Omissions and misprints:—

Vol. I. p. 62 憎而知其善, omitted.
II. p. 254 八佾以舞大夏 ,,
I. p. 35 'a Chen Ch'in,' add 'usually supposed to be 柳下惠.'
I. p. 19 for 乎 read 平.
I. p. 20 ,, 命 ,, 明.
I. p. 205 ,, 痳 ,, 麻.
II. p. 11 ,, 緣 ,, 綠.
II. p. 265 ,, 延 ,, 廷.
I. p. 190 ,, 'hastened,' read 'listened.'
I. p. 201 ,, 'eat,' ,, 'act.'
I. p. 344 ,, 'I am 100; and you are 90,' read 'I should die at 100; and you at 90.'
I. p. 245 ,, 'eighty trillions,' read '8,100,000,000.'
II. p. 31 ,, 'fu,' read 'fau.'

JOHN CHALMERS.

THE LIFE OF TSZE-CH'AN 子產.

PRIME MINISTER OF CHĂNG 鄭.

581-521 B.C.

Among the many ministers of the States whose names are mentioned and whose deeds are recorded in the Tso-chwan 左傳, Tsze-ch'an is one of the most illustrious. He was a contemporary of Confucius and the latter bestowed on more than one occasion the highest praise on his statesmanship. 'I respect Tsze-ch'an,' he said (Sze Ki, chap. 42), and 'He was a kind man' (Ana. XIV. X. 1); and again, 'Tsze-ch'an had four characteristics of a superior man:—in his conduct of himself he was humble; in serving his superiors, he was respectful; in nourishing the people, he was kind; in ordering the people he was just' (Ana. V. XV). The man whom Confucius thus esteemed was indeed a remarkable character. He was not only highly gifted, but providence had put him in such a difficult position, that he was compelled to use and to develop his talent of statesmanship. His native land, the small, feudal State of Chăng, was situated between the two great rival States of Ch'u 楚, in the south, and Tsin 晉, in the north. At one time it was obliged to rely on the former, at another time it had to go over to the latter; and often it was imposed upon and invaded by both. (See Legge, Classics, Vol. V. pp, 395, 398, 403, 404.) If we add to this that the people of Chăng were barbarous and rude and often revolted against the government, that the ruling House of Chăng was weak and the old and strong families often took the government in their own hands and quarrelled about their precedence, we shall have a fair idea of the state of things in Chăng at the time when Tsze-ch'an was about to make his appearance. Before introducing him to our readers it is, however, necessary to make a few other introductory remarks.

The two main sources of the life of Tsze-ch'an are the Tso-chwan 左傳 and the Sze-ki 史記. Though the former has been translated into English by Dr. Legge, it was impossible only to refer to the page or chapter where the reader might look up matters relating to Tsze-ch'an. If this had been done, the following biography would have been for the most part a dry and annoying list of references. It was therefore, after much hesitation, deemed better to use

Dr Legge's translation freely and give here all that is of importance with regard to the life and character of Tsze-ch'an. It will be found that many other works have been examined of which no translation exists. It is unnecessary to enumerate them here.

I. TSZE-CH'AN'S YOUTH.

Tsze-ch'an 子產, surnamed Kung-sun 公孫, is known to the Chinese under four different names. The first and most common appellation given to him in Chinese history is the above, 子產. But he is also often styled 公孫僑, and once 子美 Tsze-mei (vol. V., II. p. 511), whilst his posthumous title appears to have been Ch'ing-tsze 成子, see 國語 chap. 15, the last but one article, where we also read, that he was a grandchild of duke Muh of Chăng, 鄭穆公. Hence his surname 公孫, duke's grandchild. Mayers, in his Manual, follows the 史記 in saying, that Tsze-ch'an was a younger son of duke Ch'ing of Chăng 鄭成公, (Sze-ki, chap. 42). But the Sze-ki is here, as in many other places, quite unreliable.

