

## CHAPTER I

### THE BASIC ARGUMENT

- a. It so happened that in the sixth year of the *shih-yüan* era<sup>1</sup> an Imperial edict directed the Chancellor<sup>2</sup> and the Imperial secretaries<sup>3</sup> to confer with the recommended Worthies and Literati,<sup>4</sup> and to enquire of them as to the ranking grievances among the people.<sup>5</sup>
- b. The Literati<sup>6</sup> responded as follows: It is our humble opinion that the principle of ruling men lies in nipping in the bud<sup>7</sup> wantonness and frivolity, in extending wide the elements of virtue,<sup>8</sup>

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Note: References to the principal editions and commentators will be given hereafter as Chang (Chang Chih-hsiang), Lu (Lu Wen-shao) and Wang (Wang Hsiang-ch'ien). The various editors are discussed under "Editions of the *Yen T'ao-tzu*" in the Introduction.

<sup>4</sup> 御史: Yu-shih, i.e., Sang Hsiang-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-shih*, XXIV, 6.

<sup>5</sup> 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-shih*, ch. VII). Persons so designated were first called upon to discuss official affairs in the 11th month of the second year of Wü Ti's reign. See the edict in *Ch'ien-han-shih*, ch. IV, where the Emperor summons them to 以匡朕之不逮.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> Presumably a "spekman" from among the Literati group assembled.

<sup>8</sup> 防...本: Chang reads 坊. Cf. *K'ang Hsi Dictionary on 坊*.

<sup>9</sup> For 道德 the *T'ung-tien* reads 教道(導), "education".

simplicity and sanctioning propensities to selfishness and greed. As a result few among our people take up the fundamental pursuits of life,<sup>1</sup> while many flock to the non-essential.<sup>2</sup> Now sturdy natural qualities decay, 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 financially benefited.

d. The Lord Grauf Secretary said:<sup>4</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> In Wen 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....

<sup>2</sup> 本 and 末: the "fundamental" ("radical", "constititional") industry of the Empire was considered to be agriculture, while manufacture and trade were considered "non-essential" ("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'ung-hsi Diet. no. 末).

<sup>3</sup> 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 Sheng*, 15, 43, for a discussion of these terms as employed by the *perists* in earlier times.

<sup>4</sup> 廣利. The first term usually refers to the extension of acreage, while the second is applied to the disposal of the crops (distribution).  
<sup>5</sup> The "inferiority" of the Lord Grand Secretary is indicated by some Confucian editors, as in Chang Chih-chieang's edition, by beginning paragraphs one space lower in the column than those in which the Literati are the inferiorators.

in discouraging mercantile pursuits, and in displaying benevolence and righteousness. Let lucra 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<sup>1</sup> monopolies, the liquor excise,<sup>2</sup> and *equable marketing*,<sup>3</sup> established in the provinces and the demesnes,<sup>4</sup> the Government has entered into financial competition with the people,<sup>5</sup> dissipating primordial candor and

<sup>1</sup> 鹽鐵. As to the establishment of the salt and iron control, the *Shih-chi* (Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.* III, 570-71) relates that in 119 B. C. two wealthy manufacturers of salt and iron, Tung-ko Hsiang-yaog and K'ung Chün 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 debilitative 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 Evidence Relating to Early Chinese Public Finance"; also O. Franke, *Historische Veruche in Alten und Mittelalterlichen China*.

<sup>2</sup> 酒榷: evidently a system of state superintention and taxation (excise) imposed upon the wine trade. The term 榷 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".

<sup>3</sup> 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 "equilized transportation", "adjusted taxation". It appears to be the same as the officiala charged with the administration of the system. The *Shih-chi* (chap. XXX), assigns its institution to K'ung Chün and Sang Hung-yang. The institution of *chün-shu* dates from the second year of *shun-ling* (113 B. C.). These functionaries were designated as 令 (principals) and 丞 (assistants). They were under the "Treasury" 大農. Their school 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. Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.* III, 579, note 4; also, Franke, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> 郡, 國. For definitions see glossary.  
<sup>5</sup> Chang's explanatory note gives the quotations from the *Chün-kuo-shu*, XXIV, 6, and *Shih-chi*, XXX, clarifying these technical terms.

of precaution being taken, these forays and depredations would never cease. The late Emperor, grieving at the long suffering of the barbarians, caused consequently forts and serried 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; 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? 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*.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> Therefore *the master conqueror does not fight; the expert warrior needs no soldiers; the truly great commander requires not*

<sup>1</sup> Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 On his "grieving" cf. *Ch'ien-han-shu*, VI, rescript in Spring of 2nd Year of *yuên-hung* 元光, 邊境被害甚闊之.  
<sup>2</sup> The historical reasons for the introduction of these financial expedients are given in the Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> 贖: Chang has 澹.

<sup>4</sup> *Len-yü*, Scottish's translation, XVI, 1, 10, P. 761. 聞.....[I have heard], omitted.  
<sup>5</sup> *Len-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.<sup>1</sup> 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 matchless<sup>2</sup> in the world; for him, what use is expenditure?

g. The Lord Grand Secretary: The Hsiung Nu, savage<sup>3</sup> and wily, boldly push through the barriers and harass the Middle Kingdom, massacring the provincial population and killing the keepers of the Northern Marches.<sup>4</sup> They long deserve punishment for their unrighteous and lawlessness. But Your Majesty<sup>5</sup> graciously took pity on the insufficiency of the multitude<sup>6</sup> and did not suffer his lords and knights to be exposed in the desert plains, yet<sup>7</sup> unflinchingly You cherish the purpose of raising strong armies<sup>8</sup> 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 diminish<sup>9</sup> 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*

<sup>1</sup> A frequently used quotation of uncertain source. The *T'ung-tien*, ch. 146, 11 l., ascribes it to 老氏 (老子?). The passage is indeed reminiscent of *Len-wei*. Cf. *T'ao-t'ung-shing*, ch. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Confucian training, cf. Mencius, VII, II, 11, with his condemnation of "expert warriors", 有人曰我善爲陳我善爲戰大罪也.

<sup>3</sup> 桀: Chang says, murderers, 賊人多殺. It is of course the posthumous name of the traditional tyrant Chieh, last of the Hsia.

<sup>4</sup> Or the Shao-fang 朔方 commandary established by Wu Ti. The name Shao-fang as designating the Northern region occurs in the *Old*.

<sup>5</sup> 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 (61 B.C.), was present at the debate.

<sup>6</sup> 元元: a term commonly used in Imperial edicts.

<sup>7</sup> Wang suggests omitting 縱.

<sup>8</sup> 被堅執銳: "put on strong (armor) and seize sharp (weapons)", referring apparently to the Emperor himself.

<sup>9</sup> 憂邊用: Lu thinks this an error. However, so 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? 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<sup>2</sup> and facilitated equitable distribution of goods. Markets and courts<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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 equitable marketing are really intended for the circulation of amassed wealth and the regulation of the consumption according to the urgency of the need.<sup>5</sup> It is inexpedient to abolish them.

<sup>1</sup> *Len-Yü* XVI, 1, 3, Legge's rendering.

<sup>2</sup> 開本末之途.

<sup>3</sup> Paraphrase of the *I-ching* 繫辭下. (Legge, *Sacred Books*, vol. 16, p. 383, para. 13).

<sup>4</sup> *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 *yiun chiu* 元朔. *Ch'ien-lun-shu*, VI.

<sup>5</sup> 委財緩急: 委 is "to smelt"; 委 委府, "Receiving Bureau" as below.

j. The Literati: Lead the people with virtue<sup>1</sup> and the people will return to honest simplicity; entice the people with gain, and they will become vicious.<sup>2</sup> 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-tzu.<sup>3</sup> 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 stagnation<sup>4</sup> and the artisans for providing tools; they should not become the principal concern of the government.<sup>5</sup>

k. The Lord Grand Secretary: Kuan-tzu 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.*<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paraphrasing the *Len-yü*, II, III.

<sup>2</sup> 薄: better perhaps, "feeble", "vulnerable".

<sup>3</sup> A quotation unidentified as to its source.

<sup>4</sup> Saturation of a market with local products is apparently meant.

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

<sup>6</sup> The passage is not found in the present *Kuan-tzu* 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 *romans philosophiques* of the second half of the fourth century B. C. As to the modern *pseudo-Kuan-tzu*, perhaps some portion of the original work remains, but intermingled with excerpts from other ancient works, as well as with entirely new interpolations. It is possible, accordingly, that Huan Kuan's citations are from a text now lost. For discussions of the composition of the *Kuan-tzu*, cf. Maspero, *Journal Asiatique*, CCX, 1927, 144—152; and Karlgren, *Bull. of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, N. Y., 1929, 103—133.

The scarlet lacquer and pennant feathers: of Lung and Shu, the leather goods, bone and ivory of Ching and Yang, the cedars, lindera,<sup>2</sup> and bamboo rods of Chiang-nan, the fish, salt, rugs, and furs of Yen and Chi, the lustrine yarn,<sup>3</sup> linen, and hemp-cloth of Yen and Ya,<sup>4</sup> are all necessary commodities to maintain our lives and provide for our death.<sup>5</sup> But we depend upon the merchants for their distribution and on the artisans for giving them their finished forms. This is why the Segees availed them of boats and bridges<sup>6</sup> 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 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 concurrently 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

<sup>1</sup> 丹漆旄羽：丹砂毛羽，在 the *T'ung-tien* and the *Yü-lan*.

<sup>2</sup> 梓，cedar, *Machilus Henan*; 梓 "linden", *Lindera Tsauk*, according to H. Giles, *Chinese and English Dictionary*.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> Lung 龍, Shu 蜀, Ching 荆, Yang 揚 Chiang-nan 江南, Yen 燕, Chi 齊, Ya 賈; see glossary for these geographical names.

<sup>5</sup> The whole sentence is greatly reminiscent of the *Shih-shi* Ch. CXXIX, preface. Some of these geographical divisions retain the names given the nine (*Chow* of the *Shih-shi*, Yü-kung).

<sup>6</sup> For this passage cf. the *Lo-ching* (繫辭下). 'Avalied 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 K'eng practised communal living, Shun hid away gold, and Kao Tsu forbade merchants and shopkeepers to be officials.<sup>1</sup> 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 thievish.*<sup>2</sup> Thus to open the way for profit is to provide a ladder to popular misdeed.<sup>3</sup>

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;<sup>4</sup> the goods were usually of distressingly bad quality, often failing to repay<sup>5</sup> 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 monopolize<sup>6</sup> all the commodities,

<sup>1</sup> 盤庚：舜，高祖； see glossary for these names. A variant for the last

<sup>2</sup> 高帝：舜，高祖， 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".

<sup>3</sup> The source of this quotation is uncertain. 傳 may simply mean a transmitted saying. This question is discussed in the Introduction.

<sup>4</sup> 爲民罪梯者： a phrase employed in the *K'uan-tz*, as Chang points out.

<sup>5</sup> 雜： Lu suggests 雜, so the *T'ung-tien*, which is a good emendation according to Wang.

<sup>6</sup> 或： omitted by the *T'ung-tien*, which Wang approves.

<sup>7</sup> 籠： 'cage', 包舉 'gather together', *K'ang I-tai Dictionary*, cf. *Ch'ien-hao-shu*, ch. XXII: 籠貨物籠鹽鐵.

buying when prices are low, and selling when prices are high,<sup>1</sup> with the result that the Government<sup>2</sup> suffers no loss and the merchants cannot speculate for profit.<sup>3</sup> This is therefore known as the *balancing standard*.<sup>4</sup> With the *balancing standard* people are safeguarded from unemployment; with the *equitable 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 misadventure.

11. The Literati: The Ancients in levying upon and taxing<sup>5</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 賤即買貴則賣: for 卽. Lu suggests 則. In old texts both characters are used as practically synonymous.

<sup>2</sup> 縣官: "the Government of the Emperor".

<sup>3</sup> 無所貿易: for 貿易. Chung and the *Translators* have 牟. So also the *Sik-chi*, ch. XXX, 富商大賈無所牟大利.

<sup>4</sup> 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 Sung Hsiang-yang was responsible (adopted in 110 B.C.) is described in the *Sik-chi* (Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.*, III, 596). There would be established in the Capital *ping chün* who would have charge of deliveries and shipments for the whole Empire. The several officers of the *ta ssuy* 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 *Sik-chi* obtains its title from this expression, *ping chün*.

<sup>5</sup> 賦稅: a biocornal compound representing both levies on the people (計口發財) and taxes on grain and merchandise. Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.*, III, 584, note 6, explains these terms.

various embargoes and bargained with them. What was collected by the officers was not only the silk from Chi and T'ao, or cloth from Shu and Han,<sup>1</sup> but also other goods manufactured by the people which were mischievously sold at a standard price. Thus the farmers suffer twice over<sup>2</sup> 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 *equitable 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.

<sup>1</sup> Chi 齊, The 陶, Shu 蜀, Han 漢. see glossary.

<sup>2</sup> 重: ch'ung.

major famine.<sup>1</sup> 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 Haird People* spread themselves in the southern fields<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 profit<sup>4</sup> 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: *Thous-hundred houses being full, the wives and children have a feeling of repose.*<sup>5</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Chang quotes the *Av-chang Chuan*; "when the Five Cereals do not mature this produces a 大饑 major famine".

<sup>2</sup> 南畝 agricultural lands in general, as Ch'uanan's roughness. Cf. *Wen, Hsi*, III, 572, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> This is apparently based upon the *Lü-shi*, Wang Ch'ih (Gourary, I, 285).  
<sup>4</sup> 通百味之利: Lu suggests 未. Wang approves as 未 and 未 were frequently confused in ancient times.

<sup>5</sup> *Shih-ching* IV, 1, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

## CHAPTER II

## HOLD FAST THE PLOUGH

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: The true King should stopper Nature's wealth,<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 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 meet<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> Some time ago, on account of financial difficulties, our fighting forces occasionally could not get their pay. Recently<sup>5</sup> due to natural calamities East of the Mountains, Ch'i and Chao<sup>6</sup> suffered from a

<sup>1</sup> The *Kuan-tzu*, ch. LXXXIV, uses the expression 官天財.

<sup>2</sup> 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, 48). The present rendering is adopted as suiting Hsueh Kuan's theme.

<sup>3</sup> The *P'ing-tzu* reads 拯 for 調.

<sup>4</sup> 禹...歷山...湯...嚴山: cf. the *Kuan-tzu*, ch. LXXV: 湯以莊山. For these mountains see glossary.

<sup>5</sup> 而... but the *P'ing-tzu* has 今, "more recently", in opposition to 往者, "some time ago".

<sup>6</sup> 齊, 趙.

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南畝

通百味之利

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not found their families by means of one room,<sup>1</sup> nor did they enrich the state through one way. Thus Kuan Chung<sup>2</sup> won the Protectorate through the shrewd use of his power, while the Fan<sup>3</sup> clan perished because of its strength and size. If one must resort to agriculture alone to make a living and found a family, then Shan<sup>4</sup> would not have had to make pottery and I Yu<sup>5</sup> 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 slight.*<sup>6</sup> 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 gold<sup>7</sup> and other insignificant articles of tribute are means of inveigling foreign countries and snaring the treasures of the Ch'ang and the Hu.<sup>8</sup> Thus, a piece of Chinese plain silk can be exchanged with the Hsiang 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,<sup>9</sup> come into our possession. The furs of sables, marmots, foxes and badgers, colored rugs and decorated

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

<sup>2</sup> 管仲.

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

<sup>4</sup> 羿. <sup>5</sup> 伊尹.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Xuan-tz*, 輕重, 乙.

<sup>7</sup> 汝漢, mentioned in the *Sik-chi*, ch. CXXIX. These two rivers are spoken of by Mencius (III, 4, iv, 7), after the *Sin-ching*.

<sup>8</sup> 萊胡; cf. the *Xuan-tz*, ch. LXXX, last para., where Kuan-tzu develops this idea.

