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[illegible]ng-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 *vid* 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 Kaoch'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.'

ed to the extension of Chinese influence in Prester John's direction, and to the planting by Chinese of elms and willows on the 西山 in order to impede Kitan cavalry movements. In the year 1,074 Muchêng surrendered and was presented with a command and a new name 趙思忠. In the year 1,075 there were more wranglings with the Kitans about the boundary question. Wang An-shih [Mayers, No. 807] recommended that 'as they will probably take it, it would be better to give it' [將欲取之必姑與之], a craven policy which laid the seeds of war.

This year the Tonquinese [交阯] made an incursion into China, and captured two cities in the neighbourhood of modern Pakhoi, surrounding the Nan-ning. The Governor [蘚緘] first put his own family, consisting of 36 persons, to death, and then resisted to his utmost; 58,000 people were massacred with him by the Annamese when the city fell. The aboriginal tribes of Hu Nan, [五溪蠻], who appear to have been left unmolested for 1,000 years, were now (1,076) reduced to subjection, and the modern city of 永順 was fortified. Meanwhile Cambodia, [占臘 or 眞臘], described as a state subject to An-nan, and another Cochin China State called 占城, and described as being identical with 林邑, were instructed to join in an attack upon Tonquin [交阯]. The Tonquinese were defeated by 郭逵 at 富良江 in Annam, and 李乾德 [who must have been the chief rebel] surrendered. The reason given by the Annamese for their invasion was that they 'wished to relieve the Chinese people from the misgovernment of their rulers!'

In the year 1,080 war was again declared against Prester John, on the ground that his mother had wrested the government from him, and that the Kitans would otherwise probably be first in the field. A eunuch named 李憲 was sent in command of one column, and the exiled 种誥 recalled from banishment and placed in charge of another. The Chinese were completely defeated in 1,082 with a loss of 200,000 men, making a total loss, since the wars with Prester John began, of 600,000 Chinese, civilized Tibetans, and friendly tribes [熟羌義堡]. In the year 1,083, the Liao Empire suffered immense loss through an unusually heavy fall of snow. On the accession to power of Sz-ma Kwong [Mayers, No. 656] in 1,086, the Kitans instructed their frontier officers to be careful not to ruffle Chinese susceptibilities: both the Hia ruler, 'Prester John,' and Sz-ma died this year. The former was succeeded by his son 乾順. In 1,090 Prester John restored his Chinese prisoners in exchange for four towns.

In the year 1,096 the Nüchen Tartars attacked Asu [阿疎] of the 紇石烈 tribe, in consequence of which Asu took refuge with the Kitans. This was the first aggressive movement on the part of the Nüchêns.

In the year 1,101 the Kitan Emperor died, after a long reign of 46 years, and was succeeded by his grandson 耶律延禧.

In the year 1,101 the Hia Kingdom of Prester John was 'permitted to be at peace,' and, in the year 1,111, an envoy was sent to the Kitans to congratulate the Liao Emperor on his birthday. The eunuch 童貫 who acted as second envoy, brought back to China one 李良嗣, who was presented with the imperial surname of *Chao*. This man Li was originally an influential Kitan named 馬植; but, owing to evil conduct, he had become an outcast; and, meeting the eunuch at 盧溝, (the celebrated Lu-kon Ch'iao or Peking), suggested to the said eunuch a plan for seizing the Kitan capital. Meanwhile he assumed the name Li Liang-sz, and pointed out that the Nuchêns heartily detested the Kitans, and suggested that the Chinese should proceed by sea from Chefoo and make a treaty with the Nuchêns.

In the year 1113, the Kitan Emperor went a-fishing to the river 混同江 (1500 *li* north of Moukden) which flowed past a city

called 五國城 into the sea. In accordance with custom, all the 'uncivilized' Nuchên chiefs within a radius of 1,000 *li* had to come and present their respects. The Emperor gave a feast of fishes' heads, and ordered the chiefs to dance in turn;—when he came to one named Akuteng* [阿骨頂], this chief sulkily refused, and looked the Emperor straight in the face. Fearing the Emperor's revenge, Akuteng combined with other tribes and declared war. On the death of the Nuchên generalissimo 烏雅東, Akutêng inherited the post of 都勃極烈, a 'chief,' and declined to report the death, when a Kitan envoy was sent to expostulate. Next year Akuteng openly rebelled, seized the town of 江寧, north-east of Kirin, and defeated the Kitans in a pitched battle. In 1,115, on the advice of his younger brother 吳乞買 (afterwards 太宗), he assumed the Imperial title, and, in imitation of the Kitans (*Liao*), who took their dynastic style as an emblem of the hardness of iron [寶鐵], took 金 or 'gold' as his motto, because gold was incorruptible, and was of white or light colour; also because the tribe of his surname [完顏] took white as their national colour; and, finally also because his tribe had its origin in the 按出虎 or 'golden' River.†