The father of Tsze-ch'an was Kung-tsze Fah, 公子發, or as he is more generally called 公子國 Kung-tsze Kwoh. His name is first mentioned in the 5th year of duke Ch'ing 成 of Loo (585 B.C.), when he with several other followers of Tao the Earl of Chăng, was made a prisoner by the people of Ch'u 楚 The Earl Tao 悼 586-84 B.C. was followed by the Earl Ch'ing 成 584-70. When Ch'ing 成 died, Tsze-kwoh was minister of war. See L.C., Vol. V. p. 416, par. 5. In 566 the Earl Le 釐 570-565 B.C. sent him on a mission of friendly inquiries to Loo (p. 426.)

Two years later, in 564, Tsze-ch'an comes upon the stage and introduces himself at once as a clever, frank, and dauntless youth. His father Tsze-kwoh had made an incursion into Ch'ai 蔡, and captured its minister of war. The people of Chăng were all glad with the single exception of Tsze-ch'an, who said, 'There can be no greater misfortune to a small State than to have success in war while there is no virtue in its civil administration. When the people of Ch'u come to punish us (for this exploit), we must yield to their demands. Yielding to Ch'u, the army of Tsin is sure to come upon us. Both Tsin and Ch'u will attack Chăng, which within four or five years will have no quiet.' Tsze Kwoh hearing this was angry and said to him, 'What do you know? The expedition was a great commission of the State, and conducted by its chief minister. If a boy like you talk about it so, you will get into disgrace.' See L.C. Vol. V. p. 4, 435 par. 3. This single incident from the early life of Tsze-ch'an shows, that the youth, who dares to oppose his father and his whole country, promises to become a great man. There is a reference to this incident in Han-fei Tze's work, chap. 12 右經 p. 4. 'If the ruling house is weak, the ministers are afraid to speak in a straightforward way, but rather try to prevail one over the other in a clandestine manner. It was for this reason that Tsze-kwoh was angry when Tsze-ch'an remonstrated with him.' And in the same chapter p. 6. we read, 'Tsze-ch'an the son of Tsze-kwoh was loyal to his prince. Tsze-kwoh got angry with him, saying, "To have an opinion of one's own, different from all the other officers, this means to be the only man who is faithful to his prince. If the ruler is just and able, he will listen to you, but if he be not so, he will not hear what you have to say. But whether he hears you or not, it is by no means certain that he will appreciate you. Now you have separated yourself from all the other ministers, you will certainly thereby endanger your own person. And not only so; you will endanger your father's life also." Next year (563) Tsin with its dependent States invaded Chăng, when a covenant was made to the effect that henceforth Chăng should only obey the commands of Tsin. See L.C. Vol. II. p. 440, p. 4 史記 chap. 42.

In 562 Tsze-ch'an's father Tsze-kwoh was killed, together with two other ministers, by a band of ruffians who invaded the palace (p. 447 par. 8). On this occasion Tsze-ch'an showed great presence of mind by taking precautions at his own house before he proceeded to attack the ruffians (p. 448). In the same year (3rd of duke or earl 簡 Chien, 565-529, of Chăng) the chief minister Tsze-si thought of usurping the throne, but the Kung-tsze Tsze-k'ung made Wei-chi kill Tsze-si. After this Tsze-k'ung became manager of the State (duke 簡 being still young), and intended likewise to usurp the rulership, when Tsze-ch'an said to him, 'you maintained that Tsze-si ought to be put to death, now you imitate him; thus the disorder will never be stopped.' Tsze-k'ung took this to heart and remained minister of Chăng. See Sze-ki, chap. 42. From the Tso-chwan it appears that this Tsze-k'ung made a covenant or law, requiring that all in the various degrees of rank should receive the rules enacted by himself. The great officers, ministers and younger members of the great families refusing to obey, he intended to cut them off. But Tsze-ch'an advised him to burn the covenant he had made, and not to insist on his exclusive authority. He did so and succeeded in quieting the minds of the officers. See L. C. Vol. V. II. p. 448. From the commentary of Fuh K'ien 服虔 we learn something more concerning the covenant of Tsze-k'ung. He says, 'According to an old law the great officers of Chăng followed their fathers in their place. This rule Tsze-k'ung was going to abolish. Instead of hereditary office he intended to establish a law according to which the officers were to rise from the 士 to 大夫 and 卿 (the present system in China). If the covenant that contained this new rule, had not been burnt and abandoned, Tsze-k'ung would have hurt his own family, as his son could not have followed him in office. Nor would Tsze-ch'an have attained the position of a high dignitary at the early age of nineteen.' (焚書倉門則還依舊法舊法若父死子代子產卽應代父。何由十九年始立爲卿). This commentary gives us the only hint about the year of the birth of Tsze-ch'an. This must have been the year 581 B.C., because he was 19 years when his father died and when he became a 卿.