<sup>9</sup> Mules, donkeys, and camels and 驛騾 are mentioned in the *Sik-chi*, ch. CV, as the 奇畜 rare domestic animals of the Hsiang Nu.

carpets<sup>1</sup> 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. Novelities 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 price<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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 fat-goods do not add substance to silk. Beautiful jades and corals come from mount K'un.<sup>5</sup> Pearls and ivory<sup>6</sup> are produced in Kuei Lin.<sup>7</sup> These places are more than ten thousand li distant from Han.<sup>8</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 旃罽.

<sup>2</sup> 罕: for this usage, cf. *Sik-chi*, ch. XXX, 價直 as explained by one of the commentators.

<sup>3</sup> 至. A possible reading, according to Lu, is 飾致賈, "artisans extravagantly elaborate their wares so as to get exorbitant prices". For 賈 (cf. *Zou-yi*, IX, 12).

<sup>4</sup> 學. The *Xuan-tz*, chap. LXXX, details this episode. See glossary.

<sup>5</sup> 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 pronunciation.

<sup>6</sup> 犀象: lit. "rhinoceri and elephants".

<sup>7</sup> 桂林.

<sup>8</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> in honoring the primary occupation, and in distribution of land according to the "well tithes".<sup>2</sup>

c. The Lord Grand Secretary: From the capital,<sup>3</sup> 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 Ni<sup>4</sup> never accumulated even a hundred pieces of gold, and the followers of Chieh and Ch'iao<sup>5</sup> never possessed the wealth of I-Tun.<sup>6</sup> But the merchants of Yuan, Chou, Ch'i and Lu<sup>7</sup> spread all over

<sup>1</sup> 節用: an expression employed by the philosopher Mo Ti 墨翟 (6th cent. B.C.), in chap. XX and XXI of his works.

<sup>2</sup> 井田: a system of land allotment ascribed to ancient Ch'ien, 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 *Tao-chau* 左傳. Cf. Maspero, *Le Chines Antiques*, 108-110, and Doyvedant, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 41-48, for remnants of various discussions of the *ching tien* system of land holding.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. 長安 the capital of the Western or Early Han dynasty.

<sup>4</sup> 長沮, 桀溺.

<sup>5</sup> 蹠, 躄: see glossary. The commentators suggest that 躄 should be taken as 蹠.

<sup>6</sup> 蹠未: 'to trudge (behind) the plough' (as in ch. XV) and 躄 (wearing straw sandals).

<sup>7</sup> 宛, 周, 齊, 魯.

the world. These merchants doubtless amass<sup>1</sup> 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*,<sup>2</sup> we had the achievement of Yü.<sup>3</sup> When the River broke loose, we had the building of the Iksüan Fang.<sup>4</sup> When Chou of Shang<sup>5</sup> raged in tyranny, we had the plan at the ford of Méng.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> For from ancient times till now, there has never been reward without contribution or achievement without effort.

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

<sup>2</sup> 洪水滔天: stereotyped expressions from the *Shu-ching*, ch. I.

<sup>3</sup> 禹.

<sup>4</sup> 宜房: the famous dam, described in the *Shu-chü*, ch. XXIX.

<sup>5</sup> 商紂.

<sup>6</sup> 孟津之謀: referring to the "Great Harem" forming the first 3 chaps.

<sup>7</sup> 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, 5, 3:

萬室之國，一人陶。

its borders, the gold of Ling Yang to the left and the timber supply of Shu and Han<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 wait for a month, carolling in the morning, mourning in the evening. Chao and Chung Shan<sup>3</sup> border the great River;<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>5</sup> in the house, the lute thrums in the hall. This is why of the people of Ch'u-and-Chao<sup>6</sup> most are poor and few rich. On the other hand, the people in Sung, Wei, Han and Liang<sup>7</sup> adhere to the fundamental and till the soil. Among the common people and yeomanry<sup>8</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 荆揚, 桂林, 陵陽, 蜀, 漢.

<sup>2</sup> 水耨. *Sik-chai*, 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'ü-k'ao-shu*, ch. VI, quoted by Charvantes, *Mém. Asiat.*, III, 589, note 1. These easy ways of cultivation is the south accounted for the "evil habits of idleness".

<sup>3</sup> 趙, 中山.

<sup>4</sup> 大河: the Yellow River.

<sup>5</sup> 斗筲之人. <sup>7</sup> 宋, 衛, 韓, 梁.

<sup>6</sup> 楚, 趙.

<sup>8</sup> 編戶齊民.

### CHAPTER III

#### CIRCULATION OF GOODS

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: Tso and Chi of Yen, Han Tan of Chao, Wen and Chih of Wei, Ying Yang of Han, Lin Tsé of Ch'i, Wan Chiü of Ch'u, Yang Chai of Chéng, the two Chou of San Ch'uan,<sup>1</sup> in riches surpassing all within the seas, are famous municipalities of the world.<sup>2</sup> 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 states<sup>3</sup> 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',<sup>4</sup> not on strenuous farming.<sup>5</sup>

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

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, 三川之周.

<sup>1</sup> 都, i.e., cities with ancestral temples, or residences of feudal lords.

<sup>2</sup> The feudal states in the "five directions"; 五方, east, south, west, north and the center.

<sup>3</sup> 術, "political methods"; 數, "statistical calculations"; 勢 "conditions", "influence", "power". These are typical expressions of the *Legalist* school. Dmyvedak, *The Book of Lord Sheng*, 92 seq. discusses these *fa ch'ia* terms at length.

<sup>4</sup> Cheng quotes the *Sik-chai*, ch. CXXIX. Agriculture cannot be compared with practicing some craft, practicing a craft cannot be compared with commerce, sticking the needle in [leading to] 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.

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

c. The Lord Grand Secretary: According to the theory of the Five Elements,<sup>2</sup> the East pertains to Wood, but at Tan Chang<sup>3</sup> we have mountains containing gold and copper. The South pertains to Fire, but in Chiao Chih<sup>4</sup> we have rivers as big as the ocean. The West pertains to Metal, but in Shu and Lung<sup>5</sup> we find forests of famous timber. The North pertains to Water, but in Yü Te<sup>6</sup> 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 Yueh,<sup>7</sup> and the timber in Sui and T'ang<sup>8</sup> is more than can be used while in T'ê so, Wei, Liang and Sung<sup>9</sup> they are forced to use coffins over again for the dead.<sup>10</sup> The fish of the regions of the great River and the lakes and the globe fish of Lai and Huang<sup>11</sup> are too many for local consumption, while in Tsou, Lu, Chou and Han<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 歲司羽鳩: The phrase is rather obscure. Chang refers to the *Tso-chuen*, Chao Kung, XVII, where are enumerated the "bird-officers" of the Emperor Shao-hao. The five "turtle-dove" officers (assemble, settle) the people. On the other hand 羽 are the rows of pantomimes used in ceremonial dances. This "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.

<sup>2</sup> 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. Moyer, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, Pt. II, 333.

<sup>3</sup> 丹章.

<sup>4</sup> 交趾.

<sup>5</sup> 蜀, 隴.

<sup>6</sup> 幽都.

<sup>7</sup> 吳, 越.

<sup>8</sup> 隋, 唐.

<sup>9</sup> 曹, 衛, 梁, 宋.

<sup>10</sup> 采棺轉尸: "turn out corpses in search for coffins."

<sup>11</sup> 萊, 黃.

<sup>12</sup> 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 older times, the raffers were not carved, and the hut-hatch was left untrimmed. People wore plain clothes<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> Nets are spread for the kingfisher. Barbarian products are sought out to dazzle the Middle Kingdom. The goods of Kung and Tso<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>6</sup> and women, weary and heavy-laden, wear themselves out without getting enough

<sup>1</sup> 衣布褐: 褐 is translated by Legge (*Mencius*, II. ii. 4, 7; III. i. iv. 2, 4) according to the dictionaries as 'hair cloth'. The implication is that it was worn, 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".

<sup>2</sup> 崑山之玉. Jade in China has been dealt with in various aspects by Laufer in *Jade & Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*, (Chicago, 1913).

<sup>3</sup> 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-tsz*, cf. Doyrandak, op. cit., passim.

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

<sup>5</sup> 卬, 苻.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

2. 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'u 2 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-tzu 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 kitchen, 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 seamstresses 6 will have no occupation.* Therefore, artisans, merchants, carpenters and mechanics

1 儉則固: a paraphrase of the *Lu-chü*, VII, xxxv.

2 孫叔敖: Chuang has Chi Wên Tzu (the minister of Lu who used to think three before acting, *Lu-chü*, V, xix) instead of Sun-shu Ao, and Lu 魯 for Ch'u 楚. The parsimoniousness of Sun-shu Ao is also confirmed by *Hsi-chü*, 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 Wen of Chin's parsimoniousness. Cf. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. IV, Pt. I, 174, for the translation.

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

6 女紅: the later character is pronounced *kung* in the special sense of a "weaving woman", as Chang indicates. Cf. *Concreur, 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 Kau fed cattle at Chou. 1 Wu Ku carried on a cart-renting business in order to enter Ch'in. 2 Kung-abu Tag 3 was an expert in the compass and square and Ou Yeh 4 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'u Lu 6 salt would not appear, rugs and carpets would not be marketed and the timber of Wu and Tang 7 would not be used.

f. The Literati: Mencius 8 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 公輸子.

3 肆以成其事.

4 胸膺之鹽.

5 胸膺. Plug of Ch'u, a person later mentioned in the YTL. See glossary.

6 吳, 唐.

7 吳, 唐.

8 Cf. Legge, I, 1, pp. 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也

Men: 不違農時穀不勝食也數畧不入滂池

魚鼈不可勝食也斧斤以時入山林材木不可勝用也

Men: 不違農時穀不勝食也數畧不入滂池

魚鼈不可勝食也斧斤以時入山林材木不可勝用也

Men: 不違農時穀不勝食也數畧不入滂池

魚鼈不可勝食也斧斤以時入山林材木不可勝用也

Men: 不違農時穀不勝食也數畧不入滂池

魚鼈不可勝食也斧斤以時入山林材木不可勝用也

Men: 不違農時穀不勝食也數畧不入滂池

魚鼈不可勝食也斧斤以時入山林材木不可勝用也

Men: 不違農時穀不勝食也數畧不入滂池

魚鼈不可勝食也斧斤以時入山林材木不可勝用也

Men: 不違農時穀不勝食也數畧不入滂池

魚鼈不可勝食也斧斤以時入山林材木不可勝用也

Men: 不違農時穀不勝食也數畧不入滂池

魚鼈不可勝食也斧斤以時入山林材木不可勝用也

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 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, 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 pumpkins, the trouble is that we have no hovels and husks and chaff.

五味. Salt, Bitter, Sour, Acid, Sweet, Acrid, Sweet, 苦, 酸, 辛, 甘.

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCORDANT CURRENCIES<sup>1</sup>

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: That the exchange of money and the circulation of commodities still does not advantage the people,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> The clever are able to utilize the labor of a hundred men, the simple cannot even repay<sup>4</sup> 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 accustom the people's food, conserve their consumption, regulate their

<sup>1</sup> 錯幣. The first character is not found in the text. (We have no evidence as to whether Huan K'uan wrote the character-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 inscribed 錯 with gold. Doubtless here the term is as in the *Shu-ching*, Yü Kung, 海物惟錯, 'mixed', '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 chapters 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, *Chin. Hist.*, III, ch. XXX supplies valuable notes on early Chinese exchange media.

<sup>2</sup> 民事不及上給 according to Wang.  
<sup>3</sup> Chang's note calls attention to the *Zuo-chi*, ch. LXXIII, upon which this passage seems to be based.

<sup>4</sup> 更 which should be 償 according to Lu.

surplus, 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 Kings 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.<sup>3</sup> But in later times stiquette and justice have collapsed, and good customs are 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 empires or cover their farms. Those who held office in ancient times did not farm; those who tilled did not fish; the gentlemen 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.<sup>4</sup>

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

c. The Lord Grand Secretary: Tang and Wên<sup>5</sup> came after a

<sup>1</sup> 制其有餘 omitted in Chau's edition.

<sup>2</sup> 三王大禹, the Great Yu; 成湯, Tang the Completer, and 文王 and 武王 together, thus representing the traditional founders of the three dynasties of Hsia, Yin and Chou.

<sup>3</sup> The phrasing is from Mencius, I. 1. iii. 4, et al.

<sup>4</sup> *Shih-ching*, II. vi. VIII. 3, [Legge's translation], a favorite quotation, cf. 6-8; the *Ch'u-ch'i-yü-jan-t'u*, ch. 27; the *Li-chi*, 坊記.

<sup>5</sup> 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 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,<sup>2</sup> nor is this an intentional departure from the Ancients, but in order to correct mistakes and arrest decline. Administration<sup>3</sup> must adjust itself to society, and currency<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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] as a medium of exchange. But as currency has frequently changed, the people

<sup>1</sup> 漢: the ruling house of Hsiao K'ua's time.

<sup>2</sup> Read 革 for 家.

<sup>3</sup> 教 education, but in connection close to the English 'to minister' (to administer).

<sup>4</sup> The text has 弊, a mistake for 幣.

<sup>5</sup> Statements doubtless based on tradition. There is evidence that cowrie words referring to money and wealth in the composition of which 貝 "shell" appears. Cf. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 9) — 92, for a discussion of currency in ancient China.

<sup>6</sup> The question of the coinage had become exceedingly grave in the Early Han period, according to Sui-sha Ch'ien's account (*Shih-chi*, chap. XXX, passim). The historian tells of the first issue of coins of white metal in the year 119 B. C. (cf. *Chavannes, Mémoires*, III, 565 seq.). This money began to deteriorate and by 113 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. 484—385).

<sup>7</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> and to prevent mistakes one must fall back upon propriety.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 fundamentals, 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;<sup>4</sup> 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 Wên<sup>5</sup> the people were permitted to cast money, smelt iron, and evaporate salt. But the Prince of Wu<sup>6</sup> monopolized the sea and marshes, and the family of T'eng T'ung<sup>7</sup> monopolized the Western Mountain, whereupon all the rogues from east of the mountains congregated in the dukedom, and Ch'in, Yung, Han and Shu<sup>8</sup> were brought to depend upon the T'eng clan. The coins of Wu and T'eng overspread the Empire. For this reason the laws against coinage were promulgated.<sup>9</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 質 'nature', as opposed to the complexity represented by the centralization of authority.

<sup>2</sup> 禮 innate righteousness, attained by ceremonial observances, as opposed to multiplication of laws.

<sup>3</sup> 湯, 文; 殷, 周

<sup>4</sup> 簡節

<sup>5</sup> 文帝, the Han emperor who reigned from 179-157 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> 吳王, Liu P'i 劉濞, Prince (King) of Wu, son of Kao Tzu's older brother. Cf. Charanauz, *Mém. Asiat.*, III, 548, for his exploits in this connection (S'ha-chi, XXX).

<sup>7</sup> 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. Charanauz, *Mém. Asiat.*, III, 548, note 2 (S'ha-chi, XXX).

<sup>8</sup> 秦, 雍, 漢, 蜀.

<sup>9</sup> Saug Huo-yang's statement here follows closely the S'ha-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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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'wa Ch'ia* says, *A budget which does not take into account the Men and the I's 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.

<sup>1</sup> 百金龜龍. See note supra. The S'ha-chi relates (Charanauz, *Mém. Asiat.*, 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.

<sup>2</sup> 木鐸 an administrative organ explained in the S'ha-chi (Charanauz, *Mém. Asiat.*, III, 566). In the beginning the "Treasury" 大農 administered the salt and iron and dealt with the currency. This was too much. The S'ha-chi was instituted for the purpose of handling the salt and iron.

<sup>3</sup> 蠻夷 This quotation has not been identified.

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 seeking profit and makes the social duties of the people his chief concern. When their social duties and the rules of intercourse<sup>1</sup> are established, then the people will pattern themselves after the ruler. Even if Tang and Wu were still living, they would have no cause for anxiety.<sup>2</sup> The business of the workmen and the merchants, the duties of the iron smelters<sup>3</sup> — what evil could grow out of these? The three Huan<sup>4</sup> maintained the sole control of Lai, and the Six Ministers<sup>5</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 義, 禮.

