.], et, chassé de ce pays, se réfugia au Wei où il fut bien reçu et mourut au bout de peu de temps; mais l'auteur du roman de Sou Ts'in, ayant fait de lui l'antagoniste de son héros, lui a prêté diverses aventures plus ou moins véritables, qui, recueillies dans le *Tchan kouo ts'ö*, ont passé ensuite dans tous les historiens." For the traditionally accepted story of Su Ch'in and Chang I, see Hirth, op. cit., 308—313.

³ *Lun-yü* XVI, III: "The revenue has departed from the Ducal House for five generations, and the government has devolved on ministers for four generations. That, alas! is why the descendants of the three brothers Huan are so reduced! [Soothill]." For the ducal families of Chi 季, Mêng 孟, and Huan 桓, cf. Legge, *Confucian Analects*, p. 19, note 2, et al.

c. Now he who wants to follow the right path ¹ first takes care to perfect himself, and only then seeks to establish his name; and he who intends to serve in an official capacity first takes pains to avoid all harm, and then applies for emolument. Undoubtedly scented baits are made as attractive as possible. Yet tortoises and dragons, let them but hear of these, hide themselves in the deep; phenixes, young and old, soar to the heights at the first glimpse of them, for they know well their life is in danger. When it comes to common crows and magpies, fishes and turtles, they swallow the fragrant bait,—then dash away in mad flight, shake their bodies, ² exhausting themselves in an effort to escape, but nothing avails them against inevitable death.

d. Our present jacks-in-office, having obtained a thievish hold upon the laws of the state, push forward with never a glance back at their path of crime. Sooner or later, the crisis will come; then shall we see the rush of chariots and the flight of men,—all of no avail against inevitable death. The accumulated plunder will be found insufficient to redeem them from the lot of the slave; their wives and children will find no sheltering place in their flight; while they themselves, locked in deep dungeons, will never know a glance of compassion. In those moments will they find time for mirth?

e. The Lord Grand Secretary: Literary gentlemen of your type are lofty of purpose and righteous in conduct, in appearance unyielding as if no power could bend them; they are abounding in principle and spotless in speech, of immaculate semblance as if nothing could besmirch them. Yet consider for a moment Ch'ên Shêng, ³ the garrison soldier, who left off pulling carts to be the first to raise his head in rebellion and to establish himself finally as king of "Greater Ch'u". He had originally nothing in common, so far as righteous conduct is concerned, with such unoccupied

¹ *Hsing* 行, the practical application of *tê* 德.

² The text reads *t'ou* 頭, "heads"; Chang's text more appropriately has *shên* 身, "bodies".

³ 陳勝 or 陳涉, Ch'ên Shê, who rebelled against the Second (Ch'in) Emperor. Cf. *Shih-chi*, VI.

scholars as Yen Hui¹ and Chung Yu,² nor could he be considered to have a position ranking with that of ministers of state or court officers. Nevertheless, within twenty days after his sudden rise at Ta-tsê,³ the Confucianists and Mihists, and all the besashed tribe of disciples, spreading out their long robes,⁴ and carrying on their backs the ceremonial articles and the Books of Poetry and History of the Confucian family, came to pledge themselves as his servants. K'ung Chia, who became mentor to Ch'ên Shê,⁵ finally perished with him in Ch'ên, the greatest laughing-stock in the Empire. Such is their kind: "hiding in the deep and soaring to the heights," indeed!

f. The Literati: As the house of Chou degenerated, correct usages and right conduct were cast aside and could no more hold the world together. The feudal lords engaged then in a struggle of mutual extermination; kingdoms were destroyed or amalgamated, until but six of them were left.⁶ Wars continued unceasing and the people had not a single moment of rest. Ch'in, possessed of the voraciousness of a wolf or a tiger, one by one engorged the feudal lords, annexed and swallowed the warring states, and transformed them into mere provinces and districts. Making a display of his ability, proud of his achievements, Ch'in considered himself as having surpassed Yao and Shun, thinking it a disgrace to be even compared to them. Casting away all humane considerations and right

¹ 顏回 or 顏淵, the favorite disciple of Confucius. Cf. Soothill, *Analects*, Introduction, 86.

² 仲由, also one of Confucius' disciples. Cf. Soothill, *Analects*, loc. cit., 79—81.

³ 大澤, the name of a village 鄉, which was to the southwest of the secondary prefecture of Su 宿, in Anhui province (Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, II, 235, note 2). Here Ch'ên Shêng raised the standard of revolt against Erh-shih-huang-ti.

⁴ 肆其長衣 is followed in the text by 長衣官之也. These last five characters are superfluous, according to Lu.

⁵ The words 孔甲爲[陳]涉博士卒俱死陳 occur in the preface to *Shih-chi*, ch. CXXI, ([陳] *Shih-chi* reading.) The preceding sentence seems also to be based on the same chapter. K'ung Chia is stated by the commentator Hsü Kuang 徐廣 to have been the descendant of Confucius in the eighth generation.

⁶ Cf. p. 43, note 1, supra.

courses, he glorified judicial measures,¹ believing that for his time the arts of peace were no longer to be taken as a model, and that everything was now to be decided by warfare. With Chao Kao administering penitentiaries within, and Mêng T'ien carrying on war without,² the masses groaned under their burden, and their hearts beat as one in hatred for Ch'in.

g. Then King Ch'ên aroused them to show their claws and teeth,³ and led the Empire in the revolution. Though baneful were his methods, some of the Confucianists and Mihists⁴ sought his patronage, believing that already too long was the time when there was no Prince in the world. The righteous Way had been blocked and barred to development ever since the time of Confucius down to that period; additional and heavy hindrances were now imposed by Ch'in, so in their exasperation,⁵ they turned to King Ch'ên. When Confucius said, *If one be willing to employ me, may I not make an eastern Chou?*⁶ he was intimating that he aspired to emulate the merits of Ch'êng T'ang and Wên and Wu in uprooting brutality and lawlessness for the sake of the masses. How could it mean that he was coveting emolument or seeking to enjoy high rank?

h. The Lord Grand Secretary: In your words and actions, oh Literati, you have never reached the unwillingness to sacrifice principle of Hui of Liu Hsia,⁷ though you may possess all the

¹ Ch'in's acquisition of power, through Lord Shang's measures particularly, and its ultimate consolidation of the Empire, are discussed in ch. VII, *supra*.

² 趙高, the eunuch minister of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti; 蒙恬, the general conducting his campaigns.

³ 陳王, i.e. 陳勝 or 陳涉, who raised the standard of revolt against the Second (Ch'in) Emperor. Cf. *Shih-chi*, VI, and Chia I's 賈誼 forceful description of the means at Ch'ên Shêng's disposal, so insignificant in comparison with the great power of Ch'in (Margouliès, *Le Kou Wen chinois*, 61—63, "Dissertation sur les fautes de Ts'in").

⁴ 儒墨, cf. note 4, p. 116, and note 9, p. 38, *supra*.

⁵ 發憤於陳王也 occurs in the *Shih-chi*, preface to ch. CXXI, where Ssu-ma Ch'ien explains why the scholars turned to Ch'ên Shêng.

⁶ Soothill, *Analects*, XVII, v, 3.

⁷ 柳下惠. "Hwuy of Lew-hea was not ashamed to serve an impure prince, nor did he think it low to be an inferior officer. When advanced to employment, he did not conceal his virtue, but made it a point to carry out his principles". Mencius, II, i, ix, 2 [Legge's translation].

fastidious honesty of a Po I.¹ You do not go beyond casting glances up and down, being pure in speech but foul in conduct. In the matter of a cup of wine or a dish of meat,² you dawdle ceremoniously, yielding step one to the other, yet decline the lesser to snatch the bigger. Scruples of honesty worthy of a chicken, gullets worthy of wolves! Thus men of the type of Chao Wan³ and Wang Tsang⁴ were boosted, thanks to their Confucian learning, to high ministerial rank, yet proved to possess ravenous and pitiless hearts. Chu-fu Yen's⁵ glib tongue earned him high office and enabled him to usurp unusual power; he used it to prey upon the Imperial family and to extract bribes from the feudal princes. Finally they all met their death on the execution ground. Tung-fang So,⁶ who prided himself on possessing such power of argumentation that he could dissolve hard substances and split apart stones, had no peer among his contemporaries. Yet look at his private life where he did things that a madman would not think of doing. As to the rest of the lot who had not even his eloquence, they do not deserve a passing glance.

i. The Literati: Those whose minds are set upon the good, forget the evil; those who are circumspect about details, extend the same care to important affairs. It is enough to watch one among sacrificial plates and dishes to judge his sense of propriety; it is sufficient to observe one in the privacy of the gynaeceum to be able to appraise

¹ 伯夷. "Pih-e would not serve a prince whom he did not approve, nor associate with a friend whom he did not esteem". Mencius, II, i, ix, 1 [Legge's translation].

² Cf. *Lü-chi*, Fang Chi 坊記, Legge, *Sacred Books*, vol. XXVIII, p. 286: "In the matter of a cup of wine and a dish of meat, one may forego his claim and receive that which is less than his due..."

³ 趙綰, promoted in 151 B.C. as marquis of Chien-ling 建陵. *Shih-chi* IX.

⁴ 王臧, who was favored by Han Wu Ti because of his proficiency in letters. *Shih-chi* XXVIII (Chavannes, *Mém. hist.* III, 461). He and the preceding Chao Wan were of special importance in the rôle of establishing the state religion under Han Wu Ti. Both were found guilty of extortionate practices and were ordered to their deaths.

⁵ 主父偃, a scholar who held high office in the Early Han period.

⁶ 東方朔, whose biography appears in the *Shih-chi*, CXXVI (cf. Giles, *Chi. Biog. Dict.*, No. 2093), where his versatility, wit and dissolute private life, are equally described.

his moral conduct. Among those who clothe themselves in the garments of the ancients and recite the moral teachings of yore, rare are they who do evil. Thus a real scholar and gentleman *talks only at the right time and accepts things only when it is right to do so. He does not remain in possession of anything acquired not in a righteous way.*¹ He is self-sufficing and never overreaching; dignified, and never overweening.

j. We have for example, Yüan Ang,² who gained the intimacy of the Emperor Ching, and whose stable, nevertheless, did not exceed a four-in-hand; Kung-sun Hung,³ who with the rank of one of the three highest ministers, never had more than ten equipages in his household. Master Tung-fang, to whose advice the Emperor Wu lent his ear, and whose proposals he put into effect, was yet never overbearing or importunate. As to Chu-fu, he had known long days of misery and poverty. He hated⁴ those in higher places, who grew richer and more honored in spite of their lack of love for virtue, for their complete disregard of the fate of the scholars. He therefore used the surplus from the bounties that came in to him to supply the needs of indigent schoolmen. His intention was not to build up a private fortune. Do not blame the "chicken-honesty" of the scholars for the present clamor, but blame those occupying office who, like tigers with full bellies or gulping hawks,⁵ search and look about so that nothing remains.⁶

¹ Soothill, *Analects*, XIV, xiv.

² 袁盎, whose biography appears in ch. CI of the *Shih-chi* with Ch'ao Ts'o's. He was a trusted counsellor of both the Emperors Wên and Hsiao of the Early Han period.

³ 公孫宏. Also mentioned previously, cf. p. 63 and note 6.

⁴ 日久此疾在. 此 seems to be out of place in this context, in Wang's opinion.

⁵ 鷂, a monstrous sea bird.

⁶ This chapter (XIX) concludes *chüan* IV of the ten into which the sixty chapters of the *Yen T'ieh Lun* are usually divided. The only departure from this arrangement is that of Chang

Chih-hsiang 張之象, whose edition of the *chia-ching* era of the Ming dynasty 明嘉靖 (1522—1566) has twelve *chüan*. See Introduction.

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

A. HISTORICAL ¹

Ai Kung 哀公. *II*, 5a. 52. Posthumous title of Chiang 蔣, son of Ting Kung 定公, and duke of Lu, 494—466 B.C. He attempted to assert his authority against the tutelage of the "Three Huan Clans" 三桓 *q.v.*, but was driven out of the country by them, to spend some time in exile. Confucius' request to chastise T'ien Ch'ang of Ch'i for the murder of his prince, he was forced to deny. BD 1578; *Tso-chuan*, Legge, Bk. XII.