During the following years the ruler and officers of Chăng were very much troubled about their relations with the great States Tsin and Ch'u. The latter grew gradually weaker, and the former became more powerful. Of Tsze-ch'an we hear nothing until the year 553, when he was made a high minister. See L. C. Vol. V. II. p. 43 p. 12, and Sze-ki chap. 42, and 119.

II. TSZE-CH'AN AS SHAO CHING, 少正. B. C. 553-542.

1. Tsze-ch'an writes two important letters to the court of Tsin.

During the years 552 and 551 nothing remarkable was done by Tsze-ch'an. In 550 the earl Chien of Chăng was summoned by the people of Tsin to appear at their court, when the people of Chăng employed Tsze-ch'an to reply to their request. Tsze-ch'an wrote a letter in which he pointed out, that Chăng could not be blamed for having neglected its duty to the greater State Tsin, but Tsin had been rather arbitrary in its commands and unreasonable in its complaints, sending orders at irregular times and finding fault with Chăng, when these could not be obeyed immediately. See L. C. Vol. VII p. 494 par. 2. In 548 Tsze-ch'an wrote another letter directed to the chief minister of Tsin, Fan Hsüăn-tsze 范宣子, which is not less remarkable for its straight-forwardness. As the offerings Tsin required from the dependent States became more heavy every year, Tsze-chăn told Fan Hsüăn-tsze, that this would alienate the States from Tsin, and advised him, that he, who was responsible for their welfare, should

not so much desire the gifts of the dependencies as a good name. 'A good name,' he says, 'is the carriage in which virtue is conveyed; and virtue is the foundation of a State. . . . . Had you not better cause men to say of you, that you nourish them, than to say you take from them to nourish yourself? The elephant has tusks to the destruction of its body;—because of their use as gifts.' The letter had the desired effect. Hsüăn-tsze was pleased with it and made the tributary gifts required from the States lighter. See L.C. Vol. V. p. 507 par. 1.

2. Tsze-ch'an's victory in Ch'in 陳. He is interviewed by an officer of Tsin.

In the same year (548) Ch'u 楚 invaded Chăng (L.C. V. p. 508 par. 9) with Ch'in 陳 (p. 515, par. 4). Next year the people of Chăng sought revenge. Tsze-chen and Tsze-ch'an invaded Ch'in with 700 chariots, dug through the wall of the capital and entered it at night. The next morning, instead of availing themselves of this victory, Tsze-ch'an and Tsze-chen only declared the number of prisoners they had made and restored the ministers to their posts. A Commentator remarks here that of all the 'entrances' into cities or States mentioned in the Ch'un-ts'iu there is none, where the hostilities were conducted so courteously as by Tsze-chen and Tsze-ch'an. When Tsze-ch'an duly reported this victory to Tsin, he was interviewed and taken to task by the officer Sze Chwang-poh 士莊伯. The latter put three questions to him. The first was, what had been the offence of Ch'in. Tsze-ch'an answered, that Ch'in, forgetful of its many obligations to Chăng, had treated Chăng with cruel insolence, and that the troops of Ch'in, relying on the power of Ch'u, had invaded Chăng last year and stopped up the wells and cut down the trees along the road by which they marched. The officer of Tsin, being obliged to acknowledge this fact, asked Tsze-ch'an a second question. 'Why did Chăng incroach upon a small State?' Tsze-ch'an replied, that according to the commands of the former kings, whereever there was guilt, it should be punished. 'Moreover,' he added, 'your great State now contains several times the amount of the King's domain. If you did not encroach upon small States, how have you reached this extent of territory?' Thereupon the officer asked him once more, 'Why do you appear in martial attire?' Tsze-ch'an justified his conduct by telling him, that there was a precedent in history; duke Wăn of Chăng having once been specially charged by the duke of Tsin in martial attire to help the King. Sze Chwang-poh was not able to ask Tsz-ch'an any more questions, and when he reported what had passed between him and Tsze-ch'an to another officer, the latter said, 'His speeches are reasonable; to go against them would be inauspicious.' And Ch'ung-ni (Confucius) said, 'An ancient book says, "Words are to give adequate expression to one's ideas; and composition to give adequate power to the words." Without words who would know one's thoughts? Without elegant composition of the words, they will not go far. Tsin was the leading State, and but for Tsze-ch'an's well-composed speeches would not have acknowledged Chăng's entrance into Ch'in as good service. Tsze-ch'an took great pains with his speeches.' See L.C. V. pp. 516, 517, par. 9. It would seem, that the Chinese recognised the importance of well-composed political speeches twenty-four centuries ago.