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

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

<sup>4</sup> 三桓, "the three families", the descendants of Duke Huan, who ruled Lu

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

## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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-frocked<sup>2</sup> people one Ping of Chü, and among the princes was the King of Wu;<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> the damage will be very great. As T'ai Kung<sup>5</sup> said: One

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Zuo-yü*, IX, XII.

<sup>2</sup> 布衣: the common people, the peasants, later "cotton-clothed", but not at this time when cotton was probably unknown. The *Fo-shüan* quotes this passage.

<sup>3</sup> Chang's note on this passage reads: In the Hon-chih-chuan (SHA-oh, CXIX) it is recorded that the people of Lu 魯 were commonly industrious. A certain Ts'ao Ping 曹平 through an iron-smelting industry brought unusual prosperity to many tens of thousands in Tsou and Lai, 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 Chu 臨朐, therefore he is called Ping of Chü. The King of Wu, by name Pi 皮 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.

<sup>4</sup> 呂梁: the mountain which Yi pierced, in order to permit the waters of the Great Flood to escape. *Shu-ching*, Yü-kung, Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Vol. III, Pt. I, 94, note.

<sup>5</sup> 太公. Source of quotation unknown.



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

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.<sup>2</sup> 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 has* a hundred families, forsooth, if this does not apply to such as Ping of Chu, what does it mean?

d. The Literati: The material basis<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Paraphrasing the *Lu-chi*, XVI, 4, 13.

<sup>2</sup> 人從所欲 而人得其所欲... which I follow.

<sup>3</sup> 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'i, Ch'u, Yen and Ch'i: 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 crystallized and iron smelted are in most cases in mountains and on rivers near to iron and coal,<sup>3</sup> their operation is all remote and their working is laborious. The shifts of laborers are assembled in the demeanes 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 Chu.

<sup>1</sup> 秦, 楚, 燕, 齊.

<sup>2</sup> 居局: read 偃句. Cf. *Chou-ki*, 冬官考工記: straight ploughs

for hard earth, curved ones for soft 堅地欲直 柔地欲句 庇.

<sup>3</sup> 炭, also mentioned in Ch. X. Whether coal or charcoal is meant, is not evident.

upstarts<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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-ku<sup>3</sup> and smelted it, and manufactured salt. One family would collect a host of over a thousand men, mostly exiles who had gone far<sup>4</sup> 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 benefit<sup>5</sup> of the administration at the time; but all these artifices are not to be continued interminably, for generation after generation.

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

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*, *ibid.*, the celebrated address to the Throne of K'ang 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 Fraude (*Staatswissenschaftliche Forschungen*, 7). Cf. also Gale, *Hist. Evidence relating to Early Chinese Public Finance*, for the rôle of these persons in establishing the public control of salt and iron at this time.

石鼓: a place-name, "Shih-t'ung".

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

利權: "profit and power".

## 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-tzu Ning,<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> of the Empire<sup>3</sup> and by rights ought to belong to the privy coffers of the Crown; but Your Majesty has unselfishly assigned them to the State Treasurer<sup>4</sup> to assess and succor the people. *Never-do-wells and*

<sup>1</sup> 扇水都尉彭祖寧, otherwise unknown.

<sup>2</sup> 藏, here not "treasure house", "magasin" (Chavannes), "Vorratshaus" (Fraude, *op. cit.*, 7), as in the original passage in the *Shih-chi*.

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

<sup>4</sup> The revenues derived from "salt and iron" should be paid into the *shen-fu* 少府, the personal treasury of the Emperor, and not into the *tsung-wei* 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.

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..."<sup>1</sup>

The poet here slashes at those who are not in accord with the Kingly Way, but are skillful at power and profit. The Emperor Wu<sup>2</sup> put down the nine barbarian tribes and pacified the hundred Yüeh,<sup>3</sup> repeatedly raising armies. As grain was insufficient, he established officers in charge of the fields to procure money flowing into the grain-dispatching office<sup>4</sup> 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!<sup>5</sup>

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 Lord<sup>6</sup> with their benevolence and righteousness and prepare ways of benefiting his Vast Heritage.<sup>7</sup> The Enlightened Lord came to the throne more than six years ago.<sup>8</sup> Among the high officials there is no one who has yet demanded that unnecessary offices be abolished and prof-teers 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

<sup>1</sup> *Siku-shih-shi*, II, v. I, 4 (Hsiao Ya, Ode 小晏), Legge's translation.

<sup>2</sup> 善爲, i. e., clever at doing (the things which bring them power and profit).

<sup>3</sup> 孝武皇帝, the Hsiao Emperor (140-88 B.C.) whose reign of fifty-four years is renowned in the military annals of the Chinese Empire.

<sup>4</sup> 夷, 越.

<sup>5</sup> 穀射官.

<sup>6</sup> 糜粥, *chen chu*: "hard times".

<sup>7</sup> 明主, the Emperor, a term favored by the Legalists.

<sup>8</sup> 修潤洪業, restore and enrich the Empire.

<sup>9</sup> This indicates the time of the debate, equivalent to 81 B.C. See introduction.

the provinces and demences to come in post-haste at public expense to discuss the ways of the Five Emperors and the Three Kings,<sup>2</sup> and the principles of the Six Arts.<sup>3</sup> We have set forth the difference between peace and danger, profit and harm, clearly and fully<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> The former Emperor,<sup>6</sup> 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<sup>7</sup> he made himself master of the four I.<sup>8</sup> 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 Wen Wang<sup>9</sup> received the mandate to attack Ch'ung, he and built a

<sup>1</sup> 乘傳, 公車. The latter may be taken also as "central depot", "capital", as well as an office in charge of memorials, transcripts, etc., where persons awaiting imperial orders were housed temporarily.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Hsi

顯頊: the three Kings, traditional founders of the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties.

<sup>3</sup> 六藝: 禮, 樂, 射, 御, 書, 數. ceremonial observances, music, archery, chariot-driving, writing, mathematics.

<sup>4</sup> 粲然, lit. "brilliantly".

<sup>5</sup> 猗頓, Han Wu Ti, the Military Emperor, cf. note supra.

<sup>6</sup> 勢, an expression employed by the *fo-chia* writers in this sense. Cf. ch. VII.

<sup>7</sup> 四夷: barbarian tribes.

<sup>8</sup> 崇.

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 Sui<sup>1</sup> broke his wings and Chao Kao<sup>2</sup> drowned in the deep. We have heard that Wen and Wu<sup>3</sup> 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 Li and the Ti.<sup>4</sup> Formerly the Ch'in<sup>5</sup> dynasty frequently raised the forces of the Empire and used them against the Hu and Yüeh.<sup>6</sup> 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".

李斯。<sup>1</sup> 趙高。<sup>2</sup> 文，武。<sup>3</sup>  
夷，狄。<sup>4</sup> 秦。<sup>5</sup> 胡，越。<sup>6</sup>

city at Fêng,<sup>1</sup> Wu Wang<sup>2</sup> succeeded him and carrying his corpse on the march,<sup>3</sup> conquered Shang, captured Chou,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> Thus we see that those of great determination ignore small things, and those who employ exceptional measures<sup>6</sup> suited to the circumstances, differ from the commonplace. Those in office think to emulate the plans of the tutor Wang<sup>7</sup> and complete the task of the late Emperor. Their aim is to destroy the barbarian Hu and He<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

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

1 豐。<sup>2</sup> 武王。

3 載尸以行 is not to be taken literally. The *Sih-shi*, ch. IV, relates how Wu Wang made a tablet of wood representing his ancestor Wen Wang and had it carried on a chariot in the centre of his army. Charvauze, *Mém. Hist.*, I, 105, 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 *ja* ch'ie term. Cf. ch. VII.

7 This is evidently 太公望 who was counsellor to both Wen Wang and Wu Wang. See Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 1862.

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

9 儒: if 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 influence, 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-tzu. 通天地人曰儒 (楊子). The *ju* ch'ie 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 Wen and Wu, and who follow Chang Ni 仲尼 as their master.

Cf. sub 儒家, the *Ch'ien-tsun-shu*, XXX.

b. As a result of these measures he was able to wage war on enemy countries, to conquer foreign states,<sup>1</sup> 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 resources<sup>2</sup> 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 River<sup>3</sup> 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 time<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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

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

<sup>2</sup> 用不竭. Wang suggests reading 利, following the *T'ung-shih*, as 利 in the succeeding paragraph f.

<sup>3</sup> 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).

<sup>4</sup> 蓋. Wang suggests 昔. Wên Ti 文帝 (179-156 B. C.), one of the "Model Emperors" of the Literati.

<sup>5</sup> The *T'ung-shih* omits the 也 and inserts 所 before 害.

## CHAPTER VII

### IN CRITICISM OF SHANG YANG<sup>1</sup>

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*<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 商鞅. Biographies of the historical character, known also as Xung-sun Yang 公孫鞅 or Yang of Wei 衛鞅, are found in the *Ch'ien-t'ao-t'ao*, ch. 7 (Ch'u-tu-t'ao), in the *Le-shih-ch'uan-ch'iu* and in ch. LXVIII of the *Shih-chi*, (trans. by J. J. L. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, Introduction, ch. 1, 8-52). The text of an extant work, the *Shang-ch'ün-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-ch'ün-shu*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the *Shang-ch'ün-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 doctrine 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, Hsiao K'uan assigns such a policy to "internal affairs" in his passage, evidently employing 內 and 外 to measure taken at the capital and in the provinces, respectively.

time: so much more is this the case with human activities! Profit in one place involves diminution elsewhere just as *yin* and *yang* do not radiate at the same time and day and night alternate in length.<sup>2</sup> f. When Shang Yang<sup>3</sup> introduced his harsh laws and increased his "profit", the people of Ch'in could not endure life and among themselves wept for Duke Hsiao.<sup>4</sup> When Wu Chi's 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.<sup>5</sup> After their death Ch'u's position became more precarious every day, and Ch'in grew weaker and weaker.<sup>6</sup> So resentment increased with the growth of "profit", and sorrows multiplied with the extension of territory. Where is all that "inexhaustible profit to use" without the people noticing it, and the territory extended to include all west of the Yellow River without the people suffering from it?<sup>7</sup>

g. At the present time, as the Government uses in the management of internal affairs Shang Yang's system of registration<sup>8</sup> and abroad Wu Chi'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

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

<sup>2</sup> 有長短也: Wang suggests 代 for 有 as in the *T'ung-tien*.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 秦孝公: Shang Yang's patron, Duke of Ch'in (361.—338 B.C.).

<sup>5</sup> 吳起: the famous strategist who served Ch'u.

<sup>6</sup> 楚悼王: King of Ch'u (401.—381 B.C.).

<sup>7</sup> A statement historically incorrect, as to Ch'in.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. note 2, p. 41 supra.

<sup>9</sup> I.e., for soldiering, *sp. Doyvindak*, *op. cit.*, 83, 293, and 295.

ruled arbitrarily.<sup>1</sup> 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?*<sup>2</sup> A good singer makes men (able) to follow his notes;<sup>3</sup> a talented artist causes others to continue his work; fitting the rim of a cart wheel, depends upon the training of an apprentice.<sup>4</sup> The achievements of Chou virtue depended upon the strength of Chou Kung,<sup>5</sup> though there may be the preliminary draft of *Pi Shên*, but none of the embellishment of *Tzu-chün*,<sup>6</sup> and though there may be the traced lines of Wên and Wu,<sup>7</sup> but no boring and no handle of Chou's and Li's,<sup>8</sup> then the work will not be successfully completed. Now you blame Shang Yang for the work of Chao Kao<sup>9</sup> who brought Ch'in to ruin. It is just like blaming I Yin<sup>10</sup> for the disruption of the Yin Empire by Ch'ung-hu.<sup>11</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Ch'u 楚, Chai 齊, Yen 燕, Hsu 韓, Wei 魏, Chao 趙, the Six States. The Second Emperor is *Eih-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.

<sup>2</sup> 祭仲. Not from the *Ch'u-shih* but the *Kung-yang* Canon., 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.)

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

<sup>4</sup> A puzzling passage, but the translation given appears to contain the sense of the preceding passages. Chung quotes in explanation *Huan-mu-tzu*, ch. 說林訓. If one could not change what had been done in ancient times (古之所為不可更), then the 推車 would still be even now without a rim.

<sup>5</sup> 周, 周公. The phrases are from *Lao-shi*, XIV, x.

<sup>6</sup> 禪讓. 子產. 周, Duke of Chou.

<sup>7</sup> 文, 武. 呂, known as Lu Shang 尚, 姜子牙, or 太公望, preceptor of Wên and Wu.

<sup>8</sup> 趙高. 伊尹. 殷. 崇虎.

<sup>9</sup> 趙高. 伊尹. 殷. 崇虎.

<sup>10</sup> 趙高. 伊尹. 殷. 崇虎.

<sup>11</sup> 趙高. 伊尹. 殷. 崇虎.

Ts'ü<sup>1</sup> and Chi Tsü<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 Chao<sup>4</sup> and terrorized Ch'i and Ch'u.<sup>5</sup> The feudal lords, gathering up their skirts, faced westward and followed Ch'in's leadership. After him came Méng T'ien<sup>6</sup> 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 calculation 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. Méng 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-tsu* (71b), which Su-shan Ch'ien states that he read (*Shih-tai* 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', *tsai*, only one gate to riches and honour, i.e., agriculture and warfare, and by 'closing', *wei*, all other gates". *Loa. sit.*, 149. "Policy" 術 here used is also a special expression of the *Legalist* school to which the *Shang-tsu* belongs.  
 4 燕, 趙 5 齊, 楚 6 蒙恬

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 responsibility, devised an organization of spying and accusation and increased bodily punishments.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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-cess 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,<sup>3</sup> Kung Shu-tzai<sup>4</sup> himself would be unable to fit the bundle. 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 Tsü-ch'an's<sup>5</sup> do then? So, Pien Ch'iao<sup>6</sup> cannot cover white bones with flesh, nor can Wei

1 相坐之法, 造誅謗, 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 諸 commentators take 狐 as 狐 (不正), "all alike".  
 4 公輸子.  
 5 扁鵲, the physician.  
 6 子產

were strong; and that the feudal lords submitted to their dictates and faced westward 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 jeopardized the Ch'in state, while Méng 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<sup>2</sup> 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 rise [readily] on horseback, they will end in weeping tears of blood.*

4. The Lord Grand Secretary: Handsome persons are deeply envied by the ugly and deformed. Thus Shao-kuan,<sup>3</sup> the Minister, belittled Ch'ü Yuan<sup>4</sup> before Ch'ing Hsiang,<sup>5</sup> and Kung-po Liao calumniated T'ü Lu<sup>6</sup> before Chi Sun.<sup>7</sup>

7a. Now the Lord of Shiang rose from obscurity<sup>1</sup> and came from Wei to Ch'in.<sup>8</sup> 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,<sup>9</sup> greatly pleased with him, gave him Shang<sup>10</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 權數, the *fa ch'ia* terms.

<sup>2</sup> 擊胸, lit., "boast" and "stripe of dried meat", evidently an opprobrious epithet.

<sup>3</sup> 上官, 4 屈原, 5 頃襄.

<sup>6</sup> 公伯寮, 子路, 季孫, from *Lo-shi*, XIV, xxviii.

<sup>7</sup> 布衣, not from the "hempe-clothed" commoners, as he was of noble descent, as the name Kung-shan (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, 9 秦, 10 商.

like, so they envy his ability and find fault with his accomplishments. 7a. The Literati: The noble man enters into a career always with Principle as his guide and retires without falling 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.

8. Now Shang Yang abandoned Principle and became an opportunist; 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 unnobled, it was as if he had eaten poisoned meat: he may have felt pleased and satiated but soon suffered from his mistake.