His younger brother Gukimai was made *amban* and *tupokire*: his younger brother Seiya [斜也] and his Kinsman Sakai [撒改 grandson of Ukunai 烏古廼] were made *Kwolum*.

This year, glass [琉璃] wine bottles from Arabia [大食國] are mentioned; the same things were mentioned in 778 as having come from the Byzantine Empire [大秦]. The Nuchên next captured the city of 黃龍. This city must be about 500 miles north of Moukden, but in one place it is described as being the same as 和龍, the capital of the Mujung dynasty in the 4th century, i.e. somewhere east of Peking. The Nuchên demanded the surrender of Asu, who, as stated, had rebelled and gone over to the Kitans in 1,096.

In the year 1,118 a present of jade was sent from Khoten, which shews that China's power was still felt in these parts.

In the spring of this year a Chinese horse-dealer* came over from a place called 薛州 [? Newchwang], in the Nuchên† dominions, to Chefoo, and told China of the defeats which had been inflicted as above described upon the Kitans. The Governor of Têng-lai was instructed to communicate with the Nuchêns; but, failing, a sea mission was sent under the envoy 馬政, who interviewed Akutêng in company with the horse-dealer, and laid the foundations of an alliance. The Kitan Empire this year had to contend with a great famine, during which they reduced their population by devouring each other. In the year 1,119 a native of 渤海 State named 李善慶 was sent back with Ma Chêng, carrying a letter [國書] with proposals for an alliance. Ma Chêng was again sent back with one 趙有開, and with the original Nuchên envoy Li Shan-k'ing. They were to take with them by sea a mandate [贅詔] acknow-

* Akutêng was the 太祖 of the Kin Dynasty, the second son of 世祖; he afterwards changed his name to 旻.

† 兀顏 is elsewhere said to be a Nuchên surname meaning 朱, but 完顏 is nowhere to be found. From the words here explained, it ought to be easy to determine the exact relation of the Nuchên to the Manchu and other Tartars. *Amban* 諳班 is said to have meant 尊大, and is a word still used by the Manchu. *Tupokire* is above explained to be 官長. *Kwolun*, [國論], is said to be the equivalent of 國相, or 'minister of state.' One of the Kitan generals bore the cognomen of 撻不也. Manchu scholars should be able to identify some of these names, The River Hurka is elsewhere spelt 忽汗 and 虎哈, a tributary of the Sungari or Hun-t'ung.

* This was an ancient trade route used by Nuchên horse-dealers, and reminds one of the Corean trade with Chefoo in vogue up to four years ago.

† One of the Nuchên States. See last number.

ledging the homage [報聘] and 'instructing' the Nuchêns to co-operate. Chao Yiu-k'ai died at Chefoo, where spies reported that the Kitans had conferred the style of Emperor upon Akutêng. On this the Chinese Embassy was recalled, and the Nuchên envoy was sent back alone in charge of another unaccredited officer. This officer was once more sent back from Nuchên with instructions to 'tell the emperor that if he really desires an alliance, he should lose no time in sending a letter [示國書], but that if he continues to send me mandates [用詔], I will not act with him.' In the summer of this year an embassy came to China from Prester John [夏].

Relations were still kept up with Corea. When one 路允迪 came back from Corea, he brought a message from the King [高麗國王] inquiring after the health of the scholar Yang Shih [Mayers, No. 893].