Chai Chung 祭仲. *II*, 2a, 11a. 43 (note 2); 70 (note 5). Energetic minister of Chêng 鄭 in the early *Ch'un Ch'iu* period. Assisted duke Chuang 莊 (743—701 B.C.) in the latter's aggressive policy toward the Chou Emperor. Died 697. *Tso-chuan*, Yin Kung I, Huan Kung XI (cf. *Kung-yang Chuan*), Huan Kung XV; BD *App.* 16.

Chang Ch'ien 張騫. *IV*, 2a. 103 (note 2). Celebrated general and explorer of Central Asia, where he was sent by Wu Ti on a mission to the Yüeh-chih; his findings greatly facilitated the Chinese conquest of the Tarim basin. SC CXI; *Ch'ien-han-shu* LXI; G 29; BD 978.

¹ Abbreviations used:

BD . . . Chinese Biographical Dictionary, *Chung Kuo Jên Ming Ta Ts'ü Tien* 中國人名大辭典, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1921. References to page number.

G . . . Giles, H. A., *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1898. References to the numbers.

SC . . . *Shih-chi* of Ssü-ma Ch'ien.

References in italics are to the text (*chüan* and *folio*) of the *Yen T'ieh Lun*, edited by Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙, and published in 1891 by the *Ssü Hsien Chiang Shé* 思賢講舍.

Chang Ch'ü 張楚. *IV*, 8a. 122. "Greater Ch'ü", the name that Ch'ên Shêng gave to his 'provisional' kingdom. Cf. SC XLVIII; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XXXI.

Chang I 張儀. *IV*, 7a. 120 (note 4); 121 (note 2). Clever politician and adventurer of the *Chan Kuo* period. Advocated a concert of powers under the leadership of Ch'in. Minister of Ch'in from 328 to 312. Died as an exile in Wei. SC LXX, *Chan-kuo-ts'ê*, *pass.* G 70; BD 967.

Chang t'ing-wei 張廷尉. *III*, 3a. 87 (note 4). "Justice Chang", Chang T'ang 張湯, famous jurist under Wu Ti. SC CXXII; *Ch'ien-han-shu* LIX; BD 956.

Ch'ang Chü 長沮. *I*, 6a. 16. Recluse of Yeh 葉 in Ch'ü. Associated with Chieh Ni. Apart from being the heroes of the anecdote related in *Lun-yü*, XVIII, vi, and *Shih-chi* XLVII, nothing is known of them. BD 138; G 614.

Chao Hsüan-mêng 趙宣孟. *IV*, 5a. 111. Chao Tun 趙盾, great officer of Chin under dukes Hsiang 襄 and Ling 靈 (627—621, 620—607 B.C.); known for his stern sense of justice. SC XLIII; BD 1405; G 189.

Chao Kao 趙高. *I*, 13b; *II*, 2a; 13b; *IV*, 8b. 39; 43; 80; 124. Eunuch minister of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti who contrived the death of Fu Su, the heir to the throne, and for three years ruled the Empire tyrannically in the name of Erh-shih. Put to death in 207. SC VI; G 165; BD *App.* 21.

Chao Kung 昭公. *II*, 13a. 48; 79 (note 4). Ch'ou 稠, duke of Lu, 541—510 B.C. Worsted in his struggle against the three powerful clans of Lu, the duke fled to Ch'i where he was followed by Confucius. Died in exile. *Tso-chuan*, Legge, Bk. X; SC XXXIV; BD 1577.

Chao Wan 趙綰. *IV*, 9a. 125. *Yü-shih ta-fu* at the time of Wu Ti's accession. Advocated the establishment of a *ming t'ang* 明堂. Opposed by the Empress Tou, he was forced to commit suicide. *Ch'ien-han-shu* VI, 2nd year of Wu Ti; BD 1417.

Ch'ao Ts'o 晁錯. *II*, 4*b*, 5*a*. 50 (note 1); 51; 52; 53. Minister of Ching Ti, noted for his advocacy of the strengthening of the central power and the curtailment of the rights of the feudal princes. Author of memorials to the throne on political and economic questions. SC CI; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XLIX; BD 1744; G 204. Cf. also Margouliès, G., *Le Kou wen chinois*, 68—74, 277—79.

Ch'ên Shê. *IV*, 8*b*. 123. See Ch'ên Shêng.

Ch'ên Shêng 陳勝. *IV*, 8*a*. 122 (note 3). Tzŭ Shê 涉. A Ch'in constable who rose against Erh-shih's tyranny. He assembled a sufficient number of malcontents to maintain himself for some time in the old Ch'u provinces, but was defeated and slain before he could consolidate his power. SC XLVIII; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XXXI; BD 1088; G 242.

Ch'ên Wang 陳王. *IV*, 8*b*, 124. "King of Ch'ên", Ch'ên Shêng.

Ch'ên Wên Tzŭ 陳文子. *II*, 5*a*. 52. Ch'ên Hsü-wu 須無, officer in the service of duke Chuang 莊 of Ch'i (553—548 B.C.). After the murder of his prince he left the country in disgust but did not find better conditions abroad. BD 1092.

Ch'êng Wang 成王. *II*, 10*b*; *III*, 7*a*. 70; 98. Sung 誦, Wu Wang's son and second Emperor of the Chou dynasty. Traditional dates 1115—1079 B.C. The duke of Chou was regent during his minority. SC IV; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; BD 529.

Ch'êng T'ang 成湯. *IV*, 9*a*. 124. T'ang "the Completer", founder of the Shang dynasty. Often called T'ang, simply. Traditional dates 1766—1754 B.C.; according to the *Chu Shu Chi Nien*, his reign began in 1558. Together with Wên and Wu, founders of the Chou house, he is venerated as a "model first Emperor". *Shu-ching*; SC III; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; G 282; BD 896.

Chi 稷. *II*, 6*b*. 57. See Hou Chi.

Chi, Mêng 季孟. *IV*, 7*b*. 121. Two of the most powerful clans in Lu during Confucius' lifetime.

Chi Shih 季氏. *II*, 11b. 72. The Chi clan, descendants of Chi Yu 友, son of duke Huan 桓 (711—694), and younger brother of duke Chuang of Lu 莊 (693—662). One of the “Three Huan Clans”. Members of this family dominated the politics of Lu for several generations. SC XXXIII.

Chi Shih 紀氏. *I*, 5a. 14 (note 3). Apparently the correct reading for Fan Shih 范氏. The prince of the little state of Chi, destroyed by Ch’i, is undoubtedly meant. Cf. *Kuan Tzū* 輕重, 乙.

Chi-sun 季孫. *II*, 3b; *IV*, 5ab. 46; 110 (note 5); 113. Same as Chi Shih. In *II*, 3b (46) Chi-sun Ssü 斯 (Chi Huan Tzū 桓子) is meant. BD 557; G 291.

Chi Wên Tzū 季文子. *I*, 8a, note. 22 (note 2). Posthumous title of Chi-sun Hsing-fu 行父. Served as Chancellor under dukes Hsüan, Ch’êng and Hsiang 宣, 成, 襄 (608—591—573—542). Famous for his frugality. BD 557.

Chi Tzū 箕子 *II*, 3a, 4a. 45; 48. Viscount of Chi, Hsü-yü 胥餘, imprisoned by Chou Hsin for repeated remonstrances. Fled to Korea after Wu Wang’s triumph. *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; BD 1367; G 300.

Ch’i Hsüan Wang 齊宣王. *II*, 9b, 10a. 66; 67. Title of Pi-chiang 辟疆, king of Ch’i, 342—324 B.C. Victor over Wei. Patron of scholars. SC XLVII; BD 1425. Cf. also Mencius I, *pass*.

Ch’i Ching Kung 齊景公. *IV*, 3a. 104. Ch’u-chiu 杵臼, duke of Ch’i, 547—489 B.C. Contemporary of Confucius, for some time his patron. SC XXXII; BD 1427.

Chiang Ch’ung 江充. *III*, 2b. 86. A native of Han-tan. Served first in the fief of Chao, whence he fled to the court of Wu Ti. Hating the Crown Prince Chü 據, he made use of Wu Ti’s superstitious credulity to accuse the prince of evil magic against the person of the Emperor. Killed by the incensed prince. *Ch’ien-han-shu*, XLV; BD 272.

Ch'iao 躋. *I*, 6a. 16 (note 5). Chuang Ch'iao 莊躋, descendant of king Chuang of Ch'u; maintained an independent state in Shu, living by piracy. Thus his name is linked with Robber Chih. BD 1925.

Chieh 桀. *I*, 5b; *II*, 4a. 15; 47. Last Emperor of Hsia (1818—1766 Standard Chronology. His reign ended in 1558 [*Bamboo Annals*]). SC II; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; G 354; BD 746.

Chieh Ni 桀溺. *I*, 6a. 16. Famous recluse. His conversation with Tzū Lu on the subject of retiring from the world is recorded in *Lun-yü*, XVIII, vi. See Ch'ang Chü. G. 356; BD 807.

Chieh Tzū 捷子. *II*, 10a. 68. Also 接子 (so the SC LXXIV). Scholar of Ch'i. Classified as Taoist in the Bibliography of the *Ch'ien-han-shu*. SC LXXIV; BD 982.

Chien [King] 建王. *II*, 10ab. 67 (note 3); 68. Cf. Wang Chien.

Chien Hsüan 減宣. *II*, 9b. 65. Stern and exacting official. Served in the judiciary and the secretariat. Pursued criminals even into the Imperial Park. SC CXXII; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XC; BD 1168.

Chih 蹠 or 跖. *I*, 6a. 16 (note 5). "Robber Chih" 盜跖, famous bandit whom Chuang Tzū described as professing Taoist ideas, and as administering a good lesson to Confucius. *Chuang-tzū*, XXIX. G 1887.

Chih Po 智伯. *IV*, 5a, 5b. 111; 113; 114. Count of Chih, Hsün Yao 荀瑤. Vassal of Chin at beginning of *Chan Kuo* period. Talented, but brutal and arrogant, he carried on incessant wars against rival barons. While besieging his powerful antagonist Chao Hsiang Tzū in Chin-yang, Chao alienated his allies, and the new triumvirate of Chao, Wei, and Han annihilated him, 453 B.C. *Chan-kuo-ts'ê*; BD 598.

Chin Hsien 晉獻. *IV*, 5b. 113; 114. Duke Hsien of Chin, 676—652 B.C. Extended the territory of Chin. Married the Barbarian princess Li Chi, which brought about troubles of succession, and the exile of his famous son, Ch'ung-êrh. SC XXXIX; *Tso-chuan*; BD 806.

Chin Wên Kung 晉文公. *II*, 11a; *IV*, 5a. 71; 111. Ch'ung-êrh 重耳, duke of Chin, 636—628. One of the five "Lords-Protector". Romantic figure of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* period. Driven into exile by his father, he wandered for years through the states awaiting the opportune time to regain his heritage. *Tso-chuan*; BD 804; G 523.

Ching Ti 景帝 *IV*, 9a. 126. Title of Liu Ch'i 啓, Emperor of Han, 156—140 B.C. SC XI; *Ch'ien-han-shu* V; BD 1359; G 1284.

Ch'ing Hsiang 頃襄. *II*, 3b. 46. Hêng 橫, king of Ch'u, 298—263. Tried to come to an agreement with Ch'in. Attempted to organize a league against it. Patron of Ch'ü Yüan. BD 1288.

Chou 周. *I*, 9a b; *II*, 2a, 7a, 12a; *III* 3b, 6b; *IV*, 2a, 4b, 6a. 26; 27; 28; 43; 58; 70; 71; 75; 88; 97; 109. The Chou dynasty, 1122 or 1050—249 B.C. The house of Chou. Often in reference to the first virtuous sovereigns, the "Golden Age".

Chou 紂. *I*, 6a; *II*, 4a. 17; 38; 47. Also known as Chou Hsin 辛, last Emperor of the Shang dynasty (1154—1122, Standard Chronology; 1102—1050, *Bamboo Annals*). SC III; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; G 414; BD 896.