9. Su Ch'in<sup>1</sup> formed horizontal and divided vertical alliances and united the Six States. This task was indeed great! Chieh and Chou<sup>2</sup> are mentioned together with Yao and Shun<sup>3</sup> and are not forgotten

<sup>1</sup> 權, again the term favored by the *fa ch'ia* 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 Su-sha Ch'ien's characterization (*Shih-chi*, ch. LXVIII): 商君其天資刻薄人也.... 所因

由變臣及得用刑公子虔欺魏將印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, Abg, and did not follow the advice of Ch'ü Liang, all of which facts show clearly that the Lord of Shang was a man of little favors.... There is reason enough why he should have finally left a bad reputation in Ch'in. (Duyvendak's translation, op. cit., 30-31).

<sup>2</sup> 蘇秦, Cf. Maspero, *Le Ch'ien Anales*, 588.

<sup>3</sup> 堯, 舜, 桀, 紂.



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.

9. The Lord Grand Secretary: White cannot hold its own in the presence of black; a Worthy or a Sage cannot order things as he wishes in an age of anarchy. Thus, Chi Tzu suffered imprisonment and Pi Kan<sup>2</sup> was tortured. Wu Yuan<sup>3</sup> was Chancellor to Ho Lü<sup>4</sup> and made him Protector, but Fu-ch'ai<sup>5</sup> unjustly exiled and then killed him. Yo I<sup>6</sup> was a trusted servant and served well King Chao of Yen<sup>7</sup> yet he was suspected of treason by King Hui.<sup>8</sup> These ministers were to the last blameless in order to achieve fame but met the neglect of the contemporary rulers. Chung, the Minister,<sup>9</sup> was the right hand of the King of Yieh<sup>10</sup> and designed deep schemes for him which culminated in the capture of the powerful state of Wu<sup>11</sup> and the occupation of the lands of the Eastern Aborigines;<sup>12</sup> he finally was presented with the 'Shu-lou'<sup>13</sup> 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]?

1. The Literati: That Pi Kan had his heart cut out, and that Te-hsi's<sup>14</sup> 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 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 Te-hsi died the people of Wu sorrowed.

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

2 比干. 3 伍員. 4 閻閻. 5 夫差.  
 6 樂毅. 7 燕昭. 8 惠王. 9 大夫種.  
 10 越王. 11 東夷.  
 12 子胥 = 伍員 Wu Jian.  
 13 屬鏹. of the Te-hsi-yan.

s. Now the people of Chin 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?"<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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

2 Only the traditional activities and policies of one of early Chiu'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 interloquers) 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 *Y's ch'ia* policies by the Han administrators is disclosed. Cf. Doyrendak, op. cit., 126 seq., on the influence of the School of law in the establishment of the Han regime.

for a son than the murder of his father.<sup>1</sup> It is but recently that the princes of Huai Nan and Hêng Shan,<sup>2</sup> encouraging literary studies, invited footloose scholars from the four corners of the Empire. The Confucianists and Minists from east of the mountains<sup>3</sup> all congregated betwixt the Chiang and the Huai,<sup>4</sup> 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 led<sup>5</sup> to change the laws and alter customs,<sup>6</sup> disregard precedent and rule, in his attempt to curb the hereditary houses<sup>7</sup> 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'u<sup>8</sup> 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*,<sup>9</sup> *Tsêng Tsai would not enter the hamlet of "Mother Surpassed"*.<sup>9</sup> These mere names they hated; how much more would they shrink from doing anything disloyal or unfilial? Thus *Confucius*

<sup>1</sup> A possible reference to the *Lo-yü*, XI, xxiii, 6, where regicide and parricide are under discussion. Cf. Soothill, *Analekts*, 549, note.

<sup>2</sup> 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* (sp. *Ch'ien-han-shu*), I, 468—9.

<sup>3</sup> 山東儒墨.

<sup>4</sup> 江 (Yangtze) and 淮 (Huai) rivers.

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

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

<sup>7</sup> 宗族易常. The substitution crept in under the influence of the preceding 宗室.

<sup>8</sup> 吳, 楚.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. ch. XVI of the *Shuo-yuen* of Liu Hsiang, (B.C. 80—4) where the same passage indicates the factiousness of the two sects regarding improper names.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CH'AO TSO<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> 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-considered 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, 508; III, 210—11), 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.

<sup>2</sup> 君親無將. Chang quotes Yen Shih-ku's explanation of 將 as "to have designs upon". The exact quotation occurs in the *K'ang-yang Chuan*, Chiao 昭, I. Cf. *Ts'ung-shan*, sub 將, and *K'ang Hsi Ts'ü-ku*, the latter assigning the quotation to *op. cit.*, Chang 莊, XXXII.

<sup>3</sup> This dogmatic interpretation of the *Ch'ien-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'ien-ch'iu*, the *Tso-ch'uan* 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 chronicler, 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. K'angro argues against such a theory (cf. *On the Authenticity of the Tso-ch'uan*, 1920). The *Ch'ien-ch'iu* has been subjected to a renewed examination by Franke in *Studien zur Geschichte des Konfuzianischen Dogmas und der christlichen Staatsreligion: Das Problem des Tso-ch'iu* und Tang Ts'ung-shih's *Tso-ch'iu* (1920).

bathed himself and went to Court where he petitioned Duke Ai,<sup>1</sup> and although Ch'ên Wen Tsü held a fief of ten chariots he abandoned all and left the country.<sup>2</sup> The superior man, says the Chuan,<sup>3</sup> may be excited 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.<sup>4</sup> If all uncarved precious stones were discarded because of some flaw found in the crown jewels,<sup>5</sup> 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 Wu<sup>6</sup> he decimated Kuei Chi,<sup>7</sup> for the crime of Ch'u<sup>8</sup> he deprived of power Tung Hai<sup>9</sup> so that he might preserve the balance of power and divide their authority; he planned for gene-

<sup>1</sup> 哀公. To obtain vengeance for the murder of Duke Chien of CHU 齊簡公. *Levy's*, XIV, XXI.

<sup>2</sup> When Tsü Tsü 崔子 put to death Duke Chuang of CHU 齊莊公. *Levy's*, V, XVIII.

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

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

<sup>5</sup> 瑀璠, "crown jewel" of Lu.

<sup>6</sup> 吳. <sup>7</sup> 會稽.

<sup>8</sup> 楚. <sup>9</sup> 東海.

rations to come. Just as Hsien Kao<sup>1</sup> cheated Ch'in<sup>2</sup> but kept faith with Chüéng,<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>4</sup> requited himself fully before Chin<sup>5</sup> by slighting the barbarian power of Ching.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 弦高, an example of disinterested loyalty.

<sup>2</sup> 秦. <sup>3</sup> 鄭.

<sup>4</sup> 解揚, who, despite all pressure brought to bear, remained faithful to his Sovereign. The anecdote is in the *Pao-chuan*, Hsüan 宣, XV, (*Legge*, *Chi. Classics*, V, 1, 327).

<sup>5</sup> 晉. <sup>6</sup> 荆, i. e. Ch'u 楚.

rivers, seas and lakes are not limited to Yün-méng and Méng-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,<sup>1</sup> with the result that few will be those who hold in honor fundamental occupations. K'ung Chin and Hsien-yang,<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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 Chang<sup>4</sup> and the power of the feudal ministers.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 敦樸滋僞. Lu suggests reading 敦 for 敦.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 2, note 1; p. 35, note 2. Chang omits [T'ung-k'uo] Hsien-yang: "K'ung Chin and others."

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 田常.

<sup>5</sup> 陪臣. Cf. *Zsnyfi*, XVI, 16, "... When a minister's minister holds command in the kingdom it is rare if he be not lost within three generations."

## 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-méng of Ch'ü, Chü-yeh of Sang, and Méng-chu of Ch'i;<sup>1</sup> they are all of substance worthy of a Lord Protector or a King. It is when he has them consolidated and well guarded<sup>2</sup> 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'i<sup>3</sup> 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'ien<sup>4</sup> waxed strong. Their caravans and cargoes<sup>5</sup> 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,

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 人[君]統而[守]之: in Chang's text, 主

<sup>3</sup> 齊.

<sup>4</sup> 田常.

<sup>5</sup> 轉載, 游海. The first compound refers to land transportation. Cf. Chauvannes,

*Mém. hist.*, III, 502, "ils avaient des convois de transport d'une centaine de chars."

Their prestige is higher than that of the Six Ministers<sup>1</sup> and their wealth double that of T'ao and Wei.<sup>2</sup> 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, football<sup>3</sup>, games and cock-fighting. The singing-girls of Chung-shan<sup>4</sup> play their inflammatory music on the balconies of their halls, while the drums beat and spirited dancing<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> Their sons and grandsons ride out with long reinues of chariots and horsemen; in and out they ride to the hunt and display their skill in handling net and dart.<sup>6</sup> The result is that we see the farmer abandoning his plough and tilling no more; the people becoming vagabonds<sup>8</sup> or growing idle—and why? Because while they toil, others reap the fruit of their labor. Masters 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.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 31, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ch'ien-han-shih*, XXX, for a work on football, listed under the military writers.

<sup>3</sup> Play the "rippling" *流*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ts'ü-yüan*.

<sup>5</sup> *Chang* reads *流* (渝), *Chia* *徵* note. *Chia* corresponds to Summer and Fire.

<sup>6</sup> *巴俞* (渝) apparently "Szech'uan dancing". Men from the two provinces of Pa and Yu were famous for their dancing skill.

<sup>7</sup> *曳綈紵* in the sense of trail or drag along. Cf. *Shih-ching*, T'ung Fêng, ode 山有樞: You have suits of robes, but you will not wear them.

<sup>8</sup> *有衣裳弗曳弗妻* (Legge, *Old Chinese*, vol. IV, 1, 176, note).

<sup>9</sup> *單*: small net for catching birds, and an arrow propelled by a string.

<sup>10</sup> *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 feuds because of their father's virtue, and Po Ch'in<sup>1</sup> 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 end seas can fatten a thousand li of land*.<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> 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*.<sup>4</sup> But for the rank and file of the people to aspire to the station of the actions of high ministers is just as preposterous as for a cripple to wish to overtake Lou Chi.<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>6</sup> would regard themselves responsible for every luckless person<sup>7</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 伯禽.

<sup>2</sup> *K'ung-yang Chuan*, Duke Hsi, 僖公, XXXI.

<sup>3</sup> 苟美. *Largely*, XIII, viii: The Master said of Ching... when he had amassed plenty he called it "Passably fine" (Soothill's trans.).

<sup>4</sup> Apparently based on Mencius, VII, 1, 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.).

<sup>5</sup> 樓季. <sup>6</sup> 禹; 稷.

<sup>7</sup> 不得其所者.

the gentlemen 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<sup>1</sup> earn the title of "The Cultured" and Wei Ch'eng Tsai<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 公叔。      <sup>2</sup> 魏成子。

<sup>3</sup> Lu suggests: "and the world [天下 to be inserted] did not consider him partizan."

<sup>4</sup> 鬪行: visits her superiors.

## CHAPTER X

### THRUST AND PARRY

a. The Lord Grand Secretary, 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> Our minds are in a state of watchful tension, as if we were crossing a great waterway<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> and we crave their bounties as if from some T'ai-kao.<sup>6</sup> While our Secretariat manages affairs, year after year a search is made throughout

<sup>1</sup> The text has 大夫曰, a mistake. Chang reads 乃 for 曰。

<sup>2</sup> 負載. Chang reads 戴, a more orthodox reading: "those who carry burdens on their backs and heads". Cf. Mencius I, 3, III, 4. 須白者不負戴於道路矣。

<sup>3</sup> 中外未然。

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

<sup>5</sup> 計數。      周[公]召[公]。

<sup>6</sup> Chang, quoting the *Kao-shih Chuan* 高士傳, attempts to identify T'ai-kao with 伯成子高, a worthy of high antiquity. Lu's note points out that the reference is to 沈諸梁.

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

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>3</sup> 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. "T'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'u-wu-ch'i* or its commentaries. Cf. *Tao-t'eh-ching*, ch. 58: 其政察察, "whose administrative methods are over-inquisitive."

3 *Shu-ching* II, iii, ii, 4. Legge translates: "Then men of a thousand (後) 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 Lo* 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, iii, 10, "and all the chiefs of the officers become truly harmonious".

the provinces and demeans 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 ideosyncrasies 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 Kuan of Ch'ien-shêng,<sup>2</sup> 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 of 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 T'ui<sup>3</sup> would first adjust his square and compass, then "handle and hole" would fit each other perfectly; the music-master Kuang,<sup>4</sup> when harmonizing the scale, would first regulate his six sharps;<sup>5</sup> then only he achieved the perfect blending of the *sol-fa*.<sup>6</sup> Our present artificers and mechanics, when unable to fit handle and hole, find fault with the squares 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 輪子, 4 師曠, 5 六律.

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

who know only how to use their own resources, business is neglected and everything left uncompleted. Duke Huan let Kuan Chung<sup>1</sup> 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 Kung<sup>2</sup> was Chancellor, he was meek and humble, never stingy<sup>3</sup> 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!<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> 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 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,<sup>6</sup> or as much delight in associating with worthies as is depicted in the poem, "With pleased sounds the deer call,"<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 桓公; 管仲.

<sup>2</sup> 鄰, which here is 存, according to Lu.

<sup>3</sup> 三公: under the Chou dynasty, the Grand Tutor 太師, Assistant 太傅, and Guardian 太保.

<sup>4</sup> 鹿鳴. Cf. *Shih-ching*, Hsiao Ya, 1<sup>st</sup> ode, a festival 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.

<sup>5</sup> 堯,舜.  
<sup>6</sup> 燕昭.  
<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Shih-ching*, Hsiao Ya, 1<sup>st</sup> ode, a festival 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 Wên<sup>1</sup> and Ts'ü-shü<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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 disappearing 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,<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> all with no noticeable benefit to the administration.'<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 臧文. Cf. *Zou-yi*, XV, xiii: "Was not Ts'ang Wên Chung like one who had stolen his office?" remarked the Master. "He knew the superiority of Hsi of Lin-hsia yet did not appoint him as a colleague."

<sup>2</sup> 子叔. Cf. *Mencius*, II, ii, 5, 6: "A strange man was Tse-shu I. He pushed himself into the service of government..."

<sup>3</sup> 太公.

<sup>4</sup> 周公,召公.

<sup>5</sup> 食不兼味. Wang's text has for the last, "never held more than one office". But the same distributivus is assigned to Kung-sun Hung in the *Shih-chi* (cf. Charvannes, *Mém. Asiat.*, III, 589). The *Zi-hsi* 哀公問, para. 4, has a similar expression: 食不貳味.

<sup>6</sup> Kung-sun Hung 公孫弘 was one of Hsin Wu, T'ü'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. Charvannes, *Mém. Asiat.*, III, 558 seq.).



h. Learned doctors such as Chu T'ai and Hui Yen<sup>1</sup> 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 demeane, making selection among the filial and incorrupt,<sup>2</sup> 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 Wen 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'u<sup>3</sup> were paramount in employment; generals and commanders often were raised to feudal rank and given fiefs; the rapacious<sup>4</sup> 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"<sup>5</sup> and "bearskin

<sup>1</sup> 稽奉; 徐偃。  
<sup>2</sup> 孝廉。

<sup>3</sup> 荆楚之士. Wang quotes from the biography (*Han-shu*, LIV) of the famous Li Ling and Ch'u.

<sup>4</sup> 勉獲者: 貪. "go-getters".

<sup>5</sup> Literally, "scholars of the Pan Brook" 潘溪. According to tradition T'ai Kung

knights"<sup>1</sup> sank into obscurity. On the Ching, on the Hui, <sup>2</sup> sluices were now built to facilitate transportation. Tung-kuo Yen<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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 "lese majesté".<sup>5</sup> Men like Tu Chou and Chien Hui'an<sup>6</sup> won renown by their harsh interpretations of the law, and others of the type of Wang Wen-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 toleration<sup>7</sup> from above. What could Kung-sun Hung do alone under such conditions?