In the year 1,120 the above-mentioned Kitan traitor Chao Liang-sz was sent to the Nuchên country disguised as a horse-dealer, with secret instructions from the eunuch T'ung-kwan, [known as 'the grand old woman' 媼相], to arrange an attack upon modern Peking. Chao Liang-sz told the Nuchên monarch that Peking was originally part of China [漢地], and that China [宋] expected to have both that and Tientsin [析津], whilst the Nuchêns were at liberty to take Yung-p'ing Fu [中京] and 大定府. Akutêng handed to the Chinese envoy an autograph letter [手札], in which he agreed to advance upon the Kitans by way of the 古北口 Pass, whilst the Chinese were to advance from 白溝 (the Sinico-Kitan frontier in modern 新城縣). The Nuchên Emperor sent one 勃堇 back* with the Chinese envoy to explain his views. The Sung Emperor wrote as follows:—'The Emperor of China [大宋皇帝] addresses the Emperor of the Nuchêns [大金皇帝]. He has at this great distance received the letter desiring the chastisement of the Kitans [遠承示書致罰契丹], and will do as agreed [當如來約]. He has already despatched T'ung Kwan with a co-operating force. The troops of either party must not cross the other's frontier: the subsidy will be paid as to the Kitans.'*

A rebellion against exactions now broke out in Chê Kiang under the leadership of one 方臘, who appears to have been a sort of T'aiping Christian, inasmuch as he did not trust to arms so much as to superstitious mummeries [鬼神詭祕], and the troops destined for the north were sent under T'ung Kwan into Chê Kiang, when 2,000,000 people had already perished.

This year Cambodja [眞臘] sent tribute to China, and a second rebellion broke out in Honan under 宋江. In 1121 the rebellions were both crushed, and the Kitan general [都統] Yelüyütu [耶律余覩] went over to the Nuchêns, who attacked Peking by themselves.

In 1122 the Nuchêns captured the Central Capital [永平] of the Kitan Empire, and the Kitan Emperor slew his son Orkhan [敖盧斡] whom the traitor Yelüyütu had contemplated placing on the throne. The Kitan Emperor with a small following just succeeded in escaping to Ta-t'ung Fu [雲州], whence he was chased to 夾山. The Kitan prefect of Peking [燕京] placed the Emperor's uncle 耶律淳 on the vacant throne, and degraded the Emperor to the rank of 湘陰王. The Nuchêns now captured the Kitan Western Capital, modern Ta-t'ung, and the Chinese sent 150,000 men to join in the sport, but were routed by the Kitans, who reproached the Chinese with paltriness. The Chinese general 种師道 was disposed to come to terms, but the eunuch would not listen.

* This may be the same as 孛堇 which is elsewhere said to mean 部長.

* It is important for foreign powers to note these precedents. Even when China has been ruled by Chinese, she has often been so only under sufferance and after payment of subsidy. Her natural rulers are 'barbarians.'

The Kitan commanders on this occasion were Yelü Ta-shih [大石] and 蕭幹. The Kitan emperor 淳 dying, his widow, Dame 蕭, proclaimed herself regent, and slew the prefect of Peking 李處温, who was intriguing both with China and the Nuchêns to protect himself from the results of his former treachery. The Nuchêns meanwhile began to fear that the Chinese would get out of their subsidy if they once first got hold of Peking, and therefore arranged a field meeting [師期]. The Kitan general 郭藥師 treacherously gave up the modern 涿州 and 易州 to China, and joined the Chinese in an unsuccessful attack upon Peking. The Chinese had at first only asked from the Nuchêns the return of that territory handed over to the Kitans by the Turkish Emperor 石 [Mayers, No. 600] in 936. They now increased their demands so as to include the modern 昌黎, 永平, and 灤州, which had been given to the Kitans by 劉仁恭 as the price of their assistance.* The Nuchêns captured Peking before the year was out, and the Kitan Empress Siao fled to 天德, a fertile oäsis at the mouth of the desert, which had been fortified by the T'ang dynasty about A.D. 800. The Chinese envoy, Chao Liang-sz, now began to squabble with the Nuchên Emperor, who said that, if the Chinese insisted on increasing their demands, he would not give up even Peking, and, anyhow, demanded the rents of the Peking district. The Nuchên general 粘沒喝 also used menacing language. The Kitan traitor Kwoh Lo-shih was appointed Chinese subgovernor of Peking, but he was loyal enough to decline the task of capturing his dethroned master 延禧 [Mayers, p. 389; T'ien-tsu, not T'ien-cha]. The Nuchêns made Yung-p'ing Fu [平州] their Southern Capital, and fixed the rents of Peking district at 'six millions,' but offered to accept one million [? strings] if an answer was sent within six months. The Kitan minister 左企弓, who had now accepted office under the Nuchêns, counselled the refusal of all compromise. The result of all these negotiations was that, in addition to the annual 400,000 strings formerly paid to the Kitans, the Chinese had to pay every year 1,000,000 strings 'rent,' and an immediate present besides of 2,000,000 peculs of grain, in exchange for which the Nuchên envoy 銀朮可 handed over Peking, Cheh-chou, Mih-yün Hien [檀], Shun-i Hien, King Chow, I-chow, and Ki-chow, reserving to themselves, however, all the territory north of the three Peking passes [Nank'ou, Tu-shih K'ou, and Ku-pei K'ou], and all the 'north-western parts.' Shortly after this, they captured the family of the fugitive Kitan Emperor Yen Hi, who fled to Prester John's land. His son Yari [雅里] was proclaimed Emperor by the Kitan general 蕭特烈. On this the Nuchên sent an envoy to Prester John, demanding the surrender of Yen-hi. Other intrigues now took place. The Nuchêns insisted on Tso K'i-kung and the other influential men of Peking migrating east. As they passed Yung-p'ing, a place under the charge of an ex-Kitan officer named 張毅, they prevailed upon him to kill Tso K'i-kung and declare for the Kitans. The Sung Emperor connived at this treachery in spite of the advice of Chao Liang-sz. This year Akutêng died, and was succeeded by his brother Gukimai, who changed his name to 晟, and sent one Tumu [闍母] with 3,000 cavalry to watch Chang Kioh. Tumu did not feel strong enough, so one Watriput [斡离不] was sent to take supreme command, and drove Chang Kioh to Peking. They then reproached the Chinese with treachery, and demanded Chang Kioh's head. The Governor of Peking 王安中 at first tried the paltry device of sending the head of a man resembling Kioh, but finally went to the other