3. Two instances which prove that Tsze-ch'an was of a humble mind. He compares government with the work of husbandry.

In spite of his abilities, Tsze-ch'an was not too proud to learn from others. Consulting Jăn-ming 然明 about the practice of government, he received the answer, 'The people should be looked on as one's children, and when a bad man is seen he should be taken off as a hawk pursues a sparrow.' Full of joy Tsze-ch'an told this

answer to another officer, who in return asked him what he thought himself about government. Tsze-ch'an replied, 'Government is like the work of husbandry. You must think of it day and night, thinking of what is to be done first, and how the end is to be accomplished. Then labour at it morning and evening; but in what you do, do not go beyond what you have thought over; just as the husbandmen keep within their dividing banks. In this way you will commit few errors.' See L.C. V. p. 517, par. 10.

The earl of Chăng was rewarding Tsze-chen and Tsze-ch'an for their good service done in entering the capital of Ch'in, and gave the former a first-class carriage and the robes of a minister of three degrees, along with eight cities, and to the latter a second-class carriage, and the robes of a minister of two degrees, along with six towns. But Tsze-ch'an humbly declined the towns, saying that according to rule the amount of gifts conferred should diminish by two each rank, that his place was only the 4th, and that the merit belonged altogether to Tsze-chen. The earl, however, pressed the gifts upon him, and he finally accepted three cities. On this occasion Kung-sun Hwui said that Tsze-ch'an would yet administer the government of Chăng. See L.C. V, p. 524, par. 3; comp. Sze-ki chap. 42.

4. Two words of good advice by Tsze-ch'an.

In the same year the viscount of Ch'u and an officer of Ts'in 秦 made an incursion into Chăng. An officer of Chăng, Yin-Kin-foo, was made prisoner and taken to Ts'in. The people of Chăng sent presents to Ts'in and asked that Yin might be restored to them. Tsze-tăi-shuh made the application. But Tsze-ch'an told him: 'You will not get him.' Ts'in received him as a trophy of Ch'u, and if it should take property for him from Chăng it would not deserve to be called a State. It will not do so. If you say: 'We acknowledge your lordship's diligent service for the State of Chăng. If it had not been for your lordship's kindness, the army of Ch'u would still have been at the foot of the wall of our capital;—that will succeed.' The other did not take his counsel, and a messenger proceeded to Ts'in, but there they would not give up the prisoner. Tsze-t'a-shuh then changed the money into offerings of silk, took the counsel of Tsze-ch'an, and obtained Yin Kin-foo's release (p. 524, par. 4.) In the same year the viscount of Ch'u was instigated by duke Ling of Hsü to invade Chăng. The people of Chăng wished to resist him, but Tsze-ch'an said, 'Tsin and Ch'u are about to become friends, and the States will be in harmony. The king of Ch'u has blindly erred therefore in his attack on us. Our best plan is to let him have his way and return. Things will then be easily settled. As to those small men whose nature it is to be moved to deeds of daring, and who like times of confusion, thereby gratifying their nature and seeking for fame, their schemes will not be for the advantage of the State;—why should we follow them?' Tsze-chen was pleased, and did not resist the enemy, which was the best thing he could do (p. 527, par. 9.) It would appear that, if there had been Whigs and Tories at that time, Tsze-ch'an would probably have sided with the former.