(Li Shang), future mentor and generalissimo of Wu Wang, was living in retirement in Shen-hai and fishing in this boat, "waiting for his opportunity"; it was there that Wu Wang, while hunting, met him and brought him to the Chou court.

<sup>1</sup> 熊羆, commonly translated "bears and grizzly bears", who fought on Hsueg-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", 143, and *Siu-ching*, II, i, v. 22, footnote, "Angling scholar" and "bearskin knight", the exemplary scholar and warrior.

<sup>2</sup> 涇, 淮, the rivers of these names.

<sup>3</sup> 東郭偃, 孔偃. 偃 is here used for 威陽, the name as given in the *Siu-chi*, *Han-shu* and in chn. IX and XIV of the *Yen T'ieh* *Len*, Cf. p. 8, note 1; p. 35, note 2, supra.

<sup>4</sup> 上下無求, undoubtedly a mistake for 兼, 上 and 下 referring to 公 and 私.

<sup>5</sup> 見知廢格之法.

<sup>6</sup> 杜周, 滅富, 王溫舒, persons mentioned in this connection in the *Shih-shi* (*Mém. Hist.*, III, 482).

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

Hung<sup>1</sup> would not have been unique at the time. Yet, when the weak state of Yen attacked Chi and in one campaign drove right down to Lin-t'ao, King Min fled before the Yen forces to perish miserably at Chin and none of these gentlemen could save the situation.<sup>2</sup> When King Chien was made prisoner by Chi'in,<sup>3</sup> 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 T'sao-fu<sup>4</sup> would not be able to manage his four-in-hand; without some measure of power<sup>5</sup> 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.*<sup>6</sup> 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 Hsuan<sup>7</sup> of Chi the worthy were manifestly honored<sup>8</sup> and scholars promoted indeed; that nation was

ried de (la porte) Tai (稷) révérent abondants; la se complérent par centaines et furent prêts de mille. Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.*, V, 253—250. While the *Tao T'eh Lou* includes the name of Mencius, the text of the *Shih-chi* does not.

<sup>1</sup> 公孫弘. See page 63, note 6, supra.

<sup>2</sup> The overthrow of King Min 溥 at Lin-t'ao 臨淄 (284 B.C.) at the hands of Yen 燕 and his subsequent assassination at Chin 晉, are noted in the *Shih-chi*, ch. XLVI (cf. *Mém. Hist.*, V, 273 seq.).

<sup>3</sup> 建王. *Shih-chi*, ch. LXXVI. Our text has for 禽 擒, "make prisoner". The incident occurred in 231 B.C. (cf. Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.*, V, 279).

<sup>4</sup> 造父, the celebrated coachman.

<sup>5</sup> 世位. Chang has 勢 for 世, the two characters being often interchangeable. The Literati employ a *logarithmic* argument here. Cf. Dreyer's *Book of Lord Sheng*, 94.

<sup>6</sup> The *Zuo-yü*, IX, viii, Soodhill's rendering.

<sup>7</sup> Chang suggests: "During the reign of King Wei 威 (predecessor of Hsuan) and Hsuan . . .", to accord with the following . . . through two generations of prosperity".

<sup>8</sup> The text has 不願. The translation follows Chang's suggestion of inserting 無 before 不.

## CHAPTER XI

### DISCOURSING ON CONFUCIANISTS<sup>1</sup>

a. The Secretary: You venerate Confucius, oh Literati, as your intellectual progenitor, and in one lands in praise of his virtue as being unsurpassed from high antiquity down to the present time.<sup>2</sup> Yet in spite of the fact that Confucius cultivated virtue betwixt Lu and Wei<sup>3</sup> and spread enlightenment on the banks of the Chu and Sui,<sup>4</sup> 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 Chi's, King Hsüan<sup>5</sup> likewise encouraged the Confucianists and honored the learned. The followers of Mêng K'o<sup>6</sup> and Shun-yü K'un<sup>7</sup> accepted salaries worthy of high lords and discouraged on affairs of state without holding regular appointments.

b. It seems that at the gate of Chi of the Chi's capital there were assembled over a thousand of these doctors.<sup>8</sup> Master Kung-sun

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

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mencius, II, 1, 11, 23: "Since there were living men until now, there never was another Confucius."

<sup>3</sup> 魯衛. Chang has Chi 齊 and Lu. "Lu and Wei" seems to be the correct reading, as it often occurs elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> 洙 泗: rivers of these names. See glossary.

<sup>5</sup> 齊宣王. 孟軻 (Mencius).

<sup>6</sup> 齊宣王. Le roi Sien aimait les hommes instruits qui voyageaient (de pays en pays) pour donner des conseils. Soixante-seize hommes, parmi lesquels T'ouo Yen (鄒衍), Chou-ye K'uen, T'ou P'ien (田駢), T'ou Yu (婁子), Chen T'ao (慎到), Hou Yuen (環淵) furent 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 T'ou, les savants au

<sup>7</sup> 淳 [淳] 于 覽.

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'u<sup>1</sup> and Huai,<sup>2</sup> and in the north annexed the lands of the great state of Sung,<sup>3</sup> taking into his fold twelve petty kingdoms; while in the west he drove back the three states of China,<sup>4</sup> and forced powerful Ch'in<sup>5</sup> to retreat. The embassies of the five states<sup>6</sup> paid him homage, and the princes of Tsou and Lu and all feudal lords from the banks of the Ssi river acknowledged themselves his vassals.<sup>7</sup> But he did not cease in displaying boastfully his prowess until his people could bear no more. All the Confucianists<sup>8</sup> in his service, finding their criticism of no avail, scattered abroad; Shen Tao and Chieh Tzu disappeared, T'ien P'ien<sup>9</sup> went to Hsieh,<sup>10</sup> and Sun Ch'ing<sup>11</sup> proceeded to Ch'u.<sup>12</sup> 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 Sheng,<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

1 楚. 2 淮. 3 宋. 4 晉. 5 秦.

<sup>1</sup> Yen Tz'u, Ch'u, Ch'u, Ch'u, Chao, Chao, who later, under the leadership of Yen, attacked Ch'i and drove King Min from his capital.

<sup>2</sup> 鄒魯之君泗上... This sentence occurs in the *Shih-shi*, ch. XLVI, but with 入臣 for 入臣.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads 諸侯, but with Duyvendak ("The Chronology of Hsin-t'ai", *T'oung Pao*, 1928, No. 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.

<sup>4</sup> For a description of the *Chi-han* scholars, see Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 516, 553; and Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 73 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Shen Tao, Chieh Tzu, T'ien P'ien. Cf. p. 66, note 8, supra.

<sup>6</sup> 薛. 11 孫卿. 12 楚.

<sup>13</sup> 后勝. Cf. *Shi-shi*, ch. LXVI (*Mém. hist.*, V, 279). At the advice of his counsellor, Hou Sheng, King Chien of Ch'i surrendered to the armies of Ch'in (291 B.C.).

<sup>14</sup> The appearance of the name of Sun Ch'ing 孫卿, Sun the Minister (al. Hsin K'ueang 荀况), in this passage has been noted by a number of scholars in

6. The Secretary: I Yin<sup>1</sup> entered the service of T'ang<sup>2</sup> through his ability as a cook, and Fo-ii<sup>3</sup> ingratiated himself with Duke Mu<sup>4</sup> 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 thus<sup>5</sup> 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"<sup>6</sup> 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 Tzu, 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.<sup>7</sup> 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 Tz'u* Lo, Wang Hsien-ch'ien, apparently first called attention to the importance of Hsueh Kuan's statement in his edition of the *Hsin-t'ai* (1891). See Maspero, op. cit., 564, note 2; and Duyvendak, *T'oung Pao*, loc. cit., passim. The names and 孫 by which the philosopher has been known, are discussed by Maspero, op. cit., 285, note 3; and Duyvendak, op. cit., 75, note 1. Dubs, *Hsin-t'ai, the Master of Ancient Confucianism*, does not take cognizance of Hsueh Kuan's references to Sun Ch'ing (cf. *Yen Tz'u* Lo, ch. XVIII, where the text reads 荀卿).

1 伊尹. Cf. Mencius V, vii, 1-8, *Introduction of I Yin from the charge of introducing himself to the service of T'ang by an unworthy artifice* [Lodge].

2 湯. 3 百里. 4 穆公.

5 如此, omitted in Chang's edition.

6 Referring to Shang Yang's initial discourse, 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 *Chi-han-shih*, ch. XXX) of two works, the *Tou-tai* 鄒子 and the *Tou-tai-chung-shih* 鄒子終始. *Beginning and End*, classed in the school of *yii* and *yang*. Cf. *Mém. hist.*, V, 258, note 8). The *Shi-shi* comment to the *Shih-shi* (ch. LXXIV), mentions Hsueh Kuan as sharing with Wang Ch'ung 王充 the opinion that T'ou Yen's work, though wild and diffuse, dazzled his feudal patrons. Cf. *Lo-shi-k'ang* (Forke's translation), I, 463. T'ou 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*, 503-508.

Your one-ideaed obstinacy, stick only to one principle after the fashion of Wei Shêng. It does not seem worth while for you to mention that Duke Wên of Chín<sup>3</sup> 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 Liberator: 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.*<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.*<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 硬硬然. *Lo-yue* XIV, xiii, 2; *ibid.* XIII, xi, 3: "obstinate little men" [Legge].

<sup>2</sup> 屠生.

<sup>3</sup> 晉文 [公].

<sup>4</sup> Soothill, *Amulets*, 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, poses 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."

<sup>5</sup> Soothill, *Amulets*, IV, v. The antecedent of 於是 in our text is 德義.

<sup>6</sup> The nearest approach to this sentence found in Mencius is VI, ii, ix, 8: 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].

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

*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,<sup>4</sup> to whom they would refer whenever they speak. They take up the unattainable and praise it, just like some 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 Tson Tsai enunciated the doctrine of Mutation and Change, he also concluded with the principle of benevolence and righteousness; Chai Chung<sup>5</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 胡, 代.

<sup>2</sup> 黎邱, 宋.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the *Shih-chi*, ch. LXXIV, where Ssu-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.

<sup>4</sup> 文, 武, 成 [湯], 康.

<sup>5</sup> 祭仲. By being forced to agree under duress to the deposition of the rightful heir of Chéng 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 *Kuang-yang* comm., XI.

paid a visit to the mistress of the Duke of Wei<sup>1</sup> prompted by the favorite Mi Tzu-hsia,<sup>2</sup> incurring thus the disapproval of Tzu-lu. Since Tzu-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 Tzu. The principles of propriety and right conduct originated with<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 衛[公]夫人 whose name, as given below, was Nan Tzu 南子

<sup>2</sup> 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 Tzu-lu 子路. *Less-ya*, VI, xxvi.

<sup>3</sup> 禮義由孔氏, add here 出, according to Lu.

<sup>4</sup> 伊尹負鼎調五味而為相 I Yin carried his pots and dishes [lit. tripod and stands], heaving the five favors, and became Chief Minister. Cf. *Han-shih-wen-chuen* 韓詩外傳.

i. When Ho-lu<sup>1</sup> murdered King Liao,<sup>2</sup> Tzu Cha<sup>3</sup> left the country and betook himself to Yen-ling<sup>4</sup> and never to the end of his days crossed the border of the state of Wu.<sup>5</sup> When the Duke of Lu<sup>6</sup> killed Tzu-ch'ih,<sup>7</sup> Shu-mien retired<sup>8</sup> 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 to<sup>9</sup> the *Lun Yü*, With the men who is personally engaged in a wrongful enterprise the true gentlemen declines to associate.<sup>10</sup> Such is the saying but in practice it is difficult to follow. Thus when the Chi-elan,<sup>11</sup> lawless and unprincipled, drove their prince from the throne and usurped all power, Jan Ch'u<sup>12</sup> and Chung Yu<sup>13</sup> still remained to serve them. The rules of Propriety prescriptive, Men and women do not give nor receive ceremonial cups from one another.<sup>14</sup> Yet when Confucius passed through Wei he

<sup>1</sup> 閻廔. <sup>2</sup> 僚公. <sup>3</sup> 子札. <sup>4</sup> 延陵.

<sup>5</sup> This passage occurs in *Kung-yang* comm., Duke Hsueh 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 (592 B. C.) is recounted in the *Shih-chi*, XXXI (*Mem. Hist.*, V, 20).

<sup>6</sup> Duke Hsiao 宣, cf. glossary.

<sup>7</sup> 叔胥; for 胥 read 辟, according to Chang. Cf. glossary under Shu-hsi.

<sup>8</sup> The text has 論語 immediately followed by the quotation. Chang's edition inserts 云 after *Lun Yü*.

<sup>9</sup> See *Scottish Antiquary*, XVII, vii, 2. Although Confucius in 3, in loc., admits having made the statement, Hsueh K'uan is careful not to assign the sentence directly to Confucius.

<sup>10</sup> 季氏.

<sup>11</sup> 冉求.

<sup>12</sup> 仲由. <sup>13</sup> 仲由. <sup>14</sup> Cf. *Lo-shi*, 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 after 女.

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<sup>1</sup> proposed to establish the liquor excise,<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> was in constant danger. At present, however, the Nine Provinces<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>5</sup> the hymns and chants sound within Your

<sup>1</sup> 少府丞令. Cf. p. 34, note 4, supra.

<sup>2</sup> 酒權. Cf. p. 2, note 2, supra.

<sup>3</sup> 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 origin of the term *shé* here has been exhaustively treated by Charvannes in *Le Dieu du Sol dans la Chine antique*, and has been recently discussed by Ku Chieh-kang 顧頌剛 in the autobiographical section of his *Ku Shih Pien* 古史辨, 自序. Cf. also Maspero, *Le Chine Antique*, 167-175; and Karlgren, "Some Frequency Symbols in Ancient China," in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 2, 1930, on the possibility of the original phallic significance of *shé*.

<sup>4</sup> 九州. the Empire. Cf. p. 8, note 5 supra.

<sup>5</sup> 論. here, is taken as 和.

## CHAPTER XII

### FRONTIERS, THE GREAT CONCERN<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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 distress<sup>3</sup> 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,

<sup>1</sup> 憂邊. Cf. ch. I, para. 4 to 4. The most detailed study of the age-old conflict of the Chinese with the peoples on the north and west frontier, designated by Ssu-ma Ch'ien as the Hsiung Nu (Hung-wu) 匈奴, has been made by de Groot in *Die Hsiung Nu vorchristlichen Zeit*. (Ch. *Urk. zur Gesch. Asiens*, I). The Chinese sources made use of by de Groot for the Han period are especially, *Shih-shi* CX, 匈奴列傳 (to 97 B. C.), and *Ch'ien-han-shu* ICIV, 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, *Ch' 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 unrelenting defence of China's frontier (as advocated by Sung Hung-yang), is summarized by de Groot (op. cit., I, 182): Die Stiftung eines westlichen Kaiserreichs war ein in Westen begriffen; die Abwehrung der Hsiung Nu nach dem westen Westen und Europa, die den Auslass gab zu der grossen Völkerwanderung, hatte ihren Anfang genommen.

<sup>2</sup> A repetition of the Literati's dictum in para. 4, XI.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

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 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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

Ping 王評 and others, altogether five officers, were despatched to make such enquiries (cf. the *Han-wen-shi* 漢武紀, 2nd year of the *shih-jüen* era).

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

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Hua-wen-fu* ch. XIX. Speakers (所為言者) should stay on the level with the mass (齊於衆) and be in agreement with custom (屬於俗). Nowadays if they do not discourse on the "Empyrean" (九天之頂), then they speak of the "Tartarian" (黃泉之底)....

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

court, and the jingling bells of Your chariot resound merrily outside.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> and their barren lands, be worth all this trouble and worry that brings us back to the uncertainty of the Warring States<sup>3</sup> period. Should Your Majesty be unwilling to abandon them to their fate, You have but to manifest Your virtue<sup>4</sup> 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",<sup>5</sup> then the Haung Nu will never<sup>6</sup> 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 despatched the chief criminal judge<sup>7</sup> Ping to inquire about the grievances among the people, to

<sup>1</sup> *Le-chi*, Ching Chieh 經解 [Leggs, Sacred Books, Vol. XXVIII, 255]: 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.