* This was about A.D. 900. Liu Jên-kung was afterwards sacrificed at the tomb of 李克用. See *China Review*, March-April, 1886, Page 282.

extreme of dastardliness and sent the right one.

Prester John now declared himself a vassal of the Nuchên Emperor, (1,124), and the Chinese further irritated the Nuchêns by failing to send the promised present of 20,000 peculs grain. Yung-p'ing fell into the Nuchêns hands, and various rebellions broke out in the Chinese Empire. To make matters worse, a man, an olive hawker in the capital, gave birth to a child, and a girl was born with a beard.*

In 1,125 the fugitive Yen-hi returned from his hiding place in Kan Suh [黨項] to Shan Si, where he was captured by the Nuchên general 婁室. Thus ended the Kitan 'iron' dynasty of Liao, nine sovereigns of which had reigned at Peking 220 years. [It would be very interesting if some energetic person at Peking would decipher the Kitan Nuchên inscriptions still existing in the Nank'ow Pass, and, generally, find out something of their doughty deeds].

Yelü Ta-shih now ascended the throne at a mysterious place in the west called 起兒漫天祐 with the title of the Emperor of the Western Liao, and the Nuchêns degraded the ex-Emperor Yen-li to be 海濱王. General Chanmuhot and Watriput made inroads into Peking territory, and murdered the Chinese envoy 傅察. They then demanded all China north of the Hwang Ho, a staggering demand which sent back the miserable eunuch T'ung Kwan 'with his tail between his legs.' The traitor Kwoh Loh-shih went over to the Nuchên, who now advanced boldly south, and in 1,126 leisurely crossed the Hwang Ho in sanpans, there being no imperial armies to oppose them. The Chinese capital, [汴], was invested, the ex-Emperor fled to Chinkiang, and the new Emperor was with difficulty restrained by Li Kang[Mayers, No. 346] from bolting too. The Nuchêns demanded Tls. 5,000,000 in gold, Tls. 50,000,000 in silver, 10,000 head of cattle, 1,000,000 pieces of silk, homage to the Nuchên Emperor as 'uncle,' the restoration of all northerners then in China, and the cession of modern 定州, 太原, and 河間. The Emperor ransacked the town, and got Tls. 200,000 in gold, and Tls. 4,000,000 in silver. All these demands were accorded, and the Emperor's brother, with one of the ministers, were sent to the Nuchên camp as hostages. [The phrase 要盟終不可保 which opened Chang Chih-tung's celebrated anti-Russian memorial of 1880, dates from this event]. The Nuchên General 完顏活女 beat the Chinese in several pitched battles near *T'ai-yüan Fu*, and an envoy was sent by sea from China to sue for peace, [請和]. Before the year was out, the Chinese capital was taken by storm, and the Emperor handed his sword [奉表請降] to General *Chanmuhot*. The Nuchên demand was as stiff as that of the Germans 750 years later: to wit: Tls. 10,000,000 of gold; 20,000,000 shoes of silver; and 10,000,000 pieces of silk. The Jules Favre of the period was one 歐陽珣 who said with tears in his eyes:—'not one inch of our ancestor's land will we give away,' but he made a still wiser remark; namely:—'if we fight and lose the territory we shall always be justified in fighting again; but if we make peace and cede it, we shall put ourselves in the wrong if we seize it again.' The Nuchêns burnt him alive for his pains. The relieving armies were nearly all routed by the Nuchên General 婁室. The Gambetta of the time, however, was one 宗澤, who stumped the country during 1127, and succeeded in doing great damage to the Nuchêns.

In 1,127 the Western Liao Emperor 耶律大石* emerged with his army from the mysterious region K'irman in the west,

* The turning about of a man in such wise as to be mistaken for a woman with a beard is mentioned by Chaucer, who, however, very rightly observes:—'For well he wot a woman had no berd.'

* The Encyclopedia says of these places: 'The three armies of 大石 all advanced, and

and, having travelled 20 days, found an oäsis at 虎思斡耳朵 [Khuz urda] where he established a capital called 虎思.

The abdicated Emperor Hwei Tsung, as well as the Emperor K'in Tsung, together with Empresses, concubines, relatives, &c., to the number of 3,000, were now delivered up and carried north. A bastard named 張邦昌 (who had with the Prince been a hostage) was set up by the Nuchêns as Emperor of 大楚, but soon resigned in favour of the 'Southern Sung' Emperor Kao Tsung, who had meanwhile also returned from his unpleasant position as hostage. The Nuchên dominions now included the greater part of modern Shan Si, and part of Ho Nan, as well as almost the whole of Chih Li. A 'western man' [西人] named 傅亮 is described as having introduced a new military system into China, consisting of squads [伍], sections [甲], companies [隊], battalions [部], and buzudes [軍]. The Nuchên general Watriput [? Orbu] died this year, and Chanmuhot [? Jamugho], the uncompromising enemy of China, wielded absolute power over the feeble Emperor Gukimai. It seems that certain chariots or military engines [戰車] were used in China at this time, and were considered as much superior to cavalry as cavalry to infantry. A plan was formed in China for the rescue of the Emperors from Peking by sea, but collapsed. [As one of the Kin or Nuchên generals captured by the Chinese was surnamed 拓跋, it would appear probable that the Sienpi, Tobas, Nuchên, and Manchus are simply one and the same race under different political arrangements]. The captive Emperors were removed towards the close of the year to 霫, which is described as being the ancient 奚 country, 1,000 *li* north of Peking.

忽兒珊 was routed and camped at 壽思干 for 90 days, and then went west to K'irman.' 'Outside the third gate there was the *coorto* [evidently *urda*] of the Heir Apparent.' It is important to remember that the ancient 肅愼 and modern 女眞 are the *same sound* [轉音].

E. H. Parker.

N.B.—Since writing the above, I see from the clear account given in the 武聖記 that the Kitans and Nuchên are now both amalgamated in the Manchu organization. The Solon and Orunchon are less civilized but of the same stock.

HEROES AND VILLAINS IN CHINESE FICTION.

AN FPISODE FROM THE 粉粧樓.

The way to the gardens was covered with a multitude of people wending their way thither in numbers. They appeared from a distance like a swarm of ants. Here were scions of noble families, there wealthy merchants; on the road were seen carriages and horses brilliant in silver trappings; on the canal the water was hidden by the endless succession of boats; in a word, the whole city appeared to be gathering in the gardens for the enjoyment of the summer's day.

Three gentlemen, the Lords Lo, Tsan and Lo Hun, with their friend Hu Kuai, gazed delightedly on the scene, and, eager to reach the far-famed parks drawing so many visitors, whipped their horses and quickly neared the principal entrance. As they approached, Hu Kuai, looking up, beheld a scene of wondrous beauty. Hills and dales seemed to rest on broad sheets of water, while myriads of combinations of purple and green formed lines of brilliance which defy words to depict. The gardens were indeed worthy of their fame.

As they ambled toward the gate, Lo Hun remarked, 'Brother Hu, you have not seen all: in this garden there are 13 lofty pavilions and 42 pleasure houses, a view sweep-