Chou Hsüan Wang 周宣王. *IV*, 2a. 101. Emperor of Chou, 828—782. Victorious over the Barbarians. Restored for a time the ancient glory of the house. His reign is the "Renaissance" 中興 of the Chou dynasty. SC IV; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; BD 532.

Chou 周 [公]. *II*, 2a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a b, 10b, 11a; *III*, 7a; *IV*, 8b. 43; 57; 58; 59; 62; 63; 98. The "Duke of Chou". The Chou *par excellence*, he in whom Chou "virtue" resided, Chi Tan 姬旦, fourth son of Wên Wang, greatest of traditional Confucian heroes. Due to his efforts, the house of Chou became firmly established. Founder of the ducal house of Lu. SC XXXIII; BD 524; G 418.

Chu-fu Yen 主父偃. *IV*, 9ab. 125, 126. Native of Lin-tsê. In youth he studied the writings of the "diplomat" school, then phi-

losophy and the *Ch'un Ch'iu*. Appointed *lang-chung*, he rapidly rose in rank. He was greatly feared at the Court for his eloquence. Executed for having reported the indiscretions of the prince of Ch'i. SC CXII; *Ch'ien-han-shu* LXIVa; BD 167.

Ch'u 楚. II, 5a. 52. Ch'u Wang, Liu Chiao 交, Prince of Ch'u, who followed Liu P'i in his rebellion. *Ch'ien-han-shu* XXXVI; BD 1439.

Ch'u Tai 褚泰. II, 9a. 64. Also Ch'u Ta 大. Studied the *Kung-yang* Commentary. Rose to the office of Chancellor of Liang. BD 1543; SC CXXI; *Ch'ien-han-shu* LXXXVIII.

Ch'ü Yüan 屈原. II, 3b. 46. Ch'ü P'ing 平, minister of Ch'u. The great poet of ancient China. Victim of calumny. SC LXXXIV; BD 563; G 503; Margouliès, *Le Kou wen*, 83—89 (Bibliography); Lim Boon Keng, *The Li Sao*, Shanghai 1929.

Chung-ni 仲尼. II, 9b. 66. See K'ung Tzū (Confucius).

Chung Yu 仲由. II, 11b; IV, 8a. 72; 123. Disciple of Confucius. Tzū Tzū Lu 子路 or Chi Lu 季路. Rash and impetuous, he possessed, however, many excellent qualities and was greatly beloved by the Master. Served as a magistrate in Lu. Died in battle. SC LXVII; G 522; BD 221.

Ch'ung Hu 崇虎. II, 2a. 43. Hu, marquis of Ch'ung, towards the end of the Shang dynasty. Persuaded Chou Hsin to imprison Wên Wang. Later Wên Wang destroyed him and his state. BD App. 14.

Chü Ping 胥丙. I, 10b, 11a, 12a. 30 (note 3); 32; 33. Cf. p. 30, note 3.

Erh-shih 二世. II, 1b, 13a. 42; 79. Title of Hu Hai 胡亥, second Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty. Placed upon the throne through the machinations of Chao Kao, he remained a puppet in the latter's hands throughout his reign. SC VI; BD 9; G 816.

- Fan Shih 范氏. *I*, 5a. 14 (note 3). Apparently a mistake for Chi Shih, *q.v.* Chang Chih-hsiang takes it to refer to the Fan clan of Chin, but this is improbable, in view of the context which requires an antithesis to Ch'i's rise due to Kuan Chung's efforts.
- Fang Shu 方叔. *III*, 6b. 97 (note 1). Minister of Chou Hsüan Wang 周宣王. Leader against the Barbarians. BD 60; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; *Shih Ching*, loc. cit.
- Fu Ch'ai 夫差. *II*, 4a. 48. King of Wu, 495—473 B.C. Son of Ho Lu. Victor over Wu's hereditary enemy Yüeh, he was over-generous with his rival Kou Chien, and in 473 saw his kingdom fall prey to the rejuvenated Yüeh. SC XXXI; BD 40; G. 576.
- Han 韓. *IV*, 4b. 110. One of the three powerful clans of the state of Chin, which in 403 founded the state of Han. The reference to its wealth (cf. *Mencius*, VII, i, 11) may suggest that even in those early times the manufacturing and commercial center of the Empire was in the old Chin region, as it was later under the Han. SC XLV.
- Han Ch'ing 韓慶. *IV*, 5a. 111. Scholar whom duke Wên of Chin particularly honored by alighting from his chariot and hastening to meet him. Otherwise unknown.
- Hêng Hai 橫海. *IV*, 2a. 102. *Hêng-hai Chiang-chün*, "the Sea-crossing General", i.e. Han Shuo 韓說, who under Wu Ti distinguished himself first against the Hsiung Nu, and then led the Chinese invasion of Tung Yüeh 東越 from the sea. SC CXI; BD 1706.
- Hêng Shan 衡山. *II*, 4b. 51. Liu Tz'ü 賜, Prince of —. Brother and fellow-conspirator of Liu An. SC CXVIII; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XLIV.
- Ho Lu [Lü] 闔廬 or 閭. *II*, 4a, 11a. 48; 72. King of Wu, 514—496. Patron of Wu Yüan and of Sun Tz'ü 孫子. SC XXXI; BD 1726; G. 654.
- Hou Chi 后稷. *III*, 3b. 89 (note 2). Culture hero. God of Agriculture. Euhemerized as Yao's minister. Ancestor of the Chou house. *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; *Shu-ching*; G. 664; BD 236.

Hou Shêng 后勝. *II*, 10*b*. 68 (note 13). Minister of king Chien of Ch'i, bribed by Ch'in to persuade his master to abandon his allies in the struggle against Ch'in. SC XLVI.

Hsia 夏. *I*, 9*a*. 26; 27; 28. The Hsia dynasty (2205—1766, [Standard chronology]; ended 1558, [Bamboo Books]). *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; SC II.

Hsia hou 夏后. *I*, 9*b*. 27. The emperors of the Hsia dynasty. *Hou*, an ancient term for Emperor, is used often in reference to the Hsia.

Hsiang Tzŭ 襄子. *IV*, 5*b*. 113; 114. Chao Wu-hsü 無恤, or 毋卹, vassal of Chin, and rival of Chih Po. SC XCIII; *Chan-kuo-ts'ê*; BD 1413.

Hsiao Kung 孝公. *II*, 2*b*, 4*b*, 10*b*. 42; 46; 49; 69. Ch'ü-liang 渠梁, duke of Ch'in, 361—338. Inaugurated reforms, and strengthened the state. Patron of Shang Yang. BD 827.

Hsiao-wu Huang-ti 孝武皇帝. *I*, 13*a*; *III*, 4*a*. 36 (note 3); 92. Full posthumous title of Han Wu Ti.

Hsieh [Chieh] Yang 解楊 or 楊. *II*, 5*a*. 53 (cf. note 4). Officer of Chin sent to Sung 宋 to encourage the inhabitants to defend themselves against Ch'u until the promised help would arrive from Chin. Arrested and brought before king Chuang of Ch'u, Hsieh refused to be intimidated by bribes or threats and delivered his message to the Sung people in front of the whole army of Ch'u. *Tso-chuan*, Hsüan XV; BD *App.* 20.

Hsien [Hsüan] Kao 弦高. *I*, 8*a*; *II*, 5*a*. 23; 53. A man of Chêng, who on a business visit to Chou, encountered the army of Ch'in which was stealthily moving against Chêng. He delayed the enemy by presenting him with some of his cattle, while he despatched a messenger to warn his prince of the impending attack. BD 566; *Tso-chuan*, Hsi XXXII.

Hsien Ti 先帝. *I*, 1*b*, 3*a*; *II*, 13*a*, 8*b*; *III*, 1*b*, 5*a*; *IV*, 2*a*. 37; 83; 94 (note 2); 101. The former (late) Emperor, usually Wu Ti.

- Hsien-yang 咸陽. *II*, 6a; *III*, 2b. 55 (note 2); 86. Tung-kuo 東郭 Hsien-yang. A salt manufacturer of Ch'i. Associate of K'ung Chin. SC XXX; Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, 567, 570, 571.
- Hsü Yen 徐偃. *II*, 9a. 64. Apparently the same as Hsü Shêng 生 (Doctor Hsü), a Lu scholar. Appointed *li-kuan ta-fu* 禮官大夫 under Wên Ti. BD 779.
- Hsün Ch'ing 荀卿. *IV*, 5ab, 6b. 112 (note 4); 117. Hsün K'uang 況, Hsün-tzü, the well-known philosopher. SC LXXIV; G 807; BD 840.
- Hsün Hsi 荀息. *IV*, 5b. 113. Member of the ducal house of Chin. Enfeoffed at Hsün. Distinguished himself in the service of duke Hsien. Author of the scheme to annex Kuo and Yü. Perished during the troubles following duke Hsien's death. G 805; BD 840; *Tso-chuan*.
- Huai Nan 淮南. *II*, 4b. 51 (note 2). Liu An 安, prince of —. SC CXVIII; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XLIV; BD 1441; G 1269.
- Huan Kung 桓公. *II* 8a, 8b; *III*, 2ab. 62, 63, 85, 86. Hsiao-pai 小白, duke of Ch'i, 685—643. Leader in the wars with Ch'u. Patron of Kuan Chung. *Tso Chuan*; SC XXXII; G 841; BD 1426.
- Hui 回. *IV*, 3a, 8a. 105, 123. See Yen Yüan.
- Hui Wang 惠王. *II*, 4a. 48. King of Yen from 278 to 272 B.C. Envious of the success of Yo I, he replaced him by another commander, and as a consequence lost all the lands conquered by his father from Ch'i. BD 1586; SC XXXIV; *Chan-kuo-ts'ê*.
- I Tun 猗頓. *I*, 6a, 13a. 16, 37. A poor man of Lu, who became rich through the advice of Tao Chu-kung. One of the first Chinese salt manufacturers and traders on record. SC CXXIX; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XCI.
- I Yin 伊尹. *I*, 5ab; *II*, 2ab, 10b, 11ab; *III*, 2b; *IV*, 5a. 14, 15, 43, 69, 71, 73, 86, 112. Model minister of the Shang dynasty. *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; *Shu-ching*; G 913; BD 227.

Jan Ch'iu 冉求. *II*, 11b. 72. Tzū Tzū Yu 子有. Disciple of Confucius. An energetic and versatile man. Served faithfully Chi K'ang 康 and persuaded the latter to recall Confucius from exile. SC LXVII; BD 168; G 916.

K'ang 康. *II*, 10b. 70. Chao 釗, third ruler of the Chou dynasty (1052—1002 [Standard chronology]), last of the four virtuous princes of Chou. SC IV; *Shu-ching*; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; BD 536.

Kao Ti 高帝. *I*, 3a. 9. Posthumous title of Liu Pang 邦, founder of the Han dynasty. SC VIII; *Ch'ien-han-shu* I; BD 1359; G. 1334.

Kao Tsu 高祖. Cf. Kao Ti.

Kêng Ku-chih 耕谷之, *III*, 2b. 86 (note 6 q.v.). Otherwise unknown.

Kuan Chung 管仲. *I*, 4b; *II*, 8ab, 7a, 11ab; *III*, 2a, 2b; *IV* 2b. 7 (note 6); 14; 22; 38; 58; 62; 63; 71; 73; 85; 86; 87; 103. Famous economist and minister of duke Huan of Ch'i. SC LXII; BD 1367; G 1006.

K'uang 曠. *II*, 7b. 60. Cf. Shih K'uang 師曠.

Kun 鯀 or 鯨. *II*, 5a. 52. Father of Yü. Banished by Shun. *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; *Shu-ching* II; BD App. 24; G. 1018. Cf. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*.

Kung Chih-ch'i 宮之奇 *IV*, 5b. 113. Minister of the duke of Yü who repeatedly warned his master of the evil designs of Chin in asking permission to pass through Yü territory. *Tso-chuan* Hsi V; *Ku-liang* Comm., Hsi II; G 1021; BD 771.