5. The covenant of the States in Sung. Tsze-ch'an complains about the sad fate of Chăng.

In the year 545 B.C. the States made a covenant in Sung in order to stop the constant wars. The following fourteen States came under consideration:—晉, 楚, 齊, 秦, 魯, 衞, 陳, 蔡, 鄭, 許, 曹, 邾, 滕, 宋. It was agreed that 晉 and 楚 were equals, and the presidency hitherto held by 晉 alone was now divided between 晉 and 楚. The two States 齊 and 秦 were exempted from the covenant, because they made up what was then already called 'the balance of power'; 晉 would do no-

Chăng. When the government had been in his hands one year, all men sang of him:

'We must take our clothes and caps and hide them all away!
We must count our fields by fives, and own a mutual sway.
We'll gladly join with him who this Tsze-ch'an will slay.'

Comp. 呂氏春秋 chap. 16.:—我有田疇而子產賦之。我有衣冠而子產貯之。

But in three years the song was:—

''Tis Tsze-ch'an who our children trains;
Our fields to Tsze-ch'an owe their gains.
Did Tsze-ch'an die, who'd take the reins?'

See L.C.V. p. 558. In the Sze-ki we read, chap. 119, 'When Tsze-ch'an had been in office for one year, the young people had ceased to make bad jokes, the old were not obliged to raise and carry burdens, and slave boys did not plough the paths between the fields. In his second year, the market prices were no longer extravagant (unsettled). In his third year the doors of the houses were not shut during the night, and when travellers lost anything on the road, it was not taken up. In his fourth year the farming utensils need not be brought back into the house. In his fifth year order was preserved without the use of rules and registers for scholars and officers, and without the issuing of decrees with regard to the time of mourning.' In chap. 126 we are told, 'Tradition says, "when Tsze-ch'an governed Chăng, the people could not deceive; when Tsze-ch'ien governed Tan-fu the people could not bear deceiving; when Si-mun P'au governed Yeh, the people did not dare to deceive." Which of these three statesmen was the ablest? The student of statesmanship ought to find this out.'

In 呂氏春秋 it is recorded, that 'when Tsze-ch'an was minister of Chăng, he went to visit Fu-ch'iu Tsze-lin (the teacher of the philosopher Lieh Tsze) and used to sit among his disciples. But he made it a point to take his place according to his age (not to his rank), thus leaving the 'high minister' outside the gate. Now to be minister in a State of 10,000 carriages, and yet to give up this dignity in order to learn from others something about the theory and practice of government,—this only a Tsze-ch'an could do. The result was, that when he had governed Chăng for 18 years, and had punished three men and put to death two others, the peach and plum trees sent their branches over the road, but nobody made a fence around them; a nail might be lost by a traveller, but nobody took it up.' Chap. 15. The last words are in chap. 16 of the same work also used with reference to the good government of Confucius.

Han-fei Tsze, chap. 9, seems to refer to the same time when he says, Duke Chien of Chăng said to Tsze-ch'an, 'Our State is small and pressed between King and Tsin. At present our walls are deficient, and our armaments incomplete; we must not wait longer in preparing ourselves.' Tsze-ch'an replied, 'Your servant has shut up the walls without, against all enemies far and near, and he keeps firmly that which is within. Though ours is a small State, there is no danger; be not troubled, my liege.' Therefore duke Chien had no trouble as long as he lived. When Tsze-ch'an governed Chăng, duke Chien said to him, 'It is no pleasure to drink wine; the tripods are too small, the bells, drums, and stringed instruments do not give a clear sound; my affairs are not harmonious; the State is unsettled; the people are not well governed; the tilling of the ground and the affairs of war are not properly arranged: all this is your fault. You have your office and I have mine. Let each of us do his duty.' Tsze-ch'an went away and took the government in hand. After the lapse of five years there was no robbery or violence in Chăng. Things that were lost on the road were not stolen; the branches of the peach and date trees reached over the

travellers on the road and needed not to be fenced. If a nail was lost on the road, it might be found after three days. This lasted three years, and the people had no want.

3. The earl of Chăng is slighted at the court of Tsin.

Tsze-ch'an remonstrates by word and action. His council of ministers.