<sup>2</sup> 蠻, 狁. See glossary.

<sup>3</sup> 戰國: the several states of China of the Via to the 11th centuries B. C., who struggled incessantly for the hegemony, culminating in the triumph of Ch'in 秦. (Cf. Maspero, *Le Chine Antique*, 392 seq.). The wars of the period form the subject matter of the *Ch'u-shu-shih-shen* 竹書紀年, the *Ch'u-shu-shih-shen* 戰國策, and ch. V of the *Shih-shih*.

<sup>4</sup> 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-shu*, III, 1, 2, King Wen 文王).

<sup>5</sup> From the west to the east.

<sup>6</sup> From the south to the north.

There was not one who thought of refusing submission."

has been repeated by Mencius (II, 1, 11, 2), and by Hsü-tzu (Bk. XIV [cf. Deuts' translation, p. 156]).

<sup>7</sup> 胡制於, found in this passage, are omitted, following Wang's opinion.

<sup>8</sup> 沒齒 "to the end of their days", cf. *Leang-yü* XIV, 2.

<sup>9</sup> 廷尉 "chief criminal judge", an office dating from the Ch'in Dynasty and maintained under Han Wa Ti. The text here is evidently corrupt. The *Yung-wen* Wang

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.*<sup>1</sup> As for you, the Minister, your mind is biased, and therefore you have no use for our words.

9. 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 abst.<sup>2</sup> Thus, when the ruler dies, the minister does not change his policy. When the father dies, the son does not alter his ways.<sup>3</sup> The *Spring and Autumn*<sup>4</sup> disapproved of the destruction of the Ch'uan 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.<sup>5</sup> To abolish them, would that be possible without

<sup>1</sup> The first half of this quotation is not found in the *Zuo-yü*; the second is from ch. XV, LXXIX. Those whose ways are different do not make plans together [Soothill]. The *Zuo-yü* reads 為謀 與謀. Cf. *Shih-chi*, LXI, where the quotation from the *Lou-yü* is found followed by 亦各從其志也; "and so each one follows the best of his own will."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Zuo-yü* XIII, XLVII, 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 Deyrendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 114 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Paraphrase of *Zuo-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].

<sup>4</sup> The story is based on the *Kung-yang* comment, *Wên Kung* 文公. XVI. "... lady Kung was... the mother of Wên. Kungyang says that 'the tower of T'ien' [泉臺] was the name given to that built at Lang by Duke Chwang in his 31<sup>st</sup> year. The Chuan says: 'There came out from the palace of T'ien, and entered the capital, serpents, as many as there had been marquises of Lo; and when Kung died on Si-wei in the 8th month, [the duke] caused the tower to be pulled down' [Legge, *Ch'i Ch'üeh*, vol. V, pt. 1, 27; cf. also op. cit. 281, note, par. 1].

<sup>5</sup> See p. 2, notes 1 and 2, 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 116 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> Duke Chao<sup>4</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Here the "Lord-Grand-Secretary" cleverly reverses his usual arguments against following the precedents of antiquity; while in the ensuing passage (para. 5), the Literati, on the defensive, employ the *legislat* principle of opportunism, 因時而變... 隨世而制, quoting Confucius to justify it.

<sup>2</sup> Southill, *Analekts*, IX, III. The commentator (Cha Hsi 朱熹) is quoted: The prescribed cap was of the very finest linen and of a dark color. Its warp had 2400 strands.

<sup>3</sup> 序昭穆順祖廟. 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 inferment of a prince, the tablet of one of the remote ancestors was removed to make room. The *mu* 廟 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. Courveau, *La*

*Ki*, I, 297, note on 廟, and for 昭 廟, *ibid.*, 415, note. The record of the incident appears in the *Ch'ien-ch'ü*, XI, VII, 15 [Legge, *Ch'i Classics*, vol. V, pt. 1, 768-9, and note].

<sup>4</sup> 昭公. The incident has not been found in the *Ch'ien-ch'ü*, in the chronicle of Duke Chao (Book X).



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

<sup>1</sup> 阿房, the celebrated edifice constructed by Shih-huang-ti, the "First Emperor" 始皇帝, and described by Ssu-ma Ch'ien (Ssu-ma-t'hi, 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, *Mémoires*, II, 173, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 Government's opening up of parks and ponds. Herein lies the reason for the under one hand the mountains and the seas, and its concentrating could be used to supplement tribute and levies.

b. We improve canals and sluices, promote various kinds of agriculture, extend farm and pasture lands,<sup>2</sup> and develop national reservations.<sup>3</sup> The offices of the *fu-t'zu*, the *shih-hing*, the *shao-fu*, and the *ts'ung*,<sup>4</sup> compute annually the revenue derived from farm and pasture, and the rentals from farming out pond and well. Up to the limits of the Empire in the north, supervisors of fields have been appointed,<sup>5</sup> and yet with all these efforts to provide for the

<sup>1</sup> 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 內 and 外 are used again. Cf. p. 40, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> The text has 田牧: the second character should be altered to 牧, which, according to Wang, is the better reading.

<sup>3</sup> 苑圃.

<sup>4</sup> 太僕, 水衡, 少府, 大農, are mentioned together in the *Ssu-shih*, XXX, and are explained by Chavannes (*Mémoires*, III, 587, note 4) as: "La direction administrative de pare *Chang-t'ou*, le *shao-fu*, le *ts'ung* *prévôt* de l'empire; le *ts'ung*, les finances publiques; le *ts'ung* *prévôt* de l'équipage de palais." For previous mention of the terms *shih-hing*, *shao-fu* and *ts'ung*, see pp. 2 (note 1), 29 (note 2) and 84 (note 4).

<sup>5</sup> 置任田官.

different terms 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?

e. 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<sup>1</sup> each filled his want and satisfied his desire; while Chin, 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 memorial roof, but of last 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.*<sup>2</sup> As now grain on, in-it not true that raising-bound 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 unwarrantably 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 meet<sup>3</sup> without making an attempt at rigid economy at the source. All kinds of devices are put up to obtain capital: <sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Memoria I, li, IV, 4, and III, in, IX, 9.*

<sup>3</sup> 而欲瘡其末. <sup>4</sup> 設機利.

<sup>5</sup> The Scholars' criticism is of course not directed against agricultural pursuits generally. It is the interference 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 genera of the Commonwealth. Now that man should till and women should weave, this is the "Great Vocation" in the Empire. So the Ancients subdivided the land<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> and there were no unemployed in the country.

c. 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 benefits from the dykes, all the profit derived from them reverts to the plutocrats.<sup>3</sup> The Metropolitan District,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> It is our humble opinion that this was not the purpose of the late Emperor<sup>6</sup> in opening up parks and

<sup>1</sup> Probably the *shang-fen* system of land holding is here in mind, previously introduced by the Literati. Cf. p. 18, text and note 2.

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

<sup>3</sup> 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 spendthrifts is referred to. See also Introduction.

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

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

<sup>6</sup> 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-tang So 東方朔 (cf. Giles, *Biog. Diet.*, No. 2083) lectured His Majesty on the imprudence of enclosing great tracts of productive land as hunting parks 上林苑 (cf. Wiesner, *Travels Asia*, I, 470, pp. *Ch'ien-tan-tan*); while Saitama Hisanghe 司馬相如 (Giles, *ibid.*, No. 1783) 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 tax<sup>1</sup> are different terms, they are identical in substance. With such an arrangement the male population would exert themselves in working in the southern fields,<sup>2</sup> 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?

Slightly 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. Margoullis' translation in *Le Kuo-ven Chinois*, 74).

<sup>1</sup> 假, 稅, i.e., the funds obtainable are identical.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 13, note 2, *supra*.

#### CHAPTER XIV

##### THE RATIO OF PRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

a. Then advanced one of the secretaries who said: Formerly, when T'ai Kung was enfeoffed at Ying Ch'u,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

b. His Excellency, the Minister,<sup>4</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 輕重, the title of chaps. 80—86 of the *Kao-shi*. 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.

<sup>2</sup> 大公, 管邱.

<sup>3</sup> Similar attributions to Kuan Chung by virtue of his employment of *ching-sheng* are made by Ssu-ma Ch'ien in the *Shih-chi*, XXX and XXXII (cf. Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.*, III, 602, and IV, 49).

<sup>4</sup> 今天夫各修太公... 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 and as errors for 名, 名, and as representing in the original record of the debate the name of the Minister (Sung) 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 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?* a 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 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, having calculated all the state revenue in his head, 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 K'ang Ku-chih, always keen and sharp-witted in discussing matters of secondary profits, they

### 禮義

<sup>1</sup> 魯仲專於， omitted by Chang.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note 4, p. 85, supra.

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

<sup>4</sup> 江充，耕谷之. The latter person is unknown, and K'ang is not used as a surname. Chang suggests reading Yang X'o, a person mentioned in the *Yan T'shi* *Lw.*, ch. XXVIII, together with Chiang Ch'ung.

have split hairs<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 others appear in the water.<sup>3</sup> With powerful recalitrants 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 Cheng<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> in the interest

<sup>1</sup> 承譽，"antennae hairs", a term also used in the *Shih-chi* (cf. Charvaneau, *Mém. Asiat.*, III, 568, note 2).

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

<sup>3</sup> *Hsi-ma-t'shi*, ch. Ping-luch. 兵略：畜池魚者必去犏犍。

<sup>4</sup> 張廷尉. For the title, cf. note 7, p. 76, supra.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. note 4, p. 85, supra.

<sup>6</sup> These principles are developed in a celebrated memorial by Ch'ao T'ao (cf. p. 56, note 1, supra), who advocated substantially the sale of offices as a means of reducing the wealth of the rich (cf. Duyrendak, *The Book of Lord Sheng*, 55, 64—65). Such measures have been previously referred to on p. 63, 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.

4. 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.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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.

5. But when His Excellency, the Minister, in his capacity of Grain Intendant,<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> All, however, was supplied

<sup>1</sup> 齊, 楚, 趙, 魏.

<sup>2</sup> 后稷, traditional patron of agriculture. Cf. note 3, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> 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. Asiat.*, III, 597, note 1).

<sup>4</sup> 以億萬計, omitted in Chang's edition.

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. *Arithmetical* is perceived only by the talented and not understood by the multitude.

f. The Literati: Pien Ch'iao<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> When the cold fluid was predominant, he would subdue it to harmonize the positive. Consequently the vital fluid and the pulses 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.<sup>4</sup> These Six

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 扁鵲 (fl. 4th cent. B.C.). His biography appears in the *Sik-chi*, CV, concluding with the words: "Up to the present [Sik-chi 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. Hübner, *Die chinesische Medizin im Beginn des 22. Jahrhunderts und ihr historischer Entwicklungsgang*, 12 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Pien Ch'iao appears in the *Sik-chi*, CV, as discussing the influence of *yang* (the "positive" principle) and *yin* (the "negative"). The use of the "needle" 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.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. note 1, p. 43, supra.

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<sup>1</sup> and freezing cold cracks the earth. The swirling winds raise storms of acid 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<sup>2</sup> at the merging point of *yin* and *yang*. The orbits of sun and moon pass to the south.<sup>3</sup> The mansion of the Dipper and the Pole appear out of the north.<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 陰陽不和. For the place of *yin* and *yang* in the phenomena of day and night, cf. Maspero, *Le Chien Antique*, 614.

<sup>2</sup> 中國天地之中. *lit.*, at the centre of Heaven and Earth.

<sup>3</sup> The astronomical observations of the Chinese appear first in the Yao Tien, 堯典, the opening chapter of the *Six-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 his *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 (1936)).

<sup>4</sup> 織賦 Chang's edition reads 織役.

doublets in the summer,<sup>1</sup> 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?

夏不失穫. Wang holds that this should be 暑不去穫衣.

the produce of its soil<sup>1</sup> 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*.<sup>2</sup> 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*,<sup>3</sup> 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*.<sup>4</sup> In provinces and domains 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?

<sup>1</sup> The *Shi-ching*, II, 1, "Tribute of Yü", describes the various products of the Nine Provinces, offered as tribute.

<sup>2</sup> 走馬以糞. Cf. *Tao-ti-ching*, ch. XLVI: 天下有道卻走馬以糞. "When the 7th 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 *Hsin-fu-ku*, Part VII, ch. xxi, opening paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> 駒犢生於戰地. Cf. *Tao-ti-ching*, loc. cit. 天下無道戎馬生於郊. "When the 7th is disregarded in the world, the war-horses breed in the border lands." [Legge, loc. cit.], as also in *Hsin-fu-ku*, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> The quotation has not been identified.

## 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.<sup>1</sup>

b. But since His Majesty the Emperor Hsiao-wu<sup>2</sup> conquered the Hundred Tribes of the South,<sup>3</sup> and turned their lands into orchards, drove away the Western and Northern Barbarians,<sup>4</sup> and established national reservations, precious novelties and foreign articles fill the Inner Palaces,<sup>5</sup> 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 commanding 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

<sup>1</sup> The opening paragraphs of the *Shih-shih*, XXX, employ similar expressions in describing conditions at the beginning of the Hsin era. (Cf. Charaunus, *Mém. Hist.*, III, 539; and Giles, *Hist. of Chinese Literature*, 103).

<sup>2</sup> 孝武皇帝. Han Wu Ti.

<sup>3</sup> 平百越.

<sup>4</sup> 卻菑胡.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ch. II, pp. 14-15, *supra*.

e. The Secretary: According to the ancient regulations, one hundred pieces of field formed a *mo*, which the people farmed in accordance with the "well-tithe" system, one share in ten devoted to mutual support, 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 acres of field constituted an acre, and the tax was levied at the rate of one thirtieth.<sup>1</sup> But idle<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 溝 畝, the Chinese "acre" of varying size, and 什 籍, translated by Legge as "mutual dependence".

<sup>2</sup> 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  $\frac{1}{10}$ , and under Ching-ti (156-141 B.C.), evidently the "late Emperor" of the YFL, 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 *Mittel. des Sem. f. Oriental. Sprachen* (1900), 168. The YFL 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.

<sup>3</sup> The text has 墾, Ch'ang reads 情, followed in the translation.

<sup>4</sup> The text reads 粟糶, while Ch'ang 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 well-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?*<sup>1</sup>

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 Tai<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Soothill, *Analekts*, XII, ix.

<sup>2</sup> 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 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 *Chuen* says: *For a liberal administration the people are ready to die; fathers leave sons, and sons fathers, under an oppressive government.*<sup>2</sup> 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,"<sup>3</sup> it is shown how the people would address themselves to work without

<sup>1</sup> 徵賦 are taken as "universal mobilisation", "conscription", both financial and bodily.

<sup>2</sup> The citation has not been identified.

<sup>3</sup> *Sih-shang* III, 1, viii; also Mencius I, 1, 11, 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*.<sup>1</sup> The Book of Poetry says: *Fang Shuh is of great age, but full of vigor were his flowers.*<sup>2</sup> 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*; 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,<sup>4</sup> or to walk without the support of canes. No such principle

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

<sup>2</sup> *Sih-shing* II, iii, iv, 3 [Legge, *Ch'i Chuan*, vol. IV, pt. II, 387].

<sup>3</sup> As indicated by the radical, 勞 originally meant "timely death [before 19]";

it then became a synonym for "a youth under 19". Cf. *K'ang Hsi Tz'u-t'ien*.  
<sup>4</sup> Cf. Legge, *Sacred Books*, [Li-shi], vol. XXVII, p. 241; also *Wen Wen* T'ien edition 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.

1. 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.<sup>1</sup> When the Duke of Chou held the baby Ch'eng 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 his foundations by his deep and silent virtues.*<sup>2</sup> Your Majesty is still youthful in age<sup>3</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>3</sup> 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 equity 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 烽燧. The former, *fang*, was a conical brick structure in which to light a beacon fire by night; the latter, *shui*, 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.  
<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> The "Tribute of Yu"<sup>2</sup> 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 Yueh several thousand *li*. The routes have been circuitous and lengthy.<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> the Enlightened Monarch did not give his assent, thinking that his proper calling

<sup>1</sup> The feudal system of China of the Chou period has been studied by various Occidental scholars, especially Franke (Zur Reueitellung des chinesischen Lehnwesens, in *Sinensische Studien*, *Académie der Wissenschaften*, XXXI, 1927), who holds that "An dem Lehnwesen ist das Reich der Tschou zugrunde gegangen (p. 376)". Grant includes a chapter (part I, book II, ch. II) on "La période féodale" in *La Civilisation chinoise* (1929).

<sup>2</sup> 禹貢, regarded as one of the genuine parts of the *Ssu-ching* (Hsin 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 Yu's labors in curbing the floodwaters. It is partly in prose and partly in verse. Cf. Legge, *Chi. Classics*, vol. III, pt. 1, 83, notes. Chavannes has made an analysis of the *Ssu-ching* (*Mém. Asiat.*, I, cxii-cxiii), and of the Yu 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*.

<sup>3</sup> 避遠, in Chang's edition, which I follow.

<sup>4</sup> 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 allow 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.*<sup>1</sup>

e. The Lord Grand Secretary: It was not out of sheer delight in war that T'ang and Wu<sup>2</sup> resorted to arms. Nor was it due to lust of conquest that King Hsuan of Chou<sup>3</sup> extended his territory a thousand *li*. Their purpose was to uproot foreign foes and inter-  
nal 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.<sup>4</sup> 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 waste of sand, rock and alkali, ceded the district of Shih-pi,<sup>5</sup> and the territory of T'ao-yang<sup>6</sup> to the Hu tribes. He dispensed with the garrison at the head 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 hardening the people.

<sup>1</sup> *Ssu-ching*, I, viii, vii, 1 (Legge's rendering, *Chi. Classics*, vol. IV, pt. 1, 187).

<sup>2</sup> 湯, 武, again the traditional founders of the Shang and Chou dynasties.

<sup>3</sup> 周宣王, who began his reign 828 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> 三垂, 什辟, 造陽.

7. The Literati: The Ch'in dynasty assuredly went to extremes in waging war. Méng T'ien<sup>1</sup> certainly extended the boundary to a great distance. Now, we have far overreached the barrier set up by Méng T'ien, and have established administrative areas in the lead of the raiding nomads. As the land extends to greater distances, people suffer from a greater burden. To the west of the Shuo-fang,<sup>2</sup> and to the north of Ch'ang-an,<sup>3</sup> the outlay for the organization of new commanderies, and the expenses of the outposts are beyond calculation. It is not only this. When Ssh-ma [Hsiang-jü] and T'ang Méng<sup>4</sup> bored through a road to the south-western tribes,<sup>5</sup> Pa and Shu<sup>6</sup> began to be oppressed by the Chiung and the Tao.<sup>7</sup> Across the seas,<sup>8</sup> despatched expeditions against the southern barbarians,<sup>9</sup> "High-decked ships"<sup>10</sup> attacked the eastern Yueh;<sup>11</sup> but Ching and Ch'u<sup>12</sup> were then overwhelmed by the Ou-lo tribes.<sup>13</sup> After the "General of the left wing"<sup>14</sup> attacked Korea<sup>15</sup> and opened up the land of Lin T'ao,<sup>16</sup> You and Chi<sup>17</sup> 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 Sst-ch'uan. Cf. *Shtk-oh*, CXVI.

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

7 印, 存, the mountain passes from the east into Sst-ch'uan. For the latter the *Shtk-oh* reads P'o 樊, a tribe of aborigines in Kwei-chou. For both names, cf. Charaxes, op. cit., III, 551, note 2.

8 Cf. glossary sub *Héng-hai chéng-yé-shu*.

9 南夷, tribes of Yunnan.

10 Cf. glossary sub *Low-ch'uan chéng-yé-shu*.

11 東越, southern Ch'iang.

12 匈奴, tribes of Touking. Cf. Grousset, *Hist. de l'Asie-Mineure*, II, 600.

14 Cf. glossary sub *Tao chéng-yé-shu*.

15 朝鮮. The conquest of Korea and its division into four prefectures, was also effected under Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.). Cf. Winger, *Tztes Asiat.*, I, 512-515, esp. *Shtk-oh* CXV, and *C'ien-kun-shu*. The *Shtk-oh* devotes chaps. CXIII-CXVI, to a recital of the Chinese conquests of various tribes herein mentioned. For the *C'ien-kun-shu*'s record of these campaigns, cf. Krause, *Fluss- und Seefahrts nach chinesischem Quellen, in Mitteil. des Sem. für Orient. Sprachen*, XVIII, 1915, pp. 65-74.

16 臨洮.

17 燕齊.

Mai<sup>1</sup> tribes. Chang Ch'ien<sup>2</sup> penetrated to strange and distant lands, but brought in only useless exotics. Thus the reserves of the treasures flow to foreign countries,<sup>3</sup> and the vast outflow is incomparable with [the economies effected on] the coast of Shih-pi, and the labor for T'ao-yang [which had been saved].<sup>4</sup> 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.

9. The Lord Grand Secretary: He who possesses the wisdom of Kuan Chung<sup>5</sup> would not take up the offices of an underling. He who possesses the acumen of T'ao Chui,<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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 116, B.C. A short biographical note occurs in ch. CXI of the *Shtk-oh*, and his second expedition is mentioned in the same work, ch. CXVIII. Cf. also Charaxes, *Mém. Asiat.*, I, LXXII seq. De Groot, in *Die Westliche China in der vorchristlichen Zeit*, chaps. II-III, summarizes the notices of Chang Ch'ien's exploits as general, envoy, and explorer, as found in the *Shtk-oh*, loc. cit., and ch. XCVI of the *C'ien-kun-shu*. See also Winger, *Tztes Asiat.*, I, 494-499.

3 Cf. ch. II, para. 6, *supra*.

4 The conquests of Han Wu Ti, referred to in para. 8 and 9, are narrated at length by Ssh-ma Ch'ien in his famous chapter XXX, translated by Charaxes, with extensive notes on the geographical regions involved, in *Mém. Asiat.*, III, 548-553. See glossary for the numerous names employed.

5 "The wisdom of Kuan Chung," of Kuan and Yea 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 *Shtk-oh*, ch. CXIX, under his original name of Fan Li 范蠡.

7 A telling remark for those scholars who talk about ceremonialness 禮 and yet do not possess the prescribed cap and dress, indispensable to the "true gentleman" 君子.

t. 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.* <sup>1</sup> Therefore only the benevolent knows how to live in straits, enjoying his poverty; <sup>2</sup> while the mean man becomes oppressive when rich, and shifts when poor. Yang Tai said: *He who seeks to be rich will not be benevolent. He who wishes to be benevolent will not be rich.* <sup>3</sup> 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 in thousands of pieces, and the accumulation of concentrated wealth, the common people will be left in cold and misery, wandering along the roads. How could the Scholara alone keep up a complete outfit of caps and clothing?

<sup>1</sup> Southill, *Analects* VI, ix.

<sup>2</sup> Paraphrasing the *Lun-wei*, IV, ii.

<sup>3</sup> Legge's translation. Mencius III, i, iii, 5. Mencius has 陽虎曰

they know about the affairs of the state or business of the officials? What [do they know about] Shih-pi and Tsao-yang?

A. The Literati: A humble station does not circumscribe wisdom. Poverty does not impair one's conduct. Yen Yuan <sup>1</sup> was frequently down to a bare cupboard, but he cannot be said to have been unworthy. Confucius, though not looking the part, <sup>2</sup> 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 Tai Kung would have wielded his butcher's knife throughout his life <sup>3</sup> and Ning Chi <sup>4</sup> 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. <sup>5</sup> 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 Ts'eng Shên and Min Tzu <sup>6</sup> would not exchange their benevolence for the wealth of Chin and Ch'u, <sup>7</sup> and Po I <sup>8</sup> would not sell his character for the rank of a prince. With such as they, Duke Ching of Ch'i <sup>9</sup> with all his thousand four-in-hands could not compete in fame.

<sup>1</sup> 顏淵, the favorite disciple of Confucius.

<sup>2</sup> 孔子不容. 仲尼之狀面如蒙倮. "The physiognomy of Confucius was such that his face was like a rumpied square" (Dubs' translation, 69). said Han-t'ai in his attack upon the ancient Chinese belief in "physiognomy", which professed to read the character of a person by his appearance (*Hsia-tsu*, Bk. V, 非相篇).

<sup>3</sup> 太公終身鼓刀. 鼓刀 is explained as the knife used in slaughtering the sacrificial ox. Cf. *Ts'u-yüan* sub 鼓刀.

<sup>4</sup> 寧戚, a carter who rose to be a Privy Councillor of Ch'i. Cf. Giles, *Biog.* Dic. No. 1568.

<sup>5</sup> This, and the succeeding sentences, represent Confucianist and Mencian aphorisms.

<sup>6</sup> 曾參, 閔子, disciples of Confucius.

<sup>7</sup> 晉, 楚, 伯夷, 齊景公.

Ngw, 萬金 T'o Kwei! made use of goods neglected by others and T'ai 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,<sup>2</sup> 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. T'ai 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

<sup>1</sup> Chang's edition has T'ai Kung 子貢 (instead of T'o Kwei 伯圭), and T'ao Ch'ung-tung 陶朱公 for T'ai Kung. The *Shih-chi*, ch. LXVII, contains the passage that T'ai Kung's house "piled up a thousand pieces of gold"; while in ch. CXXIX, the same faculty is ascribed to Fan Li 范蠡 (cf. T'ao Ch'ung-tung), 三致千金 in the space of nineteen years, a phrase which has become proverbial.

<sup>2</sup> 權勢, the *logosia* terms, reproached by the scholars, though sometimes used by them for argument's sake, as in para. d. below. Cf. note 1, p. 47, supra.

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE POOR AND THE RICH

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: For more than sixty years have I<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> and had the fortune of becoming an Imperial chamber page,<sup>3</sup> serving in the Emperor's retinue<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> The biography of the noted statesman and fiscal expert, the Lord Grand Secretary Sung Hsiang-yang 桑弘羊, appears in the *Ch'ien-lun-shu*, ch. XXIV, 3rd 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 tszy's* 御史大夫, which I translate as "Lord Grand Secretary". He occupied the post seven years, then was created by order of the Emperor Chao, on the charge of plotting a rebellion. The term *Yü-shih* is found in the *Chow-k'* 春官, 御史, and in the etymat *Shang-chün-shu*, para. 26, and up to the later Hien period involved secretarial duties (cf. Franke, *Der Ursprung der chinesischen Geschichtschreibung, Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, XXIII, 1923, p. 283). From the later Han period the office took on the functions of a "commissar", perhaps acquiring some of its features as such, from the ideas of the School of Law, as suggested by Dreyerndak, *Book of Lord Shang*, 124.

<sup>2</sup> 結髮束修. Cf. *Li-shi*, XI, III, 10 (Comment. *Li*, XI, I, 710).

<sup>3</sup> 宿衛.

<sup>4</sup> 給事章獻.

to cover all the villages of the province; when T'ai Kung was a butcher at Ch'ao Ko,<sup>1</sup> 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. Shan, therefore, was obliged to rely on Yao, and T'ai Kung depended upon Chou. A true gentleman can only cultivate his person<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> The Lord Grand Secretary: Tao<sup>3</sup> 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 Tzu Kung became famous among the feudal nobles for his display of accumulated wealth, and T'ao Cha-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 Hsien<sup>4</sup> and K'ung Chi<sup>5</sup> suffered all their

### 1 太公, 朝歌.

<sup>2</sup> 君子能修身, cf. *Zhuangzi* XIV, xxv and xxv. 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, *Les Chines Antiques*, 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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-té-t'ung*, para. 25 (Legge's translation, *Sacred Books*, XXXIX, 67). A recent discussion of the Taoist school is found in Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, Bk. 2, ch. 11, L'École Taoïste.

<sup>4</sup> 原憲, a disciple mentioned in the *Zhuangzi* VI, iii, XIV, 1, who retained his good nature despite poverty.

<sup>5</sup> 孔伋, known as T'ai Sui 子思, a disciple of T'ung Tzu 曾子, and whose name has been associated with the composition of the *Tsü Hsüeh* 大學 and

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?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The Literati: One has to make use of carts in travelling over great distances,<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> Kung-shu Tzu<sup>7</sup> 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<sup>8</sup> could cast whole 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,<sup>9</sup> as he possessed not the necessary material. A true gentleman may base himself on the legitimate-sovereign's 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,<sup>10</sup> his bounties did not extend

<sup>1</sup> 內 and 外, here, are thus construed.

<sup>2</sup> The *Chuan-ch'ao-chi-yao* 羣書治要 inserts 道 after 行遠, as an extra character to balance the following 濟江海.

<sup>3</sup> Chang's edition omits this sentence altogether (16 characters).

<sup>4</sup> 公輸子, the carpenter.

<sup>5</sup> 歐冶, the founder.

<sup>6</sup> 公輸子全 (for 金 of our text), which I follow, to balance the succeeding 大鍾.

<sup>7</sup> The text here, 鼎鑿材, is quite corrupt, and discloses an interesting confusion of characters. 鑿, originally in its equivalent form 壺, should be 壺, "kettle", while 材 should be 材, a "wash-basin", in the opinion of the commentators.

<sup>8</sup> Wang notes that 正 is equivalent to 政, and inserts 能 after 君子, to balance the same character in the preceding sentences.

<sup>9</sup> 歷山, the mountain mentioned on p. 12 supra.

lives from hunger and cold, and Yen Hui<sup>1</sup> 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 quest that I lose better.*<sup>2</sup> The true gentleman seeks duty, not wealth at any price. Hence the criticism pronounced on Tzu 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,<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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;<sup>5</sup> the

the *Cheng Yang Chung Kuo* 中國哲學史, 馮友蘭, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. I, 中國哲學史, 卷上, 1931.

<sup>1</sup> 顏回, favorite disciple of Confucius. Cf. Sootball, *Analekts*, Introduction, 86.

<sup>2</sup> Sootball, *Analekts*, VII, xi. The YTL reads 事 for 士 's' 道, used here in the Confucian sense, i.e., in its moral application, — the course or ways that are right and proper. The passage is suggestive of the *Leung-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 . . . . [Sootball's translation].

<sup>4</sup> 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].

<sup>5</sup> 季孫. The head of the Chi family was richer than the Duke of Chow had been. . . . *Leung-yü*, XI, xvi, [Legge's translation].

meager fish fare of Chao Hsian-méng<sup>1</sup> far more delicious than all the viands of Chih Po;<sup>2</sup> and Tzu Sui's silver pendant more beautiful than the *Ch'ü Chi*'s gem of the Duke of Yü.<sup>3</sup> Marquis Wén of Wei bowed to the front bar of his carriage while driving past Tuan Kan-mu's residence, not because the latter possessed any temporal influence; and Duke Wén of Chin alighted from his chariot and ran out to meet Han Oh'ing,<sup>4</sup> 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?

趙宣孟, 知伯, 垂棘, 虞公

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.

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.<sup>1</sup> Li Sui<sup>2</sup> and Pao Ch'iu Tzu,<sup>3</sup> according to tradition, both sat at the feet of Hsün Ch'ing.<sup>4</sup> Their training completed, Li Sui entered the service of Ch'in where he subsequently rose to the rank of one of the Three Highest Ministers,<sup>5</sup> and possessed of the power 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,<sup>6</sup> in fame loftier than Mount Tai.<sup>7</sup> But Pao Ch'iu never got beyond the

<sup>1</sup> The *Shih-tai*, ch. LXXXVIII (Biography of Li Sui) has the phrase 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'ung Pao*, XXVI (1928), The Chronology of Hsin-t'ai, p. 82), while the YTL reads 自託於無欲而實不從此非士之情也.