Kung-po Liao 公伯寮. *II*, 3b. 46. Disciple of Confucius. Tzū Tzū Chou 子周. Slandered Tzū Lu before Chi-sun. He was probably a member of the ducal house. BD 34; *Lun-yü* XIV, XXXVIII.

Kung-shu 公叔. *II*, 7a. 58. *Ta-fu* of Wei 衛, whose name was Fa 發. His integrity and culture were greatly admired by Confucius. Cf. *Lun-yü* XIV, xiv, xix; BD 34.

Kung Shu Tzŭ 公輸子. *I*, 8a; *IV*, 2b, 4a. 23; 44; 108. Kung Shu P'an 盤, 班 or 般. Famous technician and military engineer of the end of the Chou. BD 37.

Kung-sun Ch'êng-hsiang 公孫丞相. *II*, 8b. 63. 'Chancellor Kung-sun' See Kung-sun Hung.

Kung-sun Hung 公孫弘. *II*, 8b, 9ab, 10a; *IV*, 9a. 63 (note 6); 64; 65; 67; 126. Noted scholar and statesman under Wu Ti. One time Chancellor. Known for his filial piety, great frugality and for patronizing poor scholars. SC CXII; *Ch'ien-han-shu* LVIII; G 1030; BD 35.

K'ung Chi 孔伋. *IV*, 4b. 109 (note 4). Tzŭ, Tzŭ Ssŭ 子思. Grandson of Confucius. Studied under Tsêng Shên. Lived in great poverty, but later reached high station in Lu. BD. 41; G. 1040.

K'ung Chia 孔甲. *I*, 8b. 123 (note 5). Descendant of Confucius; better known as K'ung Fu 鮒. At the peril of his life, he continued to teach the Master's precepts during the persecution of Ch'in. Later he acted as advisor to Ch'ên Shêng. Perished with his patron. Author of the K'ung Ts'ung Tzŭ 孔叢子. SC XLVI, CXXII; G. 1045; BD 46.

K'ung Chin 孔僅. *II*, 6a, 9a; *III*, 2b. 55 (note 2); 65; 86. Iron manufacturer of Nan-yang 南陽. Placed together with Tung-kuo Hsien-yang at the head of the administration of the salt and iron monopoly. SC XXX; Chavannes *Mém. hist.* III, 567 et al.; BD 44.

K'ung Tzŭ 孔子. Passim. Confucius (For list of quotations cf. Introduction, *App*). SC XLVII.

Lao Tzŭ 老子. 7. The reputed founder of Taoism (quoted). SC LXIII.

Li Ssü 李斯. *I*, 13*b*; *IV*, 5*ab*, 6*ab*, 7*a*. 39, 112 (note 2), 114, 117, 118, 119. Chancellor of Ch'in under Shih Huang-ti. A native of Shang Ts'ai 上蔡 he studied under Hsün-tzū in his youth. SC LXXXVII; G 1203; BD 425.

Liao 僚. *II*, 11*a*. 72. King of Wu, 526—515 B.C. Ascended the throne in place of Chi Cha. Murdered by Ho Lu. SC XXXI; BD 309.

Liu-hsia Hui 柳下惠. *IV*, 9*a*. 124. Hui of Liu-hsia (district in Lu), posthumous name of Chan Ch'in 展禽 (or Huo 獲). A Lu magistrate of the highest integrity. Extolled by Confucius. BD 772; G 18; *Lun-yü* XV, XIII, XVIII, II, VIII.

Lou Chi 樓季. *II*, 6*b*. 57. Younger brother of marquis Wên of Wei 魏, Wei Ch'êng Tzū.

Lou-ch'uan 樓船. *IV*, 2*a*. 102. *Lou-ch'uan Chiang-chün*, "General of the High-decked Ships", Yang P'u 楊僕. Distinguished himself as a strict magistrate. Conqueror of Southern and Eastern Yüeh. Degraded after his Korean campaign. *Ch'ien-han-shu* VI; SC CXXII; BD 1280.

Lu Chün 魯君. *IV*, 5*b*. 114. "The prince of Lu"; probably duke Ai.

Lu Kung 魯公. *II*, 11*a*. 72. The duke of Lu, duke Hsüan, 608—591. Hsiang Chung 襄仲, who was the actual murderer of the little prince, Tzū-ch'ih. *Tso-chuan*, Wên, XVIII.

Lu Ting Kung 魯定公. *II*, 13*a*. 79 (note 3). Sung 宋, duke of Lu, 509—495. For some time patron of Confucius. *Tso-chuan*; SC XXXIII; BD 1577.

Lü 呂 [Wang 望]. *II*, 2*a*; *IV*, 5*a*. 43 (note 9); 112. Lü Shang. See T'ai Kung.

Mencius, Cf. Mêng K'o 孟軻, and Mêng Tzū 孟子.

Mêng 孟. *IV*, 7*b*. 121. Mêng-sun 孟孫, powerful clan of Lu, descendants of Ch'ing-fu 慶父, son of duke Huan.

Mêng K'o 孟軻. *II*, 9b, 10b. 66; 70. Mencius. SC LXXIV; G 1522; BD 555.

Mêng T'ien 蒙恬. *II*, 3a; *IV*, 2a, 8b. 45; 46; 102; 124. Famous general of Ch'in Shih Huang-ti. Hero of campaigns against the Hsiung Nu. As Warden of the Northern Marches supervised (re-)building of the Great Wall. Forced to commit suicide together with Fu Su. SC LXXXVIII; G 1526; BD 1374.

Mêng Tzŭ 孟子. *I*, 8ab; *II*, 6b, 11a. 23; 57; 71. Mencius or his works (quoted).

Mi Tzŭ Hsia 彌子瑕. *II*, 11b. 73 (note 2). Favorite of duke Ling of Wei 衛, 534—493 B.C. G 1532; BD 1635.

Min Tzŭ 閔子. *IV*, 3a. 104. Min Sun 損 Tzŭ Tzŭ Ch'ien 子騫, disciple of Confucius. One of the "Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Virtue". SC LVII; BD 1211; G 1533.

Min Wang 湣王. *II*, 10a. 67; 68. Title of Ti 地, king of Ch'i, 323—284. His aggressive policy led to the formation of a coalition of five states against Ch'i. Min was driven from his capital and was murdered in Lü. BD 1427; SC XLVI.

Mu Kung 穆公. *II*, 10b. 69. Jên-hao 任好, duke of Ch'in, 659—621. Extended his state at the expense of the Barbarians. Patron of worthies and scholars. *Tso-chuan*; BD 830.

Nan Tzŭ 南子. *II*, 11b. 73. The beautiful but wanton wife of duke Ling 靈 of Wei. Had an interview with Confucius. Drove the Heir Apparent into exile. Killed by him at his accession to his father's throne. G 1561; BD 632; *Lun-yü* VI, xxvi.

Ni K'uan 兒 [倪] 賈. *II*, 7b, 8a. 60; 61. A poor scholar who attracted attention through his studies on the Boon of History. Rose to be *Yü-shih ta-fu* under Wu Ti. *Ch'ien-han-shu* LVIII; G 906; BD 521.

Ni Ta-fu 兒大夫. 61 (note 1). Cf. Ni K'uan.

Ning Ch'i 甯戚. *IV*, 2*b*. 104 (note 4). A poor man who attracted duke Huan of Chi's attention while feeding his oxen. Rose subsequently to high office in Ch'i. G 1568; BD 1177.

Ou Yeh 歐冶. *I*, 8*a*, 11*a*; *IV*, 4*a*. 23; 31; 108. Famous metallurgist. Commissioned by the king of Yüeh to make five swords, famous in Chinese art and tradition. BD 1508.

P'an Kêng 盤庚. *I*, 3*a*. 9. Sixteenth sovereign of the Shang dynasty (1401—1374 [Standard Chronology]). In 1388 removed his capital from Yen to Yin, North of the Ho. *Shu-ching*; SC III; BD 1524.

Pao Ch'iu Tzŭ 包丘子. *IV*, 5*a*, 5*b*. 112; 113. Apparently the same person as Fou Ch'iu Po 浮邱伯, pupil of Hsün Tzŭ, with Li Ssŭ. Later the teacher of Liu Chiao, prince of Ch'u. Cf. *Ch'ien-han-shu* XXXVI; BD 815.

P'i Shên 裨諶. *II*, 2*a*. 43 (note 6). *Ta-fu* of Chêng whose advice Tzŭ-ch'an sought on important state affairs. BD 1378.

P'êng-tsu Ning 彭祖寧. *I*, 12*a*. 34 (note 34). *Tu-wei* 都尉 of Shan-shui.

Pi Kan 比干. *II*, 4*a*. 48. A sage of the Shang dynasty. Relative of Chou Hsin, who ordered him to be disembowelled in order to see how many openings a sage's heart had. G 1645; BD 67.

Pien Ch'iao 扁鵲. *II*, 3*a*; *III*, 3*a*, 3*b*, 4*a*. 44; 88 (notes 2, 3); 90; 91. Native of Chêng in the *Chan Kuo* period. His real name was Ch'in Yüeh-jên 秦越人. SC CV; BD 651; G 396.

Ping of Chŭ. Cf. Chŭ Ping 胸丙.

P'ing [chief criminal judge] 評 [廷尉]. 76. Cf. T'ing-wei P'ing.

Po Kuei 白圭. *IV*, 3*b*. 107. A native of Wei, who made a fortune through the principle: "Utilize what people reject and supply people with what they would take". SC CXXIX; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XCI; BD 208.

Po Ch'in 伯禽. *II*, 6*b*. 57. Son of Chou Kung, second prince of Lu, 1108—1063. SC XXXIII; BD 283.

Po I 伯夷. *IV*, 3*a*, 7*b*, 9*a*. 104; 120; 124. Brother of Shu C'hi 叔齊. After having renounced a dukedom, they became recluses. Starved to death on Mt. Shou, on the accession of Wu Wang to the Imperial throne, declining "to eat" the usurper's grain. The *vir probus* of ancient China. SC LXI; BD 283; G 1657.

Po-li 百里. *II*, 10*b*, 11*a*; *III*, 2*b*. 69; 71. Po-li Hsi 奚. Minister in Yü. Taken into captivity by Ch'in. Attracted the attention of duke Mu (cf. Wu Ku). Chancellor of Ch'in for seven years. Model minister. G 1659; BD 277.

San Huan 三桓. *I*, 11*a*; *IV*, 7*b*. 31 (note 4); 121. The three Huan Clans, descendants of duke Huan's sons Chi-sun, Mêng-sun and Shu-sun 叔孫. SC XXXIII.

Second Emperor. 42 (43, note 1). Cf. Erh-shih 二世.

Shang 商. *I*, 6*a*; *III*, 6*b*. 38; 97. Shang dynasty (1766—1122 [Standard chronology]; 1558—1050 [Bamboo Annals]). SC III; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*.

Shang Chün 商君. *II*, 1*ab*, 3*ab*, 10*b*. 40 (note 1); 42; 45; 46; 69; 70. See Shang Yang.

Shang Yang 商鞅. *II*, 1*b*, 2*ab*, 3*ab*, 4*a*; 7*a*; *IV*, 7*a*. 40 (notes 1, 2); 42 (note 3); 43; 44; 46; 47; 49; 118. Kung-sun Yang or Wei 衛 Yang, famous statesman of Ch'in, to whose reforms that state owed its greatness. SC LVIII; BD 36; G 2296.

Shang-kuan ta-fu 上官大夫. *II*, 3*b*. 46. Title of Chin Shang 靳尚, a great dignitary of Ch'u, who calumniated Ch'ü Yüan before king Ch'ing-hsiang (or more correctly king Huai). BD 1347.

Shao 邵[公]. *II*, 7*b*, 8*b*. 59; 63. Title of Shih, duke of Shao (also 召), Chou Kung's brother, and associate in the regency during Ch'êng Wang's minority. Enfeoffed at Yen. Ancestor of the Yen ducal house. SC XXXIV; BD 272; G 1680.

Shên Tao 慎到. *II*, 10a. 68 (p. 66, note 8). Native of Chao. Taoist philosopher. One of the scholars invited to Ch'i by king Hsüan. Author of the *Shên-tzũ*, a work listed in the Han Bibliography. SC LXXIV; BD 1254.