In the following year (541) Tsze-ch'an attended the earl of Chăng on a visit to Tsin. The marquis of Tsin did not immediately give the earl an interview, moreover the lodgings of the guests were rather inferior. Tsze-ch'an, being offended, ordered all the walls about their lodging-house to be thrown down, and brought in their carriages and horses. When Sze Wan-pih, an officer of Tsin, complained about Tsze-ch'an's proceeding, the latter made an excellent speech and succeeded in convincing the officers of Tsin, that they had been lacking in propriety towards their guests. The earl of Chăng and his followers were then entertained liberally, proofs of friendship were given to them, and new reception houses were built for the accommodation of the feudal princes. 'Thus indispensable,' said a high officer of Tsin, 'is the gift of speech-making! Tsze-ch'an has that gift, and all the States are under obligation to him.'

Tsze-ch'an showed great wisdom in selecting able men and employing them in the administration of government. When he had business with other States, he asked Tsze-yü 子羽 what was doing round about, and caused him to compose a long speech. He then took 裨諶 P'i Shan in his carriage into the open country, and made him consider whether the speech would suit the occasion or not. Next he told 馮簡子 P'ing Chien-tsze, and made him give a decision in the case. When all this was done, he put the matter into the hands of 子大叔 Tsze-t'ai-shuh to carry it into effect, replying to the visitors from other States. At that time Chăng was renowned for its propriety. See L. C. V. pp 564 and 565 Comp. Ana. XIV., IX. and 淮南子 chap. 16.

4. Tsze-ch'an is in favour of freedom of speech.

Once a man of Chăng rambled into a village school, and fell discoursing about the conduct of government. In consequence Jan-ming 然明 proposed to Tsze-ch'an to destroy all its village schools; but Tsze-ch'an said, 'Why do so? If people retire morning and evening, and pass their judgment on the conduct of the government, as being good or bad, I will do what they approve of, and I will alter what they condemn;—they are my teachers. On what ground should we destroy those schools? I have heard that by loyal conduct and goodness enmity is diminished, but I have not heard that it can be prevented by acts of violence. It may indeed be hastily stayed for a while, but it continues like a stream that has been dammed up. If you make a great opening in the dam, there will be injury done beyond our power to relieve. The best plan is to lead the water off by a small opening. In this case our best plan is to hear what is said, and use it as a medicine.'*

When Confucius heard of these words, he said, 'Looking at the matter from this, when men say that Tsze-ch'an was not benevolent, I do not believe it.' See L. C.V. pp. 565, 566.

5. Tsze-ch'an discountenances nepotism.

At the same time Tsze-p'i, who was still chief minister and Tsze-ch'an's superior, wished to prefer one of his friends and to make him commandant of his city. Tsze-ch'an objected on the ground that the man was too young and inexperienced and advised Tsze-p'i not to confer such a post

* It is somewhat surprising that Tsze-ch'an here gives utterance to principles which in our day are recognised and carried out in Europe only by that State which is politically speaking ahead of all the others,—England. *Nihil sub sole novum.*

on him, only because he loved him and knew him to be careful and honest. 'It would be the same, he said, as if you would employ a man to cut before he is able to handle a knife;—the injury done to him must be great.' Tsze-p'i saw the danger and became convinced of his error. So much so that he said to Tsze-ch'an, 'On a former day I said that if you governed the State and I governed my family, and so preserved myself it would do. Henceforth I know that I am insufficient even for this, and must be allowed even in the rule of my family to act as I shall be instructed by you.' Tsze-ch'an said, 'Men's minds are different just as their faces are. How should I presume to say that your face must be as mine? But if I see that which makes my mind, as we say, uneasy, I will tell you of it.' Tsze-p'i, impressed with his faithfulness, entrusted to him the government, and thus it was that Tsze-ch'an was able to conduct the affairs of Chăng (p. 566).

6. Tsze-ch'an is very careful in dealing with members of powerful families.

Next year (540) there was a quarrel between the two noblemen Kung-sun Ch'u (Tsze-nan) and Kung-sun Hêh, who both wanted to marry the beautiful sister of Sin-wu Fan. Tsze-ch'an, however, did not take an active part; and when he afterwards was obliged to banish Tsze-nan, he did so with great hesitation. See L.C.V. p.p. 578 and 579.

7. The illness of the marquis of Tsin. Tsze-ch'an does not believe that it is caused by the spirits and stars but by the immoral and disorderly conduct of the marquis.