<sup>2</sup> 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.). Ssu-ma Ch'ien devotes his LXXXVIIIth chapter to a lengthy biography of the First Ch'in Emperor's Prime Minister; while in the VIIth chapter appears the account of the famous debate before the throne, when the decision against the scholars was taken. The *Ch'ien-tai*'s biography (translated in part by Duyvendak, loc. cit.) confirms the statements regarding Li Sui as a pupil of Hsin Ch'ing and his subsequent career.

<sup>3</sup> 包邱子. Cf. glossary.

<sup>4</sup> 荀卿, the philosopher Hsin-t'ai or Sun-t'ai, cf. p. 68, note 14.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 68, note 4, supra.

<sup>6</sup> 之權, omitted in Chang's edition.

<sup>7</sup> 伊尹, 呂望 [太公望 or 呂尚]. See glossary.

<sup>8</sup> 太山 (otherwise 泰山), in Shantung, the chief of the Five Sacred Mountains

of China. For its place: Chinese religion, cf. Chavannes *Le T'ai Chan*.

oil-de-boeuf<sup>1</sup> of a thatched hotel, his fate comparable to that of frogs which, though multitudinous indeed during a flood year, are but destined to perish sooner or later in some drain or ditch. Now, lovers of disputation,<sup>2</sup> 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 Sui became Chancellor of Ch'in, Shih-huang appointed him to an office which was higher than that of any other person or minister. Yet Hsin Ch'ing did not take office under him; prescient that he would fall into unfathomable disasters.<sup>3</sup> Pao Ch'iu Tzu, who lived on wild kraat 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's 'Chi' *Chi* gun<sup>4</sup> was beautiful beyond dispute; but Kung Chih-ch'i,<sup>5</sup> seeing it, groaned, knowing well that it was part of Hsin Hsi's<sup>6</sup> plot against his country. Chih Po<sup>7</sup> possessing all the wealth of the Three Chin States<sup>8</sup> was certainly at the height of his power; yet hardly did he suspect that Hsiang Tzu<sup>9</sup> planned to entrap him. The fox and raccoon furs of Chi Sun<sup>10</sup> were undoubtedly magnificent; yet never did he sus-

<sup>1</sup> 瘡膈 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 *T'ung Pao*.

<sup>2</sup> The text has 好義; the last character, according to Chang, should be 議.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Duyvendak, *T'ung 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 Hsin-t'ai never took office under his pupil, during the many years of Li Sui's service with Ch'in.

<sup>4</sup> See next page note 2.

<sup>5</sup> 垂棘, referred to on p. 111, supra.

<sup>6</sup> 宮之奇. Cf. Giles, *Sing. Dict.*, No. 1091.

<sup>7</sup> 荀息. Cf. Giles, op. cit., No. 805.

<sup>8</sup> 知伯, 三晉.

<sup>9</sup> 襄子, 季孫.

pect that the prince of Lu<sup>1</sup> considered him as a menace to his state. Thus did Hsien of Chin<sup>2</sup> hook Yü and Kuo<sup>3</sup> by means of the precious horses, and through the city did Hsiang T'ai enreigle 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.*<sup>4</sup>

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 portentous! Thus it was that Li Suü suffered the five penalties: *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. 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*

<sup>1</sup> 魯君。

<sup>2</sup> 晉獻[公]。

<sup>3</sup> 虞，虢。For these had the preceding names, see glossary.

<sup>4</sup> Southill, *Analogue*, XV, 217.

<sup>5</sup> 五刑，as related in the *Sik-tsai*, 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.

<sup>6</sup> This allegory is found substantially in the *Chang-t'ai 莊子*, in which Chuang-t'ai ridicules the sophist Hsi-t'ai 惠子, who at the time was minister of the state of Liang 梁 (cf. Li, p. 391, and Wilhelm, *Daschung I-tai*, p. 134). The Literati turn this tale against Sang Heng-yang, citing from the Minister a lecture on the propriety of refined manners.

conduct similar to that of the Kite of T'ai Shan "shooting" 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 unskilful, and not all your days without setting a bad example.<sup>1</sup> 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 portentous 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,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> The Kite of T'ai

<sup>1</sup> 無冤尤。Lu reads 怨 for 冤, "without incurring malevolence".

<sup>2</sup> The passage expresses the sentiment found in Mencius, VI, i, x, 5, "Here are a small basket of rice and a plate 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 imploring voice, even a tramp will not receive them. . . . even a beggar will not sleep to take them" [Legge's translation]. The same figure, "the matter of a dish of rice or a plate of soup", in a similar association, appears in Mencius, VII, ii, xi.

<sup>3</sup> 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 officers, 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!

9. The Lord Grand Secretary: Said Magister Ssu-ma.<sup>1</sup> *Hushting and busting, after gain the world is rushing: Maids of Chao not particular as to beauty or homeliness; matrons of Ch'eng 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 Mohists,<sup>2</sup> with greedy hearts but*

### 天下莫與皆爲利往

This is the only direct citation from Ssu-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 Ch'eng" 鄭姬 also appear, the *Shih-chi* having 姬, probably "singing girl", for the last character. Cf. introduction for a discussion of this quotation.

<sup>1</sup> 儒墨. For 儒 see p. 28, note 9. The Mohists 墨家, with whom the *ju* are here grouped, were the transmitters of the doctrines of Mo-tzu 墨子 or Mo Ti 墨翟, a native of Lu, who lived in the 5th 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 (8-17) are held to emanate from the hand of the philosopher himself, and to present his actual teaching. Mo-tzu, 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-tzu 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 Iyeh and Ili'd centuries particularly. Mencius was strongly opposed to the teachings of Mo-tzu, 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*<sup>1</sup> 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.

4. When Li Sui was studying at the door of Hsin 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 courser<sup>2</sup> 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-tzu. While the school of Mo-tzu 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 Forte in his *Genésis des idées chinoises philosophiques*, 388-417, and by Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 468-479, 529-541. Translations of the extant *Mo-tzu* have been made by Forte, *Mémoires des Sociétés savantes et autres Scholies philosophiques*, Works, and in part by Y. L. Mei, *The Works of Mo-tzu*. Hu Shih devotes Part III of *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China* to "The Logic of Mo Ti 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. Dayvredak, "Études de Philosophie chinoise", in *Revue Philosophique*, Nov.-Dec., 1936, pp. 372-417.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Lu-hy* XIV, xxxiv [Soothill]. "Wei-shihing Mon addressing Confucius said: Ch'in, what are you doing with this perching here and perching there?"

<sup>2</sup> *K'ang-hu* 鴻鵠 mentioned in *Mencius* VI, i, ix, 3; *Hsu-tzu* 驂騑 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 Buccephalus". The *Mu-tzu-tzu-chuan* 穆天子傳, an account of the travels of King Mu, held to be a composition of a late period (11th 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 does on land; the worthy scholar suffers martyrdom for his good name, the miser dies for gain. Li Ssu, coveting desirable objects, came to a hateful end, while Sun-shu Ao,<sup>1</sup> 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'ih<sup>2</sup> and Wu Chi's covered behind his prince's body, they undoubtedly wished they were in coarse clothes living in some wretched straw hut. When Li Ssu 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 Yun-yang,<sup>3</sup> he also undoubtedly wished he were carrying wood to

<sup>1</sup> 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 (Ssu-chi, ch. CXIX).

<sup>2</sup> 彭池 [written 黽池 in the Ssu-chi, LXVIII], where the army of Ch'in defeated Lord Shang and slew him. Cf. ch. VII, supra.

<sup>3</sup> 吳起之伏王尸, as related in the Ssu-chi, LXV. For Wu Chi cf. Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, no. 2320.

<sup>4</sup> 雲陽, the modern Shao-hsiao-tsen 淳化縣 in Shensi. The Ssu-chi, Biography of Li Ssu, places the scene of his execution at the Ch'in capital, Hsien-yang 咸陽. For "torn apart by chariots" 車裂, Ssu-ma Ch'ien has "cut in two at the waist" 腰斬.

Hung-mén<sup>1</sup> or walking through the crooked short-cuts of Shang-ts'ai,<sup>2</sup> but he could never get his wish. Su Chin and Wu Chi killed themselves by their power and position; Shang Yang and Li Ssu 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!

<sup>1</sup> 鴻門. The Ssu-chi, Li Ssu's biography, reads 東門.

<sup>2</sup> 上蔡, Shang Yang's native city in Ch'u.

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. 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 Meng clans, and the wealth of the three Huan families, were high above ordinary achievement, yet Confucius once spoke of them, saying: *Depleted are they!*<sup>3</sup> 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 indented become their salaries, the more numerous their misdeeds.

<sup>1</sup> 民斯爲下, from the *Lo-shyè*, XVI, IX.

<sup>2</sup> 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 T'ia 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 T'ia, ayant fait de lui l'antagoniste de son héros, lui a prêtée diverses aventures plus ou moins véridiques, qui, recueillies dans le *T'chen K'ouo II*, ont passé dans Chang I, see Hirth, op. cit., 306—313.

<sup>3</sup> *Lo-shyè* 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, Meng 孟, and Huan 桓, cf. Legge, *Confucius Anecdotes*, p. 19, note 2, et al.

## CHAPTER XIX

### EXTOLLING THE WORTHY

a. The Lord Grand Secretary: Out of extreme probity Po I<sup>1</sup> starved to death and Wei Shêng<sup>2</sup> met his end through punctilious fidelity. Clinging to insignificant appointments, they sacrificed great realities. There was the petty fidelity of common men and women, who (show it by) committing suicide in some ditch, nobody being the wiser.<sup>3</sup> Can achievement and fame be acquired in this manner? Su Ch'in and Chang I,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> There was not a single ruler of a kingdom of ten thousand chariots who, bearing heavy gifts, sought not their friendship in subject attitude and with humble speech.

<sup>1</sup> 伯夷, by refusing to accept support from Wu Wang of Chou, whom he considered to be a usurper.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Tsunian*, Sacred Books, XI, 174 (*Chuang-tse*).

<sup>3</sup> Soothill, *Anecdotes*, XIV, xviii, 8.

<sup>4</sup> 蘇秦, 張儀, a Machiavellian pair who studied the sophistical art of "persuading any one to anything" under the Taoist philosopher Kuei-ku-tai 鬼谷子. They took up the adventurous career of itinerant volunteering diplomat. (Cf. Hirth, *Ancient History of China*, 285, passim). Su-chun Ch'ien devotes two chapters to their lives (*Sak-shi*, LXIX and LXX). See further note below.

<sup>5</sup> Mencius III, ii, ii, 1 [Legge's translation]. For 息 of the YTL, Mencius reads 熄 (cf. Legge's note). Mencius has Kung-ann 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 Rouan de Sou T'ia, in *Études statistiques publiées par l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, II, 141.

scholars as Yen Hui<sup>1</sup> and Chung Yu,<sup>2</sup> 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-tse,<sup>3</sup> the Confucianists and Militias, and all the besashed tribe of disciples, spreading out their long robes,<sup>4</sup> 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 Shü,<sup>5</sup> 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 houses 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.<sup>6</sup> 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, *Aspects*, Introduction, 86.

2 仲由, also one of Confucius' disciples. Cf. Soothill, *Aspects*, 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 (Charanous, *Mém. Hist.*, II, 235, note 2). Here Ch'ên Shêng raised the standard of revolt against Eih-shih-huang-ti.

4 肆其長衣, is followed in the text by 長衣宮之也. These last five characters are superfluous, according to Ju.

5 The words 孔甲爲 [陳] 涉博士卒俱死陳 occur in the preface to *Shih-shi*, ch. CXXI. ([陳] *Shih-shi* reading.) The preceding sentence seems also to be based on the same chapter. K'ung Chia is stated by the commentator Tsü Kung 徐廣 to have been the descendant of Confucius in the eighth generation.

6 Cf. p. 43, note 1, supra.

c. Now he who wants to follow the right path 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 acented 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,<sup>2</sup> exhausting themselves in an effort to escape, but nothing avails them against inevitable death.

d. Our present jacks-in-office, having obtained a thieves' 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 slaves; 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 beamirch them. Yet consider for a moment Ch'ên Shêng,<sup>3</sup> 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 *Hsin* 行, the practical application of 德.

2 The text reads 身頭. "heads"; Chang's text more appropriately has 身, "bodies".

3 陳勝 or 陳涉, Ch'ên Shêng, who rebelled against the Second (Ch'ao) Emperor. Cf. *Shih-shi*, VI.

fastidious honesty of a Po I.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 Wan<sup>3</sup> and Wang Tsang<sup>4</sup> were boosted, thanks to their Confucian learning, to high ministerial rank, yet proved to possess ravenous and pitiless hearts. Chu-fu Yen's<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 伯夷. "Fih-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].

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Lo-shi*, Fung Chi 坊記, Legge, *Se ed Books*, vol. XXVIII, p. 288: "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...."

<sup>3</sup> 趙綰, promoted in 181 B.C. as marquis of Chien-ching 建陵. *Shih-chi* IX.

<sup>4</sup> 王臧, who was favored by Han Wu Ti because of his proficiency in letters. *Shih-chi* XXVIII (Charvannes, *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.

<sup>5</sup> 主父偃, a scholar who held high office in the Early Han period.

<sup>6</sup> 東方朔, whose biography appears in the *Shih-chi*, CXXVI (cf. Giles, *Chi. Biog. Ser.*, No. 2093), where his versatility, wit and dissolute private life, are equally described.

courses, he glorified judicial measures,<sup>1</sup> 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 Méng T'ien carrying on war without,<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> and led the Empire in the revolution. Though baneful were his methods, some of the Confucianists and Milhiats<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> they turned to King Ch'ên. When Confucius said, *If one be willing to employ me, may I not make an eastern Chou?*<sup>6</sup> he was intimating that he aspired to emulate the merits of Ch'êng Tsang 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 Hsi,<sup>7</sup> though you may possess all the

<sup>1</sup> 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*.

<sup>2</sup> 趙高, the eunuch minister of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti; 蒙恬, the general conducting his campaigns.

<sup>3</sup> 陳王, i.e. 陳涉, who raised the standard of revolt against the Second (Ch'in) Emperor. Cf. *Shih-chi*, VI, and Chiu I: 賈誼 forced description of the merits of Ch'ên Shêng's disposal, so insignificant in comparison with the great part of Ch'in (Margolis, *Le Kuo Wên chin-tai*, 61—63, "Dissertation sur les fautes de T'ien").

<sup>4</sup> 儒墨, cf. note 4, p. 116, and note 9, p. 88, *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> 發憤於陳王也, occurs in the *Shih-chi*, preface to ch. CXXI, where *sh-ma* Ch'ên explains why the scholars turned to Ch'ên Shêng.

<sup>6</sup> 柳下惠. "Hwuy of Lew-hua was not ashamed to serve as 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].

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.* <sup>1</sup> He is self-sufficing and never overreaching; dignified, and never overweening.

<sup>2</sup> We have for example, Yüan Ang, <sup>2</sup> who gained the intimacy of the Emperor Ching, and whose stable, nevertheless, did not exceed a four-in-hand; Kung-sun Hung, <sup>3</sup> 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 hated <sup>4</sup> 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, <sup>5</sup> search and look about so that nothing remains. <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Seechall, *Analekta*, XIV, xiv.

<sup>2</sup> 袁盎, whose biography appears in ch. CI of the *Shih-chi* with Chia Ti's. He was a trusted councillor of both the Emperors Wen and Hsiao of the Early Han period.

<sup>3</sup> 公孫宏. Also mentioned previously, cf. p. 68 and note 6.

<sup>4</sup> ....日久此矣在. 此 seems to be out of place in this context, in Wang's opinion.

<sup>5</sup> 鷂, a monstrous sea bird.

<sup>6</sup> This chapter (XIX) concludes *chün* IV of the ten into which the sixty chapters of the *Yen T'ieh Len* are usually divided. The only departure from this arrangement is that of Chang

Chia-huang 張之象, whose edition of the *chün-ching* era of the Ming dynasty 明嘉靖 (1522—1566) last twelve *chün*. See Introduction.

## GLOSSARY