Shih Huang 始皇. *IV*, 5b. 113. Title of Chêng 政, first Emperor of Ch'in. Often referred to as Ch'in 秦. SC VI; BD 827; G. 1712.

Shih K'uang 師曠. *II*, 7b. 60. Famous musician of the state of Chin. G. 1717; BD 773.

Shu Mien 叔眊[肸]. *II*, 11a. 72 (note 8). Younger brother of duke Hsüan 宣 of Lu. Horrified at his brother's murder of the rightful heir to the throne, he refused to the end of his days to accept office. *Ku-liang* com. Hsüan XVII; BD 522.

Shu Tzũ 輸子. *II*, 7b. 60. See Kung Shu Tzũ.

Shun 舜. *I*, 3a, 5a; *II*, 4a, 5a, 8b, 10a; *IV*, 2b, 4a, 6a, 8b; 9; 14; 44; 47; 52; 62; 67; 76; 108; 109; 116; 123. One of the legendary Emperors. Also referred to as Yü 虞. *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; *Shu-ching*; SC I; G. 1741.

Shun-yü K'un 淳[淳]于髡. *II*, 9b. 66. Ch'i scholar, contemporary of Mencius. SC LXXIV. Identical with Ch'un-yü K'un, the famous Ch'i wit, diplomat and drunkard. SC CXXVIII; BD 1009; G 513.

Ssü-ma 司馬 [Hsiang-ju 相如]. *IV*, 2a. 102 (note 4). Great poet of ancient China. Successfully dealt with the South-western tribes, due to his knowledge of the country, as a native of Ssü-ch'uan. *Ch'ien-han-shu* LVII ab.; G 1753; BD 184.

Ssü-ma Tzũ 司馬子[遷]. *IV*, 6b. 116. Ssü-ma Ch'ien. Author of the first systematic history of China. Died soon after 85 B.C. The YTL quotation seems to be the earliest known mention of the historian. Autobiography in SC CXXX. Cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, I; *Ch'ien-han-shu* LXII; G 1750; BD 186.

Su Ch'in 蘇秦. *II*, 3*b*; *IV* 7*a*, 7*b*. 47 (note 2); 119; 120 (note 4); 121 (note 2). Politician of the *Chan Kuo* period. Advocated a *bloc* of Six States to check the power of Ch'in. Assassinated in Ch'i. *Chan-kuo-ts'ê*; SC LXIX; G 1775; BD 1779; (See Chang I).

Sun Ch'ing 孫卿. *II*, 10*b*. 68. Same as Hsün Ch'ing.

Sun-shu Ao 孫叔敖. *I*, 8*a*, *IV*, 7*a*. 22 (note 2); 118 (note 1). Honest and frugal minister of king Chuang of Ch'u. SC CXIX; G 1818; BD 754.

Ta-fu Chung 大夫種. *II*, 4*a*. 48. Minister Chung, title of Wên 文 Chung. Concluded peace with Wu on behalf of Kou Chien, and concentrated all his efforts upon revenge. After Yüeh's victory over Wu, was calumniated and ordered to commit suicide by the king, who sent him a sword as a sign to end his life. BD 56; SC XLI.

T'ai Kung 太公. *I*, 10*b*; *III*, 2*a*, 2*b*; *IV*, 2*b*, 4*ab*, 6*a*. 30; 63; 85; 86; 104 (note 3); 109; 116. Title of 呂尚 Lü Shang, also known as Chiang Tzŭ-ya. Called T'ai Kung Wang 望 "The Hope of T'ai Kung", by Wên Wang, who found him fishing on the Wei river. A prophecy had been made to T'ai Kung that a sage found thus would bring fortune to Chou. Founder of the ducal house of Ch'i. Taoist saint (cf. legends in the *Fêng Shên Yen I*). SC XXII; G 343; BD 1862; Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, vol. IV.

T'ang 湯. *I*, 4*a*, 4*b*, 9*ab*; *II*, 10*b*, 11*a*; *IV*, 1*b*, 2*a*. 12; 13; 26; 28; 31; 69; 71; 101. See Ch'êng T'ang.

T'ang Mêng 唐蒙. *IV*, 2*a*. 102 (note 4). Distinguished himself under Wu Ti against the Southern Barbarians. On his own request was sent to the Southwest, where he persuaded a number of tribes to submit. *Ch'ien-han-shu* XCV; BD 740.

Tao Wang 悼王. *II*, 1*b*. 42 (note 6). Hsiung-i 熊疑, king of Ch'u, 401—381 B.C. Patron of Wu Ch'i. SC XL.

T'ao 陶. *II*, 6a. 56. Taken this to refer to Wei Jan 魏冉 (cf. Chang Chih-hsiang), who was enfeoffed at T'ao. May also refer to T'ao Chu-kung or to the T'ao district. Cf. Wei.

T'ao Chu 陶朱 [公]. *IV*, 2b, 4b. 103 (note 6); 109. Identified with 范蠡 Fan Li who, after his retirement from Yüeh, came to settle at T'ao under the name of Chu. The prototype of the successful capitalist. SC CXXIX; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XCI; G 540; BD 716.

Têng Shih 鄧氏. *I*, 9b. 28 (note 7). Têng T'ung and his family.

Têng T'ung 鄧通. *I*, 9b. 28 (note 7). Wên Ti believed to recognize in T'ung the man he saw in an auspicious dream, and attached him to his person. T'ung was given the right to coin money from some Ssü-ch'uan mines. Shorn of power by Ching Ti. SC CXXV; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XCIII; BD 1557.

T'ien Ch'ang 田常. *II*, 6a. 55. Powerful minister of Ch'i who in 481 murdered duke Chien 簡, and whose grandson founded a new dynasty in Ch'i. SC XLVI; G 1915.

T'ien P'ien 田駢. *II*, 10a. 68 (p. 66, note 8). Also Ch'ên 陳 P'ien, a scholar (of Taoistic tendencies) among the group flourishing at the court of king Hsüan of Ch'i. BD 204; SC LXXIV.

T'ien Tsung 田宗. *II*, 5b. 54. The powerful T'ien clan of Ch'i. Growing exceedingly rich and strong during the Vth century, it finally usurped all power and founded a new dynasty in 410 B.C.

T'ing-wei P'ing 廷尉評. *II*, 12b. 76 (note 7) *q. v.* Probably corruption of 故廷尉王平, "the former t'ing-wei Wang P'ing". *Ch'ien-han-shu* VII, 1st yr. of Chao Ti's reign.

Tsang Wên 臧文. *II*, 8b. 63 (note 1). Possibly Tsang Wên-chung 文仲, posthumous title of Tsang-sun Ch'ên 辰, minister of Lu. Criticized by Confucius for not recognizing talent in his subordinates. *Lun-yü* XV, XIII; BD 1373.

Tsao Fu 造父. *II*, 10a. 67 (p. 117, note 2). Famous charioteer of Mu Wang. Ancestor of the house of Chao. SC XLIII; G 1992; BD 1042.

Ts'ao ch'êng hsiang 曹丞相. *II*, 8a. 61 (note 1). Chancellor

Ts'ao, Ts'ao Ts'an 參. One of the closest associates of Han Kao Ti. Succeeded Hsiao Ho 蕭何 as Chancellor. Pursued a *laissez faire* policy. SC LIV, *Ch'ien-han-shu* XXXIX; BD 989; G 2012.

Ts'ao Mo 曹沫[歲] ap. *Tso-chuan* I, 13b. 38. A knight in the service of duke Chuang of Lu. Though defeated three times in battle with Ch'i, he succeeded by his bold action at the peace conference to save the day for Lu. SC LXXXVI; G 2006; BD 897.

Tsêng Shên 曾參. *II*, 5a; *IV*, 3a. 51; 104. Tzŭ Tzŭ Chu 子輿. One of the famous and learned disciples of Confucius. Founder of a school. The *Hsiao-Ching*, the *Ta-Hsüeh* and parts of the *Li-Chi* are ascribed to him. Known also as 曾子. SC LXVII; G 2022; BD 1164.

Tsêng Tzŭ 曾子. Cf. Tsêng Shên 曾參.

Tso-chiang 左將. *IV*, 2a. 102. 荀彧 Hsün Chih. General under Wu Ti. Took part in expeditions against the Hsiung Nu. In 108 made "General of the Left" and sent against Korea together with Yang P'u. Betrayed Yang and was himself executed on his return after the conquest. SC CXI; BD 841.

Tsou Tzŭ 鄒子. *II*, 10b, 11a. 69 (note 7); 70. Tsou Yen 衍, philosopher and "naturalist" of the *Chan Kuo* period. Served the princes of Ch'i, Wei, Yen. His "scientific" qualifications made him comparatively successful in contrast to the "moral philosophers", his contemporaries (Mencius et al.). Also written 騶子. SC LXXIV; G 2030; *Lun Hêng*; BD 1785.

Tu Chou 杜周. *II*, 9b. 65. Assistant to Chang T'ang; Chief Justice; *Yü-shih ta-fu* in 98 B.C. Extremely cruel, he incarcerated thousands of men. His deputies and constables terrorized the country. SC CXXII; *Ch'ien-han-shu* LX; BD 462—3.

Tuan Kan-mu 段干木. *IV*, 5a. 111 (note 5). Pupil of Pu Tzŭ-hsia 卜子夏. One of the group of scholars who flocked to Wei Wên-hou's court. BD 665; SC XLIV.

Tung-fang Hsien-shêng 東方先生. *IV*, 9a. 126. Respectful reference to Tung-fang So, "Master", "Doctor", Tung-fang.

Tung-fang So 東方朔. *IV*, 9a. 125. Important official and scholar at Wu Ti's court. Famous as a wit. His biography is overburdened with Taoist legends. Reputed author of several books, all spurious. SC CXXVI; *Ch'ien-han-shu*, LXV; BD 579; G 2093.

Tung-kuo Yen 東郭偃. *II*, 9a. 65 (note 3). Obviously for Tung-kuo Hsien-yang. *Hsien-yang* apparently gave much trouble to copyists who mistook the two characters for the name of the city. In this case the name of a comparatively well known personage was substituted for Hsien-yang (cf. BD 580).

Tzŭ Cha [公]子札. *II*, 11a. 72 (note 5). Also Chi Cha 季札, son of prince Shou-mêng 壽夢 of Wu. Declined to accept the throne offered him by his father. He is one of the "pure knights" of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* period. BD 557; G. 287.

Tzŭ-ch'an 子產. *II*, 2b. 43; 44. Appellation of Kung-sun Ch'iao 公孫僑, famous minister and legislator of the state of Chêng. Contemporary of Confucius. SC CXIX; G 1029; BD 36; *Tso-chuan*.

Tzŭ-ch'ih 子赤. *II*, 11a. 72. Apparently another name of 惡 O, the murdered young son of duke Wên of Lu. Cf. *Kung-yang-chuan*, Wên XVIII, Ch'êng XV.

Tzŭ-hsü 子胥. *II*, 4a. See Wu Yüan.

Tzŭ-kao 子高. *II*, 7b. 59. Tzŭ of Shên Chu-liang 沈諸梁, official of Ch'u, who played a prominent part in the suppression of troubles during the reign of king Hui 惠 (488—432). As he was approaching the capital, the people were "looking for him as for a good year". The pacification achieved, he retired to Yeh, his home. *Tso-chuan*, Ai XVI; BD 500.

Tzŭ-kung 子貢 or 贛. *IV*, 3b, 4b. 107; 109; 110. Tuan-mu Tz'ŭ 端木賜, disciple of Confucius, successful diplomat and business man. One of the great capitalists of ancient China. SC LXVII, CXXIX; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XCI; BD 1366; G 2083.

Tzū-lu 子路. *II*, 3*b*, 11*b*. 46; 73. See Chung Yu.

Tzū-shu 子叔 [叔]. *II*, 8*b*. 63 (note 2). Most probably Tzū-shu I 疑 mentioned in Mencius *II*. ii. x. 6, an otherwise unknown person, notorious for nepotism.

Tzū-ssü 子思. *IV*, 5*a*. 111. Either K'ung Chi or Yüan Hsien; probably the latter.

Wang Chien 王建. *II*, 10*ab*. 67 (note 3); 68. King Chien, last sovereign of Ch'i, 264—221 B.C. He offered a weak resistance to Ch'in, and was ignominiously led into captivity. SC XLVI; BD 1424.

Wang Tsang 王臧. *IV*, 9*a*. 125 (note 4). Scholar and official (*lang-chung-ling* 郎中令). Perished with Chao Wan. BD 141.

Wang Wên-shu 王溫舒. *II*, 9*b*. 65 (note 6). Native of Yang-ling 陽陵. A grave-robber in his youth, he entered the service of Chang T'ang and soon distinguished himself by his merciless execution of justice. SC CXXII; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XC; BD 133.

Wei 魏. *IV*, 4*b*. 110. The house of Wei, one of the powerful clans of Chin, which founded the kingdom of Wei. Cf. Han 韓. SC XLIV.

Wei 衛. *II*, 6*a*. 56. Chang Chih-hsiang takes Wei as referring to the Lord of Shang, i.e. Wei Yang. More probably it refers to the district of Wei, which, together with T'ao, must have controlled the trade on the lower Huang Ho.

Wei 微 [子]. *II*, 3*a*. 45. Viscount of Wei, title of K'ai 開, brother of the wicked Emperor Chou of Shang. Remonstrated with him in vain. Enfeoffed at Sung to perpetuate sacrifices to Shang. SC XXVIII; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; *Shu-ching* XI; G 2294; BD 1253.

Wei Ch'êng Tzū 魏成子. *II*, 7*a*. 58. Virtuous younger brother of Wei Wên hou. SC XLIV.

Wei Fu-jên 衛夫人. *II*, 11*b*. 73. The lady Wei. See Nan Tzū.

Wei Shêng 尾生. *II*, 11a; *IV*, 7b. 71; 120 (note 2). Famous example of blind loyalty. Also known as Wei Shêng-kaio 微生高 (to be distinguished from the Wei Shêng-kaio of *Lun-yü*, V, xxiii). *Chuang-tzû* XXIX; G 2290; BD 366.

Wei Wên hou 魏文侯. *IV*, 5a. 111. Posthumous title of Ssü 斯 (or 都 acc. to the *Shih-chi*), marquis of Wei, 425—387 B.C., and first ruler of the Wei house after the break up of Chin. Patron of scholars. SC XLIV; BD 1733—4.

Wên 文 [王]. *I*, 9ab, 10b, 13b; *II*, 2a, 8b, 10b; *IV*, 9a. 26; 28; 37; 39; 43; 57; 70; 124. Wên Wang, q.v.

Wên Ti 文帝. *I*, 9a; *II*, 1a. 28 (note 5); 41 (note 4). Hêng 恒, third Emperor of Han. One of the favorite Emperors of the Literati, who extoll his virtues in contrast with Wu Ti's evil policies. SC X; *Ch'ien-han-shu* IV; BD 1358; G 1298.

Wên Wang 文王. *I*, 13b; *II*, 6b, 9a. 37; 57; 63; 64. Ch'ang 昌, prince of Chou, and father of Wu Wang. One of the Confucian "saints". SC IV; BD 531; G 2308; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*.

Wu 武. *I*, 13b; *II*, 2a, 8b; *IV*, 9a, 1b, 2a. 39; 43; 70; 101; 124. Wu Wang 武王 q.v.

Wu 吳. *II*, 5a. 51 (p. 28, note 6 q.v.) 吳王, Liu P'i prince of Wu.

Wu Ch'i 吳起. *II*, 2b; *IV*, 7a. 42, 118; 119. Famous warrior who served in Lu, Wei and Ch'u. Supposed to be the author of a military treatise the *Wu-tzû* where his conversations with Wu hou 武 of Wei 魏 are recorded. Murdered by conspirators on the dead body of his patron, king Tao of Ch'u. SC LXV; G 2321; BD 319.

Wu Ku 五穀 [大夫]. *I*, 8a. 23. Po-li Hsi, known as "Five Rams", having been once ransomed by duke Mu of Ch'in for five sheep skins. See Po-li Hsi.

Wu Ti 武帝. *IV*, 9b. 126. Ch'è 徹, Emperor of Han, 140—87 B.C.
See also Hsiao-wu Huang-ti and Hsien Ti. SC XII; *Ch'ien-han-shu* VI; G 1276; BD 1358—9.

Wu Wang 武王. *I*, 13b. 38. Posthumous title of Fa 發, Wên Wang's son and successor, first Emperor of the Chou dynasty. One of the "San Wang", the Three Model Emperors, founders of Dynasties. (1122—1116 [Standard chronology]; 1050—1044 [Bamboo Annals]). *Shu-ching*; SC IV; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; BD 531; G 2353.

Wu Wang 吳王. *I*, 9b, 10b. 28 (note 6); 30. Liu P'i 劉濞, prince of Wu. He acquired great power through industrial activities and finally led the revolt of the "Seven Princes" against the central government. The coalition was defeated by Chou Ya-fu and P'i slain. SC CVI; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XXV; BD 1488.

Wu Yüan 伍員. *II*, 4a. 48. Tzû Tzû-hsü 子胥. Hero of the wars between Ch'u and Wu, dedicated to revenge against king P'ing of Ch'u for the murder of his father and elder brother. Through his efforts Wu was successful against Ch'u. Fu Ch'ai, successor to Yüan's patron Ho Lu, forced him to commit suicide. SC LXVI; BD 229; G 2358.

Yang Tzû 楊[陽]子. *IV*, 3a. 105. The quotation ascribed to this Yang Tzû is put, in Mencius, III, i, III, into the mouth of Yang Hu 陽虎, also known as Yang Huo 貨, a retainer in the service of the Chi family of Lu, who rose to great power and was for some time dictator. G 2382; BD 1212; SC XXXIII; *Lun-yü* XVII, 1.

Yao 堯. *II*, 2b, 4a, 6b, 8b, 11b; *IV*, 4b, 6a, 8b. 44; 47; 57; 62; 73; 76; 109; 116; 123. Legendary Emperor (2357—2258 [Standard chronology]; 2145—2045 [Bamboo Annals]). Also referred to as T'ang 唐, or T'ao T'ang 陶唐. Saintly ruler of the "Golden Age". *Shu-ching*; SC I; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; G 2426; BD 739.

Yen Chao 燕昭. *II*, 4a, 8b, 9a. 62; 64. P'ing 平, king of Yen, 311—279 B.C. Ascending the throne after Yen's defeat at the hands of Ch'i, he concentrated all his efforts on improving and strengthening the administration of his state. His generous treatment of scholars is supposed to be referred to in some of the Odes. SC XXXIV; BD 1586.

Yen Hui 顏回. *IV*, 4b, 8a. 110 (note 1); 123. See Yen Yüan.

Yen Yüan 顏淵. *IV*, 2b, 3a, 4b, 8a. 104; 105; 110. Yen Hui, favorite disciple of Confucius, one of the model worthies of ancient China. Died in 483 at the early age of 32, his death greatly affecting the Master. SC LXVII; G 2465; BD 1728.

Yin 殷. *I*, 9ab; *II*, 2ab, 4a. 26; 28; 43; 44; 48. The Yin or Shang dynasty (1766—1122 [Standard chronology]; 1558—1050, [Bamboo Annals]).

Yo I 樂毅. *II*, 4a. 48. General of the state of Yen in the *Chan Kuo* period. Generalissimo of the united forces of the five states in their campaign against Ch'i in 284. Calumniated before the new king of Yen, he fled to Chao. SC LXXX; BD 1504; G 2502; *Chan-kuo-ts'ê*.

Yu 由. *IV*, 8a. 123. See Chung Yu.

Yü 禹, *I*, 4a, 4b, *II*, 5a, 6b, 10a; *III*, 4b; *IV*, 1b. 12; 13; 17; 52; 67; 92; 100. Legendary founder of the Hsia dynasty (2205—2197, [Standard chronology]; 1989—1981 [Bamboo Annals]). Cultural hero. SC II; *Shu-Ching*; *Chu Shu Chi Nien*; G 1846; BD 746.

Yü 虞. *II*, 12b. 57. Shun. Yü is variously explained as being his dynastic designation, the name of his fief, or his family name. Cf. *Shu-Ching*, Commentaries (Legge, *Chi. Classics*, v. III, p. 29, note).

Yü Kung 虞公. *IV*, 5a. 111. Duke of the little state of Yü who, disregarding the protests of the sage Kung Chih-ch'i, allowed the armies of Chin to pass through his territory on their way

to Kuo, a state allied to Yü. His short-sighted policy led to his state being swallowed by the aggressive Chin. BD 1320; *Tso-chuan*, Hsi V (Legge, *Chi. Classics*, I, 145—6).

Yüan Hsien 原憲. *IV*, 4*b*, 5*a*. 109; 110. *Tzū* Tzū-ssü 子思, also known as Yüan Ssü. Native of Lu (or of Sung). Disciple of Confucius. He lived in poverty, but endured it with great fortitude. SC LXVII; G 2547; BD 733.

Yüan Ang 袁 or 爰盎. *IV*, 9*a*. 126. Indefatigable writer of remonstrances, served at the Imperial Court and with the prince of Wu. Great enemy of Ch'ao Ts'o, whose death he caused by persuading the Emperor that Ch'ao alone was to blame for the revolt of the princes. SC CI; *Ch'ien-han-shu* XLIX; G 2571; BD 847.

Yüeh Wang 越王. *II*, 4*a*. 48. Kou Chien 句踐, king of Yüeh, 496—465 B.C., rival of the Wu princes. Defeated by Fu Ch'ai, he spent years in preparations for another attack and, ably assisted by the *ta-fu* Chung, he succeeded finally in overthrowing Wu. SC XLI; G 982; BD 172.

B. GEOGRAPHICAL

Ch'ang-an 長安. *IV*, 2*a*. 102. Now Hsi-an-fu, Shen-hsi. Capital of the Early Han Empire. The ancient city was situated a little NW. of the modern *hsien*.

Chao 趙. *I*, 4*b*, 6*b*, 7*a*; *II*, 3*a*; *III*, 3*b*; *IV*, 5*b*, 6*b*, 7*b*. 12; 18; 19; 45; 89; 114; 116; 121. 1. Ancient state with its center near modern Chao-ch'êng-hsien, Shan-hsi. 2. Large state of the *Chan Kuo* period in S. part of Chih-li and N. part of Shan-hsi. 3. Kingdom under the Han comprising the Ch'in *chün* of Han-tan.

Ch'ao-hsien 朝鮮. *IV*, 2*a*. 102 (note 12). Korea. See SC CXV.

Ch'ao Ko 朝歌. *IV*, 4*a*. 109. Capital of Chou Hsin. Modern Ch'i-hsien, in Ho-nan.

Ch'ên 陳. *IV*, 8*b*. 123. Modern Ch'ên-chou, Ho-nan.

Chêng 鄭. *I*, 6*b*; *II*, 5*a*; *IV*, 6*b*. 18; 53; 116. K'ai-fêng and Chêng-chou region in Ho-nan. Chêng played an important role at the beginning of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* period. Greatly weakened by Ch'u, it was finally annexed by Han.

Chi 薊. *I*, 6*b*. 18. Important center in the old kingdom of Yen; controlling passes through the Great Wall. Chih-li.

Chi[-hsia] 稷[下]. *II*, 9*b*. 66 (note 8). Name of a gate of the capital city of Ch'i.

Ch'i 齊. *I*, 2*b*, 3*b*, 4*b*, 6*ab*; *II*, 3*a*, 5*b*, 9*b*, 10*a*; *III*, 2*ab*, 3*b*; *IV*, 2*a*, 8*a*. 8; 11; 12; 16; 18; 33; 45; 54; 66; 67; 68; 82; 85; 89; 102; 104. Important feudal kingdom along the coast of the Yellow Sea. Shan-tung. Center of Confucian traditions.

Chiang 江. *II*, 4*b*. 51. The Yang-tzŭ River.

Chiang-nan 江南. *I*, 2*b*. 8. The bamboo-producing country S. of the Chiang.

Chiang Hu 江湖. *I*, 6*b*, 7*a*. 20. Rivers and lakes of the Yang-tzŭ basin.

Ch'iang 羌. *I*, 5*a*; *III*, 4*b*. 14; 92. Barbarians of the W.; Tibetan tribes.

Chiao Chih 交趾. *I*, 7*a*. 20. Han *chün* established in 111 B.C. Extreme S. of China, including parts of Annam.

Ch'ien-sh'êng 千乘. *II*, 7*b*. 60. *Chün* and *hsien* under the Han. N. of Kao-yüan-hsien, Shantung.

Chih 軹. *I*, 6*b*. 18. A city NW. of Ch'i-yüan, Ho-nan, controlling an important pass into the uplands of Shan-hsi.

Chin 晉. *II*, 5*a*, 11*a*; *IV*, 3*a*, 5*a*, 5*b*, 31; 53; 71; 104; 111; 114. Leading state of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* period. Like Ch'in, it grew at the expense of the outlying Barbarians.

Ch'in 秦. *I*, 8*a*, 9*b*, 13*b*; *II*, 1*a*, *b*, 2*a*, *b*, 3*a*, *b*, 4*a*, 5*a*, 10*ab*, 11*a*, 13*b*; *III* 1*a*; *IV*, 2*a*, 5*a*, *b*, 7*a*, *b*, 8*b*. 23; 28; 33; 39; 40; 41; 42; 43; 44; 46; 49; 53; 68; 71; 102; 112; 113; 121; 123. 1. The W. march of the Chou Empire. 2. The important state of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* and *Chan Kuo* periods. 3. First empire and dynasty of united China. 4. Often, Ch'in Shih-huang-ti, first Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty, 220—206 B.C.

Ching 涇. *II*, 9*a*. 65. Important river in Shen-hsi, affluent of the Wei.

Ching 荆. *I*, 2*b*; *II*, 9*a*; *IV*, 2*a*. 8; 53; 64; 102. One of the "Nine Chou". South of the Han (*Erh Ya*). Included Hu-nan, Hu-pei, parts of Ssŭ-ch'uan, Kuei-chou and Kuang-tung. Another name for the kingdom of Ch'u.

Ching Yang 荊陽[楊]. *I*, 6*b*. 18. Hu-pei or Middle and Lower Yang-tzŭ valley.

Chiung 邛. *I*, 7*b*; *IV*, 2*a*. 21; 102. Small Barbarian state, with its center SE. of modern Hsi-ch'ang-hsien, Ssŭ-ch'uan.

Cho 涿. *I*, 6*b*. 18. Han *chün* in modern Chih-li with center at Cho-hsien.

Chou 周. *I*, 6*a*, 7*a*, 8*a*. 16; 18; 20, 23. The territory properly the old Imperial domain along the Lo, and on both banks of the Yellow River within Ho-nan.

Chu 洙. *II*, 9*b*. 66. Small affluent of the Ssŭ.

Chŭ-ch'ü 具區. *II*, 5*b*. 54. The lake between Wu and Yüeh (*Erh Ya*). The modern T'ai Hu 太湖.

Chŭ-yeh 鉅野. *II*, 5*b*. 54. Big marsh. Same as the Ta Yeh 大野 of the Yü Kung. N. of the *hsien* of the same name in Shan-tung.

Ch'ü 胸. *I*, 8*a*. 23 (note 6). Also 30; 32; 33. Probably the Lin-ch'ü region 臨胸 of Shantung, a salt producing district.

Ch'u 楚. *I*, 6*b*, 7*a*, 8*a*; *II*, 1*b*, 3*a*, 5*b*, 10*ab*; *III*, 2*a*, 3*b*, *IV*, 2*a*, 3*a*, 8*a*. 18; 19; 22; 33; 42; 45; 55; 64; 68; 85, 89; 102; 122. Ancient kingdom in the middle course of the Yang-tzŭ. One of the strongest rivals of Ch'in, it was first to be restored as an independent state after Ch'in's downfall.

Ch'u 楚. *II*, 4*b*, 5*a*. 51; 52. Han kingdom. Established by Kao Ti and abolished by Hsüan Ti. Its center was at modern T'ung-shan-hsien, Chiang-su.

Ch'üan T'ai 泉臺. *II*, 13*b*. 78 (note 4). Tower in Lang 郎, NE. of Yü-t'ai. Shan-tung.

Ch'ui Chi 垂棘. *IV*, 5*b*. 111. Ancient locality in Chin, famous for its gems.

Chung Kuo 中國. *I*, 1*b*, 2*a*, 5*a*, 7*b*; *II*, 12*b*; *III*, 3*b*, 4*a*; *IV*, 1*ab*. 3; 5; 76; 90; 99. China, as opposed to the Barbarians. The central plain of China. The provinces of the interior 內郡, contrasted to the marches.

Chung Shan 中山. *I*, 1*a*; *II*, 6*a*. 19; 56. Ancient state, modern Ting-hsien, Chih-li. Han kingdom. Western part of modern Ching-hai-tao, Chih-li.

Ch'ung 崇. *I*, 13*b*. 37. Feudal state in Shen-hsi (Yin dynasty).

Chün 郡 [and Kuo 國]. 2; 9; 10. Provinces and demesnes. The administrative divisions of the Early Han Empire. Cf. Wiegner, *Textes hist.*, I, 332—335, and chart IX.

Erh Chou 二周. *I*, 6*b*. 18. Western and Eastern Chou: the first with the capital at Hao Ching (near Hsi-an), the second at Lo-yang. Also Kuan-chung 關中 in this period.

Fêng 豐. *I*, 13*b*. 38. Residence of the first Chous. NW. of Hsi-an-fu. Wên Wang moved his capital from Ch'êng 程 to Fêng in the XXXth year of Chou Hsin (*Chu Shu Chi Nien*, vi.).

Han 韓. *I*, 6*b*, 7*ab*; *IV*, 4*b*. 18; 19; 20; 110. Kingdom of the *Chan Kuo* period, carved out of the old Chin state. N. Ho-nan, S. Shan-hsi.

Han 漢. *I*, 3*c*, 5*c*, 9*b*, 3*b*. 11; 15; 19; 28. The river Han and its basin; also China as of the Han dynastic period (206, [202] B.C.—220 A.D.).

Han-tan 邯鄲. *I*, 6*b*. 18. Capital of the old state of Chao. Modern Kwang-p'ing-fu, Chih-li. Gateway to the NE. highway.

Hê 貉. 38. Cf. Man 蠻.

Ho pei 河北. *II*, 3*a*. 45. North of the Yellow River. The Ordos and Mongolia.

Hsi Ho 西河. *II*, 1a, b. 41. (note 3); 42. The territory W. of the Huang Ho which Ch'in conquered from Wei.

Hsieh 薛. *II*, 10b. 68. Ancient kingdom destroyed by Ch'i in the *Chan Kuo* period. SW. of T'êng-hsien in Shan-tung.

Hsiung Nu 匈奴. *I*, 1b, 2a, 5a; *II*, 12b; *IV*, 2a. 3; 5; 14; 37; 38; 76; 101. See p. 74, note 1. The nomadic peoples of the N. commonly identified with the Huns.

Hsüan Fang 宣房. *I*, 6a. 17 (note 4). Pavilion, built on the dam by means of which the disastrous Huang Ho flood of 132 BC. was stopped (Cf. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, III, p. 536).

Hu 胡. *I*, 5a; *II*, 12b; *III*, 4b; *IV*, 1ab, 2a. 14; 38; 39; 45; 92; 100; 101. Generic term for Barbarians, especially those of the N.

Hu 胡. *II*, 10b. 70. N. part of Shan-hsi.

Huai 淮. *II*, 4b, 9a. 51; 65. The great river flowing through Ho-nan and An-hui.

Huai pei 淮北. *II*, 10b. 68. The country N. of the Huai River; conquered by Ch'i from Ch'u, in the latter *Chan Kuo* period.

Huang 黃. *I*, 7a. 20. *Hsien* in Têng-chou, Shan-tung. Capital of the ancient state of Lai.

Hung-mên 鴻門. *IV*, 7a. 119 and note 1.

I 夷. *I*, 10a, 13a; *II*, 3a, 4a, 9a; *IV*, 2a. 29; 36; 37, 39; 45; 48; 102. Generic term for the Barbarians surrounding China.

Ju Han 汝漢. *I*, 5a. 14 (note 7). The basins of the Ju and the Han rivers.

Kuei-chi 會稽. *II*, 5a. 52. *Chün* and principality under the Han, comprising E. part of Chiang-su and W. part of Chê-chiang.

Kuei-lin 桂林. *I*, 5b, 6b. 15; 18. *Chün* established by Ch'in. Comprised the modern Kuei-lin-tao and Ts'ang-wu-tao in Kuang-hsi.

K'un Shan 昆山[崑崙]. *I*, 5*b* 7*b*. 15; 21. K'un Lun mountains.

Kuo 虢. *IV*, 5*b*. 114. Ancient state, occupying the present P'ing-lu-hsien, Shan-hsi.

Kuo 國 [and Chün 郡]. Cf. Chün 郡.

Lai 萊. *I*, 7*a*. 20. Ancient Barbarian state in Têng-chou, Shan-tung. By Lai Huang, the N. coast of Shan-tung is apparently meant.

Li-ch'iu 黎丘. *II*, 10*b*. 70. Ancient locality near modern Yü-hsien in Ho-nan. In Confucius' time, part of Ch'ên.

Li Shan 歷山. *I*, 4*a*; *IV*, 4*a*. 12; 108. Mountain near I-翼 ch'êng, Shan-hsi, where Shun farmed.

Liang 梁. *I*, 7*a*; *II*, 10*b*. 19; 20; 70. Another name of the *Chan Kuo* state of Wei (from its capital Ta Liang 大梁, modern K'ai-fêng-hsien).

Lin T'ao 臨洮. *IV*, 2*a*. 102. The important locality near modern Min-岷 hsien, Kan-su. Gateway to the West. Connection between this Lin T'ao and the conquest of Korea is not apparent.

Lin Tsê [Tzŭ] 臨淄. *I*, 6*b*; *II*, 10*a*. 18; 67. Important city in Shan-tung. Capital of the kingdom of Ch'i.

Ling Yang 陵陽. *I*, 6*b*. 19. Mountain near Hsüan-ch'êng-hsien, An-hui.

Lu 魯. *I*, 6*a*, 7*a*, 11*a*; *II*, 9*b*, 10*a*; *IV*, 8*a*. 16; 20; 31; 66; 68; 79; 114. Ancient kingdom in Shan-tung; occupied the territory from Yen-chou to T'êng-hsien and Ssü-shui-hsien.

Lun T'ai 輪臺. *IV*, 1*b*. 100. Under the Han, a Chinese colony in modern Hsin-chiang. Identified with the present Bugur.

Lung 隴. *I*, 2*b*, 7*a*. 8; 20. W. part of Shen-hsi and part of E. Kan-su.

- Lü [Chiu] 莒. *II*, 10*a*. 67. Modern Lü-hsien in Shan-tung.
- Lü Liang 呂梁. *I*, 10*b*. 30. The Lung Mên gorge on the Huang Ho.
- Mai 貊. 76. Cf. Man 蠻.
- Man 蠻. *I*, 10*a*; *II*, 12*b*. 29; 76. Term generally applied to S. Barbarians or Aborigines.
- Mêng Ching 孟津. *I*, 6*a*. 17 (note 6). Important ford on the Huang Ho, S. of modern Mêng-hsien, Ho-nan.
- Mêng-chu 孟諸. *II*, 5*b*. 54; 55. One of the big marshes of the Empire. NE. of Shang-ch'iu-hsien, Ho-nan.
- O-pang 阿房. *II*, 13*b*. 80 (note 1). Famous palace built by Ch'in Shih Huang-ti some 30 *li* W. of Hsi-an-fu.
- Ou-lo 甌駱. *IV*, 2*a*. 102. Tribes of Southern China and Annam (Cf. SC CXIII).
- Pa 巴. *II*, 6*a*; *IV*, 2*a*. 56; 102. Ancient kingdom and Han *chün* in Ssü-ch'uan. Modern Chia-ling-tao and Tung-ch'uan-tao.
- P'an Hsi 潘溪. *II*, 9*a*. 64 (note 5). Small river in Shen-hsi, affluent of the Wei.
- Pao 亳. *I*, 5*b*. 15. Same as 薄, capital of Ch'êng T'ang. Modern Shang-ch'iu, Ho-nan.
- P'êng Ch'ih 彭池. *IV*, 7*a*. 118. Same as Mien 陂 (or 瀾) Ch'ih (*So-yin* Commentary to SC LXVIII), a *hsien* in Ho-nan-fu, Ho-nan.
- San Chin 三晉. *II*, 10*a*; *IV*, 5*b*. 68; 113. Han, Wei and Chao, the three states of the *Chan Kuo* period, after the break-up of Chin.
- San Ch'uan 三川. *I*, 6*b*. 18. "The Three Rivers", for the Western Chou: the Ching, Wei, and Lo rivers; for the Eastern Chou: the I, Lo and Yellow rivers. Synonym for "Metropolitan district".
- San Fu 三輔. *III*, 1*b*. 83. The "Metropolitan district", corresponding to the modern Kuan-chung-tao, Shen-hsi.

Shan-shui 扇水. *I*, 12a b. 34; 35. As a place name, not identified.

Shan tung 山東. *I*, 4b, 9b; *II*, 4b. 16; 28; 51. East of the mountains (the T'ai-hang range). Modern Shan-tung and S. Chih-li.

Shang 商. *II*, 3b. 46. The modern Shang-chou 商州 in Shen-hsi. Cf. Yü Shang 於商.

Shang-ts'ai 上蔡. *IV*, 7a. 119 (note 2). Modern Shang-ts'ai, or Hsin-ts'ai, in Ho-nan. Shang Yang's birthplace.

Shih-ku 石鼓. *I*, 12a. 35. "Stone-drums", a name not identified.

Shih-pi 什辟 [also given as 斗辟]. *IV*, 2a, 2b. 101; 103; 104. The expression may indicate simply waste lands, desert 荒僻.

Shu 蜀. *I*, 2b, 3b, 7a, 9b; *IV*, 2a. 8; 11; 19; 20; 28; 102. Ancient kingdom and a Han *chün*. Ssü-ch'uan W. of the Ko-chien 閣劍 pass, including the Ch'êng-tu district.

Shuo-fang 朔方. *I*, 2a; *IV*, 2a. 5; 102. 1. The Northern marches of the Empire. 2. A Han *chün* established by Wu Ti; the Ordos country.

Ssü 泗. *II*, 9b, 10a. 66; 68. Anciently an important river in Shan-tung, affluent of the Huai. In the *Ch'un Ch'iu* period, it was the chief artery of intercourse between the petty Shan-tung states.

Sui 隋[隨]. *I*, 7a. 20. Ancient state. NW. of Tê-an in Hu-pei (modern Sui-hsien). Sui and T'ang having been the most important feudal kingdoms in the Eastern basin of the Han, their names remained to designate that region. Famous timber lands.

Sung 宋. *I*, 7a; *II*, 5b, 10ab. 19; 20; 54; 68; 70. Ancient kingdom with its center near Shang-ch'iu-hsien, Ho-nan, and extending into Chiang-su.

Ta-tsê 大澤. *IV*, 8a. 123 (note 3). Ch'in-hsiang near Chi 蕲, An-hui.

Tai 代. *II*, 10*b*; *III*, 5*b*. 70; 95. Roughly the modern Yen-mên-tao. Shan-hsi.

T'ai Shan 太[泰]山. *IV*, 5*a*, 6*ab*. 112 (note 8); 114; 115; 116.
Famous mountain N. of Tai-an, Shan-tung.

Tan-chang 丹章[鄆]. *I*, 7*a*. 20. A *chün* called 丹陽 in Wu Ti's time; the modern Hsüan-ch'êng, An-hui.

T'ang 唐. *I*, 7*a*, 8*a*. 20; 23. Ancient state, vassal of Ch'u. W. of Tê-an in Hu-pei.

T'ao 陶. *I*, 3*b*. 11. Modern Ting-t'ao-hsien, in Shan-tung.

Ti 狄. *I*, 7*a*. 39. Aboriginal tribes occupying the plateaux and slopes of Shan-hsi. Cf. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 5—11, for a description of these peoples and kindred tribes.

Tsao-yang 造陽. *IV*, 2*a*, 2*b*. 101; 103; 104. Modern Huai-lai-hsien, Chih-li.

Ts'ao 曹. *I*, 7*a*. 20. Ancient state. Modern Ts'ao-chou, Shan-tung.

Tso 蓐. *I*, 7*b*; *IV*, 2*a*, 21; 102 (note 7). Barbarian state in Ssü-ch'uan, modern Han-yüan-hsien.

Tsou 鄒. *I*, 7*a*; *II*, 10*a*. 20; 68. *Chan Kuo* state, same as Chu 邾 of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* period. Modern Tsou-hsien, Shan-tung.

Tung Chou 東周. *IV*, 9*a*. 124. "Eastern Chou", with its capital at Lo-yang.

Tung Hai 東海. *I*, 1*b*; *II*, 5*a*. 21; 52. 1. The Eastern Sea.
2. Han *chün* and principality, comprising parts of Shan-tung and Chiang-su, and with its center at T'an-hsien, Shan-tung.

Tung Yüeh 東越. *IV*, 2*a*. 102. Barbarian kingdom, with its center at Min-hou-hsien, Fu-chien. Conquered by Wu Ti. SC CXIV.

Wan-ch'iu 宛丘. *I*, 6*b*. 18. Capital of Ch'ên; the modern Ch'ên-chou.

Wei 魏. *I*, 6*b*; *II*, 13*b*; *III*, 3*b*; *IV*, 5*a*. 18; 46; 89; 110; 111.

The territory of the ancient kingdom of Wei, one of the "Three Chin", N. of Ho-nan and S.W. of Shan-hsi.

Wei 衛. *I*, 7*a*; *II*, 9*b*, 11*b*. 19; 20; 66; 72; 73. Ancient state from Ta-ming-fu, Chih-li, to Huai-ch'ing, Shan-hsi.

Wei Mai 穢貊. *IV*, 2*a*. 103. Tribes of Manchuria and N. Korea.

Wên 溫. *I*, 6*b*. 18. Important city on the highway from the Shan-hsi uplands to Ho-nan; modern Huai-ch'ing-fu, Ho-nan.

Wu 吳. *I*, 7*a*, 8*a*, 9*b*; *II*, 4*ab*, 11*a*. 20; 23; 30; 48; 51; 52; 72.

1. Ancient kingdom covering half of Chiang-su and parts of Chê-chiang. 2. Han kingdom comprising chiefly the Tang-yang and Yü-chang districts.

Yang 楊. *I*, 2*b*. 8. One of the "Nine Chou". S. of the Chiang (*Erh Ya*), Chiang-hsi, Fu-chien, and Chê-chiang.

Yang Chai 楊翟. *I*, 6*b*. 18. Important city in Chêng. Capital of Han 韓. Modern Yü-hsien in Ho-nan.

Yen 兗. *I*, 2*b*. 8. One of the "Nine Chou". Between the Ch'i and the Ho (*Erh Ya*). Comprised parts of Shan-tung and Chih-li.

Yen 燕. *I*, 2*b*, 6*b*, 11*b*; *II*, 3*a*, 4*a*, 8*b*, 9*a*, 10*a*; *IV*, 2*a*. 8; 18; 33; 45; 48; 62; 64; 67; 102. Ancient kingdom. N. Chih-li. Extended its territory into S. Manchuria.

Yen-ling 延陵. *II*, 11*a*. 72. Modern Wu-chin-hsien in Chiang-su. Fief of Chi Cha of Wu.

Yen Shan 嚴山. *I*, 4*a*. 12. Also Yen 道銅山; more correctly Chuang 莊 Shan. A copper mountain in Shu (N. of modern Jung-ching-hsien, Ssü-ch'uan). In the Hou Han period, the character 莊 (*taboo* as being the personal name of Ming Ti) was changed to Yen.

Ying Ch'iu 營丘. *III*, 2*a*. 85. The original fief of T'ai Kung. Center of the Ch'i kingdom. Identified with the later Lin Tzê.

- Yu Tu 幽都. *I*, 7*a*. 20. 1. "The dark North", Hyperborea. 2. An ancient locality identified with modern Wan-p'ing-hsien, Chih-li.
- Yung 雍. *I*, 9*b*. 28. One of the "Nine Chou", comprising Kan-su and Shen-hsi.
- Yung [Jung] Yang 榮陽. *I*, 6*b*. 19. Important gateway on the Yellow River; K'ai-fêng-fu, Ho-nan.
- Yü 虞. *IV*, 5*b*. 114. A small state of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* period. Identified with Yü-ch'êng in the P'ing-lu district, Shan-hsi.
- Yü 豫. *I*, 2*b*. 8. One of the "Nine Chou". S. of the Ho (*Erh Ya*). Comprised Ho-nan and parts of Hu-pei, Chihli, and Shan-tung.
- Yü Shang 於商. *II*, 3*b*. 46. The fief which Shang Yang received. It included the region from Nei-hsiang, Ho-nan, to Shang-hsien, Shen-hsi. [The 安 after 於商 in the text is apparently a mistake. 於 was often taken for a preposition (at, in). 安 was the capital city of Wei, captured by Ch'in. It is improbable that Shang Yang would have received it as a fief].
- Yüan [Wan] 宛. *I*, 6*a*. 16. Capital of the Nan-yang 南陽 *chün*, modern Nan-yang, Ho-nan.
- Yüeh 越. *II*, 7*a*; *I*, 4*a*, 5*b*. 20; 39; 48; 54; 100; 102. 1. Ancient kingdom (Chiang-hsi and Chê-chiang). 2. Tribes of the SE. and S. [*I*, 13*a*, 36. *III*, 46; 92].
- Yün-mêng 雲夢. *II*, 5*b*. 54; 55. The lake country S. of modern Yün-mêng-hsien in Hu-pei.
- Yün-yang 雲陽. *IV*, 7*a*. 118 (note 4). NW. of Ch'un-hua-hsien, Shen-hsi.

STELLINGEN

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1. Material of value to students of early Chinese societal development may be found in Chinese documents suspect of late fabrication.

2. The debate or dialogue between Prince and Minister, to express a Chinese writer's own ideas, has been a favorite literary device.

3. Present-day proposals in the Occident for stabilizing industry and minimizing unemployment, by regulating production through government agency, find their counterpart in early Chinese economic thought.

4. Sun Yat-sen's economics reflect theories of "State Socialism" favored by Chinese administrators from early times.

5. The principles governing early Chinese public finance, when given effect upon the salt control through the Five Power Reorganization Loan of 1913, contributed largely to decentralization of government in China.

6. The reforms in land-holding, introduced into Japan through the Taiho Statute (VIIth cent.), were largely modeled on the Chinese systems.

7. The reconstruction of the ancient pronunciation of Chinese cannot proceed to a time earlier than the phonologic dictionaries of the VIth century A.D.

8. The etymology for the Chinese ideograph for salt, *yen* 鹽, offered by Ninomya (quoted by Baas-Becking, Scientific Monthly, XXXII), is tenable only in part.

9. Through the hostility of Brahmanism to King Asoka (264—227 B.C.), the Mongolian world became the stronghold of Mahayana Buddhism.

10. The miracle of “walking on the water”, attributed to the *Ch'an* patriarch Bodhidharma in the art of China and Japan, is based upon a misinterpretation of the ideograph *wei* 葦.

11. The Chinese landscapist's inspiration is realistic, even to the representation of perspective.

12. Resemblances in ritual and hierarchical arrangements of the Tibetan Lama sect to the church of Rome, are susceptible of a definite historical elucidation.

13. The cultural assimilation of the Manchus by the Chinese did not await the conquest of 1644.

14. Destruction wrought by European-built Confederate privateers does not account primarily for the decline, after 1860, of the American merchant marine in Far Eastern waters.

15. Extraterritorial privileges in the XIXth century treaties differ materially from the self-governing arrangements made for the Arab trading settlements in China in the VIIth to IXth centuries.