In the same year the marquis of Tsin fell ill and Tsze-ch'an was sent on a complimentary visit to Tsin. When he inquired about the marquis' illness, Shuh-hsiang 叔向 told him, the diviners had said, that the illness was inflicted on him by the spirits Shih-shân 實沈 (of hills and streams) and Tai-t'ai 臺駘 (of sun, moon and stars), but that the historiographers did not know who these were. On this occasion Tsze-ch'an showed that he was well versed in the ancient lore of mythology. He told the history of these spirits, but arrived at the conclusion that they had nothing to do with the marquis' illness, because due sacrifice had been offered to them in every time of need. He thought that the illness was rather connected with or caused by the movements of the marquis out of doors and at home, by his meat and drink, by his griefs and pleasures. 'I have heard, he added, that the superior man divides the day into three periods:—the morning, to hear the affairs of the government and to make full enquiries about them; the evening, to consider well and to complete the orders he has resolved to issue; and the night for rest. By this arrangement of his time, he attempers and dissipates the humours of the body, so that they are not allowed to become shut up, stopped and congested, so as to injure and reduce it. Should that take place, his mind loses its intelligence, and all his measures are pursued in a dark and confused way. But has not your ruler been making these three different periods of his time into one? This may have produced the illness.' Besides want of system in the conduct of affairs, Tsze-ch'an suggests that the marquis' illness might be partly due to excesses of another kind. He blames him for having four concubines of his own surname in his harem. See L.C.V. p. 580, and Sze-ki, chap. 42.

8. The people of Chăng are frightened by Ch'u; but Tsze-ch'an remains unmoved. He commands a rebellious officer to kill himself.

In the same year the chief minister of Ch'u fortified three cities which frightened the people of Chăng, but Tsze-ch'an knew the intentions of Ch'u so well that he told the people not to trouble themselves about it. Nor was he moved by the exciting report of his fellow-minister Yu Kih, who told

him that the king of Ch'u was about to call the States together.

In the following year (539) Kung-sun Hêh, who had been banished, but who does not seem to have left Chăng, was about to raise an insurrection. As he was a turbulent character and insubordinate and dangerous to the government, Tsze-ch'an, in agreement with other great officers, determined to make an end of him. He commanded Hêh to die by his own hand. But Hêh, who was suffering from an old wound which had just broken out afresh, said, 'Death may occur any morning or evening, but do not you aid the act of Heaven by cruelty.' Tsze-ch'an replied, 'Who of men is exempted from death? but that bad men should not die a natural death, is the appointment. He who does bad, villainous things is a villain. If we do not aid Heaven, shall we aid him? . . . If you do not quickly die, the minister of crime will visit you.' Hêh strangled himself and his body was exposed in the street with an inscription on a board by it. See L. C. V. par. 6.

9. Tsze-ch'an goes twice to Ch'u.

In his 27th year (538) in summer, duke Chien of Chăng paid a visit to the court of Tsin. Next winter he was afraid of the power of King Ling of Ch'u, and therefore he also visited the court of Ch'u. Tsze-ch'an went with him and there was a hunt. See Sze-ki chap. 42, and L. C. V. p. 591 par. 6.

Next year the duke of Chăng was ill, and sent Tsze-ch'an to the meeting of the princes in Ch'u, where king Ling was making a covenant in Shun 申. (Sze-ki chap. 42). Before he made this covenant, he asked Tsze-ch'an whether Tsin would grant him the States. Tsze-ch'an said it would, because the ruler of Tsin occupied himself only with small matters and did not think about the States; moreover his great officers had many desires of their own, and not one of them was seeking to correct their ruler's errors. When further asked whether or not the States would come at Ch'u's call, he said that they were sure to come with the exception perhaps of only four. 'Then, said the King of Ch'u, may I succeed in all that I seek for?' 'Not, was the reply, if you seek from others your own gratification; but if you seek what they and you wish and can share together, you will be entirely successful.' At the meeting, the ceremonies of the smaller States were directed by Tsze-ch'an and no mistake was made. Tsze-ch'an was however troubled about Ch'u, in fact he thought that the king would not endure more than ten years, because he was extravagant, regardless of courtesy due to the prince, and deaf to the remonstrance of his officers. See L. C. V. p. 597.

10. Tsze-ch'an makes new regulations for the payment of taxes. He is reviled by the people.

The same year Tsze-ch'an made new and harder regulations for the contributions from the fields, 丘 chiu. (In the Ch'un-ts'iu P. I. 3. it is recorded that an ordinance was made by duke Ch'ing 成公 of Lu, according to which the ch'un or acre had to pay the taxes of a t'ien 甸, a ch'iu 丘 or 16 tsing 井 contributed a war-horse and 3 oxen; a t'ien 甸 or 64 tsing contributed a war-chariot, 4 war-horses, 12 oxen, 3 mailed soldiers, and 72 footmen). Dr Legge adds, 'We cannot suppose that the ordinance in the text was so extremely ... d oppressive.' With regard to Tsze-ch'an's reformation nothing is said as to how heavy the tax was. But the people reviled him on account of it, saying, 'His father died on the roads, and he himself is a scorpion's tail.' When this was reported to him, he replied, 'There is no harm in it. If it only benefit the altars (my country), I will either live or die. Moreover I have heard, that when the good-doer does not change his measures, he can calculate on success. The people are not to be gratified in this; the measure must not be altered.' See L. C. V. p. 598. Han-fei, 韓非子, chap. 19

says, 'The people are like little children. If their sore head is to be cleansed or an ulcer to be probed, some one must hold them, and though the loving mother does it, still they cry all the while; they do not know that their suffering a little trouble brings about great benefit. Thus, if the rulers are anxious to have the fields cultivated and cleared from weeds, in order to increase the produce for the people, the people think that they are *oppressive*. If they improve the penal law and make the punishments more severe in order to check vices, the people say they are *severe*. If they insist upon the payment of taxes and tithes, in order to fill the magazines and treasuries to provide for times of want and to prepare the army, people say they are *covetous*. If they teach the people the art of warfare, and hold reviews of the army so as to be able to fight and overcome the enemy, the people say they are *tyrannical*. By these four measures the government secures peace; but the people neither appreciate nor like them. . . . In ancient time there was Yü who led the streams in proper channels and deepened the river beds, but the people threw potsherds and stones at him. Tsze-ch'an regulated the fields and planted mulberry trees, but the people of Chăng reviled him. Yü benefited the empire; Tsze-ch'an sustained Chăng, yet both were reviled.'

E. R. EICHLER.

(To be continued).

CHINESE AND TARTARS, TIBETANS, &c.

In the year 1,066 the Kitans again styled their Empire *Liao* [遼]. In the year 1,067 fighting took place with 'Prester John,' sovereign of Hia, who died and was succeeded by his son 秉常. In the year 1,070 the Liao Dynasty introduced the 賢良科 (apparently 'selection by merit' system) into their dominions. During the same year Prester John attacked the modern Ch'ing-yang city in Kan Suh. In the year 1,071 Han Kiang [韓絳] sent his lieutenant 种諤 to attack Prester John at a place called 囉兀, north-west of 米脂 city; the captured town [Ragut?] was then walled and fortified. Prester John shortly afterwards captured a number of cities, and Ch'ung o was exiled to Hu Nan. In 1,073 the T'ufan were defeated, and the city of 武勝 in modern Kan Suh was fortified. The wife of Muchêng [木征] the grandson of Kuksara* [唃斯囉] was taken prisoner, and 岷州 was reduced. [As there is still a race of aborigines at Min chou, missionaries ought to make industrious enquiry into their history]. The Mantsz of modern Ichang and modern 辰州 in Hu Nan are mentioned as suffering defeats at this time. In the year 1,073 the Liao Empire complained of Chinese encroachments in Shan Si, and both Courts sent officers on a delimitation commission. For forty three years the Kitans had prevented all intercourse between Corea and China; but, in the summer of 1,071, 徽, king of Corea, sent one Kim T'i [金悌] with tribute *viâ* Chefoo. The Kitans also object-

* Kuksara's original name was 欺南陵温錢逋, and he was born in Turkistan [高昌]. A Tibetan [羌] named 何郎業賢 met Kuksara, when on a visit to Kao-ch'ang, and took him back to 河洲 *Kuk* in the local tongue meant 'Buddha,' and *sara* meant 'son.' It is just possible that Kuksara and Mukchêng may be 'Prester